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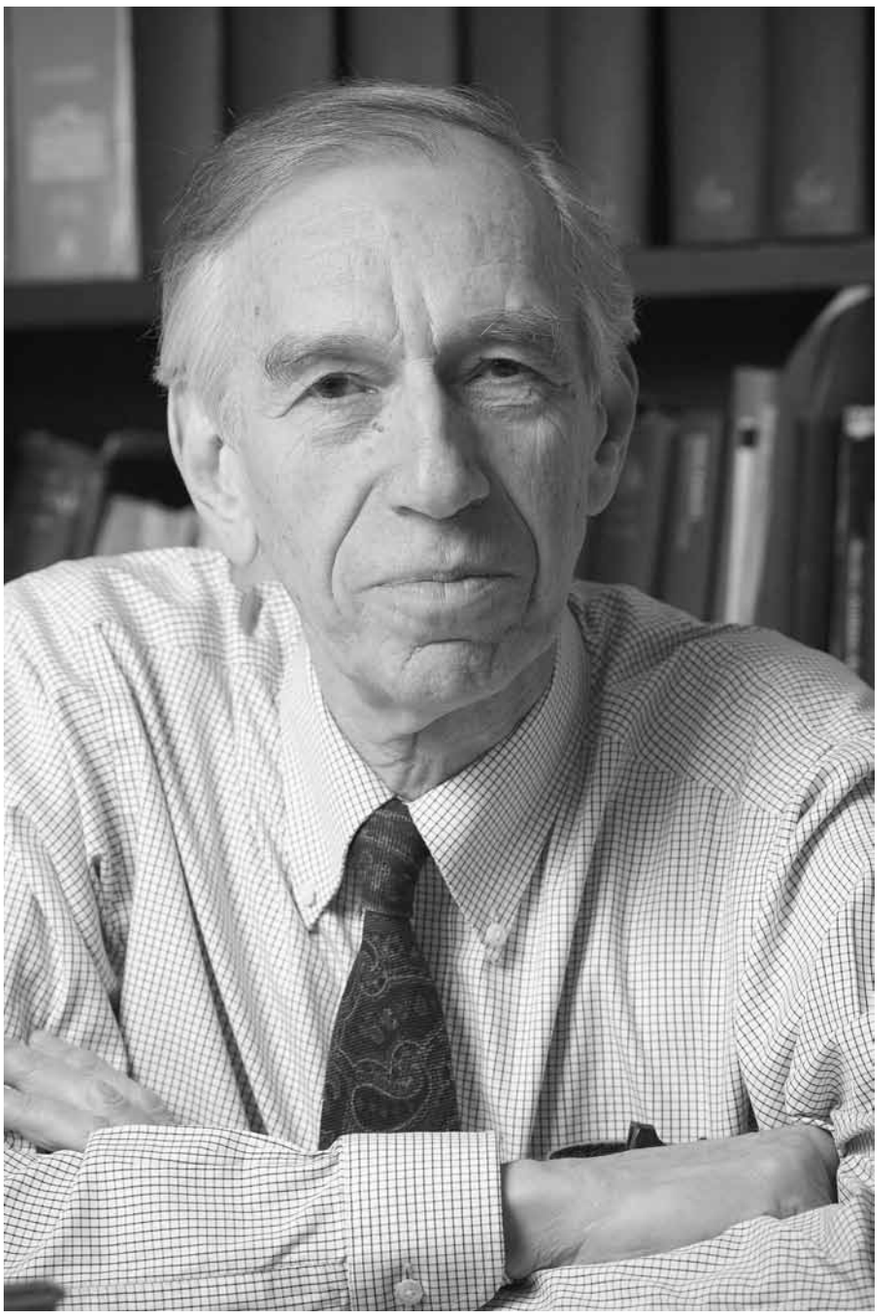

Norman (Naḥum) Golb

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PESHER NAḤUM

TEXTS AND STUDIES IN JEWISH HISTORY AND LITERATURE FROM ANTIQUITY THROUGH THE MIDDLE AGES PRESENTED TO NORMAN (NAḤUM) GOLB

edited by

JOEL L. KRAEMER *and* MICHAEL G. WECHSLER

with the participation of

FRED DONNER, JOSHUA HOLO, *and* DENNIS PARDEE

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Contributors vii

List of Abbreviations xi

Transliteration Tables

I. Hebrew and Aramaic xii

II. Arabic xiii

English Abstracts of the Hebrew Articles xiv

Preface xvii

Bibliography of the Works of Norman (Naḥum) Golb xix

ENGLISH SECTION

1. Portrait of the Scholar. *Joel L. Kraemer*. 1
2. A Jewish Wool Merchant in Tenth-Century Mosul Defends Resorting to "the Sages of the Nations": An Early Encounter between Jewish Bible Exegesis and Graeco-Arab Philosophy. *Ḥaggai Ben-Shammai* 11
3. On Some Semantic Shifts in Medieval Judaeo-Arabic. *Joshua Blau* 33
4. *Kippūrīm*, Expiation, Purity, and Impurity: The Well of the Past and the Abyss of Oblivion. *Rachel Elior* 37
5. An Epistle on Esoteric Matters by David II Maimonides from the Geniza. *Paul B. Fenton* 57
6. Sending Funds to Judah ha-Levi. *Mordechai A. Friedman* 75
7. The Emergence and Development of Scholarship on Medieval Judaeo-Arabic in Spain. *María Ángeles Gallego* 83
8. Food Commerce in Egypt as Portrayed in Eleventh-Century Geniza Letters. *Moshe Gil* 93
9. Gershom b. Judah and the Italian Roots of Early Ashkenazic Jewry. *Joshua Holo*. 103
10. Carl Hermann Kraeling: A Reminiscence. *Walter E. Kaegi* 109
11. When Did the Palestinian Yeshiva Leave Tiberias? *Benjamin Z. Kedar*. 117
12. "Many Days without the God of Truth": Loss and Recovery of Religious Knowledge in Early Karaite Thought. *Eve Krakowski* 121
13. Adam and Eve or Adam and Noah? Judaeo-Arabic and Hebrew Versions of the Same Books. *Daniel J. Lasker* 141
14. Historicizing Prophetic Literature: Yefet ben ʿEli's Commentary on Hosea and Its Relationship to al-Qūmisī's *Pitrōn*. *Meira Polliack* 149
15. Jewish Liturgical Divisions of the Torah and the English Chapter Division of the Vulgate Attributed to Stephen Langton. *Paul Saenger* 187
16. Biblical Hermeneutics in Abraham Bar Ḥayya's (Ḥiyya's) "Book of Intercalation": Reading Science and Philosophy into the Bible. *Israel M. Sandman* 203
17. Corporal Modesty in Judaism and Islam. *Norman A. Stillman* 215

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18. An Aramaic Apocalypse (4Q246) and the Perils of Premature Consensus. *Anthony J. Tomasino* 223

19. Ten Newly Identified Fragments of Saadia's Commentary on Esther: Introduction and Translation. *Michael G. Wechsler*. 237

20. Murabbaʿāt and the First Jewish Revolt. *Michael O. Wise* 293

INDEXES

I. Manuscripts Cited or Noted 317

II. References to the Bible 320

III. References to Classical (non-Bible) and Medieval Works. 328

1. Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha 328

2. Dead Sea Scrolls 329

3. Early Rabbinic and Medieval Jewish Works 330

4. Greek and Latin Works. 337

5. Medieval Muslim Works 338

IV. General Index 339

PLATES

HEBREW SECTION

21. *ʿĂlūqā* as "Nothing" and Its Use in Polemics with the Karaites: A Study of Saadia's Commentary on Proverbs 30:10–17. *Naḥem Ilan* 1*

22. Biblical Hebrew Names for Settlements, Countries, and Ethnic Groups in the Middle Ages. *Elinoar Bareket* 11*

23. Ten Newly Identified Fragments of Saadia's Commentary on Esther: The Judaeo-Arabic Text (with an Appendix Containing a Fragment of Judah ibn Balʿam's Commentary on Esther). *Michael G. Wechsler* 17*

24. The View of Abraham ibn Ezra on the Durative Nature of Universal Creation. *Abraham Lipshitz*. 41*

25. History and History-Writing in *Chronicles* in the Light of Biblical, Ancient Near Eastern, and Graeco-Roman Cultures. *Isaac Kalimi* 45*

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(with J. Blau and Y. Yahalom; Ben-Zvi Institute, 2009), and *L'exil au Maghreb: la condition juive sous l'Islam* (Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2010).

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

GENERAL

ad fin.	*ad finem*, at the end
ad loc.	*ad locum*, at the place
A.H.	*anno Hegirae,* in the year of the Hegira
A.M.	*anno mundi*, in the year of the world
Ar.	Arabic
b.	bn (Ar.)/ben (Heb.), son of
b.	Babylonian Talmud
B.C.E.	before the Common Era
c.	century
ca.	*circa*, about
C.E.	Common Era
cf.	*confer*, compare
ch(s).	chapter(s)
cm	centimeter(s)
col(s).	column(s)
comm.	comment(ary)
d.	died
et al.	*et alii*, and others
e.g.	*exempli gratia*, for example
esp.	especially
etc.	*et cetera*, and so forth
fig(s).	figure(s)
f(f).	and following
fl.	floruit, flourished
fol(s).	folio(s)
frag(s).	fragment(s)
Heb.	Hebrew
ibid.	*ibidem*, in the same place
i.e.	*id est*, that is
kg	kilograms
Lat.	Latin
lit.	literally
m.	Mishnah
MS(S)	manuscript(s)
n(n).	note(s)
n.d.	no date
n.p.	no publisher
no(s).	number(s)
p(p).	page(s)
pers. comm.	personal communication
pl(s).	plate(s)
q.v.	*quod vide*, which see
r	recto
R.	Rav/Rabbi
sec.	section
s.v(v).	*sub verbo*, under the word(s)
t.	Tosefta
trans.	translation/translator
v	verso
v(v).	verse(s)
vol(s).	volume(s)
y.	Jerusalem Talmud

MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS

BL	British Library, London
BN	Bibliothèque nationale, Paris
BLO	Bodleian Library, Oxford
CUL	Cambridge University Library
NLR	National Library of Russia (Российская национальная библиотека), Saint Petersburg, Firkovitch Hebrew (Yevr. [= Еврейский]) and Judaeo-Arabic (Yevr.-Arab. [= Еврейско-арабский]) collections
T-S	Taylor-Schechter Collection, Cambridge University Library

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TRANSLITERATION TABLES

I. HEBREW AND ARAMAIC

CONSONANTS

l	ל	ʾ	א
m	מ	*b*	בּ
n	נ	*b̲*	ב
s	ס	*g*	ג/גּ
ʿ	ע	*d*	ד/דּ
p	פּ	*h*	ה
f	פ	*v*	ו
ṣ	צ	*z*	ז
q	ק	*ḥ*	ח
r	ר	*ṭ*	ט
ś	שׂ	*y*	י
sh	שׁ	*k*	כּ
t	ת/תּ	*kh*	כ

The sign ʾ is ommitted when initial.

Doubling with the article and biblical "*vayyiqtol*" forms is generally not indicated (e.g., *ha-kātūb̲*, not *hak-kātūb̲*; *va-yōʾmer*, not *vay-yōʾmer*).

VOWELS

ā	◌ָה/◌ָ (*gādōl*)	*a*	◌ַ	*ă*	◌ֲ
ē	◌ֵי/◌ֵ	*e*	◌ֶ	*ĕ*	◌ֱ/◌ְ (vocal)
ī	◌ִי	*i*	◌ִ	*ŏ*	◌ֳ
ō	◌וֹ/◌ֹ	*o*	◌ָ (*qāṭān*/*ḥāṭūf*)		
ū	◌וּ	*u*	◌ֻ		

The signs *ī* and *ū* are also generally used in cases of *scriptio defectiva* (e.g., *nāb̲īʾ* for נָבִא [= נָבִיא] and *qūm* for קֻם [= קוּם]).

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II. ARABIC

CONSONANTS

ṭ	ط	ʾ	ء/ا
ẓ	ظ	*b*	ب
ʿ	ع	*t*	ت
gh	غ	*th*	ث
f	ف	*j*	ج
q	ق	*ḥ*	ح
k	ك	*kh*	خ
l	ل	*d*	د
m	م	*dh*	ذ
n	ن	*r*	ر
h	ه	*z*	ز
w	و	*s*	س
y	ي	*sh*	ش
		ṣ	ص
a/at	ـَة	*ḍ*	ض

The sign ʾ is omitted when initial and followed by a vowel (i.e., without *waṣla*; thus: *iqtidār* for اقتدار, yet *ḥasaba ʾqtidār* for حسب ٱقتدار) as well as when final in plural verbs (i.e., when functioning as *al-alif al-fāṣila*; thus: *yaʿmalū* rather than *yaʿmalūʾ*).

VOWELS

ā	ـَا (and ى *maqṣūra*)	*a*	ـَ
ī	ـِي (yet ـِيّ: *iyy*)	*i*	ـِ
ū	ـُو (yet ـُوّ: *uww*)	*u*	ـُ

Before *alif al-waṣl* the vowels ـَا, ـِي, and ـُو are respectively represented by *a*, *i*, and *u* (thus: *ʿalayhuma ʾl-salām* for عليهما ٱلسلام, *fi ʾqtidār* for فى ٱقتدار, and *abu ʾl-kadhib* for ابو ٱلكذب).

Tanwīn, though generally not indicated, is represented by *-un* (for ـٌ), *-an* (for ـً, ـًا, ـًى, or, when denoting any of the previous, final א), or *-in* (for ـٍ or, when denoting the previous, final ◌ִי).

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ENGLISH ABSTRACTS OF THE HEBREW ARTICLES

BIBLICAL HEBREW NAMES FOR SETTLEMENTS, COUNTRIES, AND ETHNIC GROUPS IN THE MIDDLE AGES

ELINOAR BAREKET

The tendency of medieval Jewish writers to identify the names of biblical settlements, geographical locations, and ethnic groups with contemporary equivalents is attested throughout the history of Jewish literature. The factors underlying this practice are manifold and may be itemized as follows: (1) an *etymological-linguistic* factor, reflecting the use of similar sounds or consonants to identify place-names with contemporary equivalents based on biblical tradition; (2) an *intellectual* factor, reflecting the tendency to acquire a more precise knowledge of one's world, and to accordingly translate and identify contemporary names with names known from biblical tradition; (3) a *psychological* factor, reflecting both a tendency to identify more with the Jewish people of the biblical past as well as a tendency to adjust important new events to familiar archetypes, thereby mitigating the perceived severity of contemporary disasters by "filtering" them through older, biblical concepts (e.g., designating a contemporary oppressor as "Haman" and the court Jew who confronts him as "Mordechai" [hence the popular Geniza phrase "Mordechai of the time"]; referring to Christianity as "Edom" or "Esau," and Islam as "Ishmael"); and (4) an *emotional* factor, reflecting the *desiderium* to feel at home in the Diaspora (fostered by giving biblical names to their settlements, reinforcing the eschatological hope of living in the land that they yearn for — the Land of Israel). Taken together, all these explanations furnish us with a holistic picture of the state of mind of medieval Jewry in the Diaspora. Indeed, the strength of this tradition is evident from the fact that several of the names that the Jews had given to their dwelling places and ethnic groups are still with us today. Other names have passed away with the Jewish communities that used them.

ʿĂLŪQĀ AS "NOTHING" AND ITS USE IN POLEMICS WITH THE KARAITES: A STUDY OF SAADIA'S COMMENTARY ON PROVERBS 30:10–17

NAḤEM ILAN

ʿĂlūqā (עֲלוּקָה) (Prov 30:15) is a biblical *hapax legomenon* whose context is vague. It has often been understood to refer either to hell or to a type of insect. A few commentators, on the other hand, have understood *ʿălūqā* as a personal name, with the prefixed *la-* being taken as the *lamed auctoris* (i.e., the *lamed* of attribution or authorship), as in *lĕ-ʾītīʾēl* (Prov 30:1) and *lĕ-mūʾēl* (Prov 31:1).

Saadia titled his commentary on Proverbs *Kitāb ṭalab al-ḥikma* ("the Book of Wisdom-Seeking"), which he begins with a lengthy introduction. His reading of Proverbs was literary, viewing it not as a collection of proverbs, but rather as a unified work expounding a certain philosophy. Unlike other commentators, who identified lyrical elements in Proverbs, including the device of idea repetition, Saadia believed that the text should be read with sequential precision, giving specific consideration to the meaning of each word and individual proverb as well as their unique contribution to the text. This meticulous method of reading is, in his view, required at three levels: the *verse* level, in which every word has a specific meaning and reason for its order within the verse; the *chapter* level, in which meaning is derived from the order of verses; and the *book* level, in which meaning is derived from the totality of the composition.

Saadia divided chapter 30 into two unequal parts. The verse discussed here (15) appears in the second paragraph of the second part. In his comment on the end of the first paragraph of the second part, Saadia writes that "the second topic is that of the descendants following the methods taught to them by their forbears as representing truth." This indicates more than a touch of polemic. In explaining that the next paragraph (vv. 10–17) refers to a true tradition, he implies that other traditions only pretend to be true, while in fact they are false, detached, baseless, or fictitious.

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Verse 15 Saadia interprets in connection with to the previous verse (or verses), identifying it as the reason for what was said beforehand. In his opinion, this very verse is the Archimedean point for the eight verses comprising the paragraph under discussion. Beginning with an explanation of why verse 15 precedes verse 16, he then provides an explanation of the structure of verse 15 and its appearance after verse 14. He then points out that the reference of the verse is to the entire paragraph while also expounding it as a reference to a dangerous opponent who is not satisfied with the extant data and is therefore bound to bring destruction upon himself.

Medieval Jewish polemicists often refrain from specifically mentioning their opponents, as does Saadia in this case. We may, nonetheless, infer an identity from his description of the opponent as one who rejects true tradition while remaining obstinate and unreasonable. This is precisely the way in which Saadia sought to portray the Karaites of his time. By taking advantage of the linguistic and stylistic difficulties posed by this verse, Saadia homiletically polemicizes with the Karaites, thus continuing previous rabbinic tradition. His reading is based on the view presented in his introduction to Proverbs, according to which the book represents a unified theory, the objective of which is "the Seeking of Wisdom." However, while fostering an overall reading of the book characterized by meticulous attention to the order of verses and chapters, this view contradicts his specifically anti-Karaite explanation of verses 10–17, as is clear from his interpretation of its last verses. Saadia's interpretation of these verses is thus a good example of the potential gain — as well as the price paid — in adopting an ideologically-polemically motivated hermeneutic as opposed to a less biased, more contextually-focused one. Though giving us a clear expression of his own views on sectarianism, Saadia does little in this instance to assist the reader in understanding the literal meaning of the verse.

The appendix includes a diagram of the structure of Saadia's introduction to Proverbs.

HISTORY AND HISTORY-WRITING IN CHRONICLES IN THE LIGHT OF BIBLICAL, ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN, AND GRAECO-ROMAN CULTURES

ISAAC KALIMI

In this essay I consider the biblical book of Chronicles from a historical perspective for the sake of achieving a more balanced assessment of both it and its author. I conclude that the primary literary nature of *the book as a whole* is historiography (specifically, a "sacred-didactic" historical-writing — that is, its "philosophy of history" is mainly theological and its purpose is didactic) and its author was, synchronically defined, a historian. The existence of some overestimated numbers, fictional speeches, prayers, and letters in the book, as well as various theological features, inner-interpretations, and midrashic elements, does not undermine the definition of Chronicles as historical writing. In fact, all these elements exist also in other comparable writings such as the early biblical historical writings and ancient Near Eastern documents, as well as Greek, Hellenistic, and Roman historiography. These works were generally recognized as being essentially historical writings.

As a historian, the Chronicler evaluates the sources that he drew from the earlier "biblical" writings. This evaluation took place within the strictures of his own historical, cultural, and religious norms. The Chronicler did not intend to describe past events, institutions, and personalities as they really happened or existed. Rather, he meant to review the past within the specific context of his time, place, social, religious, cultural, and political conditions. As an individual inevitably conditioned by his time, place, and historical context, the Chronicler selects from the earlier texts and topics concerning Israel's past that which is related to his own agenda and audience. He evaluates those texts and topics and retells the past from the perspective of his own socio-historical context and norms, literary and religious standards and concerns. Accordingly, one must understand the book in light of the historical context in which the Chronicler approaches his data.

Throughout the course of my analysis in this essay the Chronicler is presented in a much more positive light than is usually the case in modern biblical scholarship. The Chronicler evaluated the older material to which he had access from a logical, restrained, and thoughtful perspective. This does not mean, of course, that the modern historian must uncritically accept the methods of the Chronicler and automatically credit his writing with historical trustworthiness. There is, nonetheless, a germ of historical veracity in several of the events or their details as described in Chronicles. The task of the modern historian is to cautiously evaluate this fascinating book in order to extract the potential historical data that may contribute to our understanding of the pre- and post-exilic periods encompassing the history of ancient Israel.

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THE VIEW OF ABRAHAM IBN EZRA ON THE DURATIVE NATURE OF UNIVERSAL CREATION

ABRAHAM LIPSHITZ

In this article I take issue with an attempt by some modern scholars to ascribe to the twelfth-century biblical commentator Abraham ibn Ezra a cosmological view advanced by Philo of Alexandria with regard to the durative nature of universal creation. According to this view, universal creation commenced with the performance of a divine and supernatural act of infinite duration. However, a careful examination of existing sources reveals that Ibn Ezra remained committed to the traditional principles of the biblical Creation chapter. According to these principles, the constituent elements of the universe were called into existence by creation *ex nihilo* over a period of six days (i.e., 6 x 24 hours) only. Following this period there was an absolute cessation of all creative activity and an epoch of natural development ensued.

TEN NEWLY IDENTIFIED FRAGMENTS OF SAADIA'S COMMENTARY ON THE BOOK OF ESTHER: THE JUDAEO-ARABIC TEXT (WITH AN APPENDIX CONTAINING A FRAGMENT OF JUDAH IBN BALʿAM'S COMMENTARY ON ESTHER)

MICHAEL G. WECHSLER

Presented herein is a critical edition of the ten newly identified fragments of Saadia's Arabic commentary (excluding his Arabic translation) on the book of Esther that is introduced and translated in my English contribution to this volume. The Arabic text in all of these fragments — representing seven different manuscripts — is in Hebrew script, consistent with the testimony of other manuscript witnesses to Saadia's Arabic works. The original and varying orthography of the fragments has been retained in my edition, with the exception that the letters ث, ج, خ, ذ, ض, ظ, غ, and ة have been respectively standardized as ת, ג, ב, ד, צ, ט, ג, and ה. In the event of a lacuna between consecutive portions of text on the same pericope, I have sought to restore the text, where possible, on the basis of (in order of preference): (1) the extant text on the same passage in another one of the presently edited fragments, (2) the extant text on the same passage in a previously published (or identified but non-published) fragment (a complete descriptive inventory of these is given in the appendix of our English article), or (3) the context (usually no more than a few words). All restorations and their bases have been noted.

As an appendix I have also included a critical edition of the only extant fragment of the Judaeo-Arabic commentary on Esther by Judah ibn Balʿam (11th c.), in MS Bodleian (Oxford) Heb.d.68, fol. 31v. As sparse as it is, this fragment yields two possible instances of direct influence by Saadia (both indirectly cited views *ad* 1:1), as noted in the introduction of my English article.

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PREFACE

The usual challenge of a *Festschrift* — to reflect the scholastic activity of its honoree — was keenly felt by us in soliciting contributions for the present volume, the honoree of which is one of those rare breed of scholar whose oeuvre is characterized not only by uncommon breadth of diversity, but also by exemplary depth of acumen and analysis, infused throughout by remarkably consistent attention to even the smallest of details. Professor Golb, it may be said, represents a true synthesis of the best elements of both the French *Annales* school and the *Wissenschaft des Judenthums* movement, combining his multifarious interests in the Jewish historical-cultural heritage with both a holistic-synthetic approach to its study as well as close and critical attention to all aspects of the relevant data — whether orthographic, philological, literary, geographical, archaeological, ideological, biographical, or otherwise. While Professor Golb's oeuvre defies easy categorization (though an incipient schema for such may be found, appropriately enough, in his own 2012 article on the cynosure of jüdische Wissenschaft, M. Steinschneider), we believe that the contributions contained herein reflect the diversity of his researches and, in their quality, constitute a becoming tribute to the honoree. Thematically, these contributions may be divided, more or less, into the following categories, all of which also apply — though not exhaustively — to Professor Golb's own oeuvre (authors' names in parenthesis):

Biographies (Kraemer, Kaegi).
Text editions and translations, with analysis (Ben-Shammai, Fenton, Friedman, Sandman, Wechsler).
Grammar/Lexicography (Blau).
Exegesis, philosophy, theology, and polemics (Bareket, Elior, Ilan, Krakowski, Lipshitz, Polliack).
History of modern scholarship (Gallego).
Jewish socio-cultural history (Gil, Holo, Kedar, Stillman).
Textual criticism (Lasker).
Codicological-textual history (Saenger).
Dead Sea Scrolls (Tomasino, Wise).
Historiography (Kalimi).

What this collection does not reflect is the *character* of the honoree and his contingent *manner* of interacting with others, whether professionally, personally, or pedagogically. As one who has both observed and been on the direct receiving end of such interaction — and as affirmed by my conversations with other former students and colleagues — such character and manner, irrespective of their venue, are perhaps best described as, simply, expressions of a consistent and indefatigable *humanitas*: a classical *Menschlichkeit* in the fullest sense. Toward colleague and student alike he is both gracious and polite, treating each with equal respect and taking genuine interest in their ideas — with students in particular demonstrating a remarkable forbearance, pushing them continually to reach beyond their present capabilities while sincerely affirming the progress that they have made. Reading classes with Professor Golb — usually held in the close cloister of his university office — were to this writer at the same time both invigorating and discomfiting: invigorating because of the passion, knowledge, and fastidiously critical thinking exemplified and infectiously communicated by the pedagogue, and discomfiting because of my own increasing sense, as the student, of how much more I had yet to learn, how much more precise my reading and fastidious my analytical abilities could yet be … a discomfiture, in short, that is of all things perhaps the greatest gift of any teacher to his pupil, and most vital to any scholar: that which impels him beyond the pitfall of intellectual stasis to the pursuit of not only more knowledge, but greater understanding.

Of Maimonides, al-Ḥarīzī writes in his Judaeo-Arabic travelogue *Kitāb al-durar* (ed. Blau et al., §12.172) that "through his writings the ignorant have become scholars" (*wa-ṣārat bi-kutubihi ʾl-jāhilīn ʿulamāʾa*) — an assessment that we find apropos in every respect to Professor Golb and his own oeuvre, both written as well as verbal, published as well as personal. It is thus with deep gratitude, admiration, and friendship that we offer to him the present collection, albeit with a keen awareness of the incomplete return on our part for the impact that he has had upon us all.

* * *

We wish to express our gratitude, first and foremost, to the Oriental Institute's director, Professor Gil Stein, and the Publications Committee for accepting this volume into their prestigious Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization series. It was, of

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course, our first choice — and eminently apropos — that this volume should appear as a publication of the Oriental Institute, where the honoree has spent the majority of his academic tenure. We are likewise deeply grateful to the Publications Office editors Thomas G. Urban and Leslie Schramer, as well as assistant editor Rebecca Cain, for so admirably executing the layout and production of this volume, which proved to be a special challenge given the variety of contribution formats and languages. This volume, in fact, represents the first time that the Oriental Institute has ever published articles in Modern Hebrew — a distinction quite fitting for a volume honoring a scholar who is himself so well known for his pioneering work in Hebraica and Judaica.

For provision of and permission to reproduce the plates in this volume, we wish to thank James Carder (archivist and house collection manager) and the imaging staff of Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection (Washington, D.C.); the imaging staff of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (Munich); Piet van Boxel (Hebraica and Judaica curator), Rahel Kasemaa (senior assistant librarian: Hebraica and Judaica Collections), and the imaging staff of the Bodleian Library (Oxford); Ben Outhwaite (head of the Taylor-Schechter Genizah Research Unit) and the imaging staff of Cambridge University Library; and Boris Zaykovsky (Curator, Sector of Oriental Manuscripts) and Marina Lyubimova (head of the Manuscript Department) of the National Library of Russia (St. Petersburg) — as well as my wife, Lydia Wechsler, who personally retrieved and delivered the images therefrom for my own contribution; and Sarah Diamant (administrative librarian, Special Collections) and the rest of the staff of the Special Collections staff of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America (New York).

My own thanks to Larry Davidhizar, dean of the Undergraduate School, Moody Bible Institute (Chicago), for acquiescing to my request for a reduced teaching load in order to devote more time to editorial work on this volume inter alia.

Finally, though we have made every effort to present as "clean," precise, and consistent a work as possible, there are undoubtedly still some typographical errors and inconsistencies lurking here and there — an almost inevitable state of affairs given the size and diversity of this volume. In such instances we would implore the reader's grace and forbearance, following in the footsteps of the honoree himself.

Chicago, Thanksgiving 2011 Michael G. Wechsler

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1

PORTRAIT OF THE SCHOLAR

JOEL L. KRAEMER

BIRTH AND EDUCATION

Norman Golb was born in Albany Park in northwest Chicago in 1928, only fifteen miles and light years away from Hyde Park and the University of Chicago. His father, Joseph, was from the Goloborodko family in Bielatchekhov (where Shalom Aleichem lived for many years) in the Ukraine. His mother, Rachel (Rose), was born into the family Bilalovska in Berdichev, an important Hasidic center, also in the Ukraine. Joseph and Rachel met after both families had settled in Chicago. Along with thousands of Jewish refugees who crowded into Chicago, the two families first resided in the Maxwell Street area. In those years, Albany Park was home to many Eastern European and Russian Jews. Of some fifty-five thousand residents, almost twenty-five thousand were Jewish.

Norman's family belonged to the Bet ha-Knesset ha-Gedolah (the Great Synagogue), which was a traditional conservative synagogue. He attended its Hebrew School and thereafter its Hebrew High School. Classes met four days a week, competing with secular high school activities, such as the tennis team, which Norman joined. Subsequently, he attended the Hebrew Department of the Hebrew College in Chicago.

I first met Norman (Naḥum) at this time, when he was twenty, at Camp Ramah, a Hebrew camp near Eagle River in northern Wisconsin. I remember him with a counselor's clip board and wearing a whistle around his neck. His campers staged an amusing and memorable performance at the end of the season.

Not born into prosperous circumstances, he did not attend an elite university away from home. He first studied at Wright Junior College, now (Wilbur) Wright College, and thereafter at Roosevelt College (now University), receiving his B.A. in English literature.

At this point, an exceptional academic opportunity presented itself. The University of Chicago offered a Graduate-Student-at-Large program, allowing a student to take courses at the university for a grade and credit in a transferable record of study. At the age of twenty, Norman Golb joined the program, enabling him to study for two years at the Oriental Institute (1948–50) and to learn Greek and Latin offered in Classics. At the Oriental Institute, he studied with some of the greatest scholars in their fields. He took a course in Judaic texts (mostly Hebrew) with Ralph Marcus, professor of Hellenistic culture; with I. J. Gelb for one quarter in beginning Assyriology; with W. A. Irwin on the Book of Job; with Raymond Bowman in Aramaic inscriptions (where he first learned the principles and practice of palaeography); and with Samuel Isaac Feigin in Bible. He did two years of steady work under Gustave E. von Grunebaum in Arabic language and literature. After one year of basic grammar and related content, he worked with von Grunebaum on Arabic geographical texts, Qurʾān commentaries, and Ibn Rushd, in that order. Von Grunebaum was a passionate student of Arabic poetry and invited his pupil to read Hebrew poetry to him so he could hear how it sounds.[1]

[1] Gustave von Grunebaum was born in Vienna in 1909 and received his Ph.D. at the University of Vienna in oriental studies when he was twenty-one. His first book, based on his dissertation, was *Die Wirklichkeitweite der früharabischen Dichtung* (1937). In 1938, after the Anschluss, he left for the United States. In 1943, he was invited to join the faculty at the University of Chicago, where he taught until 1957, when he left for UCLA to become professor of Near Eastern history and director of a new Near Eastern Center. The 1950s and 1960s were the heyday of European orientalism in Arabic studies, with H. A. R. Gibb at Harvard, S. D. Goitein at the University of Pennsylvania, von Grunebaum at Chicago and UCLA, and Franz Rosenthal at Penn and thereafter at Yale. Gibb immigrated from Oxford, whereas Goitein, von Grunebaum, and Rosenthal were from Austria and Germany, the last two refugees from the Nazis.

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In 1949, Norman Golb married Ruth Magid, who for many years has had an active career as a teacher. They had three children — two sons and a daughter. Ruth always gave Norman the support he needed in his academic endeavors as a patient listener and wise counselor.

DOCTORATE

Halfway through the 1949/50 academic year, another door opened for Norman Golb. He met the great archaeologist and Bible scholar William Foxwell Albright of Johns Hopkins University, who came to Chicago to lecture and to visit the Oriental Institute. Norman told Albright about his interest in the Dead Sea Scrolls. The discipline was then in its infancy.

The providential meeting influenced his choice of graduate studies. He went to Johns Hopkins and studied archaeology, ancient Palestinian history, and several of the newly found Qumran texts with Albright. (Scholars in Jerusalem sent Albright copies of the Scrolls as soon as they became available.) Norman began studying Judaeo-Arabic with Samuel Rosenblatt, with whom he also read Tannaitic texts.[2] (Tannaitic Hebrew has been a passion of his and one of his course offerings throughout his teaching career.) He studied Hebrew and Semitic linguistics with Frank R. Blake.[3] Norman spent two years at Johns Hopkins, and in 1954, at the age of twenty-six, he received his Ph.D. degree in Judaic and Semitic Studies with a dissertation on "The Cairo Damascus Covenant and Karaite Literature."[4] Professor Golb is no longer proud of his effort, as he was then under the impression that the Qumran residents formed a sect, a view held by the main researchers. He actually finished his dissertation in Philadelphia, which was the next station on his life's journey.

POST-DOCTORATE

Dr. Golb went to Philadelphia for two years (1952–54) on a Cyrus Adler Post-doctoral Research Fellowship at Dropsie College.[5] He studied there with Solomon Leon Skoss, a Judaeo-Arabic scholar, with whom he concentrated especially on David ben Abraham al-Fāsī, whose *Kitāb jāmiʿ al-alfāẓ*, a Hebrew-Arabic dictionary of the Bible, Skoss had edited. In addition, he studied Arabic poetry with Meir M. Bravmann and took a course in elementary Persian with Moshe Perlmann.[6] He audited a few courses with Abraham Newman (historical responsa of Sephardim) and Solomon Zeitlin (talmudic text analysis), but otherwise was not close to them. In these early years, the Golbs were hard pressed for money to support their fledgling family. Dr. Golb taught elementary Arabic at Dropsie and was an instructor at Akiba Academy in the Hebrew and English departments (1952–54).

Philadelphia brightened when, in the academic year 1954/55, the great S. D. Goitein visited on a sabbatical before taking up a regular appointment at the University of Pennsylvania in 1957. Dr. Golb was thrilled to study with Goitein, and Goitein delighted in finding a promising young scholar whom he could train in Geniza documents and Judaeo-Arabic.

Goitein made it possible for Dr. Golb to spend two years (1955–57) in Israel on a Warburg Fellowship for Research in Judaic and Semitic Studies at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. He even found a convenient place

[2] Samuel Rosenblatt was son of the great cantor Joseph (Yossele) Rosenblatt. His translation of Saadia Gaon's *Book of Beliefs and Opinions*, published by the Yale Judaica Series (1948), is well known, as is his edition and translation of part of Abraham ben Moses' (Maimonides) *High Ways to Perfection* (Arabic title: *Kifāyat al-ʿābidīn*) in two volumes (1927 and 1938).

[3] Frank R. Blake had written *A Resurvey of Hebrew Tenses, with an Appendix: Hebrew Influence on Biblical Aramaic* (1951), and many studies on Hebrew grammar and syntax.

[4] See Golb 1956–57; 1957; 1960; and 1961.

[5] Dropsie College of Hebrew and Cognate Learning was founded 1907 and later became Dropsie University, then the Annenberg Research Institute, and finally the Center for Advanced Judaic Studies (CAJS) at the University of Pennsylvania.

[6] Bravmann, an outstanding Arabist, is best known for *The Spiritual Background of Early Islam: Studies in Ancient Arab Concepts* (1972). Perlmann (not to be confused with Moshe Pearlman) went on to teach at UCLA.

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for the Golbs to live in Rehavia, where many of the university's faculty reside, streets are named for medieval poets and culture heroes, and classical music wafts from apartment windows.

Dr. Golb took private lessons with Goitein, sitting by his side, poring over Geniza manuscripts. He also attended Arabic courses given by the outstanding Arabist D. H. Baneth, along with Hava Lazarus-Yafeh and Shmuel Moreh, and he studied Near Eastern history with the erudite Eli Strauss-Ashtor, who made use of Geniza documents in his research.

Dr. Golb attended a course on the Zohar given by Gershom Scholem, the foremost expert on Jewish mysticism and powerful presence at the university with a worldwide reputation. Scholem was a congenial host. On walks in Jerusalem, Dr. Golb discussed Jewish studies with the illustrious scholar, occasionally criticizing the lack of interest in Karaite studies at the Hebrew University and elsewhere. Scholem, who was broad minded about Jewish studies, nevertheless did not think that the Karaites were a worthy subject. Fortunately, Golb's view prevailed, and Karaite studies are now intensely pursued in Israel and elsewhere by outstanding scholars.

In 1956–57, Dr. Golb was secretary of the Institute of Jewish Studies at the university. His studies on the Warburg Research Fellowship during the academic years 1955–57 led to Golb's early publications in Geniza studies, such as his extensive and meticulous article on legal documents from the Geniza.[7] The documents, all from a single manuscript (Cambridge T-S 18J1), were from various towns, a circumstance that naturally brought Golb to explore Egyptian topography, culminating in a valuable two-part study.[8] The legal documents required a discussion of the economic life of the people involved in the legal transactions in Egypt and surrounding countries, and it included a fascinating section on the role of women in economic life. "One fact stood out," Golb writes, that was confirmed by later research, that women's names were "given only in Arabic" with few exceptions, whereas men's names were given "in their Hebrew forms, with or without the Arabic equivalents or surnames."[9]

TEACHING

After his two-year sojourn in Israel, Norman Golb became visiting lecturer in Hebrew and Semitic Studies at the University of Wisconsin (1957–58). His next appointment was at Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, where he taught for five years (1958–63). Although President Nelson Glueck respected him and even offered him long-term employment, others on the faculty were hostile. The historian Ellis Rivkin, for example, accepted Solomon Zeitlin's thesis that the Dead Sea Scrolls either were written during the medieval period or were a complete forgery.[10]

In 1963, aged thirty-five, Norman Golb was appointed to a position at the University of Chicago, where he became professor of Hebrew and Judaeo-Arabic studies in the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations and in the Oriental Institute. In 1988, he was made Ludwig Rosenberger Professor in Jewish History and Civilization. The institute he first visited as a youth of twenty, thrilled to study at the feet of preeminent scholars, fifteen years later became his home, where he expounded on his own ideas for the next half century and more.

By the time of his appointment, he had started to doubt the dominant Dead Sea Scrolls paradigm, which held that the Scrolls were written at Qumran by the Essene sect. Paradoxically, the Essene hypothesis was shared by both Père Roland de Vaux, of the Dominican Order and director of the École Biblique in Arab East Jerusalem, and by Yigael Yadin of the Hebrew University (and previously by his father, Professor Eliezer Sukenik), and dominated study of the Scrolls.

At the Oriental Institute, Ralph Marcus and I. J. Gelb explored the Scrolls on the basis of de Vaux's ideas, and Professor Golb was reluctant to announce his new theory until he had tenure. When the university hired Joseph Fitzmyer, S.J., whose field included the Dead Sea Scrolls, Professor Golb's course on the subject was removed from

[7] Golb 1958. This was part of a Geniza project under Goitein's direction, including his early students at the Hebrew University, Murad Michael, and Joseph Eliash.

[8] Golb 1965c and 1974.

[9] Golb 1958: 29.

[10] Early on, radiocarbon tests on linen wrappers of the Scrolls dated them to between 167 B.C.E. and 233 C.E. For Zeitlin's debunking theory, see Zeitlin 1956.

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the curriculum.[11] Never one to surrender without a fight, he went to the president of the university and argued for academic freedom and his right to teach a course on the Scrolls. The president granted his request, and his course was reinstated.

In the summer of 1966, Professor Golb taught a course on medieval Jewish history at Harvard.

Professor Golb was a Guggenheim Fellow twice in the 1960s, first in 1964 and then in 1966, and received research grants from the American Philosophical Society, the American Council of Learned Societies, the Littauer Foundation, and the National Endowment for the Humanities.

QUMRAN

In 1969–70, Professor Golb and his family were in Israel, living in Jerusalem. He was affiliated with Tel Aviv University and was a research associate of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem. He made several trips to Qumran to view the site and became convinced that it was not a monastery but rather a fortress. The large room designated by the Ministry of Tourism as a scriptorium could easily have been a room for other purposes. He took me once to Qumran in his station wagon with his kids in the back. At the site, walking through and viewing it from afar, he referenced his doubts about the Essene hypothesis. I became convinced that his doubts were warranted and that his theory deserved a serious hearing.

Professor Golb's theory was generated by anomalies in the traditional scenario. For instance, many scribal hands appear among the Scrolls, which embrace a range of doctrines. What is more, there is little palpable evidence of scribal pursuits at Qumran or any intimate bond between the Scrolls and the Qumran site, which was presumably a secular location, occupied mainly by soldiers and pottery makers. The Scrolls, Professor Golb has contended, are rather from libraries in the Jerusalem region, produced by various Jewish groups, and brought to Qumran for safe keeping as the Romans were closing in on Jerusalem circa 66–70. The Scrolls give us a picture of Judaism in the late Second Temple period prior to the editing of the Mishnah (ca. 200) and the formation of Pharisaic Judaism.[12]

In the early 1990s, Professor Golb was in the vanguard of scholars pressing for release of the Dead Sea Scrolls for study by the scholarly public, and he organized an international congress on the Scrolls under the sponsorship of the New York Academy of Sciences and the Oriental Institute.[13]

Professor Golb's opposition to the Essene hypothesis was received with hostility by most researchers in Israel and elsewhere. Resistance to Professor Golb was particularly keen in Jerusalem, at the Hebrew University, the Shrine of the Book, and Israel Museum. Those who believe in academic freedom may be disappointed to learn that Norman Golb was not invited to the sixty-years celebration of the Dead Sea Scrolls at the Hebrew University in 2008, and his book *Who Wrote the Dead Sea Scrolls?* was removed from the Albright Institute library.[14]

Yet in the last decade, some researchers — among them the Hebrew University archaeologist Yizhar Hirschfeld (d. 2006) and an archaeological team directed by Yitzhak Magen and Yuval Peleg, of the Israel Antiquities Authority, who inspected the site for a decade — came to conclusions supportive of Professor Golb's thesis.[15] They found that Qumran was the site of a large pottery-manufacturing center. The pools at Qumran, they claimed, were not ritual baths for a sect, but rather a means for accumulating rainwater and clay for the pottery industry. The dwellers at Qumran, they wrote, were not poor and did not live like ascetics and hermits. They were prosperous and were occupied with international trade, exporting balsam and stoneware. The archaeologists concluded that the Scrolls were not written at Qumran; they were brought to Qumran from Jerusalem to conceal them from the conquering

[11] See now Fitzmyer 2000.

[12] See Golb, "On the Jerusalem Origin of the Dead Sea Scrolls," posted at the Oriental Institute Internet site, June 5, 2009, http://oi.uchicago.edu/pdf/jerusalem_origin_dss.pdf.

[13] Wise et al. 1994.

[14] *Who Wrote the Dead Sea Scrolls? The Search for the Secret of Qumran* was published by Scribner in January 1995 and by Michael O'Mara in England in 1996 and has since appeared in several languages, including Japanese.

[15] Hirschfeld 1992; 2003; 2004; Magen and Peleg 2007; Galor, Humbert, and Zangenberg 2006.

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Romans. What is more, Professor Rachel Elior, of the Department of Jewish Thought at the Hebrew University, concluded on textual and historical grounds that the Scrolls came mainly from Jerusalem.[16]

Significantly, the three biblical books represented by most Dead Sea Scrolls manuscripts are Deuteronomy, Isaiah, and Psalms, which were the three books that had a central place in the scribal curriculum in Jerusalem and were the most quoted in the New Testament.[17] It is a stretch to imagine Essene scribes writing at Qumran according to scribal practices of scribes in Jerusalem.

A constant pitfall in scholarship is that once a theory is accepted by leading, influential scholars, the rest fall into line. Then if some "Copernicus" comes along and challenges the theory, offering another that explains the phenomenon better, scholars are reluctant to abandon the regnant theory and embrace the new one. Institutions and museums, international conferences and books may ostracize the scholar who transmits a new message.

Professor Golb has applied Thomas S. Kuhn's theory of scientific revolution to the Dead Sea Scrolls controversy.[18] Accordingly, the old view of the Dead Sea Scrolls became the paradigm or normal science for study of the field. Paradigms solve puzzles, but when the puzzles are not solved and enough anomalies appear in the old paradigm, a crisis emerges. Into the breach enters a new paradigm. The paradigm shift is not peaceful because the adherents of the old paradigm defend it with sword and buckler. A battle takes place, with the adherents, institutions, and power of the old paradigm arrayed against revolutionaries. Eventually, when the dust settles, the new paradigm gradually gains adherents and replaces the old.

KHAZARIAN HEBREW DOCUMENTS

Professor Golb has made important discoveries by the accurate decipherment of toponyms. His correct decoding of the word for Kiev (*qyywb*) in a parchment document from Cambridge (MS T-S 12.122) led him to one of his most dramatic findings, a tenth-century Hebrew letter by Khazarian Jews.[19] As the document concerned medieval Russia and had a Turkic inscription at the end, he consulted Professor Omeljan Pritsak of Harvard. The two announced the discovery in 1967. Following his exacting method, Professor Golb exerted every effort, including use of ultraviolet photography, to ascertain readings. Moreover, Ruth Golb prepared a palaeographical chart of the Khazarian Kievan letter, which showed details that helped establish textual readings.

There is little documentary evidence on the Khazars and their kingdom. The small amount that has survived in the Geniza — including a fragment of a letter by a Khazar Jew to Ḥisday (Ḥasdai) ibn Shaprut (MS T-S Misc. 5.38), published by Solomon Schechter in 1912, and then by Pavel Kokovcov in 1932 — had not been considered genuine by most historians. Professors Golb and Pritsak showed that the newly discovered Kiev document and the letter published by Schechter were authentic, thereby providing a solid basis for Khazar studies. Thus, a small beginning, the correct decipherment of a single toponym, produced a seismic wave.

The Kiev letter was utilized by Pritsak to reconstruct the earliest history of the city, bearing upon the origins of the Rus' and their conquest of Kiev in the 930s.[20] The letter is hence significant for East Slavic as well as Jewish history. The Schechter letter tells of the military prowess of the Khazars in battles with the Alans, Byzantines, Rus', and others and describes a religious disputation in which Christians, Jews, and Muslims participated, with the Jews prevailing.[21] It also depicts the immigration of Jews from other places to the country of the Khazars.

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[16] Elior 2004.

[17] Van der Toorn 2007: 102–03, 124, 241, 261.

[18] See Golb 1995, 110 and n. 284. Cf. Shedinger 2000, esp. pp. 463–66 on Golb.

[19] Golb and Pritsak 1982; Russian translation (Jerusalem: Gesharim Press, 1997; second Russian edition, Moscow, 2003). A second volume of the English version is in preparation.

[20] See Samuel Ettinger's appraisal in *Russian Review* (1984).

[21] This historical account of various religious groups pleading their case before the Khazars is the basis of Judah ha-Levi's dramatic dialogue in the *Kuzari*, which has been read as an imitation of a Platonic dialogue. The *Kuzari*, we learn from Golb and Pritsak (1982), was based on an actual event that was fictionalized by the author. Ha-Levi added a philosopher to the Christians, Muslims, and Jews of his source. The anonymous narrator (who should not be identified with ha-Levi) says that he agreed with most of what the *ḥāḇēr* said, thereby differentiating between himself and the *ḥāḇēr*. Barry Kogan and Diana Lobel, following Strauss, correctly read the *Kuzari* as a dramatic dialogue, avoiding the common fallacy of identifying the views of the *ḥāḇēr* with those of ha-Levi or the anonymous narrator.

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Golb and Pritsak claim that the conversion was not limited to the king, his court, and the upper class, but rather touched a broad segment of the general population. As for the destiny of the Khazars, the authors suggest that Khazar Jews eventually became assimilated into the Ukrainian population.

ROUEN

In the 1960s Professor Golb had written some groundbreaking articles on French Jewish history and the First Crusade, mainly on the basis of Geniza documents. At that time, in his thirties, his writing was already on the highest level. One of these studies was on the city Monieux. As so often occurred in his research, the name was uncovered by a careful reading of a manuscript (Cambridge T-S 16.100, vellum).[22] I want you to hear his words:

> It took us only a short time to recognize this [the transcription] at Cambridge; but wishing to be absolutely certain in this matter, we ordered various photographs of the document, with which the helpful staff at Cambridge immediately supplied us. In the following months we examined and re-examined this word, and the text as a whole, with every possible type of scientific device. We corresponded with several colleagues about the crucial place-name, and showed them all the evidence relating thereto. They were agreed that the only possible transliteration of the place-name was the one arrived at by us in the summer of 1964.

The document is an epistle concerning a noble lady who converted to Judaism, and it was one of three valuable medieval Hebrew letters of the Jews of what is now France preserved in the Cairo Geniza. Another concerns a wealthy Jew of Rouen whose land holdings were divested by a Norman duke. The article on Monieux is a small masterpiece, which brings the place to life and gives a three-dimensional picture of it. It shows Golb's keen eye for vivid detail. The Geniza was a source of brilliant findings concerning the First Crusade and the fate of the French Jews at this time.[23]

Another of Golb's Geniza discoveries concerned Obadiah the proselyte (about 1070 to 1140), who set liturgical texts to music similar to Gregorian chants.[24] An academic conference was held in the city Oppido Lucano in southern Italy (region of Basilicata) in late March 2004 to honor Obadiah, "whose fame was enhanced nearly 40 years ago in Norman Golb's pioneering work." For this discovery and related research, he was awarded in 2006 "Cittadinanza onorario per meriti scientifici" by the commune of Oppido Lucano.

Golb is exceptional among Geniza scholars in revealing so many Geniza documents pertaining to European history. His work on Geniza manuscripts in their more usual Near Eastern setting shows the same attention to palaeographic detail and search for new knowledge and fresh discoveries. He uncovered, for example, a marriage contract from Warduniā of Baghdad, identifying the place by correcting the reading of a previous editor from *bĕ-wardunyā hā-ʿīr* ("in the city of Warduniā") to *bĕ-wardunyā dĕ-baghdād*.[25]

Examining a document at Oxford that A. E. Cowley, in the Bodleian catalog, described as illegible and its place of origin too difficult to make out, Golb concluded that it contained the geographical term *saraqūsah* (Syracuse), made legible by ultraviolet light, and bearing the date A.M. (4)780 = C.E. 1020.[26] It is a court document written when Syracuse was still under Islamic control and is the earliest document from Sicily in either Latin, Greek, or Arabic. Thus a document considered illegible yielded a long narrative concerning a court case of great interest that, but for Golb's curiosity and persistence, would probably have remained untouched.

Professor Golb's interest in Rouen and Normandy began with the proper decipherment of a word in a medieval Hebrew chronicle, preserved in a Parma manuscript.[27] He perceived that an important toponym mentioned

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[22] Golb 1969: at p. 70; 1968.

[23] Golb 1966.

[24] Golb 1965a; 1965b; 1967; 1980.

[25] Golb 1984.

[26] Golb 1973.

[27] The book was first published in Hebrew as תולדות היהודים בעיר רואן בימי הביניים [History and Culture of the Jews of Medieval Rouen] (1976). It was thereafter published in French as *Les Juifs de Rouen au Moyen Age: Portrait d'une culture oubliée* (1985a). Then in English as *The Jews of Medieval Normandy: A Social and Intellectual History* (1998). A book by Jacques Klein of Paris describing Golb's discoveries on the Jews of Normandy appeared in France in 2006. See Klein 2006.

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there was Rodom, the medieval name of Rouen (Rothomagus in Latin), which he verified by checking the original manuscript in the British Library in London. Hebrew *dālet* and *rēsh* look alike, as do *sāmekh* and final *mēm*, giving rise to frequent misreadings. The editor of the chronicle misread the toponym as *rdws*, or Rhodez, situated in Languedoc. Others identified the place name here and in other manuscripts with Darom ("south," an epithet for Dreux). No less an authority than Heinrich Gross misread the toponym in his authoritative *Gallia Judaica*, in which Professor Golb found some twenty errors. The lesson in method that Professor Golb stressed in writing and teaching was to study the manuscript itself and not rely on the published readings of editions. This method was accompanied by a general attitude of skepticism regarding *idées reçues.*

In his Rouen research, Professor Golb patiently unraveled riddles, combining meticulous examination of manuscripts with thorough inspection of the archaeology of the site. He made several studies interpreting the archaeological discoveries made in the summers of 1976 and 1982 in the Street of the Jews.

One would hope, after the fierce polemics surrounding his challenge to the Dead Sea Scrolls Essene theory, that his research on Rouen would elicit a tranquil response. Yet his conclusion that the archaeological excavation of the Street of the Jews uncovered remains of a building that served as a School of the Jews, that is, yeshiva, or rabbinic academy, upset French scholars who were convinced that the building was a synagogue. Moreover, Professor Golb presented Rouen and Normandy in general as an important cultural center of French Jewry, at various times home to Rabbenu Tam, his brother Rashbam (R. Samuel ben Meir), and Abraham ibn Ezra, and in general the abode of a group of scholars called Tosafists, who wrote commentaries on Rabbinic texts in the form of *glossae*, Hebrew *tōsāfōt* (between 1150 and 1270).

As with his theory of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Professor Golb's thesis about the flourishing intellectual life of Catholic France, Normandy, and England led to momentous conclusions. Jews could no longer be consigned to a minor place in medieval European society, as French historians such as Jacques Le Goff and Bernard Guenée had done by concentrating on Christian culture.[28]

The subtitle of the book in French (*Portrait d'une culture oubliée*) expressed the main theme of the book, but Professor Golb gave the English edition a quieter title — *A Social and Intellectual History*. The thesis remained, however, and he expressed the hope that "the present work might serve as a stimulus for historians of medieval Europe to reconsider their prolonged silence on the subject of the cultural achievements of medieval western European Jewry."

After Professor Golb published *Les Juifs de Rouen au Moyen Age* in 1985, he received the Grand Medal of the city of Rouen. Then in 1987 he was awarded the degree Docteur Honoris Causa (Histoire) by the University of Rouen and the Medal of the Region of Haute Normandie.

LEGACY

Professor Golb is master of three areas: (1) Dead Sea Scrolls and Judaism in late antiquity, (2) Geniza studies and Judaeo-Arabic, and (3) medieval European history. He uses the disciplines and tools of palaeography, archaeology, cartography, and the like. His versatility in Jewish history is exceptional, indeed unique.

His method is reminiscent of the French *Annales* school.[29] The *Annales* historians wrote "total history," including archaeology, geography, demography, agriculture, commerce, technology, communication, social groups, cultural and intellectual life, and so on. Simultaneously, they made meticulous micro-studies of towns and regions.

Professor Golb never questions the possibility of objective history writing. History is not a product of the imagination in the form of fiction, as Hayden White has argued. He and post-modernists claim that the historian is capable only of imaginative and fictive recreation but not value free, objective, factual reconstruction of historical events and circumstances.[30]

[28] See Sophia Menache's 2000 review in *Speculum*.

[29] Named for the inter-disciplinary journal *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale*. See Golb 1985b; 1987.

[30] White 1973.

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Our historian views objectivity as an ideal that we cannot claim to have attained. The path to an objective picture and a value-neutral presentation requires supreme devotion and perseverance. The historian needs to evade bias by critical examination of evidence and rigorous self-discipline.

Professor Golb views scholarship as a quest, a search for the truth, the attainment of the most authentic picture possible. We never actually get there. The goal of a scholar, he says, is not to give final answers. There should be no illusion of finality to what we say.

He quotes Proverbs 27:1:

> *Do not boast of tomorrow,*
> *For you do not know what the day may bring.*

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A JEWISH WOOL MERCHANT IN TENTH-CENTURY MOSUL DEFENDS RESORTING TO "THE SAGES OF THE NATIONS": AN EARLY ENCOUNTER BETWEEN JEWISH BIBLE EXEGESIS AND GRAECO-ARAB PHILOSOPHY

*ḤAGGAI BEN-SHAMMAI**

In May 1984, Professor Norman Golb convened a conference on Judaeo-Arabic Studies at the University of Chicago. The conference was concluded as the founding conference of the Society for Judaeo-Arabic Studies. Since then the society has convened every two years and in the summer of 2011 held its fifteenth conference and celebrated its twenty-seventh anniversary. The present paper is a modest tribute to Professor Golb in gratitude for his initiative, which has had an indelible impact on the development of the field.

In my lecture at that first conference,[1] I mentioned briefly the diffusion of philosophy from centers, such as Baghdad (in Iraq, which was the area discussed in my paper), to provincial towns. I quoted an example from a footnote in Jacob Mann's discussion of the Jewish community of Mosul in the geonic period, in which Mann mentioned[2] a Judaeo-Arabic manuscript he saw in Leningrad that contained a work by a wool dealer of Mosul named Ṭābā ben Ṣalḥūn. He quoted a few details from the manuscript, including its title, *Kitāb al-manāẓir* ("The Book of Watchtowers [or 'Observatories']"), the author's residence, Mosul, and the date of its composition, 983 C.E.

I could only add then a reference to a Geniza fragment that mentions the author's name and the title of the work.[3] Subsequently I obtained a microfilm of the manuscript and published a paper in which I described the historical circumstances of the work and discussed its importance as a source for the socio-cultural history of the community of Mosul.[4] In the present paper, I intend to give a brief description of this manuscript and its contents and then concentrate on one passage from the book that deals mainly with the attitude of the author, or perhaps his circle or study group, toward philosophical works of non-Jewish authors.

The aim of the discussion is to defend resorting to such works and to demonstrate that there is no contradiction between the philosophy of "the sages [or 'philosophers'] of the nations" and the faith of the Hebrew Bible. The defense occurs in the course of a discussion of the affinity between certain philosophical tenets and biblical statements. The edited and translated text given in this article includes parts of this discussion and indicates characteristics of the entire work.

* I wish to thank members of the reading group of Judaeo-Arabic manuscripts in Jerusalem with whom I read excerpts from *Kitāb al-manāẓir* discussed in this paper, and from whose insights and suggestions I benefited much. As a rule translations of biblical quotations are given here according to *Tanakh: A New Translation of the Holy Scriptures according to the Traditional Hebrew Text* (NJPS), except for cases where the interpretation of Ṭābā is obviously different. On the "Sages of the Nations," see below, n. 80.

[1] Ben-Shammai 1997a; the reference mentioned here is on pp. 24–25.

[2] Mann 1931–35: 1:478–79 and n. 5 *ad loc.*

[3] Cambridge University Library, T-S Ar.43.121.

[4] Ben-Shammai 1989.

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THE MANUSCRIPT OF *KITĀB AL-MANĀẒIR*

The manuscript is preserved in the National Library of Russia in Saint Petersburg under the shelf mark Yevr.-Arab. I 1679,[5] and it contains seventy-eight leaves. At the top of folio 1r, there is a dedication of the book by Samuel b. Solomon b. Samuel b. Moses Kāzirūnī,[6] to the Karaite Synagogue, probably that of Cairo.[7] Folios 77v–78r contain the scribe's colophon: Saadia ha-Melammed b. Zakkay ha-Levi ha-Ḥazzan, who completed the manuscript on Wednesday, 19 Adar I, 1442 Sel. (i.e., 18 February 1131 C.E.). No place name is mentioned.

On folios 5v–8v, the author gives a detailed summary of the contents of the work, in view of which it would seem that this fragment contains only about a third of the entire work. The leaves are not bound or numbered according to order. To date this is the only identified fragment of — and hence unique witness to — *Kitāb al-manāẓir*. In a manuscript that is not free of errors, this is not always a felicitous situation.

The language of the work is typical Judaeo-Arabic, with the common deviations from Classical Arabic. Two features, however, reflect clearly the dialect of Iraq: (1) the use of the *-ūn* suffix in masculine plural imperfect forms in all modes, not just in the indicative mood as in Classical Arabic,[8] and (2) the sound-shift *r* > *gh* and vice versa.[9] The number of occurrences of the latter feature may indicate that it is due to the author himself, in which case this may be its earliest attestation.[10] In the texts edited in this paper, only this latter feature is mentioned in the footnotes since it affects the interpretation of the text. Other deviations from Classical Arabic are indicated by exclamation marks in parentheses (e.g., יבקי(!)). Additionally, near-certain restorations of lacunous or illegible text — otherwise signified by ellipses — have been set between brackets (e.g., א[בדא]עה), false starts at the end of a line have been set between braces (e.g., {א}), supralinear text has been set between mirrored slashes (e.g., כֹּל/א\ל), and marginal text has been set between angle brackets (e.g., ‹מן אגזא›).

THE CONTENTS OF THE WORK

On fol. 1v is contained the following introductory paragraph:

This is a book that contains interpretations of various verses in parts of the Hebrew Bible according to rational proofs[11] based on the views of the excellent scholars, the ancient philosophers who engaged in the metaphysics of the everlasting entities that persist in one state. (It contains) also discussions of physical matters of various kinds, and also of matters that are situated between these two (categories).[12] Edited by the excellent Abu ʾl-Khayr Ṭābā ben Ṣalḥūn the wool-merchant, may his soul be bound up in the bond of life. He recorded

[דף 1ב] הדא שרח כתאב פיה מעאני פואסיק מתפרקה פי אגזא אלמקר[א] בחגה אלעקל עלי ארא אלאפאצל קדמא אלמתאלהין מן אלפלאספה פי אלאמור אלבאקיה אלתאבתה עלי חאל ואחד: ומן אלקול איצא פי אנואע אמור טביעיה מכתלפה אלאגנאס ומן אלמעאני אלאכר אלמתוסטה פימא בינהמא איצא. תכריג אלשיך אלפאצל אלכיר אבי אלכיר טאבא בן צלחון אלצואף ת׳ נ׳ צ׳ ב׳ ה׳

[5] For a recent detailed description of the manuscript, see Beit-Arié, Sirat, and Glatzer 2002: 106–07.

[6] On this Karaite family, see Mann 1931–35: 2:280–82, and there n. 70 on the dedicator mentioned here; he was an ardent book collector (also many Rabbanite books) who dedicated ultimately his large collection to the Karaite Synagogue in Cairo; see also Mann 1931–35: 1:679.

[7] The huge Karaite Geniza from which Abraham Firkovitch transferred many thousands of manuscripts to his private collection in Russia, and from which it was later transferred to the Imperial Public Library (now the National Library of Russia) in Saint Petersburg, was housed in the Dār Simḥa Synagogue in the Karaite quarter in Cairo. There is certain documentation for this synagogue from the early sixteenth century. It is probably identical to the Ibn Sumayḥ Synagogue, which is mentioned in sources from the Mamluk period (see Ashtor 1944–70: 2:101–02). The Karaite presence in Cairo (in addition to Fusṭāṭ) is documented from the middle of the eleventh century, and it gradually became the main residence of Karaites in the Egyptian capital. Samuel Kāzirūnī, who dedicated the book, was probably active in Cairo during the first half of the fifteenth century.

[8] Cf. Blau 1999: 64.

[9] See ibid., 252.

[10] The earliest quotation in Blau 1999 is from the twelfth century, that is, two centuries after Ṭābā.

[11] Or, "arguments."

[12] The last mentioned category probably refers to the *quadrivium* (arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music), which, according to the revised Aristotelian division of sciences that was widely current in Arabic philosophy, and consequently among Jews in the Middle Ages, was placed between metaphysics and physics; see Wolfson 1925.

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רסמה לנפסה כרסם אלתדכאר: קאל חסב אלקוה אלחאצרה ולמן הו עלי ראיה הדא וטבקתה איצא: לקבה כתאב אלמנאטר ללמטאלעה מנה [...?] אלי עלום שתי גלילה שריפה מכתלפה אלאנואע עני בהא:

it for himself as a reminder. He said (what he had to say in it) according to his ability and to whoever shares with him his views and level (of knowledge). He entitled it "The Book of Watchtowers [or 'Observatories']" because it is aimed at looking[13] from it [...] into various lofty and noble sciences in which he had been engaged.

This statement, as it stands, is apparently a (posthumously?) rearranged version of an earlier one that came from the author's pen and in which he was not referred to with honorific titles. The statement alludes to several details that are related to his personal circumstances and are mentioned elsewhere in the fragment.[14] The work constitutes an edited summary of meetings that took place at the synagogue of Mosul on Sabbath and festival days, with the purpose of discussing possible philosophical interpretations of biblical verses in order to harmonize between views of metaphysicists (Arabic *al-mutaʾallihīn min al-falāsifa*) and the messages of the prophets. Since these meetings convened on days when writing is prohibited, Ṭābā recorded the summaries of their contents from his memory "as a reminder." Some of the attendees of the meetings belonged to the communal and intellectual establishment of the community (e.g., the local judge). Occupied for most of the weekdays in business, Ṭābā considers himself to be intellectually on a middle level. This is a vivid early illustration of Goitein's summation of the place of learning in "Geniza society," especially among the "Middle Eastern bourgeoisie."[15]

In other instances there are further statements regarding the main aim of the work with different emphases. On fol. 9v the following statement is found:

[דף 9ב] כתאב אלשיך אבי אלכיר טאבא בן צלחון אלמוצלי אלצואף פי אלמנאטר ואלבראהין עלי תתבית נטק אלאגראם אלסמאויה ותפסיר פואסיק תשהד בדלך ובגירה ופי עדה מעאני פלספיה תטאבק מעאני כתאביה עבראניה.

The book by the elder Abu ʾl-Khayr Ṭābā ben Ṣalḥūn, the wool-monger of Mosul, about the discussions[16] and proofs regarding the establishment of the intelligence[17] of the celestial bodies, and the interpretation of verses that attest to that and to other matters, and several philosophical ideas that agree with ideas in the Hebrew Bible.

The intelligence of the celestial bodies is indeed a central theme in the work, as well as in the system of religious philosophy that it represents, as discussed below (see the summary of the first chapter quoted in full). Another statement found close to the beginning of the work (fol. 3r) may best reflect the aim of the author:

[דף 3א] פאמא נחן פקצדנא פי קולנא פי הדא אלכתאב אנמא הו תאליף מעאני מוצועה הי מתפרקה פי אלקול אלעבראני מן אלתי הי מואטיה פי אלאסם ואלמעני איצא ללמעאני אלאכר אלמקולה פי אנואע אלפלספה ושרחהא ותביינהא חסב טנגא בהא עלי ארא אפאצל אלפלאספה פי אגנאס אלאמור אלמכתלפה אלמעאני ואלצור.

Our aim in writing this book is to bring together matters that have already been formulated in biblical statements, but are dispersed in the Hebrew Scriptures; such statements that agree in their wording and content with ideas that have been stated in the various branches of philosophy.[18] (Our aim is also) to interpret these ideas and clarify them according to our attitude toward them, following the views of the excellent philosophers about the kinds of matters of varying notions and qualities.[19]

[13] Or, "studying."

[14] For detailed references, see Ben-Shammai 1989.

[15] Goitein 1967–93: 2:2–3, 7; 5:9–10.

[16] The translation "watchtowers" (or, "observatories") does not seem to make sense in the given context; I suggest to take *manāẓir* here in a sense close to *munāẓara* ("discussion/debate").

[17] Literally, "speech"; the speech is the perceptible manifestation of the intellect.

[18] Or, "science."

[19] This is a faithful translation of this sentence. I am not sure about its meaning.

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Despite the differences among these three statements, there is one important element that is common to all three and runs through the entire work: to reconcile the contents of revealed scripture with Graeco-Arab philosophy and science — that is, to uphold the principle that the message of the prophets is identical with the attainments of philosophy and science that result from human endeavor.

Now, this principle is not entirely new in Judaeo-Arabic religious thought. A few remarks to this effect are found occasionally in the works of Saadia Gaon, approximately half a century before Ṭābā.[20] Saadia's Karaite contemporary Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb al-Qirqisānī also discussed the close connection between the revealed message of scripture and philosophy in his introduction to his commentary on the Pentateuch.[21] The difference with regard to the work under discussion is that it is devoted entirely to this principle, while the above-mentioned works are comprehensive works that relate to various areas (e.g., language, law, history).

The most important aspect of Ṭābā's work may be its strong philosophic tendency. Saadia's works are impregnated with Muʿtazilite *Kalām*, though Saadia never admits it explicitly, and he certainly never mentions by name any of his *Kalām* sources. He rarely mentions the proponents of Graeco-Arab philosophy (pre-Socratic, Platonic, or Aristotelian), termed *falsafa*, and his few references are usually unfavorable. Their views are mentioned, occasionally adopted, but mostly contested and extensively refuted.[22]

Among philosophically oriented geonim and their circles, *Kalām* was prevalent.[23] Al-Qirqisānī is more lenient toward Graeco-Arab philosophy, though eventually he too follows the system of Muʿtazilite *Kalām* on main issues. Later tenth-century Karaite authors, though considerably affected by Muʿtazilite *Kalām*, do not admit their indebtedness to that system. Rather, they relate to it as though it were part and parcel of indigenous Karaite tradition and show contempt and hatred toward both Muʿtazilite *Kalām* and Graeco-Arab philosophy.[24]

Ṭābā's circle represents an entirely different philosophical direction, one that was totally committed to Aristotelian philosophy as interpreted by neoplatonic thinkers from al-Kindī onward. Ṭābā's circle was not the only example of Jews to follow this philosophical line, but the number of Jews who shared it in the east[25] was small.[26]

DEFENSE OF RESORTING TO "THE SAGES OF THE NATIONS"

As mentioned, the leaves of the fragment are not preserved in their correct order. Therefore the location of sections cannot serve as evidence to their belonging there. Codicological study of the manuscript has been of some help in this.[27] Of greater help is the detailed summary of the contents of the work (mentioned above) at the beginning of the fragment.

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[20] See Ben-Shammai 1988b: 5; 1991: 374–75, esp. n. 26.

[21] Hirschfeld 1918: 39–43; English translation in Nemoy 1952: 53–59; see also Chiesa 1988; 1992.

[22] See, e.g., Wolfson 1979: 124–62; Ben-Shammai 1997a: 21.

[23] See Brody 1998: 283–99; Ben-Shammai 1997b: esp. pp. 124–34; Stroumsa 2003: esp. pp. 79–81, 88–89; Sklare 1996: 48–67.

[24] See Ben-Shammai 2003b; see also Lasker 2008a: 16–22. The earliest systematic *Kalām* work by a Karaite author that has survived is Levi ben Yefet's *Kitāb al-niʿma* (Jerusalem, beginning of eleventh century?), on which see Sklare 2007. Al-Qirqisānī is said to have composed a work entitled *Kitāb al-tawḥīd* ("The Book on God's Unity"), which may have been a systematic *Kalām* work, but so far nothing of this work has been identified.

[25] In the western part of the Islamic world, the situation was different; see the reviews of Rudavsky 1997 and Pessin 2003.

[26] A most interesting and relevant publication related to the present study is Pines 1955; the two Jews who corresponded with the famous Christian philosopher Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī in Baghdad were residents of Mosul. On other Jewish *falāsifa* in the east, see Kraemer 1986: esp. pp. 77–84, with references to previous studies by earlier scholars.

[27] See above, n. 6.

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The contents of the first chapter of *al-Manāẓir* is found on fol. 5v and reads as follows:

[דף 5ב] גמל פי אלפצל אלאול ט׳ גמל פי שרח מעאני י״ט פסוקא מנהא קול עבראני ופלספי {א} איצא: ואן אלגואהר אלסמאויה חיואנאת נאטקה עלי צורה הי אפצל ותואפק הדין אלמדהבין ואן אללה תעאלי אבדעהא ומבדעהא איצא בלא ואסטה ופי אנה תעאלי געל בעצהא וסאיט ועלל תואני פי כון צור אלכאינאת אלפאסדאת: ורד איצא עלי מן אדעא אנהא גיר נאטקה ואנהא איצא סבבא לכון שדאיד אלנאס: וארי[א] קום אכרין יתכדון פי אלעבארה מע אללה [ת]ב׳ ותע׳ מעאני אכר ופי צורה אלנטק אלנפסאני וצורה אלנטק אלצותי ופי דכר כתאבנא פצל אפאצל אכר מן גיר מלתנא ופי מעאני אכר סאקנא אלקול אלי דכרהא: מנהא דכר אלמעאני אלמקולה פי אלעבראני[ב] אלעמום עמום אלנוע: ודכר אלאשכאץ {אל} אלמנפצלאת מנהא במעני אלכצוץ: ודכר אלמעאני אלמוגודה עלי צורה אלתקאבל איצא.

In the first chapter there are nine postulates regarding the interpretation of the meanings[28] of 19 verses, some of these (postulates) are of Jewish (source) and some are philosophical: (1) The celestial bodies[29] are animate intelligent beings of superior character. (2) This (postulate) agrees with the two systems.[30] (3) God the exalted created them and is creating them from nothing and without an intermediary. (4) God the exalted made some of them intermediaries and secondary causes in the generation of the (individuals of the) species of the generated corruptible beings. (5) Refutation of those who claim that they [i.e., the celestial bodies] have no intelligence.[31] (6) (Refutation of those who claim) that they [i.e., the celestial bodies] are the cause for the misfortunes that befall humans. (7) The[32] views of others who embrace, while uttering (the name of) God also other ideas.[33] (8) About the quality of inner speech and vocal speech. (9) About the mention in our Scripture of the virtue of other[34] excellent (persons) who are not of our faith. About other ideas which we mentioned in the course of our discussion. Among them are ideas that are expressed in Scripture[35] in a general sense, i.e., the generality of the species, and the individuals that proceed from it in their particularity, and also ideas that exist as contraries.

The seventh clause deals with the subject of the present study, as detailed in the section quoted and translated below in full. This section also includes elements that are very relevant to the third clause.

The defense of resorting to "the wisdom of the nations" comes up in the context of one of the most widely accepted tenets in medieval Graeco-Arab philosophy, namely, that the permanent circular movement of the spheres is due to their love of God and desire to come closer to him — that is, they are intelligent living beings. In order to legitimize this tenet, Ṭābā has to prove that the Hebrew Bible affirms the legitimacy of "the Sages of the Nations." He has to adduce biblical accounts that refer to "the Sages of the Nations," recognizing the legitimate status of this group. He discusses in detail four such cases. Three of them are individuals: Balaam, Job, and Jethro.

Balaam is presented by Ṭābā as a prophet and a scientist-philosopher. This view is not exceptional, having its roots in rabbinic tradition, where Balaam is presented as one of "the seven prophets of the nations of the world." Job is also among the seven.[36] According to some rabbinic traditions, Balaam's prophetic degree is low, because the "prophets of the nations of the world" hear the divine speech from afar, in a partial way.[37] Ṭābā's presentation of Balaam as a prophet who did not hear God's voice, but rather the voice of an angel whose name was Elohim, may be an echo of the rabbinic view.[38] It also bears a striking similarity to the description and ranking of Balaam's prophecy by Yefet ben ʿEli, a Karaite contemporary of Ṭābā.[39] The description of Balaam as one

[28] Or, "the contents/ideas."

[29] Literally, "substances"; this seems to be another example of the author's loose terminology and his inconsistency in the usage of technical terms.

[30] That is, the Jewish tradition and the philosophical one.

[31] Literally, "that they do not speak."

[32] It may well be that these views are also refuted.

[33] This may alternatively be translated, "those who hold that the meaning of the term 'God' may include also other notions."

[34] Probably in the sense of "foreigners."

[35] Literally, "in the Hebrew (text/language)"; Ṭābā uses this term to indicate the Hebrew Bible or the Jewish sources.

[36] *b. Bāḇā᾽ batrā᾽* 15b; see also *Sēder ʿŌlām*, ch. 21 (p. 93).

[37] Cf., for example, *Gen. Rab.* lii.5 (pp. 544–47), lxxiv.7 (pp. 864–65); *Lev. Rab.* i.12–13 (pp. 27–29); none of these sources mentions an angel, but they consistently quote verses in which the divinity that speaks to the receivers of the revelation is referred to as "Elohim."

[38] A very different attitude is found in *Sifrē Deut* 357:10 (p. 430), according to which Balaam's prophethood ranked higher than that of Moses; on the basis of Numbers 24:16, the Midrash concludes that, unlike Moses, when God spoke to Balaam, he knew exactly who was speaking to him and also the timing of the revelation.

[39] Ben-Shammai 1988a: 139–40.

[א] כנראה = وآراء.

[ב] צריך להשלים ‹פי›?

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whose "soul sees by means of his intellect (only), when it ceases to use its [senses] in the state of sleep" (with regard to Num 24:4, 16) clearly echoes al-Fārābī's description of prophetic dreams.[40] Balaam is depicted by Ṭābā also as a great philosopher-scientist. This description too may be another echo of a rabbinic tradition, which counts Balaam, together with "Abnimos ha-Gardi,"[41] as the greatest philosophers in the world.[42] Closer in time to Ṭābā, Balaam is described by (clearly a historian) al-Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī as a philosopher who believed in the eternity of the world, and also that the world has a governor (*mudabbir*) who governs.[43] According to Ṭābā, Balaam's scientific expertise was astronomy and geometry. He was able to transform the figures of the celestial bodies into geometric formulas. Ṭābā elicits this from the verse Numbers 24:16 by means of innovative, to the best of my knowledge, otherwise unknown exegesis.

Job is the second of "the Sages of the Nations." He debated divine justice with his peers, as it is actually manifested in our world. Job's position in these debates had been approved by God. The debaters are presented as theologians, and Job emerges here as a Gentile authority on theology, specifically theodicy.

In the tenth century, the book of Job was considered by Jewish thinkers to be the authoritative biblical source on the subject of theodicy. Saadia, who gave brief Arabic titles to all his translations and commentaries on biblical books, encapsulating their main idea,[44] entitled the book of Job *The Book of Theodicy* (*Kitāb al-taʿdīl*). Most medieval exegetes followed the accepted rabbinic view that Job was not of Israelite/Jewish origin.[45] This background suited perfectly Ṭābā's aim to defend having to resort to "the Sages of the Nations."

Ṭābā's third "Sage of the Nations" is Jethro. His advice to Moses applied, according to Ṭābā, to the "idea of correctness that moves along the entire course of time," which, assuming the translation is correct, is quite vague. I would like to suggest that this description means that Jethro's advice applies to the correct management of the community, or the polity, which in principle is one and the same everywhere at any given time. Ṭābā intends to present Jethro as an expert on political philosophy. As I remarked elsewhere, Saadia's introduction to Isaiah may be the earliest attestation of interest in political philosophy on the part of a Jewish thinker in the tenth century.[46] Such background may fit well with Ṭābā's interpretation of Jethro's advice. But Ṭābā went further. The current view in rabbinic sources is that while according to the order of the biblical narrative, Jethro came to Moses before the Israelites had received the Torah, Jethro's visit to Moses actually took place after the latter came down the second time from Mount Sinai — that is, after the Israelites had already received the Torah and Moses had been supposed to act according to its laws.[47] Saadia himself embraced this view.[48] The clearest element of Ṭābā's statement is his reference to time: Jethro's advice was not related to any specific time, but rather is applicable at any given time. It follows that the advice had no relation to the laws of the Torah. Jethro came as a "priest of Midian" (Exod 18:1), remaining such, and Moses accepted his advice in this capacity. If this interpretation of Ṭābā's presentation of Jethro is correct, then it is a quite bold and unique one, given the traditional background (of both Rabbanites and Karaites).

The fourth historical case of philosophers "of the nations" who left an important legacy are the sages (*ḥukamāʾ*) of Egypt who are designated in the Hebrew Bible as *ḥăkhāmīm* and *ḥarṭummīm* (e.g., Gen 41:8; Exod 7:11 [q.v. infra]). The latter term is usually interpreted (and translated into English) as "magicians." Ṭābā, however, has a different view.

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[40] Al-Fārābī 1985: sec. IV, ch. 14, pp. 210–27, commentary, esp. pp. 414–20.

[41] He may possibly be identified with Oenomaus of Gadara, a Cynic philosopher of the second century C.E.; see Luz 1992.

[42] *Gen. Rab.* p. 734.

[43] Al-Maqdisī 1899–1919: 1:141 (French, p. 130); when Huart started the publication of this work, he published it under the name of Abū Zayd al-Balkhī, according to the ascription in the manuscript that he used; he later corrected it; see "al-Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir (or al-Muṭahhar) al-Maḳdisī," *EI*[2] 7:762.

[44] See Ben-Shammai 1991: 372–76.

[45] See above, n. 36.

[46] See above, n. 44.

[47] See, e.g., *Mĕkhīltāʾ*, ʿĂmālēq 1 (p. 193, lines 14–16), 2 (p. 196, line 5).

[48] This is borne out by his comments on Exodus 18:1–4 found in a Geniza fragment that is preserved in Cambridge University Library, T-S Misc. 5.139i (I intend to publish this fragment as part of an edition of Saadia's commentary on Exod 1–20). The heated debate between Jewish exegetes in the High Middle Ages regarding the chronology of Jethro's visit to Moses is beyond the scope of the present study.

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Let us compare Ṭābā's view on this group with the positions found in contemporary Judaeo-Arabic Bible translations and commentaries (without exhausting all evidence on the matter). Hebrew[49] *ḥarṭummīm* (or *ḥarṭummē*) occurs eleven times in the Hebrew Bible (Gen 41:8, 24; Exod 7:11, 22; 8:3, 14–15; 9:11 [*bis*]; Dan 1:20; 2:2).

With regard to Saadia, the evidence is not certain on account of the text tradition of his translations and commentaries. He may have wavered between *ʿulamāʾ* and *ḥukamāʾ*. The former indicates mainly "wise [or 'learned'] men," while the latter may indicate philosophers. In Genesis 41:8, 24, and Exodus 8:3, 14–15, Saadia has *ʿulamāʾ* ("wise men").[50] This translation is found also in a fragment of Saadia's translation accompanied by commentary on Exodus 7:19–24.[51] Yet in the course of his comments, he calls them *ʿulamāʾ* and *saḥara* (magicians),[52] while in the separate translation of Exodus 7:11, 22 (again according to the printed editions of Derenbourg and the *Tāj*) and of Daniel 1:20 and 2:2, he calls them *ḥukamāʾ*.[53]

In fragments of the commentary (which does not include a running translation) on Genesis by al-Qirqisānī, Saadia's Karaite contemporary, there is a reference to the *ḥarṭummīm* of Genesis 41:8. He relates to them simply as *saḥara* (magicians).[54] Al- Qirqisānī discusses the matter again in his code of law, entitled *Kitāb al-anwār wa-ʾl-marāqib*, in a chapter devoted to magic.[55] Throughout the discussion he relates to them as magicians who use various techniques of trickery and deception. In one instance, though, when al-Qirqisānī paraphrases Daniel 1:20, he renders *ḥarṭummīm* (those who served in the court of Nebuchadnezzar) by *ḥukamāʾ* — that is, wise men, philosophers.

Another Karaite author, a contemporary of Ṭābā, Yefet ben ʿEli, discusses the *ḥarṭummīm* in a number of places. In Genesis 41:8 he translates the term by *falāsifa*,[56] "philosophers," "scientists." In his comment on the verse he says,

וקולה **את כל חרטמי מצרים ואת כל חכמיה** ידל עלי אנה לם יבקי(!) **חרטם וחכם** חתי אחצרה פאלחרטם הו אלפילסוף וטבקתה פוק טבקה אלחכם אלדי הו יבצר תפסיר אלמנאמאת פקט. וקיל אן אלחרטמים הם אלצחרה(!) ואלמשעודין ואלחכמים הם אלפלאספה מפסרי אלמנאמאת אלדי לא יקולו בזרגנה ובחייל פלם יכברו לא האולי ולא האולי.

Scripture's expression "all the *ḥarṭummīm* and *ḥăkhāmīm* of Egypt" indicates that Pharaoh insisted on bringing every *ḥarṭōm* or *ḥākhām* into his presence. Now a *ḥarṭōm* is a philosopher, and his degree[57] is above that of a *ḥākhām*, who is knowledgeable only on the interpretation of dreams. Some say that *ḥarṭummīm* means "magicians" and "tricksters," while *ḥăkhāmīm* are the philosophers who interpret the dreams and do not use deception and tricks. None of those informed (Pharaoh of the meaning of his dreams).[58]

Further, in his commentary on the same chapter, Yefet suggests two alternatives: *ḥarṭummīm* are higher in rank than *ḥăkhāmīm*, or the latter are included in the former, at least with regard to the interpretation of dreams.[59]

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[49] The word is found in the Hebrew Bible; according to Koehler and Baumgartner 1994–2000: 1:352b–353a, it is an Egyptian loanword.

[50] So in the printed editions of Saadia 1893 (ed. Derenbourg) and 1959; the relevant verses are missing in MS NLR Yevr. II C 0001, on which see Blau 1998.

[51] MS NLR Yevr.-Arab. I 4132, fol. 46v (on this fragment, see Ben-Shammai 2003a: 303–07); Saadia uses the latter translation also for Hebrew *mĕkhashshĕfīm* in Exodus 7:11 (again according to the printed editions of Saadia, *Tafsīr* [ed. Derenbourg] and Saadia, *Tāj*), which is an expected translation.

[52] So also in a comment on Exodus 7:11 in the fragment Budapest, Kaufmann collection, DKG 219, p. a.

[53] Saadia 1981: 25, 31.

[54] MS NLR Yevr.-Arab. I 4529, fol. 81v.

[55] Al-Qirqisānī 1939–45: VI.9 (vol. 3:575–87); French annotated translation in Vajda 1941–45.

[56] MS St. Petersburg, Oriental Institute, B217, fol. 139r:
וכאן פי אלצבח תכרתת רוחה פבעת ואסתדעי בכל פלאספה מצר וחכמאהא פקץ להם פרעה מנאמה ולם יגד מפסרהמא.

The same rendering is found in Yefet's translation of Genesis 41:24 (ibid., fol. 144v).

[57] Or, "rank."

[58] MS St. Petersburg, Oriental Institute, B217, fol. 140v.

[59] Genesis 41:24 (MS St. Petersburg, Oriental Institute, B217, fol. 145r–v):
וקולה **וָאֹמַר אל החרטמים** דכר אלחרטמים ולם יד֯כר אלחכמים למעני והו אנה אכתצר עליהם אד הם אגל מן אלחכמים או יכון למא אלחכמים אלדין הן מפסרי אלמנאמאת כאנו חרטמים איצא גמעהם פי קולה **וָאֹמַר אל החרטמים**.

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Similarly, Yefet translates the *ḥarṭummīm* of Exodus 7:11 by *falāsifa*[60] and comments as follows:

למא ראי **פרעה** הדה(!) אלמעגז לם יקר להמא לכנה קאל הדא צרב מן צרוב אלחייל ונחן נפעל נטירה פאסתדעי **באלחכמים** אלדי הם יפעלו אלאשיא מן טריק אלפלספה ואלנארגנאת[ג] ואסתדעי **באלמכשפים** אלדי יעמלו אלאשיא מן טריק אלסחר ואלשעודה וקולה **ויעשו גם הם** אצאפה אלי פעל **אהרן** ופי קולה **חרטמי מצרים** ולם יקל **חכמי מצרים** או **מכשפי מצרים** יחתמל אנה גמע **אלחכמים** ואל**מכשפים** תחת אסם ואחד וסמאהם **חרטמים** ויחתמל איצא אן אל**מכשפים** הם **אלחרטמים** פערף אן **אלחכמים** לם יצלו אלי פעל מתלה מן טריק אלנארגנאת ואנמא יצלו אלסחרא(!) ופעלו דלך מן טריק אלשעודה ואלסחר ולדלך קאל **בלהטיהם**.

When Pharaoh saw this miracle[61] he did not admit it to (Moses and Aaron). Rather he said: "This is a kind of trick, and we shall do the same." He summoned the *ḥăkhāmīm*, who are those that accomplish things by means of philosophy and spells,[62] and he summoned the *mĕkashshĕfīm*, who are those that accomplish things by means of magic and tricks. The phrase "did the same" relates to the action of Aaron, whereas the phrase "the Egyptian magicians (*ḥarṭummīm*)," instead of "the Egyptian wise men" (*ḥăkhāmīm*) or "the Egyptian sorcerers" (*mĕkashshĕfīm*)[63] may be interpreted in one of two ways: a) It combines the "wise men" (*ḥăkhāmīm*) and the "sorcerers" (*mĕkashshĕfīm*) under one name, namely "magicians" (*ḥarṭummīm*); or b) The "sorcerers" (*mĕkashshĕfīm*) are the "magicians" (*ḥarṭummīm*), in which case the verse[64] teaches us that the "wise men" (*ḥăkhāmīm*) were not able to perform such an act with their spells, only the magicians were able to perform it by way of tricks and magic, therefore it is said "with their enchantments."[65]

Ṭābā's attitude toward the Egyptian magicians is thus a bold exception in the context of the more traditional authors and thinkers. Ṭābā thus builds a solid argument for reliance on the wisdom of the nations as a worthy complement to Israel's prophecy. Half a century before him, al-Qirqisānī used another argument for their legitimacy, namely, that the Greeks took all their wisdom from King Solomon, who was the wisest human being ever, and who received (as did Adam before him) the knowledge of all sciences and arts through prophetic inspiration.[66]

Ṭābā may have known that this theory could be subject to a serious objection. In the famous dispute between man and animals in the *Rasāʾil ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ*, which takes place in front of Bayrāst, king of the demons (*jinn*),[67] the second-to-last sage to appear in the procession of sages of a variety of ethnic and confessional affiliations is the "Greek" (*yūnānī*), who is placed between the "Qurashite" (i.e., Muslim) one and the Khurasānian,[68] and who represents the Greek philosophers and scientists. When he finishes boasting of all the knowledge, sciences, talents, and virtues with which the Greeks had been blessed, the *ṣāḥib al-ʿazīma*[69] claims that the Greeks took all their

[60] MS NLR Yevr.-Arab. I 28, fol. 128v.

[61] That is, turning the rod into a serpent.

[62] It seems that the term *nārinjāt* (or *nāranjāt*) is not documented in most dictionaries. It is documented only in Dozy 1881: 2:631b, from a late twelfth-century Spanish source, as a variant of *nīranjāt*; the latter form is indeed documented in some dictionaries, for example, *Qāmūs*, p. 207a (vocalized *nayranj*), which defines it as *akhdh ka-ʾl-siḥr wa-laysa bihī* (= It is a witchcraft like magic but not identical with it). The term figures, however, in a title of a book by the *Mutakallim* and judge Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī (d. 1013, a younger contemporary of Yefet) entitled *Kitāb al-bayān ʿan al-farq bayna ʾl-muʿjizāt wa-ʾl-karāmāt wa-ʾl-ḥiyal wa-ʾl-kahāna wa-ʾl-siḥr wa-ʾl-nāranjāt*; the editor (McCarthy 1958) added an English title page with a paraphrase of the Arabic: *Miracle and Magic: A Treatise on the Nature of the Apologetic Miracle and Its Differentiation from Charisms, Trickery, Divination, Magic and Spells.*

[63] "The Egyptian wise men … sorcerers" — that is, the two groups that are named in the beginning of verse 11.

[64] Or, rather, the free change of terms.

[65] MS NLR Yevr.-Arab. I 28, fol. 128v–129r.

[66] For details, see Ben-Shammai 2003b: 347 n. 42, with references to earlier studies and suggestions regarding a possible source of this theory.

[67] In the twenty-second epistle (II:8), *Rasāʾil* 2:206–377. The entire epistle was translated into Hebrew in the fourteenth century by Kalonymus ben Kalonymus as an independent work under the title *Iggeret baʿălē ḥayyīm*; it was very popular among readers of Hebrew and was printed many times.

[68] It appears that he is meant to represent Iranian Shiʿism.

[69] He is probably identical with Bayrāst's wazīr named Bayrāz, who is often called in the epistle "the Sage" (*al-ḥakīm*). The term *ʿazīma* may be translated in three possible ways. (a) Resolution, resoluteness, in which case the title means "the Resolute Man." I find this translation, which may be corroborated by the title *ṣāḥib al-raʾy* found on p. 226 of the epistle, preferable to "Strong Man," which is used by Netton 1991, everywhere, and see his remarks on p. 123, n. 67. (b) Considering the presence of demons and their king on the scene it may be translated also as the "Master of the Charm" (see Lane 1863–93: 2038b–c); this interpretation had been once suggested by Y. Marquet (see Netton 1991), in the same note, and is also supported by the Hebrew rendering of Kalonymus *baʿal ha-hashbāʿā* ("the Master of the Spell/Incantation"). (c) The term also has the meaning of "invitation," "banquet," "feast," on which see Dozy 1881: 2:126a. This meaning is corroborated by the description of the hospitality showered by King Bayrāst on the convening scholars.

[ג] נראה שצ״ל: **ואלנארנגאת**; ראה בתרגום בגוף המאמר.

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wisdom and sciences from the Israelites "in the days of Ptolemy" and from the Egyptians "in the days of Masīṭūs"[70] and appropriated them to themselves. To this the Greek responds by saying that nations appropriate sciences from one another, and that the sciences that the Israelites possessed came into their hands when King Solomon appropriated them from other nations that he overcame.[71] He then translated these sciences into Hebrew. The Israelites received other sciences from a divine source, through their prophets. The sage confirms the account of the Greek and adds that the sciences come into the possession of a particular nation at a particular period of time when sovereignty and prophecy come into the hands of this particular nation, who consequently overcomes the other nations, takes possession of all their political and scientific assets, and ascribes them to itself.[72] Knowledge, wisdom, and science are thus universal and rotate among nations in connection with the political circumstances of each and the presence of prophecy in its midst. Ṭābā shares with the *Ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ* their universalist attitude toward wisdom and science rather than al-Qirqisānī's particularist attitude. Having adduced biblical personalities to support his argument, the legitimization of *falsafa* — that is, Greek philosophy in its Graeco-Arab garb — is merely a short technical step.

An echo of Ṭābā's attitude is found in a responsum by Hay Gaon (d. 1038). In this responsum he discusses at length the question of anthropomorphisms in the Bible and in rabbinic sources. While ostensibly stating that one should not rely on homiletic statements (*ēn sōmĕkhīn ʿal diḇrē aggādā*), he says categorically that all these should be interpreted metaphorically. This means that such statements may be relied on and considered seriously, provided that they are interpreted correctly.[73] He then suggests — regarding some rabbinic description of angels who are close to earth and are like feet of the Presence who push each other and the noise produced by whose motion is the "sigh of God" — that this description may be in agreement with the views of the "sages of the Greeks and other (nations)" (*ḥakhmē yĕvānīm vĕ-zūlātām*) who say that some clouds are angels who sing, and hence the noise of thunder.[74] It is obvious that by "Greeks and other (nations)" he had in mind followers of Graeco-Arab philosophy.

Ṭābā concludes his defense by measuring the rank of philosophers in relation to prophets, and by adding another biblical support of philosophy in the form of an unusual interpretation of the biblical term *tūshiyyā*.[75] He argues that this term means "philosophy." So far I found the meaning "philosophy" for *tūshiyyā* only once in al-Fāsī's dictionary.[76]

Saadia consistently translates the Hebrew lexeme *tūshiyyā* using Arabic *fiqh*, which, though originally signifying "knowledge" in a general sense, eventually became restricted to primarily "knowledge of the religious law" and hence took on the meaning of "religious law." Yefet seems to follow Saadia's rendition. At this point the subject appears concluded for Ṭābā, although he promises to discuss it further in a subsequent chapter.

After Ṭābā managed to establish the legitimacy of "the Sages of the Nations," he set out to apply some fundamental principles of their philosophical systems to the interpretation of relevant biblical passages. The first subject of these is creation. In the present study I included only the beginning of the discussion, which is sufficient to convey a sense of his outlook. In these paragraphs Ṭābā presents a well-known theme of neoplatonic philosophy, namely, a two-stage process of creation. The first stage is *ibdāʿ* — that is, creation *ex nihilo* — in which God created the fundamentals (*mabādiʾ/uwal*) and universals (*kulliyyāt*), those beings that are not generated and corruptible, the forms of genera and species. The second stage is the creation of individuals belonging to the universals. They populate the world that is made of the four elements and are generated and corruptible.

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[70] See the *Appendix* to this article.

[71] On Solomon in the *Rasāʾil ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ*, and his relevance in the particular reference under discussion to the relationship between philosophers and prophets, see Netton 1991: 88–89.

[72] *Rasāʾil* 2:287–88; in the Hebrew translation *Iggeret*, 92–93, and see Netton 1991: 72; on *Ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ*, see Y. Marquet, "Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ," *EI*[2] 3:1071–76; Kraemer 1986: esp. 165–78.

[73] If my interpretation is correct, it means that Hay Gaon is among the rabbinic authorities who antedated Maimonides' systematic position on this issue.

[74] *Tĕshūḇōt*, no. 98, fols. 30r–31r (= *Ōṣar*, I, pp. 130–32); cf. Brody 1998: 299.

[75] It occurs twelve times in the Hebrew Bible and is restricted to the books of Isaiah, Micha, Proverbs, and Job. The etymology and meaning of the word are somewhat problematic. BDB 444b (s.v. ישה) gives a number of possible translations: sound, efficient wisdom, abiding success, of the effect of sound wisdom. Koehler and Baumgartner 1994–2000: 4:1713–15 (listed under the alphabetical order of the word) have a long, learned discussion of the etymology, meaning, and equivalents in Semitic languages and in the Septuagint. The main meanings suggested there are success, good result; sound wisdom, prudence.

[76] Al-Fāsī 1936–45: 1:328, line 164, in a translation of Proverbs 18:1. I am indebted to the anonymous reviewer of this paper for the following note: "*ḥakhmē ha-tūshiyyā* are philosophers; see Abraham b. Ezra, *Yĕsōd mōrāʾ*, 12:3, and in his commentaries, where *anshē tūshiyyā* and *ḥakhmē ha-tūshiyyā* are 'philosophers,' probably as a cryptic allusion." To this may be added Cohen 1996: 35.

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The concept of *ibdāʿ* occurs in both *Kalām* and *falsafa*,[77] but has different meanings in each. The system that Ṭābā presents is emanationist. Accordingly, the true creation *ex nihilo* applies only to the universals, which are intermediaries (*wasāʾiṭ*) that create the particulars on God's behalf, as it were. The intermediaries are identified by Ṭābā with angels and celestial bodies. His presentation is well couched in biblical proof texts, which is one of the main aims of his work. The question that has been widely discussed by students of early Jewish Neoplatonism, whether the process of emanation results from will or occurs by necessity,[78] does not seem to be answered unequivocally by Ṭābā. On the one hand, he reiterates that God, as well as his intermediaries, "undertook" (*tawallā*) their creative activities, a formulation indicating will. The same is even more explicit in the statement that the intermediaries "are bound to continue to exist and persist in one (unchangeable) condition … as long as He wills." On the other hand, commenting further down in his discussion of Psalm 148:5, he says the following:

[דף 47א] הו מא קיל פיהא **כי הוא צוה ונבראו** אד כאן מעני הדא אלקול הו אנה אמר אלוסאיט כלקהא פאנפעלת אי אנכלקת בתוסטהא קלתˀ אנפעלת לכון אלנון אלדאכלה פי **ונבראו** אלתי הי לא מחאלה דאלה עלי [דף 47ב] אנפעאל.

This is what was said about them [= the intermediaries] "For it was He who commanded that they be created" (Ps 148:5). The meaning of that statement is that He commended the intermediaries to create them [= the individuals of the species] and they [= those individuals] came to be done, i.e., to be created by their [= the intermediaries'] mediation. I said "came to be done,"[79] because the *nūn* prefixed to *vĕ-niḇrāʾū* no doubt indicates "coming to be done."

As elsewhere, by means of innovative, here perhaps forced, interpretation of the usage of the reflexive conjugation, he says that beings in the sub-lunar world are produced necessarily at the end of the emanation flow. We are unsure of his precise intention because of his incoherent style and inaccurate terminology.

Ṭābā makes a clearer statement on this issue on fol. 48r–v, where he says that we have to believe that the celestial bodies are "created, governed, and directed toward the will of the perfect capacity and the solid guidance" (מכלוקאת מדבראת מסיראת נחו משיה אלקדרה אלתאמה ואלסיאסה אלמחכמה). The proof text he quotes for this statement is Isaiah 40:26.

Kitāb al-manāẓir is perhaps the most extensive document known so far of early Judaeo-Arabic Neoplatonism in the East. It is interesting also, as has been observed, because of its roots in the context of the Hebrew Bible, rabbinic sources, and the synagogue on one side, and the context of Graeco-Arab philosophy on the other.

[77] L. Gardet, "*Ibdāʿ*," *EI*² 3:663, does not exhaust the matter; see also Ben-Shammai 2007. The term *ikhtirāʿ* is also widely used, mainly in *Kalām*, with the same meaning.

[78] See, for example, Rudavsky 1997; Pessin 2003.

[79] Ṭābā explains his use, in the translation of the verse, of the seventh Arabic verbal form, characterized by the prefix *n-*, which is correctly considered the Arabic parallel of the Hebrew *nifʿal* conjugation used in the proof text from Psalms.

ר קו״ף עם צמה.

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TEXT AND TRANSLATION OF KITĀB AL-MANĀẒIR, FOLIOS 44R–47R

[דף 44א] ותם נקול אנה קד קיל פי אלאקואל אלגלילה מן
אקואל אלאפאצל מן **חכמי הגויים** אן אלחרכה אלתי
תתחרכהא אלאגראם אלסמאויה אלתי הי אלגרביה אנמא
סבבהא אשתיאקהא אלי אללה גל אסמה וטלבהא נחוה
לתסתפיד מנה אלכיר ואלבקא ואלפצאיל כמא יתחרך 5
אלעאשק אלי מעשוקה או כמא יתחרך אלי אלפצאיל
ואלחק מותרהמא פאדא כאן קד צח אן אלצורה פיהא
[...] פאלחרכה אלשוקיה או אלעשקיה אלתי פיהא לא
תכון [...] לא חיוה פיה בל עלי צורה הי אפצל מן אלחיוה
ואל[...]ב אלפצאיל וליס ינבגי אן ינכר עלינא 10
אסתשהאדנא [...] מן **חכמי הגוים** פי צחה שרח מא
נדעיה מן [דף 44ב] תאוילנא עלי בעץ מא גמץ מן מעאני
כתבנא. ואן כאנו יכאלפונא פי גמלה אלמסטור ואן כאן
אנמא גרי דלך באקצאד מן אלאקצאד מנהם **בלעם** אלדי
קיל פיה **נאו שומע אמרי אל וג׳**. אמא מעני **שומע אמרי** 15
אל פהו מא סמעה מן כטאב אלמלאך אלמסמי **אלהים**.
ומעני **ויודע דעת עליון** פהו מא כאן בה עאלמא עארפא מן
אלאתאר אלעלויה ואלהיאת אלסמאויה וחרכ/א\תהא
ותאתיראתהא פי אלארץ מן דלך קולה **דרך כוכב מיעקב**
וג׳ לאנה כאן לא מחאלה[ה] מנגמא חאדקא עאלמא 20
באלאמור אלסמאויה ופעאלהא ואמא מעני **מחזה שדי**
יחזה אנה כאן מע דאך עאלמא במא בעדהא מן אלצור
אלאלאהיה אלמפארקה ללמואד עקלא אד כאן מעני
קולה **נופל** הו חאל אלנום והו מא כאנת תראה נפסה

[fol. 44r] We say: It has been said in the esteemed sayings of the excellent scholars from among "the sages of the nations"[80] that the movement of the celestial bodies, namely the western movement[81] is caused by their desire toward God and their quest of Him, aiming at acquiring from Him good, afterlife and virtues. Their movement is similar to that of the passionate lover toward his beloved, or to the movement of the person who affects virtues and truth toward them. If it is established that the form [= quality, characteristic] in [...] then the passionate or loving movement in them is not [...] without life in it, but rather in a fashion that is superior to life and the [...] the virtues. We should not be blamed for quoting [...] "the sages of the nations" concerning the soundness of the interpretation that we maintain [fol. 44v] of difficult[82] matters in our scripture, even though they oppose us on the entire Scripture,[83] and even though it[84] came as a result of some (personal) inclination (on their part).[85]

Among them was Balaam, about whom it is said "The word of him who hears God's speech and obtains knowledge from the Most High" (Num 24:16).[86] The meaning of "him who hears God's speech" is: That which he heard from the angel named "Elohim."[87] The meaning of "possessing knowledge of high up"[88] is that he was knowledgeable of and acquainted with the celestial bodies and the heavenly figures[89] and their movements and effects on the earth, as it says "a star rises from Jacob" etc. (ibid., 17). He was no doubt an expert in astronomy,[90] knowledgeable in the heavenly beings and their actions. The meaning of "and beholds visions from the Almighty" (ibid., 16) is that he is knowledgeable by means of his intellect[91] of the divine forms that are behind[92] the (heavenly beings) and are separate from matter, since the meaning of the word "prostrate" is "the state of sleep." (This description thus) indicates what his soul sees by means of his

[80] The phrase is taken from Jeremiah 10:7 (NJPS *ad loc.*: "the wise of the nations").

[81] The particular movement of each of the eight or nine spheres is from west to east.

[82] Or, "vague/obscure/ambiguous."

[83] *Masṭūr* is found in the sense of a written document; on which, cf. Dozy 1881: 1:652b; and Blau 2006: 296a (he thinks that the origin of the term is Hebrew *shĕṭār*). I have translated here according to context, though as yet being unable to find any documentation for this translation.

[84] That is, the fact that they were able to attain philosophical truths that can be useful in the interpretation of "difficult matters in our scripture."

[85] Translation uncertain; the manuscript may be corrupt here. My translation is based on the assumption that the first word in the phrase is to be understood as *bi-iqṣād* = *bi-qaṣd* (cf. Blau 2006: 548a). Alternatively the phrase may be translated "they were led/directed (to do it) by (Him who has) leadership/direction."

[86] This translation of NJPS follows the traditional interpretation of the Hebrew *daʿat ʿelyōn* as meaning "knowledge of/from God." However, Ṭābā has a different interpretation, as he makes clear further below.

[87] Thus Balaam did not hear God's speech but rather that of an angel, contrary to various rabbinic statements on this issue (see n. 37 above). For a rabbinic statement regarding Balaam as a philosopher, see above, nn. 37–38.

[88] I translated here according to Ṭābā's interpretation.

[89] On this meaning of *hayʾa*, see D. Pingree, "ʿIlm al-Hayʾa," *EI*[2] 3:1135.

[90] *Munajjim* in Arabic can mean both "astronomer" and "astrologer."

[91] To the exclusion of the senses.

[92] Literally, perhaps, "after"; the Arabic preposition *baʿda* translates Greek μετα; in the specific context it probably means higher in hierarchy.

[ה] אחרי מילה זו, בראש השורה הבאה: כאן, מחוקה בניקוד מעליה.

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intellect (only), when it ceases to use its [senses] in the state of sleep. The meaning of the phrase "with eyelids unveiled" is the state of wakefulness; it indicates what he was seeing with his sight that relates to "possessing knowledge of high up," which is the knowledge of the heavenly figures in geometric forms,[93] since it is necessary to know the heavenly figures prior to their motions and effects and the laws (governing their course), which is the sum of the art of astronomy. Thus, he was certainly an excellent geometrist.

Among them was also Job and his peers, who debated the knowledge of the nature of justice and truth that are ascribed to God the exalted and are current among the people of this world; and how they[94] are implemented in this (world); and which noble notions are included within this (justice and truth); and how did God clarify the true view from among them,[95] and the appropriateness of His contradicting other (views),[96] as (may be inferred) from His statement "for you have not spoken the truth about Me as did My servant Job" (Job 42:7).

Among them was also Jethro, who [fol. 45r] was the first to attain the pure noble advice regarding the idea of correctness that moves along the entire course of time, as he said "Now listen to me. I will give you counsel" and the rest of the story (Exod 18:19ff.).

Similarly Scripture mentions also the excellent Egyptian sages who are called "wise men" and "magicians,"[97] and their subtle actions that resemble some of the true (miracles) that had been performed by our Master Moses, peace be on him, and also the knowledge that they pretended to possess — namely, of the effects of the divine heavenly bodies in this world, as He said, describing how He led astray their advice and wisdom because their sentence had befallen them; Scripture mentions His action "Who turn sages back and make nonsense of their knowledge" (Isa 44:25). (Elsewhere) He said to the (sages of Egypt): "Where, indeed, are your sages? Let them tell you, let them discover what the LORD of Hosts has planned against Egypt" (Isa 19:12). By this He intends to say: "Where are those who pretend that they know the divine sentences?" This statement demonstrates that there was among them some (knowledge) of metaphysics.[98] Also, most philosophers ascribe the beginning of much of the sciences to the Egyptians. Indeed the effects of their sophisticated wisdom are evident and obvious in their country to this day, such as the grandiose splendid-looking Pyramids, which I saw in

عקלא عנד תרכהא אסתעמאלהא אל[...][1] חאל אלנום
ואמא מעני **וגלוי עינים** פחאל אליקצה והו [מ]א כאן יראה
חסא מן מעני **ויודע דעת עליון** אלדי דלך הו אלמערפה
באלהיאת אלסמאויה באלאשכאל אלהנדסיה אד כאן מן
אלואגב תקדמה אלמערפה באלהיאת אלסמאויה קבל
אלעלם בחרכאתהא ותאתיראתהא ואחכאמהא אלתי הי
גמלה צנאעה אלנגום פלא מחאלה פי אנה כאן הנדסיא
פאצלא ומנהם **איוב** איצא ואצחאבה אלדין תנאצרו פי
מערפה טביעה אלעדל ואלחק אלמנסובין אלי אללה
תעאלי אלגאריין פימא בין אשכאץ הדא אלעאלם וכיף
המא סאירין פיה ומא אנטוי איצא פי כל/א\ל דלך מן דכר
אלמעאני אלגלילה וכיף אוצח אללה תעאלי אלקול אלחק
מנהא וחסן מא כאלפה מן קולה תעאלי לאצחאב **איוב כי**
לא דברתם אלי נכונה כעבדי איוב ומנהם איצא **יתרו** אלדי
[דף 45א] סבק אלי מחץ אלראי אלגליל אלמוגוד פי צורת
אלצואב אלמסאיר ללזמאן כלה בקולה **עתה שמע איעצך**
ותמה אלקצה: ומתל דכרה איצא אלאפאצל אלחכמא
אלמצריין אלמסמאין **חכמים וחרטמים** ומא גרי מן לטיף
אפעאלהם אלשביהה בבעץ אלחקאיק אלתי אתי בהא
אלסיד מוסי עליה אלסלם: ומא כאן ידעון עלמה איצא מן
תאתיראת אלאמור אלעלויה אלאלאהיה ופי הדא
אלעאלם לקולה תעאלי ענד מא אצל אראהם וחכמתהם
לחלול אלחכם פיהם כמא דכר מן פעלה **מֵשִׁיב חֲכָמִים**
אָחוֹר וְדַעְתָּם יְשַׁכֵּל.[2] קאל להם **אַיֵּם אֱפוֹא חֲכָמֶיךָ וְיַגִּידוּ נָא**
לָךְ וְיֵדְעוּ מַה יָּעַץ יְיָ /צבא\ על מצרים: יעני בדלך אין
אלדין כאנו ידעון אלעלם באלאחכאם אלאלאהיה פדל
הדא אלקול עלי אנה כאן פימא בינהם שי מן אלעלום
אלאלאהיה ואיצא אן גל[ח] אלפלאספה ינסבון כתיר מן
אלעלום אלי אן אלאול פיהא כאן אלמצריין ואתאר לטיף
חכמתהם טאהרה ביינה פי בלדהם אלי אלאן מן דלך
אלאהראם אלעצימה אלשאן אלבאהר(!) אלמנטר ואנא
ממן ראהא במצר ואלאסראר אלעגיבה אלתי יקאל פיהא

[93] Better, perhaps: "formulas."

[94] The principles of justice and truth.

[95] From among the views presented by all the participants in the debate.

[96] I am especially indebted to Professor Joshua Blau and Dr. Uri Melammed for helping me to elucidate this ambiguous sentence.

[97] Cf. the detailed discussion above.

[98] The Arabic term *al-ʿulūm al-ilāhiyya* usually refers to metaphysics or theology or both. It seems that Ṭābā uses this term and *al-falsafa al-ūlā* and *al-falsafa al-ilāhiyya* interchangeably to indicate metaphysics (cf. R. Arnaldez, "Mā Baʿd al-Ṭabīʿa," *EI*[2] 5:841–44).

[1] על פי ההקשר נראה שיש להשלים: **אל[חואס]**
[2] נה״מ: **יסכל**
[ח] בכה״י מעל גימ״ל צמה.

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Egypt, and the wondrous secrets that are told about them. Furthermore, it is said that the purpose of building them was in order to know the length[99] of the western motion that the sphere makes every minute.[100] This has been ascertained with our contemporaries from the inscriptions that are on them that say that they were built when such and such number of years had elapsed from the beginning(?), and when such and such star was at such and such station of the sphere. Others have said different, strange things about the Pyramids the repetition of which will be (too) long. I think that one of the reasons for building them was to cause an overlap of their afternoon-shades and the sun at a certain time of the year at a certain station of the sphere [fol. 45v], which will serve as signs of the places of the treasures of their kings inside the earth, similarly to what searchers find now in the depth of earth wonderful splendid valuable things which had been the possessions of their kings. To their wisdom belong also the figures that are found in the ruined palace [or "temple"] of Manf[101] which is called now Joseph's prison, from which people take talismans for many things, and also the roots of trees. There are also many other things there whose purpose has not been comprehended as yet. These matters are no doubt results of the actions of the wise men, the philosophers and the sorcerers. There is also no doubt that those sages whom we have merely mentioned,[102] and others who have not been mentioned (in historical records) composed many books on various noble wondrous sciences, such as metaphysics[103] and other kinds of prominent philosophical[104] (topics). There is also no doubt that the prophet,[105] peace be on him, after counting part of the power of God, exalted and powerful, followed it by saying "since among all the wise men of the nations and among all their royalty there is none like You" (Jer 10:7). He alluded to excellent wise men such as these whom we mentioned, and also their likes, as we will explain the meaning of the verse "Who would not revere You, O King of the nations?" (ibid.) in another chapter, God willing, in which we negate the additions (made to this verse) and the inferences drawn from them. (That verse alludes) also to the sages that existed after the edition of our books[106] was com-

איצא ויקאל איצא אן גרצהם כאן פי בנאהא ליעלמון(!)
בהא כמיה אלחרכה אלגרביה אלתי /\תחרכהא אלפלך
פי כל גזו מן אגזא אלזמאן וצח הדא ענד אהל זמאננא
הדא מן אלכתאבה אלתי עליהא והו אנהא בנית ואלמאצי
מן א/\לנשאה כדי וכדי סנה ואלנגם אלפלאני פ/\י
אלמוצע אלפלאני //מן אגזא\\ אלפלך: וקום אכרין יקולון
פיהא אקואל אכר עגיבה איצא יטול אעאדתהא ואנא אטן
בעץ אלאסבאב פי בנאהא לתכון נהאיאת אפיאהא
ואלשמס פי אלזמאן אלפלאני מן אלסנה פי אלמוצע
אלפלאני מן אלפלך [דף 45ב] עלאמאת מואצע כנוז
אמואל מלוכהם פי בטון אלארץ כמא אלאן יגדון
אלמטאלבין פי גסם אלארץ מן אלאשיא אלעגיבה
אלפאכרה אלגלילה אלקדר אלתי הי קניאת אלמלוך ומן
חכמתהם איצא אלצור אלמוגודה אלי אלאן פי היכל
כמנף[ט] אלכראב אלדי יסמא אלאן חבס יוסף ומנה יוכד
טלסמאת לאשיא כתירה ואצול אלסגר[י] איצא ופיהא צור
כתירה אלי אלאן לא יוקף עלי אגראצהא ואמור אכר
כתירה איצא הנאך ולא מחאלה פי אן הדה אלמעאני הי
מן תאתיראת אלחכמים ואלחרטמים ואלמכשפים ולא
מחאלה איצא פי אן האולי אלחכמא אלדין דכרנאהם דכר
פקט ומן לם יד̇כרה[יא] מנהם קד וצעו כתב כתירה פי עלום
גלילה עגיבה מכתלפה אלאנואע מתל אלעלום אלאלאהיה
וסאיר אנואע גליל אלפלספה. ולא מחאלה איצא פי אן
אלולי עליה אלסלאם מן בעד מא עדד שי מן קדרה
אלבארי גל ועז פקאל יעקבהא כי בכל חכמי הגוים אנמא
אשאר אלי מתל האולי אלחכמא אלאפאצל אלדין עדדנא
דכרהם ונטראיהם איצא ועלי מא סנשרח מעני הדא
אלפסוק אעני מי לא ייראך מלך הגוים פי פצל אכר אן שא

[99] Literally, "the quantity."

[100] Literally, "at every part of time."

[101] For the emendation of the text here, see the note to the Arabic text. This is the Arabic name of ancient Memphis. About this place and the talismans associated with the city, see U. Haarmann, "Manf," *EI*[2] 6:410.

[102] That is, without details (translation uncertain; according to context).

[103] See above, n. 98.

[104] Or, "scientific."

[105] Arabic: *al-waliyy*, a common designation of prophets in Judaeo-Arabic philosophy (see Lasker 2008b). In the present context the author has Jeremiah in mind.

[106] That is, the biblical corpus. The term "edition" translates here Arabic *tadwīn*, which may indicate rather loosely a range of meanings such as writing, composition, canonization, codification. It seems that it is not related here to the precise meaning that certain tenth-century exegetes ascribed to it (see Ben-Shammai 2010). The allusion is obviously to all the philosophers and scientists at any period of time after the canonization of the corpus of the Hebrew Bible.

[ט] נראה שצ״ל: **מנף** (ראה בתרגום).

[י] = **אלשגר**? ראה בלאו, דקדוק, סע׳ 18ג ועמ׳ 287.

[יא] צ״ל **יד̇כרו**?

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pleted, among them so and so of the excellent philosophers who were made to excel in the noble sciences or interpreted and expanded them. These are of the parts of metaphysics that lead to the knowledge of the noble remote divine matters according to the human ability which is established in sound minds,[107] and (to the knowledge of) matters of physics, and the matters between the two.[108]

Since it has been established by investigating these sages that their qualities follow[109] the rank of the prophets, peace be on them, and also that their views [fol. 46r] agree with what is recorded in our books,[110] it is not reprehensible on our part that we cite their views in order to clarify the obscure matters of our Scripture that need clarification and interpretation, according to our ability and capacity. Moreover, necessity may cause us to cite some of their views, because it is a custom of our Scripture to express notions in concise, generalized absolute statements that take the form of conclusions, propositions and sentences without providing proofs. The most important and revered proof according to Scripture is the veracity of prophecy and its righteousness, as we shall explain in another chapter, God willing.

"The sages of the nations," however, used to employ various kinds of premises and results accruing from them, and various proofs to support the soundness of their knowledge of (different) matters. When we cite any of their proven views or use some of their proofs to clarify some of the obscurities[111] of Scripture that we wish to clarify, it is not appropriate to reprehend us for this. Also, some of the (philosophers) are the best, righteous and most excellent who are from among us, those for whom God preserved (from his treasures) and favored with the subtle notions of metaphysics and the hidden (meanings) of its obscurities, as the excellent sage has said, "He reserves sound wisdom[112] for the upright and is a shield for those who live blamelessly" (Prov 2:7). (This is the correct meaning) since the meaning of *tūshiyyā* in many occurrences in Scripture is philosophy,[113] such as "Counsel is mine and sound wisdom" (Prov 8:14),[114] meaning the philosophical views. Their philosophical views and excellence are inferred from their evident subtle wisdom and their views and actions, as we will explain part of this matter in another chapter according to our understanding of this (matter).

85 אללה נסלב פיה אלאצאפאת ואלקיאסאת עליהא וכדלך
איצא אלחכמא אלמוגודין בעד אסתתמאם תדוין כתבנא
מנהם פלאן ופלאן מן אפאצל אלפלאספה אלדין פצלו פי
אלעלום אלגלילה או שרחוהא פאוסעוהא אלתי הי אנואע
אלפלספה אלאולי אלמודיה אלי מערפה חקאיק אלאמור
90 אלגלילה אלבעידה אלאלאהיה חסב טאקה אלאנסאן
אלתי הי תאבתה פי אלעקול אלצחיחה ואמור טביעה[יב]
ואלמתוסטה פימא בינהם איצא פאדא כאן קד צח ענד
אלתצפח להם אן צורהם הדה בעד טבקה אלאנביא
עליהם אלסלאם וכאן איצא מא אורדוה הו [דף 46א]
95 מואפקא למא הו מדון פי כתבנא פליס במנכר עלינא אן
נסתשהד בקולהם פי איצאח מא נוצחה ונביינה מן גאמץ
מעאני כתבנא חסב קותנא ואמכאננא בל קד תדעונא
אלצרורה אלי אלאסתשהאד בשי מן אקואלהם אד כאן מן
רסום כתבנא אן תעבר ען אלמעאני באקואל וגיזה מגמלה
100 מטלקה תגרי מגרי אלנתאיג ואלקצאיא ואלאחכאם מן גיר
אן תורד עליהא ברהאן אד כאן אכבר אלבראהין ואגלהא
ענדהא הו צחה אלגבוה וקצדהא וכמא סנשרח כיף דלך
פי פצל אכר אן שא אללה: ואמא **חכמי הגוים** פמן
רסומהם אן יסתעמלון אנואע אלמקדמאת ואלנתאיג
105 ענהא ואנואע אל בראהין איצא פי צחה מא יורדונה מן
אלעלום באלמעאני פמתי מא אורדנא שי מן אקואלהם
אלמברהנה או אסתעמלנא בעץ בראהינהם פי איצאח
בעץ מא נוצחה מן(?) גאץ(?)[יג] מעאני כתבנא ליס ינבגי אן
ינכר דאך עלינא ומנהם איצא אלאפאצל אלאכיאר
110 אלאבראר אללדין(!) הם מנא אללדין(!) כאהם אללה עז
וגל מן ענדה פכצהם בלטיף מעאני אלפלספה אלאלאהיה
וכפא גואמצהא בקול אלחכים אלפאצל פיהם **יצפון**
לישרים תושיה מגן להולכי תם: אד כאן יעני בקולה פי
מואצע כתירה מן אלכתאב **תושיה** אלפלספה מנהא **אני**[יד]

[107] It is not clear whether this relative clause refers to its immediate precedent ("human ability") or to the one before that.

[108] Between metaphysics and physics — that is, the *quadrivium*, on which see above, n. 12.

[109] The Arabic term *baʿda* ("after") does not indicate unequivocally that their rank is lower.

[110] That is, in the Hebrew Bible.

[111] Translation according to the emendation proposed in the note to the Arabic text.

[112] "Sound wisdom" of the King James Version better suits the context and Ṭābā's line of thought than the rendering "ability" of the NJPS

[113] See above, nn. 75–76.

[114] Here too I have preferred the King James Version.

יב צ"ל **טביעיה**, או **אלטביעה**?

יג צ"ל **גאמץ** (השווה בשורה השנייה של דף 46א)?

יד נה"מ **לי** (הטעות בהשפעת הפסוקית "**אני בינה**" בהמשך).

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Among the opinions of "the sages of the nations" with which we are engaged is the opinion that God, powerful and exalted, took upon Himself to create the angels without intermediary, made them his exclusive possession and obedient (performers) of His commands. This may have been [fol. 46v] the model for the statement of the prophet,[115] peace be on him, "Bless the LORD, O His angels, mighty creatures who do His bidding, ever obedient to His bidding" (Ps 103:20). And He took upon Himself to create the celestial bodies, and he made them intermediaries between Him and this lower world, in order to make by means of their mediation the elements[116] from which all the things that come into being[117] resulted — that is, the individuals of animated beings and plants. This may have been the model for the statement "Bless the LORD all His hosts, His servants who do His will" (Ps 103:21), since the meaning of "His hosts" is the celestial bodies, as the Master,[118] peace be on him, said in this regard "the sun and the moon and the stars, the whole heavenly host" (Deut 4:19).

Regarding the divine intelligibles and the universals, that is, the forms of the species and the kinds which rank in His eyes with the (separate) intellects and the celestial bodies, since He took upon Himself to create them without intermediary, they are bound to continue to exist and persist in one (unchangeable) condition, without perishing or being destroyed, as long as He, exalted and powerful, wills. Regarding the things that come into being (and perish), they are bound to perish because they have been created by created beings. If this statement[119] is true it follows that the intermediaries of God, exalted and powerful, I mean the celestial bodies who (undertook) the coming into being of strange[120] (perishable) beings, are also the cause that these beings are dumb, divested of speech[121] and virtue, even to the utmost possible degree (of that state).[122]

The view of the philosophers that God undertook to create (only) the universals without intermediary agrees also

עצה **ותושיה** יעני אלארא אלפלספיה והם אלמסתדל עלי
פלספתהם ופצלהם במא טהר מן לטיף חכמתהם וארהם
ואפעאלהם איצא כמא סנשרח /שי\ מן דכר דלך פי פצל
אכר חסב וקופנא עלי דלך פממא קאלוה **חכמי הגוים**
ממא נחן בסבילה הו אן אללה עז וגל ותעאלי תולי כלק
אלמלאיכה בגיר ואסטה פאכתץ בהם וגעלהם טאעה[טו]
אמרה ועסי דלך [דף 46ב] מתאלא[טז] לקול אלולי עליה
אלסלם **ברכו ייי מלאכיו גבורי כח עושה**[יז] **דברו לשמוע**
בקול דברו ותולי כלק אלאגראם אלסמאויה פגעלהם
וסאיט בינה ובין עאלם אלכון יפעל בתוסטהם
אלכיפ/י\את ואלכאינאת מנהא איצא אלדי דלך הו
אשכאץ אלחיואנאת ואלנבאת ועסי דלך איצא מתאלא
לקולה **ברכו ייי כל צבאיו משרתיו עושי רצונו**: אד כאן
מעני **צבאיו** אלאגראם אלסמאויה לקול אלסיד עליה
אלסלם פי דלך **את השמש ואת הירח ואת הכוכבים כל**
צבא השמים: ואמא אלאמור אלאלאהיה אלעקליה
ואלאמור אלכליה אלתי הי צור אלאגנאס ואלאנואע אלתי
הי ענדה פי אלמוצע אלמעקול ואלאגראם אלסמאויה
איצא למא תולי הו תעאלי כלקה[יח] בגיר ואסטה וגב
בקאיהא ותבאתהא עלי חאלה ואחדה גיר פאסדה ולא
[ב]אידה אלי אן ישא גל ועז ואמא אלכאינאת פיגב אן
תביד אד כאן תולי כלקהא מכלוקין פאן כאן הדא קול חק
פאלוסיט ללה גל ועז אעני אלאגראם אלסמאויה פי כון
צור אלכאינאת אלעגיבה אלכון אן יכונו בכם מעראיין מן
אלנטק ואלפצל בל עלי ראיה[יט] מא ימכן אן יכון מנה וקד

[115] See above, n. 105.

[116] Arabic *al-kayfiyyāt*, a term often denoting the qualities (*al-ṭabāʾiʿ* = "hot, cold, dry, moist"), which according to pseudo-Apollonius were the four simple elements out of which the four compound (Aristotelian) elements (fire, air, water, earth) have been generated (see D. E. Pingree and S. Nomanul Haq, "Ṭabīʿa," *EI*[2] 10:25–28).

[117] In Arabic *al-kāʾināt* (literally: "beings"); as a philosophical term, it indicates beings that exist for a limited length of time, have a beginning and an end, and are bound to perish.

[118] Arabic *al-sayyid* — that is, Moses. The reference to Moses with this title is very common among Muslims.

[119] Or, "philosophical position."

[120] That is, defective or deformed creatures.

[121] That is, speech as perceptible manifestation of intelligence.

[122] The creator is therefore not responsible, and beyond blame, for the existence of imperfect creatures. He is responsible only for the existence of species and kinds, which are perfect. Some individuals of the species may be imperfect, but then this comes under the responsibility of the "intermediaries," secondary creators, as it were.

טו ריבוי של **טאיע**, ראה Lane

טז על "**עסי**" עם משפט שמני ונשוא ביחס הפעול ראה Ullmann, "Arabisch ʿasā 'vielleicht,'" pp. 65 (##341–343), 67–68. המחבר טוען שתבניות אלה מלאכותיות. ייתכן שהדוגמאות כאן (עוד דוגמה בהמשך בסמוך) מעידות שזוהי תופעה חיה. אני מודה לסיימון הופקינס שהפנה אותי אל המחקר הזה.

יז נה"מ: **עשֵי**.

יח צ"ל **כלקהא**?

יט = غاية ; ראה בלאו, דקדוק, עמ' 40, 288.

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ואטא איצא קול אלפלאספה פי /אן\ אללה תעאלי תולי כלק אלכליאת בגיר ואסטה מא קיל פי כתאב אלתוראה פי דכר מבאדי אלכליקה **ברא אלהים ויברא אלהים** פאן מעני **ברא** הו צורה אלאבדאע אלמכצוץ בה תעאלי וחדה והי אלמעאני אלתי תולי הו אבדאעהא בלא ואסטה אד כאנת אלאמור אלמכלוקה אלי אכר דכר מבדי[כ] אלכליקה הי לא מ/ח\אלה אול[כא] וכליאת מנהא אלמעאני אלאלאהיה ואלוסאיט פי כון צור אלכאינאת אמא א[בדא]עה תעאלי אלמעאני אלאלאהיה[כב] אלתי הי גואהר [דף 47א] בסאיט פמנטום אלי מעני קולה **בראשית ברא אלהים את השמים**: ועלי מא סנשרח פי פצל אכר פי מעני **עושה מלאכיו רוחות** אן שא אללה:

with the Biblical statements regarding the creation of primary principles "God created" (Gen 1:1), "and God created" (Gen 1:21). The meaning of "created"[123] is the notion of creation out of nothing, which is peculiar to Him alone. It pertains to the things which He undertook to create out of nothing without intermediary, since the created things that are mentioned until the end of the account of creation are no doubt primal entities and universals. These include the divine entities and the intermediaries who are responsible for the existence of the forms of generated (perishable) beings. Regarding His creating the divine entities which are [fol. 47r] simple substances, they are related to the meaning of the statement "In the beginning God created heaven," as we shall explain, God willing, in another chapter regarding the meaning of "Who makes His angels spirits"[124] (Ps 104:4).

[123] The discussion relates of course specifically to the Hebrew root *b-r-ʾ*.

[124] It seems that this (slightly arranged) rendition of the King James Version is closer to the interpretation of Ṭābā than to the rendition of *Tanakh* "He makes the winds His messengers."

[כ] ייתכן שצ"ל **מבאדי** (ראה לעיל); אולם אפשר לקיים את נוסח כה"י (ראה בתרגום).

[כא] האל"ף עם צמה.

[כב] אחרי מילה זו: **ואלוסאיט פי כון**, עם ניקוד מעליהן למחיקה.

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APPENDIX: ON THE CHALLENGE TO THE PRIORITY OF THE GREEKS IN THE SCIENCES AND THE ARTS[125]

In the epistle about the dispute between man and animals, the person who directs the procession of the representatives of ethnic and confessional affiliations (*ṣāḥib al-ʿazīma*) challenges the Greeks' pretense of originating all arts and sciences and argues that they took all their wisdom and sciences from the Israelites "in the days of Ptolemy" and from the Egyptians "in the days of Masīṭūs." This probably echoes a well-known theme in antiquity, long before the Persians made a similar claim in the Sasanian period.[126] A typical example for this theme is the treatise of the "Assyrian" Church Father Tatian entitled *Address to the Greeks* (*Oratio ad Graecos*).[127] In chapter 38 of the *Address*,[128] he quotes Ptolemy, "a priest of Mendes," who was knowledgeable about the affairs of the Jews, and said that Moses preceded Homer by many generations.[129] Waddell dated this Ptolemy (about whom very little is known) to the time of Augustus.[130] The second Egyptian source quoted by Tatian is Apion, as a testimony to the antiquity of Egyptian kings. In his work, Apion (a first-century grammarian and historian, active in Alexandria and Rome) closely followed the writings of Manetho, the Egyptian priest of the third century B.C.E. who was the source for the lists and history of the dynasties of ancient Egypt. The fact that Tatian quotes Apion does not necessarily mean that he did not know Manetho's work.[131] Tatian's treatise, or a similar patristic work that mentioned Manetho explicitly, may have been translated into Arabic through a Syriac version of one of the chronicles of the Church Fathers (e.g., Eusebius[132]) and thus may have served as a source for the *Ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ*.

The name Masīṭūs (which is omitted in the Hebrew version of Kalonymus ben Kalonymus) may well be a corruption of Manethon or Manethos (Manetho's name was spelled Μανέθων or Μανεθώς[133]). Such corruptions are typically due to copying from Arabic manuscripts written without diacritical punctuation. As far as I am aware, his name was unknown to authors of Arabic works.[134]

ABBREVIATIONS

BDB	F. Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs. *Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972
EI^2	*The Encyclopaedia of Islam*. New edition, prepared by H. A. R. Gibb et al. 12 volumes. Leiden: Brill, 1960–2006. Online edition, edited by P. Bearman et al. Leiden: Brill, 2008. http://www.encislam.brill.nl
Gen. Rab.	מדרש בראשית רבא [Midrash Bereshit Rabba]. Second edition. Edited by J. Theodor and C. Albeck. 3 volumes. Jerusalem: Wahrmann Books, 1965
Iggeret	אגרת בעלי חיים — נכתב בעברית וניתרגם בשינויים קלים על ידי קלונימוס בן קלונימוס. Translated by Kalonymus ben Kalonymus. Edited by Y. Toporowsky. Jerusalem: Mossad Harav Kook, 1949
Lev. Rab.	מדרש ויקרא רבה [Midrash Wayyikra Rabbah]. Edited by M. Margulies. 5 volumes in 2. New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1993

[125] See above, n. 70.

[126] Cf. Gutas 1998: 25–26.

[127] Published in Roberts and Donaldson 1999. I thank my colleague and friend Milka Levy-Rubin for drawing my attention to this reference.

[128] Ibid., 80.

[129] See also Waddell 1948: 19 n. 2; Stern 1974–84: 1:379–80 (#157a).

[130] Waddell 1948: viii.

[131] See Waddell 1948: 87 n. 2.

[132] See Adler 1983. I thank my friend and colleague Bruno Chiesa for this reference, as well as for his advice on other aspects of this issue.

[133] See Waddell 1948: ix.

[134] The work of Carmela Baffioni (1994) has not been available to me.

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Měkhīltāʾ	מכילתא דרבי ישמעאל [Mechilta d'Rabbi Ismael]. Second edition. Edited by H. S. Horovitz and I. A. Rabin. Jerusalem: Wahrmann Books, 1970
NJPS	*Tanakh: A New Translation of the Holy Scriptures according to the Traditional Hebrew Text.* Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1985
Ōṣar	אוצר הגאונים [Otzar ha-Gaonim[!]: Thesaurus of the Gaonic Responsa and Commentaries]. Edited by B. M. Lewin. 13 volumes. Haifa-Jerusalem: ḥ. mol., 1928–44. Reprint, Jerusalem: Ḥ. Vagshal, 2002
Qāmūs	Majd al-Dīn al-Fīrūzābādī. *Al-qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*. Damascus, 1998
Rasāʾil	*Rasāʾil ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ*. 4 volumes. Beirut, 1992
Sēder ʿŌlām	מדרש סדר עולם [Seder Olam Rabba, die grosse Weltchronik]. Edited by B. Ratner. Vilna: Wittwe et Gebrüder Romm, 1894–97. Reprint, Jerusalem: Tal Orot Institute, 1988
Sifrē Deut	ספרי על ספר דברים [Siphre ad Deuteronomium]. Edited by L. Finkelstein. Berlin: Jüdischer Kulturbund in Deutschland E. V., 1939. Reprint, New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1969
Těshūḇōt	תשובות הגאונים. Edited by J. Musafia. Lyck: Mekize Nirdamim, 1864

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3

ON SOME SEMANTIC SHIFTS IN MEDIEVAL JUDAEO-ARABIC

JOSHUA BLAU

I was fortunate enough to do my work on Judaeo-Arabic surrounded by important scholars, one of them being Professor Norman Golb, who, moreover, with fine historical sense, perceived the significance of medieval Judaeo-Arabic studies and was instrumental in establishing the Society for Judaeo-Arabic Studies.

In the following, I have collected vocables attested in Classical Arabic that sometimes have in Judaeo-Arabic a different meaning. Only the recognition of the semantic change these words underwent makes the proper understanding of the sentences in which they occur possible. I have arranged them in two semantic groups, since the parallel development of the various parts of each group support each other. I am offering this study to my friend and colleague Professor Norman Golb in the hope of contributing something to the better understanding of Judaeo-Arabic texts on which we both rely.

1. ON SOME PARTICLES OF EXCEPTION

1.1. Some particles denoting exception sometimes tend to refer not to something that does not belong to the totality from which the exception is made, but to something that should have been part and parcel of it, yet was for some reason not yet mentioned ("in addition to"). Now and then the particles may even allude to something that was more entitled to be included in the totality than the items already mentioned ("even, moreover"; see below §§1.2; 1.5). This feature is present in Classical Arabic as well,[1] but it becomes more frequent in medieval Judaeo-Arabic. Thus we find the following:[2]

1.2. *dūn*(*a*), "with the exclusion of," is already attested in Classical Arabic with the meaning of "even."[3] In medieval Judaeo-Arabic too, it reflects the development from the usual meaning "with the exclusion of something because it lacks a certain quality" to its distinction because it possesses the quality to a higher degree "the more so." Ibn Quraysh 1984: 211, lines 2–3: יערפהא אלעואם דון סאיר אלעלמא "the common people know it, the more so the savants."

1.3. *siwā*, "other than, except," shifts to the meaning of "in addition to"; thus *Kuzarī*, 152, lines 25–27: פיראעי מן אלאואמר אלאלאהיה מה ימכנה ... סוי אלנדרים "he observes the divine commands which enable him ... in addition to vows." The word *siwā*, it seems, underwent two opposite semantic shifts in different periods of the language that to some degree neutralized each other. The root سوى, as is well known, originally denotes "to be equal"; it may, however, refer to two objects that are equal in kind yet differ individually. If the latter circumstance prevails, then the word obtains the meaning of "difference" and "exclusion."[4] This was the case in Old Arabic/Classical Arabic, in which رجل سوى زيد, originally meaning "a man, equal to Zayd," became "a man other than Zayd." In medieval Judaeo-Arabic, *siwā*, as already noted, obtained the meaning of "in addition to," so that the above-mentioned phrase came to denote "a man in addition to Zayd," which is not too different from the original meaning, "a man, equal to Zayd." This circular development is quite remarkable.

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[1] See §1.2 below.

[2] Wherever no references are cited, the reader is referred to Blau 2006: s.vv., which serves as the main repository of examples for this paper and contains additional relevant passages.

[3] See Lane 1867: s.v., col. 939b: *ajāza ʾl-khulʿa dūna ʿiqāṣi raʾsihā* "he allowed the divorcing of a wife for a gift, even for the string of her head."

[4] See Reckendorf 1895–98: 148–49.

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1.4. *ḥāshā*, "except, save," is also used in medieval Judaeo-Arabic in the sense of "in addition to"; thus *Kuzari*, 102, line 12: חשי ברית אבות ... ואלסבת "and the Sabbath ... in addition to the covenant of the fathers"; *Kuzari*, 116, line 11: ראשית עריסותיכם חאשא אלנדרים "the first of your dough, in addition to the vows."

1.5. Similarly, *ghayr an*(*na*), "except that," may denote a higher degree and thus obtains the meaning of "even, moreover." *Anwār* 1:54 (I.13.3), lines 19–20: כאן יקול באלתנאס ... גיר אנא קד ראינא קומא מן אצחאבנא ירון הדא אלראי "he espoused the cause of metempsychosis ... moreover we saw that some of his followers were of the same opinion."

2. ON MODAL VERBS[5]

2.1. Many languages, including English and Arabic, make use of modal verbs — that is, (auxiliary[6]) verbs used to express the mood of another (main) verb, called by some grammarians "small/lesser verbs."[7] In Judaeo-Arabic some of these verbs are used in a modified sense, which in Classical Arabic are marked by other modal verbs (see below §§2.2–13). Moreover, new modal verbs emerge in Judaeo-Arabic, since ordinary verbs lose their core meaning and become mere modal verbs (§§2.14–16). Some examples follow:[8]

2.2. *arād*(*a*), originally "to want," obtains (also) the meanings "to be necessary; to need, to be obliged," as well as "to be about to happen/to do."[9] Gil 1983: 3:54, lines 8–9: יריד אצחבנא(!) אלרבאנין כל סנה וסנה כמסין ומית דינאר "our associates the Rabbanites are obliged to pay every year 150 dinar"; al-Fāsī 1936–45: 1:231, lines 101–02: הדה אלחסרה אלתי תריד תחל בשעבי הדה "this disaster that is about to befall my people."

2.3. *lā taqdir*(*u*) denotes not only "you cannot," but also "you must not, you had better not."

2.4. *lā yumkin*(*u*), "it is not possible," has also the meaning "one must not." Gil 1983: 2:343, line 7 (in Arabic letters): מא ימכן(!) אחד יתכלם "nobody must speak."

2.5. *wajab*(*a*), "to be incumbent on," is also used in the sense of "to be possible" (and *lā yajibu* in the sense of "to be impossible; he must not, to be not proper"). It occurs in Classical Arabic as well: *Anwār* 1:67 (II.5.1), lines 4–5: לו כאן כדלך לם יגב אן יסתדל "if it were so, it would have been impossible to conclude."

2.6. *lā yalzam*(*u*), "not to be necessary," has shifted to the meaning of "to be impossible." *Anwār* 3:592 (VI.11.7), line 9: פאן כאן הדא לא ילזם "if this is impossible."

2.7. *akhadh*(*a*) *fī fiʿl*(*in*), "to start doing," is also used in the sense of "to intend to do."

2.8. *qām*(*a*) *yafʿal*(*u*) may denote "to start doing; to continue doing." Moreover, *qām*(*a*) preceding *faʿal*(*a*)/*yafʿal*(*u*) is used to indicate continuation of the action, sometimes also an unexpected change.

2.9. *dār*(*a*) may mark the beginning of an action.

2.10. *baqiy*(*a*), "to remain," shifts to the meanings "to be; to become," and may denote the result of an action. Preceding an imperfect it designates "to start doing." *mā baqiy*(*a*) denotes "no longer, no more"; the negation may sometimes refer to the main verb. Finally, *baqā* becomes an invariable adverb meaning "therefore, now," and when negated, "no more": Maimūnī 1900–1901: 5a, lines 7–8: אדא שאפהו ... בקי אלנאס יפכרהו "if he sees him ... people will start praising him"; ibid., 6b, lines 6–7: בעד מא שהדו מא בקא תרתד אלשהאדה "after they had testified, the testimony would no more be withdrawn."

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[5] Tropper (2000: 734) speaks of "modale Nuancen," Damourette and Pichon (1930–43: 5:145ff.) of "auxiliaires de mode," and Reckendorf (1895–98: 288) of "Modalitäten der Handlung."

[6] So, for example, Brockelmann 1908–13: 2:507; Grevisse 1964: 582; Reckendorf 1895–98: 287ff.; and Kruisinga 1925: 289ff. Some speak of "semi-auxiliaries," as do Grevisse (1964: 583) and Gaiffe et al. (1936: 349).

[7] So Jespersen 1909–49: V, §12.13; 1937: 102.

[8] Here, too, wherever no references are cited, the reader is referred to Blau 2006: s.vv.

[9] For the last meaning in Classical Arabic, see Lane 1867: col. 1184c, s.v.

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2.11. *rajaʿ*(*a*), "to return," also shifts to the meanings "to be; to become," and preceding an imperfect it designates "to start doing." *rajaʿ*(*a*) *wa-faʿal*(*a*) indicates "to do again."

2.12. *ʿād*(*a*), "to return," reflects interesting lines of development: invariable *ʿād*, sometimes even governing pronominal suffixes, is used as in the adverbial sense of "still." *mā ʿād*, sometimes invariable and despite its perfect form not referring to the past, often followed by the imperfect, denotes "no longer." Maimūnī 1900–1901: 70b, lines 15–16: מא עאד יחכום פיך "it will no longer rule over you."

2.13. *kāda yafʿalu* originally means "to be about to do, he almost did it." In Judaeo-Arabic *kād*(*a*)/*yakād*(*u*) becomes invariable and behaves as an adverb, as proven by the use of the perfect instead of the expected imperfect, by the word order, and by the government of pronominal suffixes. *yakādu* (*an*) *yafʿal* is used in the sense of "he possibly/perhaps does." Gil 1983: 3:112, lines 23–24: מעישה אלמוצע וצ׳יקהא מא יכאד אן יכ֫פא ענך "the dire circumstances of life at this place are perhaps not unknown to you."

2.14. *aṣāb*(*a*), governing an imperfect or a direct object, designates "to be able."

2.15. *jāz*(*a*), "to be allowed," acquires the signification of "to stand to reason, to be plausible/conceivable; to be valid." MS Oxford Heb.c.23, fol. 38a, line 23: והוא לא יגוז עלי "and this is not valid for me."

2.16. Remarkable is the semantic development of *aḥsan*(*a*) (*an*) *yafʿal*: first it means "to be able to do" and afterward shifts to the meaning "to want." *Anwār* 3:505 (V.7.1.), line 4: והו לא יחסן אן יכ֫תן "and he is not able to circumcise."

3. CONCLUSION

3. I have attempted to bring out in relief the semantic shifts characterizing two semantic groups in medieval Judaeo-Arabic. Words denoting exception may obtain the meanings "in addition to, moreover," and the boundaries of many modal verbs are blurred (shift?). The importance of such studies lies not only in the recognition of the semantic mechanism but also in that they enable us properly to understand passages in which additional words belonging to these semantic groups occur.[10]

ABBREVIATIONS

Anwār	Al-Qirqisānī 1939–45
Kuzari	Ha-Levi 1887

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[10] Thus, for instance, I understood the passage quoted in §1.3 containing *siwā*, on the understanding that words denoting exception may pass to the meaning of "in addition to."

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KIPPŪRĪM, EXPIATION, PURITY, AND IMPURITY: THE WELL OF THE PAST AND THE ABYSS OF OBLIVION

*RACHEL ELIOR**

> In routinely using a word in daily life, we tend to forget that words are passages in ancient, eternal stories and that we, like the barbarians, are building our houses out of the shards of broken statues and figures of the gods. Our most coherent concepts and definitions are remote invocations of ancient myths and stories. There is not one particle of our ideas that is unrelated to mythology and that was not, in the past, some mangled myth, like one that had undergone reincarnation.
>
> — Schultz 1986: 272

Jewish memory comprises strata gradually accumulated over a period of more than three thousand years. Parts of it have been lost to the abyss of oblivion and to changing times; parts survive in wording carved in stone. Some has been forgotten, some has been suppressed, and some survives in ancient Hebrew and Aramaic literature whose remnants have come down to us from various sources, both ancient and recent. The Hebrew and Aramaic literature that survives from the first millennium B.C.E. — from the time of the First Temple to the destruction of the Second — comprises three corpora: one known as the biblical canon, one known as the Scrolls of the Judean Desert (the "Dead Sea Scrolls" or the "Qumran literature"), and one known as Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha (in Hebrew, *sĕfārīm ḥīṣōnīm* "external books"). All three of the corpora include remnants of ancient recollections interwoven with one another in surprising and fascinating ways. Of course, each of the works that make up these collections has its unique character and distinctive voice, reflecting the mark of a particular group, language, and time. Still, if we examine the various collections compiled before the destruction of the Second Temple and listen attentively to their voices, to the memories they embody, and to their associative and linguistic resonances, we can discern the complex interrelationships among the various works. These interrelationships forge "realms of memory" — a term used by the renowned French historian Pierre Nora to refer to these clusters of memories carried by a distinct community — that transcend the individual and move toward a historical perspective and a communal conceptual world, grounded in cultural frameworks of meaning and shared religious creativity. In this article I intend to examine one such realm of memory, a realm caught up in myth and mysticism, cult and sanctuary, priests and angels. Its residues can be found in various literary traditions from the pre-Christian era; in the

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* Dedicated to Norman Golb, a Qumran scholar who broke new ground in our understanding of the scrolls and who strove to make them widely available for study. This article was translated from the Hebrew by Joel Linsider. Except as noted below and elsewhere in the citations, translations from Hebrew and Aramaic primary sources and Hebrew secondary materials are by the present translator. Except as otherwise noted, the following translations of ancient texts have been used (for full references, see the bibliography): Hebrew Bible: NJPS; Apocrypha and New Testament: NRSV; book of Jubilees: Wintermute 1983–85; books of Enoch: 1 (Ethiopic) Enoch: Isaac 1983–85; 2 (Slavonic) Enoch: Andersen 1983–85; 3 (Hebrew) Enoch: Alexander 1983–85. For 2 Enoch, the version in Charlesworth 1983–85 differs in organization and chapter numbering from the version in the standard Hebrew translation; where they differ, chapter and verse references are provided to the Hebrew edition as well, in Kahana 1957, and the reference is preceded by the letter "K." In cases of significant textual differences between Kahana and Charlesworth (in Enoch as well as in other books), the Kahana version is included in brackets; Qumran literature (Dead Sea Scrolls): García Martínez and Tigchelaar 2000, referred to as *DSSSE*.

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words of Pierre Nora, they "focus, encapsulate, and encode cultural memory."[1] I am referring to *yōm ha-kippūrīm*, the Day of Atonement, and its ancient foundations.[2]

Yōm ha-kippūrīm is mentioned as the sixth of the seven "set times of the LORD" — festivals — that fall during the first seven months of the year according to the biblical calendar in the book of Leviticus. These set times are identified and dated in a list that extends from the mid-point of the first month — the time set for Passover, which opens the cycle — to the mid-point of the seventh month, the time set for the seventh and concluding festival of Sukkōt (Lev 23:4–44). The sixth of these "set times of the LORD" is called *yōm ha-kippūrīm* and *shabbat shabbātōn* (a Sabbath of complete rest) (Lev 23:26–32); the sacrifices associated with it are detailed in the book of Numbers (29:7–11). The purpose of the festival is briefly stated: "For it is a Day of Atonement, on which expiation is made on your behalf before the LORD your God" (Lev 23:28). As detailed in chapter 16 of Leviticus, the service of the day is conducted by the high priest in the sanctuary's holy of holies and by his agent, the "designated man" (*īsh ʿittī*; NJPS notes the meaning of *ʿittī* is uncertain), who completes the observances in "an inaccessible region" (*ereṣ gĕzērā*) in the wilderness.[3]

In the biblical collection, the day is first mentioned in the book of Exodus in connection with the altar of gold within "the most holy" area of the sanctuary (literally, "the holy of holies"). The text refers to the expiation conducted annually by the high priest, a process itself described as "most holy": "Once a year Aaron shall perform purification [*vĕ-khippēr*] upon its horns with blood of the sin offering of purification; purification shall be performed upon it once a year throughout the ages. It is most holy to the LORD" (Exod 30:10).

The book of Jubilees, written around the middle of the second century B.C.E. in separatist priestly circles and discovered in its original Hebrew version among the Dead Sea Scrolls found at Qumran, retells the stories of Genesis and the first half of Exodus, from the creation to the divine revelation at Sinai. The stories are recounted within the framework of a seven-based chronology that divides history into units of seven years ("sabbaticals") and of forty-nine years; the latter, comprising seven sabbaticals, are referred to as "jubilees." In the course of its narrative, the book explains the details of the yearly calendar and specifies the precise times (day, month, sabbatical, jubilee) of the stories.[4] The stories of Genesis are linked in Jubilees to the seven set times of the Lord and evoke unfamiliar recollections whose historical underpinnings, tied to the festivals, take place at various times during the forty-nine jubilees that preceded the encounter at Sinai. This stands in contrast to the biblical tradition that ties the seven festivals to the exodus from Egypt, the generation of the wilderness, and the encounter at Sinai, all described in the book of Exodus, with no reference to the events of Genesis.

Yōm ha-kippūrīm is mentioned in the book of Jubilees in two contexts unknown from the biblical literature. First, it appears in the account, preceding the flood story, of the union between "the sons of the gods" [NJPS: "divine beings"] and the daughters of men (see Gen 6:1–4). As told in Jubilees, the story involves angels of God who breached the boundaries of creation (which separate heavenly denizens from dwellers on earth), corrupted their way, defiled the sacred, and improperly mingled distinct categories meant to be kept separate. They did so by descending from heaven to earth and willfully taking human women, begetting with them giants known as *gibbōrīm* (mighty ones) or *nĕfīlīm*. Those giants, in turn, filled the land with lawlessness and corruption and brought about the flood, conceived of as a punishment for transgressions for which there could be no expiation (Jub 5:1–21). The story explains the desecration entailed in the breach of boundaries between heaven and earth, the unavoidable

[1] On the meaning of "Realms of memory" and on the focusing, encapsulation, and encoding of national-cultural memory, see Nora 1993; 1996: introduction.

[2] The stem *k-p-r* can mean, among other things, "expiate," "atone," "purify," "wipe clean," or "forgive," and it has been variously translated. This translation will generally use "expiate," but it should be recognized that some of the quoted primary texts that use "atone," "purify," or other terms have not been modified. For clarity, the Hebrew *yōm ha-kippūrīm* is used for the day itself as referred to in ancient texts; when the reference is to the Jewish holiday that continues to this day, the familiar English term "Day of Atonement" is used.

[3] For a comprehensive account of *yōm ha-kippūrīm* in the Bible, the priestly perspective that underlies it, and its relationship to the ancient Near Eastern sanctuary expiation rituals documented in Akkadian literature, see Milgrom 1991: 42–52, 1009–84. In his introduction, Milgrom dates the writing of the book of Leviticus and its underlying priestly source to the time of the First Temple, and that is the view as well of Menachem Haran (1977). For an up-to-date study of the biblical traditions regarding *yōm ha-kippūrīm*; its parallels in the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Apocrypha, and Hellenistic literature; and its later development within early Christianity, see Stökl Ben Ezra 2003: 13–145. On the historical development of *yōm ha-kippūrīm* in mishnaic and talmudic times, see Tabory 1995; Lowenstam 1958.

[4] On Jubilees, see VanderKam 1989; Wintermute 1983–85. See also Albani, Frey, and Lange 1997. On the calendar in Jubilees, see Jaubert 1953; Segal 2007.

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corruption and tragic consequences associated with disobeying the divine command, and the resulting spread of lawlessness throughout the land, leading to the decree of destruction issued against the sinners of the flood generation. At the conclusion of that account, the idea of repentance associated with *yōm ha-kippūrīm* is raised:

> And for the children of Israel it has been written and ordained, "If they *return to him in righteousness*, he will forgive all of their sins and he will pardon all of their transgressions."[5] It is written and it is ordained, "He will have mercy *on all who return from all their error, once each year*." But to any who corrupted their way and their counsel before the flood, he did not show partiality, except Noah alone, for he showed partiality to him for the sake of his sons whom he saved from the waters of the Flood (and) for his sake because his heart was righteous in all of his ways just as it was commanded concerning him. And he did not transgress anything which was ordained for him (Jub 5:17–19, emphasis mine).

There are a series of connections here among the angels who "corrupted their way," defiled the sacred, became impure through contact with human women, and brought about bloodshed and lawlessness; the flood as punishment for sins that cannot be expiated; and the annual day of remembrance on which the sins that brought about the earth's destruction are recalled and the people who return from their defiling sins attain expiation and forgiveness. These connections are evident in various traditions, both early and late, related to *yōm ha-kippūrīm*, which are extensively discussed below. Noah's righteousness — which is tied to the observance of God's commandments, to establishing the sanctuary and reckoning the days of the calendar, to oath and covenant, to escape from the watery punishment inflicted on the sinners who corrupted the earth, and to the origins of the Shāḇūʿōt festival — is likewise considered in this literature in various contexts; it is connected to the tradition of the priestly calendar tied to the dating of the flood that purified the land.[6]

The second context in which *yōm ha-kippūrīm* appears in the book of Jubilees is that of Joseph being sold into slavery by his brothers. The act is presented as a transgression committed jointly by Jacob's ten sons, and biblical law elsewhere treats such a transgression as a capital offense: "He who kidnaps a man — whether he has sold him or is still holding him — shall be put to death" (Exod 21:16). Because the brothers were not properly punished for their transgression, the act must be recalled throughout the generations and must be expiated collectively by the sinners' descendants. As recounted in Jubilees 34:10–18, Joseph was sold by his brothers on the tenth day of the seventh month — *yōm ha-kippūrīm* — and their sin in doing so is tied to the Israelites' need for annual expiation on that day. That motif, originating in the book of Jubilees, appears in various contexts in which the nation's forefathers are depicted as defiling themselves through capital transgressions committed jointly; because the sinners themselves are not punished, the sin requires collective repentance and expiation on the part of their descendants. The story is elaborated on in the "Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs," a pseudepigraphal work written during the final pre-Christian centuries in circles close to those that produced Jubilees. During the first centuries C.E., the story is retold in *Hēkhālōt rabbātī*, which recounts the martyrdom of ten prominent rabbis as expiation for the sin of selling Joseph — a motif that recurs in various forms in *Midrash ʿăśeret hărūgē malkhūt*, in the liturgical poem *Ēlleh ezkĕrā* — recited to this day during the Additional (*Mūsāf*) Service on the Day of Atonement

[5] This statement alludes to the words of Jeremiah (36:3), which pertain to a fast day: "Perhaps when the House of Judah hear of all the disasters I intend to bring upon *they will return* [NJPS: *turn back*] *from their wicked ways*, and I pardon their iniquity and their sin." God's words are spoken through Jeremiah and read by Barukh son of Neriah on a fast day, as the passage goes on to tell: "But you go and read aloud the words of the LORD from the scroll which you wrote at my dictation, to all the people in the House of the LORD on a fast day; thus you will also be reading them to all the Judeans who come in from the towns. Perhaps their entreaty will be accepted by the LORD, *if they turn back from their wicked ways*. For great is the anger and wrath with which the LORD has threatened this people" (Jer 36:6–7).

[6] Noah is the subject of various traditions within the priestly literature, linked to his place in the priestly line connecting his ancestors Enoch, Methuselah, and Lamech and his nephew Melchizedek (Jub 7:38; 2 Enoch ch. 71 [K: ch. 23]). The texts broaden the biblical flood story into a tale of purification from the transgression of breaching boundaries, a story connected to the sacred calendar involved in the establishment of boundaries (1 Enoch chs. 64–67, 106; Jub chs. 5–7). For some of the current research on Noah and the flood in the Qumran texts and ancient literature, see Bernstein 1999; Dimant 1974; García Martínez 1992: 24–44; 1998. On the import of the sacred annual calendar as recounted in connection with the dates of the flood and the tradition of the Shāḇūʿōt festival, see Elior 2004: 207–10; Werman 1995. On the chronology of the flood in the Torah, cf. Cassuto 1961: 43–45. Cassuto cited ancient parallels to the flood story and conducted an instructive inquiry into the calendar it implied, but he wrote before publication of the Dead Sea Scrolls, with their extremely important traditions regarding the flood.

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following the description of the Temple service — and, as we shall see below, in the discussion of *yōm ha-kippūrīm* in the midrashic work *Pirqē dĕ-rabbī ĕlīʿezer*.[7]

In Exodus and Leviticus, the expiation — meant to expunge the impurity resulting from sins punishable by death — is a ritual act performed by the high priest, who annually expiates the sins of the community as a whole. The *yōm ha-kippūrīm* ritual described in Leviticus does not pertain to any particular sin or any explicit account of a specific offense; rather, it expiates the generality of sins that human beings can be expected to commit at all times and places. Jubilees, in contrast, regards the regular Sabbath ritual, including incense and sacrifices, as expiation for Israel (Jub 50:10–11) and considers the special fasting and mourning-like practices associated with *yōm ha-kippūrīm* as required in remembrance of the sin of Joseph's sale.

The ritual detailed in Leviticus 16 brings together, within the day's service, a range of mythic and mystical memories and of meta-temporal and meta-spatial planes. It focuses, encapsulates, and anchors a bivalent ritual memory, comprising a series of actions bearing symbolic meanings of purification and sanctification, commemoration, forgiveness, and appeasement. These ritual actions are performed in sequence, once a year, in two heterotopic spaces[8] that respectively reflect the realms of purity and of impurity and that differ from all other places in the degree to which they are removed from normal human understanding within the visible realm. One of the spaces is located in the sacred place linked to the divine source of life, to purity, blessing, eternity, and fertility. Known as the *kappōret* (a covering over the ark of the covenant within the holy of holies; the name is from the stem *k-p-r*, discussed in n. 2), the site of the cherubim, and the holy of holies, it is entered by the high priest once a year, on *yōm ha-kippūrīm*. The other space is located in the accursed space linked to death, impurity, desolation, destruction, and ruin. It is known as the wilderness, the "inaccessible land" (*ereṣ gĕzērā*), the wasteland, and the place of Azazel; it is the destination each year of the "designated man" (*īsh ʿittī*) who accompanies the goat for Azazel, bearing sin and impurity (Lev 16:10, 21–22, 26–27).[9] The expiation proceeds on two fronts. On the one hand, it is entwined with the sanctification and purification of the high priest as he enters the holy of holies, a place associated with divine revelation, the garden of Eden, the cherubim, the *kappōret*, and the incense.[10] On the other hand, it is associated with defilement through contact with death, with removal of impurity and sin, and with the designated man's venture into the inaccessible land. The defilement, in turn, is bound up with the memory of evil actions associated with Azazel and the spirits of Belial, with the Watchers (described below) and giants, with demons, the angel of darkness, and Prince Mastema. These entities represent a mythological recollection and mystical embodiment of evil and oblivion, impurity, and all manner of sin. The memory is detailed in Enoch and Jubilees, in the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs and in the Dead Sea Scrolls — the Commentary (*pēsher*) on Habakkuk, the Jeremiah Apocryphon, the Apocalypse of Abraham — and in other sources.[11]

The expiation involves purification from the defilement, sin, and transgression that threaten the sacred and life itself; it is meant to avoid the destruction of the earth on account of divine wrath. It comprises a chain of ritual acts related, as noted, to two spaces. The first group of acts, performed by the high priest who immerses and purifies himself, is directed toward a place that transcends the bounds of time and space. That place reflects the exalted and sacred expanse that is simultaneously situated at the unseen center of its surroundings and opposed to those surroundings, an expanse known as the holy of holies, the *kappōret*, the place of the cherubim, "the pattern of the chariot." It is a place connected to the source of life and purity, to the recollection of creation and blessing; a place entered by the priest as he moves beyond the screen formed by the incense; a place linked

[7] On the literary and historical evolution of the linkage between the sin of Joseph's sale and *yōm ha-kippūrīm* — from Jubilees ch. 34 through the *hēkhālōt* literature, *Midrash shīr ha-shīrīm rabbā*, *Midrash ʿăśeret hărūgē malkhūt* (Jellinek 1967: 2:64–65), *Ēlleh ezkĕrā*, and *Pirqē dĕ-rabbī ĕlīʿezer*, ch. 38 — and on its connection to a martyrdom that represents the victim's spiritual triumph over the oppressor's temporal might, see Reeg 1985; Boustan 2005: 81–98.

On the connection to the *hēkhālōt* literature, see Dan 1973. See also Oron 1980, the version entitled "*sippūr mah she-ʾērāʿ lĕ-ʿeser*(!) *hărūgē malkhūt ʿăḇūr mĕkhīrat yōsēf*." For an up-to-date review of research on the various versions of the story, see Boustan 2005: 8–14; and cf. Hershler 1972; Urbach 1987: 521–22.

[8] A heterotopic space is a unique space, different from all other known spaces, a meaning-establishing place situated within an exceptional socio-cultural domain. Its function differs from — or is absolutely opposed to — that of any other place, yet it is located in the midst of the socio-cultural domain (Foucault 1966). On the significance of this concept, see further below, n. 17.

[9] On purity and impurity as antithetical parallels symbolizing life and death, see Milgrom 1991: 46. On the *kappōret*, see Exodus 25:20–22; 1 Kings 8:6–7; Temple Scroll VII: 9–13 (Qimron 1996: 16; *DSSSE* 2:1233.); and cf. *b. Yōmāʾ* 54a–b. On the sins carried by the goat to Azazel, see Stökl Ben Ezra 2003: 103.

[10] On the linkage between the Temple and the garden of Eden, see Mazor 2002; and cf. Himmelfarb 1991; 1993: 29-46; Elior 2004: 63–81.

[11] See 1 Enoch chs. 6–16; 19:1–3; 39:1–2; 54:5; 64:2–4; 65:6–11; 69:1–12; 106:13–15; Jubilees 5:1–11; 7:21–26; 8:3; 2 Enoch 18:7; K: 7:11. The references in the Testaments of the Twelve Tribes and the Dead Sea Scrolls are considered below.

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to "Paradise[, which] is in between the corruptible and the incorruptible."[12] Jubilees explicitly notes the link between "the garden of Eden, holy of holies" and the terrestrial holy of holies, the "navel of the earth" referred to in the tradition about Mount Zion: "And he knew that the garden of Eden was the holy of holies and the dwelling of the Lord. And Mount Sinai (was) in the midst of the desert and Mount Zion (was) in the midst of the navel of the earth. The three of these were created as holy places, one facing the other."[13]

The second group of ritual actions, performed with the participation of "the designated man," is directed toward "the inaccessible area," the wilderness, the place of Azazel, and the spirits of Belial. That the place is linked to the source of death and impurity, to recollections of destruction and malediction, is clearly evident from the stringent purification requirements imposed on the person who dispatches the goat to Azazel when he returns from the wilderness to inhabited land (Lev 16:21–22, 26–27) and from the traditions associated with the sinful angels and their leader Azazel. These angels are known as accursed Watchers and impure spirits confined to the darkness of the wilderness, as detailed in the Enoch books, Jubilees, and the Dead Sea Scrolls.[14]

Expiation, or purification of impurity, is a priestly monopoly, related to the connection between the sources of impurity and the celestial forgiver and expiator. The former — that is, the sources of impurity — comprise sinners and sins that traverse the bounds of time and space; they are associated with the inaccessible area and Azazel, with the company of darkness, the angel of darkness, the angel Mastema, and the spirits of Belial or impure spirits.[15] These agents lead people astray, cause them to sin, and endanger the sacred zone of purity, the source of life.[16] The celestial expiator, meanwhile, represents sanctity and purity that traverse the bounds of time and

[12] "Paradise is in between the corruptible and the incorruptible" (2 Enoch 8:4; K: 5:4; note that "paradise" and "garden of Eden" are used interchangeably; here, as in most such cases, the Hebrew is *gan ʿēden*). On the sacred place entered into by the high priest on *yōm ha-kippūrīm*, see Leviticus 16:12–18 and cf. Exodus 25 and 1 Chronicles 28:18. See also the comment of Milgrom 1991, on Leviticus 16:12–18. On the place of holy of holies in the ancient mystical tradition in the context of the cherubim and the chariot, see Elior 2004: 15–17, 33, 67–87, and the index entry "holy of holies." On the origins of the incense in the garden of Eden in priestly myth, see Life of Adam and Eve (Charlesworth 1983–85: 2:249–95) 29:3–7; 1 Enoch chs. 29–32; Jubilees 3:27; 16:24. The account of Enoch's heavenly journey refers to the seven fragrant substances in the incense: frankincense, myrrh, resin, cinnamon, balsam, galbanum, and aloe; cf. Life of Adam and Eve 29:1–7; Elior 2004: 73–74, 128.

[13] Jubilees 8:19. Cf. ibid., 3:12: "... we brought her into the garden of Eden because it is more holy than any land. And every tree which is planted in it is holy." On the sacred garden and the sacred mountain, see Levenson 1985: 128–35, and cf. Elior 2007. See Douglas' definition (1966: 54): "... holiness is unity, integrity, perfection of the individual and the kind."

[14] *ʿĪr*, the Hebrew word here rendered "Watcher," can mean "messenger" or "angel" in Aramaic (see Dan 4:10: "a holy Watcher [*ʿīr vĕ-qaddīsh*] coming down from heaven"; Dan 4:14: "This sentence is decreed by the Watchers [*ʿīrīn*]; this verdict is commanded by the Holy Ones [*qaddīshīn*]"). On the "Watchers," see above, n. 11, and the discussion below. Cf. DJD 18:37; DJD 36:20; DJD 13:173. See also *Shīr ha-yiḥūd* ("Hymn of Unity"), section for Wednesday: "The holy Watcher [*ʿīr vĕ-qaddīsh*] surrounded himself with secrecy," using the terminology of Daniel 4:10.

[15] Cf. "You made Belial for the pit, angel of enmity; in dark[ness] is his [dom]ain, his counsel is to bring about wickedness and guilt. All the spirits of his lot are angels of destruction, they walk in the laws of darkness; towards it goes their only [de]sire" (*War Scroll* (1QM) XIII:10–12, *DSSSE* 1:135 [the word translated "enmity" is משטמה, though the consonantal text in *DSSSE* reads משפטה]). Cf. also "... to frighten and terr[ify] all the spirits of the ravaging angels and the bastard spirits, demons, Lilith, the owls and [jackals ...] and those who strike unexpectedly to lead astray the spirit of knowledge, to make their hearts forlorn ... " (Songs of the Sage, 4Q510, *DSSSE* 1:20).

Jubilees quotes Moses as praying, "O Lord, let your mercy be lifted up upon your people, and create for them an upright spirit. And do not let the spirit of Beliar [K: Belial] rule over them to accuse them before you and ensnare them from every path of righteousness so that they might be destroyed from before your face" (Jub 1:20). The Bible mentions Belial twenty-seven times in connection with sin and sinners; the Septuagint translates it as *anomia* or *paranomos*, which have the sense of "willfulness," "transgression," and/or "dissolution" (see Sperling 1995). On Mastema, see Jubilees 10:8: "And the chief of the spirits, Mastema, came ..."; Jubilees 11:5: "And the prince, Mastema ... sent other spirits to those who were set under his hand to practice all error and sin and all transgression, to destroy, to cause to perish and to pour out blood upon the earth"; *War Scroll* XIII:4: "Accursed be Belial for his inimical plan [*maḥăsheḇet maśṭēmā*; the translation renders this latter term as a common adjective rather than a proper noun], may he be damned for his blameworthy rule. Accursed be all the spirits of his lot for their wicked plan, may they be damned for their deeds of filthy uncleanness. For they are the lot of darkness ..." (*DSSSE* 1:135); Pseudo-Moses, 4Q387a, 4Q388a: "I will remove the huma[n beings, and I will abandon] the country in the hand of the angels of enmity [*malʾăkhē ha-maśṭēmōt*]. And I will hide [my face] [from Is]rael ... the priests of Jerusalem to serve other gods ..." (*DSSSE* 1:778, 780).

On the Scrolls' identification of Belial with the angel Mastema, see Licht 1965: 65–67, 72, 92; on the identification of Mastema with the angel of darkness, see ibid., 92–93. The *Community Rule* (1QS) itself includes the following statement (III:20–24): "And in the hand of the Angel of Darkness is total dominion over the sons of deceit; they walk on paths of darkness. From the Angel of Darkness stems the corruption of all the sons of justice, and all their sins, their iniquities, their guilts and their offensive deeds are under his dominion ... and all their afflictions and their periods of grief are caused by the dominion of his enmity [*memshelet maśṭēmatō*]; and all the spirits of his lot cause the sons of light to fall" (*DSSSE* 1:75–77). On the Angel of Darkness, see Licht 1965: 82–92. For an overview of these terms, see Eshel 1999: 120–30.

[16] On impurity as endangering purity, see Milgrom 1991: 42–52.

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space; they are associated with the garden of Eden and the cherubim, with the holy angels and the company of light ("sons of light") and with the holy of holies — an area bounded by taboos of sanctity and prohibition that is opened to the high priest only once a year, on *yōm ha-kippūrīm*.[17]

Purity and impurity (or expiation and desecration) are terms heavily laden with meaning in the priestly literature, which is based on antithetical parallels representing life and death, and on the representation of those parallels — abstract and concrete, sanctified and defiling, ritual and textual. As noted, these antithetical parallels are linked, respectively, to the holy of holies, which is the source of blessing, holiness, and life, and to the "inaccessible land," the locus of curse, corruption, and death. They are associated, on the one hand, with the ark cover (*kappōret*), the chariot of the cherubim, the holy angels, and the garden of Eden, and, on the other, with the desolate wilderness, the dark of *shĕʾōl*, the place to which Azazel and the beasts and spirits of Belial are confined. Purity and impurity are linked, respectively, to creation and chaos, to the civilized realm and the unrestrained realm. The civilized realm, which represents holiness, is subject to reckoning and sequence, to constraints and prohibitions, to text account, counting, and recounting, and to law, righteousness, and covenant. The unrestrained realm, in contrast, represents impurity; it is a place of unconstrained lawlessness and of inchoate experience lacking narrative, sequence, or measurement — an antinomian reality that violates all covenants. Moreover, these two opposing realms are associated, respectively, with the eternal cycles of life linked to sacred cycles, covenant, cult, and law, and to the breakdown of the natural order associated with desecration of the sacred, annulment of the covenant, violation of the law, and disruption of the cult. The realms are engaged in ongoing struggle. On the one side is that which is reckoned and preordained, grounded in law, cyclicity, and calendar, a vivifying domain that is known, in short, as holiness, covenant, the ways of righteousness, and the company (or "the lot") of light. Arrayed against it is that which is void of reckoning and law and hence chaotic, a death-dealing domain that is known, in short, as lawlessness, abomination, corruption, and the company (or "the lot") of the dark. Impurity and purity exist as antithetical parallels in myth, law, and ritual, and they entail the threat of oblivion, on the one hand, and the promise of eternity, on the other. The threat of oblivion flows from a breach in the boundaries that establish the sanctified unity (law, set times, Sabbath, and covenant) from corruption and overturning of the law and from heavenly chastisement. The promise of eternity is conditioned on the establishment of boundaries and cycles, and on observance of the covenant grounded in holy set times and laws ordained by heaven and in divine expiation. The Dead Sea Scrolls and the books of the Apocrypha found among them are characterized by the mythic, mystical, and ritual personification of purity and impurity, of holiness and corruption, of life and death. These abstractions appear as holy angels and demons, as the company of light and the company of darkness, as Malkizedek (literally, "king of righteousness," hereafter, per the usual convention in English texts: Melchizedek) and Malkiresha (literally, "king of wickedness") — representatives, respectively, of the two realms within the dualistic world of the children of light and the children of darkness. It is virtually certain that this bipolar literary construct reflects the fact that many of these texts were written while their authors were seceding from the Jerusalem Temple because they regarded it as defiled and polluted by reason of the distorted calendar in use there and the unpedigreed priesthood that had officiated there since the Seleucid conquest (175 B.C.E.) and the Hasmonean revolution (152–37 B.C.E.).[18] The struggle between the two realms reaches its climax

[17] On *yōm ha-kippūrīm* the high priest entered the holy of holies "before and within," facing the cherubim — associated with the mystery of life, blessing, and sanctified sexuality — and standing behind the cloud of incense. The procedure for burning the incense on that day was a special one. According to the Zadokite tradition, it was burned on the golden altar, the altar of incense, outside the holy of holies; according to the Pharisees (*m. Tāmīd* 6:2; *Yōmāʾ* 1:5), it was burned on an incense pan within the holy of holies. The priest burned the incense after the goat was dispatched to the wilderness, the abode of Azazel — the chief of the sinful angels, associated with forbidden sexuality, damnation, darkness, and death. The holy of holies represents the garden of Eden and is associated with flourishing, buds and flowers, cherubim, gold, incense, light, and the secret of life itself; it is a sacred mythic domain that transcends terrestrial boundaries. The wilderness, in contrast, represents ruin and desolation, and is associated with an accursed mythic realm, with darkness, and with bloodshed. The dichotomy between the priest's entry into the holy of holies "before and within," and the dispatch of the goat to the wilderness, is the dichotomy between blessing and curse, between life and death.

[18] For evidence of the understanding that the Temple had become impure and defiled, see: "And as for what he says: *Hab. 2:17* 'Owing to the blood of the city and the violence (done to) the country.' Its interpretation: the city is Jerusalem in which the /Wicked/ Priest performed repulsive acts and defiled the Sanctuary of God" (Commentary on Habakkuk [*Pēsher ḥăḇaqqūq*], 1QpHab, XII:6–9 [*DSSSE* 1:21; cf. Nitzan 1986: 177, 194]). Cf. "[And you know that] we have segregated ourselves from the multitude of the peop[le ...] {and from all their impurity}" (*Miqṣat maʿăśē ha-tōrā*, 4Q397, frag. 14–21, line 7; *DSSSE* 2:801; square brackets in *DSSSE*; words shown in braces { } not in *DSSSE*; cf. DJD 10:58; Elior 2004: 38–40 [quoting the version in *DSSSE*]).

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on *yōm ha-kippūrīm*. On the one side is the realm of impurity, annihilation, lawlessness, curse, chaos, confusion, non-cyclicality, wilderness, the inaccessible land, the place of Azazel, the spirits of Belial, the Mastema angels, the angels of destruction and death. Arrayed against that side is the realm of purity, eternity, sanctity, blessing, the chariot, the holy of holies, "the heavenly chariots" (that is, the eternal and preordained astronomical cycles; see 1 Enoch 73:5), the eternal predetermined calendar of Sabbaths and months, the domain of the holy angels, and the cycles of planting, fertility, and life. The ritual for *yōm ha-kippūrīm* is conducted partly by the high priest, who enters the holy of holies — the place of purity, associated with the recollection of the garden of Eden and the cherubim, with the reckoning of the cycle of Sabbaths and the seven fixed festivals or "appointed times of the LORD." But another part of the ritual is conducted by the "designated man," who goes out to the inaccessible land, the domain of impurity, a place that lacks time and calendar and is associated with the recollection of Belial, Azazel, the company of darkness, and the punishment of the Watchers in Sheol.[19]

Victory in the battle waged on *yōm ha-kippūrīm* — between life and death, purity and defilement, sanctity and lawlessness — depends on self-denial on the part of the community that recalls and repents of its past and present transgressions and on the expiation rite enacted by the high priest. It requires a sacred confluence of sacred place (the holy of holies, a place of divine revelation[20]), sacred time (*shabbat shabbātōn* — the Sabbath of complete rest during the seventh month[21]), and sacred ritual, conducted by a priesthood that originated in the seventh generation following Adam, with the dynasty of Enoch and Melchizedek, and continued with "the progeny of Aaron, the holy of holies."[22] Since the destruction of the First Temple in 586 B.C.E., there had been no sacred

A fragmentary passage in 4Q390 [Pseudo-Moses] describes the contemporary defilement of the Temple and the violation of the covenant in terms of a prophecy spoken in God's name at the end of the First Temple period (586 B.C.E.) that pertains to a period extending to the middle of the Second Temple period:

> "And ever since that generation has been completed, in the seventh jubilee of the devastation of the land, they will forget the law, the festival, the Sabbath and the covenant; and they will disobey everything and will do what is evil in my eyes. And I will hide my face from them and deliver them to the hands of their enemies and abandon [them] to the sword. But /from among them/ I will make survivors remain so th[at] [t]he[y will] not [be exter]mi[nated] by my anger and the concealment [of my face] from them. And over them will rule the angels of destruction [...] and [t]he[y] will come back [and] do [...] evil before [my] eye[s] and walk according to the stub[bornness of their heart ...]... the ho[ly] temple {and my altar and the sacred sanctuary — *words not in DSSSE*} [... not] has been done; and so [... for] these things will happen to them [...] and [there will co]me the dominion of Belial upon them to deliver them up to the sword for a week of year[s .... During] that jubilee they will break all my laws and all my precepts which I will command [them and send by the hand of] my servants the prophets; and [t]he[y] will [be]gin to argue with one another for seventy years, from the day on which they break the [vow and the] covenant which they shall break. And I shall deliver them [to the hands of the an]gels and destruction {*malʾăkhē maśṭēmōt*} and they will rule over them. And they will not know and will not understand that I am enraged towards them for their disloyalty [with which they will des]ert me and do what is evil in my eyes and what I do not like they have chosen: domineering for money, for advantage [and for violence. And each] will steal what belongs to one's neigh[bour] and they will oppress one another they will defile my temple, [they will defile my Sabbaths, and] they will f[orget] my [fest]ivals and with the sons of [foreigners they will de]base their offs[pring;] their priest will act violently ... " (4Q390, frag. 1:7–12; frag. 2, I:1–10; *DSSSE* 2:783–85).

See also DJD 30:237, 244–45, and ibid., 173–74, for consideration of the historical context related to the changes in the priesthood and the displacement of the Zadokites in 175–165 B.C.E. (4Q390 [Pseudo-Moses]) is similar to the Habbakuk commentary: "Its interpretation concerns the last priests of Jerusalem, who will accumulate riches and loot from plundering the nations" (Commentary on Habakkuk, IX:4–5; *DSSSE* 1:19). On the immediately preceding page, the words are explicitly applied to the wicked priest who defiled *yōm ha-kippūrīm* as determined under the priestly calendar: "Its interpretation concerns the Wicked Priest, who was called loyal at the start of his office. However, when he ruled over Israel his heart became proud, he deserted God and betrayed the laws for the sake of riches. And he robbed and hoarded wealth from the violent men who had rebelled against God. And he seized public money, incurring additional serious sin. And he performed re[pul]sive acts by every type of defiling impurity" (Commentary on Habakkuk, VIII:8–13; *DSSSE* 1:16–18).

[19] The *yōm ha-kippūrīm* ritual inside and outside of the Temple goes back at least to the second century B.C.E., in the wake of the Seleucid conquest and the schism between the Zadokite priests, who served in the Temple until 175 B.C.E., and the Hasmonean priests, who served from 152 to 37 B.C.E. In Jewish communities outside the land of Israel, such as the one in Alexandria, alternative textual, ritual, and mystical traditions developed in lieu of the priests' Temple service.

[20] Exodus 30:10; Leviticus 16:12–13. As noted, the location of the holy of holies was not unambiguous, at least in the eyes of those who believed the Temple to have been defiled and desecrated, as described above in n. 18. Cf. also the passage from Jubilees cited above, accompanying n. 13).

[21] Leviticus 23:31. For a dispute regarding the time of *yōm ha-kippūrīm*, see the Commentary on Habakkuk, cited below.

[22] On the ritual in the sacred realm, cf. the incense within the holy of holies, purification by immersion, and the sacred garments (Exod 30: 34–38; Lev 16: 3, 12–13). The identity of the high priest was the subject of dispute between the Zadokites ("the progeny of Aaron, the holy of holies") and the Hasmoneans, who, the Habakkuk Commentary suggests, lacked that biblical pedigree, at least from the second century B.C.E. Also in dispute was the location for burning the incense, as we know from the Pharisees' comments to the Saducees regarding this matter. It is the dispute between the Zadokite and Hasmonean priestly houses that underlies the idea of a priestly dynasty extending along a temporal axis from Enoch son of Jared, founder of the priesthood, all the way to the Zadokite high priest during the second century B.C.E., embodying a bloodline determined at the outset by divine selection, and connected to a fixed and exclusive sacred site. Only

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place that included the chariot of the cherubim, known as the *kappōret* (ark covering) in its biblical form, and that development necessitated ritual and textual changes. Various traditions formulated mystical domains that replaced the ritual domain associated with *yōm ha-kippūrīm* with mystical ascents to heaven or with traditions of prayer or recitation. Starting in the second century B.C.E., the high priesthood was the subject of schism and dissent, and the *yōm ha-kippūrīm* service was likewise a matter of dispute (cf. the Commentary on Habakkuk).

The account of the expiation — a task assigned to the high priest and identified as the express purpose of the day — is supplemented by the directive to engage in self-denial, an obligation borne by the entire congregation. Along with the obligation to refrain from labor, which *yōm ha-kippūrīm* shares with the other six set times of the Lord, there is an additional, severe requirement that is unique to *yōm ha-kippūrīm*:

> Indeed, any person who does not practice self-denial throughout that day shall be cut off from his kin; and whoever does any work throughout that day, I will cause that person to perish from among his people. Do no work whatever; it is a law for all time, throughout the ages in all your settlements. It shall be a Sabbath of complete rest for you, and you shall practice self-denial; on the ninth day of the month at evening, from evening to evening, you shall observe this your Sabbath (Lev 23:29–32).

The festival commandments associated with the six other appointed times of the Lord apply equally to all who are bound by them. The ritual core of *yōm ha-kippūrīm*, in contrast, is conducted at the holy of holies and is assigned to the high priest; and he alone expiates the sins of the entire community through a complex ritual process that takes place out of public sight. Meanwhile, the community that is refraining from work is mortifying itself through a twenty-four-hour fast pertaining to present sins and to the memory of past sins that desecrate the Temple. In Leviticus 16:1–34, the high priest's service on *yōm ha-kippūrīm* is described through a series of actions reserved to the priestly service in the Temple: sacrifice, expiate, slaughter, purify, sanctify. The sacrifice and slaughter are carried out in the context of the overall sacrificial order that marks, day by day, the passage of the cycle of time — days, weeks, months, and set times. The expiation, purification, and sanctification, however, along with the high priest's entry into the holy of holies following a series of immersions and the burning of incense on the golden altar, are unique to *yōm ha-kippūrīm*, and they are part of a complex array of relationships, administered by the high priest, between the revealed and the concealed. As noted, the expiation ritual carried out by the high priest is described in terms of the bi-directional concepts of defilement and purity, expiation and holiness: "Thus he shall purge [*vĕ-khippēr*; in the terminology used here, "he shall expiate"] the Shrine of the uncleanliness and transgression of the Israelites, whatever their sins … he shall cleanse it of the uncleanliness of the Israelites and consecrate it" (Lev 16:16–19).

Despite its distinctive ritual dimensions bound up with the priestly tradition in general and the tradition of the high priesthood in particular, *yōm ha-kippūrīm* at its core remains difficult to account for. It marks no historical time emblazoned in the national memory, and it forms no part of the three pilgrimage festivals, of the annual seasons or the jubilee cycles, or of any noteworthy historical tradition. In the biblical tradition, the expiation is not associated with any specific transgression, historical event, or literary recollection. And though this festival differs from all the others in its degree of divine sanctity and in the severe sanctions imposed for failing to observe it, the tradition lacks any historical narrative that explains the circumstances in which it came into being or the commandments associated with it. Mortification of body and soul is the essence of the holiday's commandment of general applicability; and the expiation bound up with that mortification and the severe penalty incurred by one failing to comply — distinctively worded as "I will cause that person to perish from among his people" (Lev 23:30) — gave rise to questions about the hidden nature of the sin to be expiated and the revealed and concealed nature of the associated punishment. This was a sacred set time prominent in its ritual distinctiveness and in the terrifying punishment reserved for those who violated it, yet it lacked any literary context or historical anchor. That lack, along with the changed historical circumstances that put an end to parts of the day's ritual tradition, led to a sense of wonder and a quest for answers regarding the ancient background of the holiday's unexplained wealth of ritual, its range of associations transcending bounds of time and space, and the ritual's primordial roots. The missing historical-literary context for *yōm ha-kippūrīm* and the changed historical circumstances that began

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the Zadokites — the progeny of Aaron, the holy of holies — are entitled to that status on the basis of the biblical tradition tracing the line of the high priesthood (see 1 Chr 5:27–41; Ezra 7:1–5).

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with the destruction of the First Temple and culminated with the desecration of the Second Temple seem to have prompted perceptive and visionary narrators to probe the early foundations of *yōm ha-kippūrīm*. In doing so, they called up ancient traditions, explicit and implied, alluding to a mythological and mystical context for the holiday, a context of terrible sin and severe punishment, and of expiation and holiness, impurity and purity, death and life.

As noted, the priestly worldview so powerfully expressed on *yōm ha-kippūrīm* was based on a binary structure that divided the conceptual order into antithetical pairs — substantive, abstract, and symbolic — such as life and death, holiness and lawlessness, purity and impurity. These were associated with righteousness and wickedness, good and evil, light and dark, and holy angels and spirits of Belial. The profound underpinnings of the first term in each foregoing pair lie within a fourfold context of sacred place, sacred ritual, sacred memory, and sacred time:

- *Sacred place*: transcending boundaries of time and space, the sacred place is known as the holy of holies, as the divine source of life. It is called the *kappōret*, to which the high priest ventures once a year, in the seventh month, on *yōm ha-kippūrīm*.
- *Sacred ritual*: given over to one divinely chosen individual who received knowledge from the holy angels during the seventh human generation and to his descendants, termed "the progeny of Aaron, the holy of holies," the ritual attains its pinnacle in the expiation on *yōm ha-kippūrīm*.
- *Sacred memory*: related to the myth regarding sins and punishments associated with the seventh month and requiring expiation, the memory is preserved in the commandment of self-denial associated with the tenth day of the seventh month, a commandment applicable to the entire nation on *yōm ha-kippūrīm*.
- *Sacred time*: the day is *shabbat shabbātōn*, a day of complete rest during the seventh month; it has its source in a heavenly command tied to oath and covenant related to *yōm ha-kippūrīm*.

These cultic dimensions, more intense in the traditions associated with *yōm ha-kippūrīm* than in those associated with any of the other festivals, hint at the expanse of meaning within which the early context and deep significance of *yōm ha-kippūrīm* should be sought. For while the first term in the pairs of concepts noted above is related to the *kappōret* in the Temple, associated with the "garden of Eden, the holy of holies," with the covenant tied to the seven-based cycle of set times, and with the blessing linked to purity and the sanctity of life, the second term in each pair is related to the desolate wilderness, to the shadowy subterranean domain of darkness, to violation of the covenant, to disruption of the cycles of time and the sanctity of life, to the inaccessible land, to Azazel, and to damnation, impurity, and death.

In what follows, I wish to raise the possibility that *yōm ha-kippūrīm*, in its earliest strata, was the set time for a sacral-textual-liturgical dramatization of the eternal struggle between the opposing pairs of elements referred to earlier: life and death, holiness and lawlessness, righteousness and wickedness, cultivated land and wilderness, the garden of Eden and the domain of shadows, the ways of innocence and the ways of Belial, the sacred and the profane, purity and impurity, observance of the covenant and violation of the covenant, the company of light and the company of darkness, Uriel and Azazel, Melchizedek and Malkiresha, the holy angels and the Mastema angels, and the righteous priest and the wicked priest. This struggle, formulated in various narrative passages that provide the background for the ritual, points in intricate ways to the interrelationships between the responsibilities assigned to the human being who is commanded to observe the holy covenant — that is, observance of the covenant and the law, of truth and righteousness, and of the calendrical cycles — and to the responsibilities assigned to the angels, that is, the eternal cycles of nature. While continuation of life depends on the former, its continuity depends on the latter. At the same time, the *yōm ha-kippūrīm* traditions express well the interrelationships between, on the one hand, violation of the law, disruption of the calendar, and impairment of the sacred perfection of the covenant, and, on the other, corruption of the cycles of nature, which is a process associated with the spirits of the company of darkness, Belial, Mastema, Azazel, and angels of destruction — all of which impair the continuity of life and the cultic cycles and wreak destruction, shadows, and desolation. These polar opposites associate observance of the covenant with the eternal natural cycles and with blessing, while violation of the covenant and moral corruption are associated with ruin and damnation, and the struggle between them reaches its pinnacle in the *yōm ha-kippūrīm* ritual, which is carried out simultaneously in both domains. Part of the ritual is conducted in the holy of holies, the domain of purity and site of the *kappōret* and "the pattern of the chariot — the cherubs those with outspread wings screening the ark of the covenant of the LORD" (1 Chr 28:18), in the presence of the cherubim and the garden of Eden, the source of life and the realm of the holy angels. But

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another part of the ritual is conducted in the wilderness, the inaccessible land, the domain of impurity, "in the darkness ... Sheol ... in the depths ... in the place of darkness" (Jub 5:14), the place where the demons, Azazel, and the spirits of Belial are confined — the representatives of lawlessness, corruption, chaos, and death.

Of the seven set times of the Lord, *yōm ha-kippūrīm* is the only one whose ritual dimensions invoke mythical and mystical recollections associated with both entry into the holy of holies, with all that entails, and going out to the wilderness, the place of Azazel, with all its negative associations. The two ritual processes — one conducted by the high priest who enters the holy of holies, the locus of the cherubim, behind the screen of the incense cloud, and one conducted by the designated man, who goes out to the wilderness, the place of Sheol and Belial, Azazel and demons, accompanying the goat sent to Azazel — are fraught with menace and struggle, water and blood, purity and impurity, life and death. The two processes are antithetical in direction and locus: inside and outside, life and death, purity and impurity, shrine and wilderness, holiness and lawlessness, fertile land and desolate expanse, recollection and oblivion, cherubim and Watchers, holy angels and Mastema angels, spirits of righteousness and spirits of Belial, integrity and obduracy, righteousness and wickedness, light and dark. Together, they are part of a numinous religious drama that provides a stage for a dualistic conception of the world, encompassing all of existence beyond the bounds of time and space. The binary poles of this conception establish the tension between sacred perfection, based on divisions and distinctions deriving from the invisible world and documented in sacred scriptures, and a chaotic existence lacking divisions and distinctions, unbounded by written law or by fear of the invisible world and dominated by sense perceptions and drives. The tension between the poles is at its most intense in the *yōm ha-kippūrīm* ritual, readings, or liturgy. The drama summons up early recollections and mythic dimensions of the struggle between life and death, holiness and impurity, creation and chaos, order and turmoil, righteousness and wickedness — all of which are personified in mythical and mystical figures. Of this struggle that first took place in humanity's early generations, one may say, in the instructive words of the Roman historian Sallustius, "All this did not happen at any one time, but always is so."[23]

THREE TRADITIONS REGARDING *YŌM HA-KIPPŪRĪM*

In the priestly literature discovered in the Dead Sea Scrolls (written during the final centuries B.C.E.) and in the parallel traditions of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha (written during the final centuries before the destruction of the Temple, in a time of schism and dispute regarding the sacred place, the sacred time, and the sacred ritual), *yōm ha-kippūrīm* is tied to three different traditions. These traditions provide an expansive explanation and account both of the transgression and associated impurity and of the punishment, expiation, and purification.

(1) The first tradition pertains to a collective sin of disrupting the boundaries between heaven and earth — a sin committed in the mythological age before the flood, during the sixth generation after Adam, when the boundaries between heaven and earth had not yet been sealed. It involved the *bĕnē ĕlōhīm* (literally, "sons of gods [or God]"; NJPS: divine beings), who descended from heaven to earth because they were attracted to human women. Any such unions, however, would be forbidden for a host of reasons: because the divine beings were immortal and not intended by the creator to engage in reproduction, which is reserved to mortals alone; because the unions would be forbidden by divine laws prohibiting boundary-transgressing admixtures of any sort (such as those against interweaving linen and wool or planting certain species together) in order to maintain the eternity of creation; because of the fundamental societal taboo against sexual contact between members of different species (reflected in the biblical law prohibiting bestiality); and because contact with mortal humans would defile the eternal heavenly essence of the divine beings.[24] In their descent, the *bĕnē ĕlōhīm* — known in Aramaic as *ʿīrīm*, a

[23] Sallustius 1966: 9 (IV:14–15).

[24] On the various traditions regarding fallen (sinning) angels, see Dimant 1974; Eshel 1999: 15–58 and bibliography. On the various interpretations given to the term *bĕnē ĕlōhīm*, see Cassuto 1961: 291–94; Dimant 1974: 7–16; Eshel 1999: 16–23. On their role in Enoch, Jubilees, and the Dead Sea Scrolls, see Milik 1976; Elior 2004: 111–34; Nickelsburg 1977. On the various versions of the fallen angels story, see Cassuto 1961: 298. On the historical context of the story retold in Genesis 6, see Suter 1979; Hanson 1977. For an up-to-date scholarly overview summarizing some of the central viewpoints regarding the polemical context of the story, see Stökl Ben Ezra 2003: 85–94. Milik argues that the original version of Enoch included, instead of the book of Parables (chs. 37–71), a work called the book of Giants. He published Aramaic passages related to the story of the Watchers who come down to copulate with human women and teach them forbidden knowledge (Milik 1976: 59–60, 302; cf. the critique by Dimant 1974: 16–21).

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term often (and here) translated as "Watchers" (Dan 4:10) — breached the boundaries between heaven and earth, willfully commingling spiritual and fleshly beings and defiling the earth. Their action entailed three sinful elements: they sinned by looking in a forbidden way, a way that aroused lust and licentiousness and led to their submission to the world of sense perceptions and impulses; they sinned by engaging in lewd activity, consisting of forbidden unions between different species, leading to a breakdown of the natural order; and they sinned by violating divine law, justice, and morality, in their having taken the women willfully (as suggested by the phrase "from among those that pleased them" [Gen 6:2]).[25] The sins of the Watchers, who muddled the distinctions and separations that underlay all creation, brought about the corruption of the world and the chaotic state referred to in the phrase "the earth was filled with lawlessness" (Gen 6:13). The source of this tradition about the communal sins of the *bĕnē ĕlōhīm* is alluded to in the passage in Genesis (6:1 and following), which begins "the divine beings saw how beautiful the daughters of men were and took wives from among those that pleased them" (6:2) and concludes with the divine curse and collective punishment recounted in the flood story. The punishment is inflicted on the entire earth, which became filled with lawlessness as a result of these forbidden unions — unions that began with the breach of a taboo and culminated in the birth of monsters outside the natural order. The monsters would kill everything around them in order to satisfy their hunger, for nature provides no ready sustenance for those born unnaturally.[26] This myth about a collective sin of cosmic boundary breaching — a sin that defiled and corrupted the earth — is explicitly linked to *yōm ha-kippūrīm* through the name of the rebellious angels' leader, known as Azazel. That name is applied to him in a tradition recorded in *Sēfer hā-ʿīrīm* (book of the Watchers),[27] a work written in the third or early second century B.C.E. and preserved as the first thirty-six chapters of 1 Enoch. Portions of that text were found among the Dead Sea Scrolls in their original Aramaic; a Hebrew translation from the Ethiopic recension of the book of Watchers, the first thirty-six chapters of 1 Enoch, appears in the Pseudepigrapha.[28]

Parallel traditions regarding the Watchers' sins appear in Jubilees, 2 Enoch, the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, and the Dead Sea Scrolls.[29] Azazel, the name of the rebellious angels' leader, is tied to the tradition of sending a goat to Azazel as part of the holiday's prescribed rites, set forth in Leviticus 16. But while that passage tells of sending the goat to Azazel, to an inaccessible land (16:21–22), it says nothing of the ritual's context or rationale. The book of the Watchers (1 Enoch 1–36), however, sets forth an elaborate explanation for the performance of this ritual at the edge of the wilderness, the place of death and oblivion. Azazel is often misunderstood as a place name, consistent with later interpretive tradition, but the ancient, pre–Common Era traditions take it as a personal name; it is not a place called Azazel but the place where Azazel, the leader of the rebellious angels, is confined. Situated in the wilderness, it is a place of darkness, an inaccessible land (the Hebrew *ereṣ gĕzērā* literally means "a land cut off" from settlement, in effect, a penal colony). Azazel, then, is the place where the angel Azazel resides (just as the Hades of Greek mythology is the place where the underworld god Hades resides); also

[25] On the sin of lewdness committed by the Watchers, see Dimant 1974: 30–44. On the term *shĕrīrūt lēḇ* ("with willful heart" or "willfully") as referring to evil and to violation of God's ways, see Deuteronomy 29:18; and cf. Jeremiah 3:17; 7:24; 9:12–13; see Dimant 1974: 39. Whenever the term appears in the Bible, its context is Israel's abandonment of God and pursuit of other gods and its forsaking of the obligations to remember and bear witness that are imposed on those who took part in the oath and the covenant (Ps 83:15–16). To act willfully is the opposite of to "remember and preserve," for abandonment of the covenant is tied to forgetting the past and turning one's back on the oaths and events in which the covenant is grounded. This fraught term is used throughout the writings of the separatist Zadokite priesthood to describe the sins of the Watchers, the ways of their adversaries, and even acts of treachery by individuals against the group. See *Community Rule* I:6–7; II:26; V:4–5; VII:23–24 (*DSSSE* 1:71, 73, 79–81, 89; García Martínez and Tigchelaar translate: "stubbornness of one's heart"); Thanksgiving Hymn 8:4, 15. The opposite term is *lĕ-hithallēkh tāmīm bĕ-khol dĕrākhāv* ("to walk perfectly on all his paths"); see *Damascus Document* (CD) II:15–16 (*DSSSE* 1:553).

[26] See Jubilees 5:2.

[27] The word rendered in English as Azazel is usually written in Hebrew as *ʿăzāʾzēl* (consonantally: עזאזל) but sometimes as *ʿăzāzēʾl* (consonantally: עזזאל); see Nickelsburg 2001. On Azazel, see Ahituv 1972. The Samaritan Pentateuch spells it עזזאל, as do the scrolls in their paraphrase of the wording in Leviticus 16; see 11QT 26:13; 4Q180 1, 7–8; Hoenig 1965/66; and see further below at nn. 32–33. On the history of the research linking Azazel, the story of the Watchers, and *yōm ha-kippūrīm*, see Stökl Ben Ezra 2003: 85–90. On the book of the Watchers and its place in Enoch, cf. Dimant 1974: 16–24.

[28] For Hebrew texts, see Kahana 1957. Cf. also the Ethiopic and Greek versions of Enoch and the English translations: Nickelsburg 2001; Stone 1978; Black 1985. The passages of the book's Aramaic source found at Qumran appear in Milik 1976. More recently, passages of the Enoch literature found at Qumran were published in DJD 36:3–171. See also Vermès 1997: 513ff.

[29] Yadin 1955: 336; *Damascus Document*: 4Q266, frag. 2ii:13–21; DJD 18:37; 1 Enoch 63:1; Benedictions: 4Q286, frag. 7ii:1–12; DJD 11:27; *Community Rule* III:19–IV:14; 4Q227, frag. 2:4; DJD 13:173; 4Q252, col. I:1–19; col. II:1–5 (*DSSSE* 1:502–7). See also 4Q252, col. I, frags. 1, 2:1–22; DJD 22:193–94; 4Q252, col. II, frags. 1, 3:1–5; DJD 22:198; 4Q254a, frag. 3:1–3; DJD 22:235.

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residing there are his offspring — "the spirits of the company of Belial," "the destroying angels," the Mastema angels, all of them linked to death, impurity, ruin, evil, darkness, Mastema, corruption, willfulness, admixture of opposites, breaching of boundaries, the cardinal sins that one is obligated to suffer martyrdom rather than commit, and disruption of life. Azazel and his offspring are doomed to remain there until the great day of judgment.

Yōm ha-kippūrīm, the sixth of the set times in the annual cycle, observed as a Sabbath of complete rest on the sixth day of the week (Friday), the tenth day of the seventh month, pertains to the memory of a collective sin that occurred in the sixth human generation. The sin entailed disrupting the boundaries between heaven and earth, and engaging in forbidden sexual relations, idolatry, and bloodshed (the three cardinal transgressions); in its wake there came tragedy, lawlessness, corruption, curse, and flood. Azazel's ties to the inaccessible land arise out of his anomalous situation: because he was defiled by contact with human women, he could not return to the heavens, but because he is one of the angels, and hence immortal, he was not subject to being killed by the flood, as were the human beings of that sinful generation. Accordingly, he was confined to the wilderness — the inaccessible land, the depths of the earth, in close proximity to the defiling realm of the dead, a place called "the darkness ... Sheol ... the depths ... the place of darkness" (Jub 5:14). The book of Enoch describes their two-stage punishment: a first stage subject to the laws of nature, in which they are confined to the wilderness, the depths of the earth, the darkness, beneath sharp rocks, buried alive; and a second stage, beyond the bounds of nature, in which they are burned on judgment day. These two punishments, one past and one future, are accompanied by an obligation to recall Azazel's sin in the present:

> And secondly the Lord said to Raphael, "Bind Azazel hand and foot (and) throw him into the darkness!" And he made a hole in the desert which was in Duda'el and cast him there; he threw on top of him rugged and sharp rocks. And he covered his face in order that he may not see light; and in order that he might be sent into the fire on the great day of judgment. And give life to the earth which the angels have corrupted.... And the whole earth has been corrupted by Azazel's teaching of his (own) actions; and write upon him all sin (1 Enoch 10:4–8; cf. ibid., 54:5–6).[30]

In Jubilees, the angel of the presence (*mal'akh ha-pānīm*) similarly tells of the terrible punishment inflicted on the sinning angels, who are buried alive. At the end of the account of the corruption and lawlessness wreaked on earth by the angel's sins, the text describes their punishment of confinement in the depths of the earth:

> And against his angels whom he had sent to the earth he was very angry. He commanded that they be uprooted from all their dominion. And he told us to bind them in the depths of the earth, and behold, they are bound in the midst of them, and they are isolated (Jub 5:6).

2 Enoch likewise describes the punishment of the sinning Watchers: "But the Lord has sentenced them under the earth until heaven and earth are ended forever" (2 Enoch 18:7; K: 7:11). The fallen angels who surrendered to the temptation of the senses and sinned are imprisoned, buried alive, in a space denied any access to the pleasure of the senses, in darkness, coldness, solitude, and desolation, where no sight, sound, smell, taste, or touch is accessible. What is emphasized here is the opposition between these two poles of the vertical axis — at one extreme, the domain of the pure, holy angels in heaven or in the garden of Eden, "above the earth," where all sensual experiences are exalted (angelic singing, fragrance of incense, wonderful fruits, eternal luminosity, etc.), and at the other, the domain of the impure, sinful Watchers, imprisoned "in the depths of the earth," in the inaccessible land, in a wilderness where nothing grows and nothing lives. Impurity, associated with the sinful Watchers and the realm of death and darkness, and purity, associated with the holy angels and the realm of eternal life and light, are the two symbolic and ritual poles between which the *yōm ha-kippūrīm* service is conducted. As described in Leviticus, the ritual process involves the sending of a goat to Azazel, to the inaccessible land; in the Dead Sea Scrolls, the process involves the angel Azazel, imprisoned in the wilderness, in darkness, and buried alive in the depths of the earth. The process parallels the struggle between life and death, light and darkness, righteousness

[30] On corruption and its linkage to impairment of God's laws, see Deuteronomy 4:15–16: "For your own sake, therefore, be most careful — since you saw no shape when the LORD your God spoke to you at Horeb out of the fire — not to act wickedly [thus NJPS; the Hebrew verb is the same one translated "have corrupted" in the above quote from 1 Enoch] and make for yourselves a sculptured image in any likeness whatever." The Christian tradition also refers, in the New Testament, to a two-stage punishment: "For if God did not spare the angels when they sinned, but cast them in hell and committed them to chains of deepest darkness to be kept until the judgment ..." (2 Pet 2:4).

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and wickedness, purity and impurity, holiness and corruption. As it plays out, the struggle involves two sides. On the one side are the Holy and its representatives, celestial and terrestrial, mythical, mystical, liturgical and ritual: the prince of light, the angel Uriel (literally, "God is my light"), the "sons of light," the holy angels who reside in paradise (the eternal garden, source of life), Enoch son of Jared, Melchizedek, the priest of El Elyon ("God Most High"; see Gen 14:18), and the high priest who enters the holy of holies or the garden of Eden on *yōm ha-kippūrīm*. On the other side are the prince of darkness, Azazel (who dwells in the wilderness, in the pits of hell), Prince Belial (who dwells in the darkness of the wilderness, the realm of death), the "sons of darkness," the harmful angels, the Mastema angels, Prince Mastema, the wicked angels, and the wicked priest.[31]

A late tradition in *Yalqūṭ shimʿōnī* (*ad* Gen 6, *remez* 44), which preserves the memory of the ancient myth and its link to *yōm ha-kippūrīm*, concludes its discussion of the sins committed by Shemḥazai and Azazel in antediluvian times as follows:

> Azazel did not repent, and he holds fast to his immorality, seducing humans into sinning by wearing the colorful garb of women. For that reason, Israel would sacrifice on *yōm ha-kippūrīm*, one lot for God, so He would expiate Israel, and one lot for Azazel, so he would suffer Israel's transgressions, and that is Azazel (referred to) in the Torah.[32]

(2) The second of the three pre-Common Era *yōm ha-kippūrīm* traditions pertains to a sin collectively committed by a group of human beings who breached the bounds of the covenant and the distinctions between human beings and animals. It was a premeditated offense involving scheming, deception, and bloodshed — a sin horrific in its cruelty. It took place within the circle of a family and brought about death and physical and spiritual torments requiring expiation and self-denial. The sin in question was Joseph's being sold by his brothers (Gen 37:12–36); according to Jubilees, it took place on the tenth day of the seventh month, the time set for *yōm ha-kippūrīm*: "And they acted fraudulently and made a plot against him to kill him, but they repented and sold him to a band of Ishmaelites … And the sons of Jacob slaughtered a kid and dipped Joseph's garment into the blood and sent (it) to Jacob, their father, on the tenth of the seventh month" (Jub 34:11–12). The text goes on to expand on Jacob's profound mourning and his refusal to be comforted over the death of his son, whom he believed to have been torn by a wild beast, as his deceitful sons had told him. It adds information not included in Genesis: Jacob's daughter Dinah and his concubine Bilhah were so overtaken with grief over Joseph — the brother of the former and the son of the latter's mistress — that they, too, died on that same day. The story in Jubilees ends with a dramatic statement that transforms the harsh occasion of cruelty, treachery, and bloodshed into a day of remembrance and fasting that coincides with the day of the sin. The slaughtered kid mentioned in the story as the agent of the grieving Jacob's deception (Gen 37:31) is linked to the kid whose blood effects expiation:

> Therefore it is decreed for the children of Israel that they *mourn* [the Hebrew is usually translated "*afflict* their souls"] on the tenth (day) of the seventh month — on the day when that which caused him to weep for Joseph came to Jacob, his father — so that they might *atone* for them(selves) with a young kid on the tenth (day) of the seventh month, once a year, on account of their sin because they caused the affection of their father to grieve for Joseph, his son. And this day is decreed so that they might *mourn* on it on account of their sins and on account of all their transgressions and on account of all their errors in order to *purify* themselves on this day, once a year (Jub 34:18–19).

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[31] On these terms as used in the Dead Sea Scrolls, see Licht 1965: index under the pertinent entries; Yadin 1955: index under the pertinent entries. For a scholarly update on the terms, with reference to scrolls and studies published in recent decades, see Schiffman and VanderKam 2000. On Azazel in the Bible, see Milgrom 1991: 1020, 1071–79. On Azazel in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Enoch literature, see Dimant 1974: 23, 55–62. On Melchizedek and Malkiresha, see the discussion in *Introduction* above.

[32] The manuscript of *Yalqūṭ shimʿōnī* reads "one goat" where the printed version above reads "one lot" and other printed versions read "one ram" (see *Yalq.*, 154; Jellinek 1967: 4:127–28). *Pirqē dĕ-rabbī ĕlīʿezer* likewise presents Azazel as a protagonist in the dualistic myth of *yōm ha-kippūrīm*: "Accordingly, he [i.e., Azazel] is given a bribe on *yōm ha-kippūrīm*, so as not to annul Israel's sacrifice, as it is said, 'one lot for God and one lot for Azazel.' The lot for God is a burnt offering, and the lot for Azazel is a goat as a sin offering, bearing all of Israel's sins, as it is said, 'and the goat shall bear all their sins'" (*Pirqē dĕ-rabbī ĕlīʿezer* §46; see also ibid., §38; cf. Horowitz 1972: 168–69). For alternate versions and annotations of this difficult text in *Pirqē dĕ-rabbī ĕlīʿezer* and *Yalq.*, see Feintuch 2005: 76. On the alternative spellings of Azazel in various traditions before and after the Common Era, see ibid., 75 nn. 6–8.

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According to Jubilees, then, the event that underlies *yōm ha-kippūrīm* goes back long before the generation of Israelites in the wilderness who, according to the accounts in Exodus and Leviticus, were commanded to observe the day without being given any reason or context for it. The event took place during the patriarchal period of the book of Genesis, which recounts the collectively committed sin on account of which the day becomes one of shared memory. As already noted, Jubilees connects the seven set times of the Lord with various episodes in Genesis, which it retells in light of the biblical time of the festival and the fixed day and date on which it is observed. The verbs and nouns used in Jubilees' account of Joseph's sale — afflict, expiate, purify, sin, transgression — are the verbs and nouns associated with the commandments of *yōm ha-kippūrīm* and the high priest's service on that day, as described in Exodus and Leviticus. In addition, Jubilees adds a unique application of the principle of *lex talionis*. Jacob's sons deliberately caused their father grief, defrauded him, conspired to kill his son, sold that son, deceived their father, afflicted him, and subjected him to unbearable anguish as he mourned for his son who had been torn by a beast and for his other family members who had died as a result of their own grief. As recompense, the brothers' descendents are required for all time to sadden themselves on this day of memorial, fast, purify their souls, and expiate their sins. The Bible says nothing of Joseph's sinful brothers being punished, although explicit biblical law makes their actions a capital offense: "He who kidnaps a man … (and) has sold him … shall be put to death" (Exod 21:15). That omission gave rise, throughout the ages, to a long series of probing questions about recompense and righteousness, reward and punishment. Later tradition, composed during the first millennium of the Common Era, filled in the gap and connected the brothers' cruel but unpunished sin to the cruel punishment of the ten martyrs in the time Rabbi Akiva and Rabbi Ishmael, who committed no sin but were nonetheless cruelly punished by the Roman authorities and died for the sanctification of God's name.[33] These sages, who are recalled in the story of the ten martyrs recounted in *Hēkhālōt rabbātī* in the context of *yōm ha-kippūrīm*[34] and in the liturgical poem *Ēlleh ezkĕrā*, recited on the Day of Atonement, died horrible deaths at the hands of the Romans in the fourth decade of the second century C.E., but the tradition transformed them from victims sacrificed to the arbitrary whim of a wicked, tyrannical regime into sacrifices meant to expiate, by their deaths, the sin of their ancestors. The horrific suffering inflicted on ten innocent martyrs came to be explained as their expiation of the horrible sin committed by Joseph's ten brothers, who had not themselves been punished. That seems to be the understanding of the account in *Hēkhālōt rabbātī* and in the *midrāsh* of the ten martyrs, as they interpret the verse in Exodus regarding the punishment for kidnapping (quoted above), associated with the story in Jubilees. The unpunished sin of Jacob's ten sons, who violated the human covenant among family members and the bounds of faithfulness among people, lies in wait for their descendants, requiring expiation and punishment. The ten martyrs, who sanctified God's name and were punished despite their innocence, expiate the sin of Jacob's ten sons, in the same manner as a sin offering brought on the altar on *yōm ha-kippūrīm*, and so the sin of the brothers and the punishment of the martyrs warrant mention on *yōm ha-kippūrīm*.[35]

The mystical tradition in the *hēkhālōt* and *merkāḇā* ("chariot") literature, whose protagonists are the martyred *tannāʾīm* (mishnaic sages) Rabbi Akiva and Rabbi Ishmael, set *yōm ha-kippūrīm* as the pinnacle of the mystical process, making it the day of ascent and descent on the chariot — the time on which the ineffable name of God is uttered and when the high priest enters and departs from the holy of holies, the site of the chariot of the cherubim: "Said Rabbi Akiva: When I set forth the measure of the ascent and descent of this chariot … anyone who intends to recite this teaching and state the Name explicitly, should fast for forty days … [starting] thirty days

[33] According to one version of the story of the ten sages who were martyred on account of the brothers' sin in selling Joseph, Rabbi Akiva was killed on *yōm ha-kippūrīm*: "When the eve of *yom ha-kipurrim* arrived … that day Rabbi Akiva … was taken out to be killed. They scraped his flesh with combs of iron, and he accepted the yoke of the kingdom of heaven" (Reeg 1985: 69–70).

[34] See Schäfer 1981: 107–08, and the references cited in n. 35 below.

[35] On the ten martyrs in the *hēkhālōt* literature, see Schäfer 1981 (*b. Mĕnāḥōt* 29a); *Midrash ēlleh ezkĕrā*, part 1, p. 17; part 2, pp. 64–72; part 6, pp. 17–19. The liturgical poem *Ēlleh ezkĕrā*, recounting the deaths of the ten martyrs on account of the sin of Joseph's sale, is recited in the Ashkenazi Day of Atonement liturgy, following the recounting of the Temple service; see Goldschmidt 1970: 568–74. The poem opens with the sin of Joseph's sale, which ultimately brought about the punishment of the martyrs as expiation: "He … summoned ten great sages … 'Judge this matter objectively …. If a man is caught kidnapping one of his brothers of the children of Israel ….' They answered 'That man shall die.' Then he exclaimed: 'Where are your fathers who sold their brother to a caravan of Ishmaelites and bartered him? … You must atone for the iniquity of your fathers'" (Birnbaum 1951: 840). Cf. Visotzky 1992: 24: "R. Joshua ben Levi said: The ten martyrs were seized [and slain] just for the sin of selling Joseph. R. Abun said: You must conclude that ten [are martyred] in each and every generation, and still this sin remains unexpiated." See also Hirschman 2005: 71; and see the studies cited in n. 8 above, especially Boustan 2005.

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before Rosh Hashanah from the New Moon of Elul."[36] The identities of the sinners and of the expiators change strikingly within the various traditions, those before the Common Era and those since.

Jubilees, as noted, forms part of the priestly literature found in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Like Genesis, it recounts that Jacob's sons dipped Joseph's tunic in the blood of a goat and sent it to their father Jacob, deliberately causing him to mourn the death of his still-living son. But according to the author of Jubilees, the three heroes of the priestly tradition reflected in this literature — Levi, Judah, and Benjamin — played no part in the sin; instead of accompanying their brothers to the pasture land, they remained at home on the day of the event, the tenth day of the seventh month (Jub 34:4). Levi, Judah, and Benjamin are mentioned at the beginning of the "War of the Sons of Light Against the Sons of Darkness" (*War Scroll*) as the representatives of the sons of light, who do battle against the sons of darkness in a seven-stage war,[37] and Levi and Judah are mentioned as the chosen heroes whose leadership in matters priestly and political is to be followed. In contrast stand the other brothers, who never expiated their sin, as depicted throughout the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, written during the final centuries before the Common Era and also included within this priestly literature.[38]

According to Jubilees, the Israelites were commanded to engage in self-mortification ("afflict their souls") on this day because Jacob's sons, who sold their brother, transgressed the sacred boundaries of family faithfulness grounded on the sanctity of life and the preservation of its continuity. They sinned cruelly against their father by shedding blood, lying, stealing, deceiving, and cheating, and they acted treacherously toward their brother in a manner beyond expiation. The sin of selling Joseph is treated expansively in the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, particularly those of Simeon, Zebulon, Gad, and Dan. In those texts, the sinners themselves describe their actions in detail, recounting in the first person the cruelty, wickedness, hatred, and jealously that the sin entailed. On the threshold of death, they distinguish between the ways of light and the ways of darkness, and they implore their sons not to repeat their offenses. They attribute their sin to the will of Belial, the force of Belial, or the spirits of Belial,[39] to spirits of folly, to Satan and the spirit of hatred, and they expand on the terrible deeds involved in Joseph's sale. In his various appearances in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the apocryphal literature, "Belial" is simply the personification of the array of prohibitions and sins that corrupt the sacred, impair the purity of life, and bring about impurity and death — all associated with impurity and the ways of darkness, murder, promiscuity, lying, jealousy, and so forth. Levi's words to his sons before his death express it well: "And now, my children, you have heard everything. Choose for yourselves light or darkness, the Law of the Lord or the works of Beliar [K: Belial]" (Testament of Levi 19:1). The family is meant to be a shelter and refuge for its members, and the tale of a sin committed within the family, which brings bloodshed into the family and makes it the most dangerous place of all, may be meant as a lesson for the ages about the whole array of deliberate sins that take place, in the open or concealed, within the confines of the family, thereby impairing the faithfulness and continuity of life. These sins, which are committed in secret, in the dark, and can entail rape, coercion, malice, and bloodshed, often go unpunished, yet they require self-denial and expiation, as suggested by, among others, Rashi in his reason for the name Azazel in *b. Yōmāʾ* 67b (שמכפר על מעשה עוזא ועזאל): "it expiates sexual perversity" (על העריות מכפר). The tradition of Jacob's sons' sins that are tied to *yōm ha-kippūrīm* in the secessionist priestly literature expands on the memories associated with the day and account for its obligatory repentance and fasting. It shifts the emphasis to the sinners, who fast and mourn to expiate both past and present sins, and it lessens the centrality of the high priest's service within the sanctuary.

(3) The third ancient tradition pertaining to the *yōm ha-kippūrīm* is associated with Melchizedek, who is described in the Dead Sea Scrolls (11Q13) as the angelic figure leading the sons of light in the final war for liberation that will take place in the great Jubilee, on *yōm ha-kippūrīm*. Space limitations do not allow for elaboration

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[36] Schäfer 1981: §§422–24.

[37] [... The Rule of] the War. The first attack by the sons of light will be launched against the lot of the sons of darkness, against the army of Belial .... The sons of Levi, the sons of Judah, and the sons of Benjamin, the exiled of the desert, will wage war against them ..." (*War Scroll* I:1–2; *DSSSE* 1:113).

[38] For an English translation of the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, see Kee 1983–85. The Aramaic original of the Testament of Levi was found at Qumran and in Geniza fragments (Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel 2004; for the scrolls, see DJD 22). The election of Levi is mentioned in the description of the Temple rituals ("*ʿĂḇōdā*") read as part of the *Mūsāf* service on the Day of Atonement: "Thou didst adorn Levi with the ornament of grace and mercy; and with the priestly crown didst crown him from among all his brethren. Amram was chosen from the seed of Levi, and Aaron, one of his children, didst thou sanctify to the Lord ... his ... sanctity made atonement for our iniquities ... Aaron, whom thou didst appoint the instrument of expiation for Israel" (Birnbaum 1951: 171–72 [*Attā kōnantā*]).

[39] On Belial, see above, n. 15.

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on this opaque tradition; suffice it to say that it is directly connected with the war of the sons of light against the sons of darkness, which is the war of holiness and righteousness against defilement and lawlessness, the war of life against death.

ABBREVIATIONS

DJD 10	Qimron and Strugnell 1994
DJD 11	Eshel et al. 1997
DJD 13	Attridge et al. 1994
DJD 18	Baumgargen 1996
DJD 22	Brooke et al. 1996
DJD 30	Dimant 2001
DJD 36	Pfann and Alexander 2000
DSSSE	García Martínez and Tigchelaar 1997–98
K	Kahana 1957
NJPS	*Tanakh: The Traditional Hebrew Text and the New JPS Translation*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1999
NRSV	*The Holy Bible: Containing the Old and New Testaments with the Apocryphal/Deuterocanonical Books: New Revised Standard Version*. Nashville: T. Nelson Publishers, 1989
Yalq.	ילקוט שמעוני. 3 volumes. Jerusalem: B. B. Barukhman, 2005

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5

AN EPISTLE ON ESOTERIC MATTERS BY DAVID II MAIMONIDES FROM THE GENIZA

PAUL B. FENTON

In recognition of Professor Norman Golb's outstanding contribution to our knowledge of Judaeo-Arabic documents and the history of the Jews in Egypt, we are pleased to honor him on his scholastic jubilee with a fascinating Judaeo-Arabic epistle that we have discovered in a manuscript originating in the Cairo Geniza. MS NLR Yevr.-Arab. (formerly II Firk. Yevr.-Arab.) II 2170 consists of a collection of five leaves containing twenty-one lines of writing per page copied in a calligraphical hand. The content appears to be the concluding part of a letter concerned with esoteric matters, written in an abstruse and elliptical style. Unfortunately, the beginning is missing, and thus there is no way of knowing the initial extent of the epistle, nor the themes covered. However, the script is none other than that of Rabbi David II ben Joshua Maimonides (ca. 1335–1415), whose writings we have examined on various occasions.[1] While we have no idea who the addressee was, beyond the fact that the writer refers to him as "Master" (*mawlāy*), the letter is presumably by Rabbi David himself, thus yielding yet another remnant of the Nagid's rich legacy.[2] Support for this presumption can be found in the fact that such a correspondence on exegetical issues by Rabbi David is indeed known to us from another fragment preserved in the Firkovich Collection, NLR Yevr.-Arab. (formerly II Firk. Yevr.-Arab.) I 1854 (4 fols.) + I 3039 (4 fols.). In this last mentioned fragment, which was not known to us at the time of our study of the Nagid's writings, the latter replies to queries concerning Ezekiel's vision, Jacob's dream, and Isaiah's vision. Rabbi David presents a philosophical exposition of these texts and refers his correspondant, whom he also calls "Our Master" (*mawlānā*), to Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed* and his own commentary thereon (*al-taʿālīq allatī ʿala ʾl-dalāla*) as well as to *Kĕlīl ha-yōfī*, his commentary on the Pentateuch, and his commentary on Maimonides' Thirteen Articles of the (Jewish) Faith (*Maqālat īḍāḥ al-qawāʿid*), these all being works known to have been penned by Rabbi David.[3] He also mentions Tanḥūm Yerushalmī and his own ancestor R. Ḥananʾel.[4]

A further fragment from the Geniza that may possibly belong to the same correspondence is to be found in MS Tübingen Or. 4° 943.7, frags. 22–27, now housed in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek. Moreover, it is written in the hand of a scribe known to have copied Rabbi David's writings,[5] and from whose pen several pietist texts have survived in the Geniza.[6] It too deals with a philosophical and cosmological interpretation of Ezekiel's vision of the chariot as well as Nebuchadnezzar's vision in Daniel 3, and it discusses the identification of Metatron with the Active Intellect. As in our text, the author refers his correspondent, whom he calls "Our Master" (*mawlānā*), to Maimonides' *Guide*. He notifies him that he has requested a copy to be made for him of Qimḥī's commentary on the *Merkāḇā* from R. David ha-sōfēr, who may very well be our pietist scribe. A few details of the circumstances of the letter are furnished. Greetings are conveyed to the father and friends of the writer's correspondent, whose forgiveness he beseeches for any errors, "for his servant could only write these answers on certain nights, plagued in addition by severe worries and pressing cares provoked by recent events." All of these fragments may well belong to Rabbi David II Maimonides' correspondence with a fellow scholar or one of his own disciples. Thus we are in the presence of an interesting genre in Jewish literature of spiritual teachings transmitted in private

[1] See Fenton 1982, 1984; David b. Joshua Maimonides 1987; Obadiah and David Maimonides 1987; Fenton 2000a and 2000b, 2004, 2006, 2009.

[2] On the writings of Rabbi David Maimonides, see Fenton 1984.

[3] See Fenton 1984.

[4] No doubt Rabbi Ḥananʾel b. Samuel, as I suggested in my 1984 article (p. 48).

[5] Among them is MS NLR Yevr.-Arab. I 3105, a copy of Rabbi David II Maimonides' *Tajrīd al-ḥaqāʾiq* (MS D). See Fenton 1984: 3.

[6] See Fenton 1984: 3 n. 7 for a tentative list.

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correspondence. Letters of spiritual guidance, known as *maktūbāt*, are attested in Sufi literature, especially in the Maghreb, from the sixth century of the Hijra.[7] Interestingly, the present fragment echoes one of the themes common to such spiritual correspondence — that is, that certain mystical doctrines cannot be transmitted by writing, but only by direct experience:

> As for him who visually beholds truth and perceives those subtle phenomena, and purifies them from the defilement of turbid bodies, he contemplates with his intellectual vision that which is imperceptible either through oral transmission or through the contents of books. (This is possible) solely through spiritual discipline (*riyāḍa*), which transmits to vision through essence "faultless beauty and immaculate perfection," resulting in testimonial contemplation. Thereupon the ineffable transpires (MS NLR Yevr.-Arab. II 2170, fol. 1b).

In the present letter, the writer replies to the correspondent's request for guidance in the understanding of selected biblical and rabbinical passages as well as in the performance of specific precepts. The first answer is only partly preserved and concerns the climatic and dietary factors that might promote sin. The second and integrally preserved question deals with the spiritual significance of the *mĕzūzā*. The third preserved question takes up most of the manuscript and deals with the understanding of a passage in the talmudic tractate *Sōṭā*. The reply includes a complicated explanation of Ezekiel and a passage from the talmudic tractate *Ḥăgīgā*. The fourth question is a lengthy reply to an inquiry about the ritual fringes carried on the garment, followed by a fifth question on the phylacteries. The text ends with a rather lyrical moral exhortation in which the author refers to his text as an epistle, which suggests that the complete text was quite lengthy.

The most fascinating aspect of this document is the light that it throws on the esoteric understanding of certain traditional texts as well as the mystical and philosophical significance given to the performance of the precepts with which the author deals. Indeed, it is quite clear that we are confronted with an underlying mystical doctrine based on an esoteric system. The latter apparently combines Sufi elements with philosophical interpretation, said to derive from Maimonides, thus providing an inkling into how the latter's doctrine was subsequently construed by his descendants in the Eastern tradition.

[7] See Ibn ʿAbbād al-Rundī 1958: 106ff.

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TEXT

National Library of Russia (NLR), Saint Petersburg,
MS Yevr.-Arab. (formerly II Firk. Yevr.-Arab.) II 2170 (17 x 23 cm)

והל דנבה כדנב מן סאעדתה אלגבלה אם לא. פחקק דלך איהא אלעאלם ותדכרה דאימא ליכן לך אצלא. וללבלאד מן חית הויתהא ומיאתהא אשיא אכר תעצד אלאמזגה וללאגדיה אתאר זאידה ואנהא תנקל אלטבאע אלי אצדאדהא. ואלאדיאן לא תקום אלא ען צפה אלאבדאן. וגאלינוס יקול אנך אדא תצפחת וגדת אכתר כלק אלנאס וכלקהם ואתכאד עאדתהם לאחקה בטבע אלבלד אלדי הו בלדהם חתי אנך תגד חיואן אלארץ אלסודא קריבא מנהא ואלחמרא חיואנהא שביהא להא. פנעוד אלי כתאבך. 1א

ואמא אמר אלמזוזה וכונהא תעמל עץ כד אלבית אלואחד כאנה יקול אן הדא אלגנאב דאלא עלי גנאבי, ואן לולאה מא כאן שי מן עאלם אלמחסוסאת ואן אלשי אלדאים אלבאקי הו גהה ואחדה, ואלאכרי לא ימכן בקאהא ותבאתהא אלא תבקי הדה. וכון מכתוב עלי טאהרהא אל שדי עלאמה אנה כאפי פי אלכל וליס כאפיא סואה ותעליל מא יכתב פי באטנהא לם ימכנני שרחה .

ואמא נטרך פי גמר שוטה ווקופך עלי מא קאלוה אלעלמא ען אבאנא ודכולהם תחת אלות הברית | ואלתזאמהם באלשריעה אלחכימה וכונך אנזעגת לדלך מא זאל אלשכץ אלתקי אלורע ואלנפוס תפעל ותנפעל ואמא מן לחט אלחק עיאנא ושאהד תלך אללטאיף ונקאהא ען דנס אלכתאיף ושאהד באלעיאן אלעקלי מא לם ימכן משאהדתה מן אלקאילין ולא מן בטון אלכתב בל מן אלריאצה אלמוצלה ללעין באלעין חית אלזין בלא שין וצדק בלא רין וחצלת אלמשאהדה אלשאהדה וכאן מא כאן ממא לסת אדכרה פנקול אלחמד ללה מבצרנא. ולא שך אן מן כסר פי הדה אלדאר שי ליס ימכנה כלפה אבדא ואן אלמתעדיין כאסרין ואלעאמל באלמצוה חצלת לה חאלתאן חאל עמל טאהרה לטאהרהא ובאטנה לבאטנהא פאן ואסתגרק באטן אלמצוה טאהרהם אעני כלית חואסהם חתי עאדו כאלמדהושין כאנו אלאשכאץ אלדין אסתגרק באטן אלמצוה טאהרהם חתי עתר מסאהם בצבאתהם פלשדה אלאסתגראק אלכלי בבאטן אלמצוה ואסתחק אלשכץ אלמוצל אלי דרגה אלאסתגראק אלתנא אלגמיל כמא קאל מעתרפא לא זכיתי שתאמר | יציאת מצרים בלילות עד שדרשה בן זומא והדא מן גמלה מן שהד להם אנהם נכנסו לפרדס וקיל ען הדא אנה מן כארג עדין בן זומא מבחוץ. 1ב 2א

והדא מן כארג פהו אשארה ען כמאלה ודרגתה לאנה לם ירץ באלפרדס אנה מכלוק מתלה, פתאמלה עד שבאו תלמידיהם ואמרו להם רבותינו הגיע זמן קרית שמע שלשחרית. פהאולאי קד אנדהשו חתי לם ידרכוא אלמסא מן אלצבאח.

וכונהם קבלו עלי כל מצוה אמרא ונהיא ארור בכלל וארור בפרט, יעני אנהם קבלו י״ו פי סיני, וי״ו פי ערבות מואב, וי״ו פי הר גריזים גאת אלגמלה מ״ח.

פיא לית שערי הל וקף אלואקפון מן אהל זמאננא עלי גראבה תנביהאתהם, וחסן אסראהא, ולטאיף אכבארהא ואתארהא אם לא.

ואעלם אן אדא תאמל אלמתאמל לכלאמי ונעם נצרה בעד צפאה אקול אנה סירי מא אקולה.

לא שך אן אלמבאדי לכל חרכה אנסאניה ארבע חרכאת תאמלהא אלרוח אלחיואני, וכלהא אלאראדה שאמלה להא. ודון הדה אלמבאדי להא מבאדי אכר ואעלי מן גמיעהם ארבעה והי פני | אריה פני שור פני נשר פני כרוב. 2ב

תם אן אלארבעה לכל ואחד מנהם ארבעה עאלי פי אלגאיה [ו]מנחט פי אלגאיה אעלי מן אלמנחט. ומא קרב מן אלעאלי כאנה טרפין ולהא וסטין באלנסבה אלי אלטרף אלאעלי, ובאלנסבה אלי אלטרף אלאדני, כמא קאל פני אריה אל הימין לארבעתם, ופני שור מהשמאל לארבעתם, ופני נשר לארבעתם. פהדה סתה עשר צורה היא מבאדי כל חרכה אנסאניה. מתאל דלך אן אלאנסאן אן כאנת אראדתה וגאיתה אכלא ושרבא ונכאחא ודתארא כאן הדא אלמריד פהדה אלאראדה. ואן כדמהא בקאיא אלצור פכאן אלמחרך פני שור. ואן כאן חול גמעיה מאל אן תכסבה או מא חאס הדא אלחוס כאן מחרכה פני שור. פאן כאן חול גלבה ותראוס ועגב ותמלך ומא נחי הדא אלנחו כאן אלמחרך פני אריה. פאן כאן חול תעבד וציאם וצדקה וכוף וורע וטלב אלי נחו אלחק תע׳ פמבדא הדה אלחרכה פני כרוב. פכל ואחדה מן הדה אלמבאדי תכדמהא גירהא ותכדם הי גירהא. נקיס אלאדלה עלי דלך אן ישראל כאנו פי מצר מע אנפסהם | פי מא אשתהת נפוסהם פעלוה פלמא אן כרגו מן מצר וחצלו פי אלבריה אנקטע דלך כלה ענהם, אעני מן אלשהואת מדה תסעין יום בחדש השלישי לצ׳ בנ׳ יש׳ מא׳ מצ׳ וגו׳. והדא אלכלק אלשרה כאן להם והו 3א

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חגאבהם.

פלמא זאל הדא באנצראף כואטרהם אלי אלמן וחדה כמא קאלו למא דכרו כלקהם אלשרהּ בלתי אל המן עינינו, קאל ענהם למא זאל הדא אלחגאב ענהם ואשא אתכם על כנפי נשרים ואביא אתכם אלי וכנף חגאב וכל ואחד מנהם כאן לה נשר פלמא ארתפעו עלי מא כאן יחגבהם ענה תע׳ קיל לצגירה נסאהם אנכי יוי אלהיך.

ואלנחש וקציתה מע אדם וחוה משהורהּ אנמא אכרגו מן אלגנהּ לתבעהם להדא אלכאטר וקאל כנשר יטוש עלי אוכל. ואלנחש ואלנשר ואלשרף ואלתנין ואלכלב כלהם יקאס בהם אלמתל ולם יקרן יעקב אלנחש באחד מן אולאדה אלא לדן. ודן מענאה חבס וכאן רבע הוא וסבטין אתבאעה וכאן יצורוא עלי ראיאתהם ואעלאמהם דמות נשר. פאעלם דלך. ופני שור לא שך אן יוסף ע״ס קאל | ענה בכור שורו הדר לו. וקאל אבוה בנות צעדה עלי שור. וקאלו פי אלעגל אן אלסייד אלרסול ע״ס כתב עלי צפיחהּ דהב עלה שור באלשם, יענון פהדה אשארה להם ללעגל. פאעלם אשארתהם ושלמה ע״ס קאל אן בהדה אלקוהּ תכון אלגמעיהּ ורב תבואות בכח שור. ואללם ואלגמע קאל פיה בלק עתה ילכחו הקהל את וג׳ כלחוך השור. ויוסף מענאה יזיד. יוסף יוי עליכם וגו׳. ואנת עלמת אחלאם הדא אלרגל אנהא דאלהּ עלי גמעיהּ. והנה אנחנו מאלמים אלומים. והנה השמש והירח וגו׳.

פהדא דאל עלי גמעיתה. תם מלכה מא כאן אלא ליגמע ויצבור יוסף בר כחול הים. וילקט יוסף את כל וגו׳. ואלחיואן ואלרגאל ואלאראצי אלכל כאן גמעיתה ליערפנא אן אלגמעיהּ פי אלאראצי ואלאמואל ואלחיואן אלגיר נאטק ואלנאטק דאכל תחת הדה אלחרכהּ וכאן יוסף הוא רבע ישראל לאנהם כאנו צורהּ מרכבהּ יעמלו עלי אעלאמהם דמות שור. פאעלם דלך ותיקנה. ואלדליל עלי פני אריה כון אלמלך כאן ליהודה כמא קאל לא יסור שבט | מיהודה ומחוקק מבין רגליו.

ואעלמנא אן אלמלוך מחתאגין אלי אגנאד ואנהם יאכלון וישרבון לאנהם חמאה אלקום. קאל ענהם אוסרי לגפן עירו ולשורקה בני אתונו וגו׳. פהדא חאל אלאגנאד ירבטוא בגלאתהם תחת דאליהּ וישרבון תחתהא. תם יגסלון באלכמר תיאבהם לכתרה מא יתבדר עליהם ואנה יקוי אלשגאעהּ ויזיד פי אלקוהּ אלסבעיהּ גראה ואקדאם. ופרסאן ישראל אלמשהורהּ מבני יהודה לאנהם אקארב אלמלך וכאן יצורוא עלי אעלאמהם דמות אריה פאעלמה.

וכאן בני ראובן יעני אנצרו אלי אבן וכרוב הו צורהּ צבי כמא קאל רבינו משה זצ״ל ולה אלשרף אלתאם כמא קאל ענה יתר שאת ויתר עז, יעני אנה פאצל פי אלארתפאע ופאצלא פי כל אמורה. וכאנו יצורוא עלי עלמה וראיתה דמות אדם מבקש דודאים. ודוד ע״ס למא ראי הדה אלמבאדי קד תגלבת עליה לתגרה אלי גיר טאעהּ רבה קאל עז נפסה אריה טורף ושואג סבבוני פרים יעני שורים וקאל סבבוני כלבים אשארהּ אלי פני נשר. וקאל הצילה מחרב נפשי מיד | כלב יחידתי הושיעני מפי אריה ומק׳ ראמי׳ ענית׳. וקאל עז תגלב אלקוהּ אלסבעיהּ עליה כארי ידי ורגלי אספר כל עצמותי המ׳ יביטו יראו בי. ואנהם יתקסמו מעקולאתה יחלקו בגדי להם ועל לבושי יפילו גורל. והו קד ערפנא אן כאן עליה חלל מן אלעקל כי הלבישני בגדי ישע מעיל צדקה יעט׳. פאערף דלך חק מערפתה ליכן מפתאח למא אשיר אליה.

תעלם אן שם בן שתים עשרה אותיות מקאבל להדה אלמעאני וליס ימכנני כתאבתה באיצאח בל בתלויח ימכן אלעארף אלוקוף עליה לאנה ברהאן ודלך אן כל ארבע אחרף אדא נתגתהא וכאנת אצול אלתנתיג היא באעיאנהא ינתג ענהא סתהּ עשר כלמהּ מכתלפאת אלעבאראת מכתלפאת פי אלרמז ואלאשאראת אלא שם יהוה לא ינתג ענה אלא אתני עשר לפטהּ לאנה וצע דאלא עלי מעאני כאד אן יכרג ען שרח בעצא בעצא ודלאלתה ואחדהּ ואי לפטהּ גמעת מן גיר הדה אלאחרף אדא נתגת גאת אלפאט תדל עלי מעאני מכתלפהּ ומנהא מא לא יערף | לה מעני אלא הדא אלשם יהוה פאעלמהא ואדא געלת אליוד מקדמהּ פי תנתיגהא תלת מראת גאת י״ב חרפא והו שם בן שתים עשרה אותיות פאעלם דלך פאנה עטים ואדא נתגתה י״ב כלמהּ ארבעהּ ארבעהּ גא עדד אלאחרף מ״ח חרפא באזא וציתה להם פי סיני ופי הר גריזים ועיבל ופי ערבות מואב וצורהּ אלתנתיג אן תקדם אליוד ג׳ מראת ואלהא ג׳ מראת ואלואו ג׳ מראת ואלהא אלאכרי ג׳ מראת. פיגי עדד אלגמלהּ אלמנתגהּ מן יהוה מ״ח חרפא, כמא אוראנא רבינו משה זק״ל פי רגל עגל, ופי נחשת קלל, ופי חשמל וחבל.

פהכדא יא ד׳ יכון מערפהּ אלכלאם ען אלקום אלאפאצל לא אן יכון צו לצו קו לקו, ומתי כאן כדא כאן זעיר שם זעיר שם, ואדא גמעת מ״ח חרפא ימכן אסקאטהא ו׳ אחרף באזא שש כנפים שש כנפים. ובאזא סת גהאת אלעאלם פיחצל מנה שם בן שתים וארבעים אותיות. וכל אלמעאני מן הדה אלאחרף תדל עלי וגודה תע׳ וכון אלכל מן ואחד אשארהּ אנה מבדא ללכל ואן | אלכל עאידא באלקהקרהּ אליה ובאלתנתיג מנה. ואיאך אן ידאכלך אלשך או למן יקרא פיה

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אנה גיר כדא בל הו כדא וכדא הו לאן אלברהאן אלסלמי ואלתטביק ואקעאן עלי מא קלתה הנא. והכדא יבאן יחוד השם עז תחקיק ובאלחק וצעוה אלואצעון אלדי שאהדוה יקין ועיאנא לא כמא וצעוה אצחאב אלקמיעות ולא ילתפת אליה ולא עליה פאעלמה.

ואמא אלציצית מכתלף אלעקד בחסב אכתלאף קציתין. אלאולי כון אלאנסאן מן אלענאצר אלארבעה אלנפס מקאבלהן וחדהא פלהדא כאנת כמס עקד. וכאנת אלפתילים ארבעה ואלחאמל להם נפס אלציצית פנפס אלכרקה חאמל ללארבע פתילים. והדא מתלא תאניא אשרף.

ואמא אלעאקדון סבע עקד נטרו אלי אלחואס אלכמס ואלנפס ואלעקל צאר אלכל סבעה. הדא חת להם עלי אן תכון גמלה אלקוי ואלבדן ונפסה ועקלה אלטפהם ואכתפהם מתגהין נחו אלחק תע׳ משתגלין באבטאן טאהרהם ואגלא באטנהם. ולהדא קאל בכל לבבך ובכל נפשך ובכל מאודך. אלעקל ואלנפס ואלגסם מעא. וקאל וראיתם אותו וזכרתם
את מצות וגו׳. ואומר אלחק | תע׳ שאהדה פינא תדכרנא מא ננסאה דאימא. ודאך אן אלאנסאן מתגהא נחו 6א
אלמאדה או אלי נחו דאתה או אלי נחו באריה.

פדאך אמר קד אנשתה ענה אלטביעה בשדה אלבאסהא אלדי תכסינא איאה מן טלמאתהא. ונחן פינא עשרה בראזך אלואגב מערפתהא ולנא בראזך אכרי רוחאניה מתעלקה באלאכלאק אלאכתסאביה ואלמזאגיה. פאנטר מא כאן אלאנתהי אליה והדה מקדמה נבני עליהא מא ימכננא ביאנה לנטהר אשיא נחן מחתאגין אליהא.

קאל אללה ליחזקאל הגד את בית ישראל את הבית ויכלמו מעונותיהם ומדדו את תכנית. פהדא אשארה לו כאנת עלי טאהרהא פמא אלדי יסתחון מנה. ואן כאן טול אלבית ארבעה פי ארבעה או אלף פי אלף מן אי שי יסתחון. בל אשאר אן הדה אלעבארה עז מענאיין, אלאול אלבית אלדי הו אלמקדש, ואלתאני עז היאכלהם, ליעלמון אנה מעהם יסמע וירי. פקאל לה אן ערפתהם היאה היאכלהם ותלטפי פיהא וכון אן מני חרכאתהא וסכנאתהא פהם יסתחון מני לכוני
מטלעא עלי מא פי צמאירהם, פאכתב להם דלך ועלמהם קיאס יקיסוא עליה. ואם נכלמו ומדדו את תכנית | הבית 6ב
פאעלם דלך.

ותעלם אן אלעלם צפה אלאהיה. קאל דוד ע״ס ואתה שלמה בני דע את אלהי אביך ועבדהו. ולם יקל ועשית היום והשבות. ודוד מא קאל אלא דע.

ואלעמל צפה בשריה ומתי אראד אלשכץ אלעאמל באלשריעה אלאטלאע עלי שי מן אסראר אלטביעה לם יסעה דלך, ולם יקדר עליה כלי אן אראד יקף עלי אלכליאת ואלגזאיאת מן אלתעאלים פלם יגד אלי דלך מן סביל, לאן אלשריעה תומי אלי הדה אלמעאני אימא ליס בצריח ולא קולא פציח, ואלמתסלם שי מנהא יתסלמה תקליד מן חית אנה אמן באלנבוה מן גיר ברהאן. וסבב דלך כון אלכלף תסלם עז אלסלף ואלף ותרביה רבי עליהא פאן ואדרך עז אלשריעה שי או פהם ענהא פיכון עלי טריק אלתאויל וכרמז גיר שאפי ועלאמה גיר באלגה ודעוה גיר מביינה, לאן ימכן אן יכון אלקצד דלך אלתאויל או גירה בחסב מקדמאת יקיניה חצלת פי דהן אלמתאולין.

ואן מתי אראד מתשרע אן יקף עלי אסראר אלטביעה ואלנפס ואתארהא וגיובהא ווראיעהא ומא פי אעמאקהא במא | 7א
קד אלפתה אלשריעה ועלקת ערותה בה ופגר ינבועה מנה, לן יגד אלי דלך סבילא ולא אלי חרפא מנהא. ואלחכמה תגלי לך אלמעאני, ותריך אלמבאני וחסנהא, ותסיירך אשעה שמסהא. ואלשריעה אנמא הי, ותסיירך פי טריקא קריבא אלי אלחק תע׳ באלאשאראת ואלתלויחאת. ותעלמך אכלאק כראמא ותנהיך עז מא יצרך ותריך מא יסרך פי דינך ודניאך, ותקודך בזמאמהא אלראוף אלי חית תוצלך אלי מקר לא בד מנה.

פקד רמזת אליך באלמעאני כלהא אן כנת ממן יגוץ פי בחר אעמאקה גואהרא, וטואהרא אצדאף לא תוגד צדאף. ואיאך אן תעלם מן כלאמה אן אלפלספה או אלחכמה אנמא הי עז אלפלאספה אלמשאון או גירהם לא בל קצדי עז אצחאב אלריאצה אלדין כשפו פי כלואתהם מן אלפרש אלי אלערש ועלמוה יקינא ומא יבכלו בה בל יאמרון בסלוך אלטריק אלמודיה אלי אלחק תע׳, פעלמך בדלך יכון הו אלעלם ומא סואה באטלא מן עלום אלפלאספה אלמשהורין.

ואמא | אלתפלין וכונהא תעלו עלי אלראס בעצהא ועלי יד בעצהא פאן אלדי עלי אלראס דאירה להא דואבתין אלי 7ב
אספל, והי מקסומה ארבעה אקסאם אלאשארה אן אלענאצר ארבעה. ואלפנים ארבעה. וכון אלדאירה מנהא מחיטה באלראס אלשביה באלכרה, וכון אן פיהא שין הדה צפתהא ש׳ והי הלכה למשה מסיני. אעלם אן צורה אלדמאג מנא לה בטון ארבעה אלמתכייל ואלוהמי ואלפכרי ואלדאכר. וכלהא מתוגהה אלי פוק לתסתמד מן ואהבהא אסתמדאדהא

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אלרוחאני לאן אלקוי אלתי להא מחמולהּ עליהא. פהדה מקאבלהּ אלשי״ן ואשארתהא. ואלדאירהּ שביה אלפלך
אלמחיט בכל אלאפלאך אלסמאיהּ ואלענצריהּ. וכון אלארבעהּ פי אצל ואחד כון אלאפלאך מן דאכלהא קאימין באצל
ואחד הוא אלחק תע׳. ואלשי״ן אלתאניהּ אשארהּ ען אלנפס ואלעקל ואלרוח אלחיואני. ואמא אלמכתוב פיהא מן
דאכל פשרח אמרה ותעלילה יטול ונחן רומנא אלאימא נחו אלמעאני ואלמעאלי לילוח מא וצע מנהא.

8א ואמא כון להא דואבתין אשארהּ אלי אן מא פי הדא אלוגוד אלא גהתין גההּ | אלכאלק וגההּ אלמכלוק. אלימין דאלהּ
עליה תע׳ והו אלבאקי אלדאים ואליסאר הו גההּ אלמכלוקאת באסרהא והי פאניהּ קאבלהּ ללפסאד והי מטלמהּ
ואלאכרי רוחאניהּ מנירהּ לא טלאם פיהא פאעתבר דלך.

ואמא אלמוצוע מן אלתפלין עלי אליד אליסאר [נ״א: אליסרי] פהו אשארהּ מליחהּ.

אעלם אן אלנפס כאן יטהר מנהא אנהא כתירהּ אלאגזא מתל אלקוי אלבדניהּ. פאראד אן יערפנא אנהא ואחדהּ פי
דאתהא לא תעדד פיהא, לאנהא דאלהּ עלי ואחד, והו כמא קאל בצלמינו כדמותינו. פי אלאתחאד ואלעלם במא ענד
אלעאלם. ואלעאלם לא יעלם מא ענדה, ידבר אלעאלם, ואלעאלם לא ידברה. ימד אלעאלם בקא, ואלעאלם לא ימדה
בקא. יחרך אלעאלם כיף שא, ואלעאלם לא יחרכה. ולו קדרנא ארתפאע וגודה לעטל אלעאלם. ולו קדרנא ארתפאע
אלעאלם לם יעטל וגודה ולא נקץ.

הכדא אלנפס מע אלגסד תעלם מא ענד אלגסד ולא יעלם מא ענדהא. תדבר אלגסד, ואלגסד לא ידברה. תחרכה,
8ב ואלגסד לא יחרכהא. תמדה בקא, והו לא ימדהא. פלו ארתפעת הי פסד אלגסד ותלאשי. | פהי בהדא אלאעתבאר
בצלמו כדמותו. וכמא אנה תע׳ ואחד פי עאלמה, כדלך הי ואחדהּ פי עאלמהא. וכון אלתפלין עלי אליד אליסרי ואחדהּ
והי להא דאירהּ תשתמל עלי אליד תם תלף דואבתהא עלי אליד אלי נהאיתה, פהי אשארהּ ללנפס וכונהא מחיטהּ
באלגסם מן דאכל ומן כארג, וכונהא משתמלהּ עלי גמלהּ אלגסד מלתפהּ עליה אלי נהאיתה. ואן שית קל אלטביעהּ
ואחדהּ וסיראנהא פי אלכל אלי נהאיתה.

וכון אלעקל מנסוב אלי אלימין לצפאה קאל לב חכם לימינו.

ואלשמאל מא פיה אלא אלרוח אלחיואני והו אלדי יאמר באלסו. פכאן הדא אלגז מן אלתפלין מדכרא לנא במא עלי
יסארנא לנחדרה ונלתפת אלי ימיננא לנרי אלחק פנתבעה ונקצדה.

ואמא אלמכתוב פיה פליס תערצנא אליה.

ואמא קולה והיו לאות על ידכה ולטוטפות בין עיניך אשארהּ אנא נכון מתפכרין בקואנא אלרוחאניהּ ואלנפסאניהּ
דאימא. וכל אלאשאראת תשיר אליה ודלאלתהא עליה ואלחדר ממא דונה ואלאשתגאל בה, פאן שואגל אלבניהּ
9א תשגל ען אלבאני. והדא קדר מא ראינאה גואבא לכתאבך אלאתיר | אלמחרך לנא. ואנא אלאן אכד פי וציהּ נאפעהּ
למן יקרא כתאבי הדא ואלנאטר פיה אסאלה יחמלני מחמל אלסאהי אלגאני ולא ינסבני לקחהּ ותגאסר בל ידין לכף
זכות, ואן לא יתהאפת ללרד דון אן יפהם מקאצד[י] ואגראצי פי הדה אלרסאלהּ. פאנני וצעתהא כואצע אלבשריהּ
ואלרוחאניהּ, אלאשבאח לאמתאלהא, ואלארואח לארבאבהא. ופיהא אמאכנא אלתזמנא בכלאמהא בחסב תקציר
אלוקת ואהלה. ואלם ירד כלאמי לבעצהא בעצא, ואלא מא ינאל אלקארי מנה גיר פץ אלקול לא אלמעאני.

וען מתל דלך יקול אלחכים וישוב העפר אל הארץ כשהיה, והרוח תשוב אל האלהים אשר נתנה. ותעלם אן
אלאשבאח סיאלהּ אלטינהּ, והי מייתה לא תקבל צורתין מעא, בל תכלע צורהּ ותלבס אכרי ולם ימכנהא קבול צורהּ
תאניהּ אלי חין תכלע אלצורהּ אלאכרי אלסאבקהּ להא, כאלכאתם לא יקבל צורהּ אלשנף אלי אן יכסר ויצאג מנה
שנף. פאן ארדנאה בכלהּ לם יקבל צורהּ אלבכלהּ והו שנף בל יכסר ויסבך ויצאג מנה אלבכלהּ. ולו ארדנא אן נגירה
9ב אלף צורהּ | לם ימכנה קבול צורתין מעא. ואלנפס ליס כדלך בל הי מן עאלם אלרוחאן באקיהּ עלי צורתהא אלאבדיהּ.
ומא יתבת להא מן הדא אלעאלם מן חית אכלאקהא, וכל מא ינתקש פי לוח עקלהא או פכרהא לא ימכנהא כלעה ולא
אן תנסאה אדא חצל להא נקשהּ תאניהּ. ולו ארתסם פיהא מן אלמעלומאת מא שאת, לם תכלע מנה שי ענד לבאסהא
אלתאני חתי ולו תכתרת מעלומאתהא אלחסיהּ ואלרוחאניהּ. בל אכתר תזדאד אסתבצאר עלי מא תראה ותסמעה
פתקוי פי אדראכאתהא ומדרכאתהא, פתסרע אלי תקדים אלמקדמאת ותנתג ענהא פי אסרע אלאוקאת. פיכון דלך
כאלשעור להא ולכל פטרה וקאדה מע אלאעתדאל מן אלמזאג זיאדהּ פי דלך וקוהּ.

פאן זכא נפסה באלעלום ואלמעארף והיא אכלאק נפסה, ותבע אלצדק פי מא הו בצדדה וכאנת אלתרביהּ ואלאלף

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ואלעאדה צאלחין, קד יכון דלך הו אלנבי. ואן כל בשי מן דלך פקד תנאלה עתראת.

ומתי תכלם אלאנסאן במא לם יכן לה פי נפסה אתר, פקד אראד נפאק, סוקה אלכאסר, וכשי לילא יבוד. פעאד אלי אלכדאע, וסרקה אלכלאם, ואקתפא | אתארה חראם, ואלנטר אליה. ומתי תראדף אלשעור פי מא צח פיה, מא אשרנא אליה, כאן נביא מכרמא. ומן כאלף שי מן אואמרה, כאן קד אסתדבר אלחק, ורפצה בעד מא שאהדה עיאנא. והו אלמטאלב ען כל מא יכאלפה, בל ילזמה אלקתל עלי דלך. ואכתר עלאים דלך אלאנסאן אטראחה באללדאת אלחסיה, ואשתגאלה באללדאת אלרוחאניה.

פהדא קדר מא ראיתה נאפעא. ואעלם אן אללה קד כמל אשבאחנא בארואחנא, כמא קאל יחזקאל ע״ס ונתתי מקדשי בתוכם לעולם. וקאל עקיב דלך והיה משכני עליהם והייתי להם לאלהים. קד אשאר אן תם כמאל ללהיכל, והו אלמקדש אלטאהר, ואלמשכן יכון עליהם לא פיהם. פאעלם דלך.

פאדא לם יבאן ללקארי מן כלאמי אלא סואדה פיכפיה, לאנה מאדה. ואן עלם מא קצדתה פכלאם יחזקאל ע״ס שאהד אן הנא מאדה ווראהא צורה. וקד קאל בעץ אלאפאצל איאך אן תמית מא אחיאה אללה לך, ולא תזעגך עלי נפסך מא כפה אללה ענך.

וכד באדאב אהל אלחכמה נפסך ואסס עליהא עאדתך, ואגעל אלכיר כלה אראדתך ולא תכתרת לסילאן טינך, ודוי עודך, ותעאדי אכלאטך, ותזאיל אוצאלך, וארתדאד נפסך, ומפארקה אלפך, | ואסתחאלת ענצרך, ופסאד מזאגך, ודואם אכתלאפך, ותעדר תדבירך פי עלאגך.

פאני באקי בחקיקתך דאימא, וגוהרך מוגוד בדאתך ואחד, אנא נייתך, כאמל פי גמלתך, סעיד פי תפצלך, עגיב פי סרך, טריף פי פכרך, בדיעא פי שאנך.

צלת אלדהר וענואן אלגיב, ומחגוב אלשאהד ותמאם אלעין, ונטאם אלסלך, וצאלת כל טאלב, ורצא כל ואגד, ונאפי כל וחשה, ומחצור כל אנסה, ורקיב כל חאצר, ותגני כל גאיב. הדא בעץ חדיתך וגז מן שאנך, ובעץ מא תראיא לעינך, ויתנאגי פי אדנך, ויתשרב פי פואדך, וישיע פיך טרבך, ויריך פיך, ויגלוך עליך, ויערצך מנך, ויערפך איאך, ויחסך בך, וידניך אליך, ויחצרך בין ידיך, ויעשקך ויעשקך, ויגודך, ויזודך, ויריחך, וידויך, ויחיט בך, ויחתאט לך. פיא להא גבטה, ויא להא סעאדה, לו כאן ללסאמע פטנה בל עזמה בל קצדא בל תופיק.

TRANSLATION

| is his sin comparable to that of one who was abetted by a natural disposition or not? Ascertain this, O knower, and remember it constantly so that it serve you as a principle. Now a country in regard to its climate and water possesses other factors that incite the humors. Diet too has additional effects insofar as it is capable of transforming one's character to its opposite. Now, religion acts solely through the attributes of the body. Galen declared that upon careful examination one would discover that the majority of men's constitution, as well as their character, and the contraction of their habits, follow the nature of their homeland. Thus one finds that the animals that (inhabit) a dark soil assimilate to it and those of a red soil assimilate to that.[8]

Let us now revert to the contents of your letter.

Concerning the subject of the *mězūzā*, and the fact that it is placed on one particular doorpost of the house, this is as though to indicate that this side is "My domain" and, were it not for Him, naught of the sensitive world would have existed. Moreover, the Eternal and Everlasting Entity is on one plane, and the other only subsists and abides through the subsistence of the former.[9]

[8] A similar passage is to be found in chapter 8 of Galen's treatise *The Soul's Faculties Follow the Body's Humour* (*Fī anna quwa ʾl-nafs tābiʿa li-mizāj al-badan*); see Biesterfeldt 1973: 30 (Arabic), 63 (German).

[9] The idea is that the doorpost marks the passage between the private or sensitive domain, and the universal domain. Compare our author's words with those of Maimonides (2004: III, ch. 6:13): "Every time one enters or leaves [his home] he will encounter the unity of God's name, remember love of God, awaken from his sleep and from his concentration on temporal vanities, and realize that nothing exists forever and ever but knowledge of the Rock of the Universe; one is immediately restored to one's senses and follows the paths of the upright."

Like Maimonides in *Guide* iii.44 (1963: 574), for whom the reason of the *mězūzā* is to be "a constant commemoration of God," our author provides a rationalistic explanation for the *mězūzā* and ignores the prophylactic purpose proposed in *b. Měnāḥōt* 33b. See also *Kifāya* (Maimonides 1989), ch. 32, on *mězūzā*, p. 268.

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The fact that on the outer surface is written *Ēl Shadday* is a sign that He is all-sufficient and there is no provider besides Him.[10] As for the reason for what is written inside, I am unable to explain that here.

In regard to your reflection on the Talmud *Sōṭā* (*b. Sōṭā* 37a) and your pondering over what the Sages had to say about our forefathers, and their having entered the oaths of the covenant | and their acceptance of the 1b
wise Law and your having been disturbed by this, (let us say) that a pious and Godfearing person as well as souls are both active and passive. As for him who visually beholds truth and perceives those subtle phenomena, and purifies them from the defilement of turbid bodies, he contemplates with his intellectual vision that which is imperceptible either through oral transmission or through the contents of books. (This is possible) solely through spiritual discipline (*riyāḍa*),[11] which transmits to vision through essence[12] "faultless beauty and immaculate perfection,"[13] resulting in testimonial contemplation.[14] Thereupon the ineffable transpires, so let us say "Praise be to God who has endowed us with sight!" Assuredly, one who is lacking in any way in this world can never replace it and sinners are utter losers, whereas he who accomplishes a precept obtains two states: on the one hand, the performance of the external aspect corresponding to (the precept's) exoteric meaning, and, on the other, the internal aspect corresponding to its esoteric meaning.[15] Now if the internal aspect of the precept overwhelms their exteriority — that is, their senses abandon them to a point where they become bewildered[16] — for such individuals whose exteriority is overwhelmed by the internal aspect of the precept no longer discern between night and day[17] — this is on account of the intensity of their total absorption with the esoteric meaning of the precept. Now the individual who attains to the degree of absorption (with the esoteric meaning) is worthy of fine praise as declared by him who recognized this: "I have never been worthy to (find a reason) why the exodus from Egypt should be recited | at nighttime until it was expounded by Ben Zoma" (*m. Bĕrākhōt* i.3). Now the latter belongs to 2a
the company about whom it was testified that they "entered the 'orchard'" (*b. Ḥăgīgā* 14b). It is said of Ben Zoma that he remained at the exterior: "Ben Zoma is still outside" (ibid., 15a). The "latter is outside" is an allusion to his perfection and his elevation[18] for he did not accept that the orchard was a created phenomenon like himself,[19] but remained contemplating it "until their disciples came and said 'Rabbis, the time has come to recite the morning *Shĕmaʿ*.'"[20] The latter were in such a state of bewilderment that they could not distinguish even from morn.

As for the (Israelites) having accepted for each positive and negative precept both "a curse in general and a curse in particular" (*b. Sōṭā* 37a),[21] it means that they accepted sixteen (covenants) at Sinai, sixteen in the plains of Moab, and sixteen at Mount Gerizim,[22] which add up to a total of forty-eight (covenants).[23]

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[10] Generally the outer side of the *mĕzūzā* has only the word *shadday* inscribed upon it. See Aptowitzer 1910, in particular p. 41.

[11] This is a technical term usually referring to the spiritual exercises of the philosophers or Sufis.

[12] A wordplay that is reminiscent of the Akbarian pun on the Hallajian verse "I espied my Lord with the eye (*ʿayn*) of my essence (*ʿaynī*)"; see Massignon 1982: 3:301.

[13] The wording recalls a Sufi technical expression; see al-Qāshānī 1981: 168 (trans. 1991: 119): *al-ghayn dūn al-rayn*: "the error which falls short of possession"; the latter is "a thick veil that forms an obstacle between the heart and the belief in Truth. The error consists in being distracted from the vision of Truth, and being veiled from it, despite the correctness of one's conviction." See also al-Hujwīrī 1911: 5, where *rayn* is the veil of essence, and *ghayn* that of the attributes.

[14] Arabic *mushāhada,* or "contemplation," is one of the Sufi stations; see al-Qāshānī 1981: 153, and the English translation in 1991: 103, no. 466.

[15] One is reminded of the later Qabbalistic terminology *pĕnīmiyyūt* and *ḥizōniyyūt ha-miṣvōt*.

[16] Arabic *madhūshīn*, from the state of *dahsha*, "stupefaction," a term used by the Sufis to designate "the stupor caused by the overwhelming nearness of Divine majesty" (see Nwyia 1991: 259).

[17] Literally, "their evening is caught up with their morning."

[18] I.e., "his exteriority was absorbed by the internal aspect (= the orchard)." This interpretation runs counter to the traditional view that Ben Zoma was struck with dementia. See Lewin 1931: 13–15. See also the explanation in the same sense by the Qabbalist Todros Abu ʾl-ʿAfiya (1926: 47a).

[19] Compare the words of ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī (2008: 147): "in the initial stage of his journey, the wayfarer has no ability to know God until he relinquishes the intermediary between himself and God. As long as he does not know God, he can only perceive in his heart a created and adventitious phenomenon. If this is what he perceives though it be in reality God, then he is to be counted among the infidels."

[20] The corresponding passage is taken from the Passover Haggadah, although a similar text is to be found in *t. Pĕsāḥīm* x.12–13.

[21] The general blessing or curse refers to Deuteronomy 27:26, and the particular blessing or curse for the actions specified in that chapter.

[22] Covenants were entered into at each of these three places; see Deuteronomy 28:69.

[23] The talmudic passage referred to is the following: "The Rabbis taught in a *Baraitha*: 'A blessing in general and a blessing in particular, a curse in general and a curse in in particular.' Now, in regard to every precept there are four commandments: 'to study' (Deut 5:1), 'to teach' (ibid., 11:19), 'to observe' (ibid., 5:1) and 'to perform' (ibid., 5:1); consequently, there are four commandments associated with every precept. For each of these four there was a general blessing and a specific blessing and a general curse and a specific curse transmitted at Mount Gerizim and Mount Ebal. Thus there are four covenants (i.e., two blessings and two curses) associated with the commandment to 'study' each command-

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Would that I knew whether or not our contemporaries contemplate the marvelousness of their cautions, the exquisiteness of their mysteries, and the subtlety of their accounts and traditions. Know that, were the reader to meditate upon my words and carefully consider them after clarification, then, I declare, he would perceive what I claim.

Assuredly the principles of all human movement are four motions which are effected by the vital spirit and all
2b involve volition. Below these principles there are others, but (these) four, (which are called) "the face of | a lion," "the face of an ox," "the face of an eagle," and "the face of a cherub"[24] (Ezek 10:14) dominate them. Furthermore, each of these four also possess four (movements): ascent, descent, upward attraction, and downward attraction, as if they were two extremes with two centrifugal movements in relation to the highest and lowest extreme, as it is stated, "(and every one had four faces .... As for the likeness of their faces, they four had the face of a man,) and the face of a lion, on the right side: and they four had the face of an ox on the left side; they four also had the face of an eagle"(ibid., 1:6, 10).

Now these sixteen facets are the principles of every human movement.[25] For instance, if man's will and intent were to indulge in eating, drinking, sexual pleasure, or wealth, the former would be the volitive person and the latter the (acts of) volition. Even though (volition) were assisted by the other facets, the motor would be "the face of an eagle."[26]

If (volition) were toward accumulation of riches to be acquired or some such sensation, then the motor would be "the face of an ox."

If (volition) were toward subjugation, domination, conceit, and ownership, or such like, then its motor would be the "face of a lion."[27]

If (volition) were toward piety, fasting, charity, fear of God, trepidation, and the quest for Truth, then the principle of this motion would be the "face of a cherub."[28]

Each of these principles is assisted by the others and it in turn assists the others.

If we apply by analogy these indications to the spiritual (situation) of Israel in Egypt, they just did what their
3a souls desired. | But upon coming out of Egypt and reaching the wilderness, all of this completely disappeared — I mean, their desires — after a period of ninety days "In the third month, when the children of Israel were gone forth out of the land of Egypt" (Exod 19:1). (Hitherto,) they possessed this lustful vice, which constitutes their "veil."

When the latter ceased by turning their thoughts solely to the Manna — as they stated when they recalled their lust, "(Who shall give us flesh to eat? We remember the fish, which we did eat in Egypt freely; the cucumbers, and the melons, and the leeks, and the onions, and the garlic: But now our soul is dried away;) there is nothing at all besides this Manna before our eyes" (Num 11:6), when this veil was removed from them, it was said of them: "I bare you upon the wings of eagles and brought you unto Myself" (Exod 19:4). Now wings are a veil. Indeed, (according to the midrash) each of them was borne by an eagle and when that which had veiled them from God was removed from them, it was said (even) unto their infants and womenfolk, "I am the LORD thy God" (Exod 20:2).[29]

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ment, and four covenants (i.e., two blessings and two curses) associated with the commandment to 'teach' each commandment, which makes a total of eight covenants. These eight covenants, together with the eight covenants associated with the commandments to 'observe' and 'to perform' each commandment, make a total of sixteen covenants related to each precept. Likewise at Sinai, when the commandments were related to Moses, they were all given with the general and specific blessings and curses, and again in the plains of Moab when Moses transmitted the commandments to the Israelites, they were all given in this same manner ... it emerges that there are forty-eight covenants associated with each and every commandment." (*b. Sōṭā* 37a–b). For the traditional interpretation of this passage, see Lewin 1984: 249–51.

[24] There seems to be a conflation here between Ezekiel 1:10 and 10:14.

[25] The author expatiates on Maimonides' interpretation of Ezekiel 1:10, in terms of movement; see Maimonides 1963: 2:417ff. See also 2:235ff., where Maimonides mentions the four motions: locomotion, generation and corruption, increase and decrease, and alteration.

[26] The MS has "ox." "Eagle" symbolizes bodily desire and therefore corresponds to physical perfection and to descent. See the diagram in the appendix.

[27] The ox represents possession and downward attraction, whereas the lion represents moral perfection and upward attraction.

[28] The cherub represents intellectual perfection, with a pietistic slant, and corresponds to ascent. See Maimonides 1963: 634ff., where the four perfections are discussed: possessions, physical perfection, moral perfection, and intellectual perfection. Cf. A. Altmann, "Maimonides' Four Perfections," *IOS* 2 (1972): 15–24.

[29] According to the *Mĕkhīltā', Ba-ḥōdesh* 2, fol. 62b, the eagles brought them to Mount Sinai. The point being made is that even women and children were positioned above the "eagle's wings" — that is, beyond the veil of physical desire and witnessed the theophany.

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Now the chapter about the serpent with Adam and Eve is well known. They were driven forth from paradise for having followed this craving (for food), as it is said, "As the eagle that hasteneth to its food" (Job 9:26). Indeed, "serpent," "eagle," "seraph," "jackal," and "dog" are all used analogously as a metaphor (for physical desire).

As for Jacob, he did not associate the serpent with any of his offspring (when he blessed them), with the exception of Dan.[30] Now the word *dān* signifies "to withhold,"[31] and he, together with two other tribes, his followers, formed one of the four divisions of the encampment of the Israelites.[32] They inscribed their standards and banners with the emblem of an eagle. Know this.

As for the face of the ox, it is clearly associated with Joseph, of whom it is said |: "His glory is like the firstling 3b
of his bullock" (Deut 33:17). And his father (blessed him) with the dictum, "(Joseph is a fruitful bough, even a fruitful bough by a well), whose branches run over the wall" (Gen 49:22).

It is said of the golden calf that Moses engraved upon a golden plate, "Arise O calf!" upon which the Divine Name (was inscribed) and this was an allusion for them to the calf.[33] Understand their allusion.

Solomon said that through this force increase comes about: "(Where no oxen are the crib is clean;) but much increase is by the strength of the ox" (Prov 14:4). Balaam spoke too of gathering and collecting (in connection with oxen): "Now shall this company lick up all that are around us, as the ox licketh up the grass of the field" (Num 22:4). Moreover, the name Joseph itself means to increase, as in the dictum, "The LORD shall increase you more and more" (Ps 115:14). You are aware of the dreams of Joseph that allude to production: "Behold we were binding sheaves in the field … and, behold, the sun and the moon (and the eleven stars made obeisance to me)" (Gen 37:9). This is an allusion to accumulation. Indeed, his kingship consisted solely in gathering: "And Joseph gathered corn as the sand of the sea" (Gen 41:49); "And Joseph gathered up all the money" (ibid., 47:14). Beasts, men, and land — all were included in his gathering in order to inform us that the accumulation of land, possessions, and dumb and rational animals enter into the category of this movement. Joseph was the fourth division of the Israelites' (encampment) who correspond to the form of the divine chariot,[34] and they bore upon their banner the figure of a bullock.[35] Know this and be certain of it.

The proof that the face of the lion is an expression of the kingship that belongs to Judah is the verse, "the scepter shall not depart from Judah, | nor a lawgiver from between his feet" (Gen 49:10). This informs us that 4a
kings require troops that eat and drink, for they protect the people. Jacob said of them: "binding his foal unto the vine, and his ass's colt unto the choice vine; (he washeth his garments in wine, and his clothes in the blood of grapes)" (Gen 49:11). This is the state of troops who attach their mules beneath the vine and drink beneath it, whereupon they wash their attire in wine on account of what is lavished upon them, for this increases their courage and adds to their lion-like might, daring, and bravery. Now the celebrated horsemen of Israel are of the descendants of Judah who are related to the king. Therefore they embroidered upon their standard the emblem of a lion.[36] Know this.

Now the tribe of Reuben, whose name signifies "behold a son" (see Gen 30:32) — that is, a cherub, and it is the form of a child, as Rabbi Moses, of blessed memory, has stated.[37] (Reuben) enjoyed complete honor, as it is written: "the excellency of dignity, and the excellency of power" (Gen 49:3), which signifies that he was noble in elevation and noble in all of his affairs. Embroidered upon his standard and banner was the figure of a man seeking mandrakes.[38]

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[30] See Genesis 49:17: "Dan shall be a serpent by the way, an adder in the path."

[31] See Genesis 6:3: "My spirit shall not always strive (*yādōn*) with man."

[32] During the wanderings in the wilderness, Dan's tribe encamped north of the tabernacle with Asher and Naphtali; see Numbers 2:25–29.

[33] *Pirqē R. Ěl.*, ch. 45. See also Ginzberg 1946–47: 3:122, and 6:51 n. 266.

[34] The tribe of Ephraim camped on the west side of the tabernacle (see Num 2:18). The identification of the four divisions and their insignia with the divine throne and its figures is to be found in later haggadah. See *Leqaḥ ṭōḇ* on Numbers 2:2, and Ginzberg 1946–47: 6:83.

[35] An allusion to Deuteronomy 33:17: "his firstling bullock." The insignia are described in *Num. Rabbā* ii.7 (Slotki 1939: 1:29) and *Targūm Yĕrūshalmī* on Numbers 2:3. They in turn were chosen in accordance with the descriptions of Jacob's sons in Genesis 48:16 and 49:9, 17.

[36] *Num. Rabbā* ii.7 (Slotki 1939: 1:29). The tribe of Judah camped on the east side of the Tabernacle (see Num 2:3 and Naḥmanides thereon).

[37] See Maimonides 1963: iii.3. See also *b. Ḥăgīgā* 13b.

[38] *Num. Rabbā* ii.7 (Slotki 1939: 1:29). See Genesis 30:14: "And Reuben went in the days of the wheat harvest, and found mandrakes in the field" (see *Gen. Rabbā* lxxii:5). The tribe of Reuben camped on the south side of the tabernacle (see Num 2:10). See the diagram in the appendix to the present article.

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When David perceived that these principles had prevailed over him and drawn him toward disobedience to his Lord, he said of himself: "(They gaped upon me with their mouths) as a ravening and roaring lion" (Ps 22:14); "For numerous bullocks, (that is, oxen), have encompassed me" (ibid., v. 13); "For dogs have encompassed me, the assembly of the wicked have closed upon me" (ibid., v. 17). He said, furthermore, "Deliver my soul from the sword;
4b mine only one from | the power of the dog. Save me from the lion's mouth" (ibid. vv. 21–22). He said concerning the prevailing of the lion-like force over him: "They pierced my hands and feet. I may tell all my bones: they look and stare upon me" (ibid., vv. 17–18). (And he described how) they divided his intelligibles: "They divide my garments among them, and cast lots for my vesture" (ibid., v. 19). He had previously informed us that he was adorned with the vestments of Reason: "For He hath clothed me with the garments of salvation, He hath covered me with the robe of righteousness" (Isa 61:10). Know this full well so that it serve as a key to what I will allude.

Know that the Divine Name composed of twelve letters corresponds to these subjects. I cannot consign this clearly in writing but only as an allusion that will enable the gnostic to grasp it, for it is a clear demonstration. The latter consists in that if one were to transpose any four letters, using the same letters as the basis of this permutation, one would obtain sixteen words of different signification, allusion, and indication. This is not the case with the Tetragrammaton, whose permutation only produces twelve words, for it is a base whose connotations scarcely differ in their respective meanings since their signification is the same. Were one to permute letters other than
5a these (found) in any word, one would obtain words which have either various meanings or are | meaningless, unlike the Tetragrammaton. Grasp this.

Were the *yōd* to be placed in first position and the (remaining letters) permuted in three (different positions), one obtains twelve letters which form the Divine Name composed of twelve letters.[39] Grasp this, for it is awesome.

If you permute twelve letters in sets of four, the number of permutations produces 48 letters, which correspond to His having commanded them at Sinai, at Mount Gerizim, Ebal, and the plains of Moab. The process of permutation consists of first placing the *yōd* in first position three times, then the *hē*ʾ three times, and the *vāv* three times, and then the second *hē*ʾ three times. The total obtained from the Tetragrammaton will be 48 letters, as Rabbi Moses, of blessed memory, demonstrated to us[40] in relation to the words *regel* ("foot") and *ʿēgel* ("calf"), *nĕḥōshet qallā* ("burnished brass"), and *ḥashmal* ("spark") and *ḥēbel* ("destruction").[41] In this way knowledge of words accrues to the virtuous folk, not from *ṣav* for *ṣav* and *qav* for *qav*. Thereupon, there can be *zĕʿīr shām* (Isa 28:10).[42]

Were one to permute these 48 letters, deducting therefrom six letters corresponding to "each having six wings, six wings" (Ezek 6:2), and to the six directions of space, then one obtains the Divine Name composed of 42 letters. Now all the meanings obtained from these letters refer to God's existence, and the fact that the totality
5b derives from the One, alluding to the fact that God is the principle of all, | through a process of permutation from Him, and that all revert back to Him through a process of retrogradation. Beware not to entertain any doubt in this respect — or anyone else who reads this — that this is not so but otherwise, for sound demonstration and its application are in harmony with what we have here propounded. In this manner the unification of the Divine Name will become clear through verification, for in truth those who have established these rules witnessed and truly perceived them, unlike that which is established by the composers of charms[43] to which one must pay no attention nor depend upon them. Grasp this.

As for the number of knots (required for the) ritual fringes, they vary in accordance with two opinions. The first is that man's (body) is composed of four elements versus a single soul and therefore there are five knots.[44] (Alternatively,) there are four threads which are borne by a single fringe, and these four threads are borne by a single hole. This second analogy is more noble.

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[39] The Divine Names composed of twelve and forty-two letters are already referred to in *b. Qiddūshīn* 71a. Maimonides in his discussion of them in *Guide* i.62 (ed. Qāfih, 1:160–61) says they belong to the "secrets of the Torah."

[40] That is, the possibility of permutation.

[41] *Guide* ii.43. See also Efodi 1872 on *Guide* ii.10.

[42] The allusion escapes us. It might mean that the process of transposition follows definite, subtle rules and not the simplistic ones followed by the composers of amulets.

[43] The same warning in connection with Divine names is issued by Maimonides in *Guide* i.61 and 62 (ed. Qāfih, 158 and 162; trans. 1963: 149).

[44] See *Kol bō* (Lemberg 1860), fol. 107c, which reports a similar analogy with the four elements in the name of R. Barūkh b. Isaac (ca. 1140), author of the *Sēfer ha-tĕrūmā*.

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As for those that tie seven knots, they consider the five senses, the soul, and the intellect — a total of seven.[45] This prompts them (to recall) that the faculties, the body, one's soul, and one's intellect, the most sublime together with the most coarse, all incline toward God and engage in introverting their outwardness, and extroverting their inwardness. It is for this reason that the verse states: "with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might" (Deut 6:5), referring to the intellect, soul, and body together. It is written, furthermore, "and you shall see it and remember the commandments of the LORD" (Num 15:39) — that is, the Divine commandments | are witnesses within us and remind us of that of which we are continuously forgetful. For man either inclines toward matter, or toward himself, or toward his Creator. This is a phenomenon which nature produces by the density of the raiments with which it enshrouds us from its darkness. Indeed, we possess ten veils (*barzakh*)[46] whose knowledge is obligatory. We also have additional spiritual veils which depend on acquired and temperamental qualities. Consider the conclusion to be arrived at, for in this introduction we have built upon that which we may (further) explain to clarify those principles of which we have need. 6a

God said to Ezekiel: "Show the house to the House of Israel, that they be ashamed of their iniquities; and let them measure the pattern" (Ezek 43:10). Were this allusion to be taken in its literal sense, of what were they to be ashamed? Even were the house to have measured four by four (cubits), or one thousand by one thousand, of what were they to be ashamed? However, by means of this expression the (prophet) alluded to two notions. On the one hand, the "house," by which he means the "sanctuary," and, on the other, their "bodies" (literally, "temples"), so that they should be aware that He is with them, hearing and seeing. In fact He was saying, (as it were): "Know the fashion of their bodies and deal subtly with them. Knowing that their movements and stations derive from Me, they will be ashamed before Me, since I observe the contents of their minds. Write it and inform them of the measure by which they measure,[47] 'that they be ashamed of their iniquities; and let them measure the pattern of the house' (Ezek 43:10)" |. Grasp this! 6b

Know that knowledge is a divine attribute, as David said: "Thou Solomon, my son, know the God of thy father and serve Him" (1 Chr 28:9). He did not say "you shall this day do, and you shall reflect" (see Deut 4:39). Indeed, David specifically said "Know!"

On the other hand, action is a human attribute. Whenever an individual (solely) observant of the exoteric law desires to consider an aspect of the mysteries of nature, he will not be able to do so and he will be incapable, let alone wanting to learn the generalities and particularities of instruction. They will remain inaccessible to him, for the religious law makes allusions to these notions without being explicit or employing clear statements. He who receives something of them does so by tradition in a manner that is guaranteed by prophecy without rational demonstration. The reason for this is that latter generations receive from the former ones and become accustomed to this in keeping with the instruction they receive. If one grasps a notion of the religious law, or understands something thereof, it is through interpretation or an incomplete allusion, an indistinct sign, or an unclear claim, for the outcome could present an alternative interpretation in accordance with sound premises entertained by the minds of the interpreters.

If an observer of the exoteric law desires to fathom the mysteries of nature, the soul and its effects, its secrets and scruples, and profundity from that | to which the religious law has accustomed and engrained in him and established as a source, he will be incapable of obtaining the slightest iota thereof. For it is Wisdom that reveals to you these notions and shows you the constructions and their beauty. Only it can direct unto you the rays of their sun. The religious law can merely conduct you in a plain path unto God through allusions and hints, and will teach you noble virtues, prohibiting what will harm you and showing you what will bestow felicity in your religious and worldly pursuits, and will guide you with its merciful leads to a place where it will provide a welcome haven. 7a

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[45] See *b. Měnāḥōt* 38b, where it is specified that there should be five knots and no fewer than seven segments. See Maimonides, *MT Hilkhōt ṣīṣīt* i.8 and 1958: 1:265–67 (no. 138); Caro, *Shūlḥan ʿārūkh*, *Ōraḥ ḥayyīm* §11 (= 5).

[46] One is tempted to see the Qabbalistic "ten *sĕfīrōt*" in this term, which belongs to the Ṣufi technical lexicon (see al-Qāshānī 1981: 36 (trans. 1991: 10): "the boundary which separates material bodies and the world of the incorporeal spirits"). However, our author uses it rather like al-Suhrawardī to mean "the dark substance which are the bodies that obstruct light" or the ten celestial spheres. On *barzakh*, see al-Suhrawardī 1952: 107; French 1986: 98ff. See de Vaux 1902.

[47] A paraphrase of the verse: "And if they be ashamed of all that they have done, shew them the form of the house, and the fashion thereof, and the goings out thereof, and the comings in thereof, and all the forms thereof, and all the ordinances thereof, and all the forms thereof, and all the laws thereof: and write it in their sight, that they may keep the whole form thereof, and all the ordinances thereof, and do them" (Ezek 6:11).

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I have given abundant hints to you about these notions, providing that you are someone who can dive into an ocean, in whose depths pearls are to be found and on whose shores are shells that are not merely encountered by chance. Beware lest you learn from its words that philosophy or wisdom is derived from the Peripatetics or any other. Nay! I have in mind rather the adepts of spiritual training (*riyāḍa*), who have discovered in their solitary devotions (*khalwāt*)[48] (that which leads) from the couch unto the Throne. They have certain knowledge and are not niggardly with it but instruct in the wayfaring of the path that leads to God. Your knowledge of that is knowledge indeed, and all other knowledge deriving from the famous philosophers is false.

7b As for | the phylacteries, part is placed on the head and part on the arm. That which is placed on the head has a loop with two straps descending downward and its (receptacle) is divided into four sections alluding to the fact that the elements and the "faces"[49] are four in number. The loop encircles the head which is likened to the sphere. The fact that the (receptacle is decorated) with a four-branched *shīn* is a prescription derived from Moses who received it from Sinai.[50]

Know that the form of our brain has four inner (faculties): the imaginative, the estimative, the reflexive, and the recollective.[51] All are orientated upward in order to draw their spiritual force from their Endower, for the faculties that they possess are sustained by (this force). These are the (concepts) to which the *shīn* corresponds and alludes. The loop resembles the sphere that encompasses all the heavenly and elemental spheres. The fact that the four sections are contained in one (leather) receptacle corresponds to the interior of the spheres that subsist through one foundation, which is God. The second (three-branched) *shīn* corresponds to the soul, intellect, and the vital spirit. The explanation and reason behind the written texts within would be very long to develop, whereas our desire has been to hint at the significations and ascending degrees so as to allude to that from which it derives.

8a As for the two straps, they allude to the fact that existence has only two planes: that | of the Creator and that of the creature. The right strap refers to God who exists eternally, whereas the left strap refers to the plane of all creatures. The latter are transient and liable to corruption. They are obscure, whereas the other dimension is spiritual, luminous, and devoid of obscurity. Reflect on this. The fact that the phylactery is placed on the left arm is also a subtle allusion.

Know that the soul appears to have several components like the corporeal faculties. However, (God) desired to inform us that the soul is single from the point of view of its essence and is devoid of multiplicity.[52] For the (soul) alludes to the One in conformity with what is written: "in our form and in our likeness" (Gen 1:26) — that is, from the point of view of unity and knowledge of what is in the universe.[53] Now the universe does not know what is in (God). He governs the universe, but the universe does not govern Him. He sustains the universe, but the universe does not sustain Him. He moves the universe according to His will, but the universe does not move Him. Were we to imagine the disappearance of His existence, then the world would cease. But were we to imagine the disappearance of the world, His existence would not cease nor be diminished.

Now the situation of the soul in relation to be body is similar. The soul knows what is in the body, but the body does not know what is in the soul. The soul governs the body, but the body does not govern the soul. It moves the body, but the body does not move the soul. The soul sustains the body, but the body does not sustain
8b the soul. Were the soul to disappear, then the body would perish and decay. | From this point of view the soul is "in his image and his likeness" (see Gen 5:3). Just as God is one in His universe, so the soul is one in its universe.

The fact that the phylactery placed on the left forearm consists of a single (receptacle) and that it has a loop which encircles the arm, and its thong is bound around the length of the arm until its tip, is an allusion to the soul and the fact that it encompasses the body both externally and internally, and that it envelops the whole of the body and envelops it to its extremity. If you prefer, you can say that nature is single and that it totally pervades all (reality).[54]

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[48] That is, the Sufi retreats. On this term, see Fenton 1987.

[49] Hebrew *al-pānīm*, no doubt an allusion to the four "faces" of the divine chariot.

[50] This is the opinion of Maimonides, *MT Hilkhōt Tĕfillīn*, i.3.

[51] Maimonides enumerates three; see Wolfson 1973: 344ff.

[52] The soul's simplicity is one of the classic issues of medieval philosophy.

[53] The following analogy between God and the soul bears some likeness to the similar development in David b. Joshua Maimonides 1987: 74–76.

[54] Our author expresses the neoplatonic conception of Nature as a hypostasis. Cf. *Rasāʾil* 2:63: "Nature is one of the faculties of the Universal Soul from which is permeated all bodies in the sublunar sphere, pervading (*sāriya*) all their components."

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Intellect is attributed to the right side on account of its purity, as it is said: "A wise man's heart is at his right hand" (Eccl 10:2). Conversely, the left side merely contains the vital spirit, which is commanded not to do evil.

This part of the phylactery is meant to serve us as a reminder of what is on our left side, in order for us to check it and turn aside to our right hand, so that we envisage God and follow Him and incline toward Him.[55] As for that which is written inside it, we cannot deal with it here.

The verse: "They shall be unto you as a sign upon your hand and as frontlets between your eyes" (Exod 13:16) is an allusion for us to constantly reflect through our spiritual and intellectual faculties. All allusions and hints refer to God and warn against our preoccupying ourselves with things other than Him. Indeed, preoccupation with the building renders us oblivious of the builder.

This is the extent to which we considered the answer to your precious letter, which was our stimulus. | Henceforth, we shall present a useful recommendation to the person who reads our epistle and ponders 9a
upon it. I implore the reader to consider me with indulgence and not to ascribe to me audaciousness and impudence, but let him judge me favorably, and that he should not be quick to contradict me without first understanding my intention and aim in this epistle. For I composed it as one who combines the flesh and the spirit, the bodies to their peers, and the spirits to their masters. There are places in which I restricted the discussion according to the constraint of time and the shortcoming of our contemporaries. May the reader refrain from confronting some of my words with others, otherwise he will merely obtain therefrom the summary of my statements, but not the profound meanings.

About such things the Sage has said: "Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was" (Eccl 12:7). Know that disincarnate spirits (*ashbāḥ*)[56] are fluid (in regard) to matter.[57] When deceased, they cannot receive two forms simultaneously, but they divest one form and assume another. They cannot receive a second form until they have discarded the other, previous one, just as a signet cannot take on the form of (a new) seal until it is broken and melted and a design is molded out of it;[58] when we want to make a shape out of it, it will not take the form of the shape, which is the signet, but it is broken and melted and a design is molded out of it. Were one to desire to change it into a thousand shapes, | it could not take on two forms simultaneously. However, the soul is unlike 9b
that. Originating from the spiritual world, it remains in its eternal form and naught abides in this world from the point of view of its characteristics, whereas whatever is inscribed upon the tablet of its intellect, or thought, can neither be effaced nor forgotten despite the addition of further inscriptions. Whatever be the desired notion, it is inscribed on it and naught is discarded when it takes on a second notion, however numerous its sensible and spiritual notions. On the contrary, the more its vision of what it perceives and hears increases, the more its grasp and apprehension are strengthened and it hastens to devise premises from which it derives conclusions rapidly in time. This serves it as intuition and with every bright intelligence, and, providing its complexion is in equilibrium, it increases in (intuition) and strength. If one refines one's soul through science and knowledge and trains the soul's virtues, and follows sincerity in that with which it is engaged, then (one's) education, habit, and custom will be upright, and such a person may become a prophet. However, if some disorder befalls any of these pursuits, then misfortune may take hold of it.

Indeed, whenever an individual discusses a subject of which his soul has no sign, he is looking for hypocrisy and heading for his loss; let him fear that he will perish. He will return to deceit and false speech. It is forbidden to follow | in his footsteps and to gaze upon him. However, if he pursues intuition in that which is correct, to 10a
which we have referred, he has the potential to become a noble prophet. He who disobeys any of His commands will have turned his back on the truth, and repelled it, after having beheld it with his sight. This is exacted of all who disobey him — nay! such ones deserve to be put to death for that! The most common signs of such an individual are his relinquishing of his sensual self and his preoccupation with his spiritual self.

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[55] In *Guide* iii.44 (1963: 574) Maimonides too considers the phylacteries to be a "constant commemoration of God," whereas his son Abraham Maimonides (1989: 264–65) provides a more mystical purpose — that of contemplating the majesty of the Divinity and the sanctity of the divine names that the phylacteries contain.

[56] The term is typical of al-Suhrawardī (1957: 103).

[57] For some reason that escapes us, the author proceeds to develop a theory about metempsychosis. The Avicennian concept stated here, according to which matter cannot take on two souls simultaneously, is in keeping with David Maimonides' refutation of metempsychosis, who also quotes Ecclesiastes 12:7 as a proof text. See Fenton 2009.

[58] The pietist text contained in MS NLR Yevr.-Arab. I 4887, fol. 24a–b, contains an almost identical passage, quoted in the name of the "sage." The two texts obviously derive from a common source of Avicennian inspiration, which we have not been able to identify.

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This is the extent to which I saw fit (to write). Know that God has completed our bodies through our spirits, as the prophet Ezekiel said: "I will set my sanctuary in the midst of them forever" (Ezek 37:26); and he said thereafter: "My tabernacle also shall be over them: yea, I will be their God (and they shall be my people)" (ibid., v. 27). He alluded to the fact that there is perfection for the sanctuary, which is the visible temple, for (he stated) that the tabernacle will be "over them" and not "within them." Ponder that!

If only the secret part of my discourse is clear to the reader, may it suffice for him, for it is "matter." If, on the other hand, he knows what I have intended, then the words of Ezekiel, peace be upon him, testify that there is matter beyond which there is form.

A certain virtuous individual declared: "Beware not to put to death that to which God has given life for your sake, and do not burden your soul with that of which God has relieved you."[59]

Treat your soul with the manners of the people of wisdom and make it the basis of your conduct.

Make goodness your entire aim, and do not be put off on account of the fluidity of your matter, nor the withering of your leaves, the unbalance of your humors, the hardening of your articulations, the desertion of your soul,
10b the separation of your companion, | the transmutation of your substance, the corruption of your complexion, the duration of your transformation, and the difficulty of managing your discipline.

I abide eternally in your truthfulness; the substance to be found in your essence remains unique whatever your intent, whole in your integrity, happy in your virtuousness, marvelous in your mystery, intelligent in your thought, wondrous in your state.

You have assailed destiny and the mark of mystery that concealed from the beholder and the fullness of the eye the rules of the route, the destiny of all seekers, the satisfaction of every finder, the dispeller of all solitude, the detainee of all intimacy, the awaited of all present, and the abode of all absentee. This is only part of your discourse and a portion of your state, a fragment of what is disclosed to your eye, whispered to your ear, ensconced in your heart, distills you with emotion, manifests itself through you, uncovers you to yourself, exhibits you upon yourself, makes you known to yourself, feels you through yourself, draws you near to yourself, presents you to yourself, loves you passionately, is generous toward you, provides for you, sets you at ease, heals you, encompasses you, and protects you. What felicity, what happiness there would be, were the listener to have insight — let alone resolution, intention, and success!

[59] Most probably a Sufi aphorism.

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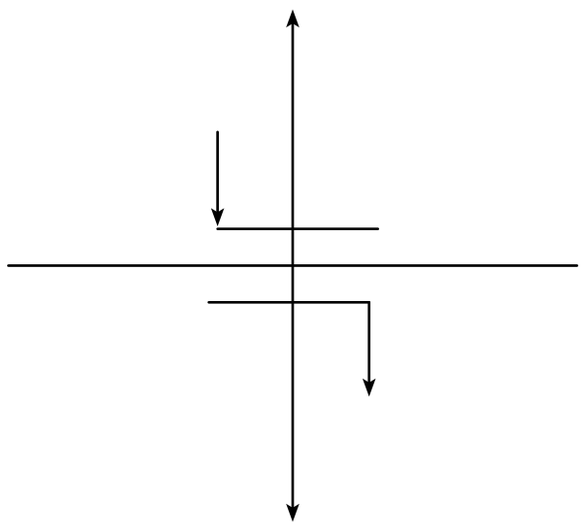
APPENDIX

North
Dan
Physical Perfection
Eagle
Downward



West
Ephraim
Possession
Ox
Center Downward

East
Judah
Moral Perfection
Lion
Center Upward

South
Ruben
Intellectual Perfection
Mandrake-Cherub
Upward

ABBREVIATIONS

Guide	Maimonides 1963
Leqaḥ ṭōḇ	Tobias b. Eliezer. מדרש לקח טוב המכונה פסיקתא זוטרתא על חמישה חומשי תורה. Vilna: Romm, 1880
MT	Maimonides 1900
Pirqē R. ĔL.	ספר פרקי רבי אליעזר. Warsaw: Ṣ. Y. Bomberg, 1852
Rasāʾil	*Rasāʾil ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ*. 4 volumes. Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1957
Shūlḥan ʿārūkh	See Caro 1564

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6

SENDING FUNDS TO JUDAH HA-LEVI

MORDECHAI A. FRIEDMAN

Much information on Judah ha-Levi's biography has come to light thanks to S. D. Goitein's Geniza research. Goitein identified several of ha-Levi's holographs and many letters that refer to the poet laureate. These manuscripts were preserved in Ḥalfon ha-Levi b. Nethanel's archive, much of which Goitein was able to reconstruct from dispersed Geniza fragments. Ḥalfon was an Egyptian Jewish trader whose extensive travels took him from India to Spain. His letters thus became an important part of Goitein's "India Book" collection, his incomplete study of hundreds of Geniza documents (mainly from the late eleventh–mid-twelfth centuries) that deal with the India trade and India traders, which I have been editing and supplementing. Ḥalfon's papers form the fourth "chapter" in the India Book. His archive is scheduled to be published in a multi-volume study that I have recently completed.[1]

Ḥalfon befriended Judah ha-Levi in Spain. Though Ḥalfon was a fascinating personality, it is not hard to understand why history has relegated him to a position of one of the minor figures in ha-Levi's shadow. Every scrap from Ḥalfon's archive found to be pertinent to the poet's biography has been carefully scrutinized. Despite the attention they received, these manuscripts have remained reluctant witnesses. Because of their fragmentary nature and other inherent difficulties in deciphering and translating them, they continue to challenge and frustrate attempts to clearly and fully comprehend the messages they convey. Here I re-examine one letter to Ḥalfon that explicitly refers to ha-Levi and analyze previously unnoticed allusions to him in three other letters sent to the trader.

All four of the letters were written during a relatively short period by Isaac Ibn Bārūkh, Ḥalfon's business representative in Almería, Spain. They also refer to additional correspondence that has not been preserved. The first two letters are dated, respectively, Sunday, 29 Tammuz, and Monday, 29 Av. While these details could match more than one year, it is almost certain that the letters were written in 1138[2] and correspond to July 10 and August 8. In January 1138, Ḥalfon entered a partnership with Yūsuf b. Shuʿayb (= Joseph b. Saul) Ibn Naghira in Fez, Morocco,[3] and in his letter of July 10, Ibn Bārūkh acknowledged receipt of a letter from Ḥalfon, delivered by Ibn Naghira.

(1) Sections of the July 10 letter were first published by Goitein in 1955, and it was translated to English in his book *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders* and recently re-edited by Gil and Fleischer.[4] After the opening lines, Ibn Bārūkh writes a passage concerning the transferal of funds to Judah ha-Levi. With the exception of one expression, copied here as it appeared in earlier publications and discussed below, the following is my reading of the text (MS BLO Heb.d.74, fol. 41; see plate 6.1):[5]

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[1] The reader's attention is called to Goitein and Friedman 2008, 2009, 2010a, 2010b. This paper is based on a presentation at the Conference of the Society for Judaeo-Arabic Studies in Córdoba, 2007, and was prepared with the assistance of a grant from the Israel Science Foundation and the Joseph and Ceil Mazer Chair in Jewish Culture in Muslim Lands and Cairo Geniza Studies, Tel Aviv University.

[2] See Friedman 2007: 83–95.

[3] The reading of the consonantal text and vocalization of the name are uncertain. The contract is in T-S 12.830 + T-S 8J5.13 (India Book IV, 26–27 [Goitein and Friedman forthcoming: no. 26]).

[4] Goitein 1955: 134–38; 1973: 259–63; Gil and Fleischer 2001: 379–81 (no. 32).

[5] India Book IV, 22 (Goitein and Friedman forthcoming: no. 30). This contains minor revisions of the text printed in earlier publications.

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8 וכאן וצל אלי קבל כתאבי הדא בדׁ איאם
9 מן תלמסאן צוחבת אבו יעקב אבן אל מנה סידי סלמה אללה מיאה[6]
10 מתקאל ותלת אחמאל נחאס מחרוק ודכרת לי פי כתאבך אן נוגׄה
11 מן אלדי יצל מן תלמסאן מיאה וכמסין מתקאל ומא וצל אלי גיר מיאה
12 נמתתל פיהא מא חדדתה נקצמהא מע נפסך[7] ונוגׄהא אלי רׄ
13 יהודה אבן גיאת עמאדי אל אעלי אבקאה אללה ומן ענדה תצל אלי רׄ
14 יהודה אל לוי עמאדי אל אעלי דאם עזה

> Four days before writing this letter, I received from Tlemçen 100 *mithqāl*s[8] and three loads of burnished copper, carried by my lord Abū Jacob ibn al-Minna — may God keep him safe. You had written in your letter that I should send 150 *mithqāl*s from what arrives from Tlemçen, but I received only 100. I shall carry out your instructions concerning them, ‹contribute part of the sum myself›,[9] and send them to R. Judah ibn Ghiyāth, my most high support — may God grant him life, and from him it will be forwarded to R. Judah al-Levi,[10] my most high support, may his honored position be permanent.

Concerning the 100 *mithqāl*s that arrived in Almería from Tlemçen, Algeria, for ha-Levi, Ibn Bārūkh remarked — according to the *editio princeps* and subsequent publications — *nuqaṣṣimūhā maʿa nafsika wa-nuwajjuhā*.[11] Goitein translated this (in Hebrew): "I shall divide it with you and send it" and, as we have seen, later paraphrased-translated this: "I shall [...] contribute part of the sum myself, and send them." I assume that he meant that Ibn Bārūkh would supply the missing 50 *mithqāl*s. Since Goitein concluded that the money was the proceeds of ha-Levi's investments in Ḥalfon's commercial ventures,[12] Ibn Bārūkh's "contribution" was presumably due to business interests between Ḥalfon and his agent. Similary, Gil and Fleischer translated (in Hebrew): "I shall divide them between me and you and send them." They assumed that of the 100 *mithqāl*s, Ibn Bārūkh used 50 for other purposes, but added 50, as per Ḥalfon's instructions.[13]

No further mention of the missing 50 *mithqāl*s appears in Ibn Bārūkh's surviving correspondence. But the sum of 100 *mithqāl*s received from Tlemçen is mentioned or alluded to repeatedly. In the continuation of this letter he apparently speaks of a letter that arrived for Ḥalfon "from Tlemçen with the 100."[14] Though not discussed in scholarly literature, the same sum of 100 *mithqāl*s from Tlemçen is alluded to in three other letters, which also shed some light on the role played by R. Judah Ibn Ghiyāth, the head of the Yeshiva of Granada, in transferring the funds to Judah ha-Levi.

(2) T-S 8J18.1.[15] Monday, 29 Av [A.M. 4898] = August 8, 1138 C.E., Ibn Bārūkh writes,

6 כאן וגׄהת לך מע אבן טפין עלי ידין רׄ יהודה אבן גיאת
7 עמאדי אל אעלי ומעצׄמך עשרה מתאקיל ווגׄהת לך
8 איצׄא עלי ידיה מע אבו יוסף אבן שמעון כמסה
9 ועשרין מתקאל ווגׄהת לך איצׄא מע חאמל כתאבי
10 הדא אבו אל רביע אל יוסאני כמסה ועשרין מתקאל עלי
11 ידין רׄ יהודה סלמה אללה

[6] Goitein and Gil and Fleischer read ועזאה.

[7] This is Goitein's as well as Gil and Fleischer's reading. This is discussed and revised below.

[8] Full, gold dinars. According to Goitein 1967–93: 1:359, "2 dinars were regarded as a monthly income sufficient for a lower middle class family." Due to an error in deciphering the text (see note 6), "one hundred" was replaced in the *editio princeps* and subsequent publications by "and console him" (Abū Jacob).

[9] This is the translation in Goitein 1973: 261 and follows his reading of the text. See the discussion below.

[10] In MS CUL Add. 3340 (India Book IV, 18 [Goitein and Friedman forthcoming: no. 3]), margin, line 2 (also written in Spain), he is called "R. Judah ibn al-Levi." Similarly in other sources these expressions indicate that ha-Levi was considered the poet's surname and not only the title of all descendents of the biblical clan of Levi (pace Scheindlin 2008: 98).

[11] *Nuqaṣṣimūhā* = *uqassimūhā*. *Nuwajjuhā* (or: *nuwajjihā*) < *nuwajjihuhā* = *uwajjihuhā*. For *nqtl* for the first-person singular imperfect, see Goitein and Friedman 2008: 743 n. 5 and the literature there cited.

[12] See Goitein 1955: 135; 1973: 261 n. 8.

[13] Gil and Fleischer 2001: 379.

[14] MS BLO Heb.d.74, fol. 41 (India Book IV, 22 [Goitein and Friedman forthcoming: no. 30]), margin, line 8–verso, line 1.

[15] Gil and Fleischer 2001: 384–86 (no. 33); India Book IV, 23 (Goitein and Friedman forthcoming: no. 31).

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> I sent *laka* with Ibn Ṭafīn 10 *mithqāl*s *ʿalā yadayni* R. Judah ibn Ghiyāth, my most high support and your admirer. And I also sent *laka* 25 *mithqāl*s *ʿalā yadayhi* with Abū Joseph b. Simon. And I also sent *laka* 25 *mithqāl*s with the bearer of this letter of mine, Abu ʾl-Rabīʿ al-Yūsānī (= of Lucena), *ʿalā yadayni* R. Judah — may God keep him safe.

The Arabic prepositional expressions reproduced here in transcription were understood by Gil and Fleischer, the editors of the text, as follows: *laka* "to you" and *ʿalā yadayni*, literally, "at the agency of," in the sense of "received from." Accordingly, the passage would be translated thus:

> I sent to you with Ibn Ṭafīn 10 *mithqāl*s, received from R. Judah ibn Ghiyāth, my most high support and your admirer. And I also sent to you with Abu Joseph b. Simon 25 *mithqāl*s, received from him. And I also sent to you with the bearer of this, my letter, Abu ʾl-Rabīʿ al-Yūsānī (= of Lucena), 25 *mithqāl*s, received from R. Judah — may God keep him safe.

The editors subsequently reconstructed the relationship between the parties. Ḥalfon supposedly did not rely on Ibn Bārūkh to handle his money beyond the transfer of funds to and from Ibn Ghiyāth, who served as Ḥalfon's trustee in Spain.[16] The missing piece of the puzzle, which made this reconstruction possible for both this letter and the one of July 10, concerns geography. Goitein had assumed that the July 10 letter was sent to Ḥalfon in Tlemçen,[17] and Gil and Fleischer placed him somewhere in North Africa when these letters were written.[18] At first blush, these assumptions seem to allow us to follow the money trail. The first letter supposedly referred to funds that Ḥalfon had sent (by boat) from North Africa to Almería, which Ibn Bārūkh forwarded to Ibn Ghiyāth in Granada to the northwest, to be transferred to Judah ha-Levi. The second referred to funds that Ibn Bārūkh received from Ibn Ghiyāth and forwarded to Ḥalfon with three different travelers on their way from Almería to North Africa; one of them, Abu ʾl-Rabīʿ al-Yūsānī (of Lucena), also carried that letter to Ḥalfon.

But the fact that Ibn Bārūkh acknowledged having received funds and goods from Tlemçen and, in the continuation of his July 10 letter, an additional 100 *mithqāl*s from Fez does not prove that Ḥalfon was staying at that time in either place or elsewhere in North Africa. Ibn Bārūkh first acknowledged receipt of Ḥalfon's letter and only afterward mentioned that four days earlier, on July 6, the shipment from Tlemçen had arrived. It does not necessarily follow that both were sent from the same place. I shall return to this question after considering the evidence of Ibn Bārūkh's third letter.

(3) T-S 12.285.[19] Around late August 1138. Ibn Bārūkh writes,

5 מא תריד עלמה מן אכבאר
6 תלמסאן פמא גא אחד מן אצחאבנא ולא וצל אלי שי מן וקת אן וצלת
7 אלכ אלדי כאן כאתבתך באמרהא וכאן וצל אלי כתאבך ווגהתה להם מע
8 אלדי כאן וצלת מעה אלכ [...]
[שוליים] (6) [...] וכאן אעלמתך אן וגהת סתין מתקאל ווגהת צוחבה הדא אל כתאב (7) עשרין מתקאל
בקי מן אלמיאה מתקאל עשרון מתקאל נוגהא פי (8) אתר הדא אל כתאב אן כאן נוגהא גומלה לולא
כופי מן אמור אל (9) טריק

> As to news of Tlemçen, this is to inform you that none of our coreligionists have arrived, nor have I received anything since the 100 arrived, concerning which I have already written you. And I received your letter and sent it to them[20] with the man who brought the 100 [... (margin) ...] I already informed you that I sent 60 *mithqāl*s. And I am sending 20 *mithqāl*s with this letter. From the 100 *mithqāl*s there is a balance of 20 *mithqāl*s. I shall send them immediately after this letter. I would have sent them in one sum, had I not been afraid of misadventures[21] on the road.

[16] See Gil and Fleischer 2001: 108, 117.

[17] See Goitein 1973: 259.

[18] Gil and Fleischer 2001: 107, 309. These scholars adduced proof from two other letters to show that in 1138 Ḥalfon stayed in North Africa but did not visit Spain, but in both cases the evidence is based on mistaken readings. See Friedman 2007: 86–87.

[19] India Book IV, 25 (Goitein and Friedman forthcoming: no. 32).

[20] The antecedent of the pronoun is not defined in the letter. I assume that the reference is to Ḥalfon's associates from Tlemçen Joseph b. Ezra and Abraham ibn Muʿṭī.

[21] *Umūr*. See Blau 2006: 20: "difficult circumstances."

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The 100 *mithqāl*s that Ibn Bārūkh had received from Tlemçen are referred to three times in this passage. There is no reason to doubt that this was the same sum of 100 *mithqāl*s from Tlemçen that Ibn Bārūkh acknowledged receiving in his letter of July 10. Furthermore, the 60 *mithqāl*s, the transfer of which he here reconfirms, are obviously the same 60 (10 + 25 + 25), sent by Ibn Bārūkh according to his letter of August 8.

Since in his letter of July 10 Ibn Bārūkh undertook to send to Judah ha-Levi the 100 *mithqāl*s received from Tlemçen, my incontrovertible conclusion is that the 60 and remaining 40 *mithqāl*s from Tlemçen, whose transfer is the subject of Ibn Bārūkh's second (August 8) and third letters, were also sent to ha-Levi. Furthermore, R. Judah ibn Ghiyāth's role in the transfer of these sums to Judah ha-Levi, mentioned in the first two letters, was evidently the same in both instances. At the risk of belaboring the point, I state this explicitly. In his first letter (July 10), Ibn Bārūkh had written that he would send the 100 *mithqāl*s to Ibn Ghiyāth for delivery to ha-Levi. When in his second letter (August 8) Ibn Bārūkh mentioned Ibn Ghiyāth in connection with the transfer of the first 60 of those 100 *mithqāl*s, he also must have meant that the rabbi from Granada would deliver the money to ha-Levi, even though the poet was not mentioned there.

This conclusion necessitates redefining the prepositions in Ibn Bārūkh's second letter (August 8). Rather than "to you" and "received from," *laka* and *ʿalā yadayni*, respectively, signify "on your behalf" and "to be forwarded by." The passage should be rendered as follows:

> I sent, on your behalf, 10 *mithqāl*s with Ibn Ṭafīn, to be forwarded [to Judah ha-Levi] by R. Judah ibn Ghiyāth, my most high support and your admirer. And I also sent, on your behalf, 25 *mithqāl*s with Abū Joseph b. Simon, to be forwarded by him [= by Ibn Ghiyāth]. And I also sent, on your behalf, 25 *mithqāl*s with the bearer of this letter of mine, Abu ʾl-Rabīʿ al-Yūsānī (of Lucena), to be forwarded by R. Judah — may God keep him safe!

While he did not refer to either Judah ha-Levi or Ibn Ghiyāth in his third letter, Ibn Bārūkh evidently intended that the remaining 40 *mithqāl*s from Tlemçen discussed there be forwarded to the poet in the same fashion.

At this point, we must attempt again to follow the money trail, now leading in all of these letters from Tlemçen to Ibn Bārūkh in Almería to Ibn Ghiyāth in Granada to Judah ha-Levi. In his second letter to Ḥalfon, Ibn Bārūkh remarked that he was sending 25 *mithqāl*s with the bearer of the letter, Abu ʾl-Rabīʿ al-Yūsānī (of Lucena), and in the third, 25 *mithqāl*s with the bearer of that letter. Whatever the rationale behind this method of transfer, it certainly makes no sense, if we assume that the letters were to be delivered to Ḥalfon in North Africa.

As we have already seen, at the beginning of January 1138, Ḥalfon was in Fez. But by January 13 of that year, Joseph b. Ezra and Abraham ibn Muʿṭī, his associates from Tlemçen, were in doubt as to his whereabouts: "We don't know where you are. For there have arrived some traders who say 'He already left Fez,' and other people say 'He is in Fez.' And we don't know where you are residing."[22] Because of the uncertainty, they wrote duplicate copies of their letter of February 27, one that they sent to Fez, the other to Almería.[23]

Goitein wrote only brief comments on the second and third letters (and failed to connect them to the first), but he noted that the third was addressed to Ḥalfon at Lucena, Spain.[24] Ḥalfon continued to have the proceeds of his investments in North Africa sent to him in Andalusía. Lucena was the seat of the famous rabbi Ibn Migash, with whom Ḥalfon forged a close relationship. Judah ha-Levi wrote to Ḥalfon and requested his assistance in securing a responsum from Ibn Migash for the Jews of Toledo.[25] One of the stipulations in the deed of partnership that had been issued in Fez was that Ibn Naghrila be willing to travel to Ḥalfon, wherever he might be in the [Maghreb-Spain]. I assume that Ḥalfon summoned Ibn Naghrila to Lucena, and he subsequently brought Ḥalfon's letter from there to Ibn Bārūkh. Lucena is west-northwest of Almería, and Granada is situated almost exactly midway between the two (fig. 6.1).

Whether we assume that at this time Judah ha-Levi was residing in the north, in Toledo or its environs, as I believe, or in or near Granada, the logic behind Ḥalfon's instructions for forwarding the money now becomes

[22] T-S 13J26.12 + T-S 8J19.28 (India Book IV, 30 [Goitein and Friedman forthcoming: no. 27]).

[23] T-S 12.274 (India Book IV, 29 [Goitein and Friedman forthcoming: no. 28]).

[24] The writer actually wrote "al-Yūsāna," Lucena, under his name on the verso, rather than Ḥalfon's. See my discussion in the introductory remarks to the edition of the letter, where I adduce evidence that this was intended as Ḥalfon's address, as understood by Goitein. Gil and Fleischer (2001) did not discuss this letter.

[25] T-S 10J15.1 (India Book IV, 37 [Goitein and Friedman forthcoming: no. 36]).

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Figure 6.1. Andalusía

clear. The most direct route from Almería led to or through Granada, and there was no point in sending the money on to Lucena.

My reconstruction, according to which Ḥalfon was in Spain rather than North Africa already before Ibn Bārūkh's letter of July 10 was written and remained there during the ensuing correspondence, contradicts a passage in that letter as understood in the scholarly literature. Ibn Bārūkh wrote that he began purchasing silk for Ḥalfon with funds that had arrived from Fez but stopped buying when the sailing season approached "and I realized that you would spend the summer in Andalusía" (וצח ענדי אנך מציף פי אל אנדלוס).[26] Goitein as well as Gil and Fleischer understood this to mean that Ḥalfon was then in North Africa but was planning to travel to Spain to spend the (rest of the) summer there.[27] The passage is ambiguous, however, and there is no reason not to assume that Ḥalfon was already in Spain. He had instructed Ibn Bārūkh to buy Spanish silk for export in anticipation of his return to Egypt. When Ibn Bārūkh realized that Ḥalfon would not be leaving Spain during that sailing season but remain there for the summer, he discontinued the purchases.

Ibn Bārūkh's fourth letter to Ḥalfon appears to have been written shortly after the third, in late summer 1138. It explicitly concerns the 20 *mithqāl*s that were the last installment of the 100 that had arrived from Tlemçen, but the money was not disposed of in the same fashion.

(4) T-S 13J14.21.[28]

8 ורדני[29] כתאבך אלכטיר וכטאבך אלאתיר ודפעת לאבן בקטאל סלימן
9 עשרין מתקאל מן קבל חסדאי באקי אל מאיה אלדי וצלת מן תלמסאן ומא
10 וצל שי לא מן תלמסאן ולא מן פאס

I received your important letter and distinguished epistle[30] and paid/delivered to Ibn Baqṭāl Sulaymān 20 *mithqāl*s on behalf[31] of Ḥasdai — the balance of the 100, which had arrived from Tlemçen. No goods (or funds) have arrived from Tlemçen or Fez.

[26] MS BLO Heb.d.74, fol. 41 (India Book IV, 22 [Goitein and Friedman forthcoming: no. 30]), line 17.

[27] See Goitein 1973: 262 (where he accordingly translates "you would spend the rest of the summer") and Gil and Fleischer 2001: 107ff.

[28] Gil and Fleischer 2001: 371–73 (no. 30); India Book IV, 24 (Goitein and Friedman forthcoming: no. 34).

[29] This word was not copied in Gil and Fleischer's (2001) edition.

[30] There was only one missive; the synonymous phrases were added for style.

[31] *Min qibali*. See, for example, Corriente 1997: 413; Hava 1970: 586.

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Neither Ibn Baqṭāl nor Ḥasdai is presently known from other sources. Since Ibn Bārūkh clearly identified the 20 *mithqāl*s as "the balance of the 100, which had arrived from Tlemçen," it follows that this money too was somehow intended for Judah ha-Levi. I suggest the following hypothetical reconstruction. Ḥalfon was a practical, successful business man with extensive contacts. He may have discovered that a merchant named Ḥasdai, who lived near Judah ha-Levi or was traveling there, had an agent (or partner, creditor), Ibn Baqṭāl, in Almería. Rather than Ibn Bārūkh sending the remaining 20 *mithqāl*s to Ibn Ghiyāth in Granada, to forward to ha-Levi, Ḥalfon asked Ḥasdai to give the money directly to the poet and instructed Ibn Bārūkh to deliver the same sum to Ibn Baqṭāl, thus saving precious time and avoiding risk.

Risk management in sending funds was essential. Ibn Bārūkh stated this clearly in his third letter: "I would have sent them in one sum, had I not been afraid of misadventures on the road." The 100 *mithqāl*s received from Tlemçen for Judah ha-Levi were divided into five installments: 10 sent with Ibn Ṭafīn, 25 with Abū Joseph b. Simon, 25 with Abu ʾl-Rabīʿ of Lucena (all to be forwarded by Ibn Ghiyāth of Granada), 20 with the bearer of the third letter, addressed to Lucena (presumably also to be forwarded by Ibn Ghiyāth), and 20 paid in Almería to Ibn Baqṭāl on behalf of Ḥasdai, who presumably delivered the same sum directly to ha-Levi.

These precautions induce us to reconsider Ibn Bārūkh's remarks in his letter of July 10. According to the *editio princeps* and later publications, after he acknowledged receipt of the 100 *mithqāl*s from Tlemçen, he commented, נקצמהא מע נפסך ונוגהא "I shall divide them with you and send them."[32] Not only is the rationale for this division obscure, but the Arabic is also rather peculiar. Instead of *maʿa nafsika* "with you," we would expect simply *maʿaka*.

Only when I had an opportunity to examine the original manuscript in Oxford did I discover that the text does not read נפסך at all, but rather נפסין, *nafsayni*. Like the English "a couple," the dual is used sometimes in Judaeo-Arabic to express "a few." Scholarly literature has noted examples for units of words or lines (*siṭrayni*, *ḥarfayni*)[33] or units of time.[34] Presumably the dual is used the same way here with *nafs* "people." Subsequently the phrase should be translated: "I shall divide them between a few people and send them."[35]

This was a procedure for risk management in sending large sums of money that Ḥalfon had obviously instructed Ibn Bārūkh to follow for the funds intended for ha-Levi ("I shall carry out your instructions concerning them"). As attested by his letters, this is exactly what Ibn Bārūkh did. The contemporary Nagid of Yemen, Maḍmūn b. Ḥasan, similarly instructed Abū Zikrī Kohen, the representative of the merchants in Fustat, to send some money from Egypt: קסם דאלך ואנפד מנה שי מע בעץ אלתגאר אצחאבנא "divide it up and send it with some of the merchants, our coreligionists." And the recipient of funds in Sicily from the India merchant Abraham ibn Yijū (1154) wrote the latter's brother Joseph Yijū: ואוצאני באן נקסמו[36] עליך פי ג׳ כראת ואסעי נחב אן תערפני מע מן ננפד לך "He instructed me to divide it for you into three installments; please inform me with whom I should send it to you."[37]

In summary, this investigation has shed some light on four letters, written in the summer of 1138 by Isaac Ibn Bārūkh, Almería, to Ḥalfon ha-Levi b. Nethanel, who was residing in Andalusía (Lucena). They all concern the transfer of a large sum of money, 100 *mithqāl*s, to Judah ha-Levi. On his way from Egypt to Spain, Ḥalfon had engaged in business ventures in Tlemçen, Algeria. He subsequently directed his associates there to ship these funds to Spain. He issued detailed instructions for their safe and expeditious delivery to ha-Levi. Unfortunately, none of the letters in Ḥalfon's archive gives any indication as to why he sent these funds to ha-Levi. The various possibilities are the subject of a further investigation.[38]

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[32] MS BLO Heb.d.74, fol. 41 (India Book IV, 22 [Goitein and Friedman forthcoming: no. 30]), line 12.

[33] See Blau 1995: 176, and reference there to Goitein. Also note *kalamatayni* (x 3), in MSS British Library Or. 5566D.24 + T-S 10J16.8 (India Book IV, 6–7; Goitein and Friedman forthcoming: no. 7).

[34] The example cited in Blau 1995, *sanatayni*, does not have any source that I know of and seems to be an erroneous reverse translation from the Hebrew שנתים, in Judah ha-Levi's epistle to the Egyptian Nagid Samuel b. Ḥananyā, from the winter of 1140, where he praises Ḥalfon's kindness זה שנתים. In my opinion this means "now two years" and not "a few years"; see Friedman 2007: 95. On the other hand, in MS BLO Heb. c.28 (cat. 2876), fol. 12 (India Book IV, 65; Goitein and Friedman forthcoming: no. 85), line 21, *yawmayni* does mean "a few days."

[35] For "divide between" we would expect *qassama* to be coupled with *bayna* rather than *maʿa*. I assume that preposition was used because of the following verb *wajjaha* (send with). Cf. the phrases in the continuation with *anfadha maʿa*.

[36] = נקסמה.

[37] MS BLO Heb.a.3 (cat. 2873), fol. 19; T-S Ar.7.18. See Goitein and Friedman 2008: 375 and 742–44, respectively (2010a: 227, 231; 2010b: 325–26).

[38] The question is taken up in Friedman forthcoming.

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7

THE EMERGENCE AND DEVELOPMENT OF SCHOLARSHIP ON MEDIEVAL JUDAEO-ARABIC IN SPAIN

*MARÍA ÁNGELES GALLEGO**

The field of Judaeo-Arabic is indebted to the contributions of Professor Norman Golb, not only for his numerous scientific publications, but also for his role in enhancing the study of Judaeo-Arabic — especially by founding the Society for Judaeo-Arabic Studies. Furthermore, Professor Golb has always encouraged and supported scholars endeavoring to work within this exciting field of research — a category within which I include myself.

One might say that we are currently witnessing a flourishing era for Judaeo-Arabic studies, facilitated in large part by the large number of now-available manuscripts — especially those hailing from the Cairo Geniza, of which the main collection is held in the Cambridge University Library, as well as those collected by Abraham Firkovich from various locations throughout the Middle East, currently held in the National Library of Russia in Saint Petersburg. Also signaling the efflorescence of this field is the existence of a number of institutions and projects devoted to the study of these manuscripts and/or facilitating access to them via cataloging, transcribing, and digitizing. Included among these are the Cambridge Taylor-Schechter Geniza Research Unit, the Ben Zvi Institute, the Princeton-Cambridge Geniza On-Line Database (GOLD) project, and the Friedberg Genizah Project. Lagging somewhat behind the Geniza projects, however, is research on Firkovich materials, the relatively underdeveloped study of which is due to the lack of a systematic catalog as well as the relatively recent date of these manuscripts' full accessibility.

If we compare the present situation to that facing scholars in the mid- and late nineteenth century, we might consider ourselves extremely privileged in view of our easy access to a vast number of primary sources, not to mention all the technological developments that have made research a much easier task than it used to be for those devoted scholars. Nonetheless, despite the substantive difficulties with which they were faced, the achievements of scholars like Salomon Munk (1803–67), Joseph Derenbourg (1811–95), Adolf Neubauer (1837–1901), and Moritz Steinschneider (1816–1907), among others, have remained some of the most valuable contributions to the field of Judaeo-Arabic. In this paper I intend to provide an overview of the foundational stages in this field, which is inextricably linked to the *Wissenschaft des Judentums* or *Science of Judaism* movement in central Europe, in the period when the main corpus of the Cairo Geniza[1] and the Firkovich[2] manuscript collections had not yet

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[1] Fragments from the Cairo Geniza had in fact already circulated before Solomon Schechter's expedition at the end of the nineteenth century, but it was not until then that the Geniza garnered wide scholarly attention and became one of the main sources of Jewish medieval history.

[2] The First and Second Firkovich Collections were sold by Abraham Firkovich and his descendants to the Imperial Library of Saint Petersburg in 1862–63 and 1873; even before this, however, Jewish scholars of this early period had begun to utilize the manuscripts that Firkovich had acquired in Eastern Europe and the Middle East. Simḥa Pinsker was among the first scholars to whom Firkovich gave full access, resulting in the publication of one of the first compilations of Karaite materials: Pinsker's *Lickute Kadmoniot: Zur Geschichte des Karaismus und der karaïschen Literatur* (1860). Adolf Neubauer is also among the first researchers to use the Firkovich materials (mostly via Pinsker's editions) for his works on Hebrew lexicography (see Neubauer 1862). Neubauer's evaluation of the Firkovich manuscripts was, however, quite pessimistic. In the second report that he presented to the French minister of public instruction, who had commissioned him to make an assessment of the contents of the collection, it is clear that his and other scholars' expectations had not been met (see Neubauer 1865). The rich store of Karaite materials, including philosophical, exegetical, and grammatical works, did not then seem to hold the value that they presently do within the field of Jewish studies (Neubauer, for example, saw little value in Karaite exegetical and theological works, stating, "La collection contient à peu près 70 numéros de livres plus ou moins étendus, purement dogmatiques, mais qui sont presque sans importance; si on en a lu l'un des plus volumineux, tel que celui de Levi ben Jephet, out de Ahron le second, on est presque sûr de ne rencontrer rien de

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become available to European scholars. I will follow this with a description and analysis of the way in which this field evolved in one of the cradles of medieval Judaeo-Arabic culture — that is, Spain, a country that, despite its rich legacy, inaugurated Judaeo-Arabic academic work at a later stage than did most other European countries.

JUDAEO-ARABIC ACADEMIC WORK IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Among the hallmarks of these nineteenth-century academic works on Judaeo-Arabic is the absence of any recognition of the linguistic variety with which the works these scholars were editing and translating had originally been composed. The general category under which most of these works were classified was that of "Jewish Arabic literature," "Hebrew-Arabic literature," or "the Arabic literature of the Jews." In fact, their language was most often referred to as simply "Arabic" without further explanation other than that they had been written in Hebrew characters. In his multifaceted contributions to the different fields of Judaeo-Arabic culture, Salomon Munk, for example, invariably calls the language "arabe," with no further explanation — as we see, for example, in his "Notice sur Abou'l-Walid Merwan ibn-Djana'h et sur quelques autres grammairiens hébreux du Xe et du XIe siècle suivie de l'introduction du *Kitab al-luma'* d'Ibn-Djana'h, en **arabe** avec une traduction française"[3] (my emphasis). It is in this same vein that Joseph Derenbourg characterized the writings of the medieval polymath Saadia Gaon (tenth century) and those of the Andalusian grammarian Jonah (Abu ʾl-Walīd Marwān) ibn Janāḥ (eleventh century).[4] The lack of any independent consideration of this linguistic variety led these scholars to accommodate these writings to standard Arabic, not just by means of transcribing them into Arabic characters but also by "correcting" any features associated with colloquial Arabic. Adolf Neubauer, another great scholar of this period, expressly stated his linguistic policy in the preface of his well-known edition of the Hebrew dictionary (*Kitāb al-uṣūl*) of Jonah ibn Janāḥ:[5]

> These three MSS. have more or less vulgar forms, especially the plural *în* for *ûn* and the conditional form for the indicative. As I felt persuaded that Abu ʾl-Walîd did not employ vulgar forms, I tried to restore the classical form wherever I could.[6]

We observe in Neubauer's remarks that the employment of dialectal forms by such learned scholars as Ibn Janāḥ could only be conceived as copyists' errors rather than as inherent in the author's actual language. In other cases, such as the Arabic language used by the Hebrew grammarian Judah (Abū Zakariyyāʾ Yaḥyā) b. David Ḥayyūj (tenth century), the lack of grammatical correctness was interpreted as lack of command of Classical Arabic — as expressed by the nineteenth-century scholar Morris Jastrow:

> The examples furnished will be sufficient to show that Ḥayyûǧ did not wield a facile pen in Arabic. He was too much under the influence of Hebrew to do so. He does not appreciate the syntactical niceties of Arabic and particularly in his use of the article and in the combination of nouns and adjectives, he often sins against the canons set up by Arabic grammarians.[7]

No clear explanation of why Judaeo-Arabic authors used the Hebrew rather than the Arabic script was given, aside from references to the fact that it was the most familiar or the easiest thing to do for medieval Jews. Some authors, such as Hirschfeld, suggested other possible reasons that were still quite far from the modern under-

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nouveau dans les autres" [1865: 550]). Furthermore, suspicions of the possible forgery of dates in these manuscripts made Jewish scholars of that period extremely cautious regarding their use ("... la date à la fin de l'ouvrage, qoui que M. Pinsker en dise, me semble altérée par une main récente [...]" [ibid., 551]). Neubauer's report, as recorded in the *Journal asiatique*, was followed by the observations of Salomon Munk, who seemed to be even less enthusiastic than Neubauer: "La seconde partie du Rapport de M. Neubauer sur les manuscrits caraïtes de Saint-Pétersbourg offre beaucoup moins d'intérêt que la première. L'espérance que nous avions exprimée d'y trouver des faits que nous ignorons encore, et notamment des données sur la histoire des Khazares, ne s'est point réalisée" (ibid., 555); and: "En somme, comme le dit M. Neubauer lui-même, on peut dire que cette collection, quoique la plus complète de la littérature caraïte, n'a pas l'importance que lui ont attribuée les journaux" (ibid., 558).

[3] Munk 1850 (vol. 15: part 1; vol. 16: part 2).

[4] On the misinterpretations and loss of linguistic information that this method of editing engendered, see Gallego 2000, 2006.

[5] Neubauer 1875.

[6] Neubauer 1875: VIII.

[7] Jastrow 1897: xxii.

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standing of script choice as a sign of religious and nationalistic identity. For Hirschfeld, the explanation lay in the pre-Islamic cultural background of Arabic-speaking Jews who had used square script before Naskhī script was introduced for writing in Arabic. In contrast to the rest of the population, according to Hirschfeld, Jews did not adopt the new form of writing, but continued using square characters. This would explain why Judaeo-Arabic authors wrote in Hebrew script:

> It is beyond question that Arabic was written in the Square characters long before Cufic or Neskhi were known .... It is probable that the Jews in Arab countries did not trouble to acquire a knowledge of the Arabic alphabet of later date, but continued their writings in the Square.[8]

The fact that Karaite authors used both Arabic and Hebrew script was explained by Hirschfeld as the Karaite attempt to make their works inaccessible to Rabbanites:

> Saʿadyāh did not translate and commentate the Bible for Mohammedans, but for the Jews, few of whom were familiar with Arabic writing. The practice among the Jews of writing Arabic in Hebrew square is older than Islām itself. It is true that several Qaraite authors (or copyists) used Arabic characters, but they did the same for Hebrew, *probably for no other reason than to make the reading of their books impossible to Rabbanites* [my emphasis].[9]

Despite the general lack of acknowledgment of any linguistic specialization in the Arabic variety used by Jews, editions of Judaeo-Arabic texts in the original Hebrew script were not uncommon in the nineteenth century. We find, among others, the *Chrestomathy* compiled by Hirschfeld and the edition of Maimonides' medical texts edited by M. Steinschneider.[10] In the early twentieth century scholars like Ignaz Goldziher also edited Judaeo-Arabic excerpts in Hebrew script.[11]

The channels that these scholars used for the dissemination of their research were restricted to a limited number of scientific journals, along with publication in book form. One of the first journals to include works encompassing Judaeo-Arabic was the wide-ranging *Journal asiatique*, which became a repository of numerous contributions of Salomon Munk[12] and, to a lesser degree, those of Adolf Neubauer and other scholars. Of a more specific nature was the younger *Revue des études juives*, founded in 1880 by the Société des études juives under the auspices of Zadoc Kahn and Isidore Loeb. The *Revue* became the main publication organ for scholars like Joseph Derenbourg,[13] whereas in the Anglo-Saxon world, the *Jewish Quarterly Review* stood out as the main specialized journal in English for Judaeo-Arabic and other Jewish topics. Some of the most notable publications of this period in the *Jewish Quarterly Review* were the series of contributions by Moritz Steinschneider on the "Arabic Literature of the Jews"[14] that were later to adopt the form of the German monograph *Die arabische Literatur der Juden*,[15] a reference tool for primary and secondary sources of Judaeo-Arabic literature. This list of journals, finally, would not be complete without mentioning the German *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, which contains a number of Judaeo-Arabic articles, notably those of W. Bacher.[16]

Books mostly containing editions and translations were published during this period, sometimes in the form of an "Inaugural Dissertation,"[17] which in some early instances entailed the use of Latin rather than a vernacular language. Such is the case, for example, with Zacharias Auerbach's 1866 doctoral thesis "Iepheti Ben Eli Karaitae 'In Proverbiorum Salomonis caput XXX commentarius': nunc primum arabice editus, in Latinum conversus, adnotationibus illustrates."

Finally, another characteristic trait of this period that should be mentioned is the free circulation of manuscripts that librarians or private owners granted to scholars for their research work, or permitting them to carry manuscripts from one location to another. Sometimes it was not, in fact, the original manuscripts that were

[8] Hirschfeld 1892: v–vi.

[9] Hirschfeld 1911: 10.

[10] Hirschfeld 1892; Steinschneider 1894.

[11] As in his series of essays on Jewish-Islamic interaction that he named "Mélanges judéo-arabes" (1901–10).

[12] See, for example, the two parts of his "Notice sur Abou'l-Walid Merwan Ibn Djana'h" (1850).

[13] As, for example, his series of articles on Ibn Balʿam: "Gloses d'Abou Zakariya ben Bilam sur Isaïe" (1889–91).

[14] Steinschneider 1896–99; 1899–1901.

[15] Steinschneider 1902.

[16] As, for example, his contributions to the investigation on the medieval Andalusian grammarian Jonah ibn Janāḥ; Bacher 1884, 1889a and b).

[17] For example, Goldziher 1870.

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circulated, but copies that librarians or other scholars made of them. Examples of this process are the copy that Steinschneider made of the Bodleian manuscript of the *Kitāb al-muḥāḍara wa-ʾl-mudhākara* by Moses ibn Ezra, later used by Martin Schreiner for his analysis of this work,[18] and the copy of the *Kitāb al-taswiʾa* by Jonah ibn Janāḥ, preserved in the Bodleian Library, which Adolf Neubauer made and passed on to Hartwig and Joseph Derenbourg for their edition of that grammatical treatise.[19]

EARLY SCHOLARSHIP ON JUDAEO-ARABIC IN SPAIN

The rich heritage of Judaeo-Arabic culture produced by Andalusian Jews has unfortunately not been matched by a proportional number of Spanish scholars devoted to its study. In fact, this state of affairs only began to change in the second decade of the twentieth century, a few decades later than in other European countries. Interest in the contents of Judeo-Arabic literature had nonetheless existed from a very early period among Iberian Jews living in non-Arabic territories in the north of the peninsula as well as in the south of France, as evinced by the many translations carried out from Judaeo-Arabic into Hebrew from the twelfth century onward. The first Spanish translation of a Judaeo-Arabic text is that of Maimonides' *Guide for the Perplexed* by the Jewish convert Pedro de Toledo, in the first half of the fifteenth century.[20] This is, incidentally, the first translation of the *Guide* into a vernacular language.

The presence in Spain of the Iraqi scholar and Judaeo-Arabist Abraham Shalom Yahuda[21] as professor of Rabbinic Hebrew language and literature at the Universidad Central de Madrid[22] from 1914 to 1923, and as director of the Semitic studies section of the newly created Centro de Estudios Históricos (Research Institute of Historical Studies) from 1914 to 1917, did not result in the creation of a school of Judaeo-Arabic studies in Spain or in the promotion of Judaeo-Arabic studies among Spanish scholars. Yahuda's edition of the Judaeo-Arabic work *Al-hidāya ilā farāʾiḍ al-qulūb* (Duties of the Heart) by Ibn Paquda gave rise to the interest of Spanish academia, as demonstrated by the fact that it was very positively reviewed in the *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* in the year of its publication.[23] However, Yahuda's scholarly interests during the years that he spent in Spain were devoted primarily to other areas of Jewish and Arabic studies, such as Judaeo-Spanish, epigraphy, and Rabbinic Hebrew. Furthermore, it seems that during this period of his life, Yahuda was busier with occupations outside the scholarly sphere as one of the leaders of the Jewish community in Spain as well as at an international level, which entailed his traveling abroad quite frequently. The dearth of scholarly activity in the Department of Semitic Studies that Yahuda chaired seems to have been behind the decision that led to its closing in 1920 by the governing body of the Center of Historical Studies.[24]

The first Spanish academic who contributed substantially to the study of Judaeo-Arabic texts was the Catalonian scholar José María Millás Vallicrosa (1897–1970), professor at the Universidad de Madrid and later at the Universidad de Barcelona. His first publication in this field consisted of a short study and edition of a medieval document containing a list of Valencian names (tax payers), with headings in Judaeo-Arabic.[25] His second and more substantial contribution consisted of the edition, translation, and study of a series of Judaeo-Arabic legal documents produced by the Jews of Toledo in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, to which he referred as "The Mozarabic Deeds of the Toledan Hebrews."[26] This terminology might puzzle the modern scholar of Judaeo-Arabic studies, for Judaeo-Arabic is here designated "mozarabic," after the name that the Arabized Christians received in Spanish tradition. The explanation for this naming is probably that for Millás Vallicrosa, "mozarabic" was the most specific term then available to denote the special uses of Arabic or the use of Arabic by non-Muslims.[27]

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[18] Schreiner 1890.

[19] See Derenbourg and Derenbourg 1880: cxviii: "Nous disposions d'abord d'une copie de ce manuscrit que M. Neubauer s'était fait pour son usage et qu'il nous a gracieusement abandonnée."

[20] The manuscript of the translation (*Enseñador e Mostrador delos Turbados*) is preserved at the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid (MS 10289). See the modern edition by Lazar (1989).

[21] His main contributions to Judaeo-Arabic consist of his edition and translation of Ibn Paquda's *Duties of the Heart* (Yahuda 1912) and his work on the Judaeo-Arabic dialect of Iraq (Yahuda 1906).

[22] García-Jalón de la Lama 2006.

[23] Reviewed in Bonilla y San Marín 1914.

[24] See López Sánchez 2003: 138–42.

[25] Millás Vallicrosa 1920–22.

[26] Millás Vallicrosa 1928.

[27] The associating of Judaeo-Arabic with parallel linguistic phenomena in other languages and the consequent carry-over of pre-existing terminology find an interesting parallel in an early publication in North African Judaeo-Arabic translation of the Gospel of Matthew entitled "St. Matthew — Algerian Yiddish," where Judaeo-Arabic is named after a better-known Jewish language, that is, Yiddish; see Attal 1973.

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In his later publications of late medieval Judaeo-Arabic documents from the Archive of Saragossa[28] and the Archive of Pollensa (Mallorca),[29] Millás Vallicrosa adopted a different terminology, which was to remain in use within Spanish scholarship to this date: "aljamiado hebraico-árabe." This periphrastic expression is closely connected to a similar linguistic phenomenon related to Muslims and Muslim literature: "Aljamiado" and "aljamía" are Spanish words that derive from the Arabic lexeme *ʿajamiyya* (= barbaric, non-Arabic language). These two terms underwent a semantic evolution in Spanish at a very early stage in that "Aljamiado" came to mean the Spanish literature of Muslims written in Arabic script (Aljamiado), whereas "Aljamía" became the general term for referring to the transcription of one language into a different alphabet. By default, this transcription was of Spanish in Arabic, but there were other, similar cases such as Judaeo-Spanish and Judaeo-Arabic. In the use of this term for Judaeo-Arabic, there exists an implied emphasis on the alphabet phenomenon that is paralleled by (among others) the English expression "Arabic in Hebrew characters."

The second pioneer figure of Judaeo-Arabic studies in Spain is Jacinto Bosch Vilá (1922–85), professor of Arabic at the Universidad de Granada, where he was able to create the first university department of the history of Islam in Spain. Bosch Vilá approached Judaeo-Arabic in his examination of documentary material mostly deriving from the archives of Huesca.[30] Although transcribing these texts into Arabic script, he expresses his goal of retaining as many of the original linguistic features as possible. This is why, for example, he does not add the letter *hamza* in his Arabic transcription. Furthermore, he points out that a possible reason for the lack of grammatical "correctness" is the authors' intentional receptivity of such ("la aceptación de algunos vulgarismos"), given their good knowledge of Arabic ("quienes las escribieran poseían buenos conocimientos de árabe") as the general style of the deeds seems to prove.

David Romano (1925–2001) is to be considered the third scholar of this initial stage of Judaeo-Arabic studies in Spain. Romano edited and translated a legal document dated to 1314 C.E. that reports the discussions between a group of *Mudejars* (Iberian Muslims under Christian rule) and a tax collector of the kingdom of Aragon.[31] Since the Mudejars spoke in Arabic and the tax collector in Catalonian, they had to hire the services of a Jewish translator (Abraham al-Behbehí), who was responsible for writing down the terms of the final agreement in Catalonian. The section of this document that drew the attention of David Romano was a final paragraph in Judaeo-Arabic, written by al-Behbehí, concerning the faithfulness and veracity of his translation. Romano edited this fragment in Hebrew and Arabic script and translated it into Spanish. In this new contribution to Judaeo-Arabic studies, published in 1969, it is surprising that, as in the case of Millás Vallicrosa and Bosch Vilá, Romano does not seem to be aware of any of the works on Judaeo-Arabic already available at an international level. In his description of the language used by Abraham al-Behbehí, Romano points out that this document is to be added as a new text in "aljamía hebraicoárabe" to those already studied by J. Miret, M. Schwab, J. M. Millás Vallicrosa, F. Baer, and J. Bosch Vilá. Not a single mention is made, however, of earlier or contemporary publications on Judaeo-Arabic by leading scholars in the field.

As the works of the above-mentioned scholars demonstrate, this first stage of Judaeo-Arabic studies in Spain is characterized by an interest in documentary material related to the history of Iberian Judaism. The acknowledgment of Judaeo-Arabic as a distinct linguistic phenomenon was mostly centered on the use of Hebrew script, after which was coined the expression "aljamía hebraico-árabe" — still in use today within Spanish scholarship. Another interesting feature of these works is their independence from the current trends in Judaeo-Arabic studies in other European countries like France and Great Britain.

After a hiatus of more than a decade in Judaeo-Arabic publications, what may be described as a second stage in the development of the field commenced in Spain in the mid-1980s. The participation of Joshua Blau in a *Convivencia* conference in Toledo in 1982 is especially significant in this regard. The publication of his paper in Spanish on the status of Judaeo-Arabic in Spain, included in the conference proceedings, symbolically marks the beginning of this new period.[32] It is difficult to establish, however, its actual impact on Spanish academia at that time since it is referenced in published works only after the passage of some time.

In contrast to earlier contributions, Spanish works on Judaeo-Arabic published in the mid-1980s were connected to international trends in the field, or at least demonstrated cognizance of them. The most significant publication of this period is Montserrat Abumalham Mas' edition and Spanish translation of a pivotal literary work of the Jews

[28] Millás Vallicrosa 1930.

[29] Millás Vallicrosa and Busquets Mulet 1944.

[30] Bosch Vilá 1954; 1952.

[31] Romano 1969.

[32] Blau 1983. Another paper published in the same volume deals with a Judaeo-Arabic document: Díaz Esteban 1983.

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of al-Andalus, the *Kitāb al-muḥāḍara wa-ʾl-mudhākara* by the twelfth-century poet Moses ibn Ezra.[33] The edition and translation of this text represents the first Spanish contribution to the field of Judaeo-Arabic in the specific area of belles-lettres. Nonetheless, documentary materials continued to be the almost exclusive object of study of Spanish scholars until almost a decade later.

The terminology used by Abumalham Mas and other scholars in the 1980s included for the first time the term "Judaeo-Arabic" (i.e., "judeo-árabe"/"judeoárabe"), in conjunction with the traditional Spanish designation *aljamía hebraico-árabe* (as, for example, in the works of M. A. Lozano Galán[34] and J. R. Magdalena Nom de Déu[35]). The new terminology and linguistic analysis included in some of these studies evince knowledge of Blau's two main reference works — namely, his Hebrew *Grammar of Mediaeval Judeo-Arabic*[36] and, especially, his English publication *The Emergence and Linguistic Background of Judaeo-Arabic*.[37] Particular mention must be made of the study published in 1986 by Rosa Kuhne on a fragment of an Arabic medical manuscript in Hebrew letters.[38] Even though this manuscript, a Jewish copy of a medical work by al-Rāzī, is not strictly speaking a Judaeo-Arabic work,[39] Kuhne carried out a thorough linguistic analysis based on, and expressly quoting, Blau's *Grammar*. In her study Kuhne established for the first time within Spanish academia a clear-cut difference between Judaeo-Arabic works and Arabic works copied in Hebrew letters, even though the particular fragment that she had analyzed straddled both categories.[40]

From the 1990s to the present day, there has been a limited yet constant flow of Spanish contributions to the field of Judaeo-Arabic. Most of the publications can be thematically ascribed to the specific area of medieval Hebrew grammar, in the form of editions, translations, and studies of different works by Andalusian medieval authors, including those of Judah Ḥayyūj,[41] Jonah ibn Janāḥ[42] and Saadia ibn Danān.[43] It is worth noting that most of these publications originated in doctoral dissertations carried out under the joint supervision of Montserrat Abumalham Mas and Angel Sáenz-Badillos, at the universities of Granada and Madrid (Complutense). In accordance with the new trends in the field, the interest of Spanish scholars in the last decade has broadened beyond the Andalusian authors toward the linguistic thought of the east, namely, the Karaites.[44] This has become possible thanks to the recent availability of the Firkovich collections.

Documentary materials have been at the center of a few historical studies, even though, in contrast to the works of the early scholarship, the main source of these materials has become the Cambridge Taylor-Schechter Geniza Collection rather than Spanish archives.[45] Finally, the other focus of interest within Spanish academia has been Judaeo-Arabic language and literature in and of itself. In this regard, it must be mentioned that a significant number of theoretical studies on the nature and significance of Judaeo-Arabic have been published since the late 1990s, showing an awareness of Judaeo-Arabic as independent field of study.[46]

Different initiatives have helped to encourage the Spanish study of Judaeo-Arabic culture, including the creation of editorial series devoted to Jewish studies, notably the Hebrew series of the Universidad de Granada, and the organization of international events partly or wholly devoted to this specific field. Particular mention in this respect should be made of the 2007 celebration in Spain of the biannual conference of the international Society for Judaeo-Arabic Studies, which has given further impetus to the development of the field.[47] The impact that the

[33] Abumalham Mas 1985–86.

[34] Lozano Galán 1985. In her work, Lozano Galán uses the term "Judaeo-Arabic" in the title but not in the article itself, in which the expression *aljamía hebraico-árabe* has supplanted it.

[35] Magdalena Nom de Deu 1986.

[36] Blau 1961.

[37] Blau 1965.

[38] Kuhne 1986.

[39] Even though several definitions have been given of Judaeo-Arabic literature, I adopt here the definition that includes a communicative criterion in addition to linguistic characteristics. A Judaeo-Arabic text should have been produced by Jews and intended for internal Jewish circulation. See Fenton 1990; and, more recently, Khan 2001.

[40] Despite the fact that the text was composed by the renowned Muslim physician al-Rāzī, the text studied by Kuhne was not merely a copy in Hebrew script since it contains numerous linguistic traits typical of Judaeo-Arabic medieval texts: "es asombroso que en una copia, que no es obra original de ningún autor judeo-árabe, hayamos encontrado tantos rasgos característicos de este tipo de literatura" (Kuhne 1986: 261).

[41] Martínez Delgado 2004.

[42] Gallego 2006.

[43] Jiménez Sánchez 2004.

[44] See, for instance, Martínez Delgado 2010; Gallego 2003.

[45] See, for instance, Díaz Esteban 1996; Bennison and Gallego 2008. An important exception to this trend is the work of Ignacio Ferrando on Jewish documentary materials preserved in the archive of the Toledo Cathedral, which he has studied from a strictly linguistic perspective (Ferrando 1994).

[46] See, for instance, Abumalham Mas 2004 and Gallego 1997.

[47] Thirteenth Conference of the Society for Judaeo-Arabic Studies: Judaeo-Arabic Culture in al-Andalus. Universidad de Córdoba. Conveners: María Ángeles Gallego and Juan Pedro Monferrer. June 25–27, 2007.

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conference had in a number of Spanish media, along with the participation of renowned scholars from all areas of Jewish and Islamic studies (including the honoree of this volume), have triggered the acknowledgment and interest of both established academics as well as students at a national level. It is the latter group (to end with a trite yet nonetheless essential observation) that is crucial for the future of Judaeo-Arabic studies in Spain and the focus of the efforts of those of us who cherish the desideratum that this field one day match up to the richly preserved legacy of the Jews of al-Andalus.

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8

FOOD COMMERCE IN EGYPT AS PORTRAYED IN ELEVENTH-CENTURY GENIZA LETTERS

MOSHE GIL

The eleventh-century merchants' letters in the Cairo Geniza offer us an insight into many aspects of life in the Middle Ages. Norman Golb, our celebrated colleague, made an important contribution to the study of these letters. The division of the Geniza documents, between those belonging to the eleventh century and those of later periods, reflects the immense changes that occurred at the end of that century after the Crusader conquests and the Norman conquest of Sicily, which effectively brought a halt to commerce with the territories they had conquered, as well as the significant changes in the internal situation of Egypt and of the Maghreb. Supplies of food took on a different nature after 1100 C.E. as commerce, owing to the political changes, started to shift eastward, mainly to India. Having already written an article about supplies of oil in medieval Egypt (Gil 1975), I now present to the reader additional information concerning food commerce gathered from the merchants' letters.[1]

QAMḤ (WHEAT)

Bread was without doubt the most sought-after commodity. Significant price changes took place, and the high prices can, of course, be explained by droughts that occurred that year, especially in places from which wheat was imported to Egypt or the Maghreb. It appears that price increases also occurred due to the droughts in farther-off locations such as Palestine, Syria, and even Iraq, since, clearly, in times of shortages, every attempt was made to profit from the high prices, even if this necessitated larger outlays for transportation. Thus we find Solomon b. Nissīm ha-Levi al-Barkī writing in circa 1080 about wheat transactions, a shipment of which was about to arrive from Tyre.[2]

A letter addressed to Nehōrai b. Nissīm, which Yūshaʿ b. Nathan al-Andalusī wrote at the end of September 1051 from Bahnasā, also dealt with the supply of wheat, specifically wheat consignments destined for Fustat. The letter makes it clear that the government supervised the transportation of the wheat, and the appearance of a *kātib* (scribe), most likely a government appointee, prevented the writer from sending 50 *irdabb*s (ca. 4,500 liters) of wheat: "for the scribe entered — may God not grant him peace!"[3]

Wheat shortages were frequently reflected in the letters of the merchants, such as the correspondence of Abraham b. Furāt of Alexandria: "In the matter of wheat, by God, my Master, I know not what to do. The East [he apparently means Palestine and Syria, and perhaps even farther east] is barren and in the Buḥayra [the area of Tinnīs, in the Delta] it cannot be purchased ... we know that this is a difficult year" (he was writing in June 1066).[4] It goes without saying that during times of shortage, the price of wheat was a matter of utmost importance. In half of the letters (twelve out of twenty-four), we find record prices significantly higher than normal, clearly pointing to years of drought and shortage. Such shortages may also have been caused by political circumstances, such as those that we find during the period of warfare (ca. 1056–69) in Sicily (an island that exported wheat). The Maghreb

[1] The numbers in bold print refer to the collection of 846 letters and documents from the Cairo Geniza, contained in three volumes of my *Ishmael* (1997: vols. 2–4).

[2] Solomon b. Nissīm: **645**, **646**.

[3] Yūshaʿ b. Nathan: **580**; cf. Goitein 1967–93: 1:242 and see ibid., 234–43, his discussion on matters of wheat and bread.

[4] Abraham b. Furāt: **566**.

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was also involved in these wars. Droughts caused a great deal of hardship to the population, and Arab chronicles frequently depicted their suffering in detail, describing the terrible disasters that ensued. Droughts also gave rise to population shifts, extensive migrations such as those described by Ibn al-Athīr, who wrote about how the people of northern Iraq (the area of Mosul) fled to the south and to al-Shām (Syria and Palestine) in 960 and 986.[5]

As regards shortages and famine in Palestine, Israel b. Sahlūn (December 1061) wrote, "there is famine in Jerusalem." According to him, the dust found in the shipments drove up the real price, making it, in effect, higher than the nominal price: 3.5 dinars instead of 3. ʿAwāḍ b. Ḥananēl, writing from Alexandria, complained about the poor quality of the wheat shipments: "We examined the wheat and found it to be spoiled." Nathan b. Nehōrai also wrote about the same consignment of wheat, relating in the name of the above-mentioned ʿAwāḍ that it "was worm-eaten and broken." The above information about the drought in Palestine is confirmed by its relatively high price.[6]

More information about droughts as reflected in the price of wheat can be gleaned from the Arab chronicles, for example, the drought of 1022. In 1047 (A.H. 439, which began on June 28 that year), there was a severe drought throughout Iraq; Ibn al-Athīr recounts the terrible events of that year, including cannibalism. This drought apparently continued into 1048 (A.H. 440, which began on June 16, 1048), and Ibn al-Athīr notes in particular that it was also felt outside of Iraq, in al-Shām, Egypt, and other countries. He goes on to relate that a serious drought occurred in 1057 (A.H. 449, which began on March 10), an event that seems to be linked to the high price of wheat; in January 1058, the price was 2.5 dinars per *qafīz* (ca. 6 kg), but by June 1058, it had risen to 6 dinars per *qafīz*. This was evidently a persistent drought, which had already begun in 1056, and Ibn al-Jawzī records that in this year (A.H. 448, which began in March 1056), the cost of a *kurr* of wheat, which was 20 dinars in normal times, rose to 90 dinars. Another severe drought occurred in 1067 (A.H. 460, which began on November 11) and continued into 1068 (A.H. 461, which began on October 31).[7]

Serious decisions concerning the supply of wheat were apparently made during the protracted Norman war in Sicily — approximately 1056 to 1069 — in which the rulers of the Maghreb were also involved. The high price of a *qafīz* of wheat, 23.5 dinars in circa 1065, was also a factor in this situation. Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī and Ibn Taghrībirdī described a difficult famine: in 1075 the price of a *kārra*, that is, 2 *qafīz*s of wheat, reached 81 dinars, or 40.5 dinars per *qafīz* in Damascus, whereas the maximum price per *qafīz* that we find in the merchants' letters was 23.5 dinars. Ibn al-Ṣayrafī tells us that there was a severe drought during the tenure of the vizier Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Yāzūrī (1050–1058), when the price of a *tillīs* (ca. 100 kg) of wheat reached 7–8 dinars. This drought may be reflected in a letter written by Labrāṭ b. Moses b. Sughmār, who notes that in the summer (of 1057), "wheat (prices) in our area (i.e., in Mahdiyya) rose to as high as 7 dinars per *qafīz*."[8]

RUZZ (RICE)

One of the commodities that was in great demand during the period under discussion was rice. It was traded by the circle of the Ibn ʿAwkal family, by Nehōrai b. Nissīm, Ismaʿīl b. Faraḥ al-Qābisī, and other members of this family, the Sughmār family, and others. One letter of the merchants may contain the earliest known mention of rice. The letter in question was written in Qayrawān by Ephraim b. Ismaʿīl al-Jawharī and members of the Ibn

[5] Regarding the warfare period in Sicily, see **372**, **414**, **460**, **466**, **645**, **749**. On the drought in 960: Ibn al-Athīr 1965: viii, 533; in 986: ix, 51.

[6] Israel b. Sahlūn: Gil 1983: iii, 167. ʿAwāḍ b. Ḥananēl: **569**. Nathan b. Nehōrai: **413**.

[7] On the drought of 1022: Ibn al-Athīr 1965: ix, 329; of 1047–1048: ibid., ix, 541, 542; of 1050: Ibn al-Jawzī 1938–40: viii, 170f.; of 1057–1058: Ibn al-Athīr 1965: ix, 636; Ibn al-Jawzī 1938–40: viii, 189; of 1067–1069: Ibn al-Athīr 1965: x, 58, 61.

[8] On the famine: Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī 1968: 179; in a slightly different version: Ibn Taghrībirdī 1929: 56: for A.H. 468 (1075–1076): the *kārra* (97.5 kg according to Hinz 1970: 41) was sold in Damascus for over 80 Maghribi dinars. The time of al-Yāzūrī: Ibn al-Ṣayrafī 1924–25: 70. Regarding the cost of an *irdabb* (ca. 70 kg): Hinz 1970: 391 of wheat, cf. the lists of prices by Grohmann 1930: 541, 1943: 99; and the table in Dietrich 1955: 1. There we find prices varying between 1/20 and 1/8 dinar per *irdabb*; one may deduce that the prices per *irdabb* in the merchants' letters apparently reflect times of drought and distress as well; obviously they would usually cite mainly prices appearing to them as outstandingly high.

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ʿAwkal family circle, and addressed to Jacob b. Joseph ibn ʿAwkal in Fustat. The exact date of the letter is unknown; however, there is no doubt that it is from the beginning of the eleventh century, and perhaps even the end of the tenth.

The first dated letter of the Ibn ʿAwkal family circle was written by Mūsā b. Yaḥyā al-Majjānī to Joseph ibn ʿAwkal, in February 1011, whereas Ephraim's aforementioned letter was addressed to the father, Jacob. We also have available to us a request made by Zechariah b. Jacob, who asks for rice to be one of the ingredients in the cakes that he ordered. In another instance, the letter of Salāma b. Abraham, rice was written *ʾrz*, meaning apparently *aruzz*, which was the standard form in the merchants' letters. According to the letter of Ismaʿīl b. Faraḥ, rice was sold for 1.25 dinars per *wayba* in 1056, whereas at the same time, we see that Ibn al-Jawzī writes that the price (evidently in Baghdad) was 1 dinar per *qafīz* for the same year; according to him, the year had one of the major price highs due to drought. If it is true that a *qafīz* was 4 *wayba*s, then this means that the cost of a *wayba* of rice, according to Ibn al-Jawzī, was a quarter of a dinar, as against 1.25 dinars noted by the aforementioned Ismaʿīl b. Faraḥ. This indicates that at the end of October 1056, the price in Egypt was five times higher than the price in Iraq, which points to a severe drought in Egypt. On the other hand, the high price in Egypt (as shown in letters from Alexandria) may have been influenced by the fact that rice was an imported item, and it was cultivated mainly in Iraq, although according to Ibn ʿAwkal and Maqdisī, it was also grown in Egypt, in the Fayyūm, and in Palestine as well, in the area of Bet Sheʾan.[9]

SHAʿĪR (BARLEY)

There is hardly any information about barley. What we do find in reference to costs indicates especially high prices. Labrāṭ b. Moses b. Sughmār, writing in Sūsa in August 1056, a typical drought year, noted that the price of a *qafīz* of barley was 1 dinar. The price quoted by Zechariah b. Jacob, who wrote from Tripoli circa 1050, was even higher: 2 dinars per *qafīz*.[10]

KHUBZ (BREAD)

Nathan b. Isaac ha-Bavlī, when describing the acts of charity of Sahl b. Neṭīrā, who on each Sabbath prepares a large feast for the poor (200 to 400 people), wrote that Sahl used to order bread ahead of time at three bakeries. They baked the bread from Thursday to Friday and delivered it on Friday at noon. As regards the wheat shortages (see above, *qamḥ*), the letter writers, when speaking about bread, show the drought or the political hardship that led to the absence of certain products. "A piece of bread cannot be obtained in the *Rīf* [the Delta]," wrote Benāyā b. Mūsā in 1046. In December 1055, Joseph b. Faraḥ writes: "Wheat and bread, without which we cannot exist, are in short supply." Joseph b. Khalfa, in approximately 1062, writes: "Here [in Alexandria] a piece of bread cannot be obtained." In September 1070, the wife of Judah b. Moses b. Sughmār writes: "We are living in a state of fear and famine; a *ṭillīs* of wheat costs 25 dinars and bread costs 4.5 per *raṭl*."

Bread was often part of a person's wages, such as the 1/4 + 1/2 of a dinar (9 *qīrāṭ*s) recorded by Solomon b. Nissīm ha-Levi al-Barqī, in around 1080, for bread for the camel driver and the guards.[11]

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[9] On rice in the Geniza documents: Goitein 1967–93: 1:119. The letter of Ephraim b. Ismaʿīl: **113**. Mūsā b. Yaḥyā: **117**. Goitein (1967–93) considers **274** as the earliest mention of rice (more than 200 years before any literary source). It is an accounting of Nehōrai b. Nissīm, of 1046; but I find that the mention in the above-cited **113** is some two generations earlier; rice is also mentioned by Arab geographers in the tenth century. Salāma b. Abraham: **175**; *aruzz* is often found in Arab sources. The letter of Ismaʿīl b. Faraḥ: **493**; see Ibn al-Jawzī 1359: viii, 171; see the values of the *wayba* and the *qafīz* in terms we use today in Hinz 1970. See also Canard 1959: 113 and his sources there.

[10] Labrāṭ b. Moses: **614**. Zechariah b. Jacob: **666**.

[11] Sahl b. Neṭīrā: **11** iii. Benāyā b. Mūsā: **602**. Joseph b. Faraḥ: **515**. Joseph b. Khalfa: **563**. the wife of Judah: **619**. Solomon b. Nissīm: **647**.

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KAʿK (BAKED GOODS AND CAKES)

Baked goods and cakes are mentioned in a few letters. Faraḥ b. Joseph lists 20 *raṭl*s of "pure *kaʿk*," which came in a *shakāra*, a large sack. In Zechariah b. Jacob's letter (above), reference is made of a big *kaʿk* in which rice was one of the ingredients.[12]

JUBN (CHEESE)

Cheese and dairy products had to be kosher and produced by Jews. We find the Karaite Tobiah b. Moses writing that he enjoys the cheese in Palestine. Cheese carried by the Karaite Yefet b. Meshullam from Jerusalem to Egypt is attested as "a product of Rabbanite manufacture" (*mi-maʿăśē hā-rabbānīm*) and bears a kashrut certification for Rabbanites. ʿAlī ha-Kohen b. Ezekiel sent a small, stitched basket, *qufayfa mukhīṭ*, containing Jerusalem cheese to Fustat, to ʿAlī b. Ḥayyim.

In a responsum of a gaon, we find the case of a Jew who sent cheese from Qayrawān with a gentile, *bi-qufayfa khāṭa*, that is, in a little bag stitched on its opening, adding, "know that I sent you with so-and-so the Gentile, such and such a quantity of kosher cheese." The gaon permitted its use because each package of cheese bore a stamp in Hebrew letters stating, *bĕrākhā* (blessing). Seʿadya b. Abraham of Hebron informs Yeshūʿā b. Yākhīn in Fustat that his son Abraham carries to Egypt "kosher cheese (*gĕḇīnā ṭĕhōrā*), which he made together with me at home, under conditions of the utmost purity and cleanliness, as by our laws, and he has received a loan on account of its price." Joseph b. Mūsā al-Tāhirtī, writing in Alexandria, informs someone, whose name has not been preserved, about a shipment of *albān*, dairy products, in a *ʿilāwa* (a pack arranged above the main transport) after it arrives to prevent it from spoiling. Nathan b. Nehōrai, writing from Alexandria to Mūsā b. Abi ʾl-Ḥayy, informs the latter that a shipment of butter under the name of a Jew had been received, which suggests that it was intended for the family of the addressee, Mūsā, who were sojourning in Alexandria.[13]

LAḤM (MEAT)

Meat is rarely mentioned, only in two documents. An act of charity carried out by Sahl b. Neṭīrā was sending a transport of meat for the God-fearing women; and portions of meat were included by him in the Sabbath meals that he arranged for the poor. Ismaʿīl b. Barhūn recorded on the margin of a letter addressed to the Judayla family, who were in dire straights, that he had spent a quarter (of a dinar?) for meat.[14]

ZAYTŪN (OLIVES)

Olives were an important and extensively cultivated crop; they were imported into Egypt from the north, from Syria and Palestine, as well as from Spain and the Maghreb. In September 1064, Salāma b. Mūsā describes the *ghamra*, the harvesting of olives, in the area of Safāquṣ (present-day Sfax, in Tunisia); the regional chief had appointed Salāma to collect the tithes for him in the area of Yanūnash, but, in the middle of the harvest, a war broke out between the *sulṭān*, that is, Tamīm b. Muʿizz, and the *qāʾid* Ḥamū, who ruled Safāquṣ. Obviously, at that time only part of the olive crop was intended for the production of oil, while part of it remained for eating.

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[12] Faraḥ b. Joseph: **524**. Zechariah b. Jacob: **666**.

[13] Tobiah b. Moses: Gil 1983: **11**, 521. Yefet b. Meshullam: ibid., 564. ʿAlī ha-Kohen: **452** and Gil 1983: 3:79. The responsum: Harkavy 1887: 3ff. (no. 5).

[14] Sahl b. Neṭīrā: **11** iii. Ismaʿīl b. Barhūn: **126**.

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Among other items, Ḥasūn b. Isaac al-Khawlānī asks Mūsā b. Yaḥyā al-Majjānī to obtain for him, among others, olives *jurāwī*, as well as olives "planned for blackening." The sale of olives is also mentioned in a letter written in August 1062, by Zechariah b. Jacob al-Shāma, who was also from Safāquṣ. He intended to sell the olives and with the revenue from the sale to buy *zayt ṭāhor* (kosher oil). A letter written in Jerusalem by ʿEli ha-Kohen b. Ezekiel refers to a person who arrived in "the city" (in Palestine? Egypt?) bringing with him a *kaylaja* of olives.[15]

ZABĪB (RAISINS)

Raisins were also among the products imported from Palestine. Jacob b. Salmān al-Ḥarīrī sent two baskets of *zabīb* from Ramla. Nehōrai b. Nissīm asks Mūsā b. Abi ʾl-Ḥayy to send him, from Alexandria, a *shakāra*, a large sack, of raisins *lādhiqī* from Lādhiqiyya (i.e., Laodikea, or Latakia) in Syria, preferably the red ones (i.e., those produced from red grapes), which would be added to the *lādhiqī aḥmar* and *shāmī aḥmar* (Laodikean and Syrian red ones) that were already in his possession. Ismaʿīl b. Faraḥ announced the arrival of a ship from Lādhiqiyya, which contained, among other items, a shipment of raisins. Because raisins were imported goods, they were subject to the payment of *khums* (a fifth) to customs. At the beginning of 1054, Abraham b. Farrāḥ and his partners write to Nehōrai b. Nissīm to inform him that the *ruqʿat al-khums* (the customs certificate) for a shipment of raisins was enclosed in the letter.[16]

NABĪDH (WINE)

Trade in wine ran counter to the Muslim prohibition against its consumption; yet the documents in question contain no references whatsoever to this proscription. In a letter from Māzar, Sicily, Nehōrai b. Nissīm mentions *muʿattāq* (old wine), which he intended to send to Fustat; however, he could find no one willing to ship it. On another occasion, ʿAyyāsh b. Ṣadaqa found someone to transport *muʿattāq* from Alexandria. A letter written by Abraham (Barhūn) b. Ṣāliḥ al-Tāhirtī indicates the existence of a cottage wine industry. From a letter of Abraham b. Farrāḥ, it may be understood that the wine was made from raisins; in addition, he notes that the price dropped following the arrival of large shipments of wine from Byzantium and from Lādhiqiyya. Yeshūʿā b. Ismaʿīl writes about *khamr* (i.e., wine) that he was storing in the home of "somebody called al-Būnī."[17]

ʿ*ASAL* (HONEY)

Honey also appears to have been a commodity imported to Egypt. Nehōrai b. Nissīm wrote about a shipment of two jugs containing "high-quality *ʿasal shāmī*," that is, from Palestine or Syria. Nathan ha-Kohen b. Meḇōrākh of Ascalon writes about a shipment of honey bound for Fustat. We find as well that when *ʿasal* was mentioned in a document, the writer was sometimes referring to the juice of the sugar cane, that is, to a surrogate of honey, since this is what Yūshaʿ b. Nathan al-Andalusī wrote about a shipment of a small jug containing "*ʿasal qaṣab*, honey made from sugar cane, 'for household use.'" Evidently there was in Egypt a center for the production of honey, *Binhat al-ʿasal*.[18]

[15] Salāma b. Mūsā: **751** *a*. The word *ghamra* cannot be found in regular Arab dictionaries, but see Marçais and Guiga 1925: 285. Ḥasūn b. Isaac: **219**. *Jurāwī*, from Jurāwa in Faḥṣ al-ballūṭ, at the north of Qurṭuba, today Los Pedroches; see Yāqūt 1866–70: 2:47; see also Huici Miranda in *EI*[2] s.v. "Faḥṣ al-ballūṭ"; cf. the source of al-Jurāwī in Gil 1983: 3:317, and the note to line 10. Zechariah b. Jacob: **668**. The *kaylaja* was a little over 6 liters; see Gil 1983: 3:68 (in no. 448), and ibid. 1:212.

[16] Jacob b. Salmān: Gil 1983: 3:269. Nehōrai b. Nissīm: **447**. Ismaʿīl b. Faraḥ: **494**. Abraham b. Farrāḥ: **771**.

[17] Nehōrai b. Nissīm: **251**. ʿAyyāsh b. Ṣadaqa: **488**. Barhūn b. Ṣāliḥ: **333**. Abraham b. Farrāḥ: **547**. Yeshūʿā b. Ismaʿīl: **310**. See also citations from Arab sources on the share of Jews in trade of wine in Gil 2004: 604.

[18] Nathan ha-Kohen: **588**. Yushaʿ b. Nathan: **579**. On *Binhat al-ʿasal*: al-Yaʿqūbī 1913: 337; Yāqūt 1866–70: 1:748.

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SUKKAR (SUGAR)

Sugar was much in demand, and its price was characterized by significant fluctuations. This can only be explained by conditions of transport, which were dependent on the security situation, as well as substantial changes in levels of supply and demand. Sugar was produced from sugar cane, and it appears that in their letters the merchants were actually referring to the juice derived from the sugar cane. Sugar production took place in Palestine, in Zīb, Hebrew Akhzīḇ, where a sugar refinery seems to have been located. Such refineries were also found in Fustat and other places in Egypt. Sugar cane was grown in Upper Egypt (the *Ṣaʿīd*); Nissīm b. Isaac al-Tāhirtī mentions it in his letter to Nehōrai b. Nissīm. A letter written by Joseph b. Mūsā al-Tāhirtī mentions a special kind of sugar, *fānīd*, apparently sugar that was distilled for a long time, perhaps until it became solidified. He also refers to *duqāq al-sukkar*, flour (or powder) of sugar.[19]

TAMR (DATES)

Dates are mentioned rarely. We find an unsuccessful transaction in which Jacob b. Salmān al-Ḥarīrī purchased a large quantity of dates and sold them "at various prices," on the average (it seems) 4 *wayba*s per dinar. The dates were damaged by water in the ship, and when they were sold, all the baskets were torn. Transporting them from Rashīd to Fustat was very costly, and they were forced to give dates to the sailors as well. In the end, they suffered a loss of 12 dinars, and disputes erupted among the partners. One quarrel ensued because Maymūn b. Khalfa gave part of the dates to the wife of Mardūk b. Mūsā; another dispute developed with Ṣāliḥ, Mardūk's brother, and with the third brother, Ezra. Jacob b. Salmān describes the matter in a letter addressed to Nehōrai b. Nissīm, the date corresponding to June 23, 1057. Four days later, which was June 27, Joseph b. ʿAlī Kohen Fāsī also wrote a letter to Nehōrai, in which he referred to the failure and mentions ʿUqbān (i.e., Jacob) b. Salmān, who "lost 12 dinars on the dates," whereas his partners, Mardūk b. Mūsā and his brother, along with Maymūn b. Khalfa, repudiated the partnership and denied that they had had a part in the transaction.

In around 1065, Nathan b. Nehōrai writes from Alexandria to Mūsā b. Abi ʾl Ḥayy in Fustat about the shipment of dates, which are *muqarrab*, of inferior quality. Mention is also made of dates of the *ruṭab* type, that is, dates sold while still fresh, immediately after their picking. An anonymous merchant writes from Alexandria, noting that dates were in demand and suggests to his partners that they should buy some; the implication is in Fustat and it appears that Egyptian dates were meant.[20]

TĪN (FIG)

The fig is one of the frequently mentioned fruits, with the figs of northern Syria, those from Lādhiqiyya, being referred to in particular. In October 1056, Ismaʿīl b. Faraḥ notes that the *al-tīn al-Lādhiqī* is sold for 2.25 dinars for a *wayba*. Another type of fig mentioned in a letter of Ḥasūn b. Isaac al-Khawlānī is the *tīn kammūdī*, whose meaning is unknown to me, and I do not know whether in Arabic it is written with a *kāʾ* or with a *khāʾ*. In any event, in Egypt figs were mainly an imported commodity, a fact we learn from a letter of Ismaʿīl b. Faraḥ, where he notes the arrival of a ship from Lādhiqiyya to Alexandria; among other merchandise, its hold contained *tīn* that had been loaded in Lādhiqiyya.[21]

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[19] On sugar and sugar refineries: Gil 1976: 71, with citations proving the great number of sugar refineries (*maṭābīkh*) in Fustat. See also Labib 1965: 319, with details on the sugar production in various places in Egypt. Nissīm b. Isaac: **389**. Joseph b. Mūsā: **376**. *Fānīd* is a Persian word; see Kazimirski 1860: 2:638, in the right column.

[20] Maymūn b. Khalfa: **663** (the letter of Jacob b. Salmān al-Ḥarīrī); the matter of Ṣāliḥ: **396** (the letter of Joseph b. ʿAlī Kohen Fāsī). Nathan b. Nehōrai: **435**. On *ruṭab*: **794**.

[21] Ismaʿīl b. Faraḥ: **472**, **494**. Ḥasūn b. Isaac: **219**.

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SIBISTĀN (PLUMS)

Plums were brought to Egypt from Palestine and Syria. Avōn b. Ṣedāqā, a merchant from Qābis sojourning in Palestine, invested part of the money he had with him to purchase plums (1065). Mūsā b. Isḥāq b. Ḥisdā, writing to Joseph ibn ʿAkwal, from Mahdiyya, mentions a quantity of plums that he has with him.[22]

WARD (ROSES)

Roses were used to produce *ward murabbā*, rose confiture, a product that was in great demand. In Egypt it was an imported commodity, brought from Palestine and Syria. Roses were also used in the manufacture of *māʾ ward*, rose water, a perfume. Ismaʿīl b. Jacob al-Andalusī, from Sicily, was an important merchant involved in the rose-confiture trade; another was Mūsā b. Jacob, who lived in Damascus and corresponded with his partner Abu ʾl-ʿAlāʾ Joseph b. Dawūd b. Shaʿyā of Fustat. In one of his letters, he warns his partner not to keep the confiture for too long, for fear it will turn black.[23]

JAWZ (WALNUTS)

Walnuts were evidently in great demand and are mentioned rather frequently. Barhūn b. Ṣāliḥ sends Nehōrai nuts from Barqa. According to Goitein, the relatively frequent references to various types of nuts and seeds (including *bunduq*) indicates that emigrants to Egypt from Syria, Palestine, and Persia were in the habit of eating them.[24]

MAḤLAB (PISTACHIO)

Maḥlab or *muḥallab* nuts are referred to several times. They were apparently what we call pistachio (*fustuq ḥalabī*), whose botanical name is *Prunus mahaleb*. Jacob b. Ismaʿīl al-Andalusī included them in the list of prices of the Palermo market.[25]

BUNDUQ (HAZELNUTS)

Nehōrai b. Nissīm, Yeshūʿā b. Ismaʿīl al-Makhmūrī, Faraḥ b. Joseph, and Ismaʿīl b. Isaac al-Andalusī were involved in the marketing of this commodity. It was sold by *ʿidl* (bale), or by box, or by a large sack (*shakāra*).[26]

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[22] Avōn b. Ṣedāqā: Gil 1983: 3:245 (no. 501). Mūsā b. Isḥāq: **191**, and see there the note to *a*, line 33.

[23] On the rose confiture produced in Palestine: Gil 1983: 277 ("rose-petals preserves"): 237; in Syria: **632**. Ismaʿīl b. Jacob: **574**, **575**; not to retain the confiture: **514**.

[24] On nuts from Barqa: **329**; cf. Goitein 1967–93 1:121.

[25] Jacob b. Ismaʿīl: **575**.

[26] On *bunduq*: Müller-Wodarg 1956: 75. The letter of Faraḥ b. Joseph: **524**.

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KHARRŪB (CAROBS)

Carobs were used as a food in times of crises, during droughts. Nehōrai b. Nissīm cites a payment for carobs, but it is unclear whether they were intended for human consumption or for donkeys. It may be assumed that those embarking on sea voyages supplied themselves with carobs because they could be preserved for long periods of time. During times of drought, they were, naturally, a commodity much demanded. In a letter he wrote at the end of October 1056, Ismaʿīl b. Faraḥ recorded their price in Alexandria as 2 dinars per *qinṭar*. Benāyā b. Mūsā, writing in a time of a severe drought in the area of the Rīf (the Delta), noted, "*al-nās yaʾkulūn al-kharrūb*, people eat carobs."[27]

FŪL (BROAD BEANS)

Broad beans are, surprisingly, mentioned only a few times. Nehōrai b. Nissīm refers to them in an invoice dated 1058: 8 dirhams were spent on *fūl*. These beans were referred to by ʿAwāḍ b. Ḥananēl and another, unidentified merchant, who noted that they were in great demand and that their price had risen to 25 dinars per hundred (*raṭl*s?).[28]

ABBREVIATION

EI[2]	*The Encyclopaedia of Islam*. New edition, prepared by H. A. R. Gibb et al. 12 volumes. Leiden: Brill, 1960–2006. Online edition, edited by P. Bearman et al. Leiden: Brill, 2008. http://www.encislam.brill.nl

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[27] Nehōrai b. Nissīm: **283**; cf. Goitein 1967–93: 1: 121. Ismaʿīl b. Faraḥ: **493**. Benāyā b. Mūsā: **602**.

[28] Nehōrai b. Nissīm: **286**; ʿAwāḍ b. Ḥananēl: **566**. The unidentified merchant: **826**.

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9

GERSHOM B. JUDAH AND THE ITALIAN ROOTS OF EARLY ASHKENAZIC JEWRY

JOSHUA HOLO

In his characteristically meticulous, critical source analyses, Norman Golb has helped to shape the historiography of European Jewry by identifying and describing previously unknown sectors of Jewish social and intellectual life. Part of that work of historical discovery has always been his keen attention to the movement of Jewish populations and the flow of cultural influences. In his comprehensive study of Norman Jewry, for example, Golb has not only traced the Jews' arrival to England on the heels of William the Conqueror, but also depicted the full extent of their ongoing exchanges with Jews from France, Germany, and even Spain and Italy. In the spirit of his many contributions, one narrow controversy, regarding the origins of Gershom b. Judah "the Light of the Exile" (d. 1040), offers the opportunity to weigh in on the Italian roots of Ashkenazic Jewry, as represented in the person of the great master.

INTRODUCTION

Regarding some periods of Jewish history, a firm scholarly grasp of migration, trade, and scholarly exchange underpins our received history, while for other periods, a vaguer sense of those same trends clouds our understanding of communal origins. This more confused condition applies to the roots of Ashkenazic Jewry to a significant degree. Reliable sources, such as the Theodosian Code, date the Jewish community in Cologne, for example, to the fourth century.[1] But only later, in the Carolingian period (752–911), do Western European Jews and Jewish communities reappear in the record. Presumably as early as the ninth century, Italian Jews, spearheaded by the Kalonymos clan from Lucca, crossed the Alps and brought with them their learning and culture to the Rhineland. Most prominently between the ninth and thirteenth (though continuing into the fifteenth) centuries, this family boasted generations of leading legal scholars, liturgical poets, polemicists, and mystics, on both sides of the Alps. The branch of the Kalonymids that settled in Mainz and Speyer helped to seed an Ashkenazic culture that would take root in the tenth and eleventh centuries and eventually flourish in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Ultimately, Ashkenazic Jewry would inherit the mantle of Jewish jurisprudence, develop a rich (if short-lived) mystical movement, and expand eastward to become, by the sixteenth century, the largest Jewish population in the world.[2]

In the absence of a definitive source that links the Jews of the Roman and Carolingian periods, historians have naturally looked to this Italian connection as one defining element in the formation of Ashkenazic culture. To be sure, ideas and people not only crossed the Alps from Italy but also hailed from North Africa and Spain, and they wove a complicated tapestry of Babylonian and Palestinian traditions.[3] These two great schools of Jewish jurisprudence had originally reflected the geopolitical division between the Jews of the Roman Empire, represented by the Palestinian rabbinate, and those of the Persian Empire, represented by the "Babylonian" rabbis (so called in remembrance of the original Babylonian exile in the sixth century B.C.E.). By the Middle Ages, however, the new world order split the Jewish population between Christianity and Islam, and the borders had changed so that Jews

[1] Pharr 1952: 16.8.3, from the year 321.

[2] Eidelberg 1955: 5–16; Kisch 1949: 3–4.

[3] Gil 1993.

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in lands historically connected to the Palestinian tradition (including Europe and Palestine itself) were exposed to the Babylonian tradition more intensively. Further complicating the picture of early Ashkenazic literature, these various influences flowed through multiple genres: not only halakhah, or law, but also mysticism and, to a lesser but notable degree, historiography. However, the variety of this cultural landscape notwithstanding, Italy in particular maintained strong ties to the fledgling German communities, to the point where the influences from Germany eventually reversed flow, back to Italy.[4]

Against the backdrop of this trans-Alpine connection, some scholars have entertained the possibility that R. Gershom of Mainz, called the "Light of the Exile" thanks to his far-reaching rabbinical decrees (such as the prohibitions against forcibly divorcing one's wife and against polygyny), was in fact a native of Ancona, Italy. David Flusser and Yitzḥaq Zimmer, the primary exponents of this thesis, rely principally on onomastic evidence and on a rather late but explicit claim that Ancona was Gershom's hometown. And though it remains a minority view, this theory bears further consideration, because a careful re-reading of the evidence suggests that at least the patrilineal branch of R. Gershom's family may indeed have come from Italy, even though it does not validate the claim that the great rabbi was himself born there.

THE CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE

Medieval scholars already preserve the memory of direct and indirect Italian influences in the formation of Ashkenazic literary culture. The *Sēfer yĕṣīrā*, or *Book of Creation*, a late antique, Palestinian tract known to have arrived to Europe through Byzantine Italy, resonated with Ashkenazic culture in its deep-seated concern with letters and words. The *Sēfer yĕṣīrā* attempts to bridge the conceptual gap between God's created universe and the absence, the *nihil*, from which He created it. It suggests the power of the word, disembodied but emanating directly from God and, like DNA, infinitely recombinant and creative. In its opening, the *Sēfer yĕṣīrā* claims that God "created His universe by means of three numberings: by number and letter and their combination, ten ineffable gradations and twenty-two foundational letters."[5] The classic thirteenth-century Ashkenazic mystical treatise *Sēfer ḥăsīdīm*, or the *Book of the Pious*, echoes this preoccupation with words in its punctilious rules for prayer, and it represents a worldview, as described by Gershom Scholem, where it is "the word, not the soul, which triumphs over fate and evil."[6] Eleazar of Worms (d. 1238), a scion of the Kalonymids and one of the German pietists, or *ḥăsīdīm*, wrote a commentary on the *Sēfer yĕṣīrā*. In it, he relies not only on the Palestinian *merkāḇā* mystical tradition (which hearkens to the mysteries of Ezekiel's chariot, or *merkāḇā*) but also on the Italian tradition; he directly refers to the tenth-century Byzantine-Italian scholar Shabbetai Donnolo, an early interpreter of the text.[7] In his treatise on the "Secrets of Prayer," Eleazar further links the tradents of the Ashkenazic mystical prayer to the Italian sages, and there too, he bases their mystical inheritance on "the measure, balance and the enumeration of words … for there is a numerical precision to the letters, as well as precision to the words." In one version of this chain of tradition, Eleazar connects these "secrets of prayer" to "Gershom, the Light of the Exile."[8] Admittedly, however, he does so in a genealogy (both scholarly and familial) that does not extend, in Gershom's case, directly to the Kalonymid clan, and in general Gershom's ongoing legacy has not been associated with mysticism.[9]

More prominent in matters of halakhah, R. Gershom ventured to harmonize the Babylonian and Palestinian traditions, according to Israel Ta-Shma, who works from the widely accepted premise that Europe originally followed the Palestinian tradition and only later adopted the Babylonian one through the agency Abu Aaron b. Samuel the Babylonian. According to Eleazar, Abu Aaron (likely the Babylonian figure from the *Chronicle of Aḥimaʿaz*) sojourned in Lucca, where he taught Moses b. Kalonymos (apparently Moses I Kalonymos, of the mid-

[4] Schulvass 1952.

[5] *Sēfer yĕṣīrā* 1:1–2.

[6] Scholem 1995: 101; Yehudah (1960: 72–82) articulates the attention due in the act of prayer.

[7] *Sēfer yĕṣīrā* (Eleazar commentary on) 1965: 25–26.

[8] As quoted in Dan 1968: 14–20; Gross 1905: 693–95; Rosenthal 1947: 11. For Jacob b. Asher, author of *Arbāʿā ṭūrīm*, this *minyān* (here translated as both "enumeration" and "precision") becomes the hallmark of German pietism, *Ṭūr ōraḥ ḥayyīm: hilkhōt tĕfillā* 113.

[9] Dan 1968: 14–17; Grossman 1995: 40; Finkelstein 1924: 20–21; Graboïs 1989: 307–08.

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ninth century) and thereby introduced Babylonian rabbinic culture, which the Kalonymids would carry to the Rhineland.[10] As Ta-Shma and others illustrate, Gershom inherited this imported wisdom and began to build on it, looking also to the legal traditions of North Africa. This approach was later picked up by eminent Italian scholars, such as Nathan b. Yeḥiel of Rome (d. ca. 1106) and Isaiah of Trani (d. ca. 1250), who attempted to continue in the same spirit and who, in so doing, relied heavily on Gershom.[11]

In the realm of historical writing, Gershom's career binds him even more directly to Italy. In particular, he drew inspiration from Byzantine southern Italy, where, chiefly in the region of Puglia during the ninth to eleventh centuries, Jewish communities founded learned academies and revived the Hebrew language as a medium for literature and exchange, after centuries of relying on Greek. The *Sēfer Yōsippōn*, a tenth-century Hebrew adaptation of Josephus composed in Byzantine southern Italy (with a distinct Palestine orientation), was one of the most frequently copied works of the Jewish Middle Ages, and David Flusser has convincingly traced one recension of the *Sēfer Yōsippōn* to Gershom's own hand. That is, the great rabbi both received and propagated this history, squarely placing himself in the literary stream flowing from Italy.[12]

In all these respects — mystical, legal, and historiographical — Gershom and those who preserve his memory understood themselves to participate in a religious and literary conversation with Italy. Joseph Dan, meanwhile, cautions us about the limitations of these connections. In large measure, the various streams of Jewish literature coalesced in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, in a Rhenish literary world without the same generic distinctions as those that governed these literatures in their places of origin, namely, Palestine and Babylonia.[13] As a result, we cannot always draw direct lines between Italy and Ashkenaz, nor between Gershom and Ancona. What emerges, however, is a larger picture in which Gershom not only engaged with but also actively contributed to the literary production of Italian provenance and origin.

THE DIRECT EVIDENCE

The core of the claim to Gershom's Italian birth lies in two key sets of sources adduced by David Flusser in parallel with Yitzḥaq Zimmer. In the first instance, Flusser relies on the sixteenth-century list of rabbinical sages, complied by Azriel b. Yeḥiel Trabottò (d. 1569) and extant in three versions.[14] Trabottò lists, in roughly geographical order, the sages who earned the title "gaon." He names the great Babylonian rabbis, briefly introduces the North Africans, lists the Italians, and then remarks that

> among the French [sages], Rabbenu Gershom "the Light of the Exile" (from whom the majority of the French geonim received the tradition) is also included among the geonim, for he elucidated a few tractates of Talmud, and they say of him that he went to Baghdad, where he married the sister of Hai Gaon [d. 1038].[15]

The remaining versions of this list contain variations on the additional phrase: "I saw it written that his ancestral homeland was in Ancona."[16]

The second pillar of the argument rests on a comparison between the colophon of a twelfth-century biblical manuscript (Parma, de Rossi 12) and Leopold Zunz's reconstruction of the family of R. Gershom's brother. In the colophon, the scribe explains that he transliterated the Hebrew pointing (i.e., the medieval systems of diacritical marks that represent the vocalization of Hebrew and Aramaic consonants) of the biblical text, from the Babylonian to the Palestinian notation. He then identifies himself as "R. Nathan, b. R. Makhir, b. R. Menahem of Ancona (*Anqōnāʾ*), b. R. Samuel, b. R. Makhir from the city of Oria (*Ūyĕrī*), b. R. Solomon (who severed the horn of the scornful one in the land of *Rōmanyāʾ*), b. R. Anṭos, b. R. Ṣadoq the grammarian."[17] A similar list of names, includ-

[10] Ta-Shma 2004–10: 3:68–69; Dan 1968: 16; Kaufmann 1896: 465–71.

[11] Ta-Shma 2004–10: 1:11–12, 3:8. Gil 1993: 49, citing Luria 1969: 84, no. 29, linking not only Gershom but also Rashi to Hai Gaon of Pumbedita.

[12] Flusser 1978: 2:4–5; Neubauer 1899: 368; Ta-Shma 2004–10: 3:179.

[13] Dan 1968: 11–12.

[14] Flusser 1975.

[15] MS Halberstam 227 (= MS Montefiore 478), fols. 226a–27a, edited by Kaufmann 1882: 210, 213.

[16] *Mōladtō*: This additional phrase appears in MS Laurenziana, Pluteo 44.2, 62a–63a and MS CUL Add. 539/32, fols. 125–26 (lacking "the land of" in the former), as per Flusser 1975.

[17] Neubauer 1892: 615–16; Klar 1974: 50–51; Dinur 1961: 233; Zimmer 1974: 228 n. 6.

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ing Judah, Makhir, Menahem, and Nathan, constitutes the male lineage of R. Gershom's brother's descendants, based on Leopold Zunz's investigation into liturgical poetry.[18] To all appearances, the similarities between the two genealogies support the inference that both refer to members of the same family, evidently originating in Byzantine southern Italy, of which Oria was a major Jewish center.

Flusser is not alone in reading these sources as indicators of Gershom's direct Italian origins. Ben-Zion Dinur considers that "there is room to speculate that the family of R. Gershom was of Italian extraction."[19] Zimmer and Flusser, however, take this possibility to the next level, arguing more forcefully that the Trabottò manuscript, in light of Gershom's family names, indicates that he was actually born in Ancona.[20]

Though Zunz's reconstruction of Gershom's family is not particularly controversial, Flusser advances his more ambitious conclusion on the basis of two points. First, he lines up the probable dates of Zunz's genealogy with those of the Trabottò list, concluding that they lead up to the lifetime of Gershom in such a way as to render plausible his having been born on the Adriatic.[21] Second, he points to the central phrase in the Trabottò list, according to which Nathan, the scribe, "saw it written that his [i.e., Gershom's] birthplace was in Ancona." In his reliance on this sentence, Flusser takes two interpretive steps: he translates *mōladtō* as "his birthplace" rather than "his ancestral home," and he puts great stock in the fact that the scribe's source was written rather than oral (in contrast to the report of Gershom's marriage to Hai's sister, which Nathan merely "heard").[22] Meanwhile, the problems in the text, that is, its hearsay quality and late date, cause Grossman and Ta-Shma to reject the claim of his Italian birth outright, though they concede the possibility of Gershom's Italian heritage.[23] In the end, their more skeptical argument is the more plausible one, but not only on account of their cogent objections against the sources. The logic of the Trabottò text, together with the circumstantial evidence, more affirmatively indicates that we ought to read *mōladtō* as "his ancestral home" rather than "his birthplace."

CONCLUSION: THE TRABOTTÒ LIST IN LIGHT OF THE PARMA COLOPHON

The circumstantial evidence regarding Gershom's approach to Jewish culture and law renders his Italian heritage possible or even, in light of the genealogical connection, likely. By contrast, the claim in Trabottò's list raises problems of date and inconclusiveness. These objections, however, become all but moot when we interpret *mōladtō* as "ancestral homeland." In fact, read thus the comment in the Trabottò list seems actively to support the notion that Gershom was a native of Lorraine, as the most convincing contemporary reports indicate, but of Italian extraction.[24]

The Trabottò list follows, first and foremost, a geographical organization. The French sages, with Gershom at the head of their list, pick up directly after the Italians. And except for the interjected claim of Gershom's roots in Ancona, the section continues to describe French rabbis. In other words, Gershom's Italian origins serve as a bridge between the Italian and French sages, as if to say, in moving from the Italian to the French geonim, "In fact, I have found a source that indicates that R. Gershom's family also comes from Ancona." The text, in other words, readily confirms our general impression of Gershom as a vehicle for the Italian influence in early medieval Ashkenaz, the seat of his rabbinical career, while in similar fashion, his teaching bridged the Rhineland and France.

This contextual reading of the word *mōladtō* puts the argument for Gershom's Italian extraction on stronger footing, in at least two ways. First, it achieves more than merely casting aspersions on the claim of his Italian birth as reported in the Trabottò list; it actually provides a positive rationale for reading the key word as "ancestral homeland." Second, it resolves the tension between, on the one hand, the circumstantial evidence and the onomastic analysis of the Parma colophon (both of which support his Italian roots), and on the other hand, the sources for his French birthplace. If indeed this position promotes a fuller, more accurate understanding of the

[18] Zunz 1885: 159; Elbogen, Freimann, and Tykocinski 1963: 191.

[19] Dinur 1961: n. 18.

[20] Zimmer 1974: 228–29.

[21] Flusser and Ta-Shma 1975.

[22] Flusser 1975; Zimmer (1974: 229) acknowledges the possibilities for translating *mōladtō*.

[23] Grossman 1988: 113–15; Ta-Shma 2004–10: 1:12 n. 25. Ta-Shma, the co-author of "Sur l'origine italienne de Gerson Meor ha-Gola" (Flusser and Ta-Shma 1975), ultimately abandoned the claim of Gershom's Italian birth.

[24] Zimmer 1974: 227; Grossman 1988: 113–15.

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life and career of the leading light of early Ashkenaz, then it also deepens our appreciation for the relationship between Italy and the Rhineland, even if incrementally.

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10

CARL HERMANN KRAELING: A REMINISCENCE

WALTER E. KAEGI

This is a short essay of personal, not scientific, reminiscences and anecdotal vignettes from late in Carl H. Kraeling's life (1897–1966), most notably from 1963 to 1965, when the author was a fellow at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington, D.C. (Harvard's Byzantine research center in Georgetown) and shared three meals a day with Kraeling and his wife Elsie five days a week (breakfast, lunch served at 1:00 P.M., and dinner served at 7:00 P.M., with Elsie Kraeling or Charlotte [Mrs. Alfred] Bellinger ringing the smallish silver bell to signal the maids for the next course) and sometimes additional meals on the other two days of the week. It is not an expert detailed study of his directorship of the University of Chicago's Oriental Institute (1950–60) or his service as acting librarian at Dumbarton Oaks (1964–66). I have not examined or cross-checked any archival records. Mine are simply disconnected wisps of memory. The late director of Dumbarton Oaks John S. Thacher wrote a short obituary of him (1967), and I have also read the obituary of him by William F. Albright (1970), but mine is from a different perspective from either of those obituary writers, neither that of the American Schools of Oriental Research nor of Dumbarton Oaks. Albright wrote an appreciative obituary that appropriately called attention to Kraeling's tact. Many of his papers concerning the American Schools for Oriental Research are stored at Boston University, but they are not the object of examination here.

I was not a student or faculty member at the Oriental Institute during Kraeling's directorship, nor was I a fellow at Dumbarton Oaks during his initial one-year stint as Henri Focillon Scholar in Charge of Research at Dumbarton Oaks from 1946 to 1947, or during the first year of his initial appointment at Dumbarton Oaks after his retirement from the University of Chicago, 1962–66. I knew him only at the end of his life. I understand that as a younger man, he cut an impressive — dashing, inspiring, and very active — figure in field archaeology. However, it is useful for someone who knew him late in his life to record some of his observations on scholarship and on the Oriental Institute. He was a good table conversationalist. But he was not available exclusively for meals. My reminiscences often are associated with conversations that took place before or during or after meals in the Dumbarton Oaks Fellows Building. These were sometimes leisurely sessions in front of a roaring fire in the fireplace in the Fellows Building. He was a scholar of impeccable integrity and sound judgment. His life involved several universities and regions of the United States and regions of the Middle East. He possessed breadth.

My vivid memories of Carl Kraeling include his cheerfulness smoking a pipe, and his cheerfulness playing Beethoven on the piano in the music room at Dumbarton Oaks weekend mornings, especially Sunday morning, when there were no visitors to disturb or be disturbed. He was trim and relaxed and put others at ease. His appearance — as I recall — was about the same in 1963–64 as it had been in older photographs that record him around 1950. He and Elsie sometimes invited me for sherry in their apartment (the "East Cottage" wing of the Fellows Building, at 3425 R Street Northwest, that has now been transformed for other uses) before dinner in the Fellows Building, which started precisely at 7:00 P.M. He was sage in his wisdom and advice. A reminder about conditions that prevailed in the early and middle 1960s: the dollar was still seemingly strong, Xerox was still in its infancy, and the typewriter and carbon copies and telegrams were still common. There were no e-mails, text messaging, cell phones, faxes, or even telex. Long-distance telephone calls were expensive.

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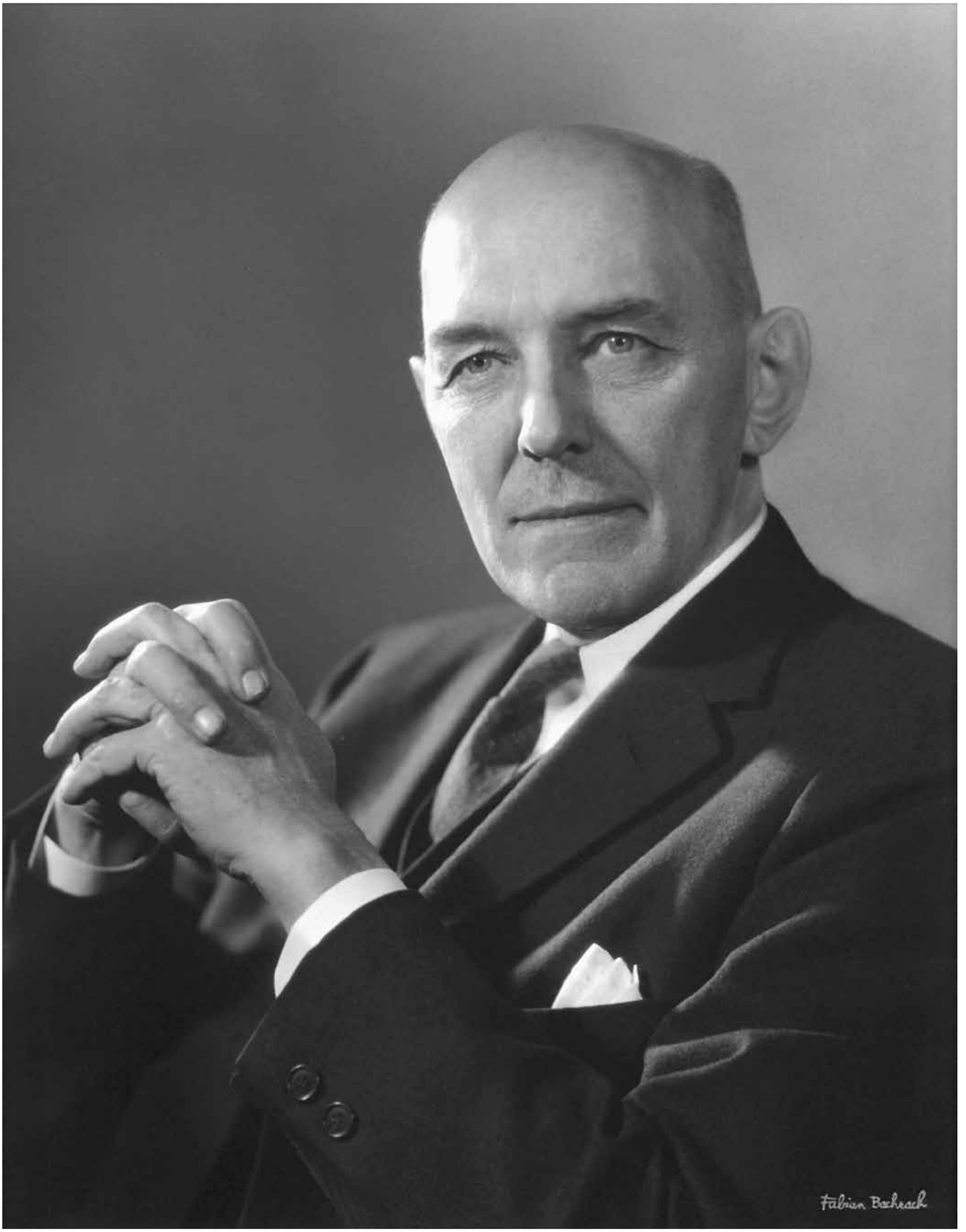

Carl Hermann Kraeling
(Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, House Collection Archives, Washington, D.C.)

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KRAELING AND THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Kraeling served as Oriental Institute director from 1950 until 1960, that is, two five-year terms. Two coronary attacks required him to step down as director, to cease strenuous administrative responsibilities. Cancer added complications and still more complex medications. John A. Wilson temporarily replaced him as director of the Oriental Institute until the definitive appointment of Robert McCormick Adams as director in 1962.

Kraeling and his wife Elsie always resided near the Oriental Institute. From 1950 to 1958 they lived in an apartment at "The Cloisters," at 5807 South Dorchester Avenue. By 1959 they had moved to the Quadrangle Club (1055 East 57th Street). While Oriental Institute director, Kraeling entertained in the Quadrangle Club. Extended long-term residencies such as he enjoyed in the Quadrangle Club (at that time basically a faculty club that also contained some non-university-affiliated members) are now no longer permitted. He and his wife retained fond memories of the club and its convenient services. The club was the nerve center of the university and university business at that time. He found that location extremely convenient and efficient for reaching the OrientaI Institute, which lay only one block away at 58th Street and University Avenue. I already mentioned that it was also a convenient spot for some of his official entertaining for Oriental Institute functions. He retained his house in Bethany, Connecticut, during his Oriental Institute directorship. At Chicago he availed himself of a newly popular dish, pizza (fairly thin crust, not the deep-dish stuffed ones that now are popular in Chicago), in the Quadrangle Club bar, where today pizzas are no longer prepared in the kitchen and accordingly no longer available for order and consumption in the late afternoon and early evening. The popularity of pizzas spread in the early 1950s. Apparently the Quadrangle Club bar was an early and perhaps even the earliest vendor of pizzas near the campus in Chicago's Hyde Park neighborhood. He recommended the club's pizzas to others, including myself.

Kraeling, from his own very German-American upbringing and student days in Germany, had a good command of spoken German and a good understanding of German research and academic culture and customs, which facilitated not only his research but also his communications and relations with Oriental Institute faculty and staff, many of whom were Central European exiles and refugees, as well as with some of the comparable professorial research faculty and staff at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington. He adapted well to administration in the atmosphere of two different partly German-inspired research institutes.

But after becoming emeritus professor in 1962 and leaving for Dumbarton Oaks, Kraeling retained ties and good standing with the University of Chicago, including and most notably with his successor as director (Robert McCormick Adams), faculty, and various loyal friends of the Oriental Institute. For example, from Chicago came Mrs. Theodore D. (Elizabeth B.) Tieken, who was a loyal and longtime friend of and donor to the Oriental Institute, to visit him for lunch at the Fellows Building.

By the time of his appointment at Dumbarton Oaks as visiting scholar, Kraeling had no graduate students visiting him from Chicago, to my knowledge. But I do not have access to his appointment books. I never met his brother Emil G. Kraeling, who was an eminent professor of biblical studies at Union Theological Seminary, who survived him.

I never heard Kraeling speak of the complex story of relations between the Oriental Institute and the controversial but gifted Ernst Herzfeld, which had essentially taken place before his directorship, or any remarks about a major and erudite academic at the Oriental Institute, Nabia Abbott. He did speak well of Gustave von Grunebaum, who formerly taught in the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations at Chicago before moving to the University of California, Los Angeles. Although an entertaining raconteur, he avoided gossip.

During his travels in Iraq as Oriental Institute director, Kraeling recruited the young Arabist and specialist on medieval Islam (especially the historian Ibn Khaldūn) Muḥsin Mahdi for the Department of Oriental Languages and Civilizations at the University of Chicago, but Mahdi was not a member of the Oriental Institute. I believe that Kraeling had no responsibilities at Chicago for undergraduate instruction, and I never heard him speak about that topic. I do not recall any remarks of Kraeling concerning the former American Schools of Oriental Research library in Baghdad. We talked very little about his Oriental Institute excavations at Ptolemais, in Libya, except he explained that at the time of his excavations, Libya was a rare country that still permitted fifty-fifty sharing of excavated objects, and that division was done. Now I wish I had asked him many more questions.

Kraeling recounted to me some of his difficulties as director of the Oriental Institute. His initial challenge was seeking to persuade the Rockefeller family to resume their financial contributions. Pursuit of that objective led him to pay a personal visit to Mr. Rockefeller, but the sticking point for the Rockefeller family was University of

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Chicago president Robert M. Hutchins' diversion of Oriental Institute funds contributed by the Rockefeller family for the Oriental Institute to other university purposes. Kraeling stated that after negotiations he managed to convince the administration to agree to pay back the diverted funds over a period of years.

Kraeling remembered fondly the annual midwinter (usually January) University of Chicago trustees' dinners for faculty. These no longer exist; formerly they took place at the South Shore Country Club. Then, because of the need for more space, the dinners moved to a major downtown hotel, normally the Palmer House. He was very favorable to and very supportive of his successor Robert McC. Adams (later secretary, Smithsonian Institution) as director of the Oriental Institute.

Kraeling was not directly involved in my original appointment as assistant professor of history at the University of Chicago. However, he helpfully advised me about the University of Chicago, and he made contacts for me with Oriental Institute director Robert McC. Adams, who welcomed and assisted me at the start of my academic career at Chicago, even though my original appointment lay in the Department of History, in the Division of Social Sciences, not in the Oriental Institute. Other indirect consequences at Chicago of Kraeling's presence at Dumbarton Oaks are more complex and not well known. In the spring term of 1965, the art historian Herbert Kessler was a fellow at Dumbarton Oaks, before he, like me, started teaching at the University of Chicago as assistant professor of art (later he became professor and chair of the department, before moving to Johns Hopkins University, where he also served as chair). During summer quarter of 1966, Herbert Kessler taught a graduate-level course at the University of Chicago entitled "Jewish Sources of Early Christian Art." In the Summer 1966 "Announcements" on page 31 he described the course, *Art 330*, in the following terms: "Concentrating on the synagogue frescoes at Dura Europas [*sic*], the course will investigate the problem of Jewish Old Testament narrative illustration as a source of Christian art." Kessler's inspiration for this course owed very much to his Princeton mentor Kurt Weitzmann, but acquaintance with Kraeling at Dumbarton Oaks and Kraeling's views on Dura added authority and precision to the contents of the course.

KRAELING AT DUMBARTON OAKS

Kraeling had a long association with Dumbarton Oaks dating back to the 1940s, as I recall. He was a member of its Board of Scholars from 1947 until 1966. He gave a lecture at the 1945 Dumbarton Oaks Symposium and directed the one in 1955. He was Henri Focillon Scholar in Charge of Research at Dumbarton Oaks during academic year 1946/47. He was comfortable there. He fondly remembered the Byzantinist and Orientalist (Arabist) Alexander A. Vasiliev (d. May 29/30, 1953), who had retired from the History Department of the University of Wisconsin at Madison and subsequently resided at the Fellows Building at Dumbarton Oaks. Kraeling and his wife Elsie often went out for evenings with Vasiliev. They retained vivid and warm memories of him: Vasiliev used to ask, according to the Kraelings, "What shall we do tonight?" Kraeling also liked and thought highly of Albert ("Bert") M. Friend Jr. of Princeton University, who served as Dumbarton Oaks director of studies in the Center for Byzantine Studies from 1948 until his death on March 23, 1956, after which Ernst Kitzinger succeeded him in those responsibilities.

Kraeling's principal task for himself at Dumbarton Oaks between 1962 and 1966 was completing his long-awaited volume on the Christian building at Dura Europos (Syria). He was determined to finish the book while his health permitted. His original researches dated back before World War II, but he had never completed the final report. His effort was complicated by what was perceived to be Yale's policy change in the 1960s on the heritage from the eminent Michael Rostovtzeff, including a reported shift to a decided lack of interest in Dura as well as a reported disinclination to support the publication of the Dura Europos chapel (Christian building) or any other excavation reports from Dura, or indeed just about anything that had associations with the late Michael Rostovtzeff. The broader policy change in classics, accompanied by the hiring of a new departmental chair from outside Yale, involved a decision to concentrate on literary texts and reduce or eliminate non-literary approaches, namely, papyrology, archaeology, and numismatics. It is inappropriate here to investigate the travails of classics at Yale in the 1960s. In any case, Kraeling did not expect to find funding from Yale. Kraeling repeatedly heard a litany of reports (whether true or not I do not know) from Yale about disagreements among faculty members within the Classics Department, which reportedly was being purged of what were regarded as outdated Rostovtzeffian

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residues. Professor C. Bradford Welles of the Yale Classics Department and scattered Yale classics and archaeological students were bringing grim stories about this friction especially to Dumbarton Oaks visiting scholar and numismatist Alfred R. Bellinger, retired chair of Yale's Classics Department, and Kraeling's former Yale colleague and fellow Dura excavations team member at Dumbarton Oaks. Although Kraeling heard those grievances as well, he did not allow any complications with Yale faculty or administrators to discourage him from completing his own book manuscript on Dura. He avoided any involvement in tiresome quarrels or polemics with anyone at Yale and instead resolutely slogged on to complete his manuscript. He arranged for its publication by the specialist publisher J. J. Augustin, Locust Valley, New York, because Yale had lost interest, while Augustin had temporarily become the publisher of Dumbarton Oaks publications, with the demonstrable ability to produce high-quality plates and typesetting. Kraeling reached satisfactory discussions with Augustin for his book. Those successful discussions and arrangements were inconceivable without Kraeling's presence at Dumbarton Oaks and familiarity with Augustin's capabilities and publishing record with Dumbarton Oaks. Dumbarton Oaks gave Kraeling, despite his weakening health, easy direct access to a range of scholars who could advise him on technical questions. The quality of Kraeling's *Christian Building* owed much not only to Bellinger's presence at Dumbarton Oaks with his own direct memories of Rostovzeff and the excavations and numismatic finds from Dura Europos, but also to the erudition of two very different art historians, Kurt Weitzmann, who contributed critiques and advice, and Ernst Kitzinger, who advised and proofread the final publication.

Kraeling was Dumbarton Oaks' acting librarian in the years 1964–66, at a critical moment when its volumes were being cataloged and classified. He simplified many procedures for ordering, cataloging, and shelving. He appreciated and made rare but expensive acquisitions, including the full run of the journal *Pravoslavni Palestinski Sbornik*, the important and valuable Russian Orthodox publication from early twentieth-century Palestine that is very rare and difficult to find. Mr. Bartol Brinkler, a cataloging librarian and head of cataloging and classification at Harvard University's Widener Library, Cambridge, Massachusetts, came down to Dumbarton Oaks to stay at the Fellows Building from time to time. On those occasions Mr. Brinkler consulted with Kraeling for the devising and supervising of the special classification system for the Byzantine Library, one still referred to as the "Brinkler System" or "Brinkler Classification System." It was easy and convenient for both Brinkler and Kraeling to meet and exchange ideas at the Fellows Building as well as in the library building itself. Kraeling had a central role in the administration and practical implementation of that newly devised classification system. Kraeling was an administrator. At Dumbarton Oaks, for reasons of health, he assumed only light duties as acting library director but made important decisions of good sense. He primarily worked on his Dura Christian building book manuscript on weekends.

Kraeling was vigilant. He knew many languages, including Hebrew, which proved helpful in handling administrative and library duties. As acting librarian, for example, on my recommendation, he acquired the modern Hebrew text of Joshua Prawer's (1963) book on the Crusader Holy Land for the Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Library. When the ordered copy arrived, he noted a printing mistake (Hebrew typefont reversed on some pages) and immediately sent it back for a correctly printed version, which the library then received, rechecked, and duly accessioned.

Kraeling questioned some Dumbarton Oaks library expenditures, including the costly *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* catalog index, which continued anyway. He worried that Dumbarton Oaks was overspending even its considerable resources on this project. He had no control over the separate catalog numbers given to Byzantine books; that was a policy decision and wish of the director of studies Ernst Kitzinger and not one made by Kraeling himself.

Dumbarton Oaks permanent faculty, including Ernst Kitzinger, director of studies, and President Pusey of Harvard, consulted him on various matters. He tended to be circumspect and tried to avoid controversy. He enjoyed easy relations with the resident professorial research faculty. He avoided factional politics and malicious gossip. His health was poor. He took much medication. He was in pain. He had to rest a lot. That condition probably impaired his communications with some younger fellows, but not all of them. The tragic unexpected death of former (1963–64) junior fellow Gretel (Mary Margaret) Goldring (a Harvard Ph.D. candidate in art history and a student of the director of studies and Harvard art history professor Ernst Kitzinger) and her husband in a collision on the Massachusetts Turnpike in the summer of 1965 stunned and saddened him, as he had chatted with her often at meals in the Fellows Building. He wrote me about her death.

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KRAELING, NEW YORK, AND YALE

Kraeling remembered fondly his German university days at Heidelberg, including his own police arrest there for student-prince-like shenanigans. Kraeling's perspective was that of an academic from New York and New Haven. During his appointments at the University of Chicago and Dumbarton Oaks, he retained his primary residence in Bethany, Connecticut, in the suburbs of New Haven, which he had owned since becoming a faculty member at Yale. He was proud to remain a life fellow of Saybrook College at Yale. He enjoyed his privileges there and his other ties with Yale. Kraeling was born in Brooklyn Heights, which he also liked. He was a New Yorker in loyalty both to the city and to the state. He had a second (summer) home in the Adirondacks, which he enjoyed very much.

Kraeling had many friends in the scholarly world. Among their ranks was fellow Yale academician Alfred Bellinger, who had accompanied Michael Rostovtzeff to Dura Europos. I do not remember Kraeling's saying much about Rostovtzeff or anything about Yale's Arabist and early Islamicist Charles C. Torrey. He was a good friend of the learned and eminent professor Arthur Darby Nock, Frothingham Professor of the History of Religions at Harvard (d. early 1963), whom he fondly recalled meeting for a rendezvous at Grand Central Station for a drink and dinner at the then-popular Times Square restaurant The Brass Rail. Nock was also a legendary anecdotist and good conversationalist. Kraeling enjoyed sharing stories with him. On Saturdays Charlotte (Mrs. Alfred) Bellinger poured tea at her nearby residence, given lack of public afternoon tea when it was not a weekday. The specialist on ancient textiles Louisa Bellinger, sister of Alfred Bellinger, who worked for the Textile Museum in Washington, visited from time to time.

Kraeling had no strong role in determining research policies and lectures at Dumbarton Oaks. However, he invited his friend Father Roland de Vaux, director of the École Biblique in Jerusalem, for a formal public lecture on ancient Jerusalem archaeological sites at the music room at Dumbarton Oaks.

Kraeling strongly disagreed with many fundamental conclusions of Erwin R. Goodenough, John A. Hoober Professor of Religion of Yale University (d. 1965), and author of the multi-volume *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*, concerning the issue of interpretation of any interrelationships of Jewish and early Christian symbols. But he preferred to avoid open polemic about his disagreements and reservations. So he told me he eschewed engaging in any verbal or written polemic with Goodenough.

KRAELING AND TRAVEL

Kraeling had a zest for life and was a man of good humor. He was a happy man despite his illness. Sociable, he enjoyed a sherry or cocktail before dinner. He was an archaeologist who was happy in his profession and also happy that archaeology enabled and required him to travel. He loved to travel. He was a great fan of Panamerican Airlines. Although Kraeling's travels took him over much of the world, he told me that he never crossed the Mississippi River in the United States.

Kraeling had strong lasting interests in Jerash and Jerusalem. He enjoyed Jerusalem very much, where he had many friends and associates, both eminent and modest. He also loved the site of Jerash in Jordan and often spoke of it. He also enjoyed Iraq. One of his fondest memories was General [President] ʿAbd al-Karīm Qāsim's celebration of the thousandth anniversary of the founding of Baghdad, in 1962. General Qāsim (subsequently overthrown and slain in early 1963 by Colonel Aref) invited Kraeling for the great festivities, which he relished. Kraeling joked about conditions and practices then prevalent in Iraqi jails: "If you got yourself jailed it was your family's responsibility, not the Iraqi government's, to feed you. Your family had to make necessary arrangements with your jailers to feed you." Kraeling declined an opportunity to excavate a site in the Arabian Gulf in one of the emirates because of his commitment and determination to finish his book on the Christian building at Dura Europos.

Kraeling's use of Entervioform, a medication that was later banned as dangerous and possibly carcinogenic, may have harmed his health. I am unaware that he ever knew of its potential danger to his health. He used it and recommended it against diarrhea in his Middle East travels. Kraeling gave advice on optimal diet for Americans who planned to make initial travels in the Middle East.

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Kraeling had a fertile mind. He had ideas for more investigations of West Bank caves like Qumran. Kraeling speculated that it was desirable and potentially rewarding for scholars to investigate the relationship of Byzantium to the ancient Near East. He had no special paradigm for it, and he did not have the time to do it. I am not aware that he wrote down any ideas or outlines of such a project. His remarks have not come to fruition thus far with respect to this potential area of scholarly research.

Much of eastern and southeastern Turkey was a closed zone before 1964. Kraeling told me that on one trip he risked arrest in Gaziantep, which he had no special authorization to visit, but was able to sit down over coffee with a local police official and coolly persuaded him that it was mutually beneficial not to arrest him, but to let him proceed. He managed to talk his way out of a potentially sensitive situation.

I last saw Carl Kraeling at the 1966 Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Symposium, in the spring of 1966. I recall his reclining on a sofa in the Fellows Building. The year since I had last seen him had taken a toll on him. He was more fatigued than I remembered him the year before. At the end of his life, the final six months or so, he was very tired and under heavy medication. He slogged on cheerfully with an affirmative view on life. He did not complain but doggedly pursued completing his book and enjoying life as best he could. He set an inspiring example of cheerful fortitude in the face of medical adversity. He died on November 14, 1966. I should point out that the proximity of his residences (in both cases only one city block distant) from his workplaces at both the Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago and Dumbarton Oaks in Washington, D.C., enabled Kraeling to devote maximal quality time to his researches and to his administrative duties. He was not caught in traffic jams or impeded physically or mentally by other logistical problems or details of shopping. He walked back and forth from his residences at the Quadrangle Club and the Fellows Building. Those arrangements helped him to work at maximal efficiency despite medical problems.

I believe that he reached the end of his life basically satisfied with his accomplishments during his academic and archaeological career. He completed his manuscript on the Christian building before his death, and it was submitted for publication and then published (Kraeling 1967). I spoke at his memorial service in Bond Chapel, the University of Chicago, on November 28, 1966.

It is desirable that these imperfect and limited memories about Kraeling be recorded before some are lost. However, they can only serve as a partial contribution to any future study of his academic and archaeological career or his contributions to the institutions in which he held affiliations. His career involved many regions and academic and research institutions. It was a privilege to have known and had close, virtually daily, contact and conversations with him for two years before his physical and mental facilities faded. I learned much from his insights, and I am grateful for his advice and assistance when I started my academic career at the University of Chicago.

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11

WHEN DID THE PALESTINIAN YESHIVA LEAVE TIBERIAS?

*BENJAMIN Z. KEDAR**

The date and reasons for the departure of the Palestinian yeshiva from Tiberias remain shrouded in uncertainty. It is the purpose of this brief essay to draw attention to a late yet potentially pertinent piece of evidence and on it base a new hypothesis regarding this departure. It seems fitting to proffer this hypothesis in a volume honoring Professor Norman Golb, who has demonstrated time and again how neglected evidence, brought into proper if not immediately obvious context, may open up new perspectives.

In his 1992 *History of Palestine, 634–1099*, Moshe Gil marshals evidence indicating that the Palestinian yeshiva resided in Tiberias both before and after the Muslim conquest and then, toward the middle of the tenth century, moved to Jerusalem. More specifically, Gil argues that in July 922, during the calendar dispute, the yeshiva was still in Tiberias, because Saadia Gaon wrote that the Palestinian gaon (i.e., Mēʾīr) sent his son (i.e., Aharōn ben Mēʾīr) to Jerusalem at that time — and for Gil it is evident that it was from Tiberias that the Gaon sent him there.[1]

The value of Saadia's statement for the issue under consideration is not unequivocal, however. Gil follows Ḥayyim Yeḥiel Bornstein, who in 1904 very tentatively deduced from this statement that the yeshiva may not have been located in Jerusalem at that time and was perhaps situated in Tiberias.[2] Jacob Mann, however, wrote in 1920 that the yeshiva was probably located in Ramla at that time, having left Jerusalem after the Karaites had become powerful there;[3] Mann's view was adopted by Simḥa Assaf in 1929.[4] In sum, the argument that in 922 the yeshiva still resided in Tiberias is far from compelling.

The present hypothesis regarding the departure of the yeshiva from Tiberias hinges on Ṣemaḥ, who in a Karaite list published by Mann in 1935 figures as "Ṣemaḥ the *nasi* and Head of the [Palestinian] *yeshiva*." According to this list, Ṣemaḥ belonged to the family of the Babylonian exilarchs who claimed descent from King David.[5] In a Rabbanite list discovered by Shraga Abramson in 1965 and re-edited by Gil in 1975, Ṣemaḥ re-appears as "the *nasi* and Head of the [Palestinian] *yeshiva*" who was of the *benē rabbānān* and ruled as the Palestinian Gaon for thirty-one years. After Ṣemaḥ's sons were prevented from succeeding him, Aharōn b. Mōshe ruled as Gaon for seventeen years, followed by Yiṣḥāq Gaon, whose rule lasted for just two years. Aharōn b. Mōshe was apparently the father of Mēʾīr Gaon and the grandfather of Aharōn Ben Mēʾīr; the two, protagonists in the calendar dispute, ruled after Yiṣḥāq for fourteen years.[6] On the assumption that this dispute took place toward the middle of their rule, Gil plausibly conjectures that Mēʾīr and Aharōn Ben Mēʾīr held office in the years 912–926. Then, moving backward on the basis of the data contained in the two lists, Gil proposes the following sequence of Palestinian geonim:

Yehōshāfāṭ b. Yōshiyyāhū		before 862
Ṣemaḥ b. Yōshiyyāhū	(31 years)	862–893
Aharōn b. Mōshe	(17 years)	893–910
Yiṣḥāq	(2 years)	910–912
Mēʾīr Aharōn Ben Mēʾīr	} (14 years)	912–926[7]

* My thanks to Professors Avraham Grossman and Ḥaggai Ben-Shammai, my colleagues at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, to Michael Wechsler, and to the anonymous reader on behalf of the Oriental Institute (Chicago).

[1] Gil 1992: 496–500, 654–55.

[2] Bornstein 1904: 60 n. 3.

[3] Mann 1920–22: 1:65.

[4] Assaf 1929.

[5] T-S 12.138: Mann 1931–35: 2:131.

[6] T-S NS 312.82: Abramson 1965: 33; Gil 1974/75: 144; 1983: vol. 2, doc. 3, p. 8.

[7] Gil 1974/75: 146–47; 1992: 659.

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The Rabbanite list does not spell out why Ṣemaḥ's sons were ousted from the succession. Recent research proposes the following scenario: Yōshiyyāhū (who may have served in Tiberias as Palestinian Gaon before his sons Yehōshāfāṭ and Ṣemaḥ were to succeed him) was the grandson of ʿAnan b. David (fl. ca. 770). ʿAnan, long regarded as the founder of Karaism, is now considered to have brought into being the sect or legal school of Ananism, which was based on a tradition that rivaled the mainstream one. The Ananite leadership of the Palestinian yeshiva over several decades — that is, the leadership of Yehōshāfāṭ and Ṣemaḥ and possibly also of their father, Yōshiyyāhū — suggests that rabbinic Judaism in Palestine was ready to tolerate a wider spectrum of views than did its Babylonian counterpart. The remark in the Rabbanite list that Ṣemaḥ was of the *benē rabbānān* (that is, a competent scholar) may be interpreted as expressing a Rabbanite willingness to regard an Ananite as worthy of serving as Gaon (however, there is also some evidence for hostility between the Ananites and the Rabbanite ancestors of Aharōn b. Mōshe). Then, during the ninth century, some Ananites discarded tradition altogether and embraced scripturalism, thereby founding Karaism. Toward the century's end, some Jerusalemite Ananites converted to Karaism, bolstering Jerusalem's Karaite community; subsequently ʿAnan came to be regarded as Karaism's founder.[8]

Did the sons of Ṣemaḥ, too, convert to Karaism and thereby trigger a Rabbanite takeover? Or did the merger of Ananism and Karaism toughen Rabbanite opposition to a Gaon of Ananite descent and outlook? Whatever the case, the Rabbanite list reveals that Ṣemaḥ's sons were ousted and replaced by their Rabbanite rival, Aharōn b. Mōshe.

This ouster may have entailed the yeshiva's departure from Tiberias. Historians dealing with the ouster have apparently overlooked a late medieval text suggesting that Ṣemaḥ enjoyed high esteem in Tiberias a long time after his death. The anonymous pupil of Naḥmanides, who wrote his itinerary between 1270 and 1291, reports that Maimonides lies in the cemetery of Tiberias and adds, "and they say that a Gaon whose name is Rav Ṣemaḥ is [buried] there."[9] It is likely that this Ṣemaḥ Gaon of Tiberias is identical to Ṣemaḥ, the *nasi* and head of yeshiva who served as the Palestinian Gaon in Tiberias between around 862 and around 893. If so, the longstanding perseverance of the tradition regarding his name, title, and tomb points to an exceptional prominence, in Tiberias, of this long-serving leader of presumed Davidic lineage. We may hypothesize therefore that many of the Jews of Tiberias sided with the sons of Ṣemaḥ when these were challenged by Aharōn b. Mōshe: these sons belonged to a family that traced its descent from King David and ruled Palestine's Jewish community for perhaps as long as half a century, with its most prominent member recalled in Tiberias 400 years after his death.

Against this background, a decision by Aharōn b. Mōshe and his supporters in the yeshiva to leave Tiberias would have made eminent sense. Staying in a city where Aharōn b. Mōshe's rivals enjoyed the esteem due to scions of a revered local dynasty would have most probably entailed recurring strife between the outgoing and incoming factions, with the former presenting a potent menace to the latter; indeed, Aharōn b. Mōshe must have remembered that when the Ananites were still ruling supreme, some of them murdered one of his ancestors and persecuted two others.[10] A departure to another city, however, held the promise of a new, more peaceable start, unencumbered by old allegiances and antagonisms.

But why move, in about 893, to Ramla? Nominally, Ramla was the capital of Jund Filasṭīn just as Tiberias was the capital of Jund Urdunn, yet, by the last quarter of the ninth century, Ramla became the far more prominent of the two. Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn, who ruled the country from 878 to 884, turned Ramla into the center from which he executed his policies in Palestine and Syria, and this state of things appears to have continued under his son Khumārawayh.[11] Moreover, the available — if problematic — data on tax revenues indicate that Jund Filasṭīn fared considerably better than Jund Urdunn during the period in question. While in about 855 the same amount of taxes was collected in each jund, in 870 the tax revenue of Jund Urdunn amounted to only 70 percent, and in about 890 to just 33 percent, of the taxes collected in Jund Filasṭīn.[12] In other words, the move from Tiberias to Ramla in about 893 would have amounted to a relocation to a politically more important center and to the capital of a

[8] Ben-Shammai 1993: 23–25; Gil 1992: 658–59; 1999: 84–89; 2004: 96–99, 107–08, 260–61, 263; Rustow 2008: 33–34, 55, 60.

[9] Assaf 1946: 84; the text is reproduced in Ish-Shalom 1948: 195. For the date, see Prawer 1988: 233.

[10] Gil 1992: 658; 1999: 87; Rustow 2008: 34.

[11] Gil 1992: 308–10.

[12] Ashtor 1976: 174. The data (in dinars) for the relevant period are:

	Filasṭīn	*Urdunn*
ca. 855	175,000	175,000
870	500,000	350,000
ca. 890	300,000	100,000
918	311,357	142,397

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more prosperous province. The relocation would have paralleled, and might have been influenced by, the increasing concentration of the activities of the yeshivot of Pumbedita and Sura in Baghdad from the 870s to the 930s,[13] a concentration possibly propelled by the return of the ʿAbbāsid capital from Samarra to Baghdad. However, a move of the Palestinian yeshiva from Tiberias to Jerusalem would have been problematic because of the Karaite ascendancy that was taking place there.

In sum, there are grounds to assume that the Palestinian yeshiva left Tiberias for Ramla in about 893, that it was from Ramla that Mēʾīr Gaon sent his son Aharōn to Jerusalem in 922, and that — as Norman Golb surmised back in 1972 — Aharōn Ben Mēʾīr "lived apparently in Ramla."[14]

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12

"MANY DAYS WITHOUT THE GOD OF TRUTH": LOSS AND RECOVERY OF RELIGIOUS KNOWLEDGE IN EARLY KARAITE THOUGHT

EVE KRAKOWSKI

Karaism, a distinctive scripturalist and messianic Jewish movement, first coalesced in mid-ninth-century Persia, Iraq, and Palestine. Scholars have variously explained its emergence as an adaption of Islamic scripturalism, and, more recently, as a response to political and intellectual tensions within early medieval Near Eastern Jewish society itself.[1] Both medieval apologetics and modern scholarship have also sought to associate the Karaites with various pre-rabbinic religious groups. The discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls provided a coherent investigative framework for this field of inquiry. A number of the Scrolls exhibit ideological and literary affinities with early Karaite writings. The historical reasons for this phenomenon remain unclear. However, lacking clear proof that distinctly non-rabbinic forms of Judaism endured beyond late antiquity, many scholars now interpret these parallels as evidence of textual borrowing resulting from an early medieval manuscript discovery. Exposure to recovered pre-rabbinic texts cognate to the Scrolls would theoretically have presented the nascent Karaite community with a previously unknown and historically authentic alternative to rabbinic tradition, validating their critique of Rabbanite practice and decisively influencing their own ideological and legal development.

In relatively minimalist or maximalist incarnations, this thesis has dominated scholarly discussion for more than five decades. Efforts to evaluate it have primarily focused on the evidence for early Karaites' access to recovered pre-rabbinic works, and the specific character of the parallels between the Scrolls and early Karaite literature. This discussion has not systematically considered early Karaite authors' own accounts of their sources of inspiration and relationship to the past. In consequence, little attempt has been made to demonstrate the effects of an encounter with rediscovered pre-rabbinic texts on early Karaite self-conceptions, or to assess the likelihood of this thesis in light of early Karaites' expressed attitudes toward textual recovery.

Classical Karaite thought is often characterized as indifferent to history. With the exception of al-Qirqisānī's famous heresiography, early Karaites do not generally engage in detailed discussion of post-biblical events, and they discuss their own history only infrequently, in unsystematic and somewhat opaque terms.[2] Nonetheless, this characterization overlooks a significant feature of classical Karaite ideology. While it is true that most early Karaite works devote little attention to historiography, they take an active interest in history as theology; questions pertaining to the development of religious knowledge and the respective evolution of rabbanism and Karaism play a central role in early Karaite thought. Early Karaites sought to elucidate their own relationship to the biblical past and the messianic future, and to undermine ideologically charged aspects of rabbinic sacred history. In response to these concerns, they crafted coherent narratives that serve to explain and justify their own distinctive ideology in historical terms.

[1] Recent studies on the historical development of Karaism that survey the relevant literature and reflect significant developments in this field include Ben-Shammai 1993a; Gil 2003; and Polliack 2006. I wish to thank Micha Perry, Meira Polliack, Aviezer Tutian, and Tichye Krakowski for their valuable comments and technical assistance in preparing this article.

[2] Al-Qirqisānī 1939–45: ch. 1 (English trans.: Chiesa and Lockwood 1984). Salmon b. Yerūḥam also sketches a short account of Karaism's historical development in his comment on Psalm 69:1 (Marwick 1956: 97–98). For discussion of both texts, see Astren 2004: 83–84, 98–123.

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This article examines two distinct aspects of what may be termed early Karaite historical theology. I begin by discussing classical Karaite conceptions of the history of the scriptural text, as illustrated by early Karaite commentary on the biblical story of Josiah. The second portion of this article surveys early Karaite ideological narratives about the history of Jewish biblical interpretation in the Second Temple period. Both subjects illustrate classical Karaite attitudes toward, and representations of, the theme of loss and recovery of religious knowledge. I close by considering the implications of this material for the thesis that classical Karaism drew inspiration from lost pre-rabbinic literary works discovered in the early medieval period.

THE HISTORY OF SCRIPTURE: YAʿQŪB AL-QIRQISĀNĪ AND YEFET B. ʿELI ON TEXTUAL TRANSMISSION AND THE JOSIAH SCROLL

Modern biblical scholarship identifies 2 Kings 22:3–23:25 as a pivotal source for the history of biblical composition. This narrative passage describes the wide-ranging religious reforms instituted by King Josiah in his eighteenth year of rule, after his encounter with a "scroll of the Law" accidentally found inside the Temple by Hilkiah the high priest.[3] The biblical account does not directly describe this scroll's contents. Classical rabbinic treatments of the story assume that Hilkiah discovered a copy of the Pentateuch itself and suggest that the entire pentateuchal text was at that time unknown, having been lost or forgotten during the dark days of the Judean monarchy.[4] Rabbinic discussion of this story is sparse and neutral, reflecting an outlook comfortable with, but largely uninterested in, the theme of loss and recovery of scripture.

In contrast, Jewish works composed in the medieval Islamic milieu (both Karaite and Rabbanite) presage modern scholarship in their heightened awareness of this passage and its implications for the historical transmission of the biblical text. In particular, two of the major figures of classical Karaism — the early tenth-century Iraqi author Yaʿqūb al-Qirqisānī and the late tenth-century Jerusalemite exegete Yefet b. ʿEli — devote significant discussion to the story of the Josiah scroll. Their treatment reflects a shared approach to the question of loss and recovery of revealed texts, which represents the history of scripture in terms that justify classical Karaite scripturalist theology.

The Josiah Scroll

Al-Qirqisānī mentions the story of the scroll discovered by Hilkiah as part of a broader discussion of the status and history of the biblical text. In the second book of *Kitāb al-anwār wa-ʾl-marāqib*, al-Qirqisānī argues at length that the precise text of scripture is properly determined by the consensus of the entire nation, achieved by its uninterrupted universal transmission "from the days of the prophets to the present," rather than the authority of any particular group.[5] Al-Qirqisānī invokes several Rabbanite doctrines that contradict this principle, including the belief that the current text of the Pentateuch "is not the Torah given by Moses, but rather derives from that compiled by Ezra."[6] He refutes this position by focusing on a related claim, which he also attributes to the Rabbanites: that during the First Temple period, "the nation possessed only one copy of the Torah … and [it] was propagated only later; and people learned the commandments only through instruction from each other.[7]

[3] 2 Chronicles 34:8–33 recounts a variant of this narrative.

[4] The primary story associated with Josiah in rabbinic literature is that he buried the ark and various Temple vessels in anticipation of the Babylonian conquest, because he had read an (apparently previously unknown) admonitory verse in the rediscovered scroll (see *t. Sōṭā* xiii.1 and parallels; on this legend, see Collins 1972). More explicitly, the medieval exegetes Rashi and David Qimḥī both cite an otherwise unknown rabbinic tradition stating that the discovered scroll had been hidden away to protect it from Aḥaz, when the latter "burnt the Torah" (see their respective comments on 2 Kings 22:8; and see *b. Sanhedrīn* 103b).

[5] *Anwār* II.18–23. However, al-Qirqisānī elsewhere states that where traditions differ, the correct reading is that maintained by the people of Palestine. For a detailed discussion of these sections that focuses on al-Qirqisānī's criteria for textual accuracy, see Khan 1990.

[6] Al-Qirqisānī introduces this position in *Anwār* II.18.6, and refutes it in *Anwār* II.19–20.

[7] *Anwār* II.19.1.

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Al-Qirqisānī cites a number of proof texts advanced by the proponents of this position, including Moses' command to the Levites to place a single scroll of "this Torah" inside the ark (Deut 31:26), the king's obligation to compose a "copy of this Torah [*et mishnēh ha-tōrā ha-zōʾt*] from before the priests" (which purportedly demonstrates that the priesthood privately guarded the pentateuchal text) (Deut 17:18), and the story of the Josiah scroll.[8] By suggesting that this single historical manuscript of the Torah could have been lost before the Babylonian exile, al-Qirqisānī concludes, this argument is ultimately responsible for the faulty attribution of the current biblical text to Ezra.

Al-Qirqisānī rejects this thesis in detail, emphasizing that every member of the people has always been required to study the Torah directly. He concludes, "As for the allegations they [the Rabbanites] derive from the story of the scroll that Hilkiah acquired — this proves absolutely none of their claims, namely ...."[9] Unfortunately, the extant manuscript breaks off at this point, omitting al-Qirqisānī's particular reading of the Josiah story. However, the thrust and purpose of his interpretation are clear from the rhetorical context. In contrast to those who claim that Hilkiah's discovery of a "scroll of the Law" reintroduced the lost pentateuchal text to the nation, al-Qirqisānī evidently maintains that no such renewed encounter took place; that the Torah was never lost, but remained universally known throughout the entire monarchic period; and that Hilkiah's discovery revolutionized religious practice during Josiah's reign for some entirely distinct reason (whose precise character remains unclear, given the fragmentary nature of the text).

Yefet b. ʿEli analyzes the narrative of the Josiah scroll in detail in his comprehensive commentary on the book of Kings. He explains the scroll's discovery as follows:

> This *scroll* is the one that Moses handed over to his Levites, commanding them that it should be inside the ark of God as a witness, as it says, *Take this scroll of the Torah* [*and place it inside the ark ... and it will remain there as a witness against you*] [Deut 31:26]. For Moses ... wrote two copies, the first being this one, which was neither opened nor read until this time, when Shafan read it;[10] while the other copy was left in the Temple with the priests, and the king copied from it, and copies were written from it and studied among Israel.
>
> The reason for the scroll's appearance at this time is that the time limit was over and the time of destruction had drawn near, and God wished to inform Josiah of this — for as long as the book was in its place, the kingdom of Israel was secure; its emergence was a sign of [the kingdom's] cessation. This is the meaning of the saying of the book of Moses, *and it will be there as a witness against you*.[11]

This passage contains three basic arguments. First, Yefet identifies the scroll found by Hilkiah as Moses' own draft of the Pentateuch, an apparently original association that likely derives from the recapitulation of this narrative in 2 Chronicles, where the discovered text is termed *a scroll of the Law of the* LORD *in Moses' hand*.[12] Second, he asserts that the scroll's emergence from the ark signaled the Jewish kingdom's imminent destruction. This suggestion echoes the rabbinic tradition that Josiah predicted the Babylonian exile after having read an admonitory verse in the recovered text.[13] However, Yefet embeds this tradition in a wholly distinct exegetical framework. He correlates the Josiah scroll story with Deuteronomy 31:26 — which describes Moses' transmission of a "scroll of the Torah" to the Levites — and explains Hilkiah's discovery on the basis of that verse's conclusion: *it* [the scroll written by Moses] *will remain there* [in the ark] *as a witness against you*. Yefet supports this dual exposition with a

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[8] *Anwār* II.19.

[9] *Anwār* II.20.

[10] In 2 Kings 22:8–9, Hilkiah gives the scroll to Shafan the scribe, who reads it privately before announcing its discovery to Josiah.

[11] MS NLR Yevr.-Arab. I 3373, fols. 240v–41r, 244r: והדא אלספר הו אלדי דפעה סי׳ משה אלי יואניה ואמרהם אן יכון בגנב צנדוק אללה תע׳ ליכון שאהד כקו׳ **לקוח את ספר התורה הזה** ותמאמה ודלך אן סי׳ משה איש האלהים כתב נסכתין אלואחדה הי הדה אלנסכה ולם תפתח ולא קרי פיהא בעד דלך אלי הדא אלוקת אלדי קראה שפן ואלנסכה אלאכרי תרכת פי בית י״י ענד אלכהנים ומנהא ינסך אלמלך ומנהא כתבת אלנסך ואתבע בין ישראל וכאן אלסבב פי טהור הדא אלספר פי דלך אלוקת הו אן אלמהלה אנתהת וקרב וקת אלכראב פאראד אללה תע׳ אעלאם יאשיהו דלך פמהמא כאן אלספר פי מוצוּעה כאנת דולה ישראל תאבתה וכרוגה עלאמה זואלהא ודלך הו מעני קול סי׳ משה **והיה שם בך לעד**.

I thank the staff of the National Library of Russia for providing me with copies of this manuscript.

[12] 2 Chronicles 34:14.

[13] See above, n. 4. Yefet goes on to explicitly cite this tradition: "When the king heard [the scroll] read, he rent his garment, because [Shafan] had read one of the passages of admonition — either the passage [beginning], *If you do not hearken to me* [Lev 26:14], or [that beginning,] *It shall be, if you do not hearken to me ...* [Deut 28:15]" (MS NLR Yevr.-Arab. I 3373, fol. 244r: פלמא סמע אלמלך אלקראה כרק תיאבה לאנה כאן יקרא פי מוצע אלתועד נחו אחד (אלפצלין אמא **פצל ואם לא תשמעו לי** ואמא אלפצל **והיה אם לא תשמע**. On Yefet's use of rabbinic sources, see Wechsler 2008: 58–59.

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third claim: Moses transcribed *two* copies of the Pentateuch, one of which was placed in the ark as a permanent fixture (where it remained untouched until Josiah's reign), while the priesthood used the other as a master copy.

This is an innovative, coherent, and internally compelling account of the biblical narrative, grounded in careful attention to textual details drawn from several scriptural passages. It is also an ingenious theological argument. By predicating the scroll's significance on its physical identity — that is, by ascribing it special meaning as artifact, rather than as text — Yefet effectively severs the scroll's tremendous communal impact from its literary content. Yefet's closely reasoned interpretation thus serves to justify precisely the same claim advanced by al-Qirqisānī: Hilkiah's discovery of a "scroll of the Law" did not enable a new or renewed encounter with any portion of the pentateuchal text. Like al-Qirqisānī, Yefet further stresses that the Torah's transmission has been not only continuous, but also universal: he takes pains to note that Moses' second copy of the Torah was recopied widely and "studied among Israel."

Textual Recovery and Universal Historical Consensus

The allegedly Rabbanite argument that al-Qirqisānī cites for the pentateuchal text's limited dissemination during the First Temple period cannot be directly traced, but appears related to a corpus of rabbinic traditions concerning the *Sēfer hā-ʿăzārā*, the master copy of the Torah kept by the priests against which other scrolls were proofread (this tradition is also clearly reflected in Yefet's comments, cited above).[14] As does al-Qirqisānī's source, several rabbinic texts associate this tradition with the king's scroll mentioned in Deuteronomy 17:18 (understood as a copy of the Pentateuch).[15] Furthermore, a passage that occurs in variant versions in a number of rabbinic sources connects both the *Sēfer hā-ʿăzārā* and the king's scroll to the eventual alteration or loss of the pentateuchal text.[16] Most versions of this passage specifically invoke Ezra, citing a tradition that he transcribed the biblical text from palaeo-Hebrew to Aramaic.[17]

This cluster of rabbinic sources may be linked to the apocryphal tradition that the scriptures were burned or buried during the destruction of the First Temple and then miraculously received anew by Ezra. While this tradition is recorded favorably in early Islamic sources, Ezra eventually became associated with Islamic charges that the Hebrew Bible was poorly transmitted (lack of *tawātur*) and corrupted (*taḥrīf*).[18] This theme is not limited to Islamic polemics; classical Christian authors also accuse the Jews of having emended or falsified parts of the biblical text.[19] No doubt partly in response to such arguments, early medieval rabbinic works depart from the casual approach to scripture's textual transmission reflected in the classical rabbinic *Sēfer hā-ʿăzārā* traditions and expressly emphasize scripture's widespread historical distribution and unchanging nature.[20] This orientation is even more pronounced in extant Rabbanite texts roughly contemporary with al-Qirqisānī (for example, in a detailed responsum, Hayya Gaon emphatically rejects the rabbinic tradition that Ezra altered the biblical script,

[14] See *m. Kēlīm* 15:6, *Sifrē Deut* §160, *y. Sanhedrīn* ii.20c, *y. Shĕqālīm* iv.48a. Interestingly, some sources contain the variant *Sēfer ʿezrā*; see *m. Mōʾēd qāṭān* iii.4, *t. Kēlim* v.8. In addition, Yefet's analysis may echo a rabbinic tradition cited by the medieval midrashic collection *Pĕsīqtāʾ zūṭartāʾ* (Exod 37): "There were two scrolls, one placed outside the ark and one inside it. The one outside the ark was read by the high priest and the king on the Day of Atonement."

[15] In this context, the Tosefta claims restricted access for at least this particular manuscript, remarking that "a commoner may not read from [the king's scroll]" (*t. Sanhedrīn* iv.7–8).

[16] See *t. Sanhedrīn* iv.7–8 and *Sifrē Deut* §160, and see *y. Mĕgillā* i.7b–c, *b. Sanhedrīn* 21b–22a. In a different context, *b. Sukkā* 20a states that Ezra re-established "*tōrā*" after it had been "forgotten from Israel."

[17] These sources support this claim by citing Deuteronomy 17:18, glossed: "*et mishnēh ha-tōrā* — a Torah that was destined to be changed" (in *Sifrē Deut* §160 this phrase appears as, "to be forgotten"). Al-Qirqisānī may allude to this claim in the passage that first establishes his doctrine of universal transmission of scripture: "[The people] transmit [the biblical text] from one era to the next …; *likewise the form of the letters of the alphabet*, their order, and their organization" (*Anwār* II.18.5). See his defense of the historical primacy of biblical Hebrew and its alphabet, *Kitāb al-riyāḍ* (Hirschfeld 1918: 44–45, English trans.: Nemoy 1952: 61–63). See also Salmon b. Yerūḥam, commentary on Psalm 44:17: "[The Muslims] revile us for what we … have not done … [when] they state that we have said, 'Uzayr is His son, and that *we have reversed the letters of the Torah*'" (Marwick 1956: 9).

[18] 4 Ezra 14. For a detailed discussion of the treatment of this legend in Islamic and pre-Islamic literature, see Lazarus-Yafeh 1992: ch. 3.

[19] See Resnick 1996: 351–61.

[20] This trend is already evident in the rabbinic passages cited above, nn. 14 and 16. H. Lazarus-Yafeh argues that early medieval *midrashim* regarding Moses' composition of thirteen Torah scrolls represent a response to Islamic charges of the Hebrew scriptures' limited transmission (Lazarus-Yafeh 1995). In a similar vein, the early medieval (ca. eighth–ninth c.) midrashic collection *Pitrōn tōrā* describes Moses contracting a covenant with the Levites to ensure that "no man should be prevented from reading the Torah" (Urbach 1978: 283–84).

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while the late tenth-century North African Rabbanite scholar Nissīm b. Jacob ibn Shāhīn argues at length that the Josiah story does not reflect a break in the transmission of the pentateuchal text).[21] It is therefore somewhat difficult to understand why al-Qirqisānī indicts the Rabbanites on this score. It should be noted, however, that the eleventh-century Andalusian Muslim Ibn Ḥazm criticizes Judaism using arguments that closely resemble those al-Qirqisānī attributes to the Rabbanites. He may conceivably have drawn on unknown Rabbanite sources also reflected in al-Qirqisānī's presentation of this issue.[22]

Whatever the identity of al-Qirqisānī's source, his and Yefet's emphasis on the continuous universal transmission of the Hebrew scriptures has a definite apologetic dimension, which appears more relevant to Jewish-Muslim and Jewish-Christian disputation than to any known Rabbanite-Karaite controversy.[23] At the same time, al-Qirqisānī's and Yefet's insistence on this point reflects more than a polemical stance. In fact, the doctrine of continuous universal transmission of the biblical text constitutes a vital element of both figures' scripturalist theology.

As Ḥaggai Ben-Shammai has demonstrated, al-Qirqisānī considers universal historical consensus a key criterion for determining the authenticity of transmitted traditions (that is, he considers a tradition valid only if the entire nation possessing it has agreed on its truth from its inception). As formulated by al-Qirqisānī, the doctrine of universal historical consensus conflates two concepts standard to contemporary Islamic discourse: consensus (*ijmāʿ*) and reliable transmission (which he expresses by the term *naql*). This concept serves as direct justification of a further standard, which al-Qirqisānī applies to all religious traditions: faithfulness to scripture.[24] This standard derives from al-Qirqisānī's application of the criterion of universal historical consensus to scripture itself — that is, he upholds the authority of the pentateuchal text by asserting that, unique among sacred texts, it has enjoyed continuous transmission among the entire Jewish people from the time of its composition until the present day.[25] (Al-Qirqisānī indicates that this qualification extends to the "other books of the Prophets" as well, but does not elaborate this point.[26])

Yefet directly adopts this doctrine in his own argument for the validity of scriptural traditions. Like al-Qirqisānī, Yefet considers that transmitted traditions must be rationally credible; however, where arguments from reason are inconclusive, some external proof is required. He explicitly states that this is the case with scripture itself, which is authenticated by the uniquely compelling miracles associated with its revelation, and its exclusive claim to universal historical transmission. As such, the biblical text constitutes a valid external standard against which other ambiguous questions may be judged.[27]

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[21] Harkavy 1887, no. 358; for the attribution of this responsum to R. Hayya, and parallels, see Groner 1986: 71. Ibn Shāhīn directs this discussion against a detailed argument he attributes to a Christian polemicist (Abramson 1965: 348–60).

[22] Ibn Ḥazm 1982: 298–301. On this passage, see Adang 1996: 241–45, and Lazarus-Yafeh 1992: 43–45. It has been suggested that Ibn Ḥazm derived these arguments directly or indirectly from al-Qirqisānī himself. However, he employs a corpus of proof texts that diverges significantly from al-Qirqisānī's; it therefore remains possible that his argument draws on an independent source or group of sources.

[23] Al-Qirqisānī explicitly relates his concern over this issue to Islamic polemical claims: "[The Rabbanites] claim that this Torah, which is [currently] possessed by the people, is not that given by Moses .... This undermines the entire religion; and if the Muslims were aware of this assertion, they would require nothing else with which to reproach us and argue against us, given that certain of their theologians already level [this] charge against us, saying 'the Torah you possess is not that given by Moses.'" (*Anwār* I.3.3; English trans.: Chiesa and Lockwood 1984: 105–06). Yefet's treatment of this doctrine suggests an anti-Christian context; in his comment on Exodus 21:34, he employs it to refute Christian traditions, which he asserts are suspect of *tawāṭuʾ* (deliberate conspiracy to falsify) because they were originally disseminated to a limited audience (Ben-Shammai 1977: 2:161–62; Hebrew trans.: ibid., 1:95–97. On the use of this term in Arab Christian anti-Islamic polemic, see Stroumsa 1999: 32). For further indication of the Christian polemical context, see above, n. 21.

[24] Ben-Shammai 1977: 1:89–95. On al-Qirqisānī's interchangeable use of *ijmāʿ* and *naql*, see Khan 1990: 61. This formulation serves to undermine Islamic claims to authority based on current Muslim consensus, by contrasting Muḥammad's limited early audience with the widespread communal acceptance of Moses' prophecy; in addition, it serves as an argument against the fragmented rabbinic tradition.

[25] This theoretical framework can also help explain al-Qirqisānī's emphasis on Moses' composition of the entire Torah, "from beginning to end," in opposition to rabbinic traditions that ascribe the last eight verses of Deuteronomy to Joshua; Moses' composition is a necessary condition for al-Qirqisānī's claim that the text has been continuously transmitted intact from its very inception. See Hirschfeld 1918: 43 (English trans. in Nemoy 1952: 60–61). Al-Qirqisānī here refers to Moses' role in composing the Torah using the verb *dawwana*, the first attestation of this concept; on its development by Yefet, see below, n. 27.

[26] *Anwār* II.18.5; trans.: Khan 1990: 61. See also Ben-Shammai 1977: 1:90.

[27] See Ben-Shammai 1977: 1:95–100, and the passages cited there. Like al-Qirqisānī, Yefet appears to apply this standard not only to the Pentateuch but to the Prophets and Writings as well. (Yefet substantially develops the concept of the biblical redactor [*mudawwin*] first referenced by al-Qirqisānī; see above, n. 25. As an exegetical device, this concept enables Yefet to relate to the biblical narrative as a complex literary work. It does not, however, occupy a prominent place in his historical theology, and he is deliberately vague about the historical identity of the

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For both al-Qirqisānī and Yefet, then, the doctrine of universal historical transmission of scripture does not serve simply to demonstrate the accuracy of the contemporary biblical text. Rather, both employ this claim as direct justification for the unique status they accord the Hebrew Bible, to the exclusion of either oral traditions (namely, the rabbinic corpus) or other written scriptures (e.g., the New Testament and Qurʾān). For both figures, the perfect transmission of the biblical text is a necessary condition of its basic religious authority. Other early Karaites, in particular Sahl b. Maṣliaḥ, affirm aspects of the doctrine of universal historical consensus.[28] As demonstrated by both al-Qirqisānī's and Yefet's treatments of the story of the Josiah scroll, this doctrine precludes disruptions in the transmission of authentic sacred writings; genuine religious traditions may be adduced only from texts that have been continuously known, throughout their entire history, to the entire people over whom they claim jurisdiction. In a theology informed by this perspective, textual loss is fundamentally incompatible with textual authority — at least with respect to works that claim revealed status.

THE HISTORY OF BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION: DANIEL AL-QŪMISĪ AND SAHL B. MAṢLIAḤ ON KARAITE EXEGESIS AND THE SECOND TEMPLE PERIOD

Classical Karaite commentary on the Josiah story reflects a characteristic theological approach to the history of scripture that stresses its constant and uninterrupted transmission. However, early Karaite literature complements this textual history with a diametrically opposite portrayal of exegetical history. Two early Karaite authors, Daniel al-Qūmisī and Sahl b. Maṣliaḥ, provide a cogent narrative of the history of Jewish biblical interpretation that echoes broader treatments of the history of religious knowledge in other classical Karaite works. In this context, both authors invert the doctrine of universal historical consensus; they represent non-revealed religious knowledge as having suffered a dramatic break in transmission, through an account that focuses on the tragic historical loss and current (Karaite) recovery of precise interpretive knowledge. This narrative of loss and recovery represents a significant unexplored theme in classical Karaite literature, which illuminates the role of theological and apologetic historical themes in early Karaite self-understanding.

Lost Knowledge of the Law: The Ideal Exegesis of the Biblical Era

Al-Qūmisī and Sahl's discussion of exegetical history proceeds from a more general early Karaite account of Jewish religious life during the Second Temple period. Early Karaite works — particularly texts written in Jerusalem during the ninth and tenth centuries — consistently identify the Second Temple era as a vital turning point in Jewish religious history. During this period, prophecy ceased, a calamity that fundamentally undermined national religious understanding and led to rampant religious ignorance; it is in this context that rabbanism developed and established its ruinous stranglehold on the nation, imposing national adherence to spurious traditions as a substitute for true obedience to scripture. Daniel al-Qūmisī, Salmon b. Yerūḥam, Sahl b. Maṣliaḥ, and Yefet b. ʿEli all invoke variants of this ideological account, both explicitly and through metonymic citation of a specific corpus of proof texts, most prominently portions of Isaiah 29:10–14: *The* LORD *has … closed your eyes, the prophets*,

mudawwin of the prophetic works [although in his comments on Daniel 9:24, he does suggest that the prophetic canon achieved its current form around the time of the cessation of prophecy; see Margoliouth 1889: 111 (English trans.: 50)]. On Yefet's use of this concept in relation to the non-pentateuchal books of the Bible, see Polliack and Schlossberg 2001: 25–34; Simon 1991: 89–93; and Wechsler 2008: 28–34.)

[28] Sahl and Salmon b. Yerūḥam emphasize that scripture's authority derives from both its universal acceptance by the entire nation and its direct provenance from the prophets, whereas rabbinic tradition is fragmented and historically inauthentic. Neither author develops these ideas as systematically as al-Qirqisānī and Yefet. See Sahl in Pinsker 1860: 2:26 (lines 7, 9–11 of *piyyūṭ*) and 34–35, and see Yerūḥam 1934: 37–38, 40; see also n. 43, below. This stance is not universal among early Karaites, however; Daniel al-Qūmisī asserts that prior to the Babylonian exile, the Pentateuch was guarded by the king and priesthood and not widely distributed. See his comments on Hosea 8:12 (al-Qūmisī 1957: 13). However, these remarks do not relate to the question of scripture's continuous transmission; for their context in al-Qūmisī's thought, see n. 37, below.

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and *the wisdom of His wise men will perish*, and of 2 Chronicles 15:3–4: *For many days, Israel has been without the God of truth and without an instructing priest* [*kōhēn mōreh*] *and without Torah*.[29]

Both al-Qūmisī and Sahl elaborate this narrative of religious loss in detail. Their approach is surprising and significant: rather than focusing on the loss of direct revelation itself, both authors figure the end of prophecy as an exegetical crisis that disrupted the nation's historical rapport with the text of scripture.

In his comments on Joel 1:17, al-Qūmisī laments that the Jewish people no longer possess exact knowledge of the law: "True interpretation of the Law [or, teaching: *pitrōn tōrat ĕmet*] ceased in Israel .... Therefore, Israel in exile are like flocks of sheep and cattle with no shepherd or pasture."[30] A number of diverse passages in al-Qūmisī's writings elucidate this brief remark. In an extant fragment of his commentary on Leviticus, al-Qūmisī describes scripture as intermittently lucid and opaque. By their opacity, certain biblical passages lend themselves to misinterpretation and falsification (*ḥillūf*, a typical Qūmisīan epithet for rabbinic law). Al-Qūmisī notes, however, that this fractured comprehension is a function of current historical conditions and not intrinsic to the biblical text. In contrast to contemporary readers, the prophets themselves understood scripture as a lucid and organic whole:

> Know that the Torah of God is analogized to water; the teachers of knowledge[31] — they are prophets, *knowers of knowledge*[32] — knew Scripture according to its aspects [*ʿal ofnāv*], why it is written thus and not thus. Therefore God gave them the Torah, part of which is exoteric [*gĕlūyā*] and known, and part of which is esoteric [*sĕtūrā*] and unknown .... If it were not esoteric, it would not contain {...} [permitting] substitution [*ḥillūf*].[33]

This elliptical passage belongs to the same conceptual domain as al-Qūmisī's oft-quoted declaration that "every statement [*dāḇār*] in Scripture has one interpretation [*pitrōn*], and not two; however, they did not know its aspects [*ofnāv*]; one interprets thus and another thus — *until the true teacher* [*mōrēh ṣedeq*] *arrives* [see Hos 10:12]."[34] This famous remark invokes the biblical epigram *Apples of gold in silver fittings* — [*such is*] *a statement* [*dāḇār*] *spoken according to its aspects* [*ʿal ofnāv*] (Prov 25:11). Al-Qūmisī parses this verse by suggesting that the biblical text inherently conveys a singular, specific meaning; but this meaning becomes obscured by the particular literary conventions (*ofānīm*) through which it is expressed — as an *apple of gold* may be obscured by its *silver fittings*.[35] However, the text is ultimately knowable and will be rendered transparent in the messianic era.[36]

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[29] See, for example, al-Qūmisī's comments in Mann 1922: 279: "For the prophets ceased from Israel, and therefore Israel were like blind men" (on the attribution of this text, see Frank 2004: 28 n. 108). See also al-Qūmisī's commentary on Joel 1:11 (al-Qūmisī 1957: 26), Zechariah 5:11 (*ad loc*., 66–67), and Zechariah 11:16 (*ad loc*., 74); Yefet in the introduction to his commentary on Exodus, in Polliack 2006: 92; and Sahl in Pinsker 1860: 2:34–35. Both Yefet and Salmon indicate that the end of prophecy significantly augmented religious ignorance that was already widespread in the early Second Temple period: Yefet, commentary on Zechariah 5:11 (based on Cees de Vreugd's edition, in preparation; I would like to thank him for graciously sharing this work with me); Salmon, introduction to his commentary on Psalms (Alobaidi 1996: 177; French trans.: 287). Other verses frequently cited in this context are Isaiah 59:10; Lamentations 2:9; and Amos 8:11–12. The epithet *commandments learned by men*, a common Karaite epithet for rabbinic law, is drawn from Isaiah 29:13 and also belongs to this ideological trope. On externally imposed political conditions as a further cause of rabbinic hegemony, see Sahl, in Pinsker 1860: 2:27 (line 3 of *piyyūṭ*), and Yefet, *ad loc*.

[30] Al-Qūmisī 1957: 27. Al-Qūmisī illustrates this remark by invoking several of the proof texts standard to Karaite discussion of the end of prophecy (2 Chr 15:3; Lam 2:9; and Amos 8:11).

[31] Hebrew *maśkīlē daʿat*. On *maśkīl* as a Palestinian Karaite term for "teacher," see Wieder 1962: 104–07; and Frank 2004: 133–34.

[32] See Proverbs 17:27.

[33] Fragment of commentary on Leviticus (Wieder 1962: 60). Because *maśkīl* is a common Karaite self-designation, Wieder takes the "prophets" mentioned here to be the Karaites themselves. This interpretation provides a central proof for his theory of "illuminational exegesis" and has been followed in subsequent research (Wieder 1962: 81–86; see Frank 2004: 136–38). However, it manifestly contradicts the meaning of this passage as a whole; al-Qūmisī goes on to identify King David as an example of these "*maśkīlīm*/knowers," whose precise understanding of the text he explicitly contrasts with the Karaites' current limited apprehension; see the text cited below, at n. 47.

[34] On Psalm 74:6, see Marmorstein 1924: 336. In the context of al-Qūmisī's own exegesis, *pitrōn* generally denotes literal interpretations; see Polliack 2005: 190–91; Frank 2004: 127–28.

[35] Al-Qūmisī's assertion that every scriptural statement bears only a single interpretation has been taken as reflecting a programmatic rejection of pluralistic exegesis of scripture (see, e.g., Ben-Shammai 1993b: 329; Frank 2004: 5). However, as M. Polliack points out, this interpretation cannot be reconciled with al-Qūmisī's own tendency to provide several possible interpretations of a single phrase or verse (Polliack 1997: 29–30). This remark can thus be more plausibly understood as denying the fundamental indeterminacy of the biblical text. Saadia also interprets the phrase *ʿal ofnāv* in Psalms 25:11 as referring to conventions of speech that permit accurate expression; see Schlossberg 1993.

[36] On the *mōrēh ṣedeq* as a messianic figure, see Polliack 2005: 191–200. Intriguingly, the renowned eleventh-century French Rabbanite exegete Rashi makes a very similar remark in the introduction to his commentary on Zechariah: "The prophecy of Zechariah is extremely obscure [*sĕtūmā*] ... and we are not able to apprehend its true interpretation [*pitrōn*] until the *mōrēh ṣedeq* comes" (see below, n. 74).

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Taken together, these two passages describe and historicize an ideal exegetical approach to scripture, which derives from knowledge of its specific modes of expression. The original recipients of God's revelation — namely, the prophets — understood the exact linguistic conventions of the revealed text and were thus able to grasp its precise import. After prophecy ceased, this special exegetical knowledge was lost; passages that had appeared clear as water to the prophets themselves became "esoteric and unknown," permitting incorrect interpretations to proliferate.

Although he ascribes precise exegetical ability to the historical prophets and the Messiah, al-Qūmisī does not consider such ability inherently prophetic. In fact, he elsewhere attributes a very similar faculty to the historical priesthood. Al-Qūmisī asserts in several contexts that the priests of the biblical era maintained and disseminated accurate knowledge of the commandments.[37] In his comments on Malachi 2:6–9, he glosses the term *tōrat ʾĕmet* by contrasting this special priestly knowledge of the law with the indeterminate exegetical approach characteristic of rabbinic *midrāsh*:

> *The teaching of truth* [*tōrat ĕmet*] *was in his mouth*: As I commanded to Moses and Aaron; for thus were the priests commanded, that they *guard the knowledge* of the Law .... But you, O priests of the Second Temple and shepherds of the exile,[38] *have turned aside out of the way* .... You have corrupted and violated the *covenant of Levi* ... because you have *raised faces* [*pānīm*] *in the Torah*, in that you have elevated allegorical interpretations [*taʾwīlāt*] of Scripture; for you have stated, scriptural exegesis [*pitrōn tōrā*] wears forty-nine aspects [*pānīm*].[39]

Al-Qūmisī here denounces rabbinic exegesis as a perversion of the accurate understanding of Scripture promulgated by the priests during the biblical period. He traces this corrupt methodology to the Second Temple priesthood, who abandoned their historical legacy of precise biblical interpretation. Thus in al-Qūmisī's historical imagination, the cessation of prophecy not only suspended the nation's access to prophetic exegesis, but also permitted the degenerate priests of the Second Temple to conceal and violate their own true knowledge of the law (*pitrōn tōrat ĕmet*).

The *Epistle* of Sahl b. Maṣliaḥ expresses a very similar conception of the history of biblical interpretation, using shared terminology that reflects either direct influence or a common early Karaite field of discourse. In a lengthy historical excursus, Sahl asserts that the prophets, priests, and judges of the biblical era understood Scripture clearly using particular exegetical techniques.[40] During the Second Temple period, following the end of prophecy, rabbinic leaders assumed power by multiplying controversy and dissent, obscuring and eventually obliterating knowledge of the law's true meaning. Sahl describes this lost historical exegesis in terms that strongly evoke al-Qūmisī's treatment:

> When the sages heard the commandment, they understood its method [*derekh*], [and knew] whether it was autonomous or dependent on other statements; He who commands, may He be blessed, established a method for analogy and comparison. At first, in the time of the prophets, when the sages of Israel were accustomed

[37] See, for example, Mann 1922: 286 (cited below, n. 57). See also al-Qūmisī's commentary on Hosea 6:9 (al-Qūmisī 1957: 10), and see above, n. 28. This notion derives from various biblical references to priestly legal instruction (*tōrā*). See, for example, Leviticus 10:10–11, Deuteronomy 33:10, Jeremiah 18:18, Haggai 2:11, Malachi 2:7, and 2 Chronicles 15:3, which figures prominently in Karaite historical consciousness (see the discussion in Tiemeyer 2006: 113–36). While a full consideration of the origins of this conception, and its function in Karaite ideology, is beyond the scope of the present study, it should be noted that it is paralleled in a handful of near-contemporary rabbinic sources. See Urbach 1978: 337–38: "[God] established [the Levites] to be teachers of the Law and instructors to Israel ... and the Torah was transmitted to them ... and Israel was commanded to observe and do all that they taught them" (see also Eisenstein 1915: 250; *Midrāsh tĕhillīm* cii.3). Sahl also shares this conception (see below, n. 42). Ben-Shammai (1992: 16) discusses a similar comment by ʿAnan b. David. The distinction drawn there between ʿAnan and the early Karaites should perhaps be qualified in light of this stance of al-Qūmisī's and Sahl's.

[38] A standard Qūmisīan epithet for the Rabbanites.

[39] Al-Qūmisī 1957: 78. For the rabbinic notion that the Torah admits forty-nine types of interpretation (*pānīm*), see *y. Sanhedrīn* iv.2 and parallels.

[40] Sahl develops this theme through a detailed exegesis of Song 1:7–8: *How will you pasture your flock at noon? Go forth by the footsteps of the flocks and feed your kids by the shepherds' tents*. He frames this passage as mandating the religious guidance available to the people upon their entry into the land of Israel: the *footsteps of the flocks* represent customs accepted by the nation as a whole, the *shepherds*, the "prophets who speak from the mouth of God, and the priests and judges who act according to the Torah," and the shepherds' *tents*, these prophets' "books and prophecies that were transcribed together with the Torah." In addition to universally accepted custom (a theme not discussed by al-Qūmisī but whose context in Karaite thought has been treated extensively above), and both contemporary and recorded prophecies, Sahl thus identifies the instruction of "priests and judges," rooted in the directives of scripture, as a valid source of religious authority during the biblical period (Pinsker 1860: 2:34–35). (Sahl alludes to this priestly function elsewhere; see, e.g., *ad loc*., 31, line 28; 36, line 1.)

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> [to this method] and wise, desiring the holy tongue, knowing all that was required, the commandment was not hidden [*nisteret*] from their eyes.
>
> But in the time of exile, due to many sins and sorrows, *wisdom has been lost and understanding hidden* [see Isa 29:14]; and Israel has *forgotten their pasture* [Jer 50:6], which is the Torah.[41]

Like al-Qūmisī, Sahl here describes an idealized exegetical approach based on deep familiarity with Scripture's modes of expression. He describes this ideal methodology as revealing particular legal analogies intentionally imbedded within the biblical text (a formulation that reflects a focal point of Karaite-Rabbanite dispute).[42] Like al-Qūmisī, Sahl affirms that this ideal exegetical approach rendered Scripture transparent to its earliest readers; and, like al-Qūmisī, he laments that its loss has left the nation like lost sheep, far removed from the spiritual "pasture" of the true law.

And I Will See Wonders from Your Torah: Karaite Exegesis as an Act of Recovery

Karaite accounts of the devolution of religious knowledge during the Second Temple period clearly serve to undermine claims for the authority of rabbinic tradition (generically speaking, the theme of cessation of prophecy has significant anti-Christian and Muslim overtones as well).[43] However, this theme also represents a meaningful aspect of Karaite self-consciousness: early Karaite writers characterize Karaism itself as a return to the true religious adherence abandoned during the post-prophetic period.[44]

In this context, both al-Qūmisī and Sahl indicate that certain vestigial religious practices survived in hidden form after the calamitous events of the early Second Temple period. These brief and obscure references have sometimes been understood as attempts to delineate an underground history of Karaism. But neither author directly associates the contemporary Karaite movement with these earlier practitioners (indeed, Sahl cites historical resistance to rabbinic law for distinct and unrelated rhetorical ends, as counter-proof against the claim that majority adherence validates rabbinic tradition).[45] Rather, al-Qūmisī and Sahl position Karaism within their common history of exegesis in a much more complex manner. Both authors treat this subject through discussion of a specific biblical verse: *Open my eyes and I will see wonders from Your Torah* (Ps 119:18). Using this verse, they represent Karaite exegesis not as an extension of a prior religious tradition, but as an act of intellectual recovery that aims to replicate the lost interpretive approach practiced by the prophets, priests, and judges of the biblical era.

Al-Qūmisī encodes this argument through a particular usage of the term "wonders" (*niflāʾōt*). In a detailed expansion of Psalms 119:18, he identifies *niflāʾōt* as seemingly obscure portions of the biblical text that are nonetheless accessible to human reason:

> [Scripture] is not {...}, but it is linguistically profound. The *cr{ooked of heart}* [Prov 11:20] will not find it, but the straight of heart will find wisdom: *If you seek it like silver and search it out like hidden treasure, you will understand fear of the* LORD *and find knowledge of God* [Prov 2:4–5].
>
> Therefore we have included in our prayers [the verse], *Open my eyes and I will see wonders from your Torah*. *Wonders from your Torah*: these are the *niflāʾōt* [here: "difficult contents"] of the Torah, as is written, *If a matter of judgment be too difficult* [*yippālēʾ*] *for you* [Deut 17:8]; and [*This*] *knowledge is too difficult* [*pĕlīʾā*] *for me* [Ps 139:6].

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[41] Pinsker 1860: 2:34. See also al-Qūmisī, in Mann 1922: 279: "The [people of the first exile] knew the way of the commandments [*derekh ha-miṣvōt*] in the Lord's Torah."

[42] See Frank 2004: 24–27; Wieder 1962: 62–63.

[43] For the anti-Rabbanite context, see, for example, Sahl, in Pinsker 1860: 2:26 (line 5 of *piyyūṭ*). On the polemical implications of the theme of cessation of prophecy, see Frank 2004: 242–43.

[44] See the references cited above in n. 29.

[45] In his historical account of the Second Temple era, Sahl states that "the students of the Torah and those who adhered to the words of the prophets were not able to resist [the Rabbanites], and God helped them and hid them" (Pinsker 1860: 2:35). In the context of his *Epistle*, this comment serves to demonstrate the general principle that in the absence of universal consensus, current majority agreement does not validate a tradition's claim to authenticity. Al-Qūmisī elliptically refers to "seekers of Torah" (*dōrshē tōrā*) who were unable to declare themselves in the majority Rabbanite environment until the advent of Islam created more favorable political conditions (Mann 1922: 285). Similarly, Yefet states that following the political ascendancy of rabbanism, "the men of truth [*ahl al-ḥaqq*] became diminished [*munkhafiḍīn*] and hidden [*mastūrīn*]," until the Islamic period permitted the gradual development of Karaism (commentary on Zech 5:11, per the edition of C. de Vreugd). Both al-Qūmisī's and Yefet's remarks are brief and unelaborated, and their import remains obscure. (On these comments in relation to Karaite perceptions of Islam, see Ben-Shammai 1984: 11.)

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> David was a *knower*,[46] but for our sake he said, *Open my eyes and I will see*. And he who seeks in fear and knowledge will find, as is written, *It is not too difficult* [*niflēʾt*] *for you* [Deut 30:11]. Therefore it is incumbent upon us to investigate well, so that we may find truth.[47]

This passage exhorts interpreters to approach Scripture with a "straight heart" and in "fear and knowledge." This formulation reflects al-Qūmisī's particular conception of the relationship between reason and piety. In several of his extant works, al-Qūmisī argues using similar terminology that religious truth is both objective and naturally accessible to human reason. However, rational apprehension depends on piety; when reason is employed for perverse ends, it acts to obscure truth, yielding only dissent and error.[48] Al-Qūmisī here applies this particular epistemology to Scripture itself, affirming that even before the arrival of the Messiah, present-day interpreters can begin to clarify the biblical text's linguistic ambiguities ("wonders") through sincerely pious rational investigation.[49]

In this context, al-Qūmisī invokes David the Psalmist's innate exegetical knowledge as a model for contemporary Karaite scholars. The force of this allusion emerges more clearly from a conceptually related fragment of al-Qūmisī's otherwise lost polemical work *Kitāb al-tawḥīd*, which criticizes the Rabbanites for elevating extra-textual traditions over the biblical text itself. Al-Qūmisī asserts that as punishment for their neglect of Scripture, God has diminished Rabbanite readers' innate facility for textual comprehension:

> The Creator has diminished the [Rabbanites'] intellect because of their [imposition of] rote tradition [*taqlīd*] upon the people. You have abandoned the wisdom of the Book [*ʿaql al-kitāb*] of God; therefore He has deprived you of knowledge of His Book .... Therefore He said, *Thus, behold, I increase to make wonders* [*lĕ-haflīʾ*] [Isa 29:14], meaning: "I conceal wisdom from you" — as He said, *The wisdom of His wise men will perish and the understanding of their understanding one will be concealed* [ibid.].[50]

This passage invokes and significantly extends al-Qūmisī's historical argument for the lucidity of the biblical text. Through a scripturalist critique of rabbinic tradition, al-Qūmisī suggests that contemporary exegetical difficulties are fundamentally unnatural: scripture appears ambiguous only because God himself has deliberately clouded its intrinsic clarity. In context of al-Qūmisī's narrative of exegetical history, this assertion disassociates true knowledge of the law from any particular extra-textual exegetical legacy. It casts precise interpretive ability as an emergent property of the biblical text itself, a natural outcome of deep engagement with scripture that has been supernaturally suspended.

Al-Qūmisī here applies the term "wonders" to portions of biblical text rendered mysterious by this divine obstruction. In light of this special definition, his invocation of Psalms 119:18 (*Open my eyes and I will see wonders from your Torah*) appears as a plea that God will enable the Karaite interpreter's native human reason, releasing him from manufactured obscurities and permitting him to develop the organic rapport with scripture enjoyed by prophets and priests during the biblical era.

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[46] That is, he naturally understood Scripture's precise meaning. See the beginning of this passage, cited above, at n. 33.

[47] Wieder 1962: 60.

[48] This distinction informs al-Qūmisī's denunciation of *ijtihād*, in the sense of subjective interpretation rather than formal legal analogy: "God created {man} to investigate and understand {...} as is written, *For God created man straight* [*yāshār*] [Eccl 7:29], that He might have the righteous justification of seeking from them a single path in [the observance of] God's commandment. All of these differences between people, they invent from their thoughts, out of the willfulness of their souls ... for He created them pure of heart, as one, and therefore He seeks a single path from them and not subjective interpretation [*ijtihād*]"; commentary on Exodus, apud Zucker 1959: 186–87. See also ibid., 481–82 (Hebrew trans.: 483–84); and see Frank 2004: 30–31.

[49] Noting its function as a pivotal proof text for Karaite self-conception, N. Wieder proposed that early Karaites used this verse to depict their exegetical activity as partially revelatory, perhaps even prophetic, a methodological self-conception that he termed "illuminational exegesis" (Wieder 1962: 81–86; see Frank 2004: 136–38). This reading overlooks the explicitly rationalistic rhetorical context in which both al-Qūmisī and Sahl employ this verse (see below, n. 52). (Wieder also cites a number of Yefet b. ʿEli's statements alluding to divine disclosure of the meaning of Scripture [1962: 83 n. 1, 84 nn. 2–3; see also Yefet's comments on Zechariah 5:11, based on the edition of C. de Vreugd, in preparation; the introduction to his commentary on Deuteronomy in Polliack 2006: 84; and the introduction to his commentary on Exodus, ibid., 92]. These references are more cryptic than al-Qūmisī's and Sahl's. An intriguing aspect that deserves further exploration, however, is that Yefet typically denotes this "revelation" by forms of the Arabic *kashf*, a term characteristic of Ṣūfī exegesis.)

[50] Zucker 1959: 483.

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Sahl concludes his discussion of exegetical history by affirming Karaism in closely related terms:

> God obscured wisdom from the [Rabbanite] leaders' eyes and *poured a spirit of sleep upon them*, as is written: *The LORD has poured a spirit of sleep upon you and has closed your eyes, etc.* [Isa 29:10] .... It is clear to us and confirmed in our eyes, from reading the books of the Second Temple sages and examining their exegeses [*pitrōnōt*] ... and proofs ... that their wisdom and [apprehension of] the depths of Scripture was weak....
>
> But through God's kindness, the eyes of the later ones have now been enlightened, and *He has opened their eyes to see wonders from His Torah* [see Ps 119:18]. They rejoice and exult in [His] disclosure of a single commandment to them, *like one who finds great plunder* [ibid., v. 162]; and each and every day their knowledge [*daʿat*] increases its grasp.[51]

Like al-Qūmisī, Sahl here describes the rabbinic leadership of the Second Temple period as supernaturally obtuse, distanced from the true law by artificial mental limitations rather than mere historical accident. Like al-Qūmisī, he invokes Psalms 119:18 in an explicitly rationalist context,[52] to demonstrate that Karaite exegetes can reverse this history of intellectual atrophy and begin to regain precise knowledge of the law.

* * *

Early Karaite authors invert Rabbanite ideological history by associating Karaism with an idealized pre-rabbinic past interrupted by the calamitous rise of rabbanism itself. In this context, al-Qūmisī and Sahl depict Karaism's rationalist approach to scripture as renewing true religious knowledge lost to the Jewish people for over a millennium. This account derives from the core Karaite belief that the Hebrew Bible is self-sufficient, a lucid, comprehensive, and enduring revelation that requires no secondary explanatory framework. In the Karaite historical imagination, fidelity to this principle generates what may be termed a scripturalist recapitulation of religious history: early Karaites' engagement with the past is driven primarily by concern for the origins of their own relationship to the biblical text. Thus, the cessation of prophecy looms large in classical Karaite historical consciousness in part because it justifies radical scripturalism in historical terms; only with the loss of ongoing revelation does the biblical text become an exclusive source of religious knowledge.[53]

Within this scripturalist history of religion, both al-Qūmisī and Sahl represent Karaite exegetical activity as a necessary function of contemporary historical conditions. With the loss of both prophecy and the Temple (which provided a necessary framework for communal instruction by the priesthood), direct investigation of Scripture remains the only means to God's true law.[54] Moreover, centuries of blind obedience to specious rabbinic traditions have severely limited the people's rational capabilities and obscured the innate logic of the biblical text. In consequence, precise interpretive knowledge has become elusive, dependent on a lengthy, laborious, and incremental interpretive process that will be fully resolved only in the messianic era.[55] This narrative neatly reconciles belief in the essential transparency of the biblical text with current exegetical realities, authenticating the complex and fragmented Karaite interpretive project in relation to the mythical past and, implicitly, to the messianic future.

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[51] Pinsker 1860: 2:35.

[52] Sahl invokes this historical model specifically in order to demonstrate that religious practice should be solely based on individual reason.

[53] Yefet b. ʿEli explicitly develops the theme of Scripture as a permanent substitute for prophecy in a variety of ways. See, for example, his comments on Exodus 21:34: "[As] the prophet does not live forever, it is necessary that [scriptural] proof [of his prophecy] be transmitted, since those commanded live at the time of the prophet and after him" (Ben-Shammai 1977: 2:162; Hebrew trans.: 1:97). See also Yefet's comments on Zechariah 4, in Frank 2004: 241–42.

[54] Thus al-Qūmisī: "Know that in the days of our fathers the Lord commanded Israel to inquire from the priests, that they teach them God's commandments according to the Torah of Moses, and they [the people] relied on the words of the High Priest and his judges .... But today the [Temple] is no longer ours .... Today, He did not command us to rely on tradition [*taqlīd*], on human words, but rather to inquire of the Lord's Torah" (Mann 1922: 286). See also Sahl: "This reflects great praise for Israel: that without either a righteous prophet or an instructing priest throughout all the days of the exile, they have returned to God and to His Torah, through the words of the teachers [*maśkīlīm*] and the instructors who have arisen in the lands of the exile" (Pinsker 1860: 2:42).

[55] For Karaite exegetes' characterization of their arduous interpretive task, see Polliack 2005: 187–88 and 84–85. See also Frank 2004: 25, and Ben-Shammai 1993b: 329.

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CONCLUSIONS: THE REDISCOVERY HYPOTHESIS RECONSIDERED

A letter composed around the year 800 by Timotheus I, the Nestorian patriarch of Elam, reports a story heard from a group of "trustworthy Jews" recently converted to Christianity. According to these informants, ten years previously an Arab hunter happened upon a cache of ancient Hebrew manuscripts deposited in a cave near Jericho; the Jews of Jerusalem excavated these manuscripts and found them to include biblical books containing substantial Christological variants from the Masoretic text, and over two hundred non-canonical psalms of David. Inflamed by this account, Timotheus urgently requests its confirmation: "This [matter] is in my heart like a fire which burns and consumes my bones.[56]

There is significant evidence that some pre-rabbinic literary material remained available to Jewish authors in the Middle Ages. Midrashic collections compiled between the ninth and twelfth centuries in both the Near East and Europe contain traditions also found in Second Temple-era pseudepigrapha and some of the Dead Sea Scrolls; actual copies of several pre-rabbinic works (including the Dead Sea Scroll text termed the *Damascus Document*) have also been identified among the manuscripts preserved in the medieval Cairo Geniza.[57] This evidence presents something of a historical mystery, as it is difficult to determine how medieval Jewish societies might have retained or acquired access to such literature.[58]

This problem has attracted especially intense interest in relation to the question of Karaite origins. Numerous scholars have noted legal, theological, typological, and terminological similarities between early Karaite writings and several of the Dead Sea Scrolls, including the *Damascus Document*.[59] While no evidence has been identified that directly explains these parallels, in an article published in 1951, Paul Kahle suggested that Timotheus' account provides a compelling historical resolution of this enigma: if we assume that the manuscripts discussed by Timotheus included texts cognate or identical to some of the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Scrolls-like features observed in early Karaite writings may derive from the circulation of this recovered literature in ninth-century Palestine.[60]

Passages in two other medieval texts lend varying degrees of weight to this hypothesis. First, Kahle noted that a remark in al-Qirqisānī's *Kitāb al-anwār wa-ʾl-marāqib* suggestively echoes Timotheus' account. In the comprehensive history of Jewish sects that opens *Kitāb al-anwār*, al-Qirqisānī mentions a group called the Maghāriyya, so called "because their books were found in a cave [*maghār*]."[61] Kahle identified these Maghāriyyan "books" as the excavated manuscripts described by Timotheus (which he took to include copies of some of the Scrolls); other scholars have alternately proposed that the Maghāriyya were a medieval group inspired by these manuscripts. In either case, al-Qirqisānī's statement is taken as oblique corroboration that recovered Dead Sea Scrolls texts became available to Jewish communities in the late eighth century.[62]

Shortly after the publication of Kahle's article, Saul Lieberman identified another medieval text that directly associates manuscript discovery with early Karaism: *Kětaḇ tāmīm*, a polemical treatise composed by the thirteenth-century German Tosafist Moses Taku. In a passage disputing the authenticity of the anthropomorphic work *Shiʿūr qōmā*, Taku notes that heretics often attempt to gain credibility by ascribing their own works to past authorities and remarks, "Indeed, we have heard from our teachers that ʿAnan the heretic and his compatriots would write heresies and lies and bury them in the ground; then they would uncover them and claim, 'Thus have we found in ancient books.'"[63] Discounting Taku's charge that these "ancient books" were spurious, Lieberman and others have viewed this remark as confirmation of Kahle's hypothesis that the early Karaite movement drew on recovered pre-rabbinic literature.

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[56] Braun 1901; Eissfeldt 1949; English trans. in Reeves 1999: 175–77.

[57] For the midrashic material, see Himmelfarb 1978; Stone 1996a and 1996b; Reeves 1999: 150–52; and Mack 2005 (I thank Micha Perry for drawing my attention to this article). On the *Damascus Document* (CD), see Schechter 1910, and Baumgarten 1996. The Geniza also contained fragments of an Aramaic version of the Testament of Levi that closely resembles Dead Sea Scroll copies of this text (see Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel 2004).

[58] Scholars have proposed a variety of channels by which pre-rabbinic texts may have reached medieval Jewish communities, including the direct survival of Second Temple sectarian groups, rabbinic preservation of specific pre-rabbinic works or ideological positions, manuscript discovery, and re-translation into Hebrew of Christian versions of pseudepigraphic and apocryphal works. For detailed discussion of this question, including lengthy relevant bibliographies, see Reeves 1999 and Astren 2001.

[59] Wieder 1962 remains the most extensive study of these parallels conducted to date.

[60] Kahle 1951. See the numerous contemporary studies affirming this thesis noted in Golb 1960: 49 n. 4.

[61] *Anwār* I.2.8.

[62] This discussion is reviewed in Astren 2001: 112–15.

[63] Taku 1984: 6. See Lieberman 1951: 402–03.

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Scholars have assessed the relative merits and implications of these sources in a variety of ways, but have largely agreed that pre-rabbinic works may well have found their way into the medieval intellectual landscape accidentally, through one or more manuscript finds rather than direct transmission. Many scholars thus regard Timotheus' account of a Hebrew manuscript discovery in late eighth-century Palestine, less than a century before the Karaite settlement there, as directly relevant to Karaite history. The suggestion that these manuscripts included previously lost Dead Sea Scrolls texts, which members of the nascent Karaite community encountered and adapted to their own literary ends, is widely considered the most plausible explanation for the parallels observed between the Scrolls and early Karaite literature.[64]

The recovery hypothesis is attractive and credible, but it depends on essentially circumstantial evidence. The manuscripts described by Timotheus are otherwise undocumented, and their association with either the Dead Sea Scrolls or the early Karaite movement thus remains conjectural. Kahle's identification of the Maghāriyya is not only similarly inferential, but also subject to a number of internal difficulties (most significantly, the doctrines ascribed to this group do not seem to neatly correlate with doctrines expressed in the Scrolls; and authors besides al-Qirqisānī refer to this sect by a number of variant names that lack any association with caves).[65] Moses Taku's statement that early Karaites relied on recovered literature (counterfeit or not) provides more explicit corroboration of Kahle's thesis; however, Taku's geographical and chronological distance from ninth-century Palestine renders this assertion relatively unreliable, especially given Taku's very limited knowledge of Karaism and general weakness as a historian and bibliographer.[66] Moreover, this remark directly reflects Taku's own ideological concerns. Writing in a period of intense Jewish pseudepigraphic activity, Taku was both keenly attentive to the relationship between religious authority and literary authenticity, and actively concerned with the problem of false attribution.[67] The accusation that the Karaites — for Taku, paradigmatic heretics — falsified ancient works to support their heresy may be seen as emerging from these preoccupations rather than as a purely historical observation.

Given the uncertainty of these proof texts — and in the absence of any further direct data that might illuminate them — this study has approached the recovery thesis from another perspective, by considering the evidence for a core assumption on which it depends. Accounts of religious reform inspired by the chance discovery of a long-lost sacred text recur in various ancient, late antique, and medieval literary contexts. The Josiah story itself represents a striking example of this literary motif, which has parallels in both ancient Near Eastern and classical literature.[68] Similar tales appear in a number of Second Temple-era and medieval Jewish works.[69] As a narrative device, this theme can serve not only to frame accounts of spiritual revival, but also to legitimate religious innovation and undermine the authority of contemporary norms. The recovery hypothesis presumes that an encounter with writings cognate to the Dead Sea Scrolls informed emerging Karaism in precisely this manner — by offering early or proto-Karaites a compelling and historically authentic alternative to rabbinic Judaism, on which they relied in developing their own non-rabbinic ideology. This is precisely the charge that Moses Taku levels against "ʿAnan and his compatriots": that they appealed to supposedly ancient works excavated "from the ground" in order to justify and authenticate their departure from rabbinic tradition. However, surviving literature written by the early Karaites themselves provides no apparent grounds for this characterization. Extant Karaite works composed in the ninth to eleventh centuries neither claim authority from found manuscripts nor express clear affinity for any historical corpus of non-rabbinic literature. (Although several early Karaites express familiarity with so-called Sadducee works, Karaite self-identification with the Sadducees is a Byzantine phenomenon absent

[64] For an overview of scholarly treatments of the recovery thesis, see Astren 2001. See above, n. 60. Recent affirmations of this thesis include numerous publications by Erder, cited and consolidated in his recent work (2004), and Gil 2003: 103–04. Ben-Shammai (1993b: 321; 1992: 12) cautiously endorses the notion of a Karaite Palestinian encounter with Scrolls-like texts, without specifying how this encounter might have occurred.

[65] Both points are discussed in Golb 1960 and 1961; see also Fossum 1987.

[66] On Taku's unreliable bibliographic attributions, see Joseph Dan's remarks in his introduction to Taku 1984: יג. Taku asserts a number of dubious historical traditions, for example, that ʿAnan desired "all the Sages of Israel" to be contained in his own belly, that he and they might be slain together, and that Saadia Gaon spent thirteen years in prison (for a variant of this legend, see Malter 1921: 297–99); see Taku 1984: 14, 26.

[67] See Dan 1999: 1–15, and Dan's introduction to Taku 1984: יט–טו.

[68] For extensive discussion of Near Eastern and classical literary parallels to the Josiah story, see Stott 2008: 78-123; and Droge 2003: 128–34.

[69] This theme is invoked, for example, in both the *Damascus Document* (V:3–5) and the Temple Scroll (VI:11–VII:6), in several medieval texts concerning the conversion of the Khazars, and in literary accounts of the origins of the Zohar (see Golb 1960: 350–52).

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from classical Islamicate Karaism.[70]) I have therefore sought to evaluate the credibility of this assumption in context of the broader historical ideology articulated in early Karaite writings.

This study has demonstrated that Daniel al-Qūmisī, Sahl b. Maṣliaḥ, and Yefet b. ʿEli — members of the early Jerusalem Karaite community who appear to mimic elements of the Dead Sea Scrolls in ways that have given rise to the rediscovery thesis — all explicitly address the theme of loss and recovery of religious knowledge in the history of Judaism. Rather than confirming or supporting the assumptions that underlie the textual recovery thesis, their treatment of this theme reflects a marked antipathy for the notion that recovered texts can provide religious guidance. In light of this material, it becomes difficult to dismiss the absence of support for the rediscovery hypothesis in early Karaite literature as merely negative evidence, or to attribute it to the Jerusalem Karaites' general lack of interest in historical matters. Even given the limited nature of our sources — which are fragmentary, and which approach history in primarily mythic rather than scientific terms — early Karaites' silence with respect to their own ostensible use of recovered texts is noteworthy.

First, as Yaʿqūb al-Qirqisānī and Yefet's treatment of the biblical Josiah story demonstrates, Karaite scripturalist theology requires authentic revelations to have been continuously and universally known throughout their history. By definition, previously unknown sacred texts cannot communicate true religious knowledge; the manifestation of such texts can neither lead to genuine illumination nor serve as a valid basis for legal innovation. This position is first articulated by al-Qirqisānī (who did not belong to the Palestinian Karaite community), but is directly adopted by Yefet and echoed by Sahl and his contemporary Salmon b. Yerūḥam as well. Their embrace of this doctrine suggests that the theme of revelatory textual discovery is essentially foreign to early Palestinian Karaite religious conceptions. Moreover, this stance complicates the association of Timotheus' account of manuscript discovery with early Karaism. Speculation about these manuscripts aside, Timotheus describes them as a collection of ancient biblical scrolls that differed significantly from the medieval Masoretic text. Given the rigidity of early Karaite attitudes toward the Hebrew Bible's textual history, it is doubtful that they would have accepted — much less drawn inspiration from — recovered non-canonical biblical literature of this type. Of course, this does not preclude early Karaite authors' use of texts cognate to the Dead Sea Scrolls also recovered in this corpus, or preserved through some other means unknown to us. However, al-Qirqisānī and Yefet's discussion of the Josiah scroll underscores the distance between Timotheus' actual account and the evidence available in early Karaite sources.

Second, early Karaites were actively concerned with their own position in exegetical history. The prominent authors of the Jerusalem Karaite school in the ninth and tenth centuries expressly sought to justify their interpretive approach to scripture as historically authentic. To this end, both Daniel al-Qūmisī and Sahl b. Maṣliaḥ explicitly represent themselves as engaged in the recovery of a lost pre-rabbinic interpretive tradition. However, their discussion makes no attempt to seek validation from any known body of pre- or non-rabbinic literature. Rather, both authors authenticate their own essentially novel exegetical project by projecting an ideal, mythical approach to biblical interpretation onto the prophets and priests of deep antiquity. They represent themselves as renewing this idealized approach spontaneously, through a direct encounter with scripture itself. This distinctive historical narrative emphasizes human reason and the sole primacy of the biblical text to the absolute exclusion of secondary oral or written traditions. The notion that recovered extra-biblical writings may serve to validate contemporary religious developments is completely incongruous with this radically scripturalist historical narrative. Again, this discrepancy does not definitively prove that recovered Second Temple-era manuscripts played no role in Karaite development. It does suggest, however, that contact with such manuscripts had little effect on early Karaite self-understanding or conceptions of the history of Judaism. If so, it must be explained how these authors (or their unknown proto-Karaite predecessors) came to borrow core ideological features and terminology from previously unfamiliar, centuries-old texts, without seeking to explain this assimilation in theological or ideological terms — indeed, without drawing any apparent meaning from this historical encounter.

[70] Besides al-Qirqisānī's discussion of Maghāriyyan literature, both he and Sahl claim knowledge of "Sadducee" works (see Chiesa and Lockwood 1984: 83 n. 29). None of these references clearly demonstrates that either the Maghāriyyan or "Sadducee" literature known to early Karaites was cognate to the Scrolls; nor do they reflect Karaite self-identification with either group. For detailed discussion of this question, see Golb 1960, 1961; Erder 1994, 1987; Ben-Shammai 1987; Astren 2001: 111–19. On Byzantine Karaite appropriation of the Rabbanite epithet "Sadducee," see Erder 1994: 216.

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Recent work by Meira Polliack effectively questions the long-standing equation of Karaite exegesis with the Dead Sea Scrolls *pĕshārīm*. Polliack notes that extensive focus on a direct nexus between the Scrolls and Karaism has diverted attention from the medieval Jewish context of Karaite thought.[71] Recognition of the limited evidence supporting the textual rediscovery hypothesis may encourage the development of alternative frameworks for explaining the similarities between early Karaite writings and the Scrolls. In line with Polliack's observations, the striking parallels that do exist between these literatures — which are primarily terminological — may perhaps be productively explored as expressions of continuity between various Second Temple literary traditions and strands of medieval rabbinic Judaism.

In closing, it may be noted that a key Karaite concept explored inter alia in this study serves as an important illustration of this point. The phrase *mōrēh ṣedeq* ("true teacher" or "teacher of righteousness") appears with great frequency in both Karaite sources and (in the form *mōrēh ha-ṣedeq*) a number of the Dead Sea Scrolls. It is the only term shared by the two literatures that does not derive directly from biblical usage[72] and as such may be considered one of the strongest proofs of a direct and exclusive relationship between them.

However, a number of medieval rabbinic sources point to a more complicated history for this phrase. The following remark, attributed to a second-century Palestinian scholar, appears in the medieval Palestinian midrashic compilation *Midrāsh tĕhillīm*: "*He heeds the prayer of the destitute* [Ps 102:17]: R. Isaac said, This was stated regarding the generations, who have neither prophet nor righteous instructing priest [*kōhēn mōrēh ṣedeq*] nor Temple to redeem them ...."[73] The phrase *kōhēn mōrēh ṣedeq* likely conflates the *kōhēn mōreh* ("instructing priest") mentioned in 2 Chronicles 15:3 with the common rabbinic designation *kōhēn ṣedeq* ("righteous priest"). Its use in this passage calls to mind the Karaite historical conception of priestly instruction discussed above — a conception that is also congruous with the priestly *mōrēh ha-ṣedeq* who figures in the Scrolls (and with the latter's indictment of the Second Temple leadership).

Several other rabbinic texts roughly contemporary to the development of Karaism employ the phrase *mōrēh ṣedeq* in quite a different sense, as a cognomen for the Messiah. The term appears with this meaning, for example, in the eighth–ninth-century Babylonian midrashic collection *Pitrōn tōrā*.[74] An anonymous Gaonic responsum characterizes this messianic *mōrēh ṣedeq* as resolving religious uncertainty: "May we and you and all Israel be privileged to bring forth traditions according to the law, and to establish matters truly, and to draw water ... from a clear source, when the *mōrēh ṣedeq* comes, in our lifetime and yours, and that of all Israel."[75] The *mōrēh ṣedeq* invoked here is remarkably similar to the *mōrēh ṣedeq* who appears in classical Karaite literature. In both contexts, the phrase indicates a messianic exegete who, at the end of time, will arise to determine difficult interpretive questions and restore the study of the law on firm foundations. This conception is in fact already attested in the Babylonian Talmud, where it is expressed by a citation of Hosea 10:12: *until he comes and teaches righteousness* [*vĕ-yōreh ṣedeq*] *to you*.[76]

On the basis of these sources, early Karaite employment of the phrase *mōrēh ṣedeq* can most plausibly be located in the context of contemporary rabbinic thought and tradition. Medieval rabbinic sources use this phrase both to designate the Messiah's exegetical function (its primary sense in Karaite writings), and to denote a historical priestly expositor of the law (a concept that also appears in Karaite works, and which may potentially be associated with the use of this term in the Dead Sea Scrolls). Given their limited scope, these references do not permit clear delineation of the origins and evolution of this phrase, nor do they make plain whether these two

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[71] Polliack 2005; for the latter point, see ibid., n. 120. In a similar vein, Ben-Shammai (1992: 13) notes several parallels between Karaite law and Targum Pseudo-Jonathan. See also Polliack 2006, which advances a similar argument regarding Islamic influences on Karaism.

[72] Although it does echo both Hosea 10:12 (*vĕ-yōreh ṣedeq*) and Joel 2:23 (*ha-mōreh li-ṣdāqā*).

[73] *Midrāsh tĕhillīm* cii.3 (*ad* Ps 102). This compilation's dating is uncertain, but it is considered to have achieved its current form in the late Gaonic period (for other rabbinic sources that reflect this conception of the priesthood, see above, n. 37.)

[74] Urbach 1978: 339: "...until the coming of the *mōrēh ṣedeq* and the [messianic] future day [*yōm he-ʿātīd*]; on that day the *work of righteousness* [Isa 32:17] will be renewed in [the Temple]." On the origins of this text, see ibid., 11, 25. This reference is particularly intriguing, as the only extant manuscript of this work was transcribed in the fourteenth century in northeastern Iran, the region from which Daniel al-Qūmisī emigrated to Palestine. See also the letter (of unknown provenance) attributed to Yoḥanan b. Zakkai, published in Eisenstein 1915: 215: "...until the *mōrēh ṣedeq* comes to redeem us and rule over us for ever."

[75] Harkavy 1887: no. 219. See also above, n. 36.

[76] *b. Bĕkhōrōt* 24a. On the basis of a number of other rabbinic sources, Louis Ginzberg identifies the figure alluded to in this passage as Elijah (Ginzburg 1976: 212). For Karaite identification of the *mōrēh ṣedeq* as Elijah, see, for example, al-Qūmisī's comments on Joel 2:23 (Markon 1957: 29).

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distinct but interrelated usages are genetically related. This evidence does demonstrate, however, that any relationship between the *mōrēh ṣedeq* of Karaite literature and the *mōrēh ha-ṣedeq* who appears in the Scrolls cannot be properly evaluated without equal attention to the use of this term in early medieval rabbinic Judaism.

ABBREVIATIONS

Anwār	Al-Qirqisānī 1939–45
Midrāsh tĕhillīm	Buber 1891

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13

ADAM AND EVE OR ADAM AND NOAH? JUDAEO-ARABIC AND HEBREW VERSIONS OF THE SAME BOOKS

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This article is devoted to one minor example of a textual problem that can be used to illustrate the challenges facing the student of Judaeo-Arabic literature. Although the example does not dramatically change the meaning of the text, by showing the travels and travails of the passage under discussion, I hope to demonstrate the difficulties that await us when we try to interpret medieval texts.

The story is quite simple, though it has many facets. In Judah ha-Levi's *Kuzari* (*Kitāb al-radd wa-ʾl-dalīl fi ʾl-dīn al-dhalīl / Al-kitāb al-khazarī* [The Book of Refutation and Proof on the Despised Faith / The Book of the Kuzari]) the Jewish representative in the dialogue with the king of the Khazars, the *ḥāḇēr*, remarks concerning belief in creation, "Even though the world was created out of nothing in a single moment of time, this belief is philosophically unsupported and even religiously unnecessary" (as contrasted with the arguments in Saadia Gaon's *Kitāb al-amānāt wa-ʾl-ʾiʿtiqādāt* [Book of Doctrines and Opinions], in which creation *ex nihilo* is a cardinal belief without which his whole theological structure would totter).[1] In making this point in *Kuzari* 1:67, the *ḥāḇēr* offers a religiously acceptable alternate view of the origin of the world, namely, that the world was formed from prime matter and that there were many worlds previous to this world, which, presumably, were created and destroyed.

Although the text of the *Kuzari* presents these two possibilities with the conjunctive *and*, it is likely that the *ḥāḇēr* meant to offer two alternate possibilities, prime matter *or* successive worlds. The first of these views, based on the usual medieval understanding of Plato's cosmogony in the *Timaeus*,[2] was held by some Jewish neoplatonists, such as ha-Levi's contemporary and friend Abraham ibn Ezra, among others.[3] The theory of successive worlds appears in the midrash and was adopted by some philosophical systems.[4] The *ḥāḇēr* allows both views as consistent

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* For Norman Golb, a master of close textual reading. This article is based on a lecture delivered at the eleventh conference of the Society for Judaeo-Arabic Studies (Saint Petersburg, Russia, 2003), an organization of which Professor Golb was one of the original founders and in which he continues to play a central role. I have retained some of the informal aspects of the oral presentation.

[1] A defense of the assumed biblical account of creation *ex nihilo* is provided in *Kuzari* 1:43–67, but with the assertion that there is no demonstrative proof for this belief. Revelation is connected to creation and contrasted with eternity of the world in 1:91. The proofs of creation offered by the *Kalām* are outlined in 5:18, and presumably rejected but without an explicit refutation. For Saadia's proofs of creation, see *Amānāt*, First Treatise (Qafiḥ 1970: 33–75; English trans.: Rosenblatt 1948: 38–86). The centrality of the proofs of creation for Kalāmic theology is discussed by Wolfson (1976: 355–465).

[2] See Maimonides 1963: ii.13.

[3] The exact relationship between Judah ha-Levi and Abraham ibn Ezra, whose children may have been married to each other, is a matter of disagreement; see the discussion in Gil and Fleischer 2001: 148–73; Schmelzer 1980: 14*–15* n. 50. Ibn Ezra alludes rather clearly to prime matter in his commentary on Genesis 1. It is possible, hence, that ha-Levi's tolerance of this belief is a result of his relationship with ibn Ezra.

[4] God is referred to as "creating worlds and destroying them" (*bōnēh ʿōlāmōt ū-maḥărīḇān*) in *Gen. Rabbā* iii.7. Wolfson ([1942] 1973) understands "prime matter" and "successive worlds" as two separate views (and "successive worlds" as meaning an infinite number of such worlds). Wolfson also outlines the historical background of these doctrines. The likelihood that the Judaeo-Arabic text refers to only one alternate view to creation *ex nihilo* was pointed out to me in a private communication by Barry Kogan, who is preparing a new English translation of the *Kuzari* (a work commenced by the late Lawrence V. Berman), which will appear in the Yale Judaica Series, Yale University Press. I would like to thank Professor Kogan for his helpful remarks on this paper and for providing me a copy of the translation. The French translation of Touati (1994: 17) apparently presents this passage also as offering one alternate view, not two. The new Hebrew translation being prepared by Michael Schwarz reads: "or." I would like to thank Professor Schwarz for providing me an advance copy of the translation.

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with the demands of Judaism, as long as one believes that the world in which we live was indeed created at some specific time and that the first people were Adam and — well, that is the question: Adam and who?[5]

For years, readers of Judah ha-Levi's *Kuzari* read this passage as saying "Adam and Eve." This can be seen, for instance, in the 1795 Berlin edition, the 1797 Vienna edition of Yeruḥam ben Issachar Baer, the 1855 Zholkva edition, the 1860 Pressburg edition, David Slucki's 1866 Warsaw edition, and David Cassel's 1869 Leipzig edition (with German translation). In the 1880 Warsaw edition of the *Kuzari* that includes the commentaries *Qōl yĕhūdā* by Judah Moscato and *Ōṣār neḥmād* by Israel of Zamosc (and which has been continually reprinted despite the censured omission of anti-Christian passages), the reading is also "Adam and Eve," as it is in the commentaries. This reading can be found in all the Hebrew manuscripts of Judah ibn Tibbōn's translation of the *Kuzari*, or at least in the very many manuscripts that I examined in the Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts of the Israel National Library.[6] Ḥasdai Crescas' citation of this passage in *ʾŌr ha-shēm* 3:1:5 reads "Adam and Eve."[7] Don Isaac Abravanel's citation in *Mifʾălōt ha-ʾĕlōhīm* 2:3 reads "Adam and Eve."[8] The Latin translation of Johannes Buxtorf the Younger reads "Adam and Eve";[9] the Castilian version preserved in Madrid National Library MS 17812 reads "The First Adam and his wife" (*Adam el primero y su muger*).[10] Jacob Abendana's Spanish translation of *Kuzari* (Amsterdam, 1663) reads "Adam and Eve."[11] Since the first people, according to Genesis, were Adam and Eve, this is a perfectly reasonable text.

Enter modern scholarship in the person of Hartwig Hirschfeld. Hirschfeld edited the unique Oxford manuscript of the Judaeo-Arabic text of the *Kuzari* (MS BLO Pococke 284; written in Damascus, 1463), and the Judaeo-Arabic text reads "Adam and Noah."[12] Hirschfeld accepted this reading not only for the Judaeo-Arabic text but for his edition of the ibn Tibbōn translation as well. Hirschfeld was aware that all the Hebrew texts read "Adam and Eve," but in light of the Arabic text and *Kuzari* 1:4, he corrected the Hebrew to read "Adam and Noah."[13] None of the commentators on Hirschfeld's text — Ignaz Goldziher, Saul Horovitz, Israel Efros, Leon Nemoy, Georges Vajda, or David H. Baneth — made any comment on this passage.[14] Baneth's preliminary discussion of the taxonomy of *Kuzari* translations, which alerts us to the great differences among the manuscript versions of Judah ibn Tibbōn's translation, makes no mention of this passage.[15]

Since Hirschfeld's edition, which appeared first in 1887, most new Hebrew editions of the *Kuzari* have adopted the reading "Adam and Noah." Avraham Zifrinowitsch (Ṣifroni), who produced a very good edition of the ibn Tibbōn translation with notes, appearing first in Warsaw in 1911, gives the text as "Adam and Noah."[16] Although

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[5] Kaufmann (1962: 208–11) rephrases the passage as denying the permissibility of holding such views about the origin of the world, not allowing it.

[6] For example, BSB Heb. 2264/6 (IMHM F. 01681), written 1363, fol. 106a; Parma-Palatina 1808 (IMHM F. 13030), written 14th c., no folio numbers; Vienna, National Library Cod. Heb. 154 (IMHM F. 1424), written 14th c., fol. 10a; Parma-Palatina 2085 (IMHM F. 13162), written 14th c., no folio numbers; Genova, Urbana Cod. 1/2 (IMHM F. 39897), written, 14th c., fol. 284b (or 285a); Livorno, Talmud Torah 38 (IMHM F. 12518), written 16th c. with *Qōl yĕhūdā* and *Bat qōl yĕhūdā*, fol. 35a; Parma-Palatina 1936 (IMHM F. 13091), written 15th c., fol. 293a; BN 676/1 (IMHM F. 11554), written 15th c., fol. 6b; Moscow Ginzburg 1473 (IMHM F. 48520), written 14th–15th c., fol. 5a; Parma-Palatina 2569 (IMHM F. 13531), written 14th c., no folio numbers; Cambridge CUL Add. 545 (IMHM F. 16834), written 15th c., fol. 9a; Jewish Theological Seminary of America MS mic. 2397/2 (IMHM F. 28650), written 14th–15th c., fol. 239b.

[7] Crescas 1990: 317.

[8] Abravanel 1988: 34.

[9] See Buxtorf (1660) 1971: 35: " … esse Adamum & Evam (quia Scriptura, quae apud eum est certissima regula & de cujus veritate non potest dubitare, hoc ei confirmat)." I would like to thank Adam Shear for providing me with information about the Buxtorf translation before I was able to access the original edition. For a reception history of the *Kuzari*, see now Shear 2008.

[10] Moshe Lazar published a facsimile of the Castilian translation, which he calls Ladino, in Lazar 1990. The passage is on p. 18. I would like to thank Carlos del Valle Rodriguez for checking the original manuscript for me.

[11] Abendana 1663. I have consulted the edition of the translation that was reissued in Buenos Aires, 1943 with the Ṣifroni (Zifrinowitsch) Hebrew edition (see below).

[12] I have checked the manuscript in the Bodleian Library in Oxford. "[A]nd Noah" is spelled *plene* (ונוח). I would like to thank the Oriental Department of the Bodleian Library for having allowed me the opportunity of checking the manuscript.

[13] Hirschfeld 1887: 28–29, xxiv n. 57. Part of Hirschfeld's justification for the emendation here is the fact that in *Kuzari* 1:4, the Judaeo-Arabic includes a mention of Noah that is missing in the Hebrew text (Hirschfeld 1887: 8–9, xxii n. 14; thus, the reference in n. 57, to "1:14," which explains the emendation to "Noah," refers to this note). In this second case, however, Hirschfeld did not emend the Hebrew text to agree with the Judaeo-Arabic. In 1:5, there is another reference to Noah in the Judaeo-Arabic, and not in the Hebrew, but in this case, Hirschfeld did add Noah to the Hebrew; see Hirschfeld 1887: 12–13, xxii n. 19.

[14] Their articles reviewing the Hirschfeld edition are available in the Israel 1970 reprinting of the original Leipzig 1887 edition.

[15] Baneth 1957.

[16] Zifrinowitsch 1911: 35.

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"Adam and Eve" is given as an alternate reading in a footnote, not all later editions of the Ṣifroni text have his textual notes, so Eve was slowly forgotten.[17] The edition published by the Traklin publishing house, Warsaw, 1929, has "Adam and Noah," as do the Levin-Epstein Bros. & Co., Jerusalem, 5706, edition; Mordecai Genizi's *Kūzārī mĕfōrāsh*, Tel Aviv, 1969; and Yehuda Even Shmuel's 1972 paraphrase translation of the *Kuzari*.[18] In contrast, Dov Schwartz's 1997 edition of David Cohen the Nazir's commentary, *Ha-kūzārī ha-mĕḇōʾār*, reads "Adam and Eve," but that is because it uses the text of the Venice 1547 edition, which, of course, is pre-Hirschfeld.

In 1977, ninety years after the Hirschfeld edition, David H. Baneth's long-awaited new Judaeo-Arabic edition of the *Kuzari* appeared, unfortunately too late for Professor Baneth (who died in 1973) to see it. The edition was completed as a result of the efforts of Ḥaggai Ben-Shammai, at the time a young doctoral student and today a full professor and the president of the Society for Judaeo-Arabic Studies.[19] In the Baneth and Ben-Shammai edition, the Judaeo-Arabic text reads: *ʾādām vĕ-ḥavvā* (or: *wa-ḥavvā*; "Adam and Eve"). A footnote informs us that the manuscript reads "Adam and Noah," but that "Noah" is a mistake. The editors even inform us how the mistake came about: the combination of "Adam" and "Noah" appears a few lines above in the same section of the *Kuzari*, where it reads "Adam, Noah and Moses." Thus, the copyist of the Oxford manuscript, or the manuscript from which the Oxford manuscript was copied, made a mistake; the correct text appears in the ibn Tibbōn translation where it reads "Adam and Eve." Since, however, there are no other Judaeo-Arabic manuscripts of the *Kuzari* that contain this passage, this emendation to "Eve" obviously cannot be demonstrated as being the original Judaeo-Arabic text.[20]

So, we now have two legitimate possibilities of reading this text: "Adam and Eve" or "Adam and Noah." Hirschfeld corrected ibn Tibbōn's Hebrew translation to agree with the unique Judaeo-Arabic manuscript, and Baneth and Ben-Shammai corrected the Judaeo-Arabic manuscript to agree with ibn Tibbōn's Hebrew translation. Since the appearance of the Baneth and Ben-Shammai edition, various editors and translators have made different decisions concerning this passage. In Yosef Qafiḥ's edition, the emendation was accepted, and both the Judaeo-Arabic and Qafiḥ's Hebrew translation read "Adam and Eve" (with no indication that there is a problem).[21] However, Charles Touati's French translation has "Noah" (even though Touati wrote in the introduction that he followed the Baneth and Ben-Shammai edition unless otherwise noted, and there is no note on this passage).[22] A compromise was reached by N. Daniel Korobkin in his version of the *Kuzari*, translated from the Hebrew on the basis of the *Qōl yĕhūdā* and *ʾŌṣār neḥmād* commentaries. The English translation reads "Adam and Eve"; the Hebrew text, the origin of which is not indicated in the edition, reads "Adam and Noah."[23] This follows the precedent of the 1943 Buenos Aires edition, which used the Ṣifroni text (with "Noah") and the Abendana Spanish translation (with "Eve").[24]

The real question, however, is not which editors or translators chose "Eve" and which chose "Noah," but what did Judah ha-Levi himself write when he composed the *Kuzari*? Do we have any way of entering into the author's study, looking over his shoulder, and determining which is the correct text? The obvious answer is "no," but we do have a number of techniques of trying to determine correct textual readings. Perhaps use of these techniques will offer some guidance in determining the correct text.

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[17] See, for example, the Maḥbārōt lĕ-Sifrūt edition, Tel Aviv, 5748, or the Shocken edition, Jerusalem/Tel Aviv, 1967, p. 32.

[18] Tel-Aviv, 1972, p. 21.

[19] Ha-Levi 1977. The passage in question is on p. 18.

[20] It should be noted that neither Baneth and Ben-Shammai nor Hirschfeld was entirely consistent in the emendation of "errors" in the Bodleian manuscript on the basis of the ibn Tibbōn translation. Thus, in 5:10, p. 195, the Judaeo-Arabic reads Genesis 1:7 as "the waters above the heavens (*ha-shāmayim*)," rather than the masoretic "the waters above the firmament (*lā-rāqīaʿ*)," which appears correctly in the ibn Tibbōn translation. Baneth and Ben-Shammai offer no correction in the Judaeo-Arabic, and neither does Hirschfeld, who does, however, maintain the correct reading in the Hebrew. In *Kuzari* 5:21, the verse from 1 Chronicles 28:9, "And you, my son Solomon, know the God of your fathers and worship Him," is incorrectly recorded in the Judaeo-Arabic as "And, now" (ועתה instead of the masoretic ואתה); ibn Tibbōn records the verse correctly. Baneth and Ben-Shammai (ha-Levi 1977: 227) copy the manuscript as is: ועתה. Hirschfeld (1887: 356–57) reads "And, now" for the Judaeo-Arabic and "corrects" the Hebrew accordingly, without any indication that this is a change in the ibn Tibbōn text (Ṣifroni did not accept Hirschfeld's "correction"; and see Qafiḥ 1996/97: 231, where the Judaeo-Arabic has "and now" while the Hebrew translation has "and you").

[21] Qafiḥ 1996/97: 18. Michael Schwarz's forthcoming Hebrew translation will read "and Noah" as a result of this article.

[22] Touati 1994: 17.

[23] Korobkin 1998: 24 (English), 370 (Hebrew).

[24] This edition, Buenos Aires, 1943, was issued by the Federación Sionista Argentina; the passage in Spanish is on p. 53, Hebrew, p. 13. A special edition of the *Kuzari* intended for children, Fishman 2003: 20, solves the problem by reading only "First Adam" (*hā-ʾādām hā-riʾshōn*).

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First of all, we should ask, which reading makes better sense? The first two people were Adam and Eve. The point here is that one must accept the biblical account, regardless of the question of previous worlds or prime matter, and the biblical account tells us that the first humans created by God were Adam and Eve. But the same biblical account also tells us that after humanity was wiped out in the flood, human life was renewed through the descendants of Noah, making Noah a first progenitor as well. Thus, theoretically, either reading can make sense, even though it would appear that "Eve" as co-equal to Adam has the edge.

Another possibility is to ask about context and other passages in the same composition. The *Kuzari* refers to Adam and Noah not only in this same section, but also in part 1, section 4, where the Christian interlocutor states that humanity goes back to Adam and Noah; and part 1, section 5, in which the Muslim interlocutor states that humanity goes back to Adam and Noah. In 1:43, the *ḥāḇēr* explains that his description of the prophet who is in a different category from normal human beings refers to that prophet, namely Moses, who revealed to the masses God's connection to humanity, creation, and the genealogies of ante-diluvium humans as going back to Adam, and post-diluvium ones going back to Noah. In 1:47, the *ḥāḇēr* says that the tradition of the world's being 4,500 years old (in other words, the story of the king's conversion is placed in the year 740 C.E.) goes back to Adam, Seth, Enosh, and Noah; then Shem, Ever, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. In 1:58, the king of the Khazars says that universal acceptance of the seven-day week indicates that all humanity are the children of Adam, or the children of Noah, or someone other than those two. As noted, the *ḥāḇēr* refers to Adam and Noah (as well as Abraham) in our passage in 1:67 as those who transmitted the tradition of the world's creation. A few sections before (1:63), wisdom and science are said to have been inherited by Shem, the son of Noah, who received them from Adam. Subsequently, in 1:83, the *ḥāḇēr* states that until the time of Moses and Aaron, the Children of Israel had only a few precepts, which they had inherited from a few individuals going back to Adam and Noah; Moses did not annul these precepts but added upon them. In 1:95, the *ḥāḇēr* says that those descendants of Adam who were known as *bĕnē ĕlōhīm* and who were the pick of humanity (*ṣafwa/sĕgūlā*) looked like Adam until Noah, and then similarly from Noah to Abraham.[25] In addition, these individuals were the ones who lived especially long lives (perhaps anticipating Maimonides' position that only those ancients who were named in Genesis had unnatural life-spans).[26] In 4:3, the divine Tetragrammaton was known directly by Adam, who passed it on to Cain and Abel, and through them to Noah, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob until Moses.

So where is Eve in the *Kuzari*? She appears in 2:14 as being buried in the Makhpelah cave, and in 2:68 as having spoken Hebrew with Adam, because both of their names are derived from the Hebrew language. Noah, however, appears as well in this latter context as a Hebrew speaker whose very name was also derived from the Hebrew language. In 4:3, Adam knew the divine name because he had the personal experience of God's talking to him, rewarding and punishing him, and forming Eve from his side. Since this latter passage refers to the creation story, it might be indicative that Adam and Eve are considered the first people (as in 1:67), but mention of Eve in this passage comes only to explain why Adam had personal knowledge of God's existence. In addition, humanity is said by both the Christian and Muslim interlocutors to derive from Adam and Noah (not Adam and Eve) in 1:4 and 5.[27] Thus, Eve is mentioned in the *Kuzari* only three times, in addition to the passage in 1:67, according to the ibn Tibbōn translation as well as the Baneth and Ben-Shammai emendation. Hence, if we consider other passages in the *Kuzari*, then Noah has a distinct numerical edge.

The *Kuzari* itself actually offered a way of determining the correct reading of manuscripts when there is a disagreement between texts. At the beginning of the discussion between the king and the *ḥāḇēr* about Karaism and reliable tradition, the point is made that when texts diverge, one should follow the majority of the books, since it is unlikely that the majority would make a mistake. Thus, when traditionalists (*al-nāqilīn*) disagree, the minority give way before the majority.[28] This procedure might be acceptable if we had multiple copies of the Judaeo-Arabic

[25] It is possible to understand the resemblance to Adam as referring to his deeds and not his physical appearance, which would seem to be the view of *Pirqē dĕ-rabbī Ĕlīʿezer* §22. I believe, however, that physical resemblance is meant. The question as to the nature of the resemblance to Adam is related to the question of whether the divine order (*al-ʾamar al-ʾilāhi*, the translation follows Kogan's usage) is a genetic/biological quality or an abstract, metaphysical one. See the discussion in my 1990 and 2006 articles.

[26] See Lasker 2009–10.

[27] The Hebrew texts of ibn Tibbōn's translation are missing Noah in both of these passages, but he appears in the Judaeo-Arabic original; see above, n. 13. Could this indicate a consistent pattern of downgrading Noah in the Hebrew version (or upgrading him in the Judaeo-Arabic text)?

[28] This passage appears in the Baneth and Ben-Shammai edition as 3:26, attributed to the king. Both Even Shmuel and Qafiḥ change the order of the sections in order to make this the opinion of the *ḥāḇēr* (Even-Shemuel's emendation is acknowledged, p. 275*, but Qafiḥ's is not). The source of this procedure of following

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original of the *Kuzari*, but, as noted, we have but one surviving manuscript.[29] The Hebrew translation can be used as an independent witness, but one cannot simply count each Hebrew manuscript as an additional witness to the text. Furthermore, following a majority vote of Bible manuscripts may be the correct procedure in determining the religiously acceptable text for ritual use even if it does not yield a philologically sound reading; it is unlikely to guarantee that one has the correct reading of a text such as the *Kuzari*.

There is an additional tool in the philologist's repertoire, namely, the principle *lectio difficilior praeferenda est*, the more difficult reading is the preferred one. This technique assumes that a scribe will change a difficult reading to an easier one, but would not change an easy reading to a more difficult one. Thus, if we say that in terms of meaning, the reading "Adam and Eve" makes more sense, then we would have to say that the reading "Adam and Noah" is to be preferred. Indeed, it is hard to see someone's deliberately changing "Eve" to "Noah" as the first person with Adam. I assume that Baneth and Ben-Shammai realized this difficulty, which is why they postulate a scribal error, influenced by a passage a few lines earlier, rather than a deliberate change. But let us assume that the original text did read "Adam and Noah." We can easily imagine Judah ibn Tibbōn or a later copyist (and we know that later copyist-editors did introduce changes into the ibn Tibbōn translation[30]) seeing the text "Adam and Noah" and saying to himself, "Obviously, Judah ha-Levi meant Adam and Eve as the first people, not Adam and Noah." The change from "Adam and Noah" to "Adam and Eve" is eminently understandable; if such a change was introduced by the Hebrew translator or a later copyist, it was certainly early since that is the unanimous reading of the Hebrew texts and those dependent upon it.

There is another consideration. Part of the background of ha-Levi's statement concerning successive worlds may be the Shiʿite belief in constantly renewing worlds in which there were previous Adams, even millions of them. Noah was also the progenitor of a new world cycle. If ha-Levi had this doctrine in mind, it would be reasonable to make reference to Adam and Noah as the two progenitors of this world, as the Christian and Muslim do at the beginning of the *Kuzari*. Thus, "Noah" would be a better reading than "Eve."[31]

What, then, did Judah ha-Levi write in this passage? I do not know, but certainly "Adam and Noah" is a very good possibility. The Baneth and Ben-Shammai emendation of the Judaeo-Arabic text is, thus, not necessary. However, the Hirschfeld emendation of the ibn Tibbōn translation is not necessary either; the authentic ibn Tibbōn Hebrew reading as we know it is "Adam and Eve." New translations using the Oxford manuscript should read "Noah"; the medieval translation should be left as it is. And if there are then two versions, well, then there are two versions. Obviously, reference to the textual problems should be made in a note to the text. In any event, the reading "Adam and Noah" should not be dismissed as impossible.[32]

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the majority apparently goes back to the minor tractate *Sōfĕrīm* 6:4; see the discussion by Levy (2001: 59, 190–91). One assumes that ha-Levi would see in the maintenance of the correct text, as testified by the majority of manuscripts, a function of divine providence, a factor not present in the correct reading of his own composition.

[29] Of course, this procedure can easily lead to false results because in textual editing the majority does not rule; a single early manuscript may have a correct reading and not be copied by others for some accidental reason, whereas another manuscript that is erroneous may have a large progeny.

[30] See Baneth 1957.

[31] This belief was developed mainly among the Ismaʿīlis (see Corbin 1993: 86–90). The Shiʿite background is mentioned by Wolfson 1973: 434; see also Kohlberg 1980. The influence of Shiʿism on Judah ha-Levi has been studied by my student Ehud Krinis (2008). I would like to thank Dr. Krinis, who is convinced that "Noah" is the correct reading, for his comments on this paper.

[32] That would seem to be the attitude of Ḥaggai Ben-Shammai, both in remarks at the conference when this paper was presented, and also in subsequent discussions. It apparently is also the view of Barry Kogan in his private communication (his new translation reads "Adam and Eve"). For further corroboration of the reasonableness of "Adam and Noah," I would add the following: none of the editors and translators of the *Kuzari* after Hirschfeld thought to question his reading, including Touati, who had the Baneth and Ben-Shammai edition in front of him. Scholars referring to the passage, such as Wolfson (1973), raised no question about the reading "Adam and Noah." It is not an outlandish reading as, for example, "Adam and Methusaleh" or "Adam and Enoch" would be. Furthermore, at the conference, a number of listeners tried to find a way in which the Hebrew letters for "and Noah" were transmogrified scribally into "Eve" (ונוח turned into חוה). Although I do not believe that this was what happened, the listeners who suggested it had no problem assuming that "and Noah" was the original version. Lastly, my colleague Howard T. Kreisel has edited parts of Levi ben Abraham's *Livyat ḥēn*, including a passage in which Levi refers to "Adam and Noah" before they ate of the Tree of Knowledge. Professor Kreisel maintains that Noah is actually the correct reading, since for Levi the story is allegorical, and what he means in terms of Noah is before he became drunk (which is also allegorical). The student research assistant who was charged with copying the manuscript at this point corrected it to read "Adam and Eve"; obviously, to him, Noah made no sense. Again, the *lectio difficilior* is "Noah," which, according to Professor Kreisel, is correct (see Kreisel 2007: 306).

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The story presented here is meant as an object lesson in the pitfalls awaiting the student of Judaeo-Arabic texts and their Hebrew translations, not to mention the editors of these texts. In the absence of autographs, we are often left with mysteries as to the original version[33] of a text that was written by the authors whose works we study. Nevertheless, even if we sometimes must adopt an agnostic position about the correct reading of a particular text, we still are obligated to make the effort to understand the text and interpret it to the best of our abilities.

ABBREVIATIONS

IMHM	Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts, the Israel National Library, Jerusalem (המכון לתצלומי כתבי יד עבריים, הספרייה הלאומית)
BSB	Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich

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14

HISTORICIZING PROPHETIC LITERATURE: YEFET BEN ʿELI'S COMMENTARY ON HOSEA AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO AL-QŪMISĪ'S *PITRŌN*

*MEIRA POLLIACK**

GENERAL BACKGROUND: YEFET'S EXEGETICAL ENTERPRISE AND HIS PREFACE AND COMMENTARY ON THE MINOR PROPHETS

Yefet's Arabic name, Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī al-Baṣrī, testifies to his origin or the origin of his family in the city of Baṣra in Iraq. Nonetheless, it is known from various sources that he was active in Jerusalem during the second half of the tenth century, and that it was there that he composed his Arabic translations and commentaries on all the books of the Hebrew Bible. It appears that Yefet began his extensive exegetical work with the writing of his commentary on the Pentateuch around 960 C.E. and that he completed it with the one he wrote on the third division of the Hebrew Bible (i.e., the *Kĕtūḇīm*) around 1000 C.E.[1]

It would appear, therefore, that Yefet dedicated himself exclusively to his translation and exegetical work throughout the period of the last four decades of his life without engaging — to the best of our knowledge — in any of the other intellectual fields, such as Hebrew linguistics and philosophy, in which other Karaite scholars of Jerusalem participated and even contributed independent works.[2]

From the various statements made by Yefet and interwoven into his commentaries, and from his method of translation and interpretation, it is evident that he saw himself as something of a link connecting, on the one hand, the early grammatical and exegetical Karaite tradition, which appears to have formed already in the ninth century in the Karaite centers of Persia and Babylonia, expressed partly in Hebrew (this was reflected in the works

* This article represents an English revision and expansion of some of my earlier work on the exegetical relationship between Yefet and al-Qūmisī, which has mainly been concentrated in the Hebrew introduction to Polliack and Schlossberg 2009 (see esp. pp. 9–40 and 70–80 therein), though some of it found its way to other sporadic publications. It has been a painstaking endeavor to bring it all under one roof within a cohesive and updated English revision. This task could not have been achieved without the ever-forthcoming help and scholarly expertise offered by Dr. Michael G. Wechsler, who not only took on the major part of the English translation from Hebrew, but also edited the article and made insightful and detailed comments on its various drafts. I am most grateful to Dr. Wechsler for helping me present this tribute to Professor Norman Golb on a topic that strongly relates to Professor Golb's varied and inspirational research work and teaching on the occasion of his retirement.

[1] The period of Yefet's literary activity has been reconstructed primarily on the basis of the extant colophons in the many different manuscripts of his works as well as several contemporary allusions in these to his own time (see Marwick 1942/43: 451–60; Ben-Shammai 1976). In the colophon of his commentary on Ruth and Song of Songs in MS BL Or. 2554 (G. Margoliouth 1965: 223–24, no. 301), which was copied in Ramla in A.H. 395 (= 1004/05 C.E.), the copyist refers to Yefet as to one who is still alive, by the Arabic commendation *ayyadahu allāh* ("May God sustain him!"). For a full and detailed inventory of all the manuscripts of Yefet's Arabic translations and commentaries on the Hebrew Bible, excluding most of those in the Firkovitch Collections of the National Library of Russia (Saint Petersburg), see Tamani 1989 and 1983. For a detailed inventory of the manuscripts of Yefet's commentary on Genesis in the Firkovitch Collections, see Batat and Sklare 2000. On the general background of Yefet and his works, see Poznański 1908: 20–30; Skoss 1931; Mann 1935: 30–31; Nemoy 1952: 83–84; Lehrman 1967; Wechsler 2008: 3–11; 2009.

[2] Every one of these fields, however, is addressed by Yefet within the framework of his biblical-exegetical endeavor and as such played a significant role in paving the way for the scholarly activity of the Karaites in the eleventh century who refined and crystallized the fields of linguisitics, philosophy, halakhah, and biblical exegesis (see further below). Outside the field of Bible exegesis, Yefet wrote one work in the field of halakhah, known as his *Sēfer miṣvōt*. Yefet's son, Levi ben Yefet, came to specialize in this field.

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of Daniel al-Qūmisī and Yūsuf ibn Nūḥ, among others), and, on the other hand, contemporary Karaite exegesis, expressed in Arabic, primarily in Jerusalem, and which reached further ideological crystallization of its methods by more forcefully internalizing Arabic concepts of thinking (this is reflected in the works of al-Qirqisānī, Salmon ben Yerūḥam, and Yeshūʿā ben Judah, among others).

The focus and industry expressed by Yefet in his exegetical endeavor, and his clear diligence in bringing it to completion, show that the provision of a Karaite translation and commentary in Arabic for every book of the Hebrew Bible served from the outset as a deliberate and important goal, both for him and for his target audience, the Karaite community in Jerusalem. In this endeavor Yefet appears to have adopted a framework for a comprehensive and fundamental discussion of the Bible consistent with the overall Karaite perspective, proceeding methodically and without expressing preference for one book over another.[3] The positioning of this broad aim, which possessed a quasi-public aspect to it, demonstrates the unique status of Yefet among the Karaites of Jerusalem. One gathers the impression that the people of his generation saw him as a commentator who was truly able to bear the task of establishing Karaite exegesis, facilitating its recognition as a viable alternative to the Rabbanite exegetical tradition.[4]

Further testifying to the high standing of Yefet among the Karaites is the fact that the organizational method of translation and commentary that he developed was accepted, in a fundamental and large-scale manner, by ensuing generations of exegetes. Karaites of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, such as Yeshuʿah b. Yehudah and ʿAlī b. Sulaymān, based themselves on Yefet's translations of the Pentateuch when they wrote new translations that took into greater consideration the target language of Arabic.[5] In addition, the fact that the Karaites continued to copy the translations and commentaries of Yefet throughout the medieval period and even translated parts of his writings into Hebrew, without attempting to canonize a new exegetical enterprise on the entire Hebrew Bible, testifies to both the depth of esteem in which his exegesis was held as well as the breadth to which it was accepted.[6] Moreover, the interpretations of Yefet spread even to Rabbanite scholars, such as Abraham ibn Ezra, who frequently cites from the works of Yefet in his own biblical commentaries and occasionally polemicizes with him in his writings.[7]

Until recently, a general trend prevailed in the study of Karaism that tended to minimize the accomplishments of Yefet as opposed to those of his contemporaries and successors within the circle of Karaite intellectuals in Jerusalem, who flourished primarily during the eleventh century. These individuals focused on specific branches of knowledge, among which their various specializations may be discerned, including philosophy (Joseph al-Baṣīr),[8] the methodological study of the language of the Bible according to general linguistics (Abu ʾl-Faraj Hārūn),[9] and independent works treating complex matters of Karaite halakhah (Levi b. Yefet, Yeshuʿah ben Yehudah).[10] It is possible that the tendency to diminish the importance of Yefet in respect to these later intellectuals stems from

[3] For a judicious and colorful selection of edited Judaeo-Arabic excerpts from Yefet's commentaries on the Pentateuch, Prophets, Psalms, Job, and Proverbs, see Ben-Shammai 1977: 2:63–295. For an inventory of additional publications containing excerpts of Yefet's biblical translations and commentaries, see Drory 1988: 197–98; Tamani 1983: 31; and Wechsler 2008: 328 (bibliography), s.v. "Yefet." The last two decades in particular have seen a significant and welcome increase in the preparation of critical editions of portions of Yefet's biblical commentaries, of which those that have been published include his translation of Obadiah (Polliack and Schlossberg 2001b), his translations and commentaries on Genesis 1:1–5 (Butbul and Stroumsa 2000), the Oracles of Balaam in Numbers 23:6–24:25 (Avni 2003), Isaiah 53 (Alobaidi 1998), Habakkuk chs. 1 and 3 (Livnah-Kafri 1993), Proverbs 31 (Wechsler 2002 and 2003), Ruth (Butbul 2003), Esther (Wechsler 2008), and Hosea (Polliack and Schlossberg, eds., 2009). Editions currently in preparation include his commentaries on the Abraham and Joseph narratives in Genesis, Judges, and Proverbs.

[4] Primarily the Rabbanite tradition represented by Saadia Gaon (882–942 C.E.) and his circle. On Saadia's exegetical activity and its importance in the struggle with Karaism as well as other challenges facing Rabbanite Judaism in the East during the tenth century, see Drory 1988: 156–78; Ben-Shammai 1993a.

[5] On the relationship of the Karaite translators of the eleventh century, such as Yeshūʿā b. Judah and ʿAlī b. Sulaymān, to the translations of Yefet, see Polliack 1997: 37–64, 278–91.

[6] On the plethora of copies of Yefet's commentaries, see Ben-Shammai 1976; and see Tamani 1983, 1989; Schlossberg 2001, 2004/5; Wechsler 2009.

[7] On Ibn Ezra's relationship to Karaite scholarship generally, see Melammed 1975: 2:676–78. On his specific relationship to Yefet, see, among others, Birnbaum 1942: xliii–xlvii; Simon 1991: 138–39; Wechsler 2008: 71–78; Polliack and Schlossberg 2009: 97–98.

[8] Especially as it bears upon the Bible, as a component of the discipline of theology (*Kalām*), on which see Ben-Shammai 2003.

[9] For the most part in keeping with the principles of the Baṣran school of Arabic linguistics at that time, on which see Khan et al. 2003.

[10] Including extensive exegesis of specific biblical books, such as Leviticus (see Ben-Shammai 1987). For an example of the extent of Muʿtazilite influence on the eleventh-century Jerusalem Karaites, see Sklare 2007.

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the fact that he was not exposed to the same degree to Muslim (namely, Muʿtazilite) theological ideas and did not assimilate the general Arabic (i.e., Baṣrī) linguistic theory to the extent that characterized the members of the Karaite "golden age" of the eleventh century. For this reason, his writings were not endowed with the level of scientific sophistication evident in these others. Nonetheless, recent studies, focusing on specific aspects of his translations and commentaries on the Bible, have exposed the innovativeness and depth of Yefet's exegetical thinking in implementing linguistic, literary, and historical tools in his analysis of the biblical text.[11] In light of this, the recognition and esteem for the unique value of his exegesis have grown even stronger among biblical scholars of late. Their significance is not limited to the light that they cast on the writings of Saadia Gaon or Abraham ibn Ezra, but also stems from the special criteria that Yefet established for studying and interpreting the Bible. The key role that Yefet played in the expansion and establishment of Karaite exegesis consequently influenced the general development of Jewish biblical exegesis during the Middle Ages throughout the lands of Islam, including Andalusian Spain.

At the beginning of his commentary on the book of Hosea, Yefet includes some words of introduction on "the first part of the commentary on the Book of the Twelve Prophets," which represent an essentially programmatic foreword, not only to the collection of the Minor Prophets, but also to the Prophetic Books as a whole. The reasons for this are both historical (i.e., Yefet's perception of Hosea as one of the earliest of the prophets) and literary-theological (i.e., the importance he attached to the decision of those who compiled the set of books known as the Twelve Prophets to commence specifically with the book of Hosea). By the same token, Yefet does not include introductions with the rest of his commentaries on the Twelve Prophets. To his exegesis on Isaiah, however, he adds an introduction dealing with the general aims of prophecy (though this is much briefer than his introduction to Hosea, on which see below), in which Moses is presented as the "father" of the prophets, and consideration is given to the various degrees of divine revelation to a prophet (such as "face-to-face" and through the Holy Spirit).[12] Not coincidentally, Yefet's discussion of the fundamental issues relating to the books of prophecy deviate, in essence, from the framework of the introduction and cross over to his comment on Hosea 1:1, since Yefet saw in the core of the book of Hosea a common structure with those of the Prophetic Books as a whole. Yefet thus commences his exegesis of Hosea with a programmatic introduction to the collection of prophetic literature (i.e., the second division of the Hebrew canon) as a whole, in which he proposes a theological explanation for the phenomenon of prophecy that addresses the issue of its necessity and benefit. His response is formulated according to the philosophical classification of eight "values" (*manāfiʿ*; i.e., objectives) of prophecy.[13] According to these, one can determine three primary functions that prophecy fulfills:

[11] For recent studies on specific aspects of Yefet's biblical exegesis, see Alobaidi 1998; Blumfield 2001; Erder 1997, 1999; Goldstein 2001; Polliack 1998/99, 2005a, 2008; Polliack and Schlossberg 2001a; 2009: 9–137; Wechsler 2008. In the introductions of his biblical commentaries, Yefet tends to emphasize his reliance on prior exegetical sources — in view of which some scholars have been inclined to think of him primarily as a compiler and hence consider him as a commentator of only secondary importance, and representing primarily a response to the challenge posed by Saadia (see Ben-Shammai 1977: 1:2–7; 1985: 53–56; Birnbaum 1942: viii–xxxiii; Marwick 1942/43: 445–46). It is more likely that Yefet's declarations of reliance upon his predecessors are not to be taken in their simple sense (i.e., that his exegesis is primarily compilatory), but rather as expressions of his exegetical ideology as one who set himself within the well-established tradition (whether Karaite or Jewish) of biblical translation and exegesis. These declarations thus reflect an overall exegetical method according to which Yefet not only developed and expanded the exegetical tools of his predecessors, but also fashioned new and influential concepts.

[12] See MS NLR Yevr.-Arab. I 568, and see the discussion of Ben-Shammai concerning Yefet's division of revelation into six degrees (1977: 1:268–78). Furthermore, in his introduction to the book of Ezekiel, Yefet addresses those issues bound up with the specific character of its prophetic content, such as the import of the physical descriptions of God, both in Ezekiel and in the Bible generally (see MS AOS B135). Yefet's introduction to Jeremiah, unfortunately, is not extant — the commentary only beginning from 2:18 (see MS British Library Or. 2549).

[13] For an extensive discussion of the conception of prophethood and prophecy (including the functions of prophecy) as held by Yefet as well as al-Qirqisānī, see Ben-Shammai 1977: 1:259–78. For an English translation of the eight categories or functions of prophecy in the introduction of Yefet's commentary on Hosea, see Polliack and Schlossberg 2001a: 9–12, and see their further discussion in Polliack and Schlossberg 2009: 5–17. In the introduction to his commentary on Isaiah (see the above note), Yefet proposes five "benefits" (Arabic *maṣāliḥ*) for the sake of which God sent his prophets. From the relatively concise discussion of these functions in Isaiah, it would seem that his introduction to this latter was written after that to Hosea, and that in Isaiah he is relying implicitly upon what he discussed in more detail in his introduction to Hosea — especially with respect to the last function (i.e., the predicative function), which in his introduction to Isaiah he enumerates as the fifth, whereas in his introduction to Hosea, it is divided into four distinct values (i.e., values 5–8).

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(1) a didactic function ("values" 1 and 3), whose main purpose is the traditional instruction of the words of the prophets;

(2) a mediatory function ("values" 2 and 4) that stresses the role of the prophet as a witness to the authenticity of the words of God and his concern for his people; and

(3) a prophetic (i.e., "predictive") function, which is essentially the forecast, revelation, and telling of the future ("values" 5 through 8), and whose goal is "to inform the worshippers of God what will happen in the future," thus constituting a part of their material and spiritual guidance.

It is not by coincidence that Yefet considers the forecasting of future events as a central function of the Prophetic Books, for in this lies their importance for those generations (like Yefet's) that follow the prophetic age, "in which there are no prophets." Careful study of the predictions of the prophets serves both to sharpen one's understanding of the link between the past and the future and to strengthen each successive generation's faith in God's involvement in various events, his intentions regarding history, and the validity of his promises. And studying those predictions of the prophets that have been fulfilled encourages successive generations to find solace in "the troubles of the exile." In other words, each generation may extract encouragement from the words of the prophets respecting their present situation in "the exile," understanding that this is but a temporary condition subject to change and part of the long, complex, and special relationship between God and his people.[14] Indeed, it appears that this prophetic function was particularly important for the Karaite target audience of Yefet, who saw in the founding of the Karaite movement, and in their resettlement of the land of Israel, that rightful fulfillment that was to follow the admonishments in the writings of the prophets, as well as a first step toward the implementation of the messianic hopes and promises found therein. One can ascribe to this the relatively great weight that Yefet attributed to the predictive function in his introductory analysis of the aims of prophecy.

Even so, it is important to note that the predictive function, according to Yefet, is not the same as a radical form of applied exegesis of the holy writings in general, nor of the prophetic literature in particular. In other words, he did not claim that it was possible to decipher the words of the prophets vis-à-vis the present reality as a sort of key to decoding the events of today — much like the way that the members of the Qumran sect treated the books of the prophets, as reflected in the *pĕshārīm* ("commentaries") that the members of the sect wrote on these books.[15] The prophetic function that Yefet presented was not "prognostic" (i.e., containing advance knowledge) regarding the specific future of the Karaite movement; rather, it possessed a social and didactic goal, which was essentially to emphasize the continuing historical value of the phenomenon of biblical prophecy for the nation of Israel, even after they were exiled from their land, and thereby to reinforce their faith in the future redemption — which also, like the nation's past, clearly bears out God's intentions regarding history.

Indeed, Yefet anchored this prophetic function in the much broader didactic function of prophecy (which he even ranked first). This manner of approaching prophecy, according to which emphasis is placed on its spiritual and educational values, is similar in substance to the perception of prophecy in the literary sources attributed to the early rabbinic sages, as well as in rabbinic literature as a whole. Even so, this particular emphasis on future prediction as the most important aspect of biblical prophecy is nevertheless quite unique to the Karaites. This aspect did not find much appeal in the eyes of the early rabbinic sages or rabbinic literature generally and was even rejected explicitly by Saadia Gaon, apparently due to the messianic hope it occasionally produced among the people, and which resulted more than once in bitter disappointment or religious crisis.[16] The Karaite movement, in particular, at the start of its existence, was certainly not able — and may even not have wanted — to ignore the predictive contents of prophecy. This was because it had come to perceive the essence of the historical existence of Karaism as the fundamental (though not the only) embodiment of the messianic messages found in the words of the prophets. In Yefet's careful analysis of the three central functions of the prophetic literature,

[14] See Yefet's similarly expressed sentiment with respect to the fifth function of prophecy described in the introduction of his commentary on Isaiah, cited in the previous note.

[15] See further Polliack 2005b, and below, pp. 161–63.

[16] On the centrality of the predictive function of biblical prophecy, see, for example, Wilson 1998: 213–15. On the reserved attitude of the early rabbinic sages toward this predictive function, see Urbach 1946, and see Greenshpan 1989. Saadia's rejection of the predictive dimension of prophecy is borne out in the introduction of his commentary on Isaiah, on which see Ben-Shammai 1991b: 376–79.

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one can recognize his ability to stay focused on the biblical context and the original historical background of the books of the prophets in order to explain the phenomenon of prophecy. In fact, against this background, one clearly perceives his recognition of both the quality and the content of predictive prophecy, and hence its value for contemporary readers, which the Rabbanite tradition preferred to suppress. In the same fashion, due to the importance that he attached to the historical-biblical context, Yefet refrained, in most cases, from enlisting the prophetic literature for the political needs of the Karaite movement of his time, and thus he did not attribute to it, in this introduction, any practical value for understanding the Karaites' present reality or for guiding their future, but rather saw in it only symbolic-spiritual value.[17]

YEFET'S USE OF AL-QŪMISĪ AS AN EXEGETICAL SOURCE IN HIS COMMENTARY ON HOSEA

Yefet's Exegetical Sources

In general, it is possible to divide the sources that Yefet used in his exegesis into three types:

(1) *Karaite sources*, including both written commentaries drawn from the early grammatical and exegetical tradition (from the ninth century), which were preserved in the writings of Yūsuf ibn Nūḥ and Daniel al-Qūmisī, and exegetical traditions that were transmitted orally and were current among members of Yefet's circle, some of which were even created, apparently, within the framework of the Karaite school in Jerusalem during the tenth century.

(2) *Rabbinic sources*, in particular the literature deriving from the early rabbinic sages, by which Yefet was influenced and to which he occasionally refers in the course of polemicizing, adoption, or adaptation.

(3) *Muslim sources*, whose influence upon Yefet is borne out in two ways. The first is in his exegetical terminology. Most of the Arabic terms that Yefet used to illuminate the literary and rhetorical processes of prophecy were commonly employed in Qurʾanic exegesis. Yet it is difficult to determine whether Yefet drew them directly from Islamic texts or whether they reached him by indirect means, through the works of earlier Karaite grammarians and commentators. The second possibility seems more likely, since Yefet recasts this terminology more than once in a sense better suited to the established tradition of Jewish biblical exegesis. Furthermore, it appears that his attitude toward Arabic sources was neither consistent nor obligating.[18]

The second way in which Muslim sources appear to have exerted significant influence is with respect to Yefet's overall hermeneutical outlook (and that of the Karaite Jeruslaem school at large), as reflected, for example, in the basic determination between allegorical exegesis (*taʾwīl*), which abstracts a verse from its context, and literal, linguistic-contextual exegesis (*tafsīr*). This subject has been examined by scholars in a variety of contexts.[19]

With respect to Yefet's exegetical methodology, it appears that his work does not reflect clear Arabic influence, save for the two broad realms of rhetoric and poetics.[20] The fundamental tools and techniques (e.g., the structural, literary, and editorial ones[21]) that Yefet employs at length in his analysis of prophetic texts were drawn mostly from the Jewish tradition of biblical exegesis — perhaps even that written in Hebrew, which played a role in the schism between the Karaites and Rabbanites — as well as from the early Karaite tradition. In part, they constitute a certain reincarnation or wider development of these traditions.

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[17] This tendency is already evident in the commentary of Yefet's predecessor Daniel al-Qūmisī on Hosea, contained in his *Pitrōn shĕnēm ʿāśār* (1957; hereafter: *Pitrōn*).

[18] Further regarding Yefet's use of Muslim-Arabic exegetical terminology, see Polliack and Schlossberg 2009: 69–70.

[19] See especially Drory 1988: 119–21. With respect to the overall influence of the "Arabic model" on Karaite exegesis, Drory distinguishes among three different levels — namely, terminological, conceptual, and methodological — and accordingly draws the general conclusion, which is further substantiated by the specific study of Yefet's commentary on Hosea (see Polliack and Schlossberg 2009: 41–69, 71), that it was precisely in the realm of methodology that Karaite exegesis was *not* influenced by the Arabic model (p. 120).

[20] See Polliack and Schlossberg 2009: 59–69.

[21] See ibid., 41–58.

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Regarding the Karaite sources, Yefet himself indicates his strong reliance on the Karaite exegetical tradition in various statements scattered throughout his commentaries, such as in his introduction to the book of Hosea:

> We shall commence our commentary on this book with what we have heard and learned from our teachers, may God be fully pleased with them and may He recompense them, for their students have truly benefited from their teaching.[22]

By the term "our teachers" (Arabic *muʿallimīnā*), Yefet apparently intends the Karaite scholars that had preceded him, without listing their names. One can deduce the identity of these scholars from the broad title "the teachers of the exile" (*muʿallimūn al-jāliya*), which appears elsewhere in Yefet's exegetical corpus, such as in his comment on Daniel 12:13:

> We have explained this chapter according to what we have heard from the teachers of the exile (*min muʿallimīn al-jāliya*), or read in their books, so far as those theories seemed probable to us.[23]

The emphasis by Yefet on the fact that he had "heard" these commentaries from his teachers may be intended to suggest firsthand familiarity, at least with some of them, though it may also be intended to hint at the affiliation of these teachers with Karaite circles.

In his attitude toward the Karaite exegetical tradition, Yefet in fact makes the three-part distinction among what he "heard" from his teachers, what he "read" in their books, and what constituted his personal belief, as attested in the following excerpt from the introduction to his commentary on Genesis:

> We now begin with a translation of the words of this book and an explanation of its meanings, in accordance with what we have heard from our teachers, the Interpreters (*muʿallimīna ʾl-mufassirīn*), and what we have read in the books of bygone scholars (*fī kutub al-māḍiyyīn*) — may God be pleased with them all — and in accordance with what occurs to us as being correct.[24]

Statements of this sort indicate clearly that Yefet saw his work as being strongly connected to the work of preceding Karaite exegetes, the latter of which are represented by two groups: exegetes whose books (or opinions) he knew from reading, but with whom he had no personal acquaintance (figures that come to mind in this respect are Yaʿqūb al-Qirqisānī and Daniel al-Qūmisī), and exegetes under whom he studied either personally and/or in their company, via oral and group instruction (quite likely even in the Jerusalem "school"), whose origins he knew to be in "the exile" — that is, in the Karaite centers in Babylonia and Persia (such as, perhaps, Yūsuf ibn Nūḥ).[25]

Yefet's strong allegiance to Karaite exegesis is also borne out by his efforts to give it suitable expression, wherever possible, within the framework of his own exegetical endeavor. This may be seen, for instance, in the many instances in his commentary where he directs the reader's attention to the existence of a widespread exegetical tradition, such as in his comment on Hosea 13:1: "other interpretations regarding this verse have been made, although I am abridging my mention of them." His meticulousness in pointing out that he had not presented every opinion relating to the verse, even after presenting a number of possible interpretations, is not mere rhetoric.

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[22] Due to the extensive use of citations in this article from Yefet's commentary on Hosea, I have chosen, rather than to cite the Judaeo-Arabic text in each instance, to refer the reader, as here, to the recently edited Judaeo-Arabic text and its Hebrew translation in Polliack and Schlossberg 2009: *ad loc*.

[23] Translated, with minor adjustment by me, per D. S. Margoliouth 1889: 86; Arabic text (151): وقد تكلّمنا فى هذا الفصل حسب ما لاح لنا انه قريب من جميع ما سمعنا من معلمين الجالية وما قرأناه فى كتبهم. See also Yefet's Hebrew proem to his commentary on Song of Songs (Bargès 1884: 1): אתחיל בעזרת משכיל כל מורים לפתור ספר שיר השירים שמעה אזני מפי פותרים, אשר הורו ולימדו בני הגולה ("I shall commence — with the help of the One who grants wisdom to every teacher — to interpret the book of the Song of Songs [according to what] my ears have heard from the mouth of interpreters who have instructed and taught the children of the exile").

[24] והדה חין נבתדי בתרגמה אלפאט הדא אלכתאב ותכליין מעאניה בחסב מא סמענא מן מעלמינא אלמפסרין ומא קראנא פי כתב אלמאצ׳יין רצי א׳ ענהם אגמעין ובחסב מא יסנח לנא אנה צואב (Butbul and Stroumsa 2000: 86 [Hebrew trans.: 145]; English translation here given per Wechsler 2008: 35).

[25] To be sure, one might argue that Yefet's use of the expression "we have heard" (*samaʿnā*) is not in fact literally intended, but rather is employed to inject a necessary shade of heterogeneity into his relationship to the statements of his predecessors. Nevertheless, as borne out by the ensuing discussion, it would seem that Yefet does indeed distinguish between exegetical views that he accessed via written works and those that he himself heard firsthand. See in this respect Yefet's comment on Hosea 4:19, which he interprets as an allusion to Jeroboam b. Nebat: "This is the most likely explanation that I have heard of this verse" (Polliack and Schlossberg 2009: 175 [text]; 314 [Hebrew trans.]). It is worth noting that this explanation does not at all accord with the comment of al-Qūmisī *ad loc.* (as far as it has been preserved).

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Here, as in most of the cases, it evinces his desire to convey the rich exegetical tradition at whose feet he was educated, and to which he felt a clear obligation, both on an intellectual level and on a personal level, in his exegetical endeavor encompassing all the books of the Hebrew Bible. He saw in this labor a summation and utilization of Karaite exegesis both of his own time as well as of the generations that preceded him (from the ninth century).

In his commentary on Hosea, this feeling of responsibility expresses itself in a number of places, such as in his words on the phrase *So I bought her for me for fifteen pieces of silver* (3:2). Yefet first offers a literal interpretation of his own, but afterwards takes pains to present a complex allegorical interpretation — to which he is clearly not sympathetic — that the number fifteen represents the three Patriarchs and the twelve sons of Jacob. It appears that no parallel to such an interpretation exists in the midrashic literature of the early rabbinic sages, and it is possible that he was in fact expressing a view that was popular among Karaite exegetes. The apologetic tone of Yefet is quite obvious in this case:

> Many commentators have opined that there are (other) allegorical interpretations[26] to this verse, though in this they have disagreed. Of these I have seen fit to mention those that are most reasonable, whereas those that are unlikely [lit., "remote"] I have set aside.

On several occasions Yefet expresses his own opinion or personal preference only after surveying the views of other "commentators," introducing the favored view — whether his own or an existing one — with such expressions as "to me/us the most reasonable (explanation) is ...."[27]

It appears that, in this way, Yefet sought to position himself openly as the educational product of the Karaite exegetical tradition, or "school," thereby exhibiting a pronounced humility, which — in his case — was not artificial, but reflects, in fact, the relatively large place that he granted in his commentaries to the views of others and the respect that he attributed even to opinions with which he disagreed (including those of the early rabbinic sages[28]). This tolerant approach apparently issued not only from the conclusive nature of his work, but also from the unique and calm nature of Karaite discourse on the Bible as it took shape during the second half of the tenth century. The intense polemicizing that characterized the early period of Karaism (such as in the writings of al-Qūmisī and Salmon ben Yerūḥam) abated to a certain extent and made way for a more balanced and practical discussion of the biblical text. As such, it indicates a more mature and developed stage with respect to the self-identity and self-confidence of the new religious movement. The Karaite ethos, which emphasized (inter alia) the individual value of studying the Bible and of every individual's ability to take part in the discussion, also contributed to the development of Yefet's open-minded style in this regard.

Another characteristic of the Karaite ethos is the practice of anonymous citation from the opinions of various exegetes, a practice that Yefet maintained diligently throughout his commentaries — and which makes the precise identification of his sources much more difficult. This practice is undoubtedly deliberate and reflective of the egalitarian ideology that strongly characterized the Karaite movement from its outset, according to which all exegesis was acceptable as long as it withstood the tests of logic, and the opinion of one exegete could not be preferred above that of another due to his personal background or other external reasons. Yefet gave clear and crystallized expression to this ideology in a famous remark found in his commentary on Zechariah 5:8, in which he integrates sayings attributed by him to the founders of Karaism, ʿAnan ben David and Benjamin al-Nahāwandī:[29]

> Throughout the ages, our people (the Karaites) have studied and sought after these principles. Each one would say what appeared in his eyes as the truth ... each one expressed his opinion and sought to prove it according to proofs regarding the veracity of his words ... as did Anan (b. David), who said, "Search Scripture well and do not rely on my opinion." So too said Benjamin (al-Nahāwandī) at the end of (one of his books), "I, Benjamin, am but one among thousand and tens of thousands; *I am neither a prophet nor a prophet's son, etc.*

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[26] "That ... interpretations" — Arabic *an lahu taʾwīl*, by which it is possible that Yefet means, precisely, not that there are in fact legitimate, alternative explanations to the one he himself cites earlier, but in fact that there is an alternative *method of interpretation* that encompasses a number of possible explanations, some of which are "reasonable" and some of which are "remote." On Yefet's use of the term *taʾwīl*, see Polliack and Schlossberg 2009: 70.

[27] See the excerpt from his introduction to Genesis cited in n. 24 above.

[28] On Yefet's use of early rabbinic sources, see, inter alios, Polliack and Schlossberg 2009: 84–92; Wechsler 2008: 58–66.

[29] For the sources of this comment, and for a discussion of the sayings there attributed to ʿAnan and Benjamin, see Ben-Shammai 1992: 15–16; 1993b: 327–30; Frank 2004: 22–32; Polliack 1999: 303–08; Wechsler 2008: 36–38 (from this last of whom the present translation, from "... as did Anan," is cited).

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> (Amos 7:14)." And so too has every one of the Karaite scholars (done); they have followed this same practice and held fast to that which seems true to them, while exhorting the people to search (for themselves) — to the extent that one may even disagree with his father without his father saying to him, "Why do you disagree with me?" And in the same manner a student (may disagree) with his teacher.

The practice of anonymous citation, according to which one is constrained from even mentioning the given name of an exegete, much less the name of their father or genealogical line (see, e.g., the names "ʿAnan" and "Benjamin" in the above quote), becomes especially evident in the later writings of Yefet. This was part of the struggle that the Karaites carried on against the Rabbanite establishment as a whole, according to which the lineage of a scholar, as "the son of" or as "the student of so-and-so," served as a factor of serious weight in one's acceptance to the scholarly elite, and even inserted itself as a central convention in Rabbanite-rabbinic literature, when introducing one or another opinion.[30]

In light of the factors considered above, one must be careful not to conclude that Yefet's eclecticism is borne out merely in citation-compilation, for his eclecticism does not overshadow his originality as a commentator who ultimately developed a personal and innovative exegetical approach to the Bible. This eclecticism is fundamentally a matter of style that reflects the worldview of Yefet and the Karaite intellectual environment that encouraged critical investigation, in the framework of which Yefet undertook his exegetical endeavor.

Daniel al-Qūmisī

Of all the sources known to us, it appears that the exegesis of Daniel al-Qūmisī, who undoubtedly preceded Yefet, had a profound influence on the latter's approach to the prophetic literature of the Bible.

Daniel al-Qūmisī was an early Karaite commentator of the ninth century, and there can be no doubt that Yefet was well acquainted with his commentary on the Twelve (Minor) Prophets in its entirety — despite the fact that Yefet does not once refer to al-Qūmisī by name or explicitly cite his book, entitled *Pitrōn shĕnēm ʿāśār*.[31] At the most, he refers to him by the expression "another commentator."[32] Al-Qūmisī was known as a charismatic thinker who led the Karaites at the time of their arrival in Palestine around 880, and who firmly established the status of Jerusalem as the Karaites spiritual center.[33] In addition to his public activity, attested in the form of missives and polemical writings, he left behind him a number of commentaries on the Bible, usually written in Hebrew and peppered with Persian and Arabic glosses.[34] Al-Qūmisī's most important commentary is undoubtedly that on the

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[30] In general such opinions/interpretations are presented via a chain of names of specific sages, who handed down what they received firsthand from their own teachers (i.e., "R. so-and-so said in the name of R. so-and-so ..."). On the nature of the anonymous citations in the works of Yūsuf ibn Nūḥ, Khan writes (2000: 16–17), "One consequence of this [i.e., the practice of anonymously citing views] is that one particular opinion is not given authority by virtue of its attribution to a specific scholar. There is no attempt, therefore, to advocate an opinion on the basis of the authority of the person who expressed it.... The practice of presenting various views on an issue appears also to have had a pedagogical purpose. It encouraged inquiry and engagement rather than passive acceptance of authority ... in some cases differences of opinion may have been presented as hypothetical alternatives by Ibn Nūḥ himself. This applies especially to views introduced by the formula *yuqāl*, which could be translated in a modal sense 'it may be said.'"

[31] Thus is the book designated by the copyist of the major surviving manuscript of this work (dated to 1302 C.E.) — i.e., MS NLR Yevr. II A 113 (IMHM no. 64027), fol. 82v: זה פתרון שנים עשר. See also the copyist's note on fol. 26v attributing the commentary to "Daniel ben Moses."

[32] On the technique of anonymous citation in Karaite literature, see n. 26 above and, inter alios, Wechsler 2008: 38–40. On the description "another commentator," see the discussion below.

[33] On Daniel al-Qūmisī and his biblical commentaries, see Mann 1935: 18–28; Gil 1983: 1:632–37. On the period of his emigration to Jerusalem at the head of a group of Karaites around 880, see Ben-Shammai 1981, 1991a: 267–72. Marwick (1961) rejected al-Qūmisī's authorship of the *Pitrōn* by arguing that it was an eleventh-century Hebrew translation of a work originally composed in Arabic. Wieder (1962: 265–69) in turn rebutted this argument via comparison of the *Pitrōn* to other texts unquestionably written by al-Qūmisī, all of which (including the *Pitrōn*) are similarly characterized by the presence of Arabic and Persian glosses. The consensus of subsequent scholarship has been in favor of Wieder's position (see Polliack 1997: 31–36, and the bibliographical survey there in n. 33).

[34] In this use of language one may also perceive an expression of the Karaites' ideological endeavor in the ninth century to establish Hebrew-language exegesis as a counter-alternative to Aramaic as employed in talmudic-rabbinic literature. This practice, at any rate, lost traction among the subsequent generation of Karaite littérateurs, who gradually passed on to Arabic as the language of composition for their exegetical-theological writings (see Drory 1988: 44–46; Erder 1998a: 77–79). For a list of additional exegetical works by al-Qūmisī, see Polliack 1997: *ad loc.* cit.

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Twelve (Minor) Prophets, since it represents the earliest example of a programmatic, cohesive, and continuous Jewish Bible commentary on a large and self-contained portion of the Bible, in which the citation of the opening Hebrew words or phrase of each biblical verse does not function as an editorial device (as is generally the case in midrashic compilations). Moreover, al-Qūmisī developed a "double-layered" interpretive method on the Minor Prophets in which he invariably shifts from a linguistic-contextual-historical reading of the prophetic text to an actualizing reading of its meaning.[35] It does not appear that Yefet knew al-Qūmisī personally, since he was active some dozens of years after him, during the second half of the tenth century; yet Yefet's familiarity with the *Pitrōn* — albeit not necessarily the same version that has come down to us — is apparent from the plethora of examples in his commentary on Hosea. These examples bear witness not simply to the influence of individual comments on Yefet, but in fact to the very strong and determinative presence of al-Qūmisī's exegesis and exegetical perspective in Yefet's own mindset as an exegete — thus demonstrating the extent to which al-Qūmisī had been accepted among the generation of Karaites who came after him in Jerusalem.

Various aspects of the relationship between Yefet and al-Qūmisī have have been uncovered in the comparative study of their respective works on Hosea.[36] The intention here is to clarify the principle directions of this influence, which may be divided into five types, according to Yefet's method of relating (by adoption or rejection) to the double-layered comments made by al-Qūmisī's with regard to Hosea:

Type 1: Adopting al-Qūmisī's Linguistic-Contextual Reading, While Acknowledging It as That of "Another Commentator"

As previously noted, Yefet alternately uses three general terms when introducing opinions with which he was familiar from among the Karaite exegetes: "teachers" (*muʿallimīn*), "predecessors" (*māḍiyyīn*), and, the most common, "commentator" (or "commentators"), often combined with the adjective "another" (thus: *mufassir ākhir*). In specific cases, although not in all of them, an opinion cited in the name of "another commentator" corresponds or closely resembles the opinion reflected in the linguistic-contextual layer of discussion in al-Qūmisī's exegesis on Hosea.[37] Thus, for example, one of the possible interpretations that Yefet attributes to "another commentator" is that the expression זִבְחֵי הַבְהָבַי in Hosea 8:13 could refer to "gifts" (Arabic *ʿaṭāyā*):

> Another commentator has said that this refers to sacrifices dedicated to the Lord of the Universe, and therefore it says *haḇhāḇay*, meaning that they are "my gifts" (*ʿaṭāyāya*), yet they were considered unworthy because (the people) sacrificed them at the high places. They had numerous altars on which they offered sacrifice, supposing that this would be pleasing before God, and thus He makes clear that He was not pleased with this, as he says (in following), *for the* LORD *accepts them not*. This commentator, moreover, has cited proof for his view — namely, Scripture's statement, *but the high places were not taken away; the people still sacrificed and burned incense at the high places* (2 Kgs 22:44). It is also said that (the prophet) is referring by this statement (in Hos 8:13) to the sacrifices that Israel offers in the exile in a place without "gates" or "boundaries," as prescribed in their Torah (*fī sharīʿatihi*).

On the linguistic-contextual level of al-Qūmisī's commentary *ad loc*., this explanation is offered: "*haḇhāḇay* means 'my gifts'";[38] however, at the actualizing level, al-Qūmisī suggests that it refers to the custom of eating meat

[35] On the novelty of al-Qūmisī's exegetical work, see the words of M. Zucker (1959: 203): "The few incomplete remnants of (al-Qūmisī's) commentary are not enough to provide a sufficiently clear example of this important Karaite's exegetical activity. Nonetheless, we may discern in these remnants the principles of an exegetical approach that are quite worthy of distinction. We find in them a philological approach to the interpretation of words, a clear effort to thoroughly grasp the overall import of the verses, and the examination of the relationship and connections between individual verses and individual ideas." See also the discussions of Ben-Shammai 1985: 43–46; Drory 1988: 108 n. 9; and Polliack 1997: 23–36. For a detailed discussion of his "double-layered" approach to the Minor Prophets, see Polliack 2003: 372–88.

[36] Both commentators, for instance, disclose an array of multi-biblical allusions to the narratives of Micah's idol (Judg 17–18) and the concubine of Gibeah (Judg 19–21), on both of which see further below.

[37] For instances in which the explanation cited by Yefet and attributed to "another commentator" does not accord with that of al-Qūmisī, see his comments (per the text and notes cited *ad loc.* in Polliack and Schlossberg 2009) on Hosea 5:5 (n. 28), 5:6 (n. 37), and 5:10 (n. 45).

[38] (!)הבהבי הם מתונותי (*Pitrōn*, 13). Notwithstanding the clear lexical parallel, Yefet's explanation of these "gifts" in the present context is not attested in the *Pitrōn*, in view of which it may be possible that Yefet's text reflects a different recension of al-Qūmisī's commentary. A comparison of the text *ad loc.* in Mar-

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in exile, which some of the Karaites opposed. This being so, it appears that by referring to "another commentator," Yefet was in fact presenting the linguistic-contextual proposal of al-Qūmisī, according to which the word *haḇhāḇay* is derived from the root *y-h-v* ("to give") and therefore defined as "gifts" — that is, sacrifices offered to God at the high places. So too, in adding "It is also said" (*wa-qīla*), Yefet is referring to the actualization that al-Qūmisī (and possibly even other Karaite exegetes) adopted with respect to this verse, according to which it was taken to refer to the meat sacrifices made to God while in exile (outside the land of Israel), which are considered under the heading of "meat of desire" (i.e., *běśar taʾăvā*; see *b. Ḥullīn* 16b).[39]

Another example may be found in one of the alternative explanations that Yefet cites in his comment on the phrase *they have gone astray in their carousing* (סָר סָבְאָם) in Hosea 4:18:

> Another commentator explains that the reason for saying סָר סָבְאָם is that, because *Ephraim is attached to idols* (v. 17), their (healthy) disposition — that is, their life of ease — has passed away; they commit wanton deeds and are enamored with offering "presents" to idols, which are a disgrace both in-and-of themselves as well as to those who worship them. He then refers to those who were doing this, making clear that it is was the ruling elite of the nation — for this reason the nation was destroyed, because their leaders were the first to act in this way.

The view that the expression סָר סָבְאָם is a symbolic reference to the loss of the Jewish people's "life of ease" as a result of the (deviant) tendency of its leadership to engage in idol worship is also attested in the comment of al-Qūmisī *ad loc.*:

> (This refers to) the present time, in the exile, when Israel has gone astray *like a wayward heifer* (see Hos 4:16), and as a result of which their feasting and drinking in the ease [literally, "joy"] of their land has ceased … that which they loved in their land — namely, the threshing floor and the wine press — has passed away from them in the exile; shame and disgrace is upon their protectors — their leaders — and all who trusted in them.[40]

Type 2: Adopting al-Qūmisī's Linguistic-Contextual Reading, without Acknowledging It as That of "Another Commentator"

In numerous instances one finds a complete parallel between, on the one hand, the opinion of al-Qūmisī or the central elements of his comment, as preserved in the *Pitrōn*, and, on the other hand, the interpretation proposed by Yefet, even where Yefet refrains from explicitly referring to "another commentator." To be sure, it may be possible that any one of these instances represents a coincidental similarity in which the same interpretation was independently formulated by the two exegetes, or in which they may both be relying on a previous Karaite source.[41] Nonetheless, the nature of these parallels implies in most instances the specific borrowing not only of the exegetical solution itself but also of the method of interpretation. Thus, for example, Yefet interprets the expression וַאֲנִי יִסַּרְתִּי in Hosea 7:15 as an allusion to the torments of Israel in the wilderness, on the basis of the verse *and you shall know in your heart that, as a man chastises* (יְיַסֵּר) *his son, the* LORD *your God is chastising you* (מְיַסְּרֶךָּ; Deut 8:5). This interpretation is identical to that of al-Qūmisī *ad loc.* in which the same supporting verse is cited.[42]

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kon's edition — which is known to contain transcriptional errors — with that in the original (and mostly unique) manuscript (see n. 31 above) does not, in this instance, offer anything new.

[39] On the term "exile" (Hebrew *gālūt*; Arabic *jāliya*) in Karaite writings, see Erder 1998a: 64–70. On the attitude of the Karaites toward eating meat while in exile and on the abstention of the "Mourners of Zion" from eating meat at all, see Erder 1995; 1998b; 2001; 2004: 215–17.

[40] *Pitrōn*, 7. It is unclear whether al-Qūmisī intends the term "exile" here in an actualizing sense (i.e., the Diaspora), or whether in fact his reference is to the historical exile of the northern tribes concerning whom Hosea is prophesying.

[41] The option of a third, shared source is also possible, of course, in those instances where Yefet cites a view under the attribution to "another commentator" that does not concur with the view of al-Qūmisī. See, for example, their comments on the expression וְדָמִיתִי אִמֵּךְ in Hosea 4:5 (Polliack and Schlossberg 2009: *ad loc.* and n. 26).

[42] See *Pitrōn*, 11–12.

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Another example, which, though not demonstrating the same precise degree of similarity as the previous, still testifies to the borrowing of a central (and rare) idea found elsewhere only in the commentary of al-Qūmisī, is Yefet's comment on the statement *they shall return to Egypt* (Hos 8:13):

> (The Prophet Hosea) announced that they are returning thence in order to live in Egypt and to do those deeds such as God — the Sublime — forbade them to do, as it is said, *You shall not do as is done in the land of Egypt in which you have dwelt* (Lev 18:3); and so too did some people from among the Ten Tribes return (thence), and the last ones to return were Joḥanan b. Kareaḥ and his adherents.[43]

Since the story of the resettling of Joḥanan b. Kareaḥ and his men in Egypt is recalled also in the commentary of Daniel al-Qūmisī to Hosea 7:16, the resemblance would not seem to be coincidental.[44]

Type 3: Adopting al-Qūmisī's Linguistic-Contextual Reading, while Rejecting His Actualizing Reading

The level of Yefet's familiarity with (and complex relationship to) al-Qūmisī's commentary is also apparent in his tendency to refrain from citing the latter's explanations exactly at the point where al-Qūmisī shifted from a linguistic-contextual discussion of the biblical text to an actualizing discussion of its application. Yefet consciously ignores this layer of interpretation, consistent with his general tendency to minimize the actualizing trend in his exegesis.

Thus, for example, in his commentary on the statement *I shall not punish your daughters when they engage in harlotry, nor your brides when they commit adultery* (Hos 4:14), Yefet notes that

> another commentator explains the expression *I shall not punish your daughters* as meaning, "If you, who are men of understanding and discernment, engage in idol worship, how am I to punish your young daughters or your brides who are under your authority and do what you command them? Indeed, I shall not punish them, but rather I shall punish you, since you instructed them so that they should be attached to harlotry and offer sacrifices with prostitutes!"

Al-Qūmisī's comment *ad loc.* indeed expresses the same sentiment:

> Their fathers and their mothers are the perverters of their daughters … and a nation that does not understand will be trampled (Hos 4:14b) — i.e., and a father and a mother who did not know and did not understand this matter concerning how to safeguard (their daughters) in their childhood, who consequently incite them to lasciviousness, will be trampled and will cry out to no effect (*Pitrōn*, 7).

At the same time, remaining faithful to his method, al-Qūmisī adds to this explanation an actualized layer, according to which the passage also hints at the tendency of the Rabbanites to hire non-Jewish women in order to raise their daughters. It would appear that Yefet ignored this actualizing layer both here and in numerous other instances, not because he lacked knowledge of them, since here and there actualizations do indeed appear in Yefet's commentary,[45] but because of his strong allegiance to his historical-literary approach to prophecy.[46]

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[43] See Jeremiah 41:16–43:8.

[44] See *Pitrōn*, 12. People claiming to be descendants of Joḥanan b. Kareaḥ are also mentioned by al-Qirqisānī as one of the "sects" of Judaism (see *Anwār* 1.2.10; Nemoy 1952: 51). For additional examples of clear overlap between the commentaries on Hosea of Yefet and al-Qūmisī, whether or not the view is attributed by Yefet to "another commentator," see their respective comments (per the text and notes cited *ad loc.* in Polliack and Schlossberg 2009) on 1:1–5, 6–9; 2:1–3, 4–15; 4:5, 14, 18; 5:1; 6:8–9; 7:4, 8, 11, 12; 8:6, 9; 9:5, 7, 8, 12, 14, 15, 17; 10:1, 7, 11; 11:3, 4, 8; 12:4; 13:3, 6, 9, 11, 13, 14; 14:4.

[45] To be sure, among these actualizations are those which clearly attest to Yefet's borrowing from this same layer in al-Qūmisī's commentary — for example, Yefet's derivation of רָצוּץ in the expression רָצוּץ מִשְׁפָּט (Hos 5:11) from the root רוץ: "because he has gone after *a commandment of men learned by rote* (Isa 29:13)" — which is an actualizing allusion to the practices of the Rabbanites in language almost identical to that of al-Qūmisī *ad loc.* (*Pitrōn*, 8): כי רצו והלכו אחריהם אחרי צו היא מצות אנשים מלמדה ואם היו מלמדיהם אמת הלא הלכו אחרי תורת משה ("because they have run and went after them — after *ṣāv* [JPSV: 'filth'], which is *a commandment* [*miṣvat*] *of men learned by rote* [Isa 29:13] …").

[46] For additional examples of what would appear to be intentional disregard by Yefet of the actualizing layer in al-Qūmisī's commentary — while occasionally adopting linguistic or literary explanations from the linguistic-contextual layer of *Pitrōn* — see their respective comments (per the text and notes cited *ad loc.* in Polliack and Schlossberg 2009) on 2:8, 15; 4:1–2, 4–8; 5:5–6, 10; 6:5; 7:1, 3, 5, 6; 8:10, 12; 9:1, 11, 13; 10:1, 12, 13; 11:7; 12:1, 7–10, 15; 13:15.

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In the three types of influence that we have discussed up to this point, Yefet tends to give expression to the linguistic-contextual layer of al-Qūmisī's exegesis of Hosea, whether by means of linguistic or literary interpretations. Even so, it is clear that Yefet was a commentator who thought independently and did not blindly adopt the explanations of al-Qūmisī, but rather chose to reiterate them when he perceived that they sat well with his historical-literary approach to the writing. For this reason, there are not a few instances wherein Yefet chose not to adopt the linguistic-contextual suggestions of al-Qūmisī and therefore appears to have rejected them.[47] I must clarify, however, just how Yefet treated the explanations presented in the actualizing layer of al-Qūmisī's commentary.

Type 4: Disputing al-Qūmisī's Actualizing Reading

One way in which al-Qūmisī approached this layer was by means of hidden polemic, which highlights Yefet's tendency toward historicization in places where al-Qūmisī prefers an actualizing interpretation (on which see further p. 163ff. below). A good example is Yefet's comment on Hosea 7:14:[48]

> In saying, *And they have not cried out to Me*, He means that when the curse (see Deut 28:20) overtook them they did not cry out to Me wholeheartedly, for then I would have dispelled all their troubles. Instead, they wail upon their beds in seclusion, lamenting their loss of prosperity; and they do not acknowledge that it is I who have smitten them with the curse, but rather they say, "A chance event has befallen us, just as befalls the Gentiles."

While Yefet ensures that his historical-contextual explanation remains within the confines of the biblical context, al-Qūmisī interprets the words *and they have not cried out* as relating to the argument between the Karaites and the Rabbanites over the status of the land of Israel and the commandment to return thereto:

> They have not cried out and they have not returned so as to cry out to me with their hearts, and to mourn and to wail on their beds and to weep over the land, the wheat and the barley, and the new grain and new wine that have been taken from them (*Pitrōn*, 11).

A more pronounced example of Yefet's opposition to al-Qūmisī's actualizing method may be found in his comment on Hosea 6:1.[49] Yefet emphasizes that "they were expressing this statement to each other at that time." He then adds the paraphrase and further explanation:

> "Come in order to return to the Lord of the Universe," (which they were saying) because there were no prophets calling them to repentance, and because they had discerned that deliverance would not come to them through the repentance of individuals, but rather through the repentance of the people as a whole. Thus, each of them would entreat the other to turn back to the Lord of the Universe, instead of a prophet calling them to repentance and they paying him no mind.

It would appear that by stressing that the verse was stated "at that time" — that is, at the time of Hosea — Yefet is expressing a certain degree of opposition to the comment of al-Qūmisī on this passage, according to which the words *Come, let us return* represent "the declaration of the Lord (delivered) by his prophets to Israel which is in the exile — (to wit): 'Say, each man to his neighbor, "Come, let us return"'" (*Pitrōn,* 9). According to al-Qūmisī, therefore, these were the words of God calling for the repentance of Israel through his prophets, and they were intended primarily for the coming generations — including the generation of al-Qūmisī himself, as the continuation of his commentary on verses 1 and 2 indicates. Yefet, by contrast, applies characteristic historicization to this verse, arguing that the prophet Hosea was directly citing the perspective of some of his contemporaries.[50]

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[47] See, for example, the comments of Yefet and al-Qūmisī (per the text and notes cited *ad loc.* in Polliack and Schlossberg 2009) on 8:4, 10; 9:7, 9, 16; 10:6, 8, 9, 10; 11:9, 11; 12:5; 13:1, 13, 14.

[48] *And they have not cried out to Me in their hearts when they wail upon their beds; for new grain and new wine they corrupt themselves and turn away from Me.*

[49] *Come, let us turn back to the* LORD, *for He has attacked, but He can heal us; He has wounded us, but He can bandage us.*

[50] Nonetheless, in the continuation of his comment on this verse, Yefet also offers an actualizing explanation applied to "the captives of sin in Jacob" (שבי פשע ביעקב) — that is, the Karaites. For additional examples of clear disagreement with al-Qūmisī, see their comments (per the text and notes cited *ad loc.* in Polliack and Schlossberg 2009) on 8:14 (n. 89); 9:3 (n. 23); 10:12 (n. 124).

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Type 5: Moderating al-Qūmisī's Actualizing Reading

It should be noted, finally, that in isolated instances Yefet tends to moderate especially sharp actualizations that appear in the commentary of al-Qūmisī, opting instead for a more indirect or softer allusion to the contemporary situation of the Karaites.[51] Thus, for example, Yefet perceived in Hosea's words in 14:2[52] a message of comfort for

> the people of the exile, upon whom the threat of the Lord of the Universe has been realized, for He announces that they (still) have both hope and a remnant, as well as a remedy to which they can take recourse and so recover from these afflictions by which they have been afflicted. Thus He says, (as it were,) "Repent, O Israel, of these sins that you have committed and abide by the Torah, which is your remedy and your health, for you have stumbled into the hand of the enemy and fallen into a grave sickness on account of your iniquity, for you have abandoned the worship of the Lord of the Universe — who (alone) is worthy of worship — and have (instead) worshipped that which is beneath Him and which has no ability either to bless those whose worship it or afflict those who forsake worshipping it.

Within the immediate context of these words, Yefet's reference is to the exiles from the kingdom of Israel. At the same time, however, it appears that an actualizing tone relating to the exiles of his own day had crept into his exegesis, for his statement "and abide by the Torah" (*wa-ʾstaʿmil al-tōrā*) has no basis in the explicit words of Hosea and would therefore seem intended to emphasize the need to "abide by" the *written* law (as opposed to the oral law). This tone grows even stronger in his comment on the third verse of the same chapter. Al-Qūmisī, on his part, construes verses 1–3 in a clearly actualized manner, according to which they describe two stages of regret among the "people of the exile": repentance and prayer, by which he would appear to be alluding to the awakening of the Karaite movement and their resettlement in Palestine, in which the reciting of prayers was one of their principle occupations.[53]

YEFET'S HISTORICIZING READING OF HOSEA IN COMPARISON TO AL-QŪMISĪ'S ACTUALIZING TENDENCY

As mentioned above, Daniel al-Qūmisī inaugurated a "double-layered" reading of the Minor Prophets, in which two different — and in fact clearly contradictory — approaches to the understanding of the prophetic text stand out. The first is the linguistic-contextual (and to some extent historical) one, by which al-Qūmisī interprets the biblical text according to lexical, syntactical, structural, and rhetorical criteria intended to position the meaning of the text within the framework of literary and historical boundaries. In this way, as many scholars have argued, al-Qūmisī is distinguished for having blazed a new trail for Jewish biblical exegesis — for having been the first, or among the very first, medieval commentators to methodically implement the "*pĕshāṭ*" approach to the biblical text.[54]

Nonetheless, a second approach stands out in the commentary of al-Qūmisī, one that scholarship has called "prognostic," "messianic," and even "*pesher*-like," but which I have chosen to call "actualizing," which attempts to discover a symbolic layer in the biblical text that alludes to the history of the Karaite movement and its present-day struggles — in other words, to the "actualities" of the exegete's own period. Some have seen in this trend a fundamental similarity to the exegetical approach of the "*pĕshārīm*" on the Prophetic Books written by the members of the Dead Sea Scrolls (hereafter: DSS) sect between the second century B.C.E. and the first century C.E., in which they decipher the prophecies from their beginning to their end as secret texts that teach about

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[51] See also the above discussion concerning Yefet's approach to the prophetic literature of the Hebrew Bible and his preservation of actualizing trend.

[52] *Return, O Israel, to the* LORD *your God, for you have fallen on account of your iniquity.*

[53] See *Pitrōn*, 24. For additional examples of Yefet's moderating of actualizations that appear in the commentary of al-Qūmisī, see their respective comments (per the text and notes cited *ad loc.* in Polliack and Schlossberg 2009) on 2:1–3; 4:6; 5:1, 11; 6:1; 9:3, 4, 5; 11:9, 11.

[54] See n. 35 above.

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both the details of life for their sect as well as the immediate, anticipated future.[55] On the basis of this similarity and other shared elements, various scholars have argued that early Karaite exegesis was somehow influenced by DSS literature, or that certain texts were transferred to the Karaites through living remnants of the sect, or that the Karaites discovered the texts upon their arrival in the land of Israel.[56] As I have argued elsewhere, the similarity between the modest actualizations of scripture in early Karaite exegesis and the "pesher" approach does not indicate either direct or indirect influence by DSS literature upon the Karaites. This is in fact an essentially phenomenological similarity, reflective of a common, non-literal exegetical approach to the reading of the biblical text — an approach that is likewise reflective, in both cases, of the wider exegetical method of "midrash" employed by the early rabbinic sages.[57]

Al-Qūmisī tends to apply these two opposing approaches within the framework of a functional analysis, thereby enabling them to co-exist side by side despite their contradictory natures. It appears that each approach was understood to apply to a separate "layer" of the biblical text (which is why I have designated it above as "double-layered"), revealing one of two distinct and parallel dimensions of meaning. To a certain extent, the medieval commentators who succeeded him — both Karaite and Rabbanite, from different times and schools (such as Yefet, Joseph b. David Qimḥī, and Naḥmanides) — acted similarly, distinguishing clearly between two layers of meaning in the biblical text: on the one hand, the linguistic-contextual meaning (the *pĕshāṭ*), and, on the other, the allegorical or symbolic meaning (the *dĕrāsh*). With respect to the Karaites, the actualizing aspect of the text constituted in fact a necessary parallel to the layer of *dĕrāsh* because of their rejection of early rabbinic authority in biblical exegesis, and also because of their tendency toward messianism.

The roots of this medieval position, which enabled an exegetical method simultaneously concerned with both the immediate, linguistic-contextual meaning of the biblical text as well as its non-literal, interpretive, messianic, and/or primarily actualizing meaning, stem from a conceptual approach shared by the early rabbinic sages. This approach accepts the multiplicity of meanings in the Bible in view of the understanding that it is a revealed text of divine origin, therefore given to interpretation in various and even opposing ways, as reflected in such sayings as "(there are) seventy faces [i.e., facets of meaning] to the Torah" (*shiḇʿīm pānīm la-tōrā*).[58] Indeed, though it is possible to isolate references in early rabbinic literature to "the simple/straightforward meaning of the Bible" (*pĕshūṭō shel miqrāʾ*), in most cases the early sages preferred not to focus on linguistic-contextual exegesis and even lacked a methodical definition for it. The midrashic perspective, by contrast, which constitutes the central tool of expression for their intellectual approach to the Bible, necessitates (as defined by Heinemann) the attribution to each part of speech in the biblical text (i.e., letters, words, and verses) an independence and a life that extends beyond the immediate context.[59]

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[55] See, for example, the characterization of Nitzan (1986: 29, 32): "The approach to prophecy in the methodology of the *pēsher* was to show that the details of the prophets' visions were fulfilled in specific historical events … the statements of the *pĕshārīm* attempt to disclose or explain, in specific exegetical ways, the intended meaning of the prophets' statements by identifying them with individuals and events in their own time — that is, the time of 'the last generation' — or in the anticipated future of that generation's children."

[56] Naphtali Wieder was the first to identify the "*pesher*" tendency (which he also termed "prognostic") in the writings of the Karaites, including Yefet's commentaries (see Wieder 1958 and 1962: 53–127). His essential premise, that the Karaites adopted or were influenced by the "*pesher*" methodology attested in the DSS, is also brought in to the discussions of Erder 1997: 29–31; 1998a: 57–61; Ben-Shammai 1993b: 328–30; Drory 1988: 106–10; Frank 1995: 199–204.

[57] For a detailed discussion of the problems with the premise of a DSS connection, see Polliack 2005b; and the article by E. Krakowski in the present volume.

[58] See, for example, *Midr. Num. Rabbā* xiii.15. See also *b. Shabbāt* 88b: אמר רבי יוחנן … כל דיבור ודיבור שיצא מפי הגבורה נחלק לשבעים לשונות ("R. Yoḥanan stated …, 'Every utterance that went out from the Almighty was divided into seventy languages'"); and *b. Sanhedrīn* 34a: וכפטיש יפצץ סלע מה פטיש זה מתחלק [קרא: מחלק] לכמה ניצוצות אף מקרא אחד יוצא לכמה טעמים ("*And like a hammer that breaketh the rock in pieces* (Jer 23:29) — i.e., just like the hammer splits (the rock) into several splinters, so too does one biblical verse lend itself to several meanings"). For in-depth discussions of these and similar sayings as they relate to the exegetical conception of the early rabbinic sages, see Heinemann 1953/54: 1–14; Halivni 1991: 3–88 (who defines *dĕrāsh* as "applied exegesis"); and Stern 1997: 15–38. On the complex attitude of the Karaite exegetes toward the early rabbinic sages' conception of multiple meanings, see Ben-Shammai 1992: 15; and see Polliack 1999.

[59] Medieval Jewish exegetes were no longer as easily able to blur the distinction — as did the midrashic sages — between their own intellectual world and the world of the Bible. Accordingly, their approach to non-literal biblical interpretation was both constrained and supported by the theoretical as well as practical distinction between the *pĕshāṭ* method and the *dĕrāsh* method (and those methods similar to them). In the discussions of the medieval exegetes, including Yefet, one may even discern a conscious "ranking" of the different levels of meaning in a given explanation, and not infrequently does one find the exegete expressing a certain measure of personal preference for that view which is "more likely" versus that which is "less likely." On the differences in the exegetical conception of the medieval exegetes from the ninth century onward in the Near East, Spain, and in Christian Europe, as well as their ambivalent attitude toward the views of the early sages, see Halivni 1991: 3–88; Kamin 1986: 23–157; Cohen 1995/96.

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The widespread scholarly preoccupation with the influence of DSS literature upon the Karaites has tended to divert awareness from the fact that the basic innovation of al-Qūmisī as an exegete is to be found in the very fact of his linguistic-contextual approach to the biblical text as a primary layer of analysis. This method stands completely apart from the exegesis that preceded it, separate from the "school" of the early rabbinic sages as well as from that of the DSS. The conceptual as well as the methodological influence on Yefet by al-Qūmisī, representing the early Karaite tradition, appears to have been quite important. On a basic level, it appears that Yefet adopted and broadened the linguistic-contextual understanding (and the seminal historical approach it contained) inaugurated by al-Qūmisī as the dominant approach in his commentaries on the prophetic literature, even as he significantly moderated al-Qūmisī's actualizing readings.

Yefet's Linguistic-Contextual Framework of Exegesis as Compared with al-Qūmisī's Actualization

Yefet, who — as stated above — constituted an intermediary link between the early Karaite exegetes and grammarians and those of the eleventh century, greatly developed the linguistic-contextual tools attested in the writings of the early Karaites, as well as expanded and implemented their application to the biblical text as part of a comprehensive historical-literary approach, which is attested as the central approach in the majority of his biblical commentaries.

It must be emphasized at this point that the expression "linguistic-contextual meaning" is employed here to represent (and further specify) the ubiquitous (and somewhat ambiguous) medieval Hebrew concept of "*pĕshāṭ*." The Arabic terms that Yefet uses to express this concept are *ẓāhir* or *ʿalā ẓāhirah* (the straightforward or obvious/apparent meaning) and, occasionally, even *tafsīr* (literal interpretation).[60] In any event, the term "linguistic-contextual" is not identical with grammatical exegesis. On a semantic level, to be sure, Yefet's commentary on Hosea (and even his Arabic translation) is replete with remarks that explore the range of semantic meanings for various lexemes.[61] However, in contrast to earlier Karaite exegetes such as Yūsuf ibn Nūḥ and even al-Qūmisī, and unlike the Rabbanite exegetes of the linguistic-contextual ("*pĕshāṭ*") tradition that followed him, such as Ibn Balʿam and Abraham ibn Ezra, Yefet does not often discuss the morphological aspects of verbs and nouns, preferring rather to concentrate his remarks on more difficult forms — the majority of which, not coincidentally, are discussed in something of an "appendix" to his commentary on Hosea, apparently since he did not consider discussion of them an integral part of his continuous analysis of the verses,[62] as well as, perhaps, out of a concern that incorporating morphological and lexicographical discussion of these difficult forms into his commentary proper would make the reading of it more cumbersome. Indeed, he was no doubt also encouraged in this direction by a perception of the grammatical monograph as a separate genre of biblical analysis. Nonetheless, the central grammatical feature that finds clear expression in Yefet's exegesis is that of syntax, on which he focuses, both explicitly and indirectly, by offering alternative explanations and semantic insights in his analysis of the syntactic elements of the biblical text. Consequently, the term "linguistic-contextual" used in this article as a description of Yefet's exegesis is intended primarily to highlight his tendency toward structural analysis, based, on the one hand, on a panoply of syntactic tools as well as, albeit to a lesser extent, lexical tools, and, on the other hand, close attention to the immediate context of a passage as well as its broader literary context.

As stated above, the trend of actualization in biblical exegesis was significantly and deliberately downplayed by Yefet in comparison with al-Qūmisī, and this finds clear expression in Yefet's commentaries on books bearing

[60] The term *tafsīr* is also employed by Yefet as an antonym of *taʾwīl* (i.e., allegorical or symbolic meaning).

[61] Though Yefet does tend to refrain from clarifying the meaning of a word that the majority of Jewish exegetes dwell upon. See, for example, his comment on יְסֹעֵר (Hos 13:3; see Polliack and Schlossberg 2009: *ad loc*.). In his comment on this same verse, Yefet says nothing about the preceding lexeme מֹץ, assuming that the reader is familiar with its meaning. See, by contrast, the comments *ad loc.* of Ibn Ezra (1989: 123, line 10), Qimḥi (1929: 105, lines 19–20), and Tanḥum (1991: 46), all of whom suggest the meaning "fine straw."

[62] On occasion he sets such comments at the end of individual verses or discrete sections, though for the most part, he reserves these for a sort of appendix at the end of his overall commentary on the book (see, for instance, his appendix to Hosea in Polliack and Schlossberg 2009: 252–55 [text]; 499–502; there he devotes a specific discussion to "difficult" words, including consideration of their morphological derivation and parallel linguistic forms. A similar method is also attested in an anonymous Karaite commentary on Hosea from the Cairo Geniza, on which see Niessen 2001: 109–17).

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messianic import or attended by allegorical exegetical traditions, such as the books of Daniel and Song of Songs, and, to a lesser extent, in his explanations of passages resembling aspects of these former in the Pentateuch, Psalms, Latter Prophets, and Minor (i.e., Twelve) Prophets. While al-Qūmisī shifted frequently to the actualizing "layer" in his commentary on Hosea — so much so that nearly half of his comments on the book reflect this tendency — Yefet, by contrast, deals much less frequently with the contemporary meaning and application of the prophet's words. In general, Yefet refrains from inserting into his comments any actualized or polemical remarks that explicitly address the relationship between the Karaites and the Rabbanites of his time. At the most, Yefet hints at the possibility of understanding certain verses in an actualized fashion — and even then, in the majority of instances, only in a precise and limited fashion, as evinced by a comparative study of the two exegetes' comments on Hosea chapters 1–3, summarized in the following.

Example: The Marriage of Hosea (Chapters 1–3)

The difference between al-Qūmisī and Yefet in their attitudes toward actualization finds expression in numerous places throughout their commentaries on the book of Hosea. One example that demonstrates the relationship between the two exegetes on this subject especially well can be found in their comments on the section concerning the "Marriage of Hosea" (chs. 1–3), which describes in detail the story of the prophet's marriage to a prostitute: her bearing him three sons, her commission of infidelity, her banishment, and Hosea's anticipation of her future return to him.

In contrast to some of the interpretations of the early rabbinic sages, both al-Qūmisī and Yefet reject the possibility that God's command to Hosea to marry a *wife of harlotry* and to bear with her *children of harlotry* (1:2–3) was a substantive and viable commandment.[63] The two interpret the story surrounding this event as a symbolically expressed conversation between God and the prophet, based on both the immediate literary context (ch. 3, esp. vv. 4 and 5) as well as the prophetic paradigm attested in other biblical passages (see Ezek 16); the episode, in their estimation, is an extended metaphor in which the relationship of God and his people is compared to that of a man and his wife.

Al-Qūmisī and Yefet therefore focus their comments on decoding the allegory, clarifying the *symbolic* layer as well as the *symbolized* layer — that is, the details of the allegory as well as those of its moral — by seeking the greatest harmony between these two levels of interpretation. In this way, their well-developed awareness of the rhetorical aspects of the prophetic literature is evinced — an awareness that is the direct result of a linguistic-literary approach to the biblical text. Even so, and especially with respect to the section in which the unfaithfulness and banishment of the wife is described (Hos 2:4–15), one becomes aware of the significant difference between the two exegetes in two main respects: (1) the amount of explanation devoted to elucidating the non-literal (metaphorical-allegorical) layer, and (2) the quality of the exegesis devoted to the literal (linguistic-contextual) layer.

Al-Qūmisī devotes the majority of his comments to the metaphorical-allegorical layer, while explaining it in an actualized fashion. According to his perspective, the descriptions of the infidelity of the wife with her lover symbolize the unfaithfulness of the Jewish people vis-à-vis the "paths" of the written law (i.e., the Torah) through their acceptance of rabbinic tradition, by which Israel is led astray in their understanding of the Torah. The return of the woman to her first husband thus symbolizes the nation of Israel choosing Karaism, by which they are being brought back to the true "paths" of Torah, which are the only means by which the Jewish people can achieve complete deliverance (see *Pitrōn*, 3–4).

Yefet, by contrast, devotes a relatively large amount of space to linguistic and literary explanations concerning the details of the literal (linguistic-contextual) layer, so that its language and idiosyncratic forms of expression might be correctly understood.[64] He does not engage in any actualizing reading of the story of Hosea's marriage but rather prefers to decipher it as an extended metaphor within the framework of the given historical and political reality of the days of Hosea, and by giving careful attention to the biblical text and context. In his opinion, therefore, the "lovers" symbolize the enemies of the kingdom of Israel at the time of Hosea — that is, Assyria and

[63] See especially *b. Pĕsāḥīm* 87a.

[64] See, for example, his detailed comments on the gifts that the wife received, at 2:8, 10–11, etc. (see Polliack and Schlossberg 2009: *ad loc.*).

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Egypt — and the anticipated fate of those enemies.[65] For Yefet the historical horizon of the prophetic allegory thus remains principally confined to the biblical period. In general, he refrains strongly from giving any explicitly actualized interpretations in his commentary on chapters 1 and 2, at the most only offering occasional hints in that direction.[66] At the same time, in his commentary to the conclusion of chapter 3, Yefet does in fact preserve the actualizing tendency of al-Qūmisī (see below, p. 175).

Historicizing Hosea

In addition to Yefet's tendency to downplay the actualizing trend in his commentary on Hosea in favor of a primarily linguistic-contextual analysis, there stands out throughout his exegesis a tendency to reconstruct the original historical background of the prophecies. This historicization of prophecy reflects a reverse exegetical trend to that of actualization and is consistent with Yefet's general approach to the prophetic literature, according to which the texts are understood to have been written first and foremost for the prophet's contemporaries and expressed according to the structural and rhetorical rules with which they were well acquainted.

Yefet employs various and diverse approaches in his efforts to historicize the prophecies of Hosea. On more than one occasion, he offers a historicization precisely at a point where al-Qūmisī leans toward actualization. Thus, for example, Yefet interprets the words of rebuke in 4:1–2, in keeping with their historical context, as relating to the traditional and religious sins of the residents of the northern kingdom, whereas in al-Qūmisī's view these verses alludes to the Rabbanites' abandonment of the laws of the written Torah as opposed to the Karaites' perseverance in following them. In a similar vein, Yefet construes the descriptions of idol worship recounted in 13:2 — especially the expression *sacrificers of men* (*zōḇĕḥē ādām*) — in view of intertextual considerations drawn from the prophetic literature and the Bible as a whole, as referring to the traditions of human sacrifice; to wit: "they offered their children to this object of worship that their hands had made." Al-Qūmisī, by contrast, offers an actualized-allegorical reading, according to which these sins are describing the religious and moral corruption of the Rabbanite Jews: "all who lead Israel astray from the (written) Torah are *sacrificers of men*."[67]

In various instances Yefet attempts to reconstruct the historical background of specific phenomena described in the biblical text by relying on his broader, contextual reading of the prophetic literature as well as of the Bible as a whole. The resulting connections (i.e., intertextual readings) enable him to develop and express more precise — or at least detailed — understandings of social, political, and other norms that predominated during the biblical period. Thus, for example, in his commentary on Hosea 4:13,[68] Yefet explains the causative and apparently surprising connection between the initial part of the verse, describing ritual sins, and the concluding part, beginning with the expression *therefore* (Hebrew *ʿal kēn*), describing sexual sins:

> In saying *ʿal kēn, your daughters engage in harlotry* he means that the virgin maidens as well as the daughters-in-law who were married would also engage in idol worship. It is also possible, however, that the phrase *your daughters engage in harlotry and your brides commit adultery* is literally intended (*ʿalā ẓāhirihi*), since the custom of idol worshippers was to gather at the high places with maidens who had adorned themselves and to fornicate with them.

According to the first explanation proposed by Yefet, the expression *ʿal kēn* does not introduce a *result*, but is used in an *excessive-comitative* sense[69] to emphasize that also the women (and not just the men) sinned by worshiping idols. The second option is based on the construal of *ʿal kēn* in its usual sense as introducing a result, the idea being that the daughters sinned as a consequence of their parents' sin. In this instance, however, Yefet is not content with offering only a syntactic explanation, but in fact broadens the actual socio-historical circumstances

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[65] See, in greater detail, our comparative notes *ad loc*. in Polliack and Schlossberg 2009.

[66] See, for example, Polliack and Schlossberg 2009: nn. 3–13 and 24 to his commentary on ch. 2.

[67] See further Polliack and Schlossberg 2009: *ad loc*., n. 20. There are more examples of such divergence in the approaches of al-Qūmisī and Yefet to specific verses; see, for example, their comments (per Polliack and Schlossberg 2009: *ad loc*. and notes cited) on 10:13; 12:1–3, 7.

[68] *They sacrifice upon the tops of the mountains, and offer upon the hills … therefore your daughters commit harlotry, and your daughters-in-law commit adultery.*

[69] See Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 217 (§11.2.13d).

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behind Hosea's admonishment, according to which the event of gathering at the high places was accompanied by what was perceived as sexual immorality.[70]

This tendency to reconstruct the dimension of historical realia underlying the prophet's words finds special expression in Yefet's treatment of passages that appear to contain specific references by Hosea to historical and political events that would have been familiar to his audience (both contemporary and in the near future), though not necessarily to the readers of Yefet's day. Thus, for example, Yefet elucidates the concluding thought of 5:5:[71]

> With respect to Judah, indeed, they were brought low in the time of Aḥaz before the king of Aram and the king of Israel, for the king of Aram killed (many of) them, as it is said, *And the* LORD *his God delivered him into the hand of the king of Aram, who smote him*, *etc*. (2 Chr 28:5). The king of Israel, moreover, killed a hundred and twenty thousand of them, as it is said, *And Peqaḥ ben Remaliah slew in Judah a hundred and twenty thousand*, *etc*. (ibid., v. 6); and afterwards he killed the son of King Aḥaz, his vizier, and the chief deputy of the king's palace (ibid., v. 7), and carried away from them two hundred thousand women and children (ibid., v. 8). Following this, (God) delivered them into the hand of Edom, who likewise killed (many of) them and carried (many) away, as it is said, *And again the Edomites came and smote Judah, and carried away captives* (ibid., v. 17); and then into the hands of the Philistines, as it is stated, *The Philistines also raided the cities of the Lowland and the South of Judah*, *etc*. (ibid., v. 18); after which it says, *For the* LORD *subdued Judah on account of Aḥaz king of Israel* (ibid., v. 19). It is to (all) this, therefore, that he is referring by his statement, *Judah shall also fall with them*.

Detailed references of this sort to other passages in the Bible, which serve to weave together the specific historical background of the passage under consideration, appear in numerous places in Yefet's commentary on Hosea, especially in connection with wars and other major events that are mentioned by the prophet and that would thus have constituted part of his audience's present reality or immediate historical memory.[72]

Even in his exegesis of broader allegories, comparisons, or metaphors, which constitute part of the rhetorical style of Hosea, one can perceive Yefet's tendency to "unlock" the historical layer by means of a realia-centered key, which is not attested in the commentaries of his predecessors — nor is it typical even among the rest of the medieval exegetes. Thus, for example, the first explanation that he offers for the comparisons to animals in 13:8[73] is particularly steeped in this historicizing approach to the verse:

> By these four species whose names he mentions[74] he is referring to the kings of Assyria — these being: Pul, Tilgath-Pilneser [so in the MS], Shalmaneser, and Sennacherib — whereas by the expression *the beast of the field* he is referring to each king that would arise over [or, "against"] them in the exile. He compares Pul, the king of Assyria, to a *young lion* (*shaḥal*) because he was inferior to Tilgath-Pilneser, since the custom of the *young lion* is to take what has been discarded. The *leopard* (*nāmēr*), however, is extremely impudent

[70] For additional examples of this kind of deliberative historicization, see, inter alia, his comments on: Hosea 9:6, in which the statement *Egypt shall gather them up; Memphis shall bury them* is taken by Yefet as evidence that Israel and Judah "crossed over" (*maḍaw*) to seek refuge from Assyria under the political and military protection of Egypt — to which he adds that the last part of this statement refers specifically to those groups that did indeed emigrate to Egypt, such as that headed by Joḥanan b. Kareaḥ whose death in Egypt Jeremiah also prophesied in 42:16 (see also the reference to Joḥanan b. Kareaḥ in Yefet's comment on Hosea 8:13, and n. 71 *ad loc.* in Polliack and Schlossberg 2009); Hosea 10:6, which in Yefet's view describes the progressive removal of the "calves" into exile, one after another, as an offering to the king of Assyria and his allies (see ibid., *ad loc*., n. 38); and Hos 11:5–7, which is interpreted by Yefet, according to the international reality of that time, as a description of the northern kingdom's (i.e., Israel's) dependence on her enemies — Egypt and Assyria — for political refuge (see ibid., *ad loc*., nn. 29 and 38).

[71] *But the pride of Israel shall be subdued before his very eyes, as Israel and Ephraim fall because of their iniquity; Judah shall also fall with them.*

[72] For additional examples of historicization constructed from the details of inner-biblical cross-references, see, for example, his comment on Hosea 7:1–7, which is based on the historiographic and prophetic literature concerning the kings of Israel and their blameworthy behavior (see Polliack and Schlossberg 2009: *ad loc*., nn. 9, 22, 34, and 41); his explanation of 10:15 "according to its plain meaning" (*ʿalā ẓāhirihi*), construing the entire verse as a realistic description of the battle against Samaria and the capture of its king by the Assyrians, on the basis of a comparison to the account of the capture of Zedekiah by the Babylonians (see ibid., *ad loc*., n. 142); and his comment on 13:14 (as part of the single thematic unit encompassing vv. 10–15), in which Yefet identifies specific kings and battles that are, in his view, alluded to by the statement, *I shall ransom them from the power of Sheol; I shall redeem them from death*; in this way he anchors his exegesis of the prophecy in the geo-political circumstances of its time (see ibid., *ad loc*., nn. 102 and 106).

[73] *I will meet them as a bear … and there I will devour them like a lioness; the wild beast shall rend them.*

[74] That is, the four beasts of prey mentioned in vv. 7–8: the young lion (*shaḥal*), the leopard (*nāmēr*), the bear (*dōḇ*), and the lioness (*lāḇīʾ*) (see notes *ad loc.* in Polliack and Schlossberg 2009).

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> and is not satisfied with what has been discarded, but rather lies in wait near small villages and preys upon whatever goes out from there. Tilgath-Pilneser was the partner of Pul[75] in exiling the two and a half tribes, after which he came (again) during the time of Peqaḥ, the king of Israel, and bore patiently until he had exiled Zebulun and Naphtali.[76] He compares Shalmaneser to a *bereaved bear* (*dōḇ shakkūl*) because of his great anger toward Hoshea ben Elah, and he is the one who preyed upon Israel and exiled them.[77] And He compares Sennacherib to a *lion* (*lāḇī'*) because he was the strongest of (them) all and the most fearless among them; it is he who said, *Where are the gods of Ḥamath and Arpad? Where are the gods of Sepharvaim? And have they delivered Samaria out of my hand?* (Isa 36:19).[78]

On more than one occasion, such a surplus of citations seems to burden Yefet's style and hinder smooth reading of his commentary, so much so that one might erroneously assume that Yefet is succumbing to tautology and incorporating unnecessary verses. Nonetheless, such references to passages outside of Hosea, particularly to the prophetic and historiographical books, constitute an essential exegetical tool that Yefet consistently employs as a means of historical reconstruction. These citations should therefore be understood as the product of Yefet's search for inner-biblical data that is able to further illuminate the meaning of a biblical passage in a manner consistent with the historical realities of the prophet's time. One should not confuse inner-biblical comparisons of this sort with the exegetical principle instituted by the early rabbinic sages, according to which "the words of the Torah are poor in one place and rich in another."[79] Whereas the aim of these sages was to fashion an exegetical approach that was essentially ahistorical — the meaning of the text, as the revelation of a living God, being construed as independent of any historical considerations[80] — Yefet's objective is the opposite: throughout his exegesis he seeks to anchor the prophet's words in a specific reality, which it was possible to reconstruct from data culled from elsewhere in the Bible. This consequently allowed him to sharpen and thereby deepen the specific meaning of a given passage. Indeed, Yefet's "comparative" quest was directed from the start by stringent linguistic and contextual criteria, the goal of which was to identify and elucidate the unique historical situation that prompted the prophecy under discussion. The presentation of detailed references within the framework of his commentary was therefore necessary — on the one hand, because it furthers the creation of a dense contextual "tapestry" around the element being explained, and on the other hand, because it assists in convincing the reader that the exegete is correct in his determination that the intention of the prophet was indeed aimed at one particular event as opposed to another or one similar to it.

The trend of historicization in Yefet's commentaries is, therefore, contrary not only to the actualizing tendency of al-Qūmisī, but also to the harmonizing approach that characterizes the early rabbinic sages' exegesis of the biblical text, for both of these latter tendencies share the foundational exegetical characteristic of detaching a verse from its immediate context, whether literary or historical. Yefet's efforts at historical reconstruction, by contrast, bear out a rising awareness on his part of the historical context of the biblical text, which in turn may be taken as evidence of the first buds of a historical approach that would later blossom among Jewish Bible exegetes during the Renaissance era, such as Profiat Duran (Isaac b. Moses ha-Levi) and Isaac ben Judah Abrabanel. These exegetes enagaged the historical aspects of the biblical text with greater vigor and sophistication and thereby established the essential foundations for the work of modern biblical scholarship.[81]

In the course of his efforts toward historicization, Yefet occasionally applied the critical tools of a historian to the biblical text, seeking thereby to provide the reader with clear quantitative, economic, or other assessment-related data to assist in understanding the passage in question. A fine example of this is his comment on Hosea 3:2:[82]

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[75] See 1 Chronicles 5:26.

[76] See 2 Kings 15:29.

[77] That is, the remainder of the ten tribes (see 2 Kgs 17:6).

[78] See also the continuation of this comment and the notes *ad loc.* in Polliack and Schlossberg 2009. For additional examples, see Yefet's commentary on Hosea 1 (ibid., *ad loc.*), which he construes as a historical allegory in which the prophet presents the historical stages leading to the downfall of the northern kingdom; and his comment on 13:3, in which the metaphorical imagery of the verse is matched with various details drawn from biblical passages relevant to the historical background of Hosea's time (see ibid., *ad loc.*).

[79] דברי תורה עניים במקומם ועשירים במקום אחר (*y. Rōʾsh ha-shānā* 58.4, *ad fin.*). On this exegetical principle, see also the discussions of Heinemann 1953/54: 122–26; and Frenkel 1996: 1:174–78.

[80] See, for example, *y. Měgillā* i.5 (7a): ור׳ יהושע בן לוי אמר: המגילה הזאת נאמרה למשה מסיני אלא שאין מוקדם ומאוחר בתורה ("R. Joshua b. Levi said, 'This Scroll [of Esther] was communicated to Moses from Sinai, for there is no 'antedating' or 'postdating' [of events] in the Torah"; see also *b. Měgillā* 7a).

[81] See, for example, Ben-Shalom 1996: 1:136–64; Gutwirth 1989.

[82] *So I purchased her for myself with fifteen pieces of silver, a* ḥōmer *of barley, and a* letekh *of barley.*

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> Thus He indicates that he had supplied her with limited sustenance — to wit, a *jarīb*-and-a-half of barley each year, which would be (equivalent to) fifteen *waybas* [a unit of dry volume comprising 33 liters], each *wayba* containing ten Baghdādī *raṭls* of wheat. Her monthly sustenance would therefore have been twelve-and-a-half Baghdādī *raṭls*, enabling her each day to receive two loaves of barley bread: a loaf in the morning and loaf at night. He does not mention her having any other food (to add to her diet), either drink or fruit, though he did give her fifteen *dirhams* — these being Israelite *dirhams*, and each Israelite *dirham* (equalling) five *dirhams* minus a fifth of a *dirham* in (comparison to) the *dirham* of our time.[83]

It is unclear exactly how Yefet arrived at this fiscal calculation, yet his effort to provide an approximate comparison between the "Israelite" *dirham* and that of "our time," and thereby to approximate in real terms the "income" of the woman, fits together well with his tendency toward historicization. Even though the tools that Yefet employs in this context may be limited and simple in contrast to the complex historical tools that were common among Jewish Bible exegetes of the Renaissance period and onward, they still provide sufficient testimony to Yefet's great originality in illuminating the historical dimension of the prophetic text.[84]

Uncovering Inner-Biblical Exegesis in Hosea

Yefet's approach to prophecy is also distinguished by his frequent highlighting of those words of Hosea that allude to other biblical passages in the Pentateuch, the Prophets, and especially those sections that relate to biblical history. The practice of inner-biblical prophetic allusion has also received much attention in modern biblical scholarship, both with respect to the rhetorical means that served the prophets in a variety of ways to arouse various responses from their audience, and also with respect to the exegetical means by which the prophets — or the editors of their writings — presented familiar texts or stories from the Bible that they sought to illuminate in a new light.[85]

Pre-modern Jewish exegesis is generally known for its great sensitivity to allusions of this nature, owing largely to the influence of the midrashic literature of the rabbinic sages, who often sought to draw attention to similar linguistic forms and styles in disparate biblical passages, generally along the lines of an exegetical method that they termed *gĕzērā shāvā* (i.e., "analogy" or "syllogism"). These early sages perceived in such analogies a general principle for biblical exegesis, applicable to the fields of both halakhah and haggadah. As a rule, the rabbinic sages did not distinguish between, on the one hand, similar linguistic styles that were considered intentional and obvious allusions (i.e., those which the prophets, or the biblical editors, consciously included in the literary structure of the biblical text), and, on the other hand, similar linguistic styles that were not perceived as intentional allusions, but rather, at the most, suggested a hidden common denominator existing only on the symbolic or psychological "layer" of the texts being compared. The rabbinic sages even created artificial allusions along the lines of *gĕzērā shāvā* — that is, allusions that were not reasonably based in the text, but which rather served as starting points for the exegete in deriving independent meanings from the text, whether didactic or otherwise.[86] It is also in this context that the uniqueness and originality of Yefet in his approach to the prophetic literature finds expression, since his attitude toward such inner-biblical allusions is not based upon the model of the early rabbinic sages, despite the fact that his specific insights regarding one or another allusion indicate that he was in fact aware of and often influenced by their remarks.

Three central features characterize Yefet's attitude toward inner-biblical prophetic allusion:

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[83] On the various units of measure mentioned in this citation, see, inter alios, the article in this volume by Gil concerning food commerce in the Geniza (and thus Yefet's) period.

[84] Yefet's tendency to employ such calculations as a tool in the historical contextualization of the biblical text also finds expression at various points in his biblical commentaries in his discussion of the precise ages of various biblical figures, as well as in his attendant reconstruction of their bibliographies on the basis of data culled from various places in the Bible (see, e.g., his comment on Hosea 12:5 concerning "the correct age" [*al-taʾrīkh al-ṣaḥīḥ*] of Jacob; and see Polliack and Schlossberg 2009: *ad loc*., n. 38). Indeed, even the early rabbinic sages sought to calculate the ages of biblically prominent individuals (see, e.g., *Sēder ʿōlām rabbā*, passim) — though not for the sake of reconstructing, like Yefet, the historical realia reflected in the biblical text.

[85] In modern scholarship this phenomenon is termed "inner-biblical" or "canonical" exegesis, for discussions of which, with respect to the Prophetic Books of scripture, see Fishbane 1985: 443–505; Sommer 1997.

[86] On the "analogistic" method employed by the early rabbinic sages to link separate facets of the biblical text, see Heinemann 1953/54: 60–70; on the use of syllogism (*gĕzērā shāvā*) in their exegesis of parallel passages in the Bible, see ibid., 122–24; and see Frenkel 1996: 1:161–74.

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1. Clarifying the Function of the Allusion within the Text

In contrast to the rabbinic sages in the early midrashic literature, Yefet does not point out similar linguistic styles and analogies wherever they are found, but only those which served Hosea's need to create a specific effect upon his immediate audience. In essence, Yefet adheres to a functional definition of inner-biblical allusion that limits its application — and hence his recognition of such — to rhetorical and literary functions. Though Yefet, as far as we are aware, supplies no explicit definition or description of this practice of inner-biblical allusion, as he does for other literary phenomena,[87] he consistently employs the Arabic expression *ashāra/yushīru ilā* ("he/it refers/alludes to") in highlighting references by Hosea to various biblical episodes that, in his view, are intended as allusions. Thus, for example, in his commentary on 4:4, Yefet suggests that the Hebrew expression יָרֵב (*let [no man] contend*) and, in particular, the phrase כְּמְרִיבֵי כֹהֵן (*as those who contend with a priest*) allude to the embezzlement of the priests and their neglect of their duties in a manner like Koraḥ and his followers. He arrives at this comparison because of the identical use that the Torah makes of the same root (i.e., ריב):

> By this phrase he alludes to (*yushīru bihi ilā*) the priests and the Levites who were leading (*muqaddimīn*) the nation and to whom God had granted (the right to) permit and to prohibit, as it is said, *and according to their word shall every dispute* (ריב) *and case of assault be (decided)* (Deut 21:5). Yet they did not act accordingly, but instead took bribes and changed the laws, as a result of which the community split up as during the time of Koraḥ and his followers, who were opponents of Aaron and Moses, and to them [i.e., Koraḥ and his followers] it is alluding (*ashāra ilayhim*) by the saying *as those who contend with a priest* (כְּמְרִיבֵי כֹהֵן).[88]

In this case one might reasonably object to the premise that Hosea deliberately employed the technique of inner-biblical allusion, since no explicit reference to Koraḥ is attested in the passage. At the most, Yefet is construing this as an implied allusion on the basis of his sensitivity to the similarity between the language of the prophet and that used in the Pentateuch with respect to "contend(ing)" with the "priest."[89] In any event, Yefet is not concerned simply to point out the similarity itself, but rather to clarify its function within the text. For this reason Yefet employs the same terminology and methods of analysis in uncovering such implied allusions as he uses in his discussions of more explicit ones, in which Hosea refers unambiguously to well-known figures or events in other places in the Bible.

Examples of Yefet's sensitivity to explicit allusions of this sort can be found in numerous places in his commentary. One such example is Yefet's explanation of Hosea 9:10b[90] as an allusion to the sin of idol worship committed by the Israelites in the wilderness and their consequent punishment by the plague.[91] Yefet outlined the rhetorical aim of the allusion by emphasizing its didactic-historical context:

> (The prophet's) mention of this matter in this place is (to make) a point — so to say, (as it were,) "You are not greater in My eyes than your forefathers, who were like *grapes in the wilderness* (Hos 9:10a), (though)

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[87] On rhetorical and poetic features of prophecy, which Yefet clearly defines by use of Arabic terminology, see Polliack and Schlossberg 2009: 59–70.

[88] See Qimḥi 1929: *ad loc.* (p. 36, lines 3–4): ויש לפרש כמריבי כהן כעדת קרח שהריבו וערערו על הכהונה ("The expression *as those who contend with a priest* may be explained as the faction of Koraḥ that contended and upset the priesthood"). For additional examples of Yefet identifying literary-phraseological allusions to the Pentateuch, see, inter alia, his comment on Hosea 4:10, in which he explains the somewhat elliptical expression עָזְבוּ לִשְׁמֹר (*they have forsaken the LORD to obey*) as an allusion to the comprehensive command in Deuteronomy 4:6 and 7:12, וּשְׁמַרְתֶּם וַעֲשִׂיתֶם (*obey and do [the commandments]*), and his comment on 6:7–8, which is construed, on the basis of the expression שָׁם בָּגְדוּ בִי (*there they betrayed me*), as an allusion to the making of the covenant between the men of Jabesh-gilead and Nahash the Ammonite in the time of Saul (1 Sam 11:1; and see our notes *ad loc.* in Polliack and Schlossberg 2009).

[89] For a similar example, see Yefet's comment on the clause *and Israel shall be ashamed of his own counsel* (Hos 10:6): "By the expression *his own counsel* (מֵעֲצָתוֹ) he means, 'Ephraim's counsel,' by which he took counsel and made the two calves, as per the statement, *Then the king took counsel* (וַיִּוָּעַץ הַמֶּלֶךְ) *and made two calves of gold, etc.*" (1 Kgs 12:28). Here too Yefet's clarification of the prophet's hidden allusion (in this case, to Jeroboam's calves) hinges on the shared root (i.e., יעץ) in both passages. On such disclosure of hidden allusions, see also Yefet's comment on the statement *I give thee a king in My anger, and take (him) away in My wrath* (Hos 13:11): "Some people say that by the expression *I give thee a king in My anger* he is referring to Saul, who was the first king that the entire nation enthroned … whereas he says *in My anger* since it was not his own pleasure that any king should reign over them prior to David." See also Wechsler 2008: 18–19, 306.

[90] *But as soon as they came to Baʿal-Peʿor, they turned aside to shamefulness, and they became detestable like that which they loved.*

[91] See the account of Israel's "harlotry" with Moabite and Midianite women (Num 25:1–18; Josh 22:17).

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> when *they turned aside to shamefulness* they became detestable. You too have sinned against me and become detestable, and so I shall bring a curse even upon the issue of your loins."

With these words Yefet clarifies that the allusion served the prophet as a warning to his immediate audience, such that the "merit of their forefathers" would not save them should they persist in worshiping idols, just as their forefathers had not been saved even though they were *grapes in the wilderness*, but were instead punished for their wicked deeds.

Another example is Yefet's explanation of 11:1–4 as an integral literary unit built upon a network of allusions contrasting the condition of Israel at the time of the exodus and their consequent desert wandering, when they merited the protection of God and his redemption, and the present situation of Hosea's day, when God's justice is likewise borne out by Israel's being delivered into the hands of their enemy:

> By the statement *When Israel was a youth* he is alluding to (*yushīru bihi ilā*) the generation of Moses — peace be upon him! — which was the beginning of Israels' growth ... and by this statement *and out of Egypt, I called to My son* he is alluding to (*yushīru bihi ilā*) God's declaration to Moses: *Israel is My son, My firstborn* (Exod 4:22), so that he would repeat this to Pharaoh and (thereby) enhance (Israel's) dignity in the eyes of Pharaoh and Egypt ... and by the statement *taking them by their arms* he is alluding to (*yushīru bihi ilā*) their journeying in the desert at the hand of Moses and Aaron, as it is said, *You did lead Your people like a flock by the hand of Moses and Aaron* (Ps 77:21).[92]

Yefet's sophisticated apprehension of the rhetorical function of inner-biblical allusion as offering a contrast between the Israelites' past and their present is also reflected in his comments on the prophecy that references the figure of Jacob in 12:4–5, 13–14.[93]

2. Introducing Criteria for Identifying Allusions

As noted above, with respect to certain aspects of his historicizing approach to prophecy, as in his overall linguistic-contextual approach, Yefet reflects the influence of al-Qūmisī. At the same time, however, it appears that Yefet both developed and deepened his structural and functional analysis of inner-biblical prophetic allusion, while determining clear linguistic and contextual criteria for identifying such allusions and insisting upon the clarification of their rhetorical aims. This was all part of his general poetic outlook regarding the literary and rhetorical methods used in biblical prophecy.

Example: The Allusion in Hosea to the Concubine of Gibeah

An instructive example of the differences between the approaches of al-Qūmisī and Yefet with respect to inner-biblical allusions can be found in their comments on the three mentions of "Gibeah" in the prophecy of Hosea (5:8, 9:9, 10:9). Most modern commentators have determined that these three remarks relate to "the Hill (*giḇʿat*) of Benjamin," and that the latter two serve as clear allusions to the story of the concubine of Gibeah (Judg 19–21). This story symbolizes a profound blemish in Israel's historical memory (see Judg 19:30) and, therefore, served Hosea as an extremely biting paradigm for describing the behavior of his contemporaries.[94] Al-Qūmisī was the first of the medieval Jewish commentators who pointed out this set of allusions.[95] According to him, even

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[92] So too, further on in his comment on this section, Yefet writes that verse 4 "is coordinate with" (*yantaẓimu ilā*) the phrase קָרְאוּ לָהֶם (*They called out to them*; v. 2) with respect to the idea of tension between the "bonds of love" by which God drew them and Israel's own inclination to stray after idols. See also his comment on 9:15.

[93] See the notes *ad loc*. in Polliack and Schlossberg 2009. For a detailed analysis of Yefet's comments on these verses in comparison to the comments of al-Qūmisī, Saadia, Ibn Ezra, and Qimḥi, see Polliack 1998/99. Among the modern commentators who discuss the allusion to Jacob, see Andersen and Freedman 1890: 595–600; Davies 1992: 274–76; Wolff 1974: 211–18; Fishbane 1985: 376–79; Cassuto 1983: 121–24.

[94] See, inter alios, Andersen and Freedman 1980: 534–35, 564–65; Davies 1992: 152–54, 222–23.

[95] Note, however, the beautiful midrash in *b. Sanhedrīn* 103b, which reflects upon the military defeat of the Israelite tribes in Gibeah as a form of punishment for their lack of action regarding the worship of Micha's idol and puts in God's mouth the words בכבודי לא מחיתם, על כבודו של בשר ודם מחיתם!. It is possible that the measure-for-measure binding of the two stories from Judges in this midrash influenced al-Qūmisī and Yefet in interpreting Hosea's allusions as referring in some way to the disproportionate reaction of the tribes (see further below). The Aramaic Targum of Hosea, by contrast, associates the sin with Israel's desire to appoint their own king (Sperber 1962: 402): מיומי גבעתא

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in the first mention of Gibeah (Hos 5:8), Hosea alludes to the gap between the military response of the tribes of Israel to the affair of the concubine of Gibeah (Judg 19–21) and their lack of response to the greater religious sin, in his eyes, of the matter regarding Micah's idol (Judg 17–18). For this reason, al-Qūmisī argues, a civil war between the tribes and the tribe of Benjamin took place that resulted in the death of many individuals in both camps, representing comprehensive divine punishment for both of these grave sins. Al-Qūmisī reitereates this contention in his comments on the other references to Gibeah in chapters 9 and 10.

It appears, therefore, that on the literal "layer" of his commentary, al-Qūmisī analyzes the allusion as containing a dual application: not only was the prophet criticizing the religious and moral sins of Israel during his time by comparing them to the infamous sins of Israel during the period of the Judges, but he was also admonishing his contemporaries for their behavioral responses to these sins. Specifically, he is viewed as reproving them for the fact that, while their moral (sexual) sin received exaggerated, self-righteous criticism, their religious (ritual) sin was passed over in complete silence. This understanding on the part of al-Qūmisī attests his originality — and contains ramifications bearing upon his understanding of the process by which the book of Judges itself was written. Nonetheless, an examination of the context surrounding Hosea's allusions to Gibeah suggests difficulties with this understanding — that is, that they are allusions possessing a double purpose. In point of fact, al-Qūmisī's complex analysis is aimed more at the actualizing level of interpretation (beginning, in the below citation, with the words "Nor today"), in which he argues that the Karaites were being persecuted for the wrong reasons, while the nation was ignoring the religious sins of the Rabbanite Jews, based on his interpretation of Hosea 5:8:[96]

> (This is to say,) "Remember the iniquities of your ancestors, who sounded the ram's horn in Gibeah and in Ramah in (taking) vengeance for the concubine of Gibeah,[97] yet not for Micah's idol or the other idols. Therefore they took up arms to pursue you, O Benjamin." Nor today, in the exile,[98] have they responded to (God's) chastisement in this matter, (but rather) they take vengeance on those who abandon the festivals of the Rabbanites and their laws; yet they neither accept chastisement or exact vengeance on those who abandon the festivals of the Lord and the laws of the Torah.[99]

Ultimately, therefore, despite the explicit identification, the allusion in its context, al-Qūmisī imposes upon it a forced and uniform interpretation stemming from his tendency toward an actualized reading of the prophetic text. In this way he also addresses the rhetorical aim of the prophet in creating the allusion: Did he intend, for example, to warn his contemporaries that, if they continue along their path, they would find themselves in the same sort of civil war? According to the actualizing layer of the commentary, it appears that al-Qūmisī recognized a warning of this sort contained in the allusion, though he refrains from stating so explicitly.

Yefet, by contrast, deals with each of the references of Gibeah in view of its particular context, though at the same time recognizing the continuous and inherent dimension of these references in Hosea to the days of the Judges. The first reference (Hos 5:8), however, is completely rejected by Yefet as an allusion to the period of the Judges. In his opinion, Gibeah in this instance is indeed the same Gibeah located in the territory of Benjamin, known as "the hill (*giḇʿat*) of Binyamin," yet the idea is that Hosea was calling for the ram's horn to be blown there, just like the trumpet in Ramah, since these were elevated locations that served the need for properly sounding the alarm to the territory's inhabitants in the face of an anticipated battle of which the prophet was warning them:

> He thereby declared that Benjamin should sound the ram's horn and the trumpet in order that the people would fortify themselves in the cities. He also declared that the people of Beth-Aven would be overpowered by the enemy, from whose hand they would therefore cry out for help.[100]

חטיתין דבית ישראל תמן קמו מרדו במימרי למנאה עליהון מלכא ("Since the days of Gibeah My people have been sinning; there they rose up and rebelled against My Word by appointing a king over themselves"). The Targum thus identifies "Gibeah" (meaning "hill") with "Ramah" (meaning "height") in 1 Sam 8:4ff. (*Then all the elders … came to Samuel at Ramah, and they said to him …. "Now make us a king…"*). Perhaps al-Qūmisī's exegesis on this point stems from a polemic with early rabbinic tradition, as reflected in the Targum, regarding the proper construal of the allusion.

[96] *Sound a ram's horn in Gibeah, and the trumpet in Ramah; sound an alarm at Beth-Aven: After you, O Benjamin!*

[97] The manuscript has, erroneously, "Micah."

[98] Expressions such as "in the exile" (בגלות) and "as also in the exile" (וגם בגלות) serve as "transitional formulae" to the actualizing layer of al-Qūmisī's comments, on which see further Polliack 2003: 372–88.

[99] See *Pitrōn*, 8.

[100] See Yefet's comment *ad loc*. and my notes thereto in Polliack and Schlossberg 2009.

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Yefet thus understands the references to Gibeah and Benjamin in this instance as practically intended references to these locations and their inhabitants within the context of Hosea's knowledge about the impending war unfolding before them. Yefet employs fairly rigid criteria for identifying inner-biblical allusions, with primary attention being given to the immediate context and linguistic features of the words under consideration, without the external constraint of an all-encompassing and artificial structure intended to fit everything into his general exegetical tendency.

At the same time, Yefet identifies the mention of Gibeah in Hosea 9:9[101] as an allusion, undoubtedly because it meets the contextual and linguistic criteria that he applied to it:

> By the expression *They have become (deeply) corrupted* (Hosea) is alluding to (the fact) that (his contemporaries) had become corrupted by their worship of idols, just as they had done in the time of Gibeah when they worshipped Micah's idol. He thus compares their (present) misdeed to (that) in the time of Gibeah because most of the tribes had worshipped the idol, for which reason Shiloh was destroyed — or because a entire tribe, rather than a few individuals, had collectively worshipped the idol; and so too, during the time of the Ten Tribes, most of them were engaging in idol worship, and for this reason he says, *just as in the days of Gibeah*.

According to Yefet, therefore, the allusion in this instance is *exclusively* to the matter of Micah's idol (see Judg 17–18) and not to the episode of the concubine. This is due to both the immediate context, in which Hosea surveys Israel's sins of idol worship in the past (see 9:8–10), as well as the prophet's specific choice of language (such as the expressions *They have become deeply corrupted* [הֶעְמִיקוּ־שִׁחֵתוּ] and *the days of Gibeah*), which in Yefet's view allude to widespread ritual sin and not simply the specific sexual sin associated with the story of the concubine. Indeed, Yefet explicitly highlights the object of comparison standing at the core of the allusion — to wit, "so too, during the time of the Ten Tribes, most of them were engaging in idol worship." It is here that the purpose of Hosea's use of the allusion is implicitly set before the reader — namely, to sharpen his audience's awareness of the fact that inevitable punishment would follow the people's sin of idol worship (similar to the point of the allusion to Baʿal-Peʿor in the following verse).

Yefet expounds upon this explanation at greater length later on in his commentary, when addressing the third mention of Gibeah, in the second occurrence of the expression, *the days of Gibeah* (10:9[102]):

> Having described in the prior chapter their reprehensible deeds, he follows it up by saying, (as it were,) "You have sinned even more than in the days of Gibeah, O Israel, for the iniquity of those people[103] was regarding one matter, whereas the iniquity of these people[104] are regarding many matters." It may also be possible that he means a greater length of time — so to say, (as it were,) "(The period of your sinning is even longer) than the time of Gibeah, for the days of Gibeah were about fifty years,[105] whereas this period [i.e., of the northern kingdom's sinning] is two-hundred and sixty years.[106] Yet it may also be possible that this is intended ablatively[107] — (that is to say,) "From the time of Gibeah you have been sinning, O Israel," — i.e., "from that time in which you began to set up an idolatrous object — namely, Micah's idol — in your midst. Prior to that, only some (of the people) had strayed toward the Gentiles' idols and worshipped them — these being the gods of Aram, Moab, the Ammonites, and others (see Judg 10:6) — whereas in the time of Gibeah, you made a new idolatrous image for yourself and worshipped it."

In this comment on the opening clause of the verse — that is, *From the days of Gibeah you have sinned* — Yefet proposes two basic options for understanding the syntactical function of the preposition *from* (מִ־) in the expression *from the days of Gibeah* (מִימֵי הַגִּבְעָה). According to the first option, the preposition is intended *comparatively* ("more

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[101] *They have become deeply corrupted, just as in the days of Gibeah. He will recall their iniquity; He will punish their sins.*

[102] *From the days of Gibeah you have sinned, O Israel; there they stood, (yet) no war upon the sons of perverseness shall overtake them at Gibeah* (the adversative rendering of the second clause follows Yefet's comment *ad loc.*, cited below).

[103] That is, the Benjamites who abused the concubine (see further down in his comment).

[104] That is, the people of the northern kingdom who were living at the time of the prophet.

[105] This figure is apparently based on an estimate of the period intervening the death of Samson, the last judge, and the beginning of Samuel's leadership — or perhaps the beginning of Saul's reign.

[106] That is, the period during which the northern kingdom of Israel existed as an independent political entity, distinct from Judah.

[107] "That this is intended ablatively" — Arabic *an yuʿabbara*.

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than"), which Yefet further breaks down into the two specific alternatives of denoting either (a) the comparatively greater *severity* of the sins of the inhabitants of the kingdom of Israel versus the iniquity of the tribes of Israel during the prior historical period (*the days of Gibeah*), or (b) the comparatively greater *length of time* during which Hosea's contemporaries sinned versus that of the much shorter period comprising *the days of Gibeah*. According to the second basic option, the preposition is intended ablatively to denote the *terminus a quo* (i.e., "ever since") for Israel's gradual accumulation of sins throughout history, up until the present period of Hosea and his audience. Yefet argues that the substance of the sin was ritual and religious, in accordance with Yefet's construal of the allusion in the previous chapter in specific connection with the affair of Micah's idol.

At the same time, in his comment on the concluding part of the verse (*there they stood, [yet] no war upon the sons of perverseness shall overtake them at Gibeah*) Yefet opines that Hosea is further directing the allusion toward the story of the concubine of Gibeah and its aftermath:

> By the statement *there they stood* he means to say that the tribes stood there, at Gibeah, in order to make war on the tribe of Benjamin on account of the concubine. And by the statement *no war … shall overtake them at Gibeah* he means that, although all (the other) tribes made war on Benjamin, the battle did not completely overtake *the sons of perverseness* who had abused the concubine; rather, (the tribes) fought with them for two days and were then put to rout by the Benjamites, who exacted a tremendous slaughter (among the other tribes) totaling forty-thousand: twenty-two thousand on the first day and eighteen thousand on the second day.[108] For this reason he says, *no war shall overtake them* — that is to say, there was no overtaking — i.e., victory — for the tribes over *the sons of perverseness* — these being *the sons of worthlessness* (Judg 20:13) who had wronged the Levite by seizing his wife and abusing her, showing no fear of God — the Sublime! — in the matter, and acting dishonorably toward the proprietor of the house with whom the Levite was staying.

According to Yefet in his commentary on this part of the verse, Hosea was alluding, by means of the expression *sons of perverseness*, to the "act of perverseness" against the Levite, the concubine, and their host, which served as a catalyst not only for the all-out war on the tribe of Benjamin by the other tribes, but also for its surprising dénouement in which the other tribes were roundly defeated despite their superior manpower. In Yefet's opinion the explanation for this loss is presented by Hosea in verse 10,[109] which Yefet takes as a continuation of the allusion in the prior verse, referring to the stages of the war between Benjamin and the other tribes:

> In the prior verse he indicated that the tribes did not vanquish the Benjamites,[110] and in this verse he announces that this was the will of God — the Sublime! — and so He says, (as it were,) "It was my will to set in motion the gathering of the tribes at Gibeah, and when they went up to Beth-El and questioned me regarding the war against Benjamin, asking, '*Who will go up for us first … ?*' (Judg 20:18), I did not prevent them from warring against Benjamin, as I prevented Rehoboam from warring against Jeroboam.[111] Instead, I said to them, '*Judah (will go) first*' (ibid.), for such was My will, and in this way I brought the tribes to a standstill[112] by the hand of *the sons of perverseness*. All of this was due to the fact that Micah's idol was among them and some of the people — namely, the tribe of Dan and any who were attached to them — were worshipping it.[113] For though they showed that they were zealous on behalf of God — the Sublime! — in the matter of the concubine, having requested of the Benjamites that they hand over *the sons of worthlessness* (Judg 20:13) that they might expunge the detestable deed from the midst of Israel — as it says, *so we may expunge (this) wickedness from Israel* (ibid.) — yet they did not censure the Danites who were worshipping the idol and (in that matter) did not show themselves zealous on behalf of God — the Sublime! And so they forced me to bring them to a standstill by the hand of Benjamin.[114]

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[108] See Judges 20:21 and 25.

[109] *When it is my desire, I will chastise them; and the peoples shall be gathered against them when they are yoked to their two iniquities*.

[110] That is, they did not overpower them until the end, and only with great difficulty.

[111] See 1 Kings 12:22–24.

[112] "I brought (…) to a standstill" — Arabic *rabaṭtu* (on this sense of which see Dozy 1927: 1:500b–501a), the idea being that he brought them to a standstill in their idolatry with Micah's idol, by virtue of their great defeat. Likewise in the second use of this root toward the end of the citation.

[113] See Judges 18:30–31.

[114] For al-Qūmisī's comment, see Polliack and Schlossberg 2009: *ad loc.* (10:10), n. 78. For more detailed analyses of each verse discussed above, see my notes *ad loc*. For an additional example of al-Qūmisī's limited influence on Yefet's approach to inner-biblical allusion, see Yefet's comment on Hosea 6:7–8, which he construes, on the basis of the expression שָׁם בָּגְדוּ בִי (*there they betrayed me*), as an allusion to the making of the covenant between the men of Jabesh-gilead and Nahash the Ammonite in the time of Saul (1 Sam 11:1; see Polliack and Schlossberg 2009: *ad loc.*, and my notes thereto).

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In Yefet's view, therefore, verse 10 is a link between the two separate allusions in chapters 9 and 10, the first centered in the reference to *the days of Gibeah* (9:9), referring to the idolatry surrounding the affair of Micah's idol, and the second centered in the reference to *the sons of perverseness* (10:9), referring to the moral sin committed in the story of the concubine. The linking idea that he suggests on the basis of verse 10 — namely, the lack of success by Israel in its war against the tribe of Benjamin, as well as the heavy price that the tribes paid in that war — is that it was the will of God to punish them for their indifference toward the sin of the idol, as opposed to their response to the sin involving the concubine. This is in fact identical to the interpretation presented by al-Qūmisī in his comments on all three references to Gibeah (5:8, 9:9, 9:10). In contrast to al-Qūmisī, however, Yefet applies a distinct contextual and linguistic analysis to the latter two references — though in both cases they are contained in the same expression (*the days of Gibeah*) — and completely rejects the idea that the first reference is intended as an allusion at all. Also, whereas Yefet construes 10:9–10 as a single literary unit, thereby highlighting the literary continuity between Hosea's own words and the overarching set of allusions to the two stories, al-Qūmisī detaches them, offering an explanation of verse 10 that is clearly independent of verse 9; to al-Qūmisī, all three references to Gibeah are considered to be two-pronged allusions (to the affairs of the concubine and the idol), which, though at odds with the larger context of the prophecy, serve his actualizing approach to these passages.

3. Thickening the Historicizing Reading by Identification of Allusions

The third noteworthy feature of Yefet's approach to uncovering prophetic inner-biblical allusion is the fact of its being, in most cases, an additional expression of his historicizing reading of prophecy, as well as a tool for delving more deeply into the actual historical background against which the prophecies are set. In this respect, Yefet's work at uncovering the set of allusions contained in the book of Hosea should be understood as a complementary feature to his historicizing tendency of prophecy — that is, his conviction that prophecy must be understood, first and foremost, as literature that was created within the framework of the given political and historical horizon of the prophets and intended for their contemporaries, and that its contents are precisely clarified only by means of rational inquiry into the realistic and historical point of view of the prophet himself.

This line of thinking is already evident in Yefet's interpretation of the allusions to Gibeah discussed above.[115] Another clear example can be found in his comment on Hosea 10:5,[116] the last of which, in his view, describes the mourning of the inhabitants of Samaria over the capture and "deportation" of their calf idols by the Assyrians: "and they cried over them, for they had been taken as plunder, just as Israel had mourned over the ark (of the covenant) when the Philistines had seized it." In pointing out this allusion to the capture of the ark and its return (see 1 Sam 4–6), Yefet takes his cue from the linguistic resemblance between the terminology used by the wife of Phineḥas to describe the ark (*And she said, The glory has departed from Israel* [גָּלְתָה כָּבוֹד מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל]*, for the ark of God was captured*; 1 Sam 4:21–22) and that used in these verses to describe the relationship between Israel and the calves: *... over its glory, because it is departed from them* (עַל־כְּבוֹדוֹ כִּי־גָלָה מִמֶּנּוּ). The identification of this allusion enables Yefet to deepen his historicization of the prophecy, since the allusion brings into sharper relief the specific decline of Israel's real situation during the time of Hosea: whereas in the past they mourned over the deportation of the ark of God, which embodied "the glory of Israel," they now mourn in a similar manner over the calves.[117]

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[115] So too is it evident in Yefet's analysis of the allusion to Jacob in Hosea 12 (see Polliack 1999).

[116] *The inhabitants of Samaria shall be in dread for the calves of Beth-aven; indeed, its people and its priestlings shall mourn and tremble over its glory, because it is departed from them.*

[117] For a more in-depth discussion of this topic, see the notes *ad loc.* (10:5) in Polliack and Schlossberg 2009. For an additional example of a hidden allusion whose disclosure enables Yefet to deepen his historicization of the prophecy, see his comment on Hosea 13:11 (*I give thee a king in My anger, and take him away in My wrath*): "Some people say that he is referring by this to Jeroboam and to Hoshea ben Elah, as if to say, 'I set Jeroboam over you in My anger and I took away Hoshea ben Elah in My wrath' — for Jeroboam was the first of the kings to arise for the ten tribes, and the last of them was Hoshea ben Elah" (see ibid., *ad loc.*). In the continuation of his comment on this verse, Yefet offers additional historical alternatives regarding the identification of the king, or kings, alluded to. See also his explanation of 13:14 as an allusion to various kings throughout the history of the northern kingdom who were delivered at the last moment by virtue of their petitioning for the Lord's help and intervention on their behalf.

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INSTANCES OF ACTUALIZING IN YEFET'S COMMENTARY, IN LIGHT OF THE KARAITE-RABBANITE POLEMIC

In the three sections of our discussion up to this point, it has been argued that Yefet's approach to prophecy is principally a historical and literary one, focusing on an analysis of the prophetic text within its specific biblical context. This coincides with the explicit annulment, or limiting, of the actualizing trend that occupies a sizeable portion of al-Qūmisī's commentary on Hosea.

At the same time, in isolated and distinct instances in Yefet's commentary, it is possible to find actualizations that continue, on a fundamental level, the trend already evident in al-Qūmisī's exegesis on Hosea. In these instances it appears that, primarily due to the specific content of the prophecy, Yefet was unable to overcome this actualizing impulse. The majority of these instances are concentrated in this last section primarily in view of their importance for illuminating both the contemporary Karaite-Rabbanite polemic of Yefet's day as well as the Karaite self-consciousness of that period. However, their importance for further clarifying Yefet's exegetical approach to prophecy, in comparison to the various features discussed above, is rather limited.

An example of this tendency is Yefet's comment on the concluding portion of chapter 3, in which the story of Hosea's marriage (vv. 1–3) is explained in the prophecy itself as a metaphor for the relationship between God and the people of Israel (vv. 4–5). Since the text itself here opens the door to symbolic exegesis, Yefet permits himself to lean toward a general actualizing discussion that focuses on the exegetical aspect of the overall Karaite-Rabbanite rift. Thus, for example, he explains verses 3–5,[118]

> The meaning of the statement *you shall neither engage in harlotry nor become (another) man's wife* is that the nation as a whole is to worship none other than God while in the exile, declaring, *The LORD is our God, the LORD is One* (Deut 6:4); and they are to believe that Moses and his law are true; and they are to affirm the rest of the prophets and their books, as well as that the true place toward which they should face in prayer [*al-qibla*] is Jerusalem and none other. Yet they are implementing the laws (of God) according to various non-literal interpretations[119] that were innovated by their early sages, after whom they follow, and (therefore) it is clear that they must turn back from these corrupt paths that their early sages have laid, and by whose words they abide; for if they do not turn back, they will remain in the exile as hostages in the power of (their) enemies, as it is said, *And they who are left of you shall pine away in their iniquity in the lands of your enemies* (Lev 26:39).
>
> And by the statement *and so shall I be yours* he means to say, (as it were,) "Just as you have not forsaken My name, so will I not replace you in My covenant with another nation; rather, I will wait patiently for you until you turn back to Me as (you) ought, and I will restore you to what you were in the past" — which is one of the greatest tidings (presented) to the people of the exile.[120]
>
> After this he says, *for the children of Israel shall remain many days, etc.* (v. 4) ... announcing that they will remain without a king or a ruler, either from the house of David or any other, since the reason for their ruin was their kings and their rulers who overstepped (their boundaries)[121] and corrupted the nation. And if someone avers, "See now — do they not have in the exile both exilarchs (*ruʾasāʾ jawāliyyah*) and heads of academies *(wa-ruʾasāʾ mathāʾib*)" we shall say to him, "These are (also) ones who overstep (their boundaries),[122] to whom God has not granted authority; for in the exile it is proper that there should be only teachers (*muʿallimīn*).

In this exceptional passage Yefet explains the "harlotry" of the woman (v. 3) by following the lead of the text itself in pointing toward the religious sins of Israel. On the actualizing and polemical level, the religious sin is in his view ensconced in the adoption of the oral law, which was the fundamental basis of the rift between the Karaites and the Rabbanites. Yefet directly attacks the Rabbanites for observance of the pentateuchal commandments

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[118] *And I said to her, "You shall remain with me for many days; you shall neither engage in harlotry nor become (another) man's wife — and so shall I be yours"* [or, "*so shall I (wait) for you*," on which see Yefet's comment *ad loc.*]*; for the children of Israel shall remain many days without king and without rulers, without sacrifice and without cult pillars, and without ephod and teraphim. Afterward the children of Israel will turn back and seek the LORD their God, and David their king; and in the end of days they will tremble over the LORD and His goodness.*

[119] Arabic *ʿalā ḍurūb mina ʾl-taʾwīl allatī taʾawwalū.*

[120] Arabic *ahl al-jāliya*, which is intended to denote all the generations living in the exile/Diaspora, including that of Yefet (see further Wechsler 2008: 22, 161–63).

[121] "Overstepped (their boundaries)" — or, perhaps, "transgressed" (*taʿaddū*), on which see also the following note.

[122] "Ones who overstep (their boundaries)" — or, "transgressors" (*mutaʿaddiyīn*).

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according to the interpretations of "their early sages" (*ʿulamāʾuhum al-mutaqaddimīn*), who typically approached the biblical text through the method of *taʾwīl* — that is, they employed exegetical methods that deviated from the linguistic-contextual (literal) meaning of the Bible (*ḍurūb mina ʾl-taʾwīl allatī taʾawwalū*).[123]

In the continuation of his comment on verse 4, Yefet also rejects the leadership authority of the principal office holders among the Rabbanites: the exilarchs and the heads of the great academies (*yeshivot*) — that is, the *geʾonim*. In his opinion, the "teacher" — that is, the scholar — who did not possess a public function was the only one suitable to lead the nation so long as it remained in the exile,— which is to say, as long as the Jewish people were dispossessed of an autonomous national life within the land of Israel.[124]

Indeed, even prior to this, Yefet clearly avers that the promise of future resettlement made by God to His people, and expressed in the words *and so shall I be yours* (v. 3), was "one of the greatest tidings (presented) to the people of the exile" — by which he is apparently alluding to the Karaite settlement in the land of Israel as the first catalyst of redemption. This idea is further explored in the continuation of his comment on verse 5:

> By the statement *Afterward the children of Israel will turn back* he means to say that after the (dominion of) the Four Kingdoms[125] has come to an end, they will return to the Lord of the Universe — that is to say, they will abandon the system of transmitted authority (*madhab al-taqlīd*) and pursue the course of investigation and speculation[126] ... it is to this that (Hosea) alludes by the statement, *and they will seek the* LORD *their God*.

Thus, the eschatological symbolism in the biblical text itself appears to have encouraged Yefet to deviate from his predominantly linguistic-contextual approach and to adopt an actualized view that is in keeping with the specifically messianic nature of the symbolism. In the same manner, the distinct consolatory and eschatological character of chapter 14 — the concluding chapter of Hosea — also compelled Yefet to resort to actualization. Thus, for example, in his comment on the words of exhortation, *and return to the* LORD (v. 3), Yefet proposes an actualized reading as one of several exegetical possibilities:

> The sense of the exhortation *and return to the* LORD is: "Turn back from the wicked ways that the people of exile began, and from the abundance of rebelliousness and dissipation found among them" — among such things being (their leaders') permitting the Jews to (use) Sabbath candles, as well as to lay with women and do other unlawful things on the Sabbath;[127] establishing a fixed calculation for intercalation;[128] changing

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[123] Generally Yefet employs the term *taʾwīl* in the sense of "allegorical interpretation" (see, inter alia, the examples cited in Polliack and Schlossberg 2009: 70). In the present context, however, it is clear that he has in mind not only allegory, but in fact also the collective exegetical methods of early rabbinic midrash, which tend to extract scriptural passages from their context, and it is in this vein, therefore, that we have sought to nuance our translation. Al-Qūmisī likewise tends to employ the term *taʾwīl* for this type of exegesis (see, e.g., his comment on Malachi 2:9 [*Pitrōn*, 78], and see the discussions of Ben-Shammai 1985: 52–53; Polliack 1997: 26–31, and esp. n. 29). As to the expressions *ʿulamāʾuhum al-mutaqaddimīn* ("their early sages") — this, or simply *al-ʿulamāʾ* ("the sages/scholars"), is generally employed by Yefet to introduce a view held by the early rabbinic sages. Indeed, even when critical of their exegesis (as in this instance), he is fastidious in showing respect for them by his use of this terminology. In referring to Karaite exegetes, however, he tends to employ the terms *al-muʿallimīn* ("the teachers") and, especially, *al-mufassirīn* ("the interpreters"), which appears throughout his commentary on Hosea.

[124] The extant portion of al-Qūmisī's commentary on 3:4–5 also contains an explicit critique of the Rabbanities' spiritual leadership (see *Pitrōn*, 5), although with different emphases than Yefet. On the rift between the Karaites and the Rabbanites in the area of communal administration, and on the Rabbanites' exclusion of the descendants of ʿAnan b. David from both the exilarchate as well as headship of the Babylonian and Palestinian yeshivot, see the extensive treatment by Gil 2003, and the article by Kedar in the present volume.

[125] That is, the four kingdoms described in Daniel 2:31–43 and 7:1–28. According to Yefet — as per the Karaite view generally — the fourth kingdom was that of Islam (see D. S. Margoliouth 1889: *ad loc*. cit.; Wechsler 2008: 160–61, n. 15).

[126] "The course ... speculation" — Arabic *ṭarīq al-baḥth wa-ʾl-naẓar*, which are borrowed from the Islamic Muʿtazilite philosophers who, because they considered their study of the Qurʾan to be based on the principles of rationalism, referred to themselves as "the people of investigation and speculation" (*ahl al-baḥth wa-ʾl-naẓar*). The Karaites, for their part, considered themselves the foremost practitioners/proponents of this exegetical methodology within Judaism.

[127] On the Karaite view regarding the prohibition on engaging in marital relations during the Sabbath, see Harkavy 1903: 140 (§ה), as well as pp. 4–5. For Harkavy's discussion of this issue, see ibid., 194.

[128] Yefet is here referring to the crux of the controversy between the Rabbanites and Karaites regarding the manner by which the new moon was to be sanctified (welcomed in prayer): originally this was done on the basis of witnesses who could testify to having seen the new moon, though the Rabbanite practice, following the destruction of the Second Temple, was to sanctify the new moon on the basis of the fixed calculation traditionally handed down among them; the Karaites, in contrast, maintained that the new moon was to be sanctified only on the basis of witnesses (see Schlossberg 2000/2001: 306–11).

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> the holy days of God from their appointed times; permitting the consumption of carrion, grasshoppers,[129] the fate of the tail (or earlobe), the kidneys, the lobe of the liver, and the rotten parts of fruit; and doing away completely with the restrictions on defilement — for they assert, "From the day that the Temple was destroyed there is no defilement and there is no purity"; and there are presently among them many who resort to charms, astrology, augury, and visiting the graves of the dead to inquire of them for their needs. It is to these and similar things that (the prophet) alludes by saying, *And return unto the LORD!*[130]

Similarly, in the continuation of his commentary on this chapter, Yefet proposes (as the second of two possible explanations) that the words of consolation in 14:5 (*I will heal their backsliding, I will love them [because of]*[131] *their generosity; for My anger has turned away from them*) be understood with reference to the Karaites — namely,

> (He means to say:) "I love them because of their charitableness — the specific idea being that *the remnant of Jacob* (Mic 5:6–7), *those who turn back from sin* (Isa 59:20), *the enlightened ones* (Dan 12:3, etc.), after having fulfilled the expected commandments and obligations, are performing supererogatory deeds of fasting, (wearing) rough clothing, abstaining from refined pleasures and excessive delights, and continuing in prayer during the night, thus affirming (the words), *Accept, I beseech Thee, the freewill offerings of my mouth, O LORD* (Ps 119:108). All these things are supererogatory to the commandments, and so He says, (as it were,) "I asked the forefathers[132] to fulfill the expected commandments and obligations, but they did not do so, whereas these have performed both the commandments as well as supererogatory deeds. Therefore I love them just as I have loved their forebears, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob." So too, by saying *for My anger has turned away from them* He means, "My anger has departed from them with the departing of their iniquities; therefore I love them and have drawn them close to Me."

An additional prophecy in which there appears a clear call to repentance, to which is also applied an actualizing interpretation by Yefet, is in Hosea 6:1.[133] It appears that the self-consciousness of the Karaites as those who were realizing the "return" to God, both religiously and spiritually (by means of returning to the written law) and physically (through their settlement in the land of Israel, and which manifested itself in the various sobriquets by which they referred to themselves — such as *those who turn back from sin*, attested in the preceding and following citations from Yefet's commentary), was so central to the members of Yefet's community and intellectual circle that he was unable to refrain in this instance from applying the verse to them. At the same time, however, he still insists upon explaining the verse primarily within its historical context as the words of Hosea's contemporaries — namely, "they were saying this to each other at that time" — and only afterward proposes an actualizing interpretation:

> He further indicates in this verse that *those who turn back from sin in Jacob* (Isa 59:20) will set their hearts on the Lord of the Universe, for it is He who punished them on account of their sins, as they (now) continually say: *For Your arrows have struck me; Your blows have fallen upon me. There is no soundness in my flesh because of Your rage, etc., for my iniquities have overwhelmed me, etc.* (Ps 38:3–5); and they will ask Him to heal them, as they (now) say: *I said, "O LORD, have mercy on me; heal my soul, for I have sinned against You"* (Ps 41:5); and they will affirm that He is the one who forgives them, as they (now) say at the time of thanksgiving: *O LORD, my God, I cried out to You, and You healed me* (Ps 30:3).

The verses that Yefet here cites from the book of Psalms are those that the Karaites of Jerusalem, the "Mourners of Zion," inserted into their prayers.[134] Yefet further develops this actualizing interpretation in his comment on verse 3 of the same chapter:[135]

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[129] Arabic *al-qabbūṭ*, on which see Dozy 1927: 2:302a; yet Birnbaum 1942: xxviii: "the foetus," on his reasoning, for which see ibid., n. 78.

[130] For a discussion of this list of sins that Yefet attributes to the Rabbanites, as well as for similar accusations elsewhere in Karaite literature, see Birnbaum 1942: xxviii–xxx and the notes thereto.

[131] So per Yefet's comment cited below; see, otherwise, the NJPS rendering: *Generously will I take them back in love*.

[132] That is, the early generations of Israel.

[133] *Come, let us turn back to the LORD, for He has attacked, and He will heal us; He has wounded, and He will bind us up*.

[134] On this topic, see Ben-Shammai 1994; Frank 1995; Simon 1991: 55–95.

[135] *Let us press on to know the LORD; His going forth is as sure as the dawn, and He will come to us as the rain, as the latter rain that refreshes the earth*.

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> Previously he said, *Come, let us turn back*, which is a general statement, the specification of which is (given) in this verse, where he says, (as it were,) "It is incumbent upon us to know how to pursue knowledge of that which God requires of us" — which is the statement of *those who turn back from sin*, *the enlightened ones* of the people, who have come to perceive the fault with many of the teachings to which Israel adheres; therefore they say to each other, "It is incumbent for us to know the path on which we are to press forward with full conviction that we might attain to the knowledge of the Lord of the Universe" — by which they intend the knowledge of the way of the Torah. Thus, their saying *Let us press on to know (the LORD)* indicates that they would seek the way of the Torah first of all,[136] that they might know its path, just as they (now) entreat the Lord of the Universe, saying: *Teach me, O LORD, the path of Your laws* (Ps 119:33), and many more like this. And when He guides them to the path, they will rush upon it with zeal, and the Lord of the Universe will help them to uphold the path of Truth.[137]

In this comment, as in his other actualizing remarks, a number of Hebrew expressions find their way into Yefet's words that are drawn from the Bible and characterized the Karaite discourse of his time. Among these, in addition to the above cited, is the expression *a commandment of men, learned by rote*[138] (Isa 29:13), referring to the traditional body of teaching of the early rabbinic sages (i.e., the oral law), and the Arabicized term *al-jālūt* ("the exile," from Hebrew *ha-gālūt*), which serves Yefet in numerous instances to describe the wayward status of the Jewish people in their "exile," beginning with the Babylonian deportation, intensifying with the establishment of the rabbinical tradition (during the time of Greek dominion), and continuing up to the present period of Yefet himself.[139] Even his mention of Jeroboam ben Nebaṭ, as the root of the sectarian dispute among the Jewish people, is related to this set of ideas.[140] Specific expressions, by contrast, that the Karaites of Jerusalem used to describe themselves[141] include "the remnant of Jacob" (*shĕʾērīt yaʿăqōḇ*, per Mic 5:6–7),[142] "the enlightened ones" (*ha-maśkīlīm*, per Dan 12:10 etc.),[143] and "the ones who have returned from transgression (in Jacob)" (*shāḇē fesha*ʿ [*bĕ-yaʿăqōḇ*], per Isa 59:20).[144] Finally, mention must be made of the expression *mōrēh ṣedeq* ("teacher of righteousness"), which is based on the biblical expressions *and (he will) teach righteousness to you* (*vĕ-yōreh ṣedeq lākhem*; Hos 10:12) and *a teacher for the sake of righteousness* (*ha-mōreh li-ṣdāqā*; Joel 2:23), and which appears three times in

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[136] "First of all" — or, "fundamentally/primarily" (Arabic *badyan*, on which see Blau 2006: 34a).

[137] It would appear that, in his actualizing comment on v. 3, Yefet was influenced by — or perhaps even adopted — al-Qūmisī's comment *ad loc.* (*Pitrōn*, 9): נדעה נרדפה, בתחלה עלינו לדעת ולהבין למה ארכה גלותנו הלא למען עזבנו תורת משה ע״ה לתעות במצות אנ׳ מל׳. על כן נרדפה לדעת את תורת ה׳ ולמען כי שלא ידע מצות ה׳ ככ׳ בתורתו הוא כלא ידע את ה׳. ועלינו לרדוף אחרי ה׳ עד שיראה בכבודו כשחר נכון אורו לצדיקים ככ׳ וזרח בחשך אורך אור זרוע לצדיק ("*Let us know; let us press on [etc.]* — It is incumbent on us, first and foremost, to know and to understand why (the time of) our exile has been prolonged: is it not because we have forsaken the Torah of Moses — peace be upon him — by straying after a *tradition of men learned by rote* [Isa 29:13]? Therefore, *let us press on to know* the Torah of *the LORD* — especially since one who does not know the commandments of the Lord is, as it is written in His Torah, like one who does not know the Lord. And it is incumbent on us to press on after the Lord until his light appears — like a clear and certain daybreak — in all its glory for the righteous, as it is written, *Then your light will rise in darkness* [Isa 58:10]; and, *Light is sown for the righteous* [Ps 97:11]").

[138] This expression is likewise employed by al-Qūmisī, and in Karaite literature generally, as a sobriquet for the precepts of the oral law to which the Rabbanites give special emphasis (see Yefet's comment on Hos 5:11 in Polliack and Schlossberg 2009: *ad loc.*).

[139] See al-Qūmisī's comment on Hosea 1:9 (*Pitrōn*, 1): ובימי מלכות יון שמו ראשיהם רבאנין מכשול לפני ישראל במצות אשר הפכו את דברי אלהים ויאמרו לישראל כי מן התורה אנחנו מלמדים אתכם ועל כן דבר עליהם ואתם סרתם מן הדרך הכשלתם רבים. ועליהם כת׳ וכשלו בם רבים ונאמר כי שמו מכשול לפני ישראל ועל כן אמר לא עמי ויקח את נביאיו עד היום הזה ("In the days of Greece's rule Israel's Rabbanite leaders set before them a stumbling block with commandments that overturned the words of God, though they said to Israel, 'We are teaching you from the Torah.' For this reason He said of them, *'You have turned aside from [My] way, and you have caused many to stumble'* [Mal 2:8]; and of them it is also written, *And many will stumble over them* [Isa 8:15]. And so we maintain [or: "it is said"] that, because they set a stumbling block before Israel, He refers to them as *Not My people* [*lōʾ ʿammī*] and has withheld His prophets until this day"). The use of the term "(the) exile" to denote all those generations that find themselves outside of the land, including the time of the exegete, is also attested in other parts of Yefet's exegetical corpus (see Wechsler 2008: 160–61), as well as in the exegesis of al-Qūmisī (see his comment on Hos 5:8 in *Pitrōn*, 8, and see Polliack and Schlossberg 2009: *ad loc.*). On the terms "exiles" and "people of the exile" in the teaching of the Mourners of Zion, see Erder 1998a: 64–70.

[140] On al-Qirqisānī's conception of the role played by Jerobam, see further Polliack and Schlossberg 2009: 80–82.

[141] Similar to the Karaite self-designations "Mourners of Zion" (*ʾăḇēlē ṣīyōn*) and "Roses" (*shōshannīm*), neither of which appears in Yefet's commentary on Hosea, though they do appear elsewhere in his exegetical corpus, as in the writings of other Jerusalem Karaites (see Frank 1995: 201–04; Erder 1998a: 57–59).

[142] See Yefet's comment on Hosea 14:5 (Polliack and Schlossberg 2009: *ad loc.* and n. 42).

[143] See Yefet's comments on Hosea 6:3 and 14:5 (Polliack and Schlossberg 2009: *ad loc.* and nn. 14 and 42 respectively).

[144] See Yefet's comments on Hosea 6:1, 3; 11:10; and 14:5 (Polliack and Schlossberg 2009: *ad loc.* and nn. 6, 14, 64, and 42, respectively).

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Yefet's commentary on Hosea, in his comments on 2:5, 2:23, and, in greater breadth, 14:3, from the last of which I here cite:

> (Hosea here) indicates that the Lord of the Universe will accept from the people of the exile their confession of sin and their petition for His forgiveness, just as He received (such) from their ancestors and forgave them by virtue of *the bullock of the sin-offering* (Exod 29:36, etc.) which they would offer on their own behalf. This is specifically in reference to sins committed in ignorance (see Num 15:25, etc.), which are of two types: (1) those things that God obligated them to do, yet which they did not understand to be obligatory because they lacked "a teacher of righteousness" (*mōrēh ṣedeq*), and so, though they have been searching and studying what is correct for them (to do), they have misunderstood what God commanded … and (2) those things that are (properly) understood as commandments, yet which one unknowingly breaks, such as when one eats something unclean, though at the time of his eating he did not know that it was unclean, or when one inadvertently engages in forbidden work on the Sabbath or a festival.

In this comment Yefet characterizes the self-consciousness of the Karaite "Mourners of Zion" as ones who were involuntarily exposed to two types of sin: on the one hand, the sin of being unable to determine what, exactly, were the required commandments and their applications, resulting from the lack of a spiritual teacher who was recognized as holding a claim to the truth, and, on the other hand, the sin of inadvertently breaking commandments that were otherwise well known and understood.[145] The term *mōrēh ṣedeq* also appears in other places in Yefet's commentaries on the Bible, in which instances he usually intends it as a sobriquet for the prophet Elijah — that is, for the messianic figure expected to reveal himself in the future and instruct Israel in righteousness (i.e., correctly) with respect to their exegetical disputes.[146] It would thus appear that the expression *mōrēh ṣedeq*, consistent with the context of the biblical passages on which it was based, was employed by the Karaites in a manner similar to that attested in rabbinic tradition concerning the role of Elijah as the eventual solver of unresolved exegetical cruxes (as in the mishnaic expression עד שיבוא אליהו [*m. Sōṭā* ix.15; *Bāḇāʾ mĕṣiīʿāʾ* i.8]. Al-Qūmisī, for instance, already ties the *mōrēh ṣedeq* together with the figure of the prophet Elijah as the one who would solve the exegetical quarrels between the Rabbanites and the Karaites as well as among the Karaites themselves in the End of Days.[147] Some scholars, moreover, have linked the expression *mōrēh ṣedeq* in Karaite literature to the influence of the Dead Sea Scrolls, in which the definite expression *mōrēh* ***ha****-ṣedeq* ("*the* teacher of righteousness") serves as a title for the real spiritual leader of the sect.[148] However, beyond its linguistic resemblance, which is based on the biblical usage noted above, it is not likely that there is any close similarity in the use of this expression in the DSS and by the Karaites; nor is it possible to prove that the Karaites borrowed it from the DSS.[149]

To conclude the discussion of Yefet's approach to biblical prophecy, his is primarily a literary-linguistic and historicizing approach that is focused on analyzing the text within its specific biblical context. Yefet's disregard for most of al-Qūmisī's actualizations should therefore be seen as an expression of his general reservation toward an exegetical approach that deviates, in essence, from the straightforward and contextual meaning of the text that served as the locus of Yefet's own exegetical endeavor. This linguistic-contextual focus is evident even in those instances where Yefet was unable or unwilling to completely reject the opposing, actualizing, and

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[145] That the Karaites were troubled by the possibility of error having set in during the course of their innovative exegesis of the Torah's commandments is also reflected in the commentaries and citations of other exegetes than Yefet (see Polliack 2005b: 191–93).

[146] See, for example, Yefet's introduction to his commentary on Deuteronomy (MS AOS B369 [IMHM no. 53542], fols. 15–16), and his comment on Malachi 3:23, discussed in Polliack 2005b: 192–96. See also Hosea 2:5, 23; and 10:12 (in Polliack and Schlossberg 2009: *ad loc.*).

[147] See, for example, his comments on Joel 2:23 (*Pitrōn*, 29) and Psalms 74:5 (Marmorstein 1916: 196). For a discussion of al-Qūmisī's statements, see Polliack 1997: 28–31.

[148] See, for example, Wieder 1962: 53–82; Erder 1994: 195–200; 1998a: 58–59. On the difference in usage between the expressions *mōrēh ṣedeq* and *mōrēh ha-ṣedeq*, and the bearing of such on the question of whether the Karaites were influenced by Qumran literature, see Polliack 2005b: 191–96.

[149] Indeed, as regards Hosea 10:12 (*Sow to yourselves according to righteousness … for it is time to seek the* LORD, *until He comes and teaches righteousness* [*vĕ-yōreh ṣedeq*] *to you*), Yefet both translates and explains the phrase *yōreh ṣedeq* in a clearly linguistic-contextual manner, in keeping with the straightforward sense of the verse. According to him, the prophet is exhorting the people of his time to uphold the Torah's commandments while God continues to send to them His messengers, in this way teaching righteousness to them (see further Polliack and Schlossberg 2009: *ad loc.*, n. 123). For a discussion of the overall problematic character of the theory concerning DSS influence on the Karaites, see, inter alios, Polliack 2005b, and the article by E. Krakowski in the present volume.

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non-contextual impulse that admittedly operates in the consciousness of every exegete — and with especial force in one who belongs to an ideological group, like the Jerusalem Karaites, deeply concerned with defining its own identity. Nevertheless, and perhaps even because of this background, Yefet's intellectual independence clearly stands out. He cleared a path for himself in biblical exegesis that is based primarily on structural, literary, and historical criteria in its analysis of the biblical text. These criteria are not far removed in substance from those that characterize modern critical (literary and historical) readings, despite the fact that they grew out of a faith-based consciousness, characteristic of the medieval period, which attributes a timeless value to the Bible, rooted in the general belief in its revelatory (i.e., divine) origin.

ABBREVIATIONS

AOS	Academy of Oriental Studies, Saint Petersburg / Санкт-Петербург Филиал Института востоковедения Российской Академии наук
Anwār	Al-Qirqisānī 1939–45
IMHM	Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts, the Israel National Library, Jerusalem (המכון לתצלומי כתבי יד עבריים, הספרייה הלאומית)
JPSV	*The Holy Scriptures According to the Masoretic Text: A New Translation*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1917
NJPS	*Tanakh: The Holy Scriptures; The New JPS Translation according to the Traditional Hebrew Text.* Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1988
Pitrōn	Al-Qūmisī 1957

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15

JEWISH LITURGICAL DIVISIONS OF THE TORAH AND THE ENGLISH CHAPTER DIVISION OF THE VULGATE ATTRIBUTED TO STEPHEN LANGTON

PAUL SAENGER

Christian and Jewish scholars have long been fascinated by the relationship between the Jewish liturgical divisions of Hebrew scripture and chapter divisions of the Greek and especially the Latin Vulgate Bible.[1] This has especially been true of an undeniable resemblance, recognized by numerous scholars, between the modern chapter divisions for the five books of Moses traditionally attributed to Stephen Langton (d. 1228) and the *sĕdārīm*, the older of the two liturgical divisions of Sabbath readings. The *sĕdārīm* were developed by the Jewish community in Palestine as early as the third century B.C.E. to facilitate a triennial cycle of a continuous reading of the entire Torah. Taking account of both variants in *sĕdārīm* distinctions (which are more numerous than the later *pārāshiyyōt* divisions of Babylonian Jewry) and the variants within the modern chapter scheme (which are very richly documented in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Vulgate Bibles copied in England), about 60 percent of the numbered chapter divisions in the five books of Moses correspond to *sĕdārīm* divisions.[2] This congruence is especially striking since the 187 Christian chapters are roughly equivalent in number and therefore in length to the 167 to 175 *sĕdārīm* sections. It is also true that beginning in the second decade of the thirteenth century in England, Christian chapter divisions were divided graphically into seven sub-distinctions, numbered with Latin letters *a* through *g* or, more rarely, with Arabic numbers 1–7 just as the Jewish liturgical divisions were divided in oral practice — and in the later Middle Ages graphically in the margins of manuscript codices — into seven numbered equal parts, marked by letters of the Hebrew alphabet, with one part for each of the requisite seven readers of the weekly Torah portion.[3]

Scholars have overall suggested two plausible explanations for this resemblance between the Christian chapters and the sections of Jewish liturgical tradition. One is that both divisions correspond to a structure inherent in the narrative of the Pentateuch text itself. However, in both Jewish and Christian traditions, inconsistencies of points of division existed, suggesting that textual sectioning was not self-evident. During the Middle Ages, the *sĕdārīm* varied in differing geographic regions, and even taking recorded variants into account, division points for the *sĕdārīm* often did not coincide with those of the longer *pārāshiyyōt*, the Babylonian liturgical sections of the Pentateuch designed for an annual reading of the Torah. Such was the case even when division points were close. The Babylonian sections originated in the second century C.E. and are the liturgical sections still accepted by Jews today.

Among medieval Christians, the divergences between different chaptering schemes for the five books of Moses in the Latin Bible was far greater.[4] The oldest complete codex of Jerome's Vulgate, the Codex Amiatinus, has for the Pentateuch (excluding Genesis) chapter divisions that correspond far more closely to the *pārāshiyyōt* divisions than to the divisions of the *sĕdārīm*. The Bible of Abbot Maurdramnus of Corbie, MSS Amiens, BM 6, 7,

[1] Derenbourg 1870: 529; Ginsburg 1897: 25; Dukan 2006: 109; Harl 1986: 33–41; Barthélemy 1995: 35 and esp. 45ff.; Marcus 2002; 2003.

[2] All lists of *sĕdārīm* divisions refer to the standard Stuttgart edition of the Hebrew Bible and vary somewhat from the standard Stuttgart edition of the Latin Vulgate. Correspondences within the verses are counted as matches, see Barthélemy 1995. The lists have been published in Mann 1971 and Perrot 1973.

[3] For two examples of Hebrew marginal numbering, see Ginsburg 1897: 689 and 715 (MSS British Library Or. 2350 and 2696). For Christian marginal numbering, see Saenger 2005: 92. On the Insular practice of using lowercase letters in alphabetical sequence, see Saenger 1999: 134. MS British Library, Harley 1748, in Genesis 47, is an example of the use of numbers instead of letters.

[4] Many of the older (pre-twelfth century) chapter divisions have been surveyed in Bruyne 1914; Quentin 1922.

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9, 11, and 12 (copied between 771 and 783 C.E.), has far more numerous chapter divisions (for example, eighty-two for Genesis versus fifty chapters in modern Bibles).[5] It was this system likely of Anglo-Saxon provenance and possibly of English origin that Alcuin employed at Tours from 796 until his death in 804. A system practiced in northern France in the tenth century and present in Vatican Library MS Vat. Pal. lat. 2 has even shorter and consequently more numerous chapters (e.g., 156 for Genesis). For the five books of the Torah, Hebraic points of liturgical division and the dividing points of the *pisqāʾōt* (the 669 very ancient paragraph divisions introduced into Torah scrolls to aid oral recitation) frequently correspond to many later Christian chapter points of demarcation. However, the large number of chapters in early Christian schemas, in some schemas approaching the number of *pisqāʾōt*, masked the occasional correspondence in ancient Greek and Latin Bibles to the beginning of a *sēder* or *pārāshā*. Nonetheless, in these volumes, the shadow of the *pisqāʾōt* was clearly visible and has been recognized by modern scholars.[6]

For the remainder of the Latin Vulgate, where a Hebrew liturgical matrix for a continual reading did not exist and could not serve as a controlling antecedent, the division points of various Christian chapter systems were far less consistent, but nevertheless these division points reflect the *pisqāʾōt*.[7] For the Old Testament Apocrypha, where no Hebrew text existed (and therefore no *pisqāʾōt*), the dividing points of the Medieval Latin Vulgate's Old Testament chapters were particularly varied. For example, inconsistency in sectioning is abundantly apparent in the First and Second Books of Esdras, which, when contained in thirteenth-century Vulgate Bibles, often vary enormously from the modern Vulgate.[8] The variety of modes in which large portions of the Vulgate Latin biblical text was divided over the course of half a millennium belies the assertion that there was within scripture, whether Hebrew, Greek, or Latin, an intrinsic textual foundation for division that would explain the similarity for the Pentateuch between the Jewish liturgical triennial sections and the modern Christian referential mode of chaptering.

The more likely explanation of the resemblance between Christian chaptering and Jewish liturgical division and paragraphing for the Torah is that the format of the Hebrew text was received into both Greek and Latin in a manner analogous to that in which the Hebrew word order was replicated, when the biblical text was translated word for word, forming in both Greek and Latin a syntax that frequently violated the canons of eloquence of pagan belles lettres.[9] Influence of Hebrew text presentation on graphic paragraphing has been noted by students of papyri fragments and the great fourth-century Greek uncial codices of the Septuagint such as the Codex Alexandrinus, where paragraphs corresponding to *pisqāʾōt* are marked, and *sĕdārīm* divisions, although not graphically distinguished from the other paragraph breaks, are detectable by scholars familiar with the Hebrew liturgical format.[10] Significantly, the scribes of the Greek text contained in the fifth-century Codex Colberto-Serravianus, particularly in portions of Leviticus, suppressed most *pisqāʾōt* divisions, and consequently its pages came to unambiguously replicate by paragraphs (marked by projecting the first line into the margin) those divisions corresponding to the *sĕdārīm* in a manner that surely was not accidental.[11]

Similarly, the influence of *sĕdārīm* divisions is readily detectable in late antique and early medieval codices containing the Old Latin version, the literal translation of the Greek Septuagint, which predated Jerome's new Vulgate translation. Unnumbered chapter divisions that correspond to *sĕdārīm* junctures occur in palimpsest fragments dating from the fifth century, now MS Munich BS Clm 6225.[12] They are also present in the remnants of an Old Latin Bible now preserved in Lyon as MSS BM 403 and 1964, the celebrated Codex Lugdunensis, generally assigned to the seventh century.[13] Like the oldest *sĕdārīm* distinctions in the Dead Sea Scrolls and like the early chapter divisions in fifth- and sixth-century manuscripts of the Gospels as well as early Christian divisions of the Vulgate Old Testament, these divisions were marked by headings in red ink.[14] This late classical influence of *sĕdārīm* sections on Old Latin biblical format having been acknowledged, no known Latin Vulgate Bible or Bible

[5] Ganz 1990: 132–33; *CLA* V, no. 707.

[6] Schmid 1892: 46.

[7] See Martin 1958: 1:121–22; Maori 1982; see Bruyne 1914: 484–87.

[8] See, for example, MS BLO Auct. d.5.11, probably copied in England from a Parisian model (see Pächt and Alexander 1966: 4:58).

[9] Blatt 1938: 220–26. Platter and White 1926: 29–30; Tov 1997: 26–27; Marquis 1986.

[10] See Harl 1986: 35; see Sanders 1917: 15; Perrot 1973: 113–14.

[11] Omont 1897. The codex today is divided among three libraries.

[12] Ziegler 1883; *CLA* IX, no. 1250.

[13] Robert 1881; *CLA* V, no. 771. Lowe 1924: 32–33.

[14] DJD 12:210–11. For the use of red ink to denote chapter divisions in the Gospels, see Petitmengin 1985: 101, 102, and 118–23. For examples of red used to denote chapters in the Gospels, see *CLA* I, 53; IX, nos. 1423a, 1429, 1449; and XI, no. 1669. For the use of red ink to denote early chapter divisions in the Vulgate Old Testament, see *CLA* III, no. 344a.

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fragments from before the twelfth century contained chapter divisions with a visible similitude to the *sĕdārīm* comparable to that which came to characterize the thirteenth-century chapter divisions now commonly attributed to Stephen Langton.

Langton, it is generally acknowledged, personally knew little or no Hebrew, although he was interested in the Hebrew Bible and was sometimes identified in the thirteenth century with Hebrew learning.[15] However, the invention and reception of the modern chapter division that came to be identified with him corresponds in rough chronology to a period of intense and fructuous interchange between Jewish and Christian scholars in France, Germany, and particularly in England.[16] On the Continent, Paris was the intellectual center of the discourse among rabbis, monks, and subsequently friars, and within Paris, the Augustinian Abbey of Saint Victor was its principal venue. Here the most important figure was an English regular canon, Andrew of Saint Victor, who died as abbot of Wigmore and who, thanks to the groundbreaking studies of Beryl Smalley and Raphael Loewe, is now recognized as the first Christian scholar to quarry for the purpose of Christian exegesis the new techniques of the literal exposition, pioneered for the Hebrew Bible in Troyes at the end of the eleventh century by Rashi and subsequently perfected by his grandson Rashbam. Andrew and to a lesser degree his elder German confrère Hugh of Saint Victor and Andrew's Scottish contemporary Richard of Saint Victor, as well as Peter the Venerable at Cluny and Peter Comestor and Peter the Chanter at the Cathedral School of Paris, all evinced a renewed interest in Hebrew learning. Andrew surely knew Hebrew, and since he describes Hebrew punctuation of prose verses, he clearly had visual contact with Hebrew biblical codices. The others undoubtedly had indirect contact with the Hebrew text, via rabbis and Jewish converts who served as interlocutors.[17] In this milieu both at Paris and elsewhere in northern France, Christian scholars frequently cited words of the actual Hebrew text of the Old Testament both in biblical exegesis and in the newly rejuvenated genre of fictive debates between a rabbi and either a priest or a monk.[18] However, in France such citation of the Jewish Bible was done invariably in transliteration and not by the use of Hebrew script.[19] Thus, while a new knowledge of Hebrew emerged in northern France in the late twelfth century, graphic Hebrew, that is, the actual right-to-left transcription of words employing the Hebrew alphabet, was unknown, and the only visual consequence of the twelfth-century renascence in Hebrew learning present in Parisian codices was Richard of Saint Victor's emulation of the set of liturgical and historical diagrams that formed an integral part of Rashi's *Commentary on Ezekiel*.[20]

Before the twelfth century, written Hebrew on the Continent and in the British Isles, when present, was visually represented by letter forms, termed "Samaritan" in a text falsely attributed to Jerome. These characters were fantastic in appearance and had only a very remote resemblance to the actual writing of medieval Jews. In late antiquity at Vivarium, correct Hebrew writing had been practiced in the circle of Cassiodorus. Indeed, Hebrew script was likely transferred to Northumbria with the codices of Cassiodorus' library, but while an interest in the Hebrew language was nurtured by Bede, command of written Hebrew vanished.[21] Excluding a few copies of Cassiodorus' *Commentary on the Psalter* (the earliest of which is English, MS Durham Cathedral B.II.30), which contained crude tracings of real Hebrew letters in their margins, the pseudo-Hebrew or "Samaritan" letters became the normal form of supposed Hebrew writing.[22] In the ninth century, it was these letters that were depicted in Ps. Jerome's *De formis Hebraicorum litterarum*.[23] Hrabanus Maurus at Fulda replicated these pseudo-"Hebrew" letters, and it was this form of graphic Hebrew that was practiced at Fleury.[24] The Hebrew alphabets that occurred in arithmetical writings attributed to Bede, which were diffused by Anglo-Saxon monks on the Continent, were

[15] D'Esneval 1981; Saltman 1978: 16–18 and 29–39. On the basis of late manuscripts, some scholars have attributed to him the standard thirteenth-century glossary of Hebrew names, an expansion of Jerome's *Liber interpretationis Hebraicorum nominum*, but when Langton cited this work in sermons, he asserted no claim of authorship; see Roberts 1968: 102–03.

[16] D'Alverny 1982: 428.

[17] See Smalley 1964, especially chapter 4. Shereshevsky 1968; Dahan 1985.

[18] Consult Ghellinck 1946: 163–68; Hunt 1948.

[19] Andrew of Saint Victor only employed transliterations; see Smalley 1951: 47. The interlinear Hebrew versions of Psalms 2 and 45 in MS Chartres, BM 22, were in transliteration, *PL* 27, 1521–24. Peter the Venerable also employed transliteration (see Friedman 1985: 132). Guillaume de Bourges, a converted Jew in the early years of the thirteenth century, made remarkably extensive use of transliteration (Dahan 1981). The Glossary of the Talmud compiled at the University of Paris around 1230, MS BN lat. 16558, used transliteration exclusively.

[20] Cahn 1994.

[21] See Gneuss 1992: 123–25; Loewe 1951/52: 227.

[22] Halporn 1981: 83–84; 1980. On the Samaritan letters, see Singer 1927: 289–91; Thiel 1973: 118–27.

[23] Lambert 1696–72: no. 401.

[24] MS Bern Bürgerbibliothek 417, fols. 94–99; MS Mostert 1989: no. BF 185. The text containing these letters is that of Pseudo-Jerome.

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usually, as in the genuine writings of Jerome, represented by the names of the Hebrew letters without any actual letters of the Hebrew alphabet themselves present. In the eighth century, the Vespasian Psalter contained a table of curiously Greek-like renditions of the Hebrew letters to complement the names of the letters in Psalm 118 (= Heb. 119).[25] In mid-ninth-century Tours, the use of correct Hebrew was likewise unknown. A rare copy of Jerome's *Iuxta Hebraicum* version of the Psalter (as opposed to the Gallican Psalter, based on the Septuagint text) copied at Tours, MS British Library, Harley 2793, contained in the margins of acrostic Psalm 118 the fantastic or Samaritan Hebrew characters. At Orléans, the sole recorded example of true Hebrew script in a Bible-related codex occurred as a single word in a gloss apparently added by a Jewish convert in a copy of the Bible of Theodolfus, MS BN lat. 11937.[26] In the tenth and eleventh centuries, the only correct Hebrew script present in the world of Christian scholars was a tiny corpus of correct Hebrew letters embedded in manuscripts containing Latin translations of Arabic and Syriac tracts on computation and the astrolabe emanating from the circle of Abbo of Fleury.[27]

A renascent interest in Hebrew writing as actually practiced by European Jews in a biblical context occurred in the twelfth century, not in France and Italy but in areas where the vernacular tongue was not a Latin derivative. While the Romance tradition ubiquitously respected the custom first established by Jerome of replicating Hebrew words and phrases only in Latin transliteration, a German scribe (working at the abbey of Liesborn in the diocese of Münster) interpolated into Jerome's *Liber interpretationis Hebraicorum nominum* a single letter written in Hebrew in a form remotely resembling the character for the letter *ʿayin*.[28] Although in codices copied in Germany in previous centuries Hebrew words were written in the fantastic Samaritan form, in twelfth-century codices originating from the great Benedictine abbeys of Bavaria, Jerome's works were accompanied by Hebrew alphabets that were at least for some letters visually closer to genuine Hebrew script (plates 15.1 and 15.2).[29]

This reception of graphic Hebrew was most fully developed in the twelfth century in England, where since the eighth century a literary tradition of writing diglot books containing the vernacular with the aid of special characters had evolved. The dual use of two scripts occurred in the eleventh century notably in diglot Anglo-Saxon and Latin codices of the Psalter.[30] A mid-twelfth-century Augustinian, Maurice of Kirkham in Yorkshire, who knew Hebrew, explicitly described Hebrew and English as related tongues.[31] Both languages were uninflected and had fixed word order when compared to classical Latin, and both Hebrew and Old English employed non-Roman characters. Alexander Neckam, schoolmaster at the royal Abbey of Saint Albans, who in a typically English manner employed both Old English and Anglo-French vernaculars in his Latin grammars, knew Hebrew and in his exegetical writings referred to visual aspects of the actual letters of the Hebrew alphabet as well as the graphic punctuation of the Hebrew Bible. He, however, like Andrew of Saint Victor at Paris, cited the words of Hebrew scripture only in Latin transliteration written from left to right.[32]

In other twelfth-century English manuscripts, we have unprecedented examples of di-graphic Latin codices in which genuine Hebrew script is present. In a tripartite Psalter, now MS Cambridge, Trinity College R.17.1, copied in about 1160 at Christ Church, Canterbury (formerly referred to as the Canterbury Psalter and now termed the Eadwine Psalter), the three texts of the Hebraicum, Gallican, and Roman Latin versions of the Psalter were accompanied by vernacular English and French translations.[33] In the margins of the acrostic Psalm 118 (fols. 211–26), a Christian scribe added correctly written Hebrew letters in brown ink, to complement the names of the Hebrew letters, which Jerome had used to signal to a reader of Latin that the original Hebrew poetry was acrostic (such Latin transliterations of Hebrew names and not real Hebrew letters are still to be found in modern standard editions of

[25] Wright and Campbell 1967. The same letters are repeated throughout Psalm 118; see Kuhn 1965: 179 and 302–03.

[26] On Exodus 30:34, fol. 18; see Saltman 1975: 10.

[27] MS BN lat. 17868, fol. 3v (Hebrew names of the planets), fol. 5 verso (Hebrew letters as numbers); Singer 1927: 291–92; van de Vyver 1936: 667 and 673.

[28] Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MS Theol. fol. 353; *CCSL* 72 (1959) 67 (other attempts to write Hebrew letters occur in the margin of the section for Genesis); see Saenger 2005: 102 n. 29.

[29] MS Munich CLM 4112 (from Augsburg, written between 1154 and 1159), fol. 1, where the alphabet accompanies the names of the Hebrew letters, a Greek alphabet, the names of the Greek letters, the symbols for Latin fractions, their names and an integrated alphabetical version of Jerome's *Liber interpretationis Hebraicorum nominum*; MS Munich BS Clm 22016 (from Wessobrunn), fol. 110r (see plate 15.2), where the letters are also accompanied by their names and moralizations, formed an appendix to Bede's alphabetical glossary of place names mentioned in the book of Acts. The latter codex also contains a Samaritan alphabet on fol. 60r (see plate 15.1).

[30] See the Paris Psalter, MS BN lat. 8824; Ker 1957: 440–41; see Loewe 1951/52: 214ff.

[31] James 1934: 289.

[32] See Wright 1863: xvi–xxvii and 6–7; Loewe 1958. On Neckam's use of the vernacular, see Scheler 1866.

[33] On the Eadwine Psalter, see Olszowy-Schlanger 2003: 58. Gibson, Heslop, and Pfaff 1992: 92–93.

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the Vulgate). MS Leiden, Bibliotheek der Universiteit Scaliger Heb. 8 (Or. 4725), the earliest diglot Hebrew/Latin Psalter, was copied in Canterbury in the mid-twelfth century.[34] Here, a scribe, likely a Christian and possibly a Jewish convert, placed Jerome's Latin Vulgate text in apposition to the original Hebrew text, copied in perfectly correct Hebrew characters, replete with Hebrew punctuation. The text in its unambiguous visual presentation highlighted the difference between the version of the Psalter's Christian versification — that is, its punctuation in poetic lines (likely originating at Vivarium and present for the first time in northern Europe in the Vespasian Psalter) — and the proper masoretic distinction of verses, universally respected by western European rabbinic tradition.[35]

Other more dramatic examples of the reception of graphic Hebrew occurred in two English monastic codices. MS Cambridge, Trinity College B.XIII.3, contained the sole complete copy of the English monk Odo's *Ysagoge in Theologiam*, dedicated to a celebrated rival of Thomas Becket, Gilbert Foliot, before the latter became bishop of Hereford in 1148.[36] Odo, perhaps the Odo, sub-prior of Canterbury, who corresponded with John of Salisbury, had studied in Paris under the influence of Abelard and Andrew of Saint Victor.[37] The Trinity codex was copied in England, as were the only other (partial) copies of the *Ysagoge*.[38] Perhaps inspired by the new genre of fictional dialogues between a monk and a rabbi that was especially popular in England, a portion of the *Ysagoge* contained a corpus of citations from the Hebrew Bible, selected to demonstrate the validity of the Christian interpretation of the Old Testament. In remarkable contrast to comparable French codices, and undoubtedly to amplify the veracity of its Hebrew-based argument, Odo cited the Old Testament primarily with Hebrew script, written possibly by a Jewish convert into spaces that the Latin scribe had originally left blank, in accurate transcriptions written right to left and not in Latin transliteration written left to right. Moreover, the Hebrew of the citations was punctuated not by marks drawn from the usual highly developed repertory of Insular graphic signs, but by the *sōf pāsūq*, the Hebrew *punctus versus*, which we would call a colon mark. However, these marks were not placed according to the rigorous masoretic conventions of punctuation, but according to the far less consistently standardized Christian tradition of versification for the prose books of the Old Testament. The *punctus versus* was first documented by the Maurdramnus Bible and was likely of Insular origin.[39] The scribe who wrote the Hebrew citations also used a three-point cluster of *yōd*s for the *nomina sacra* of the Lord, an abbreviation subsequently employed in England in Christian Hebraica.[40] Such *yōd* clusters, while thoroughly Jewish, had peculiar visual resonances in an English context that had witnessed the intense use of visually similar point clusters in Insular punctuation since the late seventh century. In England such a tri-point cluster to denote the name of God would surely have suggested the Trinity to a Christian Englishman (see plate 15.3).

A fourth codex linked to the graphic reception of Hebrew in England is a Vulgate Bible, MS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 48, copied in about 1180 at the royal Abbey of Saint Albans.[41] In the margin of the book of Lamentations, a Jewish scribe, perhaps a convert, copied in gold ink the letters of the Hebrew alphabet, complementing the acrostic dimension of the stanzas that Jerome had represented by the use of transliteration of the names of the Hebrew letters, just as in Psalm 118 (see plate 15.4). In earlier centuries, fantastic forms of the Hebrew alphabet had occasionally been juxtaposed to Jerome's *Commentary on Jeremiah*, but in MS Corpus 48, the letters were exquisitely correct and in the presence of the acrostic text.[42] Additionally, in MS Corpus 48, a concordance of two sets of etymologies or moralizations of the significance of the names of Hebrew letters, one extrapolated from Jerome's Epistle no. 30 to Saint Paula in 384, the other unrelated to Jerome, accompany the text of Lamentations. The second and perhaps the first of these sets of moralized Hebrew letters originated in England in the early Middle Ages, and their tandem and concordant presentation here was a unique characteristic of twelfth-century English biblical manuscripts, particularly evidenced in the three late twelfth-century biblical codices emanating from Saint Albans.[43]

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[34] Lieftinck 1955 and pls. 6–8; Olszowy-Schlanger 2003: 205–11.

[35] See Parkes 1993: pl. 43.

[36] See Landgraf 1934: 61–289; Fischer 1934; Luscombe 1968.

[37] Jeauneau 1984: 148.

[38] MS British Library, Royal 10.A.12, fols. 117v–123, and MS British Library, Harley 3038, fols. 3–7v; see Luscombe 1968: 16.

[39] I have personally verified that the punctuation as reproduced by Landgraf is entirely faithful to the manuscript.

[40] Landgraf 1934: 284; Olszowy-Schlanger 2003: 63.

[41] See Saenger and Bruck 2008: 186–87.

[42] See Saenger and Bruck 2008: 186 n. 35. For an example of a fantastic Hebrew alphabet, see MS BN lat. 152, fol. 30.

[43] The two others are MS Dublin, Trinity College 51 and MS Eton College 26, both discussed below. On the origin of both texts, see Thiel 1973: 90–96.

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Other aspects of MS Corpus 48 link it to the renewed English interest in Hebrew. It was the first Latin Bible to be supplemented by an alphabetically arranged list of Hebrew names — that is, Hebrew words (including both nouns and verbs) — presented in transliteration. In the thirteenth century, such an appendix was to become a regular manuscript supplement to the Vulgate Bible. The authorship of this reader aid was subsequently and erroneously attributed to Langton. The earliest alphabetical glossaries of Hebrew in transliteration had been English, and in twelfth-century England, there was a renewed interest in such study tools.[44]

MS Corpus 48 and a closely related Saint Albans Bible, MS Eton College 26, stand alone in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, as Latin Bibles written in three columns per page.[45] This format, normal among larger Hebrew biblical codices of the early and central Middle Ages, was consistent with rules first set down in late antiquity that a scribe copying a Torah scroll was required to write a minimum of three columns per membrane. The three-column codex page also suggested the requisite mode of displaying a minimum of three columns when opening and reading the Torah.[46] In late antiquity, some of the Greek and Old Latin biblical codices, mentioned above on account of their emulation of Hebrew text segmentation, also had graphically mirrored the Torah scroll by employing a three-column format. In MS Corpus 48, an unusual Genesis initial depicted God confiding the law to Moses apparently in the form of a Torah on two rollers, while below a blank scroll was unrolled as a banderolle.[47]

For the purpose of this essay, the primary significance of MS Corpus 48 is that it is the earliest manuscript that I have encountered to date to display the modern chapter divisions, which from 1220 to about 1235 came to be identified with Stephen Langton as archbishop of Canterbury. The numbers present in MS Corpus 48 are in part original — that is, they are the sole numbers present in the Major Prophets, notably Isaiah. For the five books of Moses, they are contemporary substitutes for an initial numeration that was carefully altered and which is now scarcely visible. Similarly, twelfth-century original and reworked numbers were present in Saint Albans' two other complete Bibles: MS Dublin, Trinity College 56, likely written after MS Corpus 48 and, circa 1200, in MS Eton College 26.[48] Two discrete New Testaments (a genre of book that was itself an Insular innovation) copied at Saint Albans in the late twelfth century also evince early renumbering according to the modern schema.[49]

Together the Saint Albans corpus of five biblical manuscripts constitute a unique group of codices, earlier in date than the first Parisian manuscripts with chaptering added according to the modern schema. In the French codices the new numbers complemented pre-existing numbered divisions, usually employing a system derivative of that of the Maurdramnus Bible employed by Alcuin.[50] These Bibles, not all of which were necessarily initially copied in Paris, have been dated on solid art-historical and palaeographic grounds to the first decade of the thirteenth century.[51] The only French Bible with modern numbering dating from the twelfth century and close in date to that in the five Saint Albans Bibles is the four-volume choir Bible of Saint Stephen Harding, MSS Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale 11–15, copied and emendated in the late twelfth century at the Burgundian Abbey of Cîteaux.[52]

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[44] The Corpus Glossary, MS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 184, fols. 1–3v, written at Canterbury in the early ninth century; Gneuss 1992: 124. In the twelfth century, Ralph Niger reworked Jerome's *Liber interpretationis Hebraicorum nominum*; see Flahiff 1940: 121. In MS Munich BS Clm 4112, we find another example of a monastic alphabetical re-arrangement of Jerome, analogous to MS Corpus Christi College 48, but not attached to a Bible.

[45] The three-column format waned in the thirteenth century; see Sirat 2002: 33. For a rare late example of a northern European three-column Bible, see Hahn 2007: 16.

[46] *Sōfĕrīm* i.12; ii.6; iii.10; *Sēfer tōrā* ii.6 (trans. in Cohen 1965: 215–16, 218–19, 223, 635). See Yeivin 1980: 136.

[47] For the Jewish and Christian iconography of the law as a scroll rather than tablets, see Sarfatti 1990: 390–95; St. Clair 1984: 16 and 27 n. 16; 1987: 21 and 26 n. 27. For the Jewish tradition of confounding the Torah scroll and the tablets mentioned in the text of Exodus, see Ginzberg 1909–38: 3:119 and 7:49–50 nn. 258 and 259.

[48] In MS Eton 26, the process of careful erasure and substitution is maintained only for Genesis and the beginning of Exodus, after which the older Alcuinic numeration is left visible, as in the early Paris codices with modern chaptering added.

[49] MS Cambridge, Saint John's College G.15 and MS BLO Finch f.25. For the former, see Saenger and Bruck 2008; for the latter, see Thomson 1982: 32, 54, 60, and 85. The only antique codex that resembled a New Testament, MS Fulda Landesbibliothek, Bonifatianus 1, only included the Gospels in a form of harmony of Gospel texts. It had an Anglo-Saxon provenance (see *CLA* VIII, no. 1196; Petitmengin 1985: 107–10; Metzger 1977: 335). Only the ninth-century Irish Book of Armagh predates the New Testaments of Saint Albans; see Kenney 1968: no. 131.

[50] These Bibles have been enumerated by Light (1994).

[51] See in regard to MS BN lat. 14233, Stirnemann 1993: 196–213.

[52] None of the scholars who have examined this manuscript has doubted that the numbering and other emendations date from the twelfth century. See Lang 1939: 82; Lang 1939/40; Zaluska 1989: 73.

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At Saint Albans, we encounter not only the conjuncture of an interest in Hebrew script, page format, vocabulary, and text sectioning, but also a complementary interest in standardized chaptering of the New Testament and a rare and perhaps unique development of a reference system depending on standard New Testament chapter divisions. Incorporated into MS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 48, as prefatory material to the Gospels, Saint Albans scribes placed the earliest surviving copy of Senatus of Worcester's epistle explicating the use of the Canons of Eusebius as a tool for correcting errors in the text introduced by scribes over the centuries.[53] Here, Senatus used the later term *capitulum* for the Eusebian divisions, which we term "sections." Since late antiquity, these divisions had customarily been marked in the margins of the Gospels, in Greek and especially in Latin codices. However, in both Latin Bibles and Gospel books, the exact breaking points between the sectional divisions did not always correspond. Therefore Senatus, or perhaps a Saint Albans' monk working under his influence, compiled and placed after Senatus' epistle the earliest surviving full incipit list for the Eusebian sections of each of the four Gospels. This table is only replicated in a single early thirteenth-century English codex, MS BN lat. 16794, which also contains Senatus' epistle as well as the Gospel gloss of Senatus.[54] A related table of Eusebian incipits is found attached to the Gospels in an early thirteenth-century English Bible, MS British Library Add. 15452. No similar tool to my knowledge exists in a Parisian or other Continental codex.[55]

While lists of incipits for sections of the Torah were an integral part of masoretic tradition and survive in manuscripts dating from at least as early as the ninth century, such lists, intended for the standardization of biblical sections, had no equivalent for any form of chaptering in either Byzantium or the Latin West.[56] Perhaps significantly, the four Gospels in MS Corpus 48 was the sole section of the Saint Albans Bible where the modern system of chaptering was not consistently present.

This evident concern in MS Corpus 48 to achieve standardization for the Eusebian chapters should be appreciated in the context of MS Oxford, Christ Church 87, a volume containing Rupert of Deutz's *Liber de divinis officiis* copied at Saint Albans at the end of the twelfth century.[57] In this volume, a contemporary scribe added in the generous margins, apparently provided for the purpose, identifications of Rupert's allegation of scripture. For references to the Pentateuch, the scribe frequently used one of a number of variant forms of the chapter system associated with Alcuin, but for the Gospels he consistently employed the Eusebian chapter numbers, which, at least for Matthew and Luke, he sometimes supplemented with a chapter number referring to one of the schemas often used in England.[58] Such a well-developed system of citation of the Gospels on the bases of standard divisions was without antecedent in antiquity or the earlier Middle Ages when references based on the Eusebian section were extremely rare and, when present, exclusively liturgical.[59]

Thus it was in a monastery in England and not in the schools of Paris that standardized chaptering and chapter references for the Latin Vulgate appear to have originated. Also, at Saint Albans, English monks introduced modern chaptering, and in so doing they were likely inspired by large-format three-column Hebrew Bibles, similar to MS Valmadonna Trust 1, copied in England in the twelfth century, in which numbered *sĕdārīm*, while unmarked, could easily have been located from the lists of incipits provided by the Masora.[60]

To this argument for an English origin of the modern standardized system of chapters present in Corpus 48, it might be objected that Stephen Langton, who was English, used the chapter divisions in biblical commentaries composed when he was professor of theology at Paris from about 1180 to 1206. Langton, however, evinces knowledge of little if any Hebrew and therefore seems an unlikely figure to have inaugurated a system that correlates so well with the liturgical distinctions of the Hebrew Bible. Moreover, no late twelfth-century copies of Langton's commentaries survive to prove that when a Paris professor of theology he actually used the system for the invention of which he has so often been given credit. To the contrary, the earliest surviving manuscripts of Langton's commentaries, prepared by his Parisian disciples from originals now lost, date from the second and

[53] Turner 1916: xliv–li; Martène and Durand 1717: 484–86.

[54] Avril and Stirnemann 1987: no. 97.

[55] Boase 1953: 285. Beginning with the British Museum's *Catalogue of Additional Manuscripts* for 1845, some have considered the illumination and therefore the codex to be French. However, the presence of a duplex Psalter (and in particular one that includes the Roman Psalter), variants in the chapter division, the table of incipits for the Eusebian section, all confirm that this Bible is English. On duplex Roman Psalters, see Bennett 1973: 69.

[56] For the masoretic lists, see Perrot 1973: 37–47; and Mann 1971.

[57] Thomson 1982: 63 and 111.

[58] See Bruyne 1914: 500ff. and 513ff., cols. A and B; see Verey 1980: 19–21. These divisions often correspond to the modern schema.

[59] Andrieu 1974: 290, 353, 394, and 424.

[60] I am deeply appreciative of Professor David Kraemer for assisting me in the examination of this codex when it was in New York City in early 2009.

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third decades of the thirteenth century, and these do not usually cite scripture by the modern system. Some of them refer to no chapter numbering at all; others have diverse chapter numbers added in the margins (much as in early thirteenth-century Parisian Bibles), which, however, are usually not consistent with the modern schema of chapter division.[61] Where the numbers in Langton manuscripts do agree with modern usage, it is often in the context of secondary portions of scripture, such as the book of Chronicles, and the short books of the Old and New Testaments, such as the Minor Prophets and the Catholic Epistles, where the modern system likely replicated practices that may eventually be documented as having been employed in early English or Parisian Bibles, which do not have modern chapters. It is certain that at least one early thirteenth-century glossed manuscript, BN lat. 17204, cited as confirming the use of modern chapter division among Parisian students, contains schemas that do not in fact, on close examination, fully correspond to them.[62]

Precious indications of when Langton in fact began the use of modern chapter divisions occur in MS Cambridge, Saint John's College 7.[63] Copied around 1212, it contains Langton's *Summa* formed of his separately composed *quaestiones*, transcribed precisely when this composition was receiving its final confection under the Archbishop's supervision, either at Pontigny or possibly at Canterbury after his installation (1213). For the most part, the text refers to no chapter division at all, but on folio 175 verso, we can see one of the archbishop's secretaries inserting a portion of text that contained two concordant references to the Pentateuch and Isaiah.[64] These account for two of the manuscript's four references to the Bible according to the modern division.[65] It is also true that MS Bibliothèque Mazarine 5, the earliest datable Bible to have been copied and rubricated with both the old Alcuinic and the new chapter divisions from inception, was likely produced at Christ Church Canterbury around 1215–1220, after Langton's installation.[66] This manuscript is likely the earliest thirteenth-century manuscript to contain contemporary marginal cross references to concordant passages of scripture referring to the modern divisions.[67]

In conclusion, manuscript evidence does not sustain that Langton had embraced the modern chapter divisions when in 1207 he departed from Paris for Pontigny, eventually to return to England. In the absence of dated or datable Langton manuscripts prior to 1213, when he was installed in Canterbury, scholars at the end of the nineteenth and in the early twentieth centuries attempted to date Langton's supposed innovation of modern chaptering on the basis of Robert de Courson's use of chapter references in his *Summa*, which a scholar a century ago dated to 1209–11 when he, like Langton, was an Englishman teaching theology in Paris.[68] In fact, Courson's *Summa*, like that of Langton, was likely composed by the accretion of separately composed and revised *questiones* over an extended period of time that probably continued after he had left the university. Like Langton's *Summa*, the modern mode of citation in Courson's *Summa* was only present in a small portion of the entire work, specifically in the *quaestiones* on tithing, on the Eucharist, and on prayer, which Courson probably composed or revised after he confronted the Albigensian heretics, around 1214–1216, a period in his life when, according to the chronicler Matthew Paris (of Saint Albans), he had joined with Langton in preaching against heresy in southern France and Flanders.[69] In contrast, throughout his work Courson referred to the corpus of canon law by numbered sections.

Langton's name first became linked to modern chapter divisions in four separate manuscript sources around 1420–1435. Two incipit lists, one English and one French, and two English Bibles identify him as archbishop of Canterbury with the new schema. Scholars in the late nineteenth century treated the list copied in MS BN lat. 14417 at the Abbey of Saint Victor as authoritative, apparently only because it was easily accessible in two

[61] Examples include MS BN lat. 384, where the numbers are not modern save for 2 Chronicles. MS BN lat. 393 has no numbers; MS Philadelphia Free Library E 15 has only three references added in the margin, and two at least appear to be modern. See Landgraf 1937: 85–86.

[62] Lobrichon 1998: 20.

[63] Gregory 1930; Quinto 1994: 99–102; Powicke 1928: 63–71; James 1913: 74–75.

[64] Concordance references that refer to older schemas are common in the margins of early Bibles, both at Saint Albans (e.g., MSS BLO Finch e.25, and Eton College 26) and in Paris.

[65] Two other references occur on fol. 290v.

[66] The date may be established by the transition in the codex from new numbers written in red to bi-colored red/blue. See Samaran and Marichal 1959–84: 1:412; Molinier 1885–92: 1:2–3. It is by error that Quentin (1922: 386) referred to this codex as a product of the University of Paris.

[67] A Parisian codex, MS Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine 12, fol. 118v, also has cross references to the modern chapter divisions, at least for the New Testament.

[68] Landgraf 1937: 87–88; Dickson and Dickson 1934.

[69] On Courson's mode of composition, see Kennedy 1947: 81; Powicke 1928: 64. On Courson's collaboration with Langton, see *MGH Scriptores* XXVIII, 442–43; Vaughan 1958: 159–61; and Southern 1946: 66–67 nn. 7 and 239.

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separate printed editions.[70] In point of fact, the Parisian list has no inherent basis for precedence; objectively all four manuscript sources have an equal claim to represent the schema eventually employed by the archbishop.[71] Moreover, it is significant that these sources do not entirely agree with one another. Close comparison among them reveals that by the time Langton's name, always as archbishop of Canterbury, was explicitly identified with modern chaptering, there already had evolved over the course of over thirty years a pattern of mostly minor discrepancies in the precise points of chapter division. Almost all such variants can be documented in the earliest biblical codices from Saint Albans, Cîteaux, Canterbury, and Paris. The standard Paris version of the system does not correspond to any one of these four sources, but rather it originates from the stationers of the University of Paris, where it is anonymously first exemplified in the earliest Parisian portable Bible, MS Dole, BM 15, dated in 1234.[72] This codex contains the new chapter divisions fully integrated into a congruent paragraph format clearly created to receive them. The new chaptering is combined with the standard order of biblical books and the standard glossary of Hebrew names, the very text that later thirteenth-century manuscripts on occasion attributed to Langton. However, as we have already seen, the new divisions and an early version of the glossary of Hebrew names had already been combined in a single codex, MS Corpus 48, at Saint Albans two generations earlier, when Langton was just beginning his career in Paris. In its order of books, the Bible of the Parisian stationers was Parisian and is already reflected in Peter Comestor's *Scholastica historica* of around 1170. The Hebrew order held greater sway in England, and it is reflected in MS Corpus 48.

Viewing the modern chapter divisions as an English innovation of Hebraic inspiration, which first migrated to the Continent at the Abbey of Cîteaux and which was accepted by Stephen Langton only after he had left Paris and been named archbishop of Canterbury, also implies a re-evaluation of the varieties of chaptering found in Hebrew manuscript Bibles, the fifteenth-century concordances of Isaac Nathan, and later in Hebrew printed Bibles of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Since within Latin Vulgate Bibles numerous variations existed beginning with late twelfth-century Bibles from Saint Albans and Cîteaux and continuing in the thirteenth century in Bibles copied in France and in England, it cannot be assumed that the variations in Christian chapter division present in the Hebrew Bible stem directly from the *sĕdārīm*, *pārāshiyyōt*, or *pisqāʾōt* divisions visible in the standard Masoretic Text. Instead, numerous variations among Hebrew Bibles may be explained by the Latin variants present in the Vulgate that in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries had been inspired by the Hebrew format. Indeed, such variants are well documented in twelfth- and thirteenth-century English manuscripts of the Latin Vulgate.

Discrepancies in points of chapter divisions in Hebrew Bible manuscripts that mark the Christian divisions such as MS CUL Add. (Or.) 465 and MS Cambridge, Saint John's College 1 (A1), have yet to be enumerated. However, recent scholarship on printed Hebrew Bibles has examined editions, commencing with those published in the sixteenth century, and determined that they evince variants in their points of the Christian divisions when compared to the modern Hebrew Bible as well as to the modern Latin Vulgate and historic Protestant Bibles.[73] These disparities have been interpreted as reflecting attempts of scholars, mostly Jewish, to modify the Christian divisions, supposedly invented by Stephen Langton, to be more congruent with the masoretic divisions of the Hebrew. I offer some examples referring for the sake of consistency and clarity only to the verse number as printed in the modern Vulgate.[74] Some Hebrew printed Bibles begin chapter 6 of Genesis at 5:31b and not at 6:1, which makes the beginning of the chapter correspond to the beginning of a new *pisqāʾ*. However, a large corpus of Parisian and non-Parisian and especially English twelfth- and thirteenth-century Bibles also begin chapter 6 at verse 5:31b, implying that the influence of Hebraic text division was already present among medieval Christian scholars and scribes.[75] Similarly, numerous English thirteenth-century Vulgate Bibles (including MS Eton College 26 from Saint

[70] J. P. P. Martin 1888; Schmid 1892.

[71] The other list is in MS Oxford, Magdalen College 168. The Bibles that explicitly cite Langton are MS Lyon, BM 414, copied in England, likely at Oxford, and MS CUL Add. 6679, copied with certainty at Cîteaux. The Cambridge Bible was discovered and brought to my attention by Professor Paul Binski of Gonville and Caius College. It has never previously been cited in the Langton literature. There is no incipit list in MS Cambridge, Trinity College 212, but only a table of books and the modern number of chapters (see Lacombe and Smalley 1930: 15).

[72] Samaran and Marichal 1959–84: 5:153. According to Roger Bacon, the Parisian text was established by *theologii* and *stationarii* in about 1230; see *Opus Minus* (Rolls Series, vol. 15, London, 1859), 333.

[73] See the articles of David Marcus (2002, 2003).

[74] Discrepancies between the Christian and the Hebrew Bible (and among Christian Bibles) occur both when the division of the chapters vary and when the divisions of verses on occasion vary.

[75] English Bibles in which Genesis 6 begins at 5:31b include MS Corpus 48, MS Eton College 26, and MS BN lat. 13149, an early Bible probably from Oxford from the time of Robert Grosseteste.

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Albans) began the sixth chapter of Exodus at 6:2, the beginning of a *sĕdārīm* section, as do printed English and French Protestant Bibles of the sixteenth century.[76] In contrast, Hebrew printed Bibles universally embrace the tradition of the Paris stationers, which does not respect the Hebrew text's segmentation. Similarly, the standard Hebrew Bible begins Exodus chapter 22 at 22:2, where there is no Hebrew segmentation. However, the stationers of Paris and the four early witnesses that link the modern chapter divisions to Stephen Langton begin this chapter at 22:1, where there is a *pisqā*ʾ division in Hebrew. For Deuteronomy 13, two of the Langton sources along with MS Corpus 48 identify Deuteronomy 12:32, the beginning of a *sēder*, as the incipit of the chapter, agreeing thereby with the modern Hebrew Bible.

For the Pentateuch, the two largest discrepancies between modern Hebrew chaptering and the standard Vulgate points of chapter demarcation occur in the books of Numbers and Leviticus. Numerous thirteenth-century biblical codices of English origin and Hebrew printed Bibles begin Numbers chapter 17 at 16:36.[77] Similarly, MS Corpus 48, one of the four Langton sources, the two versions of the fourteenth-century Wycliffe vernacular Bible, and English Protestant printed Bibles of the sixteenth century embrace 6:8 as the beginning of Leviticus 6. Numbers 16:36 and Leviticus 6:8 both constitute the beginning of a *sēder*. It is thus clear that the uncertainties of chapter division that still linger in modern Hebrew, Protestant, and Vulgate editions of the Pentateuch did not begin with the sixteenth-century Hebrew renaissance. Instead they were but a continuation of a graphic dialogue with the Masoretic Bible that had originated in twelfth- and early thirteenth-century Vulgate Bibles copied in England at Saint Albans and at Canterbury.

ABBREVIATIONS

BM	Bibliothèque municipale
CCSL	*Corpus Christianorum: series latina*. Turnhout: Brepols, 1953–
CLA	*Codices latini antiquiores: A Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts Prior to the Ninth Century.* Edited by E. A. Lowe. 11 volumes. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1934–72
DJD 12	Ulrich and Cross 1994
MGH Scriptores	*Monumenta Germaniae historica: Scriptorum*. Hannoverae: Impensis bibliopolii aulici Hahniani, 1826–1934
Munich Clm	Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Codices latini monacenses
PL	*Patrologia latina* [= Patrologiae cursus completus: series latina]. Edited by J.-P. Migne. 217 volumes. Paris, 1844–64

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[76] Printed Bibles include those of Tyndale (1530), Coverdale (1535), and the Olivetan French Bible (1535).

[77] The English Bibles include MS British Library, Harley 1748, MS BN lat. 15, MS BN lat. 17950, and MS Durham Cathedral C.III.22.

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16

BIBLICAL HERMENEUTICS IN ABRAHAM BAR ḤAYYA'S (ḤIYYA'S) "BOOK OF INTERCALATION": READING SCIENCE AND PHILOSOPHY INTO THE BIBLE

*ISRAEL M. SANDMAN**

Abraham bar Ḥayya (or Ḥiyya; Spain, ca. 1065–France, ca. 1136) is a foundational figure in the emergence of medieval Jewish works on mathematics and science, particularly in the Hebrew language.[1] His book on the fixed calendar, commonly referred to as *Sēfer hā-ʿibbūr* (book of intercalation/the fixed calendar),[2] treats astronomy and its relation to the fixing of the Jewish calendar.[3] To present the relevant astronomical data, Bar Ḥayya did not need to establish an exegetical link between the data and the Bible. Nevertheless, he did so. My goal in this article is to undertake a preliminary examination and articulation of Bar Ḥayya's hermeneutical system and goals. To do so I analyze four representative passages from the aforementioned work. To facilitate careful study, I am including my preliminary critical Hebrew edition[4] and annotated English translation of those passages.

Bar Ḥayya introduces this work on the science of the calendar not with science, but rather with biblical exegesis. This opening piece of exegesis demonstrates that the Bible itself and the religious observances mandated therein presuppose the use of calendrical science. Similarly, at the beginning of chapter 1, where Bar Ḥayya introduces his first scientific topic, he immediately supports this bit of science with, again, biblical exegesis. At the beginning of chapter two, he introduces a new scientific topic. While this time he does not affirm the science by means of biblical exegeses, he does affirm it with the assertion that "the Sages of Israel ... as well as the sages of the [other] nations are in agreement" on this topic. In all three cases, Bar Ḥayya's underlying premise is that Judaism (embodying both the lived religion as well as the text of the Bible) is in harmony with science. Implicitly reiterating this point in the first few sections of his work allows Bar Ḥayya to go so far as to subsequently use biblical hermeneutics to clarify scientific issues, as in chapter 5, where he uses verses from Genesis, Psalms, and Job to argue the correct way to orient the compass directions in drawing a map.

One of his most important premises regarding the harmony between philosophy/science and Judaism is embodied in the first case mentioned above. Its underlying theme is not that science and Judaism are in mere, generic harmony, but that science is actually an integral part of Judaism. Since Judaism cannot function without science, Judaism essentially includes science. This, in fact, is the premise that underlies his entire book. As he states in his introduction, "Since I have come to explicate the method for calculating months and years — it being the case that we are obligated to know their calculation, to understand the method of ordering them and harmonizing them, so that we may sanctify the months in their (proper) time and to observe, in their legally

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[1] For concise biographical and bibliographical information, see Roth 2003.

[2] This title does not actually occur in any of the twenty-odd extant manuscripts of the work. Only in MS Moscow Guenzburg 509 does a title, ספר החזיון (*Sēfer ha-ḥizzāyōn*), occur as an integral part of the text. In various manuscripts, various titles were added on outer margins or leaves by later hands, and H. Filipowski headed his London 1851 printed edition with the title *Sēfer hā-ʿibbūr*. The work (whatever its title really is) is now being critically edited, translated, and annotated as part of the AHRC "Medieval Monographs on the Jewish Calendar" project mentioned above.

[3] That is, predetermining the calendar in advance for an extended period rather than working it out on an ad hoc basis.

[4] While many of the manuscripts, including representatives of all the main families, have been consulted, the editing of these passages is not complete. Furthermore, some passages have been more fully edited than others. Note that the Hebrew text is synthetic, not based on any single manuscript.

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proper manner, the appointed festivals that come in their wake — it was necessary for me to explicate" various ancillary scientific matters.

Another of his most important premises about the philosophy/science-Judaism harmony is, as noted, that rigorously rational and logical, even formal, thought patterns are imbedded within the language of the Bible. Thus by reading with the proper lenses, one will explicate all sorts of rational/philosophical insights.

Finally, although Bar Ḥayya, as a Rabbanite (as opposed to a Karaite) Jew, speaks with veneration about the Sages of the Talmud, he does not feel bound to their exegesis, as seen below. This raises the question of Bar Ḥayya's independence of thought in general, and most importantly in the area of exactly how the calendar is to be fixed.

Bar Ḥayya's exegesis operates upon basic hermeneutical principles held by exegetes of all stripes both in his time and before, namely, that the Bible requires a close, exacting reading that accounts for particulars and nuances, and that despite all its diversity, the Bible is a unified work. His distinctiveness lies in his additional principles, namely (as already discussed), that formal/systematic methods of reasoning, and/or scientific/philosophical principles, are to be read into the Bible. Various applications of these hermeneutical principles emerge in various cases of exegesis. In particular, Bar Ḥayya finds the following four philosophical/rational points imbedded within the four cases analyzed herein, seriatim: biblical wording employs oppositional pairs, the reversal of their order over the course of various verses implies that they are equal and mutually contingent, and heaven and earth are one such pair; time consists of the sphere's movement; there exists symmetry and balance within creation; and there is a difference in magnitude between "length" and "width."

TEXTS, TRANSLATIONS, AND ANALYSIS

Sigla and Conventions

Lemmata in the critical apparatus are set in boldface type, followed by a colon, the variant reading, a semicolon, the manuscript siglum (where applicable followed also by a comma and additional siglum/sigla, and/or "|"), and a period.

If an entry runs over more than one line, it is listed in the order in which its first word occurs, and the line where it ends is given, preceded by a dash, between curly brackets (e.g., {3–} [reading from right to left]).

[ ]	not in all versions (used for text or space)
‹ ›	marginal or interlinear insertion
{ }	contains the closing range of a lemma that runs over the line
|	different variant for the same lemma
–	not attested in listed MS
//	separates between lemmata in the apparatus
(word) +	(word) before lemma
+ (word)	lemma followed by (word)
^{1}א	MS BLO Opp. 183
ד	Filipowski's text (though differences between Filipowski's MS and the printed edition are distinguished by the following two sigla)
^{1}ד	Filipowski 1851
^{2}ד	MS Cincinnati, Hebrew Union College 898
^{1}ס	MS Jewish Theological Seminary of America (JTS) 2500
^{2}ס	MS JTS 2564
^{3}ס	MS JTS 2596
^{4}ס	MS JTS 5512
^{1}ו	MS Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Vatican) Urb. Ebr. 48

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ו[2]	MS Vatican Neofiti 30
ו[3]	MS Vatican Ebr. 386
ל[1]	MS British Library (BL) Add. 26899
ל[2]	MS BL Or. 10538
ל[3]	MS BL Or. 10776
מג[2]	MS Moscow, Russian State Library (Российская государственная библиотека), Ginzburg 509
מ[1]	MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. hebr. 91
פ[1]	MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale (BN) héb. 1047
פ[2]	MS BN héb. 805
פ[3]	MS BN héb. 1061
פל	MS Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Or. 491

Text 1

Background

Topic: The illustration of philosophical/rational principles.

Formal Reasoning: Mutually contingent oppositional pairs, implied in reversal of pair elements.

Scientific Principle: Heaven and earth are mutually contingent.

Bar Ḥayya begins by quoting a biblical verse and relating it to a concept that may be summarized as "mutually contingent oppositional pairs." He then illustrates this concept with the pair "up and down." These are oppositional because "up" is the opposite of "down," and they are mutually contingent because we cannot conceive of up without automatically implying the other half of the pair, namely, down, and vice versa. Bar Ḥayya finds this conceptual construct — namely, "mutually contingent oppositional pairs" — implied in the Bible's statements about the coming into being of heaven and earth. In other words, he sees the Bible to be saying that neither of the two elements of the oppositional pair heaven and earth can come to be (nor function, as we shall see) without the other. Throughout the Bible, the coming into being of heaven and earth is mentioned as a tandem process. While in some verses the coming into being of heaven is noted first, and the coming into being of earth is noted second, in other verses this order is reversed.

As the talmudic sages of late antiquity, who preceded him (see, for example, *b. Ḥăgīgā* 12a, and parallel passages), Bar Ḥayya reads closely and exactingly into this pairing of heaven and earth, and into the order reversal of the pair elements, even when the reversal occurs between verses in different biblical books. He echoes the view of the general body of talmudic sages (disagreeing with the schools of Hillel and Shammai) that both heaven and earth were created simultaneously.

Despite these substantive commonalities with the talmudic assumptions and conclusions, Bar Ḥayya's hermeneutics are quite different in spirit from those of the Talmud. In fact, Bar Ḥayya makes no reference to the talmudic discussion, and he even carries out his own exegesis, using different proof texts. Whereas in spirit, the talmudic hermeneutics revolve around the word of scripture, any other concepts remaining hidden between the lines, the spirit of Bar Ḥayya's hermeneutics (in the spirit of his *Sitz im Leben*) is to search explicitly for philosophical/scientific concepts that can be derived from scripture, using analysis of the scriptural word as a mere means to this philosophical end. In this case, his main concern is not, as in the Talmud, the order of creation per se (or the relative theological importance of heaven and earth, which may be the subterranean point of the Talmud passage). Rather, his main concern is biblical affirmation of a scientific concept — namely, that heaven and earth are mutually contingent in their existence, their functioning, and their effects.

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Critical Edition of the Hebrew Text: Beginning of the Introduction[5]

כתוב י״י בחכמה יסד ארץ כונן שמים בתבונה. יהי שמו של[ ]הק׳ב׳ה׳ משובח ומפואר אשר ברא רם ושפל כנגד מעלה ומטה ותלה את האחד בשני כדי שיהיה כל אחד מהן מפרש את השני והמבין את ענין האחד מבין את ענין השני כי היודע ענין מעלה מיד הוא יודע ומבין ענין מטה ומתוך שהוא מבין ענין מטה יתפרש לו ענין מעלה. וכן דרך כל שני דברים שהן תלויין זה בזה ולווים זה אל זה יהיה כל אחד מהן מתחבר עם חבירו בפירושו ומשתתף עמו בגדר ענינו. ומצאנו הכתוב כמו כן תלה יצירת שמים וארץ זו בזו פעמים האחד מוקדם ופעמים הוא מאוחר. בכתוב אחד אומר י״י בחכמה יסד ארץ כונן שמים בתבונה. יסד ארץ בחכמה ואחר כך כונן שמים בתבונה. וכתו׳ אחר אומר נוטה שמים לבדי רוקע הארץ מאתי. נוטה שמים ואחר כך רוקע הארץ. ללמדך כי כל אחד מהם תלוי בשני וכל אחד מהן נמצא בגלל השני ואין אדם יכול להבין יצירת האחד אלא מתוך יצירת השני. זה בדרך יצירתן על אחת כמה וכמה בדבר שהוא תולדה יוצאה מביניהן כגון הרוצה לפרש ענין הימים והחדשים והשנים יהיה מצטרך בודאי להודיע ענין יצירת השמים והארץ ודרך מהלך הגלגל ואחר[ ]כך יהיה יכול לפרש ענין היום והחדש כי אין תחום החדשים נגבל אלא ממהלך החמה והלבנה. ומהלך החמה והלבנה נמשך עם מהלך הגלגל והקפתו.

1 **כתוב** ... **בתבונה**: –; פ^{3}. // **כונן**: כוני; מ^{1}. // **הק׳ב׳ה׳**: ה׳ק׳ב׳ה׳; מג^{2}, ו^{2}, פ^{3}. // **כנגד**: –; א^{1}, פ^{3}. // 2 **את**^{1}: –; א^{1}. // **כדי** ... **השני**^{2}: –; פ^{3}. // **שיהיה**: שיהא; ו^{2}. // **את**: –; פ^{3}. // **כי**: –; פ^{3}. // **מעלה**: + ומטה; מ^{1}. // {–3} **מעלה** ... **ענין**^{2}: –; פ^{3}. // 3 **שהוא מבין**: שיבין; ד | שיודע; פ^{3}. // **מבין**: יודע ומבין; מג^{2}. // **יתפרש**: יגלה; פ^{3}. // **דרך**: על + ; פ^{1}, ד. // **שהן תלויין**: התלויים; פ^{3}. // **זה בזה**: ~~זה~~ –; ו^{2}. // 4 **יהיה**: היה; מ^{1}. // **זו**: זה; ל^{2} | זה; ו^{2}. // 5 **פעמים**: ופעמים; א^{1}. // **הוא**: האחד; מ^{1}. // **בכתוב**: כתוב; פ^{1} | במקום; א^{1}. // **אומר**: אמ׳; א^{1}. // **י״י**: –; מ^{1}. // **בתבונה**: –; פ^{1}, ד^{2}. // {–6} **יסד** ... **בתבונה**: –; מ^{1}. // **כך**: –; ל^{2}, ו^{2}, פ^{1}, ד. // 6 **אחר**: אחד; פל, ד^{2} | ?אחד; מ^{1}. // **רוקע**: ורוקע; פ^{1}. // **נוטה**: נטה; מ^{1}, ד^{1}. // **רוקע**: רקע; מ^{1}, ד^{1}. // **הארץ**: ארץ; פל. // 7 **תלוי** ... **מהן**: –; פ^{1}, ד. // **נמצא בגלל השני**: נלוה את חברו ונמצא בגללו; מ^{1}. // **בגלל**: כגלל; ו^{2}. // **יצירת**^{1}: את + ; מ^{1} | –; פ^{1}, ד. // **בדרך**: כדרך; ו^{1}, ו^{2}, פל, מ^{1}. // 8 **אחת**: אחד; ד^{2}. // **בדבר**: כדבר; ו^{2}. // **יוצאה**: יוצאת; מ^{1}. // **יהיה**: יהא; ו^{2}. // **להודיע**: להודע; ד. // 9 **יצירת השמים והארץ**: השמים והארץ ביצירתן; מ^{1}. // **והארץ**: –; ל^{2}. // **מהלך**: סביבת; א^{1}. // **הגלגל**: הגלגלי׳; ל^{2}. // **כך**: כן; א^{1}. // **יהיה**: יהא; ו^{2}. // **ענין**: –; מ^{1}.

Translation: Beginning of the Introduction

It is written, *With wisdom did the* LORD *found the earth; He established the heavens with understanding* (Prov 3:19). May the Holy One's name be blessed and glorified, He who created high and low (Hebrew *rām* and *shāfāl*) corresponding to up and down! He made the one contingent upon the other, so that each one of them should explicate the other. He who understands the concept of the one understands the concept of the other. Indeed, he who understands the concept of up immediately knows and understands the concept of down; and from within his understanding of the concept of down, the concept of up will become explicated for him. Indeed, this is the way with any two things that are contingent upon one another and in association with each other: each one of them accompanies its companion in its explication and is partnered with it in its conceptual parameter. We find that (the wording of) Scripture likewise makes the formation of heaven and earth contingent upon one another, sometimes the one being put first, sometimes it being put last. In one verse it is stated, *With wisdom did the* LORD *found the earth; He established the heavens with understanding* (ibid.) — (namely,) He founded the earth with wisdom and afterwards established the heavens with understanding. Yet in another verse it is stated, *Who stretched out the heavens alone, Who spreads out the earth of Myself* (Isa 44:24) — (namely,) He stretched the heavens and afterwards spread the earth. This is to teach you that each one is contingent upon the other, each one existing on account of the other. One cannot understand the formation of the one except from within the formation of the other. This (refers to) the way in which they were formed. All the more so (is this true of) a derivative that emerges from between (the interaction of the two of) them. For example, if one desires to explicate the concept of days, months, and years, he certainly would need to make known the concept of the formation of the heavens and earth and the path of the sphere's motion. (Only) afterwards would he be able to explain the concept of day and month. Indeed, the domain of the months is demarcated only by means of the movement of sun and moon. Now, the motion of the sun and moon proceeds with the sphere's motion and its orbit.

[5] After an invocation and a brief poem.

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Text 2

Background

Classical Exegetical Methods Used: Atomization, multivalence, intertextuality.

Scientific Principle Illustrated: Time consists of the sphere's movement.

Bar Ḥayya's hermeneutical methods used here — the "atomization" of the verse elements, the assigning of multiple meanings to a single datum ("multivalence"), the construing of a term's connotation here based upon its usage elsewhere in the biblical corpus despite contextual differences — are all traditional methods used by the rabbinic Sages of late antiquity and by others. Nevertheless, in most cases (with the exception of the Sabbath) Bar Ḥayya's particular exegesis and conclusions are not the same as those of the rabbinic Sages. This is not surprising, for he has his own exegetical agenda, which becomes apparent when one analyzes his exegetical statements.

Bar Ḥayya "atomizes" Genesis 1:14 in two ways, twice assigning particular associations and meanings to each element of the verse. For Bar Ḥayya, the Bible here conveys two messages about the relation between religion and science, and both messages share an underlying theme. The first message is that religious times, which in most cases are not natural but constructed (i.e., Sabbaths, festivals, sabbaticals, and jubilees), are contingent upon natural astronomical phenomena (the motion of the sphere, and thus day and night and the new moon). The second message is that the Bible presumes, and possibly mandates, the harmonization of the lunar and solar cycles. Both these readings illustrate his point that the religion of the Bible is bound to, and even contingent upon, astronomy (and more generally, science).

Critical Edition of the Hebrew Text: Continuation of the Introduction

וממהלך הגלגל בחמה יודעו הימים והלילות. וכללו שלן]דבר אין מדת הזמן כי אם מספר מהלך הגלגל וכן כת׳ יהי מאורות ברקיע השמים להבדיל בין היום ובין הלילה. ואין המאורות מבדילין בין היום ובין הלילה אלא בסביבת הגלגל כי בעת שהחמה עולה על הארץ ונראית לבני העולם והכוכבים אינן נראין הוא יום. וכשהחמה נוטה והולכת תחת הארץ והיא מסתתרת מבני העולם והכוכבים נראין הוא לילה. ומכפל חזרתן זו והליכתן יהיו אותות ומועדים וימים ושנים אשר הם כנגד שבתות וחדשים ושמטים ויובלות ככתוב והיו לאותות ולמועדים ולימים ושנים. ואין אותות אלא שבתות ככתו׳ כי אות היא ביני וביניכם. ומועדים אלו חדשים ככתו׳ אלה תעשו לי״י במועדיכם ותמצא הנזכר בראש הפרשה אחר שבת קרבן ראש חדש. ותלמוד מזה שהחדש ראש למועדים. ועוד כי המועדים כלם תלויים בימים ידועים מהחדש והחדש הוא עקר לכלם. ובהודע החדש יודעו כלם. ועוד כת׳ עשה ירח למועדים שמש ידע מבואו. וירח היא הלבנה ככתו׳ ולשמש או לירח. ותמצא שהק׳ב׳ה׳ עשה את הירח ומחדשו כאשר היה בתחלה בכל חדש וחדש. ויהיו מכל הענינים האלה החדשים נקרין מועדים. ולימים זו שנה. וימים היא נקראת שנה ככתוב ימים תהיה גאולתו ואחריו כת׳ ואם לא יגאל עד מלאת לו שנה תמימה. והוא נקרא שנים מן הכתוב ובעת צאת הקץ לימים שנים. ואמרנו על הימים שהם שמטות מפני שהשמטות נמנין שנה שנה ככתוב שש שנים תזרע שדך ושש שנים תזמור כרמך. ובשביעית תשמטנה. ואתה רואה כי לשמיטה מונין שנה שנה עד שש שנים וכשמונין שנה שביעית עושין שמיטה. ושנים אלו יובלות מפני שהיו מונין אותן ז׳ שנים ז׳ פעמים ככתוב וספרת לך שבע שבתות שנים שבע שנים שבע פעמים. כל שבע שנים נקרין שבוע אחד או שבת אחת. ונראה לך כי מלת ימים בכאן היא שנה אחת והיא חלק אחד מז׳ בשמיטה. ושנים היא שמיטה אחת או שבוע אחד והוא חלק אחד משבעה ביובל. וכן אמר הכתוב והיו לאותות ולמועדים ולימים ושנים. והוסיף אות הלמ״ד על כל אחד ואחד ללמדך שכל אחד מהם נפרד בענינו מן השני הסמוך אליו ובסוף אמר ולימים ושנים ולא הפריש ביניהן בלמ״ד ללמדך שהאחד הוא מענין השני ואין ביניהן הפרש אלא בין רב למעט. ואתה יכול לדרוש הפסוק הזה על דרך אחרת ותאמר אותות אלו שבתות כמו שאמרנו למעלה. מועדים כנגד חדשים. ימים כנגד שנת לבנה. ולא קראה שנה מפני שאינה שנה תמימה כי פעמים היא פשוטה מי׳ב׳ חדש ופעמים היא מעוברת מי׳ג׳ חדש. ושנים כנגד מחזורות אשר בהם ישתוו שנת חמה ושנת לבנה ותמצא כל הזמנים האלה הן שמיטים ויובלות הן שנת לבנה ומחזורות תלויין בענין היום והלילה אשר הם מונים אותם. והיום והלילה תלויין במהלך הגלגל אשר הוא מפרש את ענינם.

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1 וכללו: כללו ; מ^{1}. // **הזמן**: זמן ; פ^{1}, ד. // **מהלך**: למהלך ; א^{1}. **כת׳**: – ; פ^{1}, ד. // **2 ואין**: לכן ; פ^{2}. // **היום**^{1} ... **הלילה**^{1}: יום ... לילה ; פ^{2}. // **בסביבת**: בסבי‹?›ב ; מ^{1}. // **הגלגל**: החמה ; א^{1}. // **שהחמה**: שחמה ; מ^{1}, פ^{2}. // **על**: מן ; מ^{1}. // **3 העולם**^{1}: עולם ; מ^{1} | בני אדם ; א^{1}. // **וכשהחמה**: וכשחמה ; פ^{2}. // **נוטה והולכת**: – והולכת ; פ^{1}ו – הולכת ; ד. // **והיא**: היא ; א^{1}, מ^{1}, פ^{1}, ד^{2}. // **והיא מסתתרת**: ונתעלמה ; פ^{2}. // **מסתתרת**: נסתרת ; א^{1}. // **מבני**: מ\לבני ; ל^{2} | לבני ; ו^{2}. // **4 והכוכבים נראין**: והם רבים יראין ; פ^{2}. // **הוא**: והוא ; א^{1} | שהוא ; פ^{2}. // **זו**: – ; מ^{1}, פ^{2}. // **יהיו**: ויהו והיו ; פ^{2}. // **אותות ומועדים וימים**: לאותות ולמועדים ולימים ; פ^{2}. // **ומועדים וימים**: למועדים ולימים ; ד^{1}. // {–5} **אשר ... ושנים**: (הוכנס במקום אחר, בשורה 7 אחרי ״וביניכם״, בלי מלת ״כנגד״, ואח״כ חוזר על כל הנוסח עד ״ומועדים״ שבשורה 7) ; מ^{1}. // **כנגד**: – ; מ^{1}. // **כנגד שבתות וחדשים**: קרואים חדשים ; פ^{2}. // **ושמטים**: – ; ו^{1}, ל^{1}, ל^{2}, ו^{2} | ‹ושמיטין› ; ס^{4} | ‹שמטות› ; פל | ‹ושנים› ; מג^{2} | ושנים + ; ל^{3}. // **5 ככתוב**: כדכתי׳ ; ס^{2}. // **והיו**: והיה ; פל. // **אותות**: אות ; ו^{2}. // **ככתו׳**: כדכתי׳ ; א^{1}, ס^{2}. // **ומועדים**: ולמועדים ; א^{1}. // **6 חדשים**: החודשים ; פ^{2}. // **ככתו׳**^{2}: כדכתי׳ ; א^{1}, ס^{2} | דכתי׳ ; פ^{3}. // **לי״י**: לי ; ו^{2}. // **ותמצא**: ונמצא ; פ^{2}. // **הנזכר**: ה(כ)יצ(ד) ; פ^{2}. // **אחר**: אחת ; ל^{2}, ו^{2}. // **אחר שבת**: – ; א^{1}. // **אחר שבת קרבן ראש חדש**: אחר קרבן שבת ראש חדש ; מ^{1} | אחר קרבן ‹של› שבת קרבן של ראש חדש ; ס^{2}. // **קרבן**: הוא + ; א^{1}. // **ותלמוד**: ותלמד ; פ^{1}, ד | ונלמוד ; פ^{2}. // **שהחדש**: החדש ; א^{1}. // **7 למועדים**: המועדים ; א^{1}. // **בימים ידועים**: בימים ימים ; א^{1}. // **ובהודע**: ועל פי ; ד (וכן תקן פיליפאווסקי בפ^{1}). // **החדש**: ראש + ; א^{1}. **יודעו**: יודע ; פ^{2}. // **ועוד כת׳**: ועורכת וכתי׳ ; פ^{2} | כדכתיב ; ס^{2} | וכתי׳ ; א^{1}. // **8 היא**: – ; פ^{2}. // **ככתו׳**: שנ׳ ; ס^{2}. // **שהק׳ב׳ה׳**: שה׳ק׳ב׳ה׳ ; מג^{2}, פ^{2} | ה׳ק׳ב׳ה׳ ; ו^{2}, מ^{1} | שה׳ב׳ה׳ ; פ^{1}. // **עשה**: עושה ; פ^{1}, ס^{2}. // **הירח**: החדש ; ס^{2} | המועד ; ד (וכן תקן פיליפאווסקי בפ^{1}). // **ומחדשו**: בחדשו ; ד (וכן תקן פיליפאווסקי בפ^{1}). // **9 ויהיו מכל הענינים האלה**: ומכל הענינים האלה יהיו ; מ^{1}. // **החדשים**: חדשים ; ד (וכן תקן פיליפאווסקי בפ^{1}). // **נקרין**: נקר‹א›ין ; ס^{4} | נקראים ; פ^{1}, ד. // **זו**: זה ; פל. // **וימים**: ושנים ; ס^{2}, ד | ושנים ‹אולי וימים [ביד פיליפאווסקי]› פ^{1}. // **וימים ... שנה**: – ; מ^{1}. // **נקראת**: נקרית ; ו^{1}, ל^{2}, פל | נ(ק)רא ; ו^{2}. // **ככתוב**: כדכת׳ ; ס^{2}, מ^{1}, פ^{3}. // **10 עד**: על ; א^{1}. // **ובעת**: וכעת ; ד^{1}. // **הקץ**: הקיץ ; ו^{1}, פל, מ^{1}. // **שנים**: ושנים ; פ^{1}, ד^{2}. // **ואמרנו**: ואמרו ; מ^{1}. // **11 נמנין**: כמנין ; ו^{2}, פ^{1}, ד. // **שנה**^{2}: בשנה ; מ^{1}, ‹ב›שנה ; מג^{2} | – ; ו^{1}, ל^{2}, ו^{2}, פ^{1}, ד. // **ככתוב**: כדכתי׳ ; א^{1}, ס^{2}. // **שדך ... כרמך**: וכ׳ ; מ^{1}. // **ובשביעית**: והשביעית ; מג^{2}, ל^{1}, ד^{1}. // **12 מונין**: מנין ; א^{1}. // **שנים**: שנה ; ו^{2} | – ; א^{1}. // **וכשמונין**: ובשמונין ; ו^{2}. // **שנה**^{3}: – ; א^{1}. // **13 ז׳ פעמים**: שבת שנים ; ס^{2} | – ; מ^{1}, פ^{1}, ד. // **פעמים**^{1}: שנים ; פל, א^{1}, ס^{2}. // **ככתוב**: כדכת׳ ; מ^{1}, א^{1}. // **נקרין**: נקראין ; ד (וכן בשֵלי פ^{1}, ביד פיליפאווסקי). // **אחד**: אחת ; ו^{1}. // **14 שבת**: שבש‹ת›? ; פל. // **אחת**^{1}: אחד ; פ^{1}, פ^{2}, ד. // **בכאן**: – ; א^{1}. // **היא**: הוא ; פ^{1}, ד^{2}. // **אחת**^{2}: אחד ; פ^{2} | – ; א^{1}. // **והיא**: והוא ; ד. // **אחד**: אחת ; ו^{2}. // **מז׳**: + חלקים ; א^{1}. // **ושנים**: וז׳ שנים ; פ^{1}, ד. // {–15} **אחת ... והוא**: – והיא ; מ^{1}. // **או שבוע אחד**: – ; א^{1}, פ^{1}, ד. // **אחד**: אחת ; פל. // **15 אחד**^{1}: – ; ל^{2}, ו^{2}, פל. // **ביובל**: בשמטה + ; פ^{1}, ד. // **אמר**: אומ׳ ; ל^{2}, ו^{2}. // **ושנים**: – ; מג^{2}, ל^{1}, פל, ס^{2}, פ^{1}, ד. // {–16} **והוסיף ... ושנים**: – ; א^{1}. // **אות**: – ; פ^{1}, ד. // **אחד ואחד**: אחת ואחת ; מ^{1}. // **16 אליו**: אלוו ; מג^{2} | לו ; ס^{2}. // **ובסוף**: – ; מ^{1}. // **שהאחד**: שהאחר ; מג^{2}. // **17 מענין השני**: במנין השני ומענינו ; א^{1}. // **הפסוק**: את + ; א^{1}. // **אחרת**: א‹ו›תות ; ו^{2}. // **אלו**: כנגד ; א^{1}. // **18 חדשים**: החדשים ; פ^{1}, ד. // **שנת**: שנה ; מ^{1}. // **לבנה**: הלבנה ; ל^{2}, ו^{2}, א^{1}, ס^{2}. // **19 מי״ב**׳ ... **מי״ג**׳: מ״י״ב׳ ... מ״י״ג׳ ; ו^{2}. // **חדש ... חדש**: חדשים ... חדשים ; א^{1}, פ^{2}(?). // **היא**: – ; פל, מ^{1}, פ^{1}, ד. // **כנגד**: אלו ; א^{1}. // **אשר בהם**: שבהם ; א^{1}. // **חמה**: החמה ; ס^{2}. // **ושנת לבנה**: ולבנה ; מ^{1}. // **לבנה**: הלבנה ; ס^{2}. // **20 הן**^{1}: הם ; פ^{2}, ס^{2} | הזם ; פל. // **ויובלות**: ויובֵלות ; ו^{1}, ל^{2}. // **לבנה**: הלבנה ; ס^{2}. 28. // **21 מפרש**: מפורש ; פ^{1}, ד. // **את**: – ; ו^{2}, מ^{1}, ס^{2}, פ^{1}, ד.

Translation: Continuation of the Introduction

Now days and nights are known from the sphere's motion with the sun.[6] The general principle is: time's measure is nothing other than the amount (literally, "number") of the sphere's motion.[7] Thus it is written, *Let there be luminaries in the heaven's firmament to separate between the day and the night* (Gen 1:14a). Now the way in which the luminaries separate between the day and the night is none other than through the sphere's revolution. For at that time in which the sun rises upon the earth,[8] being seen to those who dwell in the world,[9] and the stars are not seen, it is day. However, when the sun inclines and moves beneath the earth and becomes hidden from those who dwell in the world, and the stars are seen, it is night. It is from the repetition of this orbit of theirs and their motion that *signs, appointed occasions, days, and years* come to be, these corresponding to Sabbaths (that is, weeks), new moons/months,[10] sabbaticals, and jubilees, as it is written, *they shall be for signs, for appointed occasions, and for days and years* (Gen 1:14b). *Signs* refers to nothing other than Sabbaths, as it is written, *(Keep my Sabbaths, for) it is a sign between Me and you* (Exod 31:13; cf. *Pĕsīqtā' rabbātī*, pericope 15, "This Month," end of sec. 1).

(As for) *appointed occasions*, these are new moons/months, as it is written, *these shall you carry out for the* LORD *on your appointed occasions* (Num 29:39), and you find that what is mentioned at the beginning of that pericope, after the Sabbath, is the offering for the beginning of the month. From this you learn that the month is the beginning of the appointed occasions (that is, festivals). Furthermore, all the appointed occasions (that is, festivals) are contingent upon specific days of the month, the month being the point of orientation of them all; and when

[6] That is, the sun's being carried along by the diurnal (= daily) motion of the outer sphere.

[7] Cf. Aristotle, *Physics* 4.12.220b 14–16.

[8] "Earth" refers to dry land which, according to the author, exists only in the Eastern Hemisphere.

[9] In 1:1 the author explains that human habitation is confined to regions of the earth's Eastern Hemisphere; cf. the previous note.

[10] The Hebrew word for month, *ḥōdesh*, means "new" — namely, the new moon.

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the month comes to be known, then all of them come to be known. Additionally, it is written, *He made the* yārēaḥ *for appointed occasions, while the sun did know its trajectory* (Ps 104:19) — the *yārēaḥ* being the moon, as it is written, *unto the sun or unto the* yārēaḥ (Deut 17:3). Thus you find that the Holy Blessed One made the moon, and He renews every single month as it was at the beginning. Derived from all these topics is that new moons/months are called "appointed occasions" (*mōʿădīm*).

For days: this refers to the year. It is (the term) "days" that is called a year as it is written, *its redemption(-period) shall be "days"* (Lev 25:29), after which it is written, *but if it is not redeemed before its fulfillment of a complete year …* (ibid., v. 30). And it is (this term) that is called "years,"[11] (as deduced) from the verse, *at the time that the deadline passed, after two "days"* (2 Chr 21:19). We said, regarding the "days," that they constitute sabbaticals (i.e., seven-year units) because sabbaticals are counted by year, as it is written, *six years shall you sow your field and six years shall you prune your vineyard, but in*[12] *the seventh you shall let it go* (cf. Lev 25:3 and Exod 23:11). Thus you see that for the sabbatical the count is made by years, through six years, and when the seventh year is counted, a sabbatical is made.

And years: these are the jubilees, for they would count them "seven years seven times," as it is written, *you shall count for yourself seven sabbaticals of years, seven years seven times* (Lev 25:8). Every seven years are called one "week" (*shābūaʿ* — that is, heptad), or one Sabbath. You thus see that here the word *days* equals a single year, that being one part in seven of a sabbatical; and *years* equals a single sabbatical, or a single heptad, being one part in seven of a jubilee. Indeed, Scripture states *they shall be for signs, for appointed occasions, and for days and years* (Gen 1:14b). The preposition *for* (literally, "the letter *lāmed*") was added to each and every item in order to teach you that each of those items is topically separate from the other that is adjacent to it. At the end, however, it says *and for days and years*, not separating between these with the preposition "for." This is to teach you that the one is of the same topic as the other, the only difference between the two being that of quantity (literally, "many and few").

Now, you can expound this verse in another way, saying that *signs* refers to Sabbaths, as we said above; *appointed occasions* corresponds to months; *days* corresponds to the lunar year — it is not called a "year" because it is not an exact year, for sometimes it is simple, consisting of twelve months, and sometimes it is intercalated, consisting of thirteen months; and *years* corresponds to cycles, in which the solar year and the lunar year are harmonized.

Thus you find that all these times, whether sabbaticals and jubilees or lunar years and cycles, are contingent upon day and night, which constitute (literally, "enumerate" [Hebrew *mōnīm*]) them; and day and night are contingent upon the motion of the sphere, which explicates them.

Text 3

Background

Exegetical Principle: An item divided by God yields two equal parts.

Philosophical/Scientific Principle Illustrated: Balance/symmetry in creation.

The end of this selection contains a tantalizing statement, the analysis of which can shed light on Bar Ḥayya's true view on the relative veracity of philosophy/science in comparison with Judaism. My question is: Did he accept as true only philosophy, forcibly contriving Judaism to agree with it; did he accept as true only Judaism, forcibly contriving philosophy to agree with it; or did he accept both as true, and seek a genuine synthesis with mutual contribution? We have already seen that according to him, philosophy/science is essential, and without it Judaism cannot function. Thus, we can eliminate the possibility that his only truth was Judaism. This text can demonstrate that for Bar Ḥayya the Bible, too, is an absolute truth, in which case we can eliminate the possibility that his only truth was philosophy. This leaves us with the third option, namely, that the full range of truth will emerge specifically from a genuine synthesis of science and Judaism. Bar Ḥayya argues that the earth is half

[11] In the plural — that is, a single term, "days," may denote both one year as well as multiple years.

[12] The word "in" is not in the standard biblical text, but occurs in most manuscripts — namely, ובשביעית rather than the expected והשביעית. Several manuscripts do agree with the standard biblical text, this presumably being a scribal emendation.

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covered with water and half with land. He makes his case exclusively on the basis of biblical exegesis and concludes, "thus (this scientific point) becomes clear to you, without my having to bring a proof from the statements of the external sciences" (he also mentions "the external sciences" elsewhere in the work; see his introduction). If it is fundamental to Bar Ḥayya to synthesize Judaism and science, why does he seem self-satisfied in his ability to sidestep scientific sources? True, he does not sidestep science itself; on the contrary, he finds science in the Bible. Nevertheless, on the basis of our other cases, he would have been happy to match the conclusion of his biblical exegesis with an explicit statement by the philosophers. This leads me to speculate that he had no philosophical/scientific source for this point. His assertion that he did not *need* a statement from the external sciences may simply mask the situation that he did not *have* a statement from the external sciences. If so, on what basis can he assert his scientific principle? On the sole basis of biblical exegesis. If so, he is quite serious about the Bible as a source of truth.

Critical Edition of the Hebrew Text: From Part I, Chapter 1

ונמצאת הארץ חציה יבשה ושם הוא הישוב וחציה השני טבוע בתוך מימי אוקיינוס ואין בו ישוב ושאר הימים אשר במחצית היבשה הוא כענין האיים אשר במקוה המים ותמצא היבשה בארץ מדתה כמדת הים וראיה לדבר זה מן התורה דכת׳ יקוו המים מתחת השמים אל מקום אחד ותראה היבשה כאשר נקוו המים אל מקום אחד כן נראית היבשה במקום אחר וכמדת זה כן מדת זה ועל קצבה אחת נחלקו וכן כת׳ ויקרא אלהים ליבשה ארץ ולמקוה המים קרא ימים. וכל דבר במעשה בראשית אשר חלקו המקום לשנים וקראן בשני שמות אתה מוצא מדת האחד כמדת השני ככתוׄ ויקרא אלהים לאור יום ולחשך קרא לילה וכמו שמדת יום שוה למדת לילה כן מדת מקוה המים כמדת היבשה. וכמו שיש מקומות שהיום עודף על הלילה ומקומות הלילה עודפת על היום וכשאתה מוציא עודף האחד כנגד השני יהיו שניהם שוים על הענין הזה יש מקומות בארץ אשר היבשה עודפת ומקומות הים עודף וכשאתה מוציא זה כנגד זה יהיו שניהם שוים. ויתברר לך שמחצית הארץ יבשה ומחציתה ים ואיני צריך להביא ראיה [אחרת] מדברי החכמה החיצונה.

1 **ושם הוא הישוב**: —; ס^{3}. // **בתוך מימי**: במימי; ס^{3}. // **אוקיינוס**: אוקיאנוס; ס^{3}. // 2 **כענין**: בענין; פ^{1}, ד. // **האיים**: היבשה +; ס^{3}. // 3 **השמים**: לשמים; מג^{2}. // **היבשה**^{1}: + ויהי כן; פ^{1}, ד. // **נקוו**: יקוו; פ^{1}, ד^{2}. // **אחד כן**: אחד אחר כן; ס^{2}. // **אחר**: אחד; ס^{3}, פ^{1}, ד. // 4 **נחלקו**: תחלקו; מג^{2}. // **וכן כת׳**: דכתי׳; ס^{2}. // **דבר**: אשר; ס^{3}. **המקום**: המקוה; פ^{1} | המקוה <המקום>; ד^{2} | השם; מג^{2} | הכת׳; מ^{1}. // 5 **שמות**: שניות; מג^{2}. // **ככתוׄ**: כדכת׳; ס^{2}. // **יום**^{2} ... **לילה**: היום ... הלילה; ס^{3}. // 6 **מדת**: —; פ^{1}, ד. **כמדת**: למדת; מ^{1}. // **כמדת היבשה**: ליבשה; ס^{3}. // **היבשה**: יבשה; מ^{1}, פ^{1}, ד. // **הלילה**^{2}: {6—} שהלילה; א^{1}, ס^{2}, ד^{1}. // **עודפת**: עודף; ס^{2}. // 7 **השני**: העודף +; ס^{3}. // **יש**: . +; ד^{2} | . כן +; ד^{1}. // **היבשה**: היתה +; ס^{3}. // **הים**: אשר +; ד^{1}. // 8 **ויתברר**: ונתברר; ס^{2} | ויתבא׳רר; מ^{1}. // **שמחצית ... ומחציתה ים**: שמחצית׳הים; מ^{1}. // **ומחציתה**: וחציה; פ^{1}, ד. // **ומחציתה ים**: ומחצי‹ת› הים; פ^{2}. // **להביא**: + לך; ס^{3}. // **אחרת**: —; ס^{4}, מג^{2}, ו^{1}, ל^{2}, ל^{1}, ו^{2}, פל.

Translation: From Part I, Chapter 1

The earth is found to be half dry land, the inhabited portion being therein, while the other half is sunk within the waters of the ocean, there being no habitation therein. The remainder of the seas, which are in the dry half, are similar in concept to the (presence of) the islands that are within the ocean (literally, "gatherings of water"; cf. Gen 1:10). Thus you find that the amount of dry land upon the earth is the same as the amount of sea. There is a proof to this from the Torah. It is written, *Let the waters from beneath the heavens be gathered unto one place so that the dry land be seen, (and it was so)*[13] (Gen 1:9). Just as the waters were gathered unto one place, "so" is the dry land seen in another place — (namely,) the measure of the one is (the same) as the measure of the other; they were divided according to a single (that is, the identical) allocation. Thus it is written, *God called the dry land "earth" and the gathering of waters He called "seas"* (Gen 1:10). (Regarding) any item in the work of Creation that the Omnipresent divided into two, calling the (two parts) by two (different) names, you find that the measure of the one is the same as the measure of the other. (For example,) it is written, *God called the light "day" and the darkness He called "night"* (Gen 1:5). Just as the measure of day is equal to the measure of night, so too is the measure of the "gatherings of

[13] The words in parentheses appear only in MS BN héb. 1047 (which contains intentional and accidental changes) and in the (derivative) Filipowski MS and printed version. Nevertheless, they may provide the crux of the exegesis, as I indicate in the next sentence, by putting the word "so" in the next sentence between quotation marks.

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water" (equal) to the measure of dry land. And just as there are places where day is longer than night and places (where) night is longer than the day, yet when you discharge the excess of the one (by calculating it) against (the excess of) the other, the two of them come out equal, along the lines of this concept there are places upon the earth where the dry land is in excess, and places (where) the sea is in excess, yet when you discharge the one (by calculating it) against the other, the two come out equal. Thus it becomes clear to you, without my having to bring a[14] proof from the statements of the external sciences, that half of the earth is dry land while half of it is sea.

Text 4

Background

Philosophical Principle: There is a difference in magnitude between "length" and "width."

Critical Edition of the Hebrew Text: From Part I, Chapter 5

השער החמישי בפירוש רוחב הארץ וארכה ולמה נקרא זה אורך וזה רוחב. הרי נתברר לך בשערים אשר עברו מנהג הימים והלילות בכל הישוב והשנוי אשר ביניהן במדתן בכל ימות השנה ברחב הארץ אשר הוא מצפון לדרום. וכן נתברר לך השינוי אשר ביניהן בזמנן בכל יום ויום באורך הארץ אשר ממזרח למערב וקראו למרחק אשר בין צפון לדרום רוחב הארץ מפני שהישוב בו אינו משפתו עד שפתו אבל ישאר בו מדבר וחרב הן בפאת צפון [ו]הן בפאת דרום. וקראו למרחק אשר [מ]מזרח למערב אורך הארץ מפני שהישוב בו הוא מן הקצה אל הקצה. ומשמע האורך בכל הלשונות ע[ו]דף במדתו על הרוחב ומפני זה קראו למרחק העדיף והמלא בישוב אורך ולמרחק המקצר והחסר רוחב. וכן מצאנו הכת׳ קרא למזרח ולמערב אורך הארץ ולצפון ולדרום רוחב הארץ ככת׳ קום התהלך בארץ לארכה ולרחבה כי לך אתננה. קדם בכת׳ הזה אורך הארץ על רחבה והבטיחו שהכל יתננו לו. וכשפירש לו דרך נתינתה אמ׳ ופרצת ימה וקדמה וצפונה ונגבה. ותמצא בכתו׳ הזה מזרח ומערב מוקדם כנגד לארכה המוקדם בכת׳ ראשון. וצפון ודרום מאוחר בכאן כנגד ולרחבה המואחר להלאן ותמצא מן התורה שאורך הארץ הוא ממזרח למערב ורחבה מצפון לדרום. וכן כתו׳ כרחוק מזרח ממערב הרחיק ממנו את פשעינו. ולא אמ׳ כרחוק צפון מדרום מפני שמרחק צפון [מ]דרום בישוב הארץ אינו הולך מראשו ועד סופו. ואילו היה אומ׳ כרחוק צפון מדרום היה עולה בלבות בני אדם שאין הק׳ב׳ה׳ מרחיק את עונות עמו כל הריחוק אבל יש מרחק גדול ממנו והוא מרחק מזרח ממערב ואין אתה יכול להעלות בלבך מרחק בעולם שיהא עודף עליו.

1 **בפירוש רוחב**: ברוחב ; א[1]. // **נקרא**: קראו ; א[1]. // **נתברר**: נתבאר ; מ[1]. // 2 **בכל**[2]: על ; מ[1]. // **מצפון לדרום**: מדרום לצפון ; מ[1]. // **נתברר**: נתבאר ; מ[1]. // {3–} **ביניהן ... אשר**[1]: –; ד[1]. // 3 **אשר**[1]: + הוא ; א[1]. // **וקראו למרחק**: ונקרא המרחק ; מ[1]. // 4 **עד**: ועד ; ד | אל ; ו[2], מ[1]. // **בו**: ממנו ; א[1]. // **וחרב**: וְחַרֵב ; ו[1] | וחַרֵב ; ו[2] | וחרבה ; ד | וחרבן ; א[1]. // **והן**: הן ; א[1] | הם ; מ[1]. // **וקראו למרחק**: ונקרא המרחק ; מ[1]. // **ממזרח**: בין מזרח ; א[1], מ[1]. // 5 **הוא**: –; ו[2], מ[1]. // **עודף**: עדיף ; ו[1], ו[2] | ~~עדיף~~ ‹עודף› ; ד[2]. // **קראו למרחק**: נקרא המרחק ; מ[1]. // **למרחק**: למזרח ; א[1]. // **העדיף**: העודף ; א[1] | העדוף ; מ[1]. // 6 **בישוב**: **בכל הישוב** ; מ[1] | –; ו[2]. // **ולמרחק**: והמרחק ; א[1], מ[1]. // **המקצר**: הקצור ; מ[1]. // **וכן**: ומן ; ו[2]. // **מצאנו**: מצינו ; ו[1], ו[2]. // {7–} **קרא ... ככת׳**: –; ד[1]. // **למזרח ולמערב**: ממזרח למערב ; מ[1], ד[2]. // **ולצפון ולדרום**: ולמצפון לדרום ; ד[2]. // **רוחב הארץ**: רחבה ; מ[1]. // **הארץ**[2]: –; ו[2]. // 7 **יתננו**: יתנו ; ו[1], ו[2]. // 8 **נתינתה**: הנתינה + ; א[1]. // **כנגד ... ראשון**: הכת׳ הראשון שהקדים לארכה ; מ[1]. // **ראשון**: הראשון ; ד. // 9 **בכאן**: –; ד[1]. // **בכאן ... להלאן**: כנגד רחבה המאוחר בכת׳ ראשון ; מ[1]. // **ולרחבה**: לרחבה ; ו[2] | ולארכה ; ד[1]. // **להלאן**: להלן ; ו[1], ו[2], ד[1]. // **הוא**: –; מ[1]. // **ורחבה**: + הוא ; א[1]. // 10 **כתו׳**: בכת׳ ; מ[1]. // **מדרום**[1]: ודרום ; מ[1]. // **מדרום**[2]: ודרום ; א[1], מ[1]. // **הארץ**: –; מ[1]. // 11 **הולך**: פושנו ; מ[1]. // **כרחוק**: ברחוק ; ו[2]. // **הק׳ב׳ה׳**: ה׳ב׳ה׳ ; מ[1] | ה׳ק׳ב׳ה׳ ; ו[2]. // **עונות**: עתות ; ד[1]. // {12–} **כל הריחוק**: רחוק הצורך ; מ[1]. // 12 **מרחק גדול ממנו**: רחוק שהוא עודף עליו ; א[1]. // **אתה ... עודף**: אשר אין לך מרחק שהוא מוסיף ; א[1]. // **שיהא**: שהוא ; א[1], שיהיה ; ד[1].

Translation: From Part I, Chapter 5

The Fifth Chapter:
On the interpretation of the earth's "width" and its "length,"
and why the one is called "length" and the other — "width"

[14] Alternate version: "... another proof, from ...."

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Now, in the preceding chapters the conduct of day and night throughout all the inhabited area has become clear to you. So have the differences between them in their measures, throughout all the days of the year, (across) the earth's width, which is from the north to the south. Likewise, the difference between them in their times each and every day (across) the earth's length, which is from the east to the west, has become clear to you.

Now, they (that is, the scientists?) have called the distance between the north and south the earth's "width" because the inhabited area therein does not (extend) from one edge to the other. Rather, therein, both at the northern end as well as at the southern end,[15] there remain wilderness and desolation. However, they have called the distance between east and west the earth's "length" because the inhabited area therein does (extend) from one extremity to the other extremity. In all languages, the connotation of "length" is greater in measure than (that of) "width." It is for this reason that they have called that distance which is fuller and greater within the inhabited region "length," and that distance which is deficient and lesser, "width."

We have likewise found that Scripture refers to (the distance between) east and west as "the earth's length," and (between) north and south as "the earth's width." Thus is it written, *Arise and walk to and fro upon the land/earth, unto its length and its width, for I have given it to you* (Gen 13:17). In this verse He put the land's length before its width, and He promised him that He would give it all to him. When He explicated the manner in which it would be given He said, *You shall burst forth towards the west and towards the east, and towards the north and towards the south* (Gen 28:14). In this verse you find that east and west are put first, corresponding to "unto its length," which is put first in the first verse; and north and south are put later here, corresponding to "and unto its width," which comes later on. Thus you find from the Torah that the earth's length is from east to west, while its width is from north to south. It is likewise written, *As the distance of east from west distance our transgressions from us* (Ps 103:12) but it did not state, "as the distance of north from south." (This is) because the distance of north from south in the inhabited area of the earth does not extend from its beginning to its end. Had it said, "as the distance of north from south," it would occur to people[16] that the Holy Blessed One does not distance the sins of His nation the entire distance, but that there is a distance greater than it, this being the distance of east from west. It is impossible for you to call forth in your thought any distance in the world that would be in excess of it.

CONCLUSION

My analysis of the above passages from Bar Ḥayya's calendrical-astronomical work leads me to conclude that the larger hermeneutical approach underlying his exegesis is to explicitly read scientific/philosophical concepts into the Bible, and to find various systematic modes of thought embedded within the Bible's language. He thus provides a rich an characteristically medieval synthesis of reason and revelation, and of Jewish and Graeco-Christian traditions. Yet not only is he intimately acquainted with rabbinic interpretation of the Bible, and not only is he in possession of a lucid understanding of a variety of Christian interpretations,[17] but he also masterfully formulates his own exegesis on the basis of his own intellectual agenda.

That agenda can be reconstructed by deduction vis-à-vis specific examples of his exegesis, reading between the lines to determine what intellectual bent shaped his interpretation. This intellectual bent, we have seen, includes mathematical and logical thinking,[18] as well as philosophico-scientific principles. In a word, these may be subsumed under the rubric of "reason." And it is the principles of reason that he finds embedded in the Bible.

But why, in a work on astronomy and the calendar, is Bar Ḥayya impelled to engage in what may seem to be unnecessary exegesis? While it is true that the calendrical issues in his work are rooted in biblical and religious issues, thus calling for a certain degree of exegetical attention, his exegesis far surpasses what is necessary in order to link the calendrical and the religious. I suggest that the presence and tenor of his exegesis are informed

[15] Possibly: "both in the Northern Hemisphere as well as in the Southern Hemisphere." The term in question is the Hebrew *pēʾā* (here in the construct, *pēʾat*).

[16] Literally, "arise in people's heart."

[17] His accounts of discussions with Christian clergy, and his familiarity with Christian interpretations and the regard with which he counters them — in a phrase, his stance toward Christian thought as that of a worthy rival — deserves further study.

[18] Although in this popular work, in contrast to his more specialized works on geometrical measurement and astronomy, some of the calculations are grossly rounded off.

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by his desire to spread his vision of the interdependence of Torah and human reason, each of which enhances the total body of knowledge. As demonstrated in the four passages presented above together with my accompanying analysis, the living system legislated in the Torah cannot, in Bar Ḥayya's view, function properly without scientific knowledge attained by human reason; and scientific knowledge, for its own part, can be increased by reason-based analysis of the Torah.

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17

CORPORAL MODESTY IN JUDAISM AND ISLAM

NORMAN A. STILLMAN

PRELIMINARY GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

It has become commonplace to refer to the cultural interaction in history between Judaism and Islam and between Jews and Muslims by the biological metaphor of *symbiosis*. This term was given its greatest popularity by S. D. Goitein, who had been a teacher of both Norman Golb and of this writer. However, the idea itself goes back to the Wissenschaft des Judentums scholars of the nineteenth century.[1] My own preference has been to describe this interrelationship by the term *commensality*, which not only implies living together in a shared environment (like the Spanish term *convivencia*, much used by many historians of medieval Iberia), but also, as its Latin root would indicate, "sharing from the same table" (in this case a table of culture, not comestibles).[2] While many of the parallels within Jewish and Islamic civilizations may be attributed to cultural influence in one direction or the other — at its earliest stages more in the direction of Judaism to Islam, and later, more in the opposite direction — many of the parallels are also the outcome of the shared historical and cultural milieu with roots going back to ancient Near Eastern Antiquity.[3] However, in the case of the striking parallels between Jewish and Islamic moral sensibilities, cultural ideals, and actual practice in terms of law and custom regarding corporal modesty, the influence appears to have been at first from Judaism to Islam, since the fundamental ideas on this subject were already well developed in Jewish thought before Islam appeared on the scene of history. Any comparative discussion of the subject of corporal modesty in the two religious civilizations must be predicated upon an awareness of this commensal relationship.

CORPORAL MODESTY IN JEWISH AND ISLAMIC SCRIPTURE

The conceptualization of modesty and its modus operandi within any society reflects a host of other issues — moral ideals, ritual requirements (taboo, purity and impurity), social hierarchy, and notions of sexuality and gender (and also gendering). This is no less the case in Jewish and Islamic cultures. While in the classical languages of Jews and Muslims there are several words used to express the virtue of modesty in the sense of humility of character and of good behavior (e.g., *ʿănāvā* and *ṣĕnīʿūt* in biblical Hebrew and *tawāḍuʿ* in Classical

[1] Goitein's concept of Judeo-Islamic symbiosis is best known to the broadest audience through his 1974 book *Jews and Arabs*. Others who have used the term include Vajda (1966), Lewis (1984), and Zafrani (1979). For a thoughtful and detailed discussion of the notion, see Wasserstrom 1995.

[2] I was given the opportunity to develop this notion when I was the Momigliano Seminar lecturer for the Committee on Social Thought at the University of Chicago during the spring of 1990. A brief distillation of some those ideas are to be found in N. Stillman 1997.

[3] Such roots can be found in both the domains of high and popular culture. There is a considerable literature on pre-Jewish and Islamic practices and ideas that continue in one form or another in the two later monotheistic traditions (to cite but a few examples: Wellhausen 1897; Thompson 1971; Morgenstern 1966). S. D. Goitein has pointed out that the Arabic proverbs used by both Jews and Arabs in the modern period are primarily drawn from ancient Near Eastern wisdom literature and not from the Classical Arabic gnomic tradition (Goitein 2009b). On the difficulty of positively identifying origins of Islamic beliefs and practices due to the shared environment, see Obermann 1944 and also Goitein 2009a.

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Arabic — parallel to the sense of Latin *modestia*), corporal modesty is based on the notion of shame, particularly the shame of nudity, and more particularly, although by no means exclusively, the shame of displaying the sexual organs. The key technical terms for this shame, for this nakedness, and for the sexual parts themselves are the cognate Hebrew and Arabic words *ʿervā* (plural *ʿărāyōt*) and *ʿawra* (plural *ʿawrāt*). The Hebrew and Arabic terms are semantically parallel to Latin *pudor* when used for "shame" and "nakedness" and *pudenda* when used for the privities themselves. Hebrew lexicographers have taken *ʿervā* to be from the root *ʿ-r-h*, whereas most medieval Arab lexicographers took *ʿawra* to be derived from the root *ʿ-w-r*, meaning to be blind in one eye (*aʿwar*) and then by extension to indicate weakness, faultiness, unsoundness, foulness, unseemliness, or disfigurement. They also consider it in its specifically sexual sense to be connected to the word *ʿār* from the root *ʿ-y-r*, signifying "disgrace," "shame," or "a cause for reproach." Ultimately the Arabic word is related to the Arabic root *ʿ-r-y*, which means "to be or become naked" and is the direct cognate of the Hebrew root *ʿ-r-h*.[4]

A partial semantic parallel between Hebraic-Jewish and Arabo-Islamic usages is the idea of "uncovering the pudenda" — *gillūy ʿărāyōt* and *ẓuhūr ʿalā ʿawra.* As far back as the Torah (Lev 18:6–19), "to uncover nakedness" is expressly used for forbidden sexual relations between family members. In the Qurʾan (sūra xxiv:31: *al-ṭifl alladhīna lam yaẓhurū ʿalā ʿawrāt al-nisāʾ*), this refers simply to carnal knowledge, or rather the absence thereof among small children. In rabbinic usage, *ʿervā* itself comes by extension to mean a woman forbidden to a man due to familial relationship, as in *m. Ḥăgīgā* i:7: "Rabbi Simeon ben Menasya states: 'What is that which is crooked and cannot be set straight? One that has a sexual relation with a woman forbidden to him (*hā-ʿervā*) and from it sires a *mamzēr*.'"[5]

In their respective scriptures, Judaism and Islam share the etiological culture myth of Adam and Eve, who had been in a state of innocent nudity, eating the forbidden fruit in the garden of Eden, and coming to the realization that they were naked (Gen 2:24–3:7 and sūra vii:19–27). In the biblical account, the word used for their nakedness, which is also a pun on the serpent's being crafty (*ʿārūm*), is *ʿărūmmīm* (Gen 2:25: "They were both naked [better, perhaps, translated by the more neutral "nude"], the man and his wife, and they were not ashamed") and *ʿērummīm* (Gen 3:7: "They knew that they were naked and sewed fig leaves and made themselves loincloths"). In many of its occurrences throughout the Bible, *ʿārūm/ʿērōm* indicates the natural state of nudity without necessarily the implication of shamefulness or any sexual connotation. Thus for example in 1 Samuel 19:23–24, Saul comes upon a band of prophets and joins them in naked ecstasy — namely, "He also stripped off his clothes, and he too prophesied before Samuel and lay down naked all that day and all that night." In Isaiah 20:2, the prophet walks around totally unclothed for three years at the Lord's command — namely, "At that time, the LORD spoke to Isaiah son of Amoz saying, 'Go take off the sackcloth from your loins and remove your sandals from your feet,' which he did, and walked naked and barefoot." The suffering Job in Job 1:21 observes, "Naked came I from my mother's belly, and naked shall I return there." The nudity of Saul in 1 Samuel seems to be a preserved memory of ancient ritual nudity,[6] and that of Isaiah is a dramatic act intended to make a prophetic point, whereas Job is merely expressing an eternal verity. The innocent nudity of Adam and Eve is sharply contrasted just a little further on (Gen 9:22) by the shameful nakedness (*ʿervā*) of Noah lying in a drunken state, which was exposed to his son, Ham, and for which the latter is cursed. Since the Bible does not specify the nature of Ham's sin, the sages of the Talmud and Midrash speculate variously that he sodomized his father or castrated him, thereby providing the elements of sexuality and shamefulness (*b. Sanhedrīn* 70a; *Gen. Rabbā* xxxvi.7). However, it would be a mistake to think of Jewish and Islamic corporal modesty exclusively as sexual modesty, as will become clearer below.

[4] For a review of the sources and the lexicographers, see Ben Yehuda 1948–59: s.vv. *ʿārā* and *ʿervā*; and Lane 1863–93: *sub radices ʿ-w-r*, *ʿ-y-r*, and *ʿ-r-y*, and s.v. *ʿawra*. (The Hebrew *ʿivvēr* [blind]) is a cognate of Arabic *aʿwar*, but is not taken by Hebrew lexicographers as related to *ʿārā* and *ʿervā*.)

[5] Although usually translated "bastard," the *mamzēr* is not a child born out of wedlock, but rather the issue of union between a married woman and a man other than her husband or by close relatives who are prohibited from marrying (i.e., the offspring of incest). The *mamzēr* actually is an individual with serious ritual disabilities. Note: unless otherwise indicated, all translations from the sources are my own.

[6] Ritual nudity, which came to be associated with ancient pagan rituals, disappears from later Judaism except for immersion in the *miqveh* for purification and as part of the conversion ceremony. Its continuation in ritual immersion is justified by the need of the "living waters" to reach every part of the body. Smith (1966: 228) theorizes more symbolic reasons. Later authorities recommended that, when a woman recites the blessing before immersing herself, she does so either with her body-shirt still on or, if naked, to do so when her head is still above water and to stir the water with her feet so that her nakedness will not be clear (*Shulḥān ʿārūkh: Yōreh dēʿā* 200:1). Contra ritual nudity, the Pentateuch (Exod 20:23) already forbids exposure of the genitals (here the negative *ʿervātekhā*) when going up the steps to the altar.

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The fall from grace in the qurʾanic account does not mention nudity except by inference. Satan (*al-Shayṭān*), who has been expelled from the garden for refusing to bow down to Adam (sūra vii:11–18), whispers to Adam and Eve "so that he might make clear to them what was hidden from them — namely, their shame" (*sawʾātihimā*; ibid., 19).[7] The implication is that their nudity is primordially innocent, but that Satan wickedly suggests the shameful side of nakedness in a case of *honi soi qui mal y pense*. Seduced by Satan, "when they tasted (from) the tree, their shame (again *sawʾātihimā*) became clear to them, and they set about sewing leaves from the garden on themselves" (ibid., 22).

Both the biblical and qurʾanic accounts end with Adam and Eve going forth from the garden in clothing. In Genesis 3:21 it is God himself who makes them animal-skin tunics (*kotnōt ʿōr*) and dresses them (*va-yalbīshēm*). While clearly important, seeing that it is God who clothes them, the text makes no pronouncement on clothing per se. It is simply an indication of what is required when the first couple go out into the world. In the Qurʾan, however, the expulsion from paradise entails the revelation addressed to all mankind concerning physical and moral attire: "O children of Adam, We have revealed unto you clothing (*libās*) to conceal your shame (*sawʾātikum*) and finery, but the garment of piety, that is best" (sūra vii:26). Citing this verse, the medieval Arab lexicographers defined clothing (*libās*) firstly as "that which conceals or covers the pudenda," and, as Yedida Kalfon Stillman has observed, "in late medieval usage and later Arabic dialects" they extended the word to serve as "the general term for undergarments and more particularly pantaloons."[8] The Qurʾan continues the homiletic trope with a further injunction to humanity not to be seduced by Satan, who not only caused the original parents to be expelled from paradise, but also "ripped off their clothing to show them their shame" (sūra vii:27), thus reinforcing the notion of nakedness and shame.[9]

In contrast to Hebrew *ʿervā*, which appears no fewer than fifty times in the Bible, the Arabic cognate *ʿawra* occurs only four times in the Qurʾan, and two of those occurrences are in the same qurʾanic verse. In the Bible the references are overwhelmingly to corporal nudity and the privities and only in a handful of instances deal with figurative nakedness — for example, Genesis 42:9 and 12, where Joseph accuses his brothers of being spies who have come to see "the nakedness of the land," and Deuteronomy 23:15, where it says that God "should not find anything unseemly (*ʿervat dāḇār*)" when He goes through the Israelite camp — however, since only a few verses beforehand, this latter chapter opens by dealing with matters of sexual and physical propriety, the generality of "anything unseemly" might well refer in particular to *gillūy ʿărāyōt*.[10] So too in Deuteronomy 24:1, which says that a man may divorce his wife if "he finds something repugnant (*ʿervat dāḇār*) in her," the context is not obviously one of a sexual nature, but might possibly be construed to include it.

In the four occurrences of *ʿawra* in the Qurʾan, the only clearly sexual reference is in sūra xxiv:31, which mentions "children who have not become acquainted with women's private parts (*lam yaẓhurū ʿalā ʿawrāt al-nisāʾ*). In sūra xxxiii:13, people claim to the Prophet that their homes are "exposed (*ʿawratun*)," but the verse goes on to say that they are not exposed (*wa-mā hiya bi-ʿawratin*). In the only other occurrence of the word, in sūra xxiv:58, three "periods" of nakedness (*thalāth ʿawrāt*) are mentioned — namely, (1) before the dawn prayer, (2) after one has taken off one's clothing due to the noonday heat, and (3) after evening prayer — when slaves and prepubescent boys must ask permission (presumably to come into one's presence). The implication of this verse, however, is that they *can* be given permission to come in. In both Judaism and Islam, being exposed before one's slaves is not necessarily shameful. As Epstein has observed, "there is nothing in the Talmud, so far as known, concerning the practice of males being attended at the bath by female slaves or women being attended by male slaves."[11] The *Shulḥān ʿārūkh* permits men to be attended by Gentile female slaves in the public bathhouse (*Eḇen hā-ʿēzer: Hilkhōt ishiyyūt* 21:5), although it disapproves of the practice in the privacy of one's home.

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[7] The root *s-w-ʾ* has as its base meaning "evil," "abominable," or "unseemly." The Arab lexicographers extend the noun *sawʾa* (plural *sawʾāt*) to be synonymous with *ʿawra* and the anus. The Qurʾan also uses *sawʾa* for Abel's corpse (sūra v:31) since a dead body is a shameful sight (and not necessarily because the corpse was naked, as Pickthall [1953] glosses in his translation). Arberry (1967) is closer to the mark with the translation "vile body." On the aggadic and midrashic sources of this story, see N. Stillman 1974.

[8] Y. Stillman 2000: 11 and the dictionaries there cited.

[9] Pickthall (1953) again glosses his translation here with "tore off from them their robe (of innocence) that he might manifest their shame to them." But the clear sense of the text is literal rather than figurative.

[10] Commentators such as Ibn Ezra merely take *ʿervat dāḇār* here in the general abstract sense of "in word or deed" (*bĕ-maʿăseh ō dibbūr*).

[11] Epstein 1948: 30, although he goes on to opine, "one gets the impression that certainly women were not permitted to be handled naked by male slaves."

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CORPORAL MODESTY IN JEWISH AND ISLAMIC LAW AND TRADITION

Both Judaism and Islam are religious civilizations with the foundational notion that all life is governed by divine law that constitutes the path (Hebrew *hălākhā*; Arabic *sharīʿa*) that one follows. The law of these civilizations is derived both from the written scripture and from the oral tradition (Hebrew *tōrā she-bĕ-ʿal peh*; Arabic *sunna* or *ḥadīth*). It is the object of intensive discussion, interpretation, and elaboration. And it is within this legal discourse that we can see reflected all of the cultural issues — moral ideals, manners, social hierarchy, and gender — of which the notion of corporal modesty is part and parcel. This legal discourse also offers a window into the *mentalités et sensibilités* of the sages, the scholarly class known generally as the "rabbis" in Judaism and the *ʿulamāʾ* in Islam. Here again, there are striking parallels in juridical conceptualization. In both religions, the primary venue for the discussion of corporal modesty in the classical legal literature (i.e., the Talmud and law codes in Judaism, and the Ḥadīth collections and Fiqh literature in Islam) is in the sections dealing with prayer. The reason for this is that Jewish and Islamic legal works deal first with ritual matters and only after that with social relations. Since prayer is a daily obligation for Jewish and Muslim males, it is necessary to know exactly what is required, and, no less importantly, what can invalidate it. One of the things that render prayer invalid in each faith is *ʿervā*/*ʿawra*. Hence, defining precisely what constitutes this is of the greatest import.

Talmudic law does not give a neat definition of what is indecent exposure beyond a generalized prohibition of nakedness. There is a debate (*b. Bĕrākhōt* 24a) about whether a man may recite the *Shĕmaʿ* prayer while naked in bed if he is sharing it with someone — depending as well on the one with whom he is sharing it: another person, his wife, members of his household, and children (and, furthermore, the age and physical development of the children). Two people in bed (presumably naked) should recite the *Shĕmaʿ* facing opposite directions. If their buttocks happen to touch, it does not constitute *ʿervā* according to Rav Huna (*ʿăgāḇōt ēn bā-hem mi-shūm ʿervā*). Most of the discussion of *ʿervā* deals with forbidden "looking" (*histakkĕlūt*), which can be at the least a distraction from prayer, and at worst a moral transgression. It partially deals with forbidden "touching" (*nĕgīʿā*), which is elaborated in later Jewish legal and moral literature.

The same talmudic discussion goes on to expand the notion of *ʿervā* in the case of women: a woman's thigh is pudendum (*shōq bĕ-ishshā ʿervā*), so too a woman's hair (*sēʿār bĕ-ishshā ʿervā*), even her voice (*qōl bĕ-ishshā ʿervā*), and even a handbreadth of her flesh (*ṭefaḥ bĕ-ishshā ʿervā*). In typical casuistic hyperbole, Rav Sheshet goes on to say that "even if one gazes at a woman's little finger, it is as if he looked at her obscene place (*ba-māqōm ha-tōref*), excepting for his own wife." Subsequent Jewish law takes these passages even further and teaches that "a man must stay far, far away from women" (*Shulḥān ʿārūkh: Eḇen hā-ʿēzer: Hilkhōt ishiyyūt* 21:1). Moreover, because a woman's hair is considered *ʿervā* already in late antiquity, a married Jewish woman was expected to cover her head in public. To appear bareheaded (*vĕ-rōʾshāh pārūaʿ*) was considered grounds for divorce without the return of her dowry (*m. Kĕtubbōt* 7:6). For Jewish men, however, covering the head remained optional (*b. Nĕdārīm* 30b) and dependent upon local custom until the later Middle Ages, when it did become a universal custom and was viewed not so much as corporal modesty, since a man's hair is not *ʿervā*, but rather as an act of piety and respect. Thus, in later times, Joseph Caro, the author of the *Shulḥān ʿārūkh*, notes that "there are those who say that it is forbidden to mention God with one's head bare" (*Ōraḥ ḥayyīm* 91:3). In Islam, already at the time of the Prophet, a bare head for men was considered a sign of impudence, and the Qurʾan in one of the early sūras warns that the wicked man will be dragged down to hell by his exposed "lying, sinful forelock" (sūra xcvi:15–16).[12]

Existential *ʿervā* of the worshiper (i.e., of the pious man) himself is also discussed in this same section of *Bĕrākhōt* and elsewhere. In general, Judaism comes down far more strictly than Islam on existential nakedness (or rather, nudity).

The canonical Ḥadīth collections are replete with traditions praising the covering of one's own *ʿawra* and as an act of kindness toward fellow believers.[13] The discussion in Islamic legal literature (*fiqh*) goes into more precise detail in defining *ʿawra* and has more nuanced distinctions for different individuals in the social hierarchy than does Judaism — not merely male and female, adults and minors, but free individuals and slaves, and even various categories of slaves. This may be explained by the fact that Islam, in addition to being a religion, was a great

[12] On male head covering in early Islam, see Y. Stillman 2000: 16–19. On its evolution in Judaism, see Zimmer 1992.

[13] See Wensinck et al. 1936–39: 4:433–44, s.v.

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polity and a dominant civilization rather than merely a relatively small, weak, and subject diaspora community. It also has a far more developed legal discussion of "looking" (*naẓar*) and "touching" (*mass*) and of the psychological frame of mind of the person who looks or touches (i.e., with or without *shahwa* — lust). There are also more widespread differences of opinion among the Muslim jurists as to what constitutes *ʿawra*. For a free Muslim man, *ʿawra* is defined as "what is between the navel to the knees" (*mā bayn al-surra ilā ʾl-rukba*) or "what is below the navel and above the knees" (*mā dūn al-surra wa-fawq al-rukba*).[14] The four Sunnī schools of law interpret this to exlude the navel. The Shāfiʿīs, Mālikīs, and Ḥanbalīs also exclude the knees, but the Ḥanafīs include them as *ʿawra*. The Mālikīs make a distinction between "central" or "gross nakedness" (*ʿawra mughallaẓa*), which includes the pudenda and rear cleavage, and "peripheral" or "light nakedness" (*ʿawra mukhaffifa*). For a free Muslim woman, every part of her is *ʿawra* except the face and palms according to the Ḥanafīs, Mālikīs, and Shāfiʿīs — although there is a debate among them over the back of the hands, and al-Shāfiʿī himself adds the portion from the wrists to the palms as being excluded from *ʿawra*. The Ḥanbalīs, however, generally consider even the palms as *ʿawra*. There is some debate even within the first three schools over a free woman's foot. Ḥanafīs on the whole regard a free woman's foot as *ʿawra*, and Ibn ʿĀbidīn cites some authorities as saying that even exposing one quarter of her foot would invalidate prayer.[15] Ibrāhīm ibn Ḍūyān, a twentieth-century Ḥanbalī jurist, considers all of a free woman as *ʿawra*, including her "adjacent hair" (*shaʿrhā al-muttaṣil*).[16] For a slave woman, all schools generally hold her *ʿawra* to be equivalent to that of a free man — that is, between the navel and the knees. This would support one explanation of the bare-breasted female stucco sculptures and frescoes in the Umayyad pleasure palaces of Khirbat al-Mafjar, Quṣayr ʿAmra, and Qaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Gharbī — namely, that they are slave-girl attendants.[17] The Ḥanafī jurists generally hold that for prayer, a slave woman's *ʿawra* also includes her chest (*ṣadr*) although not otherwise, whereas the Shāfiʿīs make no such distinction between *ʿawra* during prayer and *ʿawra* outside of prayer. As to existential nudity, Islam, like Judaism, forbids it outright for prayer even when one is alone and in a dark room.[18] Unlike in Judaism, where any woman's voice is almost considered in the *hălākhā* to be *ʿervā* on the basis of Samuel's statement to that effect in *b. Bĕrākhōt* 24a, in Islam there are differences of opinion even among jurists of the same rite with regard to the voice of free adult women. Ibn ʿĀbidīn, for example, cites diametrically opposed opinions among Ḥanafī authorities on the matter, and slave girls are not even brought into consideration, not only because their *ʿawra* is generally similar to that of a man, but also because singing slave girls (*jawārī mughanniyyāt*) were such an important institution in upper elite Islamic society.

Both Judaism and Islam extend the notion of corporal modesty to conjugal relations, and here corporal modesty and sexual modesty are synonymous. A man is absolutely forbidden to look at his wife's sexual organ in Judaism (*āsūr lĕ-histakkēl bĕ-ōtō māqōm*), whereas in Islam it is only recommended (*mustaḥabb* or *sunna*) that a man not look based on a *ḥadīth* quoting the Prophet's wife ʿĀʾisha that in all the years of their marriage, she never saw "anything of him (i.e., his *ʿawra*)," nor he of her.[19] Jewish law requires that the marital act take place in a dark room, whereas Islamic law only requires some sort of covering over both partners' buttocks.[20] On the other hand, Islam permits a variety of sexual positions based on the qurʾanic verse "Your wives are a field for you, so come to your fields as you wish" (sūra ii:223), whereas Judaism considers the missionary position to be the proper one.[21]

Corporal modesty in Judaism and Islam takes into consideration not only *ʿervā*/*ʿawra* exposed in front of others, but even what is exposed to oneself. In the Talmud (*b. Shabbāt* 118b) it is the mark of a saintly individual that he does not look at his own sex: "R. Yossi said, 'Never in my life did I gaze upon the mark of my circumcision.'" It was because of this that the passage goes on to relate that he was called "our holy rabbi" (*rabbēnū ha-qādōsh*). It further states that he never put his hand under his belt (presumably to touch his *ʿervā*). Similarly, there is a

[14] Ibn Ḥanbal 1896: 1:110; Abū Dāʾūd 1998: *Libās* 34.

[15] Ibn ʿĀbidīn 1966: 405–06.

[16] Ibn Ḍūyān 1958/59: 2:136.

[17] Y. Stillman 2000: 37 and the discussion there.

[18] For a detailed discussion of the legal opinions concerning *ʿawra* among the different schools with numerous references to the sources, see Hsu 1994: 19–45.

[19] *Shulḥān ʿārūkh*: *Ōraḥ ḥayyīm*: *Hilkhōt ṣĕnīʿūt* 240:4 and *Qiṣṣūr shulḥān ʿārūkh* 2, ch. 150, p. 1010, no. 5; *ḥadīth* cited by Hsu 1994: 60, in her chapter devoted to the section in al-Sarakhsī's *Kitāb al-mabsūṭ* 10 (1906–13) dealing with looking and touching, though no page number is given.

[20] *Qiṣṣūr shulḥān ʿārūkh* 2, ch. 150 (*Hilkhōt ṣĕnīʿūt*), p. 1010, no. 3. The Talmud does not make it a requirement for the room to be dark as does later Jewish law, but it does warn that having intercourse by candlelight will cause the children to be born from such union to be epileptic (*b. Pĕsāḥīm* 112b). On covering the buttocks, see al-Nasāʾī 1997: 73.

[21] *Shulḥān ʿārūkh: Ōraḥ ḥayyīm: Hilkhōt ṣenīʿūt* 240:5: "He below and she above is an impudent fashion. Both of them taking part in the sexual act on the same level is a perverted practice."

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tradition related by the Ḥanafī jurist Shams al-Dīn al-Sarakhsī, that Abū Bakr, the first caliph, who was noted for his uprightness (hence his nickname al-Ṣiddīq) and modesty, never looked at his own *ʿawra* or touched it — or anyone else's for that matter.[22] In Judaism, one is enjoined not to look at one's privities when getting dressed. Rather than dressing while seated, the *Shulḥān ʿārūkh: Ōraḥ ḥayyīm* 2:1–2 enjoins that one should put on one's body shirt under the covers in bed. Nor should one say to oneself, "'I am in my private chamber (*ḥadrē ḥādārīm*); who can see me?' This is because the Holy-One-Blessed-be-He's glory fills the entire world."

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Despite the numerous references to both gender and sex in the above discussion, it would be a gross oversimplification to equate corporal modesty with sexual modesty, although there is certainly an important element of overlap between the two — a nuance already noted by Epstein and others.[23] As noted above, there was an understanding in certain periods between existential nudity and shameful nakedness. In the ancient pagan world, there was a definite dichotomy between the two, and there are, as already mentioned, vestigial examples of ritual nudity in the Hebrew Bible. Pre-Islamic Jāhilī society had ritual nudity and also something of the Hellenistic world's easygoing attitude toward certain fashions that exposed a man's genitalia. In one *ḥadīth*, the Prophet specifically forbids the style of draping known as *al-ṣammāʾ*, whereby one end of a man's mantle is pulled up on the shoulder leaving the other side of his body bare in the style of the Greek *chiton*.[24] The key, operative concept behind corporal modesty is the notion of shame (as in the antonyms "honor" and "shame"). To be stripped naked was the fate of prisoners of war, slaves on the auction block, and criminals executed for public display. Since such individuals were themselves shamed, they were, therefore, not a cause for shame, and thus one could be nude before slaves in the bathhouse. It is for this same reason that the Qurʾan permits the Prophet Muḥammad's wives to appear before their male and female slaves unveiled, just as they could before their immediate kin, whereas being exposed before anyone else would be a shameful breach of their modesty (sūra xxxiii:55).

The many striking parallels in Jewish and Islamic legal and theological texts with regard to corporal modesty are yet one more example of what I have dubbed the *commensality* of these two religious civilizations.

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[22] Cited by Hsu 1994: 61 (see n. 20 above).

[23] Epstein 1948: 26.

[24] Y. Stillman 2000: 11, citing examples from al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*.

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18

AN ARAMAIC APOCALYPSE (4Q246) AND THE PERILS OF PREMATURE CONSENSUS

ANTHONY J. TOMASINO

"Consensus" is not necessarily a dirty word in scholarly investigation. We may hope, if we make our case strongly enough, that we might persuade a significant number of our colleagues that our interpretation of the data at hand is correct. Once a consensus has been reached, we may proceed to make extrapolations and develop hypotheses based on those theories. This process generally advances scientific knowledge. The danger lies in a tendency for a consensus to develop prematurely, if the proponents of an idea have sufficient clout to persuade their colleagues with little evidence, or if the theory is attractive to others for reasons that have little to do with its intrinsic scientific merit. A mature consensus is generally driven by the evidence; a premature consensus tends to be driven by ideology or personality. Once such notions take root and academic egos become invested in them, they can be very difficult to dislodge, even if additional evidence should suggest the need.

Professor Norman Golb has drawn attention to this phenomenon in the field of Dead Sea Scrolls studies. He has demonstrated how the theory of Qumran-Essene origins of the Scrolls, developed after the discovery of only the first of the Scroll caves, quickly attained the state of a consensus.[1] There have always been, and continue to be, dissenters to the theory, but most scholars have proceeded under the assumption that the Scrolls' were written at Qumran by Essene monks. This theory has achieved the status of dogma in scholarship, as well as in popular treatments, where it is usually presented as an established fact. Indeed, it has been difficult for dissenting voices to find a podium, since major journals and academic publishing houses use processes of peer review that discourage departure from the consensus.[2]

But just as consensus views have tended to dominate discussions of Scroll origins, they can also dominate the interpretations of individual texts. Sometimes, this process has been facilitated by the Scrolls editors themselves. Before the release of the Scrolls in 1992, editors who were fortunate enough to have been assigned particularly interesting texts would frequently issue statements about their contents and reveal selected excerpts sometimes years before the publication of the *editio princeps*. Apparently, this procedure was designed to stimulate interest and disseminate "official" interpretations of the texts before the actual contents were ever divulged. These editors might have attempted to create a consensus regarding the meaning of their assigned texts, while other scholars lacked sufficient data to draw their own conclusions. But since the release of the Scrolls to general study, and especially since the publication of the entire corpus, the process of consensus building has been less contrived. Nonetheless, it is apparent that some interpretations of scrolls can obtain a consensus rather rapidly, if they are espoused by the right people and appear in the most prominent journals. Such accords can still be perilous to the progress of scholarship, if they are based on ideologically driven investigation or knee-jerk reactions, rather than a thorough consideration of the evidence.

[1] Golb 1995, especially chapters 3–4.

[2] I personally experienced this attempted censorship when my manuscript for *Judaism before Jesus* was ridiculed by one of its reviewers because I questioned the identification of the "Yaḥad" group of the Scrolls with the Essenes of Philo and Josephus.

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THE "SON OF GOD" TEXT

At first blush, it would hardly seem appropriate to use the term "consensus" in connection with the Aramaic apocalyptic text designated 4Q246. Unlike some of the other scrolls, differing opinions were expressed concerning the meaning of this text even before its official publication in 1992 by Émile Puech, and they continue to the present day.[3] The controversy is due primarily to its fragmentary state of preservation: only one and a half columns of the text have survived. Even though the text is generally quite legible, readings of several words are in doubt due to the lack of context. A tentative translation of the surviving text is presented here:[4]

Column 1

1.] came to rest [up]on him, he fell down before the throne
2. o ki]ng to the world wrath shall come, and your years
3.] your vision. All of it will come to pass, forever.
4.] multitudes. Oppression will come upon the earth
5.] and great carnage. The cities
6.] king of Assyria [to E]gypt
7.] shall become great over the earth
8. w]ill make, and all will s[er]ve[5]
9.] he will be called; by his name he shall be designated.

Column 2

1. He shall be designated the son of God; they shall call him the son of the Most High. Like the comets[6]
2. that you saw, thus shall be their kingdom. Years they shall rule over
3. the earth and they shall trample all. People shall trample people, and nation nation,
4. ‹VACAT› until the people of God arise and all shall rest[7] from the sword. ‹VACAT›
5. Their (or "His")[8] kingdom is an eternal kingdom, and they shall be righteous in all their ways. They [shall ju]dge
6. the earth in righteousness, and all will make peace. The sword shall cease from the earth,
7. and every nation shall pay homage to them. The Great God — with his help
8. they will make war. He will deliver the peoples into their hand, and all of them
9. he will throw down before them. Their dominion is an eternal dominion, and all the depths of …

While the state of preservation has made the interpretation of this text difficult, it is quite apparent that the text was an account of an apocalyptic vision, foretelling the rise of the kingdom of God. Someone (either the seer, or perhaps a king) has a vision, and the vision is interpreted in these columns. Typical of the genre, the text predicts the coming of "eschatological woes" on the world. A mighty kingdom will arise, oppressing the nations.

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[3] Puech 1992.

[4] The translation of the second column is generally straightforward. There have been several different translations and reconstructions offered for the first conlumn. I have not attempted a reconstruction, since that is not my purpose in this paper. Nonetheless, several of my readings of the first column are conjectural, based on the lack of context and the tendency of this scribe to make little distinction between *vāv* and *yōd*. (Sometimes, however, the *yōd* does appear to have a slightly larger head.)

[5] This reading, which has been adopted from previous editions of the text, is difficult both palaeographically and grammatically. Two of the letters in the word translated "will serve" have been reduced to traces. Furthermore, in col. 1, line 3 and col. 2, line 6, the word "all" (*kōllā*ʾ) is used as a noun with a singular verb. Here, the verb form is plural.

[6] The Aramaic word *zīqayyā*ʾ has been translated "sparks" and "meteors," but "comets" seems preferable. See Tomasino 1995: 186–89.

[7] Or, "he causes all to rest." Because of the lack of distinction between the *vāv* and *yōd*, it is impossible to determine if the active or the causative form of the verb is intended.

[8] Though a singular pronoun is used here, I interpret its antecedent to be "the people of God," since "people" is used as a collective noun in this text, as indicated by the singular verb in 2.4. Several editions of this text translate the pronoun "he," giving the impression it refers to an individual perhaps mentioned in a missing portion of the first column.

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But its reign will be but a few years. The eternal kingdom of God will arise and bring peace to the earth by its unconquerable might.

Several verbal parallels between this text and Daniel 7 (and perhaps Daniel 11 as well) indicate that the eschatological scenario envisioned here was inspired by the book of Daniel.[9] Indeed, the text is identified in the catalog of the Palestinian Archaeological Museum as a Pseudo-Daniel composition (the "Apocryphon of Daniel"), and several scholars have suggested that the seer was Daniel himself.[10] While this assumption is unnecessary (Fourth Ezra and the Apocalypse of John both demonstrate heavy reliance on Daniel, while neither features Daniel as its seer), it is clear that the book of Daniel is the crucial key for reconstructing this text, and for identifying (if possible) the figure who would be called "the son of God."

INTERPRETATIONS OF THE SON OF GOD

The earliest allusion to this text apparently appeared in 1961, when A. D. Nock reported that he had heard from Frank Moore Cross that evidence concerning the Messiah as God's son would be forthcoming from the Dead Sea Scrolls.[11] It would be another eleven years, however, before the text in question would be revealed. In 1972, J. T. Milik presented some of the contents of the text in a lecture at Harvard University. But already, the controversy was apparent. According to Milik, the text did not refer to the Messiah as the "son of God," but rather to Alexander Balas, the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, whose coins bore the title *theopator* or *De patre natus*.[12] In 1974, Joseph Fitzmyer published a portion of the text.[13] Fitzmyer rejected Milik's historicizing approach to the text, arguing instead that it is "properly apocalyptic." On this basis, he concluded that the son of God figure was a future king "on the Jewish side."[14] Fitzmyer stopped short of identifying this figure as the Messiah, since the term "messiah" and its equivalents (e.g., "Branch of David" or "Prince of the Congregation") do not appear in the text. Nonetheless, he did argue that the character was a positive one, perhaps a Hasmonean or a descendant of the Davidic king. Thus already the polarities had been established: Was the "son of God" a positive figure, a leader or representative of the people of God, or a negative figure, part of the wicked kingdom that oppresses the earth?

Since these initial discussions, a variety of studies have emerged expressing various opinions on the Aramaic son of God's identity. David Flusser presented the first major study arguing that the son of God was not the Messiah, but a negative figure that he called the "Antichrist."[15] While Flusser's choice of the word "Antichrist" was unfortunate, he nonetheless identified some of the most salient issues of debate.[16] One of these significant issues is the general literary structure of the text. From what little remains, there appears to be a clear contrast between the subject matter of columns 1.1 through 2.3 and the material coming after the third line of the second column. In the first column and first three lines of column 2, the theme is strife and warfare, while the rest of column 2 describes the peace and security of the reign of the people of God. The *vacat* in 2.4 seems to make this change of subject matter even more explicit, since a *vacat* is generally the equivalent of a paragraph break in the Qumran manuscripts. Since the son of God figure is part of the first section, the logical conclusion that we might draw is that he was a figure from the age of strife, rather than the era of the people of God. After Flusser, several other scholars have considered the structure of the apocalypse to be the crucial issue for the interpretation of the text. Puech, followed by Cook and Steudel, identified the son of God figure as a Seleucid monarch, perhaps

[9] Some points of contact between this text and Daniel are observed by Collins (1995: 157–60, which is a reprint of Collins 1993b). These include the phrase "His kingdom is an everlasting kingdom" (see Dan 7:27) and the description of the wicked kingdom "trampling" the nations (see Dan 7:7).

[10] Puech 1992: 106, 126; so also Flusser 1980; Fitzmyer 1993, with reservations.

[11] Nock 1961: 584.

[12] Some of Milik's observations were published in Milik 1976: 60. Most of Milik's reconstruction of this text has appeared only in Fitzmyer's article cited below.

[13] Fitzmyer 1973/74: 391–94; revised version: 1979.

[14] Fitzmyer (2007: 105) rejects Milik's proposal by asking, "Would a Palestinian Jewish writer admit that a Seleucid pagan king was the 'son of God?'" This point is only persuasive, however, if one assumes that the text is stating that this figure was, in fact, the son of God. Actually, the text says only that he shall be *called* the son of God — which is not necessarily the same thing.

[15] Flusser 1980.

[16] Also unfortunate was his argument that the Oracle of Hystaspes demonstrated a notion of an antichrist figure in early Judaism. The section of the text that he cites from Lactantius clearly imported Christian ideas and attributed them to the ancient Persian seer.

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Antiochus Epiphanes.[17] Hofius likewise identified him as a usurper of divine authority, while Knohl has averred that he represents the Roman emperor Octavian.[18]

Obviously, however, the text flow has not been considered decisive by many scholars. A growing majority of studies argue that the son of God is a positive figure of some kind. Hengel, followed by Vermès, have identified him as a symbol of the people of God, much as the Son of Man figure in Daniel 7 seems to epitomize the rise of the people of God.[19] García Martínez has held that the figure is a spiritual deliverer, the same one identified as Michael or the Prince of Light in other Dead Sea Scrolls, rising to defend the people of God during the age of strife.[20] Many scholars, however, have not hesitated to identify the son of God figure with the Davidic Messiah. These include Kim, Collins, Cross, Oegema, Zimmermann, Evans, and Kuhn.[21]

There is a clear majority among Dead Sea Scrolls researchers favoring the identification of the "son of God" as the Messiah. But it is in the writings of generalists and New Testament scholars that the messianic interpretation seems to have attained the state of dogma. In New Testament introductions and commentaries and a plethora of web pages, it is often stated that 4Q246 (or, more generally, "the Dead Sea Scrolls") demonstrates that "son of God" was a Jewish messianic title before the birth of Jesus.[22] In such sources, the statement is usually made without qualification or nuance, as if the matter were obvious and unchallenged, as in this quote from Köstenberger: "The term 'Son [of God]' was also a current messianic title in Jesus' day."[23]

THE BASES FOR THE "CONSENSUS" VIEW

The consensus view is not without merit, and evidence supporting it has been cited both from within the text and from its historical/cultural milieu. Much of the focus has been on the title "son of God" itself. García Martínez, apparently assuming that the phrase "They shall call him the son of God" is the rhetorical equivalent of "He shall be the son of God," argues that the appelation is positive and therefore could not refer to an evil figure.[24] Fitzmyer noted that the Hebrew form of "God" (*ʾēl*) is used in the text rather than the Aramaic form. An Aramaic text, he argues, would be unlikely to use the Hebrew form of the name of God unless the usage were titular.[25]

But most scholars base their case for the messianic interpretation on the literary milieu of 4Q246, especially its biblical parallels. First, there is the Hebrew Bible use of the phrase "son of God" to consider. While the phrase "sons of God" in the Hebrew Bible most frequently designates angels, the singular "my son" or its equivalent is used in three passages (2 Sam 7:14; Pss 2:7–8; 89:26–27) to designate the king of Israel (although the phrase "son of God" is never used as a royal *title* in the Hebrew Bible). These passages establish a precedent for the idea that the Messiah (the king *par excellence*) would have some kind of a filial relationship with God. Indeed, it is these passages that primarily seem to have inspired the New Testament use of the title "Son of God" for Jesus. And it is precisely the New Testament usage that seems to have persuaded several scholars that 4Q246 must also have the Messiah in mind. The most obvious Gospel parallel to 4Q246 is found in Luke 1:32–35, where an angel announces to Mary, "The child shall be called the Son of God." Collins remarks, "It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Luke is dependent in some way, whether directly or indirectly, on this long lost text from Qumran."[26] And according to

[17] Puech 1999: 545–51; Cook 1995 and in Wise et al. 2005: 346–47; Steudel 1994: 509–21.

[18] Hofius 1993: 109; Knohl 2002: 88–95.

[19] Hengel 1976: 45; Vermès 1995: 332.

[20] García Martínez 1992: 162–79.

[21] Kim 1983; Collins 1995: 154–72; Cross 1996; Oegema 1998: 122–25; Zimmermann 1998; Evans 2006: 91–94; Kuhn 2007.

[22] While these sources are too numerous to list, some that specifically mention 4Q246 include Köstenberger 2007: 429; Wright 1996: 485; Green, McKnight, and Marshall 1992: 770; Hurtado 2003: 103; O'Neill 1995: 173; Porter 2007: 106; Evans 2006: 45. Web pages include Eastman 2008; T. Montgomery 2008; and even the Wikipedia entry "Son of God" (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Son_of_God)

[23] Köstenberger 2007: 429.

[24] García Martínez 1992: 178. See Fitzmyer's assumption observed in n. 14 above. While this rhetorical equivalence is sometimes intended (e.g., Luke 1:32), it is not necessarily the case. The text may literally mean that the figure will be called "son of God" by his subjects, while not actually being the Son of God.

[25] Fitzmyer 1993: 168. It should be noted, however, that biblical texts sometimes apply Hebrew divine titles to foreign monarchs: e.g., the king of Tyre claims to be ʾĒl (Ezek 28:2), while the king of Babylon says that he will be like ʾElyōn (Isa 14:13). Such texts reflect the titles in use in Judahite/Jewish society, not historical or linguistic reality.

[26] Collins 1995: 155.

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Evans, "Thanks to 4Q246 we now see that the angel's annunciation to Mary, as well [as] the Gerasene demoniac's address to Jesus as 'Son of the Most High God,' was right at home in first century Palestine."[27]

One might wonder how a couple lines from a single text could lead to such a dramatic conclusion. Nonetheless, Evans' enthusiasm may perhaps be excused. The New Testament's use of the phrase "son of God" as a title for Jesus has long been a puzzle to scholars, given the absence of similar messianic expectations in rabbinic Judaism. The discovery of a Jewish source for this title would seem a most welcome development for the historical study of Christian theology.

Yet another reason for the identification arises from the dependence of 4Q246 on Daniel 7. In discussions of this biblical passage, attention is often focused on the figure described as "one like a Son of Man" who is granted dominion over the earth. While few scholars today hold that Daniel intended the figure to represent the Messiah, the New Testament and some later apocalyptic and rabbinic texts clearly interpret him thus.[28] The question of how this Son of Man came to be understood as the Messiah has occupied scholars for many decades. The Aramaic Apocalypse could provide yet another piece to the puzzle. Kim, followed by Kuhn, has proposed that 4Q246's "son of God" is an interpretation of Daniel's Son of Man.[29] So if this "son of God" were, indeed, intended to be the Messiah, then the text would demonstrate a hermeneutical link between Daniel's eschatological scenario and the expectation of an unconquerable Davidide who would be known as the "son of God" (2 Sam 7:12–14; Ps 2:7).

For generalists and other writers, the issues at stake are often more apologetic than academic. As mentioned, the use of the phrase "son of God" as a messianic title is unattested in rabbinic Judaism. Indeed, evidence of such a messianic title is scant in other ancient Jewish sources, as well. The only really prominent use outside of the New Testament occurs in Fourth Ezra, which repeatedly refers to the Messiah as "my Son the Messiah." This Jewish apocalyptic text, however, has been heavily retouched by Christian translators and copyists, and probably did not originally contain any such title at all.[30] These facts led scholars of earlier generations to look outside of Judaism for the roots of this idea. Frequently, this search took them to the Graeco-Roman world of infant Christianity, to the classical ruler cults. The Hellenistic world was full of stories of kings and heroes who had been fathered by gods — indeed, even illustrious historical figures, including Alexander the Great, Octavian, and even the philosopher Plato, were rumored to have had divine sires. Paul and the Gentile converts to Christianity, it was argued, had brought these ideas from paganism into early Christianity, applying them incorrectly to Jesus:[31]

> Hence we see in the υἱός θεοῦ belief, to which Jesus himself testified according to the synoptic account — and only there the sole decisive heathen premises [*sic*], of Pauline thought. All that belongs to it and flows from it (e.g., the condescending heavenly man of Philippians, the dying with Christ, the realistic evaluation of the sacraments, etc.) is un-Jewish and akin to heathen ideas of the time.

This facile explanation has always had its critics, but in light of the paucity of evidence of the "son of God" title in Judaism, variants of this theory have had numerous proponents.

The last several decades have witnessed a re-assessment of this theory. Manuscript and other discoveries have led to a new appreciation of the antiquity of some of the New Testament documents, so that even the Gospels are now routinely dated to the first century C.E. This re-dating has caused us to look for the roots of Christianity in the Judaism of Jesus and the apostles, rather than the Graeco-Roman world of the second-century church fathers. The Dead Sea Scrolls, too, have demonstrated that many of the teachings attributed to Jesus, along with some of the "distinctive" language of the Gospels, were not unique to Christianity: they were, it seems, quite at home in Second Temple-period Judaism.[32] These discoveries have encouraged an interest in re-connecting Jesus to his

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[27] Evans 2006: 94.

[28] Studies on the Son of Man figure in Daniel are legion. Most scholars regard him to be a symbol of the collective people of God; see, e.g., Bevan 1892: 118; Driver 1922: 102; J. Montgomery 1927: 317–24; Casey 1979: 24–25. On the interpretation of the Son of Man as the archangel Michael, see Schmidt 1900, followed by Box 1932: 213; Lacocque 1979: 133; and Collins 1993a: 304–10. Finally, on the view that the Son of Man in Daniel 7 represented the Messiah, see Beasley-Murray 1983. On the interpretation of Daniel's Son of Man as the Messiah in apocalyptic and rabbinic sources, see Collins 1992; Burkett 2000: especially chapter 9.

[29] Kim 1983; Kuhn 2007.

[30] Stone (1990: 207) contends that the Greek translation of 4 Ezra, which underlies the extant Latin translation, read not "my son" (ὑιος) but "my servant" (παις).

[31] Schoeps 1961: 158. Classic formulations of this position may be found in Boussett 1970; Harnack 1986; Bultmann 1956; and Conzelmann 1969.

[32] Among the many studies on the Dead Sea Scrolls and Christian origins, significant titles include La Sor 1972; Bruce 1990; Charlesworth 1992; and Brooke 2005.

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Judaic roots. Conservative scholars (who in earlier generations tended to resist any lines of investigation that seemed to undermine Jesus' uniqueness) seem especially enamored with the idea of discovering a Christology rooted in Judaism rather than Graeco-Roman paganism that Harnack and his school found so appealing.

But there is yet another reason that Christian apologists, in particular, have gravitated toward the messianic interpretation of 4Q246. Some have cited this text as an important confirmation of the historicity of the Gospel narratives. Attributing the title "Son of God" to the Graeco-Roman milieu of the early church, rather than the Jewish milieu of Jesus and the apostles, would certainly tend to undermine the historical accuracy of the Gospel narratives. If it could be demonstrated that Judaism identified its Messiah as "the Son of God" before the time of Jesus, then the use of the term in the Gospels could not be regarded as out of place or anachronistic. One writer states, "To find a Messianic figure being called 'the Son of God,' the 'Son of the Most High,' by the Jewish believers in Qumran, is astonishing and conclusive! To them, the Messiah would be the Son of God!"[33]

Given the verbal similarities between Luke 1:32–35 and the Aramaic Apocalypse, one might imagine that the messianic interpretation would make some Christians uncomfortable. It could be argued, after all, that Luke composed his account based on the Aramaic Apocalypse, rather than actual events. But that is not the case: apologists claim instead that the similarities *increase* the validity of Luke's account, by demonstrating that the angel's announcement to Mary was couched in terms with which she, as a Jew, would have been familiar. It has even been argued that the Scroll author was dependent on the Gospel of Luke, proving the great antiquity of the gospel tradition and the faithfulness of its transmission.[34]

SOME CRITICISMS OF THE CONSENSUS VIEW

While I would not deny the possibility that the "Son of God" figure in 4Q246 is, indeed, the Messiah, I find at present little justification for a consensus. Given the fragmentary state of the text, either the messianic or the "evil monarch" interpretation could be valid — and, in fact, the case for the latter interpretation may be stronger.

Advocates of the messianic interpretation depend heavily on the text's literary milieu, especially the New Testament and its messianic terminology. Although it is not stated explicitly, the line of reasoning is quite simple: the New Testament calls the Messiah the Son of God, and 4Q246 calls someone the son of God; therefore, that person must be the Messiah. (If the New Testament had not existed, it is doubtful that the messianic interpretation would have been suggested at all — there would have been little basis for believing that "son of God" could be a messianic title, considering that the only other text to use the phrase in this manner, Fourth Ezra, would not have been modified to reflect New Testament usage if there had been no New Testament.)

But this line of argument is only persuasive if the title "son of God" is found nowhere else in ancient literature. Of course, this is not the case. While "son of God" was rarely used as a title by the Hellenistic monarchs, many were called gods. Ptolemy Philadelphos II began the tradition by proclaiming his father divine, which presumably would have made him the son of a god. He and his sister were later proclaimed "sibling gods."[35] Among the Seleucids, it was Antiochus III who first claimed divine honors during his lifetime.[36] None of those, however, was evidently known by the title "son of God." Alexander the Great came close, being called the "son of Ammon," and so established a precedent for such an exalted title.[37] But it was in the Roman imperial cult that the title "son of god" became most prominent, as the emperor Augustus was designated the "son of god" even on his inscriptions.[38] In Dio Chrysostom's *Orationes* 4.21, the title "son of god" is treated as synonymous with the title "king." Thus, if 4Q246's "son of God" figure was part of the wicked empire, then there would be ample precedence for his divine appellation.[39]

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[33] Eastman 2008.

[34] Thus Jeffrey 2008. The argument is ill informed, since the Gospel of Luke was almost certainly written from several decades to a century after the composition of 4Q246.

[35] Shipley 2000: 159–60.

[36] Ibid., 157–58.

[37] See Tarn 1948: 358–59; Bosworth 1996: 101–02, 118–19, 164–69.

[38] On the divinity of Alexander, see Taeger 1957–60: 1:191–208; on the divinity of Augustus, see idem 2:210–25. On the political significance of the royal cult, see Santosuosso 2001: 83–87; Zanker 1988: 297.

[39] On the use of the Hebrew word for God in 4Q246, see n. 25 above.

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Furthermore, the case for the messianic interpretation would be more persuasive if there were in fact any evidence beyond the New Testament that Jewish writers called the Messiah "son of God." As noted above, the only text outside the New Testament that makes extensive use of the notion of divine sonship is Fourth Ezra, a text whose integrity is very much in doubt. While it has been argued that one of the Dead Sea Scrolls, 4QFlorilegium (4Q174), has direct bearing on the issue of divine sonship, the significance of the text dubious. The relevant section (1.10–12) cites 2 Samuel 7:11–14 and offers an interpretation:

> "The LORD declares to you that he will build a house for you, and I will raise up your descendant after you, and I will establish the throne of his kingdom [foreve]r. I will be to him a father, and he shall be to me a son." This is the Branch of David, who will arise with the interpreter of the Law who will [arise] in Zi[on in the l]ast days. As it is written, "I will raise up the booth of David which is fallen."

Here, the figure designated "my (God's) son" is interpreted as the Messiah ("Branch of David"). But it is remarkable how this text passes over the issue of the king's adoption without comment. Rather, the interpreter focuses on the idea of "building a house," associating it with the notion of raising the fallen booth of David. Given that this text is the closest the Scrolls come to asserting the Messiah's divine sonship, it seems that Fitzmyer has not overstated the case in averring, "There is nothing in the OT or Palestinian Jewish tradition that we know of to show that 'Son of God' had messianic nuance."[40]

The most systematic defense for the messianic interpretation of this text has come from Collins,[41] who addresses the question of the "flow" of the Aramaic Apocalypse by comparing the text with Daniel 7, with which the text has obvious affinities.[42] In Daniel 7, the vision of four beasts is related, then an interpretation is given that summarizes the entire vision. The narrative then returns to focus on the last of the beasts and its interpretation. Collins argues that 4Q246 followed the same pattern: there was a description of the wicked kingdom followed by the rise of the people of God, including the Messiah, God's Son (cols. 1.4–2.1). Then, the text returned to describe the wicked kingdom once again (2.2–3), before yet another description of the final triumph of God's people (2.4–9). Collins claims that the tendency to go over the same ground twice is "a well-known feature of apocalyptic writing."[43]

While Collins is certainly correct in noting the repetition of Daniel 7, his generalization of the pattern to a "tendency" of apocalyptic literature is surely open to challenge. In some apocalypses (e.g., the Apocalypse of John) there is some reiteration of major episodes, but not smaller segments. Many apocalypses (e.g., the *Animal Apocalypse* of 1 Enoch) demonstrate no repetition at all. Likewise, Daniel 2 — which may have served as a model for 4Q246 — demonstrates no repetition, but merely a straightforward account of the dream interpretation. So while it is possible that such repetition occurs in 4Q246, it is by no means necessary. Furthermore, the *vacat* in 2.4 militates against this interpretation. It obviously indicates a change in subject from the rule of the wicked oppressors to the rule of the people of God. If this scribe consistently used blank spaces to indicate changes in subject, then there should also be a *vacat* at the end of 2.1, where Collins would have the text shift from the triumph of God's people to the end of the rule of the evil empire.

Also, if the first column of 4Q246 reached its climax with a description of the Messiah's reign, then why is the Messiah not named in column 2, which supposedly reiterates the material of column 1? Instead, we find a description of the triumph of God's people, who rise up and subdue the wicked nation. This scenario is reminiscent of that found in the Qumran *War Scroll* (especially 1QM), where the triumph of the Sons of Light is played out with little reference to the role of the Messiah. Given the verbal connections between 4Q246 and the first column of the *War Scroll*, we should not be surprised if the eschatological expectations of the texts overlap, as well.[44]

Collins has argued that it is not God's people whose triumph is described in column 2. He contends that it must be the Messiah who shall "judge the earth in righteousness" (2.5–6), since "judging" is never the task of the aggregate people of God, but only an individual. Thus, the singular pronoun of column 2 must refer back to the Messiah, who was presumably mentioned in column 1.[45] This point is not persuasive. In the Hebrew Bible, "judging" the wicked can be euphemistic for destroying them in war (Ezek 35:1–11; Joel 3:9–12; 1 Chr 20:12), which

[40] Fitzmyer 1981: 1:206.

[41] Collins 1995: 154–72.

[42] Ibid., 158. A similar alternating structure is proposed by Cross 2003.

[43] Cross 2003.

[44] Collins 1995: 159.

[45] Ibid., 161.

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generally involves the collective body of an army. Also, in Isaiah 5:3, God calls on the collective inhabitants of Jerusalem and people of Judah to judge between "me and my vineyard." In Second Temple Jewish texts, there are several references to collective judgment. In 1QS 8.1–10, the Council of the Community is charged with judging the land. In 1QpHab 5.4, we read, "By the hand of his chosen ones God will judge all the Gentiles."

But a more significant case appears in 1 Corinthians 6:2, where Paul writes, "Do you not know that the saints will judge the world?" This expectation, unanticipated in the prophetic descriptions of the "Day of the LORD," is apparently based on Daniel 7:22, which states, "Judgment was given to the saints of the Most High."[46] The text may have originally meant that judgment would be passed (in an angelic court) in favor of the saints, but Paul interpreted it to mean that the saints would be granted authority to act as judges of the nations. Furthermore, his exclamation "Do you not know?" may suggest that he regarded this interpretation as common. Given that 4Q246 also draws heavily on Daniel 7, it seems quite possible that the eschatological scenario of 4Q246 column 2 is based on the same interpretive tradition, one that assigned a significant role to the People of God in the judgment of the nations.

There is yet another issue that arises from the apparent connections between this text and Daniel 7. While several scholars have maintained that the son of God of this text is an interpretation of Daniel's "one like a son of man" (Dan 7:13–14), they fail to observe that the "son of man" is not the major focus of Daniel 7. Daniel's primary interest is in the "little horn" of the vision, the oppressor of the people of God (7:8, 11, 20–21, 24–26), who no doubt originally represented Antiochus Epiphanes. The behavior of this horn can be compared to that of the figure described in 4Q246: the horn utters arrogant words, which (according to later chapters) include attempts at self-deification: "He shall make himself greater than any god, and speak astounding things against the God of Gods" (11:36).[47] According to the messianic interpretation of 4Q246, the wicked monarch of Daniel 7 is passed over without notice, while the Son of Man becomes the focus of the exposition.

This brief discussion is not intended to address all the issues regarding the identification of the Son of God figure. A number of philological and textual objections to the messianic interpretation have been raised by other scholars and need not be reiterated here.[48] These issues have been raised to demonstrate that a consensus regarding the interpretation of 4Q246 seems premature.

AN ALTERNATIVE INTERPRETATION

Although it is not my primary purpose, I would like to propose an alternative reading to the messianic approach. First, I would agree with Fitzmyer that this text is "properly apocalyptic." However, that does not mean that the "son of God" figure must be eschatological (in the sense of a figure of the future). Indeed, apocalyptic texts are generally very detailed in their depictions of events that occurred prior to or contemporaneous with the author's time, presented in the form of *ex eventu* prophecies. It is when the authors begin speculating about the future that they tend to become vague.

It is likely that the violent conflicts described in the first section of 4Q246 reflect the author's perception of his own age. Apocalypticists generally believe that the end of the age is imminent, so the apocalyptic woes they "predict" preceding the messianic era are frequently a real or exaggerated reflection on the trials of their own age.[49] Consequently, the figure identified as the "son of God" could well be historical (*and* eschatological — since the author believed he was living on the brink of the eschaton). Nonetheless, I would hesitate to identify this son of God figure with Antiochus Epiphanes or any other Seleucid monarch, because no Seleucid monarch ever bore the title "son of God." We must look instead to the Roman Empire for this appellation.

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[46] See further Thiselton 2000: 425–30.

[47] Such behavior is not unique to Daniel's wicked monarch. In Isaiah 14:13, the king of Babylon claims, "I will be like the Most High." In Ezekiel 28:2, it is the king of Tyre who says, "I am God; I sit on the throne of God." In Acts 12:22, Herod Agrippa received honor as a god. So, if the figure in 4Q246 was indeed a wicked king claiming divinity, he would find himself in the company of a number of notorious biblical characters.

[48] For a good discussion of several key objections, see further Cook 1995.

[49] See the Apocalyptic Discourse of Jesus (Mark 13 *par*), which associates the Great Revolt and the destruction of the Temple with the advent of the messianic age.

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We can easily demonstrate how this interpretation of 4Q246 accords with the historical realities of Judean society in the early Roman period. To the Jews, the coming of the Romans had brought nothing but strife. With the conquest of Pompey, the struggles among the Triumvirs, the ambitions of Cleopatra, the uprisings of the last of the Hasmoneans, and battles against the Parthians and the Nabateans, Judea had known constant conflict since the appearance of Rome on the scene. From this morass the figure of Octavian emerged finally supreme. Octavian's consolidation of the empire certainly brought some respite to Judea, but the memory of violence was still very real in the Jewish mind, and the passion for revolt still burned in the Jewish hearts. Unlike Epiphanes, Octavian did not actually persecute the Jews, and 4Q246 acknowledges this fact by refraining from vilification of the emperor. Nonetheless, his claim of the title "son of God" was a blatant demonstration of hubris that could not fail to attract Jewish indignation. It may be no accidental irony that 4Q246 emphasizes issues that were featured in Rome's propaganda: the establishment of peace and order, and the divinity of Caesar.[50]

We can also observe that this interpretation of 4Q246 is consistent with the text's literary milieu. In the *War Scroll*, the Romans (i.e., the Kittim) were facilely transformed into the eschatological opponent of God's people, the "king of the North" from Daniel 11.[51] It is possible that the "Kittim" were the antecedent to the plural pronouns found in the descriptions of the wicked empire in 4Q246: "*they* shall call him" (2.1); "thus shall be *their* kingdom" (2.2, emphasis added). It is also evident that the wicked kingdom of Daniel 7 was identified with Rome in the writings of Josephus, in the Revelation of John, and in Fourth Ezra.[52] Although these texts were, admittedly, considerably later than 4Q246, they could well represent the earliest written expressions of a persistent oral interpretive tradition.

An identification of this figure with the Roman emperor has to my knowledge been suggested by a very small number of scholars, but no specialists in the field have championed the theory.[53] Most Qumranologists, it seems, are reluctant to assign the composition of the text to such a late date. It should be noted, however, that the manuscript has been dated on palaeographic grounds to the last third of the first century B.C.E.[54] While I personally question whether palaeographic dating can provide the kind of precise dating of texts that some scholars would claim, there would seem to be little call for Qumranologists to dismiss the possibility of a Roman-era provenance for this text out of hand. Obviously, our text is a copy, not an autograph, and must have been composed some time before the time to which we date the manuscript — but how long? There is no compelling reason to insist that the text must have been composed before the Roman era.

CONCLUSIONS: THE DANGERS OF THE CONSENSUS

The potentially deleterious effects of the growing consensus regarding the Aramaic Apocalypse's "Son of God" must be given serious consideration. It must be borne in mind, first of all, that this text represents the *only* pre-Christian evidence (excepting the Hebrew Bible) of the title "son of God" in a Jewish context. Even if it were to be demonstrated that the text refers to the Messiah, it hardly can be said to bear witness to a widely held messianic expectation. Scholars should therefore beware of exaggerated claims of its significance, such as Dunn's statement that "Qumran evidence should have killed stone dead the old view that 'son of God' was not a messianic title in

[50] Knohl (2002: 91–93) also adds the interesting observation that the Romans placed great significance in a comet that was seen during Octavian's games honoring the divinized Julius Caesar. The comet was regarded as the harbinger of a new "golden age" for the world. If the Jews were aware of this bit of propaganda, they might have deliberately lampooned it in this text: the comet mentioned in 2.1 was not the sign of a golden age, but an ephemeral empire.

[51] The identification of the Kittim in the *War Scroll* with Rome, argued by Yadin (1962: 22–26), has been widely accepted. As early as 1962, Greenfield wrote, "The identification of the Kittim in these works with the Seleucid Greeks, proposed by many scholars on the basis of the early publication of only a few columns of 1QM, was almost entirely abandoned with the publication of all of 1QM, in which the identification of the Kittim with the Romans is clear." On the use of Daniel 11 in 1QM 1, see Tomasino 1995: 18–24.

[52] For Josephus' identification of Daniel's fourth kingdom with Rome, see Tomasino 1995: 262–68, and studies cited there. On Daniel in the apocalyptic texts, see Beale 1984: 112–53, 154–305. For Revelation, see Sweet 1979: 17–21; Yarbro Collins 1993. On 4 Ezra, see Lacocque 1981; Stone 1990: 343–423. The most comprehensive studies on the use of Daniel in 2 Baruch is that of Beale; see also Casey 1979: 129.

[53] These include Knohl 2002: 91–93; Lendering 2008.

[54] Puech 1992: 105.

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Second Temple Judaism."[55] The Aramaic Apocalypse is but a single fragmentary manuscript of dubious meaning. It is not the missing link between Judaism and Christianity.

Furthermore, the interpretation of this text should still be very much in doubt. As demonstrated above, there is ample reason to believe that the messianic interpretation has not been demonstrated with any level of certainty. But as this interpretation has come to be regarded as the consensus, we increasingly find that the identification of the "son of God" figure as the Messiah is made without the necessary caveats. Due to the uncritical promulgation of this interpretation, a whole series of textbooks shall remain in circulation for many years disseminating the incorrect notion that the pre-Christian messianic use of the "son of God" title has been conclusively demonstrated.

The principal danger in the consensus, however, is that it can quell further investigation of alternatives. For many scholars, the issue of the son of God's identification seems to have been closed, particularly by Collins' treatment of the text. Students or scholars who have not thoroughly studied the issue may assume that the final word has already been spoken, and that there will be little gained by further pursuit of the matter. Such a state of affairs would be unfortunate indeed. Much is undoubtedly yet to be learned from an unprejudiced investigation of this most intriguing text.

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[55] Dunn 2003: 709.

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19

TEN NEWLY IDENTIFIED FRAGMENTS OF SAADIA'S COMMENTARY ON ESTHER: INTRODUCTION AND TRANSLATION

*MICHAEL G. WECHSLER**

למורי, אלופי, כמנחת לבבי

INTRODUCTION

Not least among the many lures that drew my interest to the language and literature of Judaeo-Arabic were the biblical translations and commentaries of the great Rabbanite littérateur Saadia Gaon ben Joseph. It was, moreover, under the patient and precise tutelage of Professor Golb that my ability to read and critically interact with this literature was both encouraged and honed. It is therefore with an inevitable sense of gratitude and pleasure that I take this opportunity to honor both scholars for whom I hold such profound respect, reclaiming just a little bit more of the *oeuvre* of one in tribute to the other. The topic of the present study, in fact, extends from research initially undertaken in connection with my doctoral dissertation — an edition of the Karaite Yefet ben ʿEli's Arabic translation and commentary on Esther[1] — for which Professor Golb served as primary reader. In the course of examining unattributed fragments of a Judaeo-Arabic commentary on Esther (primarily from the Cairo Geniza) held at the National Library of Russia (Saint Petersburg), Cambridge University, and the Jewish Theological Seminary of America (New York), I was happily able to identify, vis-à-vis the criteria enumerated in the following section, ten new fragments of Saadia's commentary on Esther (titled *Kitāb al-īnās bi-ʾl-jalwa*,[2] "The Book of Conviviality in Exile").

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* This is a substantially revised and expanded version of a paper presented at the thirteenth International Conference of the Society for Judaeo-Arabic Studies, hosted by the Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Universidad de Córdoba, in July 2007. I am indebted to those who attended the session in which I presented it and gave feedback — among whom was my mentor and the honoree of this volume, Professor Norman Golb. My gratitude also goes out to Professor Joel Kraemer for reviewing a draft of the present (revised) article and offering, in his characteristically gracious manner, both precise and honest feedback. In the period following the submission of *Pesher Naḥum* to the publisher, after which substantial revision (not to mention expansion) of this article was impractical, I was fortunate enough to identify several additional fragments of Saadia's commentary on Esther, all of which are listed in the appendix. All of the extant fragments of Saadia's exegetical oeuvre (i.e., Arabic translation and commentary) on Esther are currently in preparation by this writer for a forthcoming edition, with English translation and a comprehensive introduction.

[1] A revised version of this dissertation has now been published as the first volume of *Karaite Texts and Studies*, a sub-series of Brill's *Études sur le judaïsme médiéval*; for specific information, see the bibliography at the end of this article, under Wechsler 2008. The attribution to Saadia of seven out of the ten fragments discussed in the present article is mentioned therein on p. 9 n. 50. MSS BLO Heb.e.56 (fols. 53r–60v), T-S NS 163.3, and T-S NS 164.148 were identified following publication of that volume. Abramson (1974: 69) refers to an unspecified "important fragment" of Saadia's commentary on Esther that he intended to publish, though it seems he never did so. In any event, this important fragment is almost certainly among those treated in the past by Ratzaby or by myself herein.

[2] As in MS T-S Ar.28.160, fol. 1v. In his initial publication of fragments from this work, Ratzaby (1984: 1170) gave the title as *Kitāb al-īnās bi-ʾl-maghūtha* (which he translates ספר השיעשוע בהצלה), though this last element (*bi-ʾl-maghūtha*) — after which he places a question mark — is clearly to be read in the manuscript as באלגלותה ("in the exile/captivity"). In Geniza book lists, the commentary is also referred to by the shorter title *Kitāb al-īnās* (see Ratzaby 1984: 1155 n. 21; Qafiḥ 1981: 163 n. 18) and *Tafsīr mĕgillat estēr* or simply *Tafsīr al-mĕgillā* (see below). Moreover, though Ratzaby's translation of *īnās* by שיעשוע ("gladdening") is not strictly wrong, it is too vague, since *īnās* (the fourth form verbal noun of انس) denotes the gladdening arising out of friendship or social interaction (see Lane 1968: 1:113b; Dozy 1927: 1:41a; Piamenta 1990–91: 1:14b); hence my translation by "Conviviality"

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The significance of these fragments is underscored by the observation that most of the text they contain is otherwise unattested (or unpublished) in the nineteen previously identified fragments of Saadia's commentary on Esther (for the coverage and bibliographic sources of which, see the appendix to this article). Considering, indeed, the amount of text contained in these fragments, my primary objective in the present volume is to make their contents (namely, the commentary proper, not Saadia's Arabic translation) accessible to the reader: on the one hand, for the sake of achieving the broadest possible accessibility by the student, specialist, and layman alike, via the annotated English translation below; on the other hand, for the scholar acquainted with the linguistic medium typically employed by Saadia for his literary endeavors, via the edited Judaeo-Arabic text, presented separately in the Hebrew section of this volume. In addition to the translation, in the section that precedes it, I also set before the reader a brief survey of some noteworthy features in these newly "reclaimed" portions of Saadia's commentary.

It is my hope that, in offering to the vast field of "Saadyana" this preliminary edition and translation of these ten fragments, the interest of scholars and students alike in Saadia's commentary on the book of Esther will have been stimulated, and their appetite whetted for a single-volume, comprehensive edition of Saadia's exegetical treatment of this biblical book.[3]

IDENTIFICATION AND INVENTORY OF THE FRAGMENTS

Parameters of Identification

1° The fragment contains an Arabic translation of Esther corresponding to that of Saadia (as edited by Qafiḥ 1962[4]), notwithstanding minor variants. Coordinate with this parameter is the organization of the translation and commentary *by pericope*, a method of organization otherwise attested among known (Judaeo-)Arabic exegetes — at least with respect to Esther — only by Yefet ben ʿEli.

2° The commentator in the fragment cites or alludes to his own translation of another portion of scripture corresponding to the translation of Saadia.

3° The commentary in the fragment contains a view attributed to Saadia by a later exegete.

4° The commentary in the fragment overlaps with or comes from the same manuscript containing a previously published or identified portion of Saadia's commentary on Esther.

5° The commentary in the fragment overlaps with or comes from the same manuscript as another one of the seven presently edited fragments that meets one or more of the first four parameters.

(similarly Qafiḥ 1994: 8 n. 1: ספר החברות; and Allony 2006: 114: ספר החברה) — or, even more precisely, "Convivializing."

With respect to the place of Saadia's Esther commentary in the chronology of composition of his overall exegetical endeavor, it may be noted that he refers to his Esther commentary as an apparently completed work twice in his commentary on Daniel (*ad* 2:46 [Qafiḥ 1981: 163]: כמא הו משרוח פי תפסיר אלמגלה; *ad* 9:1–3 [ibid., 163]: ועלי מא שרחנא פי תפסיר מגלת אסתר) as well as at the beginning and end of the introduction to his translation of *Měgillat Anṭiyyōkhōs/Bĕnē Ḥashmōnaʾy* (ibid., 221:

קאל סעדיה בן יוסף ראס אלמתיבה ז״ל בעד פראגה מן תפסיר מגלת אסתר; ibid., 225: פלמא באנת קצה בני חשמונאי בעד קצה מרדכי ואסתר בעד קי״ח סנה עלי מא סיתבין [כך! אך מן־הסתם היא טעות סופר במקום ״מתבין״ או ״תבין״] פי כתאבי להא, אוגבת אן אתבתהא בעדהא).

See also Ratzaby 1994: 8 and n. 3.

[3] Currently in preparation by the present writer. A proper edition, in this writer's view, of this or any other of Saadia's biblical commentaries should include his translation (*tafsīr*; more specifically: *tafsīr basīṭ* [see Polliack 1997: 79]) of the biblical text. Although the technique underlying his *tafsīr* is dynamic enough to enable it to stand alone — as indeed it does both in manuscript and oriental Jewish liturgical rite — it was clearly intended as a necessary complement to his commentary, as is evident from the fact that (1) every manuscript of his commentary that spans more than one pericope also contains the *tafsīr* (alternating with the commentary by pericope, the *tafsīr* coming first), and (2) references to his *tafsīr* are sprinkled throughout the commentary, usually expressed in the form "I have translated ~ as ~ because/in the same sense as … " (*fassartu ~ ~ li-anna/mithla*), suggesting ready access to the *tafsīr* by the reader (see further ibid., 78–81).

[4] For the publication history of Saadia's Arabic translation of Esther, see Ratzaby 1990: 193 n. 1.

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No fragment, it should be noted, attests all five parameters; nor are all five necessary for definitive identification. Definitive *ipso facto* is the attestation of *any one* of parameters 1°, 2°, 4°, or, where based on one of these three, 5°. One of these four, however, is required in addition to parameter 3°, since a view attributed to Saadia by a later writer may also be attested in the commentary fragments of other Judaeo-Arabic exegetes. In the present case, accordingly, the attribution to Saadia of the one fragment (MS ב$_1$) for which we have noted this parameter is justified by its additional attestation of parameters 1° and 5°.

Inventory of the Identified Fragments

The ten fragments described below represent seven different manuscripts, with the fragments from the same manuscript indicated by the same Hebrew letter and a different subscript number. Following the description of each fragment is an indication of the above-discussed parameters of identification that it attests. Further information on the manuscripts noted in connection with parameter 4° may be found in the appendix to this chapter.

א$_1$ MS NLR Yevr.-Arab. I 3866 (see plate 19.1). *Physical description*: three leaves; paper; 26–27 lines; leaf size: ca. 19.0 x 13.5 cm; text-block size: ca. 16.0 x 10.5 cm; fols. 1–2: lightly stained (more moderately on fol. 2v), with light mutilation to the upper inside margin, resulting in the partial loss of one word in the first two lines; fol. 3: lightly to moderately stained with moderate mutilation, mainly along the inside margin and lower outside corner, resulting in the loss of part of one to three words in the eight and following lines. *Contents* (per NLR foliation): 1r–v: comm. *ad* 2:9–11, incipits and *tafsīr ad* 2:12–15, comm. *ad* 2:12–15; 2r–v: incipit (3:15) and *tafsīr ad* 3:14-15, comm. *ad* 3:6–7; 3r: comm. *ad* 1:16–19; 3v: comm. *ad* 1:13–16.

Attested Parameters: 1°, 2° (*ad* 1:18: alludes to his [= Saadia's] trans. of וַיֹּאמֶר [in the sense of *muqāwala*, "arguing"] *ad* Gen 4:8), 4° (from the same manuscript as JTSL ENA 2678.7; overlaps with MSS CUL T-S 8Ca1, T-S Ar.25.82, and T-S Misc.6.39), and 5° (from the same manuscript as א$_2$ and א$_3$; overlaps with MSS ב$_1$ and ז).

א$_2$ MS NLR Yevr. II A 700. *Physical description*: two leaves; paper, etc. (as above); lightly stained, with mutilation to the upper inside margins, resulting in the loss of part of one to two words in the first three lines. *Contents*: 1r–v: comm. *ad* 6:12, incipits and *tafsīr ad* 6:13–7:10, comm. *ad* 6:13; 2r–v: comm. *ad* 8:16–17, incipits and *tafsīr ad* 9:1–16.

Attested Parameters: 1°, 4° (from the same manuscript as JTSL ENA 2678.7; overlaps with MS CUL T-S Ar.27.98), and 5° (from the same manuscript as א$_1$ and א$_3$).

א$_3$ MS JTSL ENA 2824.1–2. *Physical description*: two leaves; paper, etc. (as above *ad* א$_1$); fol. 1: lightly to moderately stained, with complete loss of the top, bottom, and lower inside margin, leaving sixteen to seventeen lines, mostly partial; fol. 2: lightly stained, with complete loss of the top half of the leaf, resulting in the loss of all but the lower fourteen lines (the first two only partially). *Contents* (per NLR foliation): noncontiguous: 1r–v: comm. *ad* 4:14–16; 2r–v: incipits and *tafsīr ad* 4:14–17, commentary *ad* 4:5ff.

Attested Parameters: 1°, 4° (from the same manuscript as JTSL ENA 2678.7), and 5° (from the same manuscript as א$_1$ and א$_2$; overlaps with MSS ג and ד).

ב$_1$ MS T-S Ar.23.44 (see plate 19.2). *Physical description*: six leaves (two bifolia + one leaf); paper; 21–25 lines; leaf size: ca. 23.6 x 16.0 cm; text-block size: ca. 21.1 x 13.0 cm. MS ב$_2$ contiguously preceded MS ב$_1$ in the codex and may have constituted part of the same bifolium with fol. 5 of the latter; lightly to heavily stained (the latter mainly on fol. 1); mutilated along the top and inner margins, resulting in the loss of varying amounts of text in the top 10–12 lines of each leaf. *Contents*: 1r–2v: contiguous; the last few words of the comm. *ad* 2:23, incipits and *tafsīr ad* 3:1–5, comm. *ad* 3:1–4; 3r–5v: contiguous; comm. *ad* 3:7–15, incipits and *tafsīr ad* 4:1–4, comm. *ad* 4:1.

Attested Parameters: 1°, 3° (the comment *ad* 3:2 is cited in modified fashion by Tanḥūm ha-Yerushalmī [see n. 123 below]), 4° (overlaps with MSS CUL T-S 8Ca1 and JTSL ENA 3488.11–12), and 5° (from the same manuscript as ב$_2$; overlaps with MSS א$_1$, ה, and ז).

ב$_2$ MS T-S NS 164.148. *Physical description*: one leaf; paper, etc. (as above); moderately to heavily stained and mutilated, with loss of the lower third of leaf (triangular from the inner corner). *Contents*: comm. *ad* 2:17–20, incipits, *tafsīr*, and comm. *ad* 2:21–23.

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Attested Parameters: 1°, 4° (overlaps with MS BLO Heb.d.62, fol. 188, and CUL T-S Misc.6.39), and 5° (from the same manuscript as ב$_1$; overlaps with MSS ד and ז).

ג MS T-S Ar.33.31 (see plate 19.3). *Physical description*: one leaf; vellum; 17–19 lines; leaf size: ca. 19.5 x 19.5 cm; text-block size: ca. 15.1 x 15.1 cm; lightly stained and rubbed (mainly on the recto); mutilated with loss of the inside top and inside bottom corners, encompassing the first word to a third part of six lines of text. *Contents*: comm. *ad* 4:13–17, incipits and *tafsīr ad* 5:1–2.

Attested Parameters: 1°, 4° (from the same manuscript as CUL T-S Ar.28.160), and 5° (overlaps with MSS א$_3$ and ד).

ד MS T-S Ar.49.99 (see plate 19.4). *Physical description*: two leaves (bifolium); moderately to heavily stained, rubbed, and mutilated, with several holes and complete loss of the top quarter of fol. 1 (encompassing almost all of the top five lines on each side). *Contents*: 1r–v: comm. *ad* 2:17–20, Hebrew incipits (no *tafsīr*) and comm. *ad* 2:21–23; 2r–v: comm. *ad* 4:13–17, Hebrew incipits (no *tafsīr*) *ad* 5:1–14, comm. *ad* 5:1–4(?).

Attested Parameters: 4° (from the same manuscript as CUL T-S NS 285.30; overlaps with MSS BLO Heb.d.62, fol. 118, and CUL T-S Misc.6.39) and 5° (overlaps with MSS א$_3$, ב$_2$, ג, and ז).

ה MS T-S NS 163.3 (see plate 19.5). *Physical description*: one fragment; lightly to moderately stained and mutilated, with complete loss of the upper and lower parts of the leaf, leaving part or all of nine lines on each side; leaf size: ? (existing: 3.4–8.5) x 17.0 cm; text-block size: ca. ? (existing: 2.5–7.5) x 13.2 cm. *Contents*: comm. *ad* 3:2–4.

Attested Parameters: 5° (overlaps with MS ב$_1$).

ו MS T-S NS 309.52 (see plate 19.6). *Physical description*: one leaf; lightly to moderately stained and holed, with severe mutilation (loss) along the outer margin and upper third of the leaf, leaving the lower nineteen lines (most of them incomplete) on each side. *Contents*: comm. *ad* 1:1; incipit, *tafsīr*, and comm. *ad* 1:2.

Attested Parameters: 1° and 4° (from the same manuscript as CUL T-S Misc.5.104; overlaps with MSS BLO Heb.f.19 and T-S Ar.1b.94).

ז MS BLO Heb.e.56, fols. 53r–60v (see plate 19.7). *Physical description*: eight leaves; light to moderate/moderately heavy staining and rubbing, with severe mutilation (loss) of the upper quarter or upper third of each folio, resulting in the loss of most of the first line (fols. 53r–56v), first two lines (fol. 57), or top four–six lines (fols. 58r–60v). *Contents*: comm. *ad* 2:5–7; incipits, *tafsīr*, and comm. *ad* 2:8–11; 2:12–15; 2:16–20; 2:21–23; and 3:1–2 (incipits and *tafsīr ad* 3:1–5).

Attested Parameters: 1°, 4° (from the same manuscript as BLO Heb.d.62, fol. 118, Heb.f.19; overlaps with MSS CUL T-S Ar.1b.94, T-S Misc.6.39, T-S Misc.6.120, and JTSL ENA 3488.11–12), and 5° (overlaps with MSS א$_1$, ב$_1$, ב$_2$, and ד).

SOME NOTEWORTHY FEATURES

Interaction with Early Rabbinic Exegetical Tradition

As is well known, talmudic–midrashic legal and exegetical tradition constitutes an essential element of Saadia's biblical exegesis, serving both to determine and to refine the meaning (and praxis) of biblical passages and themes.[5] The corpus in which these traditions are attested — that is, primarily the Tannaitic through Saboraic literature, some of which, apparently employed by Saadia, has not survived[6] — are thus brought to bear, and so reflected, in his commentary on those passages to which they relate either directly (i.e., in specific reference to that passage) or indirectly (in similar theme/theology). Usually, however, Saadia's recourse to and incorporation

[5] Among the many studies that touch on or address this aspect of Saadia's exegesis, I would direct the reader first and foremost to Ben-Shammai 2000.

[6] Ibid., 33, 46, 67–68.

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of talmudic–midrashic tradition is attested in his commentaries *not* by direct quotation of the Hebrew and/or Aramaic source, but rather by (his own?) paraphrasing of such traditions in (Judaeo-)Arabic.[7]

Thus, for example, in his comment on Esther 3:1, he incorporates the directly relevant tradition of God "preparing the cure before the affliction" — expressed in (inter alia) *b. Měgillā* 13b (likewise *ad* Esth 3:1) by the adage אין הקדוש ברוך הוא מכה את ישראל אלא אם כן בורא להם רפואה תחילה — by telling the reader that the phrase *After these things* is intended "to remind us of (God's) well-known practice of preparing the remedy before the affliction" (*li-yudhkiranā ʿādatahu ʾl-maʿrūfa annahu yusabbiqu ʾl-dawāʾ qabla ʾl-adhā*).[8] Likewise, in his comment on 3:7, Saadia incorporates the well-attested exegetical tradition that Haman went through and dismissed each sign of the zodiac and its corresponding month, seeing that in each something positive had happened to Israel, until he came to Pisces/Adar, which he selected both due to its apparent lack of merit and because in it Moses died (see, inter alia, *Esth Rab.* vii.11; *Tg. Esth I ad* 3:7). Not only does Saadia paraphrase this tradition in Arabic (excepting, of course, the biblical citations), but he also expands/"reworks" it by rationally explaining each stage of the selection process as a "quite reasonable" exercise in divination "from the perspective of the individual" (*wa-ammā tafāʾul min raʾy nafsihi … fa-yastaqīmu*; on such rational "reworking," see further below).

A notable example of indirect application of a talmudic–midrashic (in this instance, specifically, halakhic) tradition — and one that also highlights the homiletical or "practical" bent of Saadia in his commentaries — is to be found in his extensive discussion of Mordecai's refusal to bow down before Haman (*ad* 3:2ff.). After explaining, at length, why the requisite prostration was indeed intended as worship (*ʿalā sabīl al-ʿibāda*), he poses the question of whether Mordecai could nonetheless have done so "in a situation of duress[9] and fear for (his) life" (*fi ʾl-mawḍiʿ al-taqiyya wa-ʾl-khawf ʿala ʾl-nafs*). Saadia's answer is no, as the basis for which he cites, *in Hebrew*, the halakhic dictum in *b. Kětubbōt* 19a that "There is nothing that takes precedence over the saving of life except idolatry, fornication,[10] and murder" (אין לך דבר עמד לפני פקח נפש [אלא ע"ז] זרה וגלוי עריות ושפיכות דמים). This same passage is also brought to bear (albeit implicitly) by Saadia in his comment on 2:8, concerning Mordecai's lack of resistance to Esther's removal to the palace, as well as in his comment on 2:16–17, concerning Esther's marriage to Ahasuerus — in view of which "some of the ignorant among the Gentiles may censure us" (*qad yaʿībunā baʿḍ juhhāl al-umam*).

Another notable aspect of Saadia's interaction with early rabbinic–midrashic tradition, likewise noted in previous studies,[11] is his tendency to paraphrase or "rework" them in a more rational (or philosophical, as the case may be) manner. Undoubtedly motivated in this, to a certain degree, by apologetic concerns (especially vis-à-vis the Karaites), one should be careful not to conclude from such "reworkings" that Saadia, *from his own perspective*, was undertaking an *innovative* rather than *explicative* approach to biblical exegesis — albeit an explicative approach honed by the rationalistic ethos of his day (and place) and intended to meet the intellectual needs (critical and/or apologetic) of his Arabic-speaking Rabbanite readership. This rational-explicative approach is vividly borne out in his comment on 3:7, where he incorporates the midrashic tradition that Haman's lot casting was an overt act of divination relating to the auspiciousness or inauspiciousness for Israel of each zodiacal constellation, and hence month (see above). The biblical text, however, simply states that the lot was cast "for each day and for each month" (מִיּוֹם לְיוֹם וּמֵחֹדֶשׁ לְחֹדֶשׁ), with no further description of the process or the explicit reason for the selection of Adar 13 (other than the lot landed on it). The aforementioned tradition (and therefore the Rabbanites who adhere to it) is consequently susceptible to the criticism that it draws out of the text more than can be rationally supported; indeed, in their own comments on this passage, two of Saadia's more prominent Karaite critics, Yefet ben ʿEli and Salmon ben Yerūḥam, offer little more than an explanation of the "mechanics" of the lot casting.[12]

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[7] Ibid., 37, 67–68.

[8] Notably (and quite ironically), two of Saadia's most eminent Karaite literary opponents (and, at least as regards the first, his younger contemporary), Salmon ben Yerūḥam and Yefet ben ʿEli, cite this rabbinic adage in its *Hebrew* form in their own commentaries on Esther *ad loc.* (see n. 103 below)!

[9] On which rendering of *taqiyya* (otherwise: "dissimulation") in this context see n. 124 below).

[10] "Fornication" — so, rather than the more restrictive "incest" (as often understood *ad loc.*), per Saadia's ensuing comment following this citation (see p. 265 below).

[11] See again, among the more recent of these, Ben-Shammai 2000.

[12] Thus Salmon (per MS NLR Yevr.-Arab. II 3350, fols. 11v–12r):

ומעני **מיום ליום** הו אנה אמר באן יוקע בחסאב מן יום אלי יום ומן שהר אלי שהר … אוקע [אלקר]עה עלי כל יום מן איאם אלשהר פי א[י] מן איאם אלשהר יג֗ אן יוקתלו פוקעת [אל]קרעה יום י״ג מן אלשהר. תם אוקע אלק[רעה] עלי שהר שהר פקעת(!) אלקרעה עלי שהר אדר

("The sense of the phrase מִיּוֹם לְיוֹם is that he commanded the lot to be cast astrologically [*bi-ḥisāb*; see Dozy 1927: 1:285a], moving from day to day and from month to month … the lot was cast over each day of the month, (to determine) on which day of the month it would be most propitious for them to be killed; and so the lot fell on the thirteenth day of the month. Then the lot was cast over each month; and so the lot fell on the month Adar"); and Yefet (Wechsler 2008: 24* [text], 218 [trans.]):

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In seeking to meet this potential (if not actual) criticism — as also to fill in the socio-religious backdrop of the passage — Saadia begins his comment on 3:7 by noting that Haman's lot casting "was consistent with the custom of the infidel Gentiles who practice divination by astrology" (*ʿalā ʿādati ʾl-umam al-kuffār alladhīna yatafāʾalūn bi-ʾl-nujūm*), for which he then adduces biblical prooftexts from Ezekiel 21:26 and Numbers 22:7. After establishing, on this foundation of biblical authority, the general equivalence of lot casting and divination during the period and place in which the book of Esther is set, Saadia proceeds to explicate the ideological-technical details of lot casting/divination as expressed in four different venues, sequentially ordered with respect to their increasing exegetical significance — to wit:

(i) "with respect to divination as practiced by the common people" (*ammā tafāʾul al-ʿāmma*);

(ii) "with respect to divination among the more refined class of those within the general populace who are specifically trained in the art" (*ammā tafāʾul man yaqdiru mina ʾl-ʿāmma annahu arfaʿ ṭabaqa*);

(iii) "with respect to divination from the specific perspective of the individual (astrologer)" (*ammā tafāʾul min raʾy nafsihi*). It is here that Saadia incorporates his paraphrase of the aforementioned midrashic tradition, prefacing it with the additional, clearly apologetic statement that "it is quite reasonable in this instance that Haman would have examined (all) the months of the year and that no particular one would have stood out had he not in fact learned from the historical annals of the children of Israel that on each (month) an event of honor and distinction had befallen them — most of these being victory over (their) enemies — with the exception of Adar" (*fa-yastaqīmu ʿalā hādha ʾl-mawḍiʿ an yakūna hāmān taṣaffaḥa shuhūr al-sana fa-lam yajih shahran minhā illā wa-qad ʿalima min akhbār banī isrāʾīl anna ḥāditha jalīla sharīfa ḥadathat lahum fīhi wa-aktharuhā ẓafar bi-ʿadūw mā khalā ʾādār*);

(iv) "with respect to the part of God Himself in divination — which is a consideration above and beyond everything else that we have mentioned" (*ammā tafāʾul min y"y nafsuhu*[!] *arfaʿ ṭabaqa min jamīʿ mān dhakarnāhu*).

By weaving the midrashic tradition concerning Haman's lot casting into the third of these four venues, Saadia thus provides not only a rational (i.e., historical) explication of the process as based on known astrological sources, but also a logical framework for distilling the theology of the event. This framework, or continuum, begins with the assertion, based in scripture, that astrology was indeed practiced at that time and ends with the assertion that the celestial phenomena that serve as the focii of astrology were established and/or set in motion by God, who, because he is "above it" (*fawqa dhālika*), was able to "reverse (Haman's) divinations and change his determinations (of auspiciousness)" (*qallaba maqādīrahu wa-ghayyara ikhtiyārātahu*).

On occasion Saadia rejects an early rabbinic–midrashic view as "incorrect" or "unsound" (*lā yastaqīmu*), though his inclination, it seems, is to do this only where the written corpus attests a disagreement by the early authorities over more than one view. Thus, in his introductory excursus to chapter four (see below), in which he considers the reason "that justified this generation (of Jews in Esther's time) being tormented (by Haman's decree)," Saadia reviews and rejects the same two reasons attested in *b. Měgillā* 12a — namely, the view of Simon b. Yoḥai's disciples that it was because the Jews partook of Ahauerus' feast (Esth 1:5), and Simon's own view that it was because they bowed down to Nebuchadnezzar's idol (Dan 3). As the early corpus offers no clear alternative to these two views, Saadia then concludes by presenting the view that he considers "the most reasonable" (*aqrab al-aqwāl*) — namely, that the Jews had "assimilated to the people and intermarried with them" (which view is also adopted, notably, by Saadia's younger Karaite contemporary Salmon b. Yerūḥam [see below *ad* 4:1–3]). It should be noted, however, that even in this instance — which is perhaps the clearest example in the presently edited fragments of Saadia citing and rejecting early rabbinic–midrashic views — he refrains from concretely connecting these views to their rabbinic–midrashic source, either by directly citing the Hebrew text or by referring explicitly to their

וקולה **מיום ליום** ישבה אנה קסם איאם אלשהר פגעלהא תלתין סהם. תם אכד שהור אלסנה פגעלהא אתני עשר סהמא פוקע לה סהם אליום אלתאלת עשר תם טרח אלשהור פוקע לה סהם אלתאני עשר

("As to the statement מִיּוֹם לְיוֹם — it seems that he divided up the days of the month, making them into thirty lots; then he took the months of the year and made them into twelve lots. There fell to him, accordingly, the lot of the thirteenth day, whereupon he cast the months and there fell to him the twelfth lot").

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attestation in "the Talmud" (*al-talmūd*) or "the Traditional Literature" (*al-āthār*[13]) — which latter term, along with its citation in Hebrew, *are* adopted by Saadia *ad* 3:1–4 when endorsing the halakhic dictum in *b. Kĕtubbōt* 19a (see above). In this one can see Saadia striving for balance between, on the one hand, *presenting* the reader with "correct/reasonable" exegesis, grounded in rabbinic authority and informing rabbinic/Rabbanite praxis, and, on the other hand, *holding back* from potential critics of midrashic–rabbinic exegesis (e.g., Karaites, Jewish converts to Islam, and more critically-minded Rabbanite rationalists) that which might facilitate their critique of Rabbanism.

Parallels to and Possible Influence upon Later Jewish Exegesis

The following is a preliminary enumeration of parallels and references to Saadia's Esther commentary, as attested by the presently edited fragments, in the Esther commentaries of later Jewish exegetes from the High to Late Middle Ages who knew Arabic and are known to have made use of Saadia's works — to wit, his younger Karaite contemporaries Salmon b. Yerūḥam (fl. ca. 930–60 C.E.) and Yefet b. ʿEli ha-Levi (fl. ca. 970–1000),[14] as well as the later Rabbanite exegetes Judah ibn Balʿam (second half of the eleventh century), Abraham ibn Ezra (ca. 1089–ca. 1164), Tanḥum b. Joseph ha-Yerushalmi (ca. 1220–1291), Joseph b. Joseph Naḥmias (14th c.), and Yaḥyā b. Sulaymān al-ṭabīb (Zechariah b. Solomon ha-rōfēʾ).[15] Instances of certain/near-certain[16] utilization (i.e., where Saadia is explicitly cited and/or his comment is closely cited) are indicated by boldface type, whereas for the actual citations (or references) the reader is referred to the relevant pages and notes in the translation below. A more thorough assessment of these parallels and references (i.e., whether they are direct or indirect, including the degree of utilization, their utilization by exegetes other than those mentioned here, and their influence on the history of Esther exegesis generally) — as also those deriving from the other extant fragments of his Esther commentary — remains to be taken up in future studies.

Salmon ben Yerūḥam

1:1 The lexeme מְדִינָה is defined as a province (albeit Saadia: *kūra*, *minbar*; Salmon: *balad*), proof of which is adduced from the statement *(to) every mĕdīnā according to the script thereof* (Esth 1:22; 3:12; 8:9) (p. 250 n. 16, below).

1:13 The seven "wise men" (חֲכָמִים) to whom the king appeals are identified as his regular court advisors, consistent with the general practice of keeping advisors attested by the Persian kings — support for which is derived from (inter alia) Ezra 7:14 — as well as the Israelite kings (p. 251 n. 25, below).

1:13 The phrase יֹדְעֵי דָּת וָדִין is explained as referring to those who were well versed in, inter alia, the statutes (*aḥkām*/*ḥukm*) and established rulings (*sunan*/*sunna*) of the Persians (p. 251 n. 26, below).

2:6 Mordecai is identified as one of the distinguished exiles taken from Jerusalem with Jeconiah/Jehoiachin and is therefore explicitly associated with the "good figs" described in Jeremiah 24:2ff. (p. 254 n. 52, below).

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[13] On this use of the expression by Judaeo-Arabic writers, in a sense parallel to its usage by Muslim writers in reference to the *Ḥadīth* literature, see Blau 2006: 2a–b.

[14] On both these exegetes, see Wechsler 2008: 3–11, 124–27, as well as my entries in Stillman 2010. On the relationship of Saadia's exegesis to their own, see Wechsler 2008: 66–71, 158–317 (in the notes, *passim*), and the literature cited therein. On the vocalization of Salmon's patronymic as Yerūḥam, rather than Yerūḥim, see Wechsler 2008: 125 n. 9. For a complete edition and translation of Yefet's commentary on Esther, see Wechsler 2008. Salmon's commentary on Esther is imperfectly extant in ten separately indexed fragments (six of them identified by us in the course of our research), representing four different manuscripts, all in the Firkovitch Collections of the National Library of Russia (NLR) in St. Petersburg (for details, see the bibliography).

[15] On these Rabbanite exegetes, and their interaction with Saadia's exegesis (and specifically in connection with Esther), see, on Ibn Balʿam, Perez 2000: 9, 15, iv–v (English summary); an edition of the only surviving frag. of his Esther comm., MS BLO Heb.d.68, fol. 31v (from the *basmalla* to 1:8), is provided as an appendix to my article in the Hebrew section of this volume (see there Ibn Balʿam's explicit reference *ad* 1:3 to "The Interpreter" [*al-mufassir*] — i.e., Saadia — whose view he rejects); on Ibn Ezra: Walfish 1989; idem, *Esther*: 205, 214–21 (esp. Ibn Ezra 2006b: *ad* 4:14); on Tanḥum: Wechsler 2010: sections 2.1–2; on Naḥmias (whose comm. is extant only up to 7:9): Breuer and Katsenelenbogen 2006: 16; Schlossberg 1989; Walfish 1993: 220–21; on Yaḥyā: ḤavaṢelet 1990: 16; Steinschneider 1964: §198; his commentary on Esther is contained in his *Midrash ha-ḥēfeṣ*, which for the present study is based on MS BL Or. 2351, fols. 117r–21r.

[16] I use "near-certain" for those parallels that, in the absence of an explicit attribution to Saadia, *may* derive from a non-extant Judaeo-Arabic source independently employed by both exegetes.

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2:7 Mordecai's care of Esther is correlated with divine reward for the care of orphans (p. 255 n. 55, below).

2:9, 15 The reference to Esther "finding favor" (9: וַתִּשָּׂא חֶסֶד; 15: וַתְּהִי ... נֹשֵׂאת חֵן) is identified with the biblical-historical pattern of God granting favor to Israel or key individuals within the nation, the cited examples being given in the sequence: Joseph (Gen 39:4/21); the Exodus generation (Exod 11:3/12:36); the generation of the conquest (Deut 2:25); from the time of Israel's nationhood, David (1 Chr 14:17) and Jehoshaphat (2 Chr 17:10); and, "ever since nationhood has passed away (from us)" (*lammā zālat al-dawla (ʿannā)*), Daniel (Dan 1:9) and Ezra (Ezra 7:28). In connection with this last period Salmon quotes Saadia almost verbatim (p. 258 n. 75).

2:10, 20 Esther's concealment of her background is motivated by, inter alia, Mordecai's anticipation of Esther's role in resolving the potential affliction of her people (though Saadia is much vaguer on this point) (p. 256 n. 69, below).

2:14 The phrase אֶל־בֵּית הַנָּשִׁים שֵׁנִי indicates the woman's transfer to a second/different harem, rather than a return to the first — that is, שֵׁנִי is construed attributively rather than adverbially (p. 257 n. 73, below).

2:18 The phrase וַהֲנָחָה לַמְּדִינוֹת is specifically explained as a respite from "poll/land taxes" (*al-khurūj/kharāj*) and "levies/material procurement" (*al-mawn*) (p. 259 n. 86, below).

2:19 The clause וּמָרְדֳּכַי יֹשֵׁב בְּשַׁעַר־הַמֶּלֶךְ indicates that Esther "established" (*jaʿalat*) Mordecai in an official position (*martaba*) in the king's household (p. 259 n. 89, below).

2:21–22 Mordecai's revelation of the plot against the king is described as an "act of loyalty" (*naṣīḥa*) and affirmed as behavior that was incumbent (*wājib/yanbaghī*) for him/a believer (p. 260 n. 96, below).

2:21–23; The rabbinic adage that God "prepares the cure before the affliction" (*b. Měgillā* 13b) is anonymously cited to provide a theological framework for the sequence of events depicted in the book, with a specific parallel being drawn (in almost verbatim wording) to the Joseph narrative and substantiated by citations of Psalm 105:16/17 and Genesis 45:5/7 (p. 261 n. 103, below).

3:2 That the bowing down before Haman was intended as an act of worship is argued on the basis of (inter alia) the joint use of the roots כרע and שחה (in view of which we are tempted to consider this a "near-certain" instance of Saadianic influence); that it was intended as worship is deduced from (inter alia) his telling the other servants "that he was a Jew" (v. 4); his refusal is compared to that of Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah (p. 265 n. 123, below).

3:8 Haman commences his "slander" (*siʿāya*) of Israel in this verse by the expression עַם־אֶחָד (יֶשְׁנוֹ) so as to "ease in the matter concerning them" (*tashīlan ... al-amr ʿalayhim/li-yusahhila amrahum*) (p. 269 n. 171, below).

3:8 The statements וְדָתֵיהֶם שֹׁנוֹת מִכָּל־עָם and וְאֶת־דָּתֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ אֵינָם עֹשִׂים are similarly explained as meaning, respectively, that "there is no one/people who likes them" and they will "refuse to accept whatever the king might command them" (p. 270 nn. 178, 180, below).

3:14–15 The reason for the speed with which Haman dispatched his letters was not only that "the (Jews') enemies might be prepared," but also to dishearten the Jews and fill them with dismay (p. 271 n. 192).

4:1–3 The reason that God allowed that generation of Jews to be afflicted/chastised by Haman's decree — and hence the sin for which their sackcloth, weeping, and ashes are indicative of "repentance" (*rujūʿ/nadāma*) — is that "they had assimilated to the Gentiles" (*ikhtalaṭū bi-ʾummōt hā-ʿōlām/mukhālaṭat al-umam*; Saadia further specifies: "and intermarried with them"); this view is introduced by Salmon under anonymous attribution (i.e., *qīla*) (p. 272 n. 198, below).

4:4–16 Both exegetes refute the (Ananite) view that Mordecai's communication with Esther, whether notifying her for the first time or intended as a goad to act on what she already knew, took place on Sivan 20 — and hence that the three-day fast specifically enjoined on the residents of Susa, and the fasting of the Jews generally (begun in 4:3), ended on Sivan 23 (p. 273 n. 205, below).

4:14 Included in a paraphrase of Mordecai's response to Esther is a similarly worded proverbial reference to the incumbency of championing the cause of "the oppressed" (*al-mazlūmīn*) by "everyone to whom (God) grants/has granted the opportunity" (*(kull) man yumkinuhu/amkanahu*) (p. 274 n. 211, below).

4:16 Esther's request for communal prayer is connected with the halakhic principle that communal prayer is efficacious/preferable, in support of which Ps 68:27 (inter alia) is cited (p. 274 n. 215, below).

4:16 The reason for the specifying statements וְאַל־תֹּאכְלוּ וְאַל־תִּשְׁתּוּ ... לַיְלָה וְיוֹם is to indicate that this three-day fast is to include nighttime as well as daytime, contra the usual practice of fasting only during the daytime — as an example of which latter 1 Sam 31:13 is cited; both exegetes also specifically refute the view of ʿAnan

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that the fast of 4:16 comprised three daytime periods followed by a complete nighttime–daytime period (p. 274 n. 217, below).

4:16 The clause *both I and my maidens will fast* is taken as proof that Esther's maidservants were "believers/of her faith" (*muʾminātlʿalā madhabihā*), for had they not been, she would not have required them to fast with her (p. 275 n. 223, below).

4:16 Though understood differently, Esther's closing statement, וְכַאֲשֶׁר אָבַדְתִּי אָבָדְתִּי, is compared to that of Joseph in Genesis 43:14: וְאֲנִי כַּאֲשֶׁר שָׁכֹלְתִּי שָׁכָלְתִּי (p. 276 n. 227, below).

5:1 The term/idea בִּגְדֵי ("garments of") is implied before מַלְכוּת (p. 276 n. 230, below).

5:4, 8 Esther's reason for inviting Haman was that he not escape/slip away after she accuses him (p. 276 n. 234, below).

8:15 The expression הָעִיר שׁוּשָׁן is construed as a specific reference (*makhṣūṣlyakhuṣṣu*) to the Jews of Susa (p. 278 n. 245, below).

Yefet ben ʿEli ha-Levi

1:13 The phrase יֹדְעֵי דָת וָדִין is explained as referring to those who were well versed in, inter alia, the statutes (*aḥkāmḥukm*) and established rulings (*sunansunna*) of the Persians (p. 251 n. 26, below).

2:6 Mordecai is identified as one of the distinguished exiles taken from Jerusalem with Jeconiah/Jehoiachin and is therefore explicitly associated with the "good figs" described in Jeremiah 24:2ff. (p. 254 n. 52, below).

2:10, 20 Esther's concealment of her background is motivated by, inter alia, the desire to fulfill the obligations of her religion (*dīn*) without hindrance or harassment (p. 256 n. 67, below).

2:14 The phrase אֶל־בֵּית הַנָּשִׁים שֵׁנִי indicates the woman's transfer to a second/different harem, rather than a return to the first — that is, שֵׁנִי is construed as an attributive adjective rather than as an adverb (p. 257 n. 73, below).

2:18 The phrase וַהֲנָחָה לַמְּדִינוֹת is taken to signify a respite from the poll/land tax(es) (*al-khurūjkharāj*) (p. 259 n. 86, below).

2:19 the clause וּמָרְדֳּכַי יֹשֵׁב בְּשַׁעַר־הַמֶּלֶךְ indicates that Mordecai held an official position in the king's household (*dār al-malikṣulṭān*) (p. 259 n. 89, below).

2:20 The reason for reiterating that Esther did not disclose "her kindred or her people" in this verse (as previously in v. 10) is to indicate that she kept this information from the king as well (p. 259 n. 88, below).

2:21–23; 3:1 The rabbinic adage that God "prepares the cure before the affliction" (*b. Měgillā* 13b) is anonymously cited to provide a theological framework for the sequence of events depicted in the book (p. 261 n. 103, below).

3:2–4 It is explained that Mordecai would not have refused to bow down had it not been required as an act of worship; that it was intended as worship is deduced from (inter alia) his telling the other servants "that he was a Jew" (v. 4); his refusal is compared to that of Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah (p. 263 n. 117, below).

3:2–4 The motivation for the king's command to worship Haman is attributed to Haman's possession of superior/outstanding personal qualities (p. 264 n. 119, below).

3:8 The expression וְדָתֵיהֶם שֹׁנוֹת מִכָּל־עָם (and to a certain degree also וּמְפֹרָד בֵּין הָעַמִּים) is taken to mean that the Jews are shunned/eschewed by the peoples (p. 270 n. 179, below).

4:1ff. In an introductory excursus to their commentary on this chapter, both exegetes take up the issue of why God allowed that generation of Jews to be afflicted/chastised by Haman's decree; among the reasons reviewed and rejected are (1) that they bowed down to Nebuchadnezzar's idol, and (2) they ate and drank unclean food at Ahasuerus' banquet in 1:5ff. (p. 272 n. 198, below).

4:16 The issuing of Haman's edict and ensuing communication between Mordecai and Esther took place on Nisan 13, and the three-day fast on Nisan 14–16 (p. 273 n. 207, below).

4:16 The clause *both I and my maidens will fast* is taken as proof that Esther's maidservants were "believers" (*muʾminātmuʾminīn*; i.e., Jews or proselytes) (p. 275 n. 223, below).

5:4, 8 Esther's reason for inviting Haman was that he not escape/slip away after she accused him (p. 276 n. 234, below).

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Judah ibn Balʿam

1:1 The phrase מֵהֹדּוּ וְעַד־כּוּשׁ, taken to mean "from India to Abyssinia," is explained (under anonymous attribution by Ibn Balʿam — i.e., *yuqālu*) as delineating the "width" (*ṭūl*) of Ahasuerus' empire (p. 249 n. 10, below).

1:1 The lexeme מְדִינָה is defined (under anonymous attribution by Ibn Balʿam — i.e., *qīla*) as a "district" (*kūra*), proof of which is adduced from the statement *(to) every* mĕdīnā *according to the script thereof* (Esth 1:22; 3:12; 8:9) (p. 250 n. 13, below).

Abraham ibn Ezra

1:13 The lexeme דָּת is defined as referring to the "statutes" or "established rulings" of the kings of Persia and Media (p. 251 n. 26, below).

2:5 Mordecai's geneology is taken to be unabbreviated, Kish therefore being his great-grandfather rather than the father of Saul (p. 254 n. 47, below).

2:10, 20 Esther's concealment of her background is motivated by, inter alia, the desire to fulfill the ritual obligations of her religion without hindrance or harassment (p. 256 n. 67, below).

2:14 The phrase אֶל־בֵּית הַנָּשִׁים שֵׁנִי indicates the woman's transfer to a second/different harem, rather than a return to the first — that is, שֵׁנִי is construed as an attributive adjective rather than as an adverb (p. 257 n. 73, below).

2:20 The reason for reiterating that Esther did not disclose "her kindred or her people" in this verse (as previously in v. 10) is to indicate that she kept this information from the king and her new servants as well (p. 259 n. 88, below).

3:2–4 That the prostration before Haman was intended as worship/idolatry is deduced from, inter alia, the permissibility of Abraham bowing down (in respect) to the sons of Heth (Gen 23:7), as well as from his response to the servants "that he was a Jew" (v. 4) (p. 264 n. 121, below).

3:7 Haman's selection of Adar is based on the conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter — albeit Saadia: in Pisces; Ibn Ezra: in Capricorn (the twelfth sign from Israel's constellation, Aquarius, in view of which he picked the twelfth month from that in which the lot was cast); this view is anonymously cited by Ibn Ezra (p. 268 n. 159, below).

3:8 The *nūn* and the *vāv* of יֶשְׁנוֹ are prosthetic — though regarding the *vāv* Ibn Ezra is tentative, attributing the view (that it is prosthetic) to "some" (p. 269 n. 170, below).

4:16 Though understood differently, Esther's closing statement, וְכַאֲשֶׁר אָבַדְתִּי אָבָדְתִּי, is compared to that of Joseph in Gen 43:14: וַאֲנִי כַּאֲשֶׁר שָׁכֹלְתִּי שָׁכָלְתִּי (p. 276 n. 227, below).

5:1 The term מַלְכוּת is construed as elliptical for לְבוּשׁ מַלְכוּת (p. 276 n. 230, below).

8:15 The expression הָעִיר שׁוּשָׁן is construed as a specific reference (*makhṣūṣ/yakhuṣṣu*) to the Jews of Susa (p. 278 n. 245, below).

Tanḥum ben Joseph ha-Yerushalmi

1:1 *Hōddū* and *Kūsh*, which are construed as the extreme longitudinal opposites of Ahasuerus' kingdom, are said to encompass "the majority of the inhabited world" (p. 250 n. 14, below).

1:1 The lexeme מְדִינָה is defined as a province (*kūra*), proof of which is adduced from the statement *(to) every mĕdīnā according to the script thereof* (Esth 1:22; 3:12; 8:9) (p. 250 n. 16, below).

1:18 תֹּאמַרְנָה is construed (albeit tentatively by Tanḥum) in the sense of "arguing" (*muqāwala*) with support cited for the same sense (of *qal* √אמר) in Genesis 4:8: וַיֹּאמֶר קַיִן אֶל־הֶבֶל (p. 252 n. 35, below).

2:14 The phrase אֶל־בֵּית הַנָּשִׁים שֵׁנִי indicates the woman's transfer to a second/different harem, rather than a return to the first — that is, שֵׁנִי is construed (tentatively by Tanḥum) as an attributive adjective rather than as an adverb (p. 257 n. 73, below).

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3:1; 4:14 The rabbinic adage that God "prepares the cure before the affliction" (*b. Měgillā* 13b) is cited to provide a theological framework for the sequence and significance of the events depicted in the book (p. 261 [*ad* 4:14] n. 103, below).

3:2–4 The view that the prostration required before Haman was intended as worship, and Saadia's specific lexical-syntactic reasoning in support of such, is explicitly cited and rejected by Tanḥum (p. 264 n. 123, below).

3:8 The *nūn* of יֶשְׁנוֹ is explained (alternatively by Tanḥum) as an addition for the sake of doubling/emphasis (p. 269 n. 170, below).

5:1 The term מַלְכוּת is construed as elliptical for either לְבוּשׁ מַלְכוּת or בִּגְדֵי מַלְכוּת (p. 276 n. 230, below).

5:4, 10 Esther's reason for inviting Haman was to keep him distracted so that he not become aware of her potential accusation and so slip away (p. 277 n. 234, below).

6:12 Haman's "covering" (חֻפּוּי רֹאשׁ) is euphemistic for (inter alia) the shame he felt before those who knew of his plot concerning Mordecai and perceived that it was unsuccessful; Tanḥum cites this view under anonymous attribution (p. 277 n. 240, below).

Joseph ben Joseph Naḥmias

1:1 The lexeme מְדִינָה is defined as a province, the proof of which is adduced from the statement *(to) every mědīnā according to the script thereof* (Esth 1:22; 3:12; 8:9) (p. 250 n. 16, below).

1:17 For the sake of propriety, Memucan refrains from mentioning the intoxication that prompted the king to erroneously summon Vashti (p. 252 n. 32, below).

1:18 תֹּאמַרְנָה is construed in the sense of "arguing," with support cited for the same sense (of *qal* √אמר) in Genesis 4:8: וַיֹּאמֶר קַיִן אֶל־הֶבֶל (p. 252 n. 35, below).

1:18 Both exegetes paraphrase Memucan's statement as meaning, in essence, that there will be quite enough *contempt and wrath* (בְּזָיוֹן וְקֶצֶף) produced when the news of the affair is discussed among the princesses in the "near vicinity," let alone by those throughout the empire (p. 253 n. 37, below).

1:19 The king was not advised to execute Vashti (notwithstanding the traditional view), since she had done nothing truly grievous/wrong (p. 253 n. 40, below).

2:5 Mordecai's geneology is taken to be unabbreviated (tentatively by Naḥmias), Kish therefore being his great-grandfather rather than the father of Saul (p. 254 n. 47, below).

2:6 With almost identical wording, both exegetes explicate the phrase עִם־הַגּוֹלָה: "not by himself, as if he were like one kidnapped" (p. 254 n. 49, below).

2:8 Mordecai did not resist the king's decree, and Esther was not removed directly from his house/protection, for if she had been, they would have known that she was a Jew (p. 255 n. 60, below).

2:9 Hegai acted quickly to provide Esther's cosmetics and portions because the king's servants would habitually steal from the maidens' material allotments for their own profit (p. 256 n. 64, below).

2:10, 20 Esther's concealment of her background is motivated by, inter alia, the desire to fulfill the ritual obligations of her religion without hindrance or harassment (p. 256 n. 67, below).

2:14 The phrase אֶל־בֵּית הַנָּשִׁים שֵׁנִי indicates the woman's transfer to a second/different harem, rather than a return to the first — that is, שֵׁנִי is construed as an attributive adjective rather than as an adverb (p. 257 n. 73, below).

2:20 The clause וְאֶת־מַאֲמַר מָרְדֳּכָי אֶסְתֵּר עֹשָׂה is taken to mean, specifically, that Esther kept all of the commandments (מצות) (to which a woman is obligated) (p. 260 n. 94, below).

3:1 The rabbinic adage that God "prepares the cure before the affliction" (*b. Měgillā* 13b) is cited to provide a theological framework for the sequence of events depicted in the book (p. 261 n. 103, below).

3:2–4 It is explained that Mordecai would not have refused to bow down had it not been required as an act of worship; that it was intended as worship is deduced from (inter alia) the permissibility of Abraham bowing down out of respect to the sons of Heth (Gen 23:7), as well as from his response to the servants "that he was a Jew" (v. 4) (p. 263 n. 117, below).

3:8 The *nūn* and the *vāv* of יֶשְׁנוֹ are prosthetic (albeit Saadia, specifically: for emphasis) (p. 269 n. 170, below).

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3:8 Haman's reason for referring to the Jews as מְפֻזָּר (*scattered*) is lest the king think that they might easily gather together and stand/rebel against him (p. 270 n. 172, below).

3:8 The expression בְּכֹל מְדִינוֹת הַמֶּלֶךְ is taken to anticipate the sending of Haman's letters to every province of the empire (p. 270 n. 177, below).

3:8 Haman's addition of the statement וְלַמֶּלֶךְ אֵין־שֹׁוֶה לְהַנִּיחָם after וְאֶת־דָּתֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ אֵינָם עֹשִׂים is explained as an *a fortiori* argument for the Jews' execution — to wit, if the king dealt so strictly with the queen (who was not in the wrong), how much more so with such a "spurned," wrongdoing people as the Jews! (p. 270 n. 183, below).

4:14 The phrase וּבֵית־אָבִיךְ is explained as alluding to Mordecai himself, the idea being that if Esther does not petition the king, and if Mordecai does not exhort her to do so, they will both perish; comparison is drawn to the statement of Moses and Aaron in Exodus 5:3, which is further clarified by the paraphrase "If we do not petition you for this, (He will fall upon us)" (p. 273 n. 210, below).

4:16 Both exegetes emphasize the benefit/efficacy of communal prayer vis-à-vis Esther's statement *Go, gather …* , with corroborating reference to Psalm 68:27 (p. 274 n. 215, below).

4:16 The clause *both I and my maidens will fast* is taken as proof that Esther's maidservants were believers (i.e., Jews or proselytes), for otherwise there would have been no use in their fasting with her (p. 275 n. 223, below).

5:4, 8 Esther's reason for inviting Haman was (inter alia) that he not have opportunity to anticipate her accusation and rebel (p. 277 n. 234, below).

Yaḥyā b. Sulaymān (Zechariah ben Solomon)

2:6 This verse contains four successive marks/expressions of "distinction" concerning Mordecai — to wit: (1) he *had been exiled from Jerusalem*, not a lesser city/village; (2) he was taken *with the exile*, not kidnapped; (3) he was exiled *with Jeconiah*, being part of the royal exile; and (though omitted, apparently, by scribal error from Saadia's comment); (4) he was exiled by *Nebuchadnezzar*, then the greatest of all Gentile kings (p. 254 n. 53, below).

2:14 The phrase אֶל־בֵּית הַנָּשִׁים שֵׁנִי indicates the woman's transfer to a second/different harem, rather than a return to the first — that is, שֵׁנִי is construed as an attributive adjective rather than as an adverb (p. 257 n. 73, below).

3:7 Haman's lot casting was, specifically, an act of astrological divination (p. 266 n. 137, below).

4:16 Yaḥyā approvingly cites Saadia's explanation of Esther's closing statement, וְכַאֲשֶׁר אָבַדְתִּי אָבָדְתִּי (p. 275 n. 224, below).

REFERENCES TO SPECIFIC (POST-BIBLICAL) INDIVIDUALS

Abbāʾ ʿAfīr = An Aramaic calque of "Abū Turāb" — i.e., ʿAlī b. Abī Tālib; *ad* 3:2–4 (p. 264 and n. 120, below).

ʿAnan = ʿAnan ben David, the Ananite (and ostensible Karaite) heresiarch; *ad* 4:16 (p. 275 and n. 219, below).

Khaqān = The throne name of the Turkic(?) Emperor; *ad* 3:2–4 (p. 263 and n. 119).

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TRANSLATION

Ad 1:1

(MS ו, r–v; collated with BLO Heb.f.19, fols. 3v–4v; CUL T-S Ar.1b.94, fols. 11v–15r)

[...] | it must be the case that the expression מֵהֹדּוּ וְעַד־כּוּשׁ, *from Hōddū even unto Kūsh*, represents not an exclusive demarcation, but rather a synecdoche,[1] just as one intends when saying מִמִּזְרַח־שֶׁמֶשׁ עַד־מְבֹאוֹ, *from the rising of the sun unto the going down thereof* (Ps 50:1),)—instead of which, accordingly, was written מֵהֹדּוּ וְעַד־כּוּשׁ. The reason for this is that the entirety of the inhabited world encompasses seven climes[2] — the longitudinal distance of each clime being reckoned from the east to the west and its latitudinal distance being reckoned from the south to the north — and in this way one may demarcate boundaries — that is, the area that one seeks to demarcate — by both its longitude as well as its latitude, or else one may demarcate it by its longitude alone; and since the first clime[3] is the greatest in longitudinal distance from the east to the west, whereas that of each of the six other climes — each of which is closer to the south — becomes shorter due to the narrowing of the circumference of the sphere of the earth,[4] the Scripture here delineates the kingdom of Ahasuerus by its longitudinal distance alone, not by its latitudinal distance, and so says *from Hōddū even unto Kūsh* — for the longitudinally widest of the climes is the first, whose line extends from China unto Abyssinia. It has thus been made clear that the statement *from Hōddū even unto Kūsh* is in place of the statement *from the rising of the sun unto | the going down thereof.* ו r ו v

As to the possibility of delineating (a location) by its latitude alone—this is what it says concerning Solomon, כִּי־הוּא רֹדֶה בְּכָל־עֵבֶר הַנָּהָר מִתִּפְסַח וְעַד־עַזָּה, *for he had dominion over all the region on this side of the River, from Tiphsaḥ even unto Gaza* (1 Kgs 5:4), for the city of Gaza is on the seacoast and marks the limit of the southwestern[5] border of the Land of Israel,[6] whereas Tiphsah is the city which Menaḥem ben Gadi conquered in the desert,[7] and marks the limit of the northern border of the Land of Israel — though it would be wrong to identify (this latter) with al-Kūfa[8] due its[9] distance from (the rest of) the area that Menaḥem conquered. The actual borders (of the Land of Israel), in any event, are defined by both longitude and latitude, as it is said, וְשַׁתִּי אֶת־גְּבֻלְךָ מִיַּם־סוּף וְעַד־יָם פְּלִשְׁתִּים וּמִמִּדְבָּר עַד־הַנָּהָר, *And I will set thy border from the Red Sea even unto the sea of the Philistines, and from the wilderness unto the River* (Exod 23:31) — as also, defining (the borders) even more precisely than this, the passage beginning, זֹאת הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר תִּפֹּל לָכֶם בְּנַחֲלָה אֶרֶץ כְּנַעַן לִגְבֻלֹתֶיהָ, *This is the land that shall fall unto you for an inheritance, even the land of Canaan according to the borders thereof* (Num 34:2).

Nonetheless, as we were previously saying, the Scripture delineates the longitude of Ahasuerus' kingdom from the east to the west, and so says, *from Hōddū even unto Kūsh*.[10] It does not delineate its latitude from the south to the north, in which case it would say, מֵהֹדּוּ[11] וְעַד־הַמָּגוֹג, *from Hōddū*[12] *even unto Māgōg*.

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[1] "a synecdoche"—we have thus translated Ar. *mithāl*, rather than opting for the more general-literal equivalents "example," "figurative expression," or formulaic equivalent" (on all of which cf. Blau2006: 650a; Bonebakker1978: 248b; Dozy 1927: 2:568b), since it is clearly the first sense (specifically, a meristic synecdoche) that Saadia intends with respect to the expression in question.

[2] On this and Saadia's following discussion of the "climes" (*aqālīm*), see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam* 1:32–36, *al-iṣṭilāḥ al-rābiʿ* (English trans.: Jwaideh 1959: 42–51).

[3] I.e., the clime encompassing the equator.

[4] "the sphere of the earth"—lit. (and somewhat tautologously), "the spherical orb [or "ball"] of the earth" (Ar. *kurati ʾl-arḍ al-mustadīra*).

[5] So here necessarily for *al-janūb*.

[6] So (here and following) for *al-shām*, rather than "Syria" or "Syro-Palestine" (see Blau 2006: 322a, s.v.).

[7] See 2 Kgs 15:16.

[8] The city founded in the early days of Islam on the Euphrates in ʿIrāq.

[9] I.e., al-Kūfa's.

[10] See Ibn Balʿam *ad loc*. (MS BLO Heb.d.68, fol. 31v):

מהודו ועד כוש. מן אלהנד אלי אכר בלאד אלחבשה והו פי מא יקאל טול בלד ממלכתה

("*from Hōddū even unto Kūsh* — i.e., from India to the (westernmost) limit of the land of Abyssinia, encompassing what has been described as the longitudinal width of his empire's territory").

[11] On this form of the proper noun with the definite article, see Ezek 38:2.

[12] So, being also at the southernmost edge of Ahasuerus' kingdom.

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As to the enumeration מֵהֹדּוּ וְעַד כּוּשׁ רֹאשׁ וְעֶשְׂרִים וּמֵאָה מְדִינָה, *one hundred and twenty seven mĕdīnā* — if we take the term *mĕdīnā* to mean a "province" or "district,"[13] it is evident that (Ahasuerus' kingdom) encompassed the majority of the inhabited world,[14] for the (number of) provinces determined by the scholars who study form[15] — i.e., the form of the celestial realm as well as the regions of the earth, its longtitudes and latitudes — is very close to this number. And whence is it proven that a *mĕdīnā* is a district or province? From the statement, מְדִינָה וּמְדִינָה כִּכְתָבָהּ, *every mĕdīnā according to the script thereof* (Esth 1:22; 3:12; 8:9), for each city does not have its own separate script.[16] Nonetheless, it may well be the case that there is a small amount of the inhabited world not included in this number.[17]

Ad 1:2

(MS ו, verso; collated with BLO Heb.f.19, fol. 5r; CUL T-S Ar.1b.94, fols. 15v–16r)

ו v | The statement[18] בַּיָּמִים הַהֵם כְּשֶׁבֶט, *in those days, when (the king Ahasuerus) sat, etc.*[19] serves as an introduction to what (Scripture) says in following — namely, בִּשְׁנַת שָׁלוֹשׁ לְמָלְכוֹ עָשָׂה מִשְׁתֶּה, *in the third year of his reign he made a feast, etc.* (1:3), thus making clear beforehand that he threw the great banquet (described in v. 3ff.) while occupying the royal seat[20] in Susa. Moreover, (Scripture's) express reference to שׁוּשַׁן הַבִּירָה, *Susa the fortress*, is of great significance, for in it is the secret of (knowing) how to properly order the Four Kingdoms (see Dan 8:22) — to wit, שׁוּשַׁן הַבִּירָה was in the country of Elam, as it is said, וַאֲנִי בְּשׁוּשַׁן הַבִּירָה אֲשֶׁר בְּעֵילָם הַמְּדִינָה, *Now it was so, that when I saw, I was in Susa the fortress* (Dan 8:2)[21]

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[13] "District" — Arabic *kūra*, which specific equation with מְדִינָה here is likewise attested by Ibn Balʿam *ad loc.* (ibid.):

שבע ועש[רים] ומאה מדינה. קיל אן הדא אלעד[ד כור] לא מדאון פקט. ו[הדא] ממכן. ויקוי הדא קולה **מדינה ומדינה ככתבה**

("*a hundred and seven and twenty mĕdīnā* — it is said that this number refers to districts, not merely cities, which is likely. Further substantiating this is the statement, *into every mĕdīnā according to the writing thereof* [1:22; 3:12; 8:9]"). See also Yāqūt, *Muʿjam* 1:39 (= Jwaideh 1959: 56). See also the sources cited in n. 16 below.

[14] See Tanḥum 2010: *ad loc.*, almost certainly referring to Saadia:

פסר פיה מן אלהנד ואלי אלחבשה ודלך אול אלממלכה ונהאיתהא ... והדא מעטם אלמעמורה

("This has been translated, 'from India to Abyssinia,' referring to the furthest apart regions of the kingdom ... which is most of the inhabited world").

[15] "the scholars who study form" — Arabic *aṣḥāb al-hayʾa*, i.e., "astronomers" (see Arnaldez in *EI*[2] s.v. "Hayʾa").

[16] See Salmon *ad loc.* (per MS NLR Yevr.-Arab. II 3350, fol. 2r):

וק׳ **המלך מהדו ועד כוש** יעני ק׳ וז׳ וכ׳ בלד וכאנה יסמי מתל אלשאם באסרה **מדינה** ומתל אלעראק ואלדליל עלי הדא קולה **אל מדינה ומדינה ככתבה** וליס ידל הדא אן לכל **מדינה** כט מעלום אן(!) [צ״ל: ״או״] לכל סקע כט

("As to the statement, *who reigned from Hōddū unto Kūsh, (over a hundred and seven and twenty mĕdīnā)* — this means 127 provinces, just as one might refer to the whole of Syro-Palestine as a *mĕdīnā*, or like Irāq. The proof of this view is the statement, *into every mĕdīnā according to the writing thereof* — though this does not prove that each *mĕdīnā* had its own distinctive script, or even that each country [*suqʿ*; see Hava 1982: 326b] had its own script"); Ibn Balʿam in n. 10 above; Tanḥum 2010: *ad loc.*:

יריד כור לא מדן ואלדליל עלי דלך אנה יגעל לכל ואחדה כט ולגה בקו׳ **מדינה ומדינה ככתבה**

("It is referring here to districts, not cities, the proof of which is that each one is assigned a (distinct) script and language per the statement, *every mĕdīnā according to the writing thereof* "); and Naḥmias 2006: *ad loc.*:

ממלכה וממשלה קרויה **מדינה**, לא עיר אחת ... וסימן לדבר: **מדינה ומדינה ככתבה**

("An administrative region or province was called a *mĕdīnā*, not a single city ... the proof of this fact being (the expression), *every mĕdīnā according to the writing thereof* ").

[17] With this the commentary on the entire pericope (1:1) is completed.

[18] With this the commentary on the entire pericope (1:2) begins.

[19] I.e., all of verse two.

[20] I.e., "seat" in the sense of "administrative center" or "capital," Saadia's point being that the expression כשבת המלך וכו׳ refers not to a literal sitting on the actual throne — located per 5:1 in the "king's house" (**בית המלך**) — but rather to the king's general location when he threw the banquets — the second of which was in fact held per 1:5 "in the court of the garden of the king's palace" (**בחצר גנת ביתן המלך**).

[21] The manuscript ends here, though the continuation of this comment is attested in the fragments published by Ratzaby 1984: 1175, line 28 to 1176, line 3, 1990: 211, lines 3–19. The "secret" (*sirr*) to which Saadia here refers is the deduction that, since Susa (per Esth 1:2) is clearly the capital of the *empire* ruling the Jews in the book of Esther, and according to Dan 8:2 Susa was in Elam, *Elam was therefore one of the Four Kingdoms* — specifically, the second kingdom, preceded by Babylon and followed by Media and, as the fourth kingdom, the combined dominion of Edom and Ishmael. This identification and ordering of the kingdoms, according to Saadia, is both supported and confirmed by the identification and order of the four fundamental post-diluvian "people groups" (*umam*) — namely, Noah's son Ham, the youngest (according to Saadia), from whom comes Nimrod and thus Babylon (Gen 10:6–10); then Shem, from whom comes Elam (ibid., 10:22); then Japheth, the oldest, from whom comes Media (ibid., 10:2); and finally Abraham, the greatest of all, from whom come both Edom/Esau (i.e., Rome) and Ishmael. For a discussion of the four kingdoms in Jewish exegesis generally, and in Abraham b. Daʾūd's *Sēfer ha-qabbālā* in particular, see G. D. Cohen 1967: 223–62.

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Ad 1:13–19

(MS א$_1$, fols. 3r–v; collated with CUL T-S Ar.25.82, fols. 2r–v; CUL T-S Ar.25.84, fol. 2v)

T-S Ar. 25.82, 2r + T-S Ar.25. 84, 2v

א$_1$ 3v

| By the same token it may be found that the attribute of mercy predominates over the ruler, so that in the abundance of his mercy he would tend to pardon those who justly deserve to be executed, resulting in the increase of lawlessness throughout the land; in this case it would be necessary that his mercy be counterbalanced by severity on the part of one aiding him in the process of administration, to the point that both attributes are properly balanced, as it is said, נַהַם כַּכְּפִיר זַעַף מֶלֶךְ וּכְטַל עַל־עֵשֶׂב רְצוֹנוֹ, *The king's wrath is as the roaring of a lion; but his favour is as dew upon the grass* (Prov 19:12). If, on the other hand, | an inclination towards severity should be found to predominate over (the ruler's) attributes, he should be moderated by a proponent of showing mercy, that by it his administration might be equitably managed. In this manner also should all other imbalanced attributes be managed. Notwithstanding any imbalance of attributes, moreover, there would also be need of advisors to convincingly align every person in the royal retinue of the established king with[22] (the latter's) preferences and desires, for were he to decree that no matter could be undertaken except at the (explicit) word of both advisors and himself, then the pursuit (of any matter) would become difficult and he would be unable to handle it efficiently.[23] For this reason the kings of the Israelites as well as the kings of the Persians[24] continually maintained the presence of advisors in their assemblies, as it says with respect to the Israelites, *King Rehoboam took counsel with the elders* (1 Kgs 12:6); and as it says with respect to the others, *(over [Darius' satraps] were three ministers, one of them Daniel,) to whom these satraps reported, (in order that the king not be troubled)* (Dan 6:3); and as it also says, *For you are commissioned by the king and his seven advisors* (Ezra 7:14); and so on.[25]

As to the meaning of the phrase יֹדְעֵי דָת וְדִין — it does not say only יֹדְעֵי דִין, for by דִּין it is referring to the rulings of judges and of those well-versed in equity and justice, whereas by דָּת it is referring to the established rulings of the (Persian) kings and the decisions that the provincial governors were wont to make by inference and analogy.[26] Over the course of time, in other words, the people came to view these two standards as co-requisite — whether for guiding the policy of the civil authorities in administrating fair treatment among merchants, craftsmen, and people of general probity and virtue, or (for guiding) the policy of constables in dealing with wrongdoers, miscreants, and others of their sort, of whom it is said, *A slave will not be corrected by words, etc.* (Prov 29:19). Here, in any event, (Scripture) makes joint reference to the two standards דָּת and דִּין because the punishment to which Vashti

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[22] "to convincingly align … with"—or "to win over… to" (Ar. *li-mujādhaba … ilā*).

[23] Lit. "quickly" (Ar. *bi-surʿa*).

[24] "the Persians" — Arabic *al-aʿājim*, here translated per context; however in MS T-S Ar.25.82: *al-umam* ("the Gentiles").

[25] On Saadia's construal in this paragraph of the phrase **חכמים יודעי העתים** (v. 13) as denoting royal advisors (as opposed to those specifically versed in, inter alia, intercalation/calendrics, as per *Esth. Rab.* iv.1; *b. Meg.* 12b), see also his comment on Dan 11:6, וּמַחֲזִקָהּ בָּעִתִּים (Qafiḥ 1981: 192):

עתים, משורה, אד יקול **ומחזיקה בעתים**, וד׳אך כקולה **ויאמר המלך לחכמים יודעי העתים**

("**עִתִּים** denotes 'counsel,' as it says, *and those who strengthened her by the* ʿittīm, which is also the sense of (**עִתִּים** in) the statement, *and the king said to the wise men who knew the* ʿittīm [Esth 1:13]"); ibid., 196:

ויסלמון אלמשירין אליהא והם אצחאב אלעתים כמא קדמנא **ויאמר המלך לחכמים יודעי העתים**, וקאל איצא **ועת ומשפט ידע לב חכם**

("(וּמַחֲזִקָהּ בָּעִתִּים means that) those who advised her will be delivered up — i.e., the men of the '*ʿittīm*' [*counsel*] — as we have previously explained (in connection with the statement) *and the king said to the wise men who knew the* ʿittīm [Esth 1:13], and as it also says, *The wise man's heart discerneth* ʿēt *and judgment* [Eccl 8:5]"). On Saadia's correlation between Ahasuerus' seven advisors and the general practice of keeping advisors among both Persian as well as Israelite kings, see Salmon *ad loc.* (MSS NLR Yevr.-Arab. II 3350, fol. 1v + Yevr. II C 521, fol. 1r):

נעלם אן מלוך אלעגם כאן להם ז׳ וזרא כק׳ **די מן קדם מלכא ושבעת יעשוהי**(!) וכד׳אך כאן לישראל ז׳ מן קבלהם כק׳ **משבעה משבי**(!) **טעם**. וכד׳אך האולי אלז׳ כאנו וזרא אחשורוש

("We know that the Persian kings had seven counselors, as per the statement, *(Forasmuch) as (thou art sent) of the king and his seven counselors* [Ezra 7:14]; and so too did Israel before them have seven, as per the statement, *(The sluggard is wiser in his own eyes) than seven men that give wise answer* [Prov 26:16]. These seven, accordingly, were Ahasuerus' counselors").

[26] The distinction that Saadia is here making would appear to be more or less equivalent to the modern distinction between *statutory law* (i.e., דִּין/*ḥukm*, denoting the foundational statutes legislated by, or at the direction of, legal scholars) and *common law* (i.e., דָּת/*sunna*, denoting the precedent of royal-administrative decisions and their legal implications). For a similar lexical equation, though far less explicative, see Yefet 2008: 185 (trans.); 13*, lines 17–18 (text):

קולה **יודעי העתים** הם קום יערפון דין אלפרס וסננהם ואחכאמהם

("As to the phrase, *who knew the times, (etc.)* — these are the people who understood the judicial process of the Persians, as well as their established rulings [*sunan*] and statutes [*aḥkām*]"); and Salmon, *tarjama, ad loc.* (MS NLR Yevr.-Arab. II 3295, fol. 1r): **אלעארפי פי אלסנה ואלחכם** ("those who were well-versed in the established rulings [*sunna*] and statutes [*ḥukm*]"). As to Saadia's construal of דָּת, see also Ibn Ezra 2006b, *ad loc.*: **וטעם דת חוק מלכי פרס ומדי** ("דָּת refers to the statutes of the kings of Persia and Media").

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was subject fell within the purview of (the fixed rules of) equity and justice — for even if he had supported her he would still have had to impose some penalty on her, since her misdeed had been public and her disobedience obvious —, yet he punished her in accordance with royal precedent and the gravity of the circumstances.[27] In other words, the kings […][28] that by it the kingdom might be kept in good order and no one have just cause for complaint. Therefore the most distinguished and shrewdest of the seven advisors — that is, Memucan — did not proffer[29] a suggestion involving Vashti's execution or expulsion (from the palace), but rather (one involving the transference of) her position. And so he says […[30] upon(?)] | the king as well as every commoner and noble in his kingdom, as he says, לֹא אֶל־הַמֶּלֶךְ לְבַדּוֹ (v. 16) — the sense of which is לֹא אֶל־הַמֶּלֶךְ לְבַדּוֹ, *not only* towards *the king*, as is also the sense of the following statement — viz., כִּי אֶל־כָּל־הַשָּׂרִים וְאֶל־כָּל־הָעַמִּים, *but also* towards *all the princes, and* towards *all the peoples*. That is to say, when they hear of how Vashti openly disobeyed King Ahasuerus, every wife would then disobey her husband without considering whether or not Vashti was in fact justified in her contravention of Ahasuerus. Nor was it possible that the error of King Ahasuerus should be disclosed to them or that he should be pestered[31] on account of it.

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From the statement, כִּי־יֵצֵא, *For (the matter of the queen) will go forth, (etc.)* (v. 17), we learn that the king dreaded calumny. And from the statement, לְהָבִיא אֶת־וַשְׁתִּי הַמַּלְכָּה לְפָנָיו וְלֹא־בָאָה, *(King Ahasuerus commanded) that Queen Vashti be brought in before him, but she came not*, wherein (Memucan) refrains from mentioning the condition which induced the king to issue such an order — to wit, כְּטוֹב לֵב־הַמֶּלֶךְ בַּיָּיִן, *when the heart of the king was merry with wine* —, we learn that he was seeking to absolve the king and not to disclose his error, since, being in his presence, he was constrained from mentioning it.[32] Moreover, to those who were more removed from him only the essence of the matter would be communicated, not its precise details, and in this way it would become a fleeting matter.[33]

And by the statement, וְהַיּוֹם הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה תֹּאמַרְנָה וכו׳, *And this day (the princess …) will say, etc.* (v. 18), (Memucan) intends to say, as it were, "Starting immediately, even until the time when the matter becomes known to those who are far distant, the wives of the leaders who were in (Vashti's) presence will disobey all those leaders and argue with them" — as he indicates by the expression, תֹּאמַרְנָה, which I have translated in the sense of "arguing,"[34] consistent with (the use of the root אמר) in the statement, וַיֹּאמֶר קַיִן אֶל־הֶבֶל אָחִיו, *And Cain argued with Abel his brother* (Gen 4:8).[35] As to the expression, וּכְדֵי בִּזָּיוֹן וָקֶצֶף, *and a sufficient amount of contempt and anger* — this is to say, "Even

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[27] I.e., Vashti's offense fell automatically within the purview of statutory law (דִּין = *al-ḥukm wa-ʾl-inṣāf* "[the fixed rules of] equity and justice"), though the actual punishment was determined by the king and his advisors on the basis of common law (דָּת [so per v. 15] = *sunna ʾl-mamlaka*, "royal precedent"). See n. 26 above.

[28] This ellipsis encompasses three to four lost or unclear words in the text.

[29] "did not proffer" — Arabic *lam yatawall*, on this sense of which see Blau 2006: 784a (citing, inter alia, Saadia's *Tafsīr ad* 4:5
[ותצוהו על מרדכי לדעת מה זה]:
פאמרתה באלמציר אלי מרדכי ליעלמהא מא דא תולי,
which Blau renders: [וציוותה עליו … כדי שיודיענה מה עשה [מרדכי]).

[30] This ellipsis encompasses approximately seven to eight lost or unclear words in the text.

[31] "and that … pestered"—Ar. fa-yamtaḥina, on this sense of which see Piamenta 1990–91: 2:460b (cf. also Dozy 1927: 2:571b, and Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿarab*, 17:287 [bottom, citing a *ḥadīth* of al-Shaʿbī]); otherwise, perhaps: "subject to criticism."

[32] See Naḥmias 2006: *ad loc.*:
לא יאות לומר דברים כעורים על המלך שמחמת היין עשה מה שעשה ולא במשפט
("It would not have been seemly (for Memucan) to say anything unflattering about the king — i.e., that because of (too much) wine he did what he did unjustly").

[33] Arabic *mabtūra* — i.e., though a momentous matter (since it involved replacing the queen), it would have no lasting negative consequence upon the king's rule.

[34] Arabic *muqāwala*; in his *Tafsīr ad loc.*:
ופי הדי אליום באלעאגל תתקאול רוסאת … לגמיע רוסא אלמלך
("On this day the noble ladies … will immediately start arguing with all the king's noble men").

[35] See Saadia's *Tafsīr, ad loc.* (per Derenbourg 1893: 10):
ثم قאול קין הבל אכאה
("Then Cain argued with his brother Abel"); as well as his commentary thereto (per Zucker 1984: 88–89):
פסרת **ויאמר קין אל הבל אחיו** מקאולה לאנה אן כאן קולא מטלקא אחתאג אלי שרח ודאך מא לא יגד, ואמא אלמקאולה פהי אלמ[כ]אצמה לא תחתאג אלי שרח. ונטיר הדא קולה **והיום הזה תאמרנה שרות פרס ומדי אשר שׁ׳ א׳ ד׳ המלך**(!) **לכל שרי המלך** יקאול נסא אלאמרא ואלקואד להם
("I have translated וַיֹּאמֶר here in the sense of 'arguing,' for if this were 'speaking' in the usual sense it would require explicit mention (of what was said), and this is not to be found; yet 'disputing' — that is to say, 'arguing' — does not require explicit mention (of what is said). Similar to this statement is,
וְהַיּוֹם הַזֶּה תֹּאמַרְנָה שָׂרוֹת פָּרַס־וּמָדַי אֲשֶׁר שָׁמְעוּ אֶת־דְּבַר הַמַּלְכָּה לְכֹל שָׂרֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ
— i.e., the wives of the governors and rulers will dispute [*yuqāwilu*] with them"). Likewise Tanḥum 2010: *ad loc.*:
קיל אן מעני **תאמרנה** הנא מקאולה וכצומה אי אנהן לאחתקארהן אלרגאל לא יתוקפן עז מקאולתהן
("It is said that תֹּאמַרְנָה here has the sense of 'disputing' and 'arguing' — the idea being that, insofar as they hold their husbands in contempt, they will not cease from their disputing"); and Naḥmias 2006: *ad loc.*:
ופירוש **תאמרנה** על דרך **ויאמר קין אל הבל**, העניין אמירת מצה ומריבה
("The sense of תֹּאמַרְנָה is the same as in (√אמר in) וַיֹּאמֶר קַיִן אֶל־הֶבֶל [Gen 4:8] — i.e., vindicative and argumentative speech").

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were we to ensure that the matter went no further than the court,[36] even in its going no further than the court there would be quite enough to exasperate the king."[37] I would aver, moreover, that because[38] Vashti was not in the wrong, she was nonetheless punished as described solely for the good of kingdom and (out of) the fear of rebellion. For this reason[39] he advised neither that she be executed nor even expelled from the palace, but rather that she be prevented from ever again coming before the king, as he says, אֲשֶׁר לֹא־תָבוֹא וַשְׁתִּי לִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ אֲחַשְׁוֵרוֹשׁ, *that Vashti should come no more into the presence of King Ahasuerus* — not, אֲשֶׁר לֹא־תָשַׁב וַשְׁתִּי בְּבֵיתָהּ , *that Vashti should dwell no longer in her royal house*, or, אֲשֶׁר תֵּהָרֵג וַשְׁתִּי, *that Vashti be put to death*.[40]

I have translated [...] to it in the Scriptures, and especially[41] in the [...]

Ad 2:5–7

(MS ז, fols. 53r–54v; collated with CUL T-S Misc.6.120, r–v; JTSL ENA 3488, fol. 12r)

| [...][42] *Elishama the son of Ammihud* (Num. 1:10, etc.), who were from among the sons of Ephraim.[43] Whereas from ז 53r
the statement (in the book) of Chronicles[44] [...][45] the son of Attai, and continuing: *Attai begot Nathan, and Nathan begot Zabad; and Zabad begot Ephlal, and Ephlal begot Obed; and Obed begot Jehu, and Jehu begot Azariah; and Azariah begot Helez, and Helez begot Eleasah; and Eleasah begot Sisamai, and Sisamai begot Shallum; and Shallum begot Jekamiah, and Jekamiah begot Elishama* (1 Chr 2:36–41) — thus coming up to the point where the (lineage in 2 Kgs 25:25 and Jer 41:1) is concluded; to wit: *Then came Ishmael the son of Nethaniah, the son of Elishama, (of the royal seed)*, (and therefore continuing:) the son of Jekamiah, the son of Shallum, the son of Sisamai, the son of Eleasah, the son of Helez, the son of Azariah, the son of Jehu, the son of Obed, the son of Ephlal, the son of Zabad, the son of Nathan, the son of Attai, the son of Jarha. As to the phrase, *from the royal seed* (ibid.) — this has reference to (Attai's) mother, since she was the daughter of Sheshan the son of Ishi, from among the sons of Judah.[46] They say, accordingly, that it is after the manner of this genealogy that it commences in the Scripture here with Kish, whom we are therefore to understand as fitting into the lineage at the most recent point that the genealogy of Saul is concluded, as it says | with respect to the descendants of Benjamin: *And the son of Jonathan was Merib-baal; and Merib-baal begot Micah. And the sons of Micah were Pithon, and Melech, and Taarea, and Ahaz. And Ahaz begot Jehoaddah; and Jehoaddah begot Alemeth, and Azmaveth, and Zimri; and Zimri begot Moza; and Moza begot Binea; Raphah was his son, Eleasah his son, and Azel his son. And Azel had six sons, whose names are these: Azrikam, Bocru, Ishmael, Sheariah, Obadiah, and Hanan* (1 Chr 8:34–38). ז 53v

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[36] "The court" — literally (as also in the following clause): "the near vicinity" (*al-qurb*; see Naḥmias in the following note).

[37] See Naḥmias 2006: *ad loc*.:
כלומר: כדי יש ביזיון וקצף באמירת השרות הקרובות, כל שכן אם יתוסף באמירת השרות שבכל עיר מדינה ומדינה
("that is to say, 'There will be quite enough contempt and anger in the talk of the princess who were at court [lit., like Saadia: 'in the near vicinity']; how much more so if it is augmented by the talk of the princesses in every city of each province?'").

[38] Arabic *li-mawḍiʿ mā*, on this meaning of which see Blau 2006: 769b.

[39] Namely, that she was not in the wrong.

[40] See Naḥmias 2006: *ad loc*.:
לא הזכיר הכתוב הריגתה, כי אם קבלה מפי חכמים. ושמא לא רצה ממוכן לומר לפני המון העם להורגה, כי שמא היו מרננים לומר: "לא היה הורגה המלך משום כן, אלא דבר כעור שמצא לה ...", לכן לא אמר ממוכן כי אם: **אשר לא תבוא ושתי**, כלומר: שלא תהיה עוד מלכה
("Scripture does not state that she was executed, though this is the traditional view handed down by the early sages. It may be that Memucan did not want to state before the crowd of people that Vashti should be executed, lest they should gossip among themselves, saying, 'The king did not execute her for this, but rather for something truly grievous that he found out about her ....' Therefore Memucan stated only that *that Vashti should come no more, (etc.)* — i.e., that she should no longer be queen").

[41] Arabic *siyyamā*, here in the sense of *lā siyyamā* (see Blau 2006: 319a).

[42] This ellipsis encompasses two to three lost words at the beginning of the first line on the folio.

[43] Saadia's intent here is apparently to clarify that there were (at least) two individuals who bore the name Elishama: the first being a descendant of Ephraim and contemporary of Moses, and the second, as described by Saadia in following, being a descendant of Judah and contemporary of Gedaliah. This distinction thus serves as a precedent for Saadia's distinction of "Kish" in the genealogy of Esther 2:5 from the father of Saul. Though there are, of course, other biblical examples of different individuals bearing the same name, Saadia's choice of Elishama is due to the fact that the genealogy of the latter (i.e., the descendant of Judah) also establishes the precedent of scripture expressing a terse immediate genealogy which begins at the point where a fuller genealogy in another part of scripture is concluded.

[44] Arabic *ḥawādith*, my reading and translation of which is uncertain.

[45] This ellipsis encompasses approximately three to four lost or unclear words in the text.

[46] See 1 Chr 2:31–35.

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The full genealogy may accordingly be enumerated: Mordecai the son of Jair, the son of Shimei, the son of Kish, the son of Azrikam, the son of Azel, the son of Eleasah, the son of Raphah, the son of Binea, the son of Moza, the son of Zimri, the son of Jehoaddah, the son of Ahaz, the son of Micah, the son of Mephibosheth (i.e., Merib-baal), the son of Jonathan, the son of Saul.[47]

Now, in the statement אֲשֶׁר הָגְלָה וכו׳[48] are contained four marks of distinction, notwithstanding that the root גלה is most ignominious. The first of these is the phrase אֲשֶׁר הָגְלָה מִירוּשָׁלַיִם, *who had been exiled from Jerusalem* — not from the countryside or from some town. The second is the phrase עִם־הַגּוֹלָה, *with the exile* — not by himself, as if he were like one kidnapped or abducted.[49] The third is אֲשֶׁר הָגְלְתָה עִם יְכָנְיָה מֶלֶךְ־יְהוּדָה, *that had been exiled with Jeconiah king of Judah* — this representing the underlying basis of his situation,[50] since he was among those who had been exiled with Jeconiah for four reasons: first, because they had been permitted to leave[51] (Jerusalem) in security, as it says, | *And Jehoiachin the king of Judah went out to the king of Babylon, (he, and his mother, and his servants, and his princes, and his officers)* (2 Kgs 24:12), and since they had been granted protection, the violence of the (Babylonian) destroyers did not touch them; second, on account of their wisdom, as it says, *After Jeconiah the king, and the queen-mother, and the officers, and the princes of Judah and Jerusalem, and the craftsmen, and the smiths, had departed from Jerusalem* (Jer 29:2); third, on account of their good character, as He figuratively says of them, *the good figs are very good* (ibid., 24:3);[52] and fourth, on account of the good that he had promised them, per the statement, *(Like these good figs,) so will I regard the exiles of Judah*, and so on to the end of the promise (ibid., 24:5–7).[53]

ז 54r

[47] This genealogy is quite different from that attested in the midrashic and targumic sources, in which the "Kish" of Esther 2:5 is identified with Saul's father (see Grossfeld 1991: 209–10 tables 8 and 9). On this construal of Kish as Mordecai's great-grandfather, see Ibn Ezra 2006b: *ad loc.* (similarly in comm. A):

בן קיש. הוא שם אבי אביו; ואיננו קיש אבי שאול לפי דעתי, כי למה ידלג הדורות; ועוד, היה ראוי שיהיה מייחס למשיח ה׳, שהוא נכבד מאביו

("*the son of Kish* — this is the name of his great-grandfather; it is not Kish who was the father of Saul, in my opinion, for why would it skip generations? Indeed, (had it done so) it would certainly have referred to the Lord's anointed [i.e., Saul], since he was greater than his father"); Naḥmias 2006: *ad loc.*:

אולי קיש היה גדול באבותיו. ואם אבי שאול הוא, איך לא הזכיר המלך והזכיר אבותיו

("Perhaps Kish was the most noteworthy among his ancestors — though if he is truly the father of Saul, how is it that (Scripture) mentions him but not the king?").

[48] I.e., all of verse five.

[49] Likewise Naḥmias 2006: *ad loc.*:

עם הגולה. לא לבדו שיהיה כנגנב, כי אם עם הגולה

("*with the exile* — not by himself, as if he were like one kidnapped").

[50] I.e., that he was in the personal employ of the king.

[51] "had … leave" — lit., "went out."

[52] See Yefet 2008: 196 (trans.); 18*, lines 7–9 (text):

וערף אן אצלה מן ירושלם ואנה אוגלי פי גמלה גלות יהויכין והי אג לי אלגלואת והם אלמסמאין **תאנים טובות**

("(The writer) indicates that (Mordecai's) stock was from Jerusalem, and that he had been exiled among the rest of the exile of Jehoiachin, which represented the most distinguished of the exiles — they who are called *good figs* [Jer 24:2ff.]"); Salmon *ad loc.* (MS NLR Yevr.-Arab. II 3350, fol. 6r):

וקולה איצא **אשר הגלה מירושלם**(!) תשריף לה אד הו מן אהל ירושלם. ואמא קולה **עם הגולה** לידל אנה מן **התאנים הטובות** ולאן אללה קאל פיהם **כן אכיר את** וג׳ אלי אכר אלפצל

("The statement *who had been exiled from Jerusalem* serves to confer distinction on (Mordecai) as being one of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, whereas the expression *with the colony of exiles* is meant to indicate that he was one of *the good figs* [Jer. 24:2], and because He says concerning (the colony of exiles), *(Like these good figs), so will I regard (Judah's colony of exiles)* and so forth until the end of that passage [ibid., 24:5–7]"). Just before this comment, notably, Salmon criticizes Saadia for claiming that Judah "had a share" in Jerusalem, which is properly allotted to Benjamin; thus (idem: fols. 5v–6r):

ולקד עגבת מן קול אלפיומי אן כאן לבני יהודה קסם פי ירושלם לקול אלכתאב **וילחמו בני יהודה** וג׳ אתרי מא [ה]דא גורל בני יהודה ואנה לם ידכר פיה ירושלם בל דכר מא חצהם מן אלקרי [ולמא(?)] דכר נחלת **בנימן** צם **אליהא** ירושלם כק׳ **והיבוסי היא ירושלם**

("I have been astonished by the assertion of the Fayyūmī that the children of Judah had a portion in Jerusalem on the basis of Scripture's statement, *And the children of Judah fought (against Jerusalem, and took it,) etc.* [Judg 1:8]! You may see what constitutes the portion of the children of Judah and that, though it mentions all the towns that fell to them, Jerusalem is not included therein; yet when the inheritance of Benjamin is described, Jerusalem is clearly included in it, as per the statement, *and the Jebusite — that is, Jerusalem* [Josh 18:28]").

[53] Omitted here by scribal error, apparently, is Saadia's comment on the last of the four "marks of distinction" (*tashrīfāt*), centered in the last clause (and fourth occurrence in this verse of the root גלה): אֲשֶׁר הָגְלָה נְבוּכַדְנֶאצַּר מֶלֶךְ בָּבֶל *whom Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon had exiled*. This missing comment, nonetheless, is quite likely preserved in the commentary of Yaḥyā *ad loc.* (MS BL Or. 2351, fol. 119r), who is almost certainly here following Saadia:

אשר הגלה מירושלם(!) לא מאפרת. ד״א לא משאר כפרים. **עם הגלה** לא גנוב. **עם יכניה** בגלות מלכות. **אשר הגלה נבוכדנצר** גדול שבמלכיות. כל זה להראות גדולת מרדכי

("*who had been exiled from Jerusalem* — not from Ephratha; another explanation: not from any of the other towns; *with the exile* — not one (who had been) kidnapped; *with Jeconiah* — with the exile of royalty; *whom Nebuchadnezzar had exiled* — representing the greatest among the (Gentile) kingdoms. All of this is to highlight Mordecai's distinction").

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As to the detail concerning Esther that *she had neither father nor mother* — this is to encourage the lowly and orphans, as if to say to them, "Do not despair! How many are those (orphans) to whom God has brought distinction?! Have you not considered the sons of Judah? Er and Onan were born in his presence, whereas Shelah was born when he was away[54] — as per the statement, *and he was at Chezib when she bore him* (Gen 38:5) — yet it was (Shelah) who endured. And Hiram was *the son of a widow* (1 Kgs 7:14), yet he attained the skill to prepare the essential components of the Sanctuary. Jeroboam, too, was the son of *a widow* (1 Kgs 11:26), yet he reigned as king over the ten tribes." All of these examples accord with what Scripture expresses generally in the statement, *So that He sets on high those who are lowly,* | *and those who mourn are exalted to safety* (Job 5:11). And so in like fashion concerning Esther, (Scripture) adds to the particulars of her situation: *for she had neither father nor mother*. For this reason also the description of her beauty precedes what it will go on to relate concerning Ahasuerus' selection of her. ז 54v

As to the meaning of the expression יְפַת־תֹּאַר — this refers to her physical form, whereas the expression וְטוֹבַת מַרְאֶה refers to her mien. And by the statement לְקָחָהּ מָרְדֳּכַי לוֹ לְבַת, we should be urged on to the care of orphans, who will in turn benefit us when it comes to (our) reward in the hereafter[55] — and sometimes they may even impact (our) standing[56] in this life. It is with respect to this that Job says, *I have been a father to the needy*[57] (Job 29:16). Of even greater weight than that, however, is God's description of Himself as *a father of the fatherless and a judge for the widows* (Ps 68:6).

Ad 2:8–11

(MSS א₁, fol. 1r; ז, fols. 55r–56r; collated with CUL T-S Misc.6.39, fols. 1r–v; CUL T-S Misc.6.120, verso; JTSL ENA 3488, fol. 12v)

| It is necessary for us to understand why Mordecai did not resist (the removal of) Esther to Ahasuerus' palace, since it is clearly stipulated in the Torah, *Do not give your daughter to his son or take his daughter for your son* (Deut 7:3). Though we might aver that he was absolved from guilt because he was forced, according to our Oral Law[58] the use of force does not in fact absolve one from guilt in connection with the three sins of idolatry, sexual immorality, and the shedding of innocent blood — as we shall further discuss at a later point.[59] On this issue, nonetheless, we may furnish two possible answers, one of which is sounder than the other. The first, we would say, is that he may indeed have resisted, yet they paid no attention to him and she was taken from him anyway — that is to say, he was not actually required to *do* anything, by refusing which he might refrain from doing; rather, the directive entailed the seizure of bodies by force. If, however, we examine this explanation more closely we are inevitably led to deduce that, had he indeed resisted, they would have known that she was a Jew; yet because it says *Esther had not made known, (etc.)* (v. 10) we may infer that she was not forcibly removed from his protection, since, had she been forcibly removed from his care, it would surely have been known that she was a Jew.[60] Moreover, had the event really transpired in this fashion | […][61] problem concerning the believer(?) […][62] ז 55r ז 55v

[54] Thus qualifying Shelah, in the practical sense, as an "orphan" — i.e., fatherless.

[55] On this correlation of Mordecai's care for Esther with divine reward, see also Salmon *ad loc*. (MS NLR Yevr.-Arab. II 3350, fol. 6r):

וקו׳ ויהי אמן את הדסה ידל עלי חסן [דינה] ורגבתה פי אלתואב

("The statement *and he was bringing up Hadassah* indicates the excellence of (Mordecai's) faith and his desire for (divine) reward").

[56] Arabic *manzila*, by which, from his following reference to Job, Saadia's apparent intention is one's "standing" before God, who *may* decide to reward the one who cares for an orphan even "in this life" (*fī ʾl-dunyā*).

[57] The Hebrew term here, אֲבִיוֹנִים, is specifically rendered by Saadia in 1962 *ad loc*. (Qafiḥ 1973: 149) as "fatherless" (יתאמא).

[58] "Oral Law" — Arabic (*al-*)*fiqh*, on this sense of which see Blau 2006: 512a–b.

[59] I.e., *ad* 3:1–4, on which see p. 265 below, where Saadia explicitly cites *b. Kětubbōt* 19a (see the following note). The sin in view here is that of "sexual immorality" (גלוי עריות), since the selection process entailed the king's sleeping with each virgin.

[60] "Since … Jew" — this is clearly somewhat tautologous, though intended no doubt to emphasize the critique. As to this view of Esther's removal, see Naḥmias 2006: *ad loc*.:

והנכון, שיצאה מבית מרדכי ללכת לבית אחת מחברותיה, ונלקחה בדרך באונס … כי אם נלקחה מבית מרדכי היו מכירים מיד שהיא ישראלית, ומרדכי יפה לו בשתיקתו מדיבורו, כי לא יוכל להפר הדת הנתונה

("The correct view is that she left Mordecai's house to go to the house of one of her friends, and while on the way she was forcibly seized … for if she had been taken from Mordecai's house they would have known immediately that she was an Israelite; and it was quite right for Mordecai to keep his silence on the matter, for he would have been unable to contravene the published decree").

[61] This ellipsis encompasses approximately two to three words (lost to a tear) in the text.

[62] This ellipsis encompasses approximately five to six words (lost to a tear) in the text.

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As to the statement, *so he quickly provided her with her cosmetics and her portions* (v. 9) — perhaps (this is) because the attendants would hold back those things that had been legally allocated (for the maidens) and would frequently even draw from such for their own profit;[63] yet because Esther found favor in the eyes of Hegai, he ensured that all those things to which she was entitled were made readily available to her,[64] and even relocated her and everyone who was with her to a much nicer residence, as it says, לְטוֹב בֵּית הַנָּשִׁים (ibid.). And from the statement וַיְשַׁנֶּהָ וְאֶת־נַעֲרוֹתֶיהָ (ibid.) we also learn that it was the procedure for the seven maidservants of each (virgin) to dwell in their own separate residence[65] — from which, consequently, we can appreciate the feasibility of Mordecai charging Esther to conceal her kin after having been taken (to the palace) from an unknown location.[66] We may discern, moreover, several beneficial reasons for (this concealment): first, had they known she was a Jew, it is quite likely that they would have harassed her and even strongly pressured her to forsake her religion — perhaps even keeping close watch over her and taking special care to ensure that she would be unable to keep any of its
ז 56r (obligations).[67] Moreover, had they known she was a *dhimmī*, | they may have abused her not only by so hounding her, but also by something much coarser. Also, they would have prevented Mordecai from corresponding with her, since he was of the same religion as her, whereas by concealing this (until the proper time) Mordecai would be able to draw closer to the king,[68] just as the wives of such kings were wont to have many *dhimmī* attendants. And, finally, should the (Jewish) people have stood in some dire need, it could be addressed by her without it being known that she was a Jew, though when this did become known it was in fact (Mordecai) who concluded the matter — not that he had specific foreknowledge that the affair involving Haman would take place,[69] but rather he sought to anticipate every conceivable possibility.

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[63] Arabic *jārīhim*, on which see Blau 2006: 86b.

[64] This explanation of וַיְבַהֲל אֶת־תַּמְרוּקֶיהָ וכו׳ almost certainly underlies that of Naḥmias 2006: *ad loc.*:

מיהר לתת לה התמרוקים והמנות, כי לפעמים היה לוקח מתמרוקי האחרות כדי להשתכר בהם בלא ידיעת המלך, אבל לאסתר נתן הכל משלם

("he acted quickly to provide her with cosmetics and portions because sometimes (the attendants) would draw from the cosmetics of the other maidens, without the king's knowledge, in order make a profit off them; yet to Esther he provided everything completely").

[65] I.e., the virgins' maidservants did not all dwell together, but were set apart with and devoted to that virgin.

[66] I.e., though she was "taken" to the palace, she was not, as explained by Saadia, taken from her house/Mordecai. Hence her place of origin and thus kin were unknown.

[67] See Yefet 2008: 202 (trans.); 19*, lines 6–9 (text):

וקולה ענהא אנהא לם תכבר בדינהא ועשירתהא ואן מרדכי וצאהא בדלך הו אנה עלם אן פי דלך יסתקים אמרהא פי דינהא לאלא יגעל עליהא אלרצד פי מאכולהא ומשרובהא וסבותהא ואעיאדהא

("As to the statement concerning her, that she did not disclose her religion or her kindred, and that Mordecai had charged her with regard to these — this indicates that he knew that (only) in this manner would her situation respecting her religion be kept in order, lest an ambush be set for her with regard to her food, drink, (observance of) Sabbaths, or (observance of) feast days"); Ibn Ezra 2006a: *ad loc.*:

והנכון בעיני כי עשה זה מרדכי בעבור שתשמור תורת ה׳ בסתר, שלא תאכל נבילות, ותשמר השבתות ... כי אם יוודע הדבר, שמא המלך יכריחנה או יהרגנה

("The correct explanation, in my opinion, is that Mordecai did this so that she might be able to keep the Law of the Lord in secret and not have to eat unclean food, and that she might be able to observe the Sabbaths ... for if the matter became known, the king might have placed her under duress or even killed her"); Naḥmias 2006*: ad* v. 8:

ועניין הדבר שציוה עליה שלא להגיד מולדתה — שאם היו יודעים שהיא ישראלית תהיה נבזית בעיניהם ... ועוד, כי יידעו בה שהיא ישראלית, שמא יכריחנה שלא לעשות דת ישראל, ועתה בהסתרה תוכל להישמר ולא ישימו על לב

("As to the reason that he commanded her not to disclose her kindred — it was that if they had known that she was an Israelite, she would have been held in contempt by them ... moreover, had they known that she was an Israelite, they may have strongly pressured her to forsake the religion of Israel, whereas in its being kept secret it would be able to be observed and (the servants) would pay no attention").

[68] I.e., advance in the king's personal employ — as, of course, he eventually does.

[69] "not that ... place" — this is quite likely intended as a rational clarification (rather than *correction*) of the midrashic tradition in *Esth. Rab* iv.6:

ובכל יום ויום מרדכי מתהלך לפני חצר בית הנשים אמר אפשר לצדקת זאת שתנשא לערל אלא שעתיד דבר גדול שיארע על ישראל ועתידים להנצל על ידיה

("*And every day Mordecai walked about before the court of the harem* [2:11], thinking, 'It is hardly possible that such a righteous woman as this should be married to an uncircumcised Gentile unless some serious matter is soon to befall Israel and they are to be delivered through her'") — i.e., this tradition indicates that Mordecai *deduced* the upcoming trial and Esther's pivotal role in its denouement, *not* that the event was made known to him by divine revelation, which is beyond what a rational reading of the text would support (a potential, if not actual, critique of Karaite exegetes) — on this latter view, see Ibn Ezra 2006a: *ad* v. 9:

ואחרים אמרו כי בדרך נבואה או בחלום ידע שתבא תשועה על ידה לישראל

("Some say that (Mordecai) learned by means of prophetic revelation or a dream that deliverance would come to Israel through (Esther)"). On Saadia's rationalization of midrashic tradition, see my discussion on pp. 241–43 above. That Mordecai presaged Israel's affliction is also expressed by Salmon — who appears to be leaving open (if not in fact alluding to) the idea that he was informed of such by divine revelation; thus (MS NLR Yevr.-Arab. II 3350, fol. 7v):

ידל הדא אן מרדכי קד תקדם להּ אלעלם במא יכון מן אמר המן בצרב מן אלצרוב ואקרבהא אסתבראג מן אלכתאב פלן(!) [קרא: "פלו"] אנתסבת אסתר ווקף המן עלי נסבתהא לם יערץ למא ערץ להמן אמר ישראל לאנה כאן יהאב ויקולו(!) [קרא: "ויקול"] אדא כאנת אלממלכהּ(!) [קרא: "אלמלכה"] מנהם כיף אערץ להם

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Ad 2:12–15

(MSS ₁א, fol. 1v; ז, fols. 56v–57r; collated with CUL T-S Misc.6.39, fols. 2r–v)

| I have translated תּוֹר here as "turn," this being one of three different, albeit identically spelled words; thus, ז 56v
in וְתוֹר וְגוֹזָל (Gen 15:9) it means "turtle-dove,"[70] in תּוֹר נַעֲרָה (Esth 2:12) it means "turn," and in כְּתוֹר הָאָדָם הַמַּעֲלָה (1 Chr 17:17) it means "rank."[71] It may also, perhaps, signify "beauty"[72] as an alternate form of תּאֹר in which the *ālef* has been elided. In these verses, moreover, we learn three things relating to Ahasuerus' refinement and magnanimity: (first,) that no maiden would come in to him except after twelve months of being embrocated and embellished as described; (second,) that anything (that maiden) might request of furnishings, accoutrements, or servants would be given to her for that night; and (third,) when taking leave of the king, every maiden that was presented to him would (move) to a second residence, as it says, אֶל־בֵּית הַנָּשִׁים שֵׁנִי (v. 14).[73] | From Esther's conduct, on the other ז 57r
hand, we perceive restraint in her use of provisions and moderation in her affairs.

As to the statement, *And Esther found favor in the eyes of all who saw her* (v. 15b) — this characterizes the state with which we in the Diaspora have been blessed by God — to be specific, our basic necessities are fulfilled either due to fear or due to favor. Indeed, even before the days of our nationhood our Lord continually blessed us with favor, as it is said concerning Joseph, *(the LORD) extended kindness to him and granted him favor (in the sight of the chief jailer)* (Gen 39:21); and concerning the Patriarchs in Egypt, *And the LORD granted the people*[74] *favor in the sight of the Egyptians* (Exod 11:3). Then, when the days of our nationhood arrived, He bestowed fear and dread towards us, as it is said, *This day I will begin to put the dread and fear of you upon the peoples (everywhere, etc.)* (Deut 2:25); and, *Then the*

("This indicates that the knowledge of what would develop from the affair of Haman had been advanced to Mordecai in one fashion or another — which view is most reasonable by inference from the Scriptural text, for had Esther declared her lineage and Haman become aware of it, he would not have risked any action when the matter of Israel (first) came to his mind, for he would have been cowed, thinking, 'If the queen is from them, how can I act against them?'").

[70] For this definition, as in 1962 *ad loc.* (Derenbourg 1893: 22, line 26), Saadia employs the Aramaic term **שפנינא** (so *Tg. Onq.*).

[71] So, for clarity, though in this latter instance Saadia translates the entire phrase — namely: "the highest rank of man," on which see also Saadia's comment in the fragment published by Ratzaby 1998: 268/§47 (a [perhaps revised] citation from the beginning of Saadia's commentary on *pārāshā* וָאֵרָא [Exod 6:2–9:35]):

וראיתני כתור האדם המעלה גֹעלת לי מרתבהּ אלנאס אלעליא **ותור** הו בעֹץ תורת כמא קאל הנאך **וזאת תורת האדם** ולדֹלך אסתעמל אלחכמים פי כלאמהם אן יקולון **תורת כלי עליו**. ויקול׳ **תורת מתנה ותורת רבית** יענון מרתבהּ כל שי ומחלה

("The phrase וּרְאִיתַנִי כְּתוֹר הָאָדָם הַמַּעֲלָה means, 'You have given to me the highest rank of man' — in which תּוֹר is an alternative to תּוֹרַת, as it says in the parallel passage, וְזֹאת תּוֹרַת הָאָדָם [2 Sam 7:19]. For this reason the early sages also employ (the term תּוֹרַת) to denote the 'status' or 'place' of something in such of their sayings as תּוֹרַת כְּלִי עָלָיו [*b. Bāḇā᾽ qammā᾽* 67a, etc.], תּוֹרַת מַתָּנוֹת [see *b. Bĕkhōrōt* 18b], רִבִּית תּוֹרַת [see *b. Bāḇā᾽ mĕṣīʿā᾽* 65a; *b. Tĕmūrā* 6b]").

[72] Arabic *ḥilya*, on which see Piamenta 1990–91: 1:105b.

[73] So, as in his *Tafsīr, ad loc.* (אלי דאר אלחרם אלתאניהּ), construing שֵׁנִי as a definite (albeit morphologically anarthrous) attributive adjective, rather than as an adverb in the sense of שֵׁנִית or פַּעַם שֵׁנִי ("a second time"; thus, e.g., *Tg. Esth. II*; Ibn Ezra 2006a and Qimḥī 1967: 397b, s.v. שֵׁנִי). See Yefet 2008: 204 (trans.); 20*, lines 1–3 (text):

וערֹיך אנהא אדא אנצרפת מן עֹנד אלמלך ליס תרגֹע אלי הגי **בל תחצל** ענד כאדם אכר פי דאר גיר תלך

("(The writer) indicates that, when she departed from the king, she would not return to Hegai, but would come into the care of another servant in a residence different from that (previous) one"); Salmon *ad loc.* (MS NLR Yevr.-Arab. II 3350, fol. 8r–v):

קולה **בערב היא באה**. יעני אנהא כאנת תכון תגלא עליה לילהּ ופי אלצבאח תרגֹע אלי קצר אכר לאנהא לא תרגֹע אלי אלגואר אלדי כאנת מעהם בק׳ **ובבקר** [**היא**] **שבה** וג׳ **שני** יעני אלקצר אלב׳

("The statement *At dusk she would go* indicates that she would be unveiled to him at night and in the morning she would return to another compound, for she was not to return to the maidens with whom she had been, as per the statement, *and in the morning she would return (to* bēt ha-nāshīm*)* shēnī — i.e., the second compound"); Ibn Ezra 2006b: *ad loc.*:

שני שב אל **בית הנשים** שהוא בית שני

("שֵׁנִי refers to בֵּית הַנָּשִׁים — that is to say, it was a second residence"); Tanḥum 2010: *ad loc.*:

ורבמא כאן מעאה **אל בית הנשים השני** אעני אן **שני** צפהּ ללבית אי אנה גיר אלאול אלתי כאנת פיה קבל אן תסתחצֹר

("It is also possible that the sense of this phrase is הַנָּשִׁים הַשֵּׁנִי — i.e., שֵׁנִי may be an adjective modifying בֵּית, indicating that (this house) was distinct from the first one in which the young woman resided before she was summoned"); Naḥmias 2006: *ad loc.*:

כלומר: לא תשוב לבית הנשים שהוא שומר עליהם, אלא לבית הנשים שני [אולי צ״ל: ״השני״]

("I.e., she would not return to the women's residence where (Hegai) had been supervising them, but rather to the second women's residence"); and Yaḥyā *ad loc.* (MS BL Or. 2351, fol. 119r), whose wording with respect to v. 13 is very similar to that of Saadia:

כל מא כאן ידפע להא לתלך אללילהּ מן אלפרש ואלמחאסן אלתי תזף בהא תנתקל בהא אלי דאר אלחרם אלתאניהּ

("any furnishings or cosmetics that she had been given by which she was brought as a bride for that night would be transferred along with her to the second harem").

[74] MS ז reads "this people" (הָעָם הַזֶּה), a variant that is otherwise attested in the Samaritan Pentateuch and implied by the Septuagint and the Vulgate (BHS *ad loc.*).

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fame of David went out into all the lands; and the LORD *brought the fear of him on all the nations* (1 Chr 14:17); and again, *Now the dread of the* LORD *was on all the kingdoms of the lands which were around Judah, so that they did not make war on Jehoshaphat* (2 Chr 17:10). And when (our) nationhood passed away He (still) viewed us with such solicitude that He blessed us with favor, as it is said, *Now God granted Daniel favor and compassion (in the sight of the commander, etc.)* (Dan 1:9); and as Ezra says, *He has extended compassion towards me before the king and his counselors* (Ezra 7:28); and (thus here), *And Esther found favor in the eyes of all who saw her*; and concerning all of us it says, *He has made them objects of compassion in the presence of all who have taken them captive* (Ps 106:46).[75]

Ad 2:16–20

(MSS ב$_2$, r–v; ד, fols. 1r–v; ז, fols. 57v–58v; collated with CUL T-S Misc.6.39, fols. 3r–v; BLO Heb.d.62, fol. 118r)

ז 57v | Some of the ignorant among the Gentiles[76] may censure us with respect to Esther's getting into a predicament[77] with King Ahasuerus — all the more so in view of how we extol her and have continued to hand down the record of her affair over the course of time, and above all for our saying, *and the king loved Esther* (v. 17). We would aver, however, that if the occasion for such a person's censure[78] of us proceeds from a purely secular perspective, ז 58r then this is not a basis of censure, but rather of honor, for all | that the king loved was honored. Were it indeed a basis of censure, from a purely secular perspective, then [...][79] she was not executed, nor did she become his[80] [...][81] religious obligations. In fact, from the perspective the Oral Law[82] one may furnish [...][83] in the Oral Law that when unbelievers demand of believers to break some aspect of their religious creed, yet it is not the intention of the one demanding this that (the believer) actually forswear his religious creed, but rather it is intended primarily for the benefit of (the unbelievers) themselves — *and* the believers are truly afraid that, should they not acquiesce, they may be put to death — it is acceptable in such a circumstance for them to acquiesce and so prevent the shedding of their blood, at the same time remaining free from any basis of censure.[84] In this same vein, since he did not

[75] This entire paragraph, in which Saadia identifies Esther's "finding favor" (**וַתְּהִי ... נֹשֵׂאת חֵן**) with the biblical-historical paradigm of God granting favor to Israel or key individuals therein, is one of the few instances in which we may conclude with near certainty that Saadia's commentary was employed by his younger Karaite contemporary Salmon, who in his comment on v. 9 (**וַתִּשָּׂא חֶסֶד**) presents this same historical overview, in the same sequence, citing almost all the same verses, and at one point quoting Saadia almost verbatim ("And even though ... blessed us") — i.e., (MSS NLR Yevr.-Arab. II 3350, fol. 7r + Yevr.-Arab II 110, fol. 4v):

קולה **ותיטב הנערה** ידל אן אללה געל להא הואדה וחנה פי נפס הגי כמא געל ליוסף פי נפס צאחבה בק׳ **וימצא יוסף חן** וכמא געל לה פי נפס צאחב אלסגן בק׳ **ויתן חנו** וג׳. ופי ישראל קאל **ויי נתן את חן העם.** קאל **שמעו עמים.** וקאל ליהושע **היום הזה אחל תת.** וענד טהור אלמלך קאל **ויצא שם דויד בכל הא׳.** וקאל **ויהי פחד יי.** ולמא זאלת אלדולה ענא עדנא אלי אן ירזקנא אללה אלחט ואלהואדה פי עין אלאמם בק׳ **ויתן האלהים את דניאל** וג׳. וקאל עזרא **ועלי הטה חסד** וג׳

("The statement *And she found favor* [v. 9] indicates that God engendered partiality and compassion towards her in the heart of Hegai, just as He did for Joseph in the heart of his master, as per the statement, *And Joseph found favor, (etc.)* [Gen 39:4]; and as He did for him in the heart of the warden, as per the statement, *And He granted him favor, etc.* [ibid. 39:21]; and as it says concerning Israel, *And the* LORD *granted the people favor* [Exod 12:36], and, *the peoples have heard* [Exod 15:14]; and to Joshua He said, *This day will I begin to put (the dread of thee ... upon the peoples, etc.)* [Deut 2:25]; and from the revealing of our nationhood it says, *And the fame of David went out into all lands* [1 Chr 14:17]); and it says, *And the terror of God was (on all the kingdoms)* [2 Chr 20:29]. And even though nationhood has passed away from us, we are still viewed with such solicitude that God has blessed us with favor and partiality in the eyes of the nations, as per the statement, *And God granted Daniel (mercy), etc.* [Dan. 1:9]; and as Ezra says, *He hath extended mercy unto me, etc.* [Ezra 7:28]").

[76] Arabic *al-umam*, on this sense of which see Blau 2006: 19b.

[77] "getting into a 'predicament'" — Arabic *kawn taḥta*, on this sense of which see Blau 2006: 62a–b.

[78] "Such ... censure" — Arabic *iʿābatihi*, on this sense and fourth form of which, see Blau 2006: 471a.

[79] This ellipsis encompasses approximately four illegible words in the text.

[80] "Nor ... his" — Arabic *wa-lam tanṣarif ilayhi* (the text [here per MS D] is barely legible and thus this reading necessarily tentative), on this sense of which see Blau 2006: 370a.

[81] This ellipsis encompasses approximately three illegible words in the text.

[82] See Saadia's comment *ad* 2:8 on p. 255 above, and *ad* 3:2–4 on p. 265 below.

[83] This ellipsis encompasses approximately two illegible words in the text.

[84] See, in a similar vein, Saadia 1995: *Amānāt*, v.8 (p. 191):

ואקול פי אלמסאכין אלדין ילחקהם אלתקציר פי צלואתהם וטאעאתהם, כל מא כאן מקצרא ען אלקות פמעדורין עליה, ומא כאן פוק דלך פמטאלבון בה בקולה **יחלץ עני בעניו**

("I aver with respect to the poor [or, "the unsophisticated"; see Blau 2006: 303b, s.v. *miskīn*] who are unavoidably compelled (by their need) to curtail their prayers and religious obligations [see n. 92 below], that they are absolved from guilt for any curtailment in the interest of (seeking to supply) their basic needs, whereas for any (curtailment) beyond this they are held culpable, as per the statement, *He liberates the frail from their frailty* [Job 36:15; per Saadia's *Tafsīr ad loc.*, on which see Qafiḥ 1973: 176 and n.]"); though see also his counterbalancing remark shortly thereafter (*Amānāt*, 192):

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know that Esther was a Jew, (the king) was not intending by the demands he placed on her that she forswear her religious creed, but rather his objective was primarily his own benefit;[85] nor, indeed, can there be any doubt that, had she refused (to go to the king), she would have been subjected to the fear of being put to death.

As to the verse, *Then the king gave a great banquet, (etc.)* (v. 18) — the most likely explanation is that it was an enduring custom among them that (when) any new queen was appointed the king would undertake these three things on her account — (to wit:) a great banquet, as it says, מִשְׁתֵּה גָדוֹל; a respite from taxes and a reprieve from material procurement,[86] as it says, וְהֶנָּחָה לַמְּדִינוֹת; | and he distributed awards, every one of which was a gift, as it ז 58v says, וַיִּתֵּן מַשְׂאֵת.

As to the statement, *And when (the virgins) were gathered (a second time, etc.)* (v. 19), following which it says, *Esther would not make known her kindred* (v. 20) — this indicates [...][87] that (the king) would have brought out these virgins in order to [...] her country and her people, thereby exposing [... she did not(?)] tell him anything; for the first statement, אֵין אֶסְתֵּר מַגֶּדֶת מוֹלַדְתָּהּ וְלֹא־הִגִּידָה אֶסְתֵּר אֶת־עַמָּהּ (v. 10), is intended with respect to Hegai, whereas this second, אֵין אֶסְתֵּר מַגֶּדֶת מוֹלַדְתָּהּ, is intended with respect to Ahasuerus.[88] And in this same vein the statement וּמָרְדֳּכַי יֹשֵׁב בְּשַׁעַר־הַמֶּלֶךְ, *Mordecai was sitting in the king's gate* is juxtaposed to the following statement אֵין אֶסְתֵּר מַגֶּדֶת מוֹלַדְתָּהּ, *Esther would not make known, (etc.)*, so as to say that, even though Esther had already established Mordecai in an official position in the ruler's household,[89] she nonetheless kept silent concerning the identity of her people. In this respect, to be sure, Esther conducted herself just like many Jews and Christians (in our time) whom we see devoting themselves to the service of Muslims;[90] it is thus that one must view (Esther).[91]

As to the combined use of the terms מוֹלַדְתָּהּ, *her birthplace* and עַמָּהּ, *her people* — this is because an individual may be born among a certain people yet not share their faith, like Ishmael b. Nethaniah,[92] just as it may be

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ואקול פי אלמסתצאמין מן בני ישראל ביד אלגוים אנהם גיר מעדורין עלי צגרהם, בל יצברוא, כקולה **יתן למכהו לחי ישבע בחרפה**

("I aver with respect to those among the children of Israel who are persecuted by Gentiles that they are not absolved from guilt on account of their distress, but rather they must show forbearance, as per the statement, *Let him give his cheek to the one that smites him, (that) he might be filled with reproach* [Lam 3:30]").

[85] "his own benefit" — Arabic *manfūʿahu huwa*, on which see Blau 2006: 710a.

[86] "A reprieve ... procurement" — i.e., a temporary halt to the government's collection of both money ("taxes" = Arabic *al-khurūj* [construed by us in the sense of *kharājāt*, on which see Blau 2006: 173b]) as well as material goods ("material procurement" = Arabic *al-mawn* [see Dozy 1927: 2:625a]), though the latter may also be intended in a monetary sense — i.e., (in distinction from *al-khurūj*), levies or tariffs (see, e.g., the triad **אלכראג'את** ואלמוון ואלרסום in Yefet b. ʿEli's comment on Ps 2:3 (apud Blau 2006: 173b, who translates: **המסים וההיטלים והארנונות**] ["the tributes, the levies, and the land taxes"]). In any event, on the construal of הֶנָּחָה *ad loc.* in reference to "taxes," see Yefet 2008: 206 (trans.); 20*, lines 16–17 (text): ורפע אלכראג' ען אלנאס פי תלך אלסנה ("And he withdrew the (poll/land?) tax from the people during that year"); and, apparently drawing directly from Saadia *ad loc.*, Salmon *ad loc.* (MS NLR Yevr.-Arab. II 3350, fol. 9r): **תם** רפע אלמוון(!) ואלכראג' ואלכלף כק' **והנחה למדינות** וג' ("He then granted a respite from levies/material procurement, land/poll taxes, and debts [*kulaf*; see Blau 2006: 605a], as per the statement, וְהֶנָּחָה לַמְּדִינוֹת וג'").

[87] This ellipsis encompasses approximately one word (or two short words) in the text.

[88] See Yefet 2008: 208–09 (trans.); 21*, lines 4–5 (text):

אין אסתר מגדת מולדתה וג'. ויריד בה לם תכבר אלמלך כמא לם תכבר גירה

("*Esther had not yet made known her kindred, etc.* — by which the (writer) means that she did not disclose it to the king, just as she did not disclose it to anyone else"); Ibn Ezra 2006a (similarly in *Comm. B*): *ad loc.*:

אין אסתר מגדת מולדתה למלך, ולא לסריסים שהעמיד לפניה

("*Esther had not yet made known her kindred, (etc.)* — to the king, as well as to the eunuchs that he had charged to attend her").

[89] On this construal of the expression יֹשֵׁב בְּשַׁעַר־הַמֶּלֶךְ as an indication of official status in the king's court, see Yefet 2008: 207–08 (trans.); 21*, lines 2–3 (text):

וקולה **ומרדכי ישב בשער המלך**. יפיד אן כאן מרדכי פי דלך אלוקת **חאגב** פי דאר אלמלך

("The statement *Mordecai was sitting in the king's gate* indicates that at that time Mordecai was a chamberlain/gatekeeper in the king's palace"); and, in closer parallel to (if not dependence on) Saadia, Salmon *ad loc.* (MS NLR Yevr.-Arab. II 3350, fol. 9v):

וקו' **ומרדכי יושב** ידל אן קבל יאכד אחשורוש לאסתר לם תכון למרדכי מרתבה פי באב אלמלך כק' **ובכל יום ויום** וג' פלמא מלכת אסתר געלת מרדכי אחד אלחאגב

("The statement *Mordecai was sitting* implies that before Ahasuerus took Esther, Mordecai had no station in the king's gate, as per the statement, *And every day (Mordecai would walk), etc.* [2:11]; then when Esther became queen, she made Mordecai one of the chamberlains/gatekeepers").

[90] "Devoting ... Muslims" — so, resolving the somewhat hendiadic expression *yanqaṭiʿūna ilā muslimīn fa-yakhdumūnahum* (see Dozy 1927: 2:370a [s.v. قطع, VII]: "*Rester chez soi, se tenir dans sa maison*").

[91] "It is thus ... (Esther)" — i.e., one must view Esther's interaction with the king in the same accepting — even approving — manner, in contrast to those who would condemn her behavior, as addressed by Saadia at the outset of his comment on this section.

[92] See Jeremiah 41, where, in addition to killing Gedaliah and several of his supporters, Ishmael — a descendant of the Davidic line (see Saadia's comment on 2:5–7 above) — is described as having "crossed over to the sons of Ammon" (Jer v. 10; see also v. 15).

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possible for someone to share a certain people's faith even though he was not born among them, like Ruth who
ב2 v said, עַמֵּךְ עַמִּי וֵאלֹהַיִךְ אֱלֹהָי, *Your people are my people, and your God, my God, etc.* (Ruth 1:16). | Finally, the statement וְאֶת־מַאֲמַר מָרְדֳּכַי אֶסְתֵּר עֹשָׂה, *and Esther undertook what Mordecai had commanded* refers collectively to the entirety of the commandments and religious obligations[93] (as undertaken by Esther) without any neglect,[94] per (Scripture's following) affirmation: *as when she was being reared by him.*

Ad 2:21–23

(MSS ב1, fol. 1r; ב2, verso; ד, fol. 1v; ז, fols. 59r–v; collated with BLO Heb.d.62, fol. 118r–v; CUL T-S Misc.6.39, fol. 4v)

ז 59r | Though it here refrains from mentioning the essence and manner of implementing the plot that the two servants had devised against the king, (Scripture) nonetheless clearly presents it as[95] an occasion for the loyal counsel[96] that Mordecai subsequently delivered to the king. In this it teaches us several important lessons — to wit: that we should expose unjust people and not consider doing so as forbidden slander, for it is absolutely fitting that they themselves should fall into what they have dug rather than that the innocent should fall into it.[97] And
ד 1v (it teaches us) that it behooves the one who is made aware of beneficial information | to pass it on accurately from the one who originated it, making sure to give the credit to him and not to oneself — for do you not see that, had
ז 59v Esther not delivered | the loyal counsel in Mordecai's name, the deliverance would not have been fully realized?[98] And (it teaches us) that it behooves us to act charitably towards believers as well as unbelievers, giving due heed to the fact that the Pure One — Exalted be He! — acts beneficently to them all and His hand[99] is with them, as per the statement, *The LORD is good to all; and His tender mercies are over all His works* (Ps 145:9).[100] And (it teaches us) that, if the one good deed (of Mordecai) merits being recorded for the sake of the one who performed it, all the more so[101] must God "record" in His own mind — to speak metaphorically — the good deeds of His pious servants and those who obey Him, as it says, *and a book of remembrance was written before Him for those who fear the LORD and who give thought to His name* (Mal 3:16).[102]

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[93] "Religious obligations" — Arabic *al-ṭāʿāt*, on this sense of which see Blau 2006: 410b–411a.

[94] "Finally, the statement … neglect" — likewise Naḥmias 2006: *ad loc.*: **ואת מאמר מרדכי אסתר עושה – כלומר: כל מצוה שהאשה חייבת בה** ("*and Esther undertook what Mordecai had commanded* — i.e., (she performed) every commandment to which a woman is obligated").

[95] "clearly … as" — Arabic *wa-iʿtamada ʿalā annahā*, on which see Dozy 1927: 2:169b.

[96] "loyal counsel" — or, "act of loyalty" (*naṣīḥa*). On this positive characterization of Mordecai's behavior in revealing the plot, which is explicitly affirmed by Saadia further on, see Salmon *ad loc.* (MS NLR Yevr.-Arab. II 3350, fol. 10r):

פלמא וקף עלי אלאמר מרדכי כאן ענדה ואגב נציחה אלמלך לאנה קד צאר פי גמלתה וכמא קאל פי דניאל הוה מתנצח

("Thus, when Mordecai became aware of the plot, this act of loyalty [*naṣīḥa*] towards the king was incumbent on him, seeing that he had become engaged in his household [*jumlatihi*; see Dozy 1927: 1:219a] — as it also says of Daniel, *he was comporting himself with integrity* [Dan 6:4]").

[97] See Ps 7:16.

[98] I.e., the reward for Mordecai's loyal deed provided the impetus both for Haman's downfall (see Esth 6:13) as well as for Mordecai's increasing political power and the consequent government backing of the Jews' undertaking to destroy their enemies (see Esth 9:3–4).

[99] "hand" — here in the sense of "favor, grace, kindness" (see Blau 2006: 788b).

[100] See Saadia, *Amānāt* (1995): iii, proem (p. 116):

כאן אכתראעה ללאשיא גודא מנה ופצלא … כמא קאל אלכתאב טוב ה׳ לכל ורחמיו על כל מעשיו

("His creation of all things [man being the goal; see ibid., iv, proem] was an act of pure goodness and grace on His behalf … as the Scripture says, *The LORD is good to all; and His tender mercies are over all His works* [Ps 145:9]").

[101] "all the more so" — Arabic *bi-ʾl-ḥarā* (or *bi-ʾl-ḥariyy*), on this sense of which see Blau 2006: 121b.

[102] See Saadia's identical, albeit more detailed exposition of this last point in *Amānāt*, v.1 (pp. 171–72; note also the similar wording):

תם ערפנא אנה חאפט להדה אלחסנאת ואלסיאת עלי גמיע אלעבאד והי ענדה כאלמכתובה ענדנא, כקולה עז אלצאלחין אז נדברו יראי ה׳ איש אל רעהו ויקשב ה׳ וישמע ויכתב ספר זכרון לפניו לירא׳ ה׳ ולחושבי שמו, וקאל עז אלטאלחין הנה כתובה לפני לא אחשה כי אם שלמתי וגו׳. פלמא תאמלת הדה אלאמתאל מן קול אלחכים וגדתהא פי גאיה אלאחכאם ואלאתקאן, ודלך אנא מעאשר אלמכלוקין למא וגדנא פי טאקתנא אלתי געלהא אלחכים פינא אן נחצל אלחרוף אלתי ננטק בהא, וננשי לכל חרף עלאמה מן אלכט חתי נחפט חסאבאתנא ואלחואדת אלתי נחתאג אלי עלמהא, באלחרי אן יכון פי חכמתה הו מא יחפט עלינא גמיע אעמאלנא בגיר כתאב ולא דיואן, ואנמא שבה דלך באלכתאב מן חית עהדה קריב אלי אפהאמנא

("We have also been informed that He keeps account of these good deeds and bad deeds for all of those who worship Him, and that to Him these are like things which among us are written down, as it says concerning the righteous, *Then those who feared the LORD spoke with one another, and the LORD hearkened and heard, and a book of remembrance was written before Him for those who fear the LORD and who give thought to His name* [Mal 3:16]; and as it says concerning the unrighteous, *Behold! — it is written before Me; I will not keep silent, but I will repay, etc.* [Isa 65:6]. When, moreover, I pondered these metaphorical statements of the All-Wise, I came to understand the height of wisdom and skill by which they were

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Ad 3:1–4

(MSS ב₁, fols. 1r–2v; ה, r–v; ז, fols. 609r–v; collated with BAIU III.B.75, recto; CUL T-S 8Ca1, fol. 1r; CUL T-S NS 221.5, r–v; JTSL ENA 3488, fols. 11r–v; JTSL ENA 3601, fols. 14v–15r)

| This pericope begins with the expression *After these things* so as to direct our attention to (God's) well-known ב₁ 1r
practice | of preparing the remedy before the affliction;[103] for just as He also prepares what is needed before the ז 60r
need for it is felt — as when He created light and nourishment before animal life — so too does He establish[104] deliverance before the onset of distress. To mention some examples of this: before He — the Sublime in His splendor! — dispatched the famine upon the Patriarchs, He sent Joseph beforehand as an expression of compassion towards them, as per the statement, *And He called a famine upon the land* (Ps 105:16), and as Joseph said, *And God sent me before you to preserve for you a remnant on the earth* (Gen 45:7); and before the Amalekites plundered Ziklag and made off with its (women and children as) captives, the Egyptian man was left behind in order to point out (the Amalekites) to David, that (he and his men) might track them, as per (the Egyptian's) statement to him, *I am a young man of Egypt, a servant to an Amalekite, (etc.)* (1 Sam 30:13); and before the tribes were divided | in the days ז 60v
of Rehoboam and Jeroboam, there was born Jehoiada who would go on to support the nation in their matters (of true worship), as per the statement, *So Jehoiada waxed old and was full of days, and he died; he was one hundred and thirty years old* (2 Chr 24:15) — for if you calculate backward you find that his birth had preceded the death of Solomon[105] by six years; and before Nebuchadnezzar entered the Sanctuary in the time of Jehoiachin, there was born Darius the Mede who would bring (Nebuchadnezzar's) dynasty to an end and support Israel in their matters (of worship), as it says, *So Darius the Mede received the kingdom at about the age of sixty-two* (Dan 6:1), and […][106] to us in […][107] for if we trace (his age) backward we find that it comes out at the time that we have described.[108] In

expressed, for inasmuch as we, as a collective body of created beings, find that, as part of the ability that the All-Wise has instilled within us, we are able to employ phonemes by which we can verbally express ourselves, and that for each phoneme we can produce a written symbol with a definite meaning by which we can then preserve those records and events of ours that we consider it necessary to know, all the more so must there exist in His Divine Wisdom that which preserves for us (the knowledge) of all our deeds without the need of a book or written record. He describes this metaphorically in Scripture, however, since His 'committing' (of deeds to a written record) is easier for us to understand").

[103] This comment is informed, no doubt, by the identical explanation *ad loc.* of the amora Rabbāʾ, following the adage of Rēsh Lāqīsh, in *b. Měgillā* 13b:

אחר הדברים האלה, אחר מאי. אמר רבא אחר שברא הקדוש ברוך הוא רפואה למכה. דאמר ריש לקיש אין הקדוש ברוך הוא מכה את ישראל אלא אם כן בורא להם רפואה תחילה, שנאמר **כרפאי לישראל ונגלה עון אפרים**

(the "remedy" in this instance being Esther's election as queen as well as the recording of Mordecai's good deed, and the "affliction" being the elevation of Haman and his ensuing exercise of power to destroy the Jews). Notably, the significance of this principle in providing a theological "grid" by which to understand the Esther narrative was such that the same essential *rabbinic* (i.e., Hebrew) adage was quoted and endorsed in the commentaries on Esther (both *ad* 2:21–23) by Yefet and Salmon (the latter of whom, like Saadia below, also presents the example of Joseph, citing the same two passages, and in almost verbatim wording; see Yefet 2008, 210–212 and n. 262). See also Naḥmias 2006: *ad loc.*:

דרשו רבותינו ז״ל: ״אחר שהקדים הקב״ה רפואה למכה״ — שנשא אחשורוש את אסתר, ונכתב בספר דברי מרדכי

("Our sages explained (*After these things* [Esth 3:1] as meaning), 'After the Holy One, blessed be He, prepared the cure in advance of the affliction' — i.e., Ahasuerus had already married Esther and the (loyal) report of Mordecai had already been written in the (royal record) book"); and, albeit *ad* 4:14, Tanḥum 2010: *ad loc.*:

ומי יודע אם לעת כזאת וכו׳. אי מן יעלם אן מא סבב אללה תע׳ וצולך ללמלך אלא לתכוני תריאקא למותל הדה אללסעה כמא קאלו אלאואיל ז״ל **מקדים רפואה למכה**

("*And who knows whether for such a time as this, etc.* — i.e., 'Who knows whether God — the Exalted! — has not occasioned your rise to royalty but that you might be the antidote for such a poisonous bite as this!' — just as the sages ז״ל have said, 'He prepares the cure before the affliction'").

[104] Or, "fix," on which contextually preferable sense of Arabic *waʿada* here, see Dozy 1927: 2:821b.

[105] I.e., the civil-religious disunion that followed the death of Solomon, as clearly expressed by Saadia in his comment on Dan 6:1, where he cites this same example to illustrate the exegetical "utility" (*al-fāʾida*) of an individual's age, when explicitly mentioned in Scripture (per Qafiḥ 1981: 108 — following his comment cited in n. 108 below):

וכדלך אלקול פי יהוידע הכהן לם ישרח מן בין סאיר אלכהנים אלא עמרה אד קאל **ויזקן יהוידע וישבע ימים וימת בן מאה ושלשים שנה במותו**, פנקול אנא רדדנא אלסנין מן הדא אלתאריך אלי ורא, פבלגת אלי סת סנין קבל חדות אלתכליט בעד ופאה שלמה, פיכון ולאד אלמצלח קבל חדות מא יחתאג אלי אצלאח סת סנין

("This is also the case with respect to Jehoiada the priest, for the age of no other priest but him is specified, as it says, *Now Jehoiada waxed old and was full of days, and he died; he was one hundred and thirty years old at his death* [2 Chr 24:15]; and when we trace back the years from this date-point, we come out six years before the onset of the disunion that followed the death of Solomon. Thus, the birth of the 'corrector' preceded the onset of what required correction by six years").

[106] This ellipsis encompasses approximately two illegible words in the text.

[107] This ellipsis encompasses approximately two or three illegible words in the text.

[108] "and before Nebuchadnezzar … described" — it would appear that at some point between writing this and his later comment on Dan 6:1 (see n. 105 above), Saadia changed his mind in favor of

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the same way, therefore, before Haman was promoted or shown any preference,[109] a written record was prepared concerning Mordecai's good deed, which would become the impetus both for the deliverance of Mordecai and his people as well as for the foiling of Haman's scheme.

As to the statement, *King Ahasuerus promoted Haman* — there are two rival views that are equally unlikely:[110] on the one hand, were we to say that Haman was promoted immediately following Esther's entry to the king and Mordecai stood up to him directly (thereafter), it is unlikely that the statement *and it came to pass when they* ב1 1v *had spoken to him day* | *after day* would refer to a situation that had gone on for five or four years,[111] for it is not consistent with the behavior of common people[112] to defer the reporting of such news[113] (for so long). On the other hand, were we to say that Haman's exaltation took place in the (king's) twelfth or eleventh year,[114] this too is unlikely, for how, after only a year, would he have been able to push to the forefront of such an august assembly?[115] As we must therefore seek out an explanation distinct from these two unlikely ones, we would suggest the possibility that the king's servants did in fact confer with Mordecai over a period of several years and held back from reporting his behavior due to their awareness of his standing with the queen; yet it may also be possible that (the news) was indeed brought to Haman in the year of his promotion, during which time he would have been initially more disposed to be gracious. Either one of these two explanations that we have proposed is a sound and reasonable explanation.

Now, regarding the statement, *And all the king's servants who were in the king's gate (bowed down and prostrated themselves* [כֹּרְעִים וּמִשְׁתַּחֲוִים] *before Haman)*, I must take some time to clearly explain the answers to the questions (which arise), the first of which, I would say, is: Why did Mordecai refrain from bowing down before Haman? Was he better than the patriarchs, some of whom bowed down to others? For among them the lowly (bowed down) to the exalted, as it says, *And Joseph's brethren came, and bowed down* [וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲווּ] *to him with their faces to the earth* (Gen 42:6); and it says, *And the Cushite bowed down* [וַיִּשְׁתַּחוּ] *unto Joab* (2 Sam 18:21); and concerning Ahimaaz: *And he bowed down* [וַיִּשְׁתַּחוּ] *before the king with his face to the earth* (ibid., 18:28); and concerning Joab: *And Joab fell to the ground on his face, (and prostrated himself* [וַיִּשְׁתַּחוּ]*)* (ibid., 14:22); and so on. And among them the exalted (bowed down) to the ב1 2r exalted, as it says concerning Nathan | the prophet: *And he came in before the king and bowed down* [וַיִּשְׁתַּחוּ] *before the king with his face to the ground* (1 Kgs 1:23); and concerning Abraham: *and he ran to meet them (... and bowed down to the earth* [וַיִּשְׁתַּחוּ]*)* (Gen 18:2); and concerning Joshua: *And Joshua fell on his face to the earth, and bowed down* [וַיִּשְׁתַּחוּ]

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the view that Darius the Mede was born in the same year that Nebuchadnezzar plundered the Temple; thus (per Qafiḥ 1981: 108):

אול מא ינבגי אן נכשף ענה פי הדה אלקצה, מא אלפאידה פי תאריכה כם [כאן לדריוש] מן אלסנין אלי אן מלך ... למא רדדנא אלסנין אלי וראהא מן הדא אלתאריך, וגדנא סנה ולד דריוש הי סנה דכול נבוכדנצר אלי אלקדס **פי זמאן יהויכין, וקאל פיה ויוצא משם את אוצרות בית ה׳** ...

("The first thing that we must clarify in this pericope [i.e., 6:1–29] is the advantage (to be found) in its telling us how many years Darius had lived before he became king ... When we trace the years backward from the age (of sixty two), we find that the year of Darius' birth was the same as the year of Nebuchadnezzar's despoilment of the Temple in the time of Jehoiachin, concerning which it says, *And he carried out from there all the treasures of the House of the* LORD *...* [2 Kgs 24:13]"). The possibility of scribal "adjustment" accounting for the discrepancy is unlikely, seeing that in the present commentary (*ad* Esth 3:1ff.), this is cited at the end of a string of examples intended to illustrate "(God's) well-known practice of preparing the remedy before the affliction" (*ʿādatahu ʾl-maʿrūfa annuhu*[!] *yusabbiqu ʾl-dawāʾ qabla ʾl-adhā*), whereas his aforecited view *ad* Dan 6:1 is consistent with the chronology of the Babylonian-Persian kings expressed by him elsewhere in his commentary on Daniel — e.g., *ad* 9:1 (per Qafiḥ 1981: 160–63):

למא קתל קאם בעדה דריוש, כמא קאל בה בליליא קטל בלשאצר, ודריוש מדאה קבל מלכותא ... נבוכדנצר מלך כסה וארבעין סנה, ואבנה אויל מרודך תלתה ועשרין סנה. ואבן אבנה בלשאצר תלת סנין ... ופי וקת גלות יכניה כאן קד מצי מן מלך נבוכדנצר תמאן סנין, כמא קאל **ויצא יהויכין מלך יהודה על מלך בבל ... בשנת שמנה למלכו**

("When (Belshazzar) was killed, Darius arose after him, as it is said, *In that night Belshazzar was slain ... and Darius the Mede received the kingdom* [Dan 5:30–6:1a] ... Nebuchadnezzar reigned 45 years, his son Evil Merodach 23 years, and his grandson Belshazzar three years ... and at the time of Jechoniah's exile eight years had already passed of Nebuchadnezzar's reign, as it says, *In the eighth year of his reign, Jehoiachin the king of Judah went out to the king of Babylon* [2 Kgs 24:12]"; thus: 70 [45 + 23 + 3] – 62 [Darius' age at enthronement] = [year] 8 [of Nebuchadnezzar's reign]).

[109] "Or shown any preference" — Arabic *wa-yurfaʿa min qadrihi*, on which see Blau 2006: 255b.

[110] Arabic *wa-tanāzaʿahu tabʿīdān*, on which latter lexeme see my note thereto in the second apparatus of the edited text.

[111] So, since Esther went in to the king in his seventh year (2:16), whereas Haman's lot casting and decree unfolded in the king's twelfth year (3:7ff.).

[112] As opposed to "the king's servants," on which see Saadia's ensuing, more "reasonable" suggestions.

[113] I.e., the reporting to Haman of Mordecai's disobedience.

[114] And thus the report of Mordecai's behavior delivered without much deferment, as would be "consistent with human nature."

[115] The reference no doubt being the inner circle of seven "princes" mentioned in 1:14, of whom Haman was not then a part.

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(Josh 5:14) — i.e., before the angel. Among them also the exalted (bowed down) to the lowly, as it says, *And Moses went out to meet his father-in-law, and bowed down* [וַיִּשְׁתַּחוּ] (Exod 18:7); and also: *And Israel bowed down* [וַיִּשְׁתַּחוּ] *at the head of the bed* (Gen 47:31) — i.e., before Joseph. Even believers bowed down to unbelievers, as it says concerning Abraham: *and he bowed down* [וַיִּשְׁתַּחוּ] *to the people of the land, even to the children of Heth* (ibid., 23:7); *And (Abraham) bowed down* [וַיִּשְׁתַּחוּ] *before the people of the land* (ibid., 23:12);[116] and concerning Jacob it says: *And he bowed himself* [וַיִּשְׁתַּחוּ] *to the ground seven times, until he came near (to his brother)* (ibid., 33:3). Why, therefore, did (Mordecai) not follow this example and emulate his venerable predecessors? I would point out in response that bowing down is of only two kinds: either the bowing down of worship, which is to be undertaken before no one but God — as per the statement, *bow down* [הִשְׁתַּחֲווּ] *to the LORD in the beauty of holiness* (Pss 29:2; 96:9; 1 Chr 16:29), and, *Exalt ye the LORD your God and bow down* [וְהִשְׁתַּחֲווּ] *(at His footstool)* (Ps 99:5, 9) — , or the bowing down of respect and exaltation, which is what we see men doing before each other, as we have described. This being so, and seeing that Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Nathan, and the others that we have described did indeed bow down to men in the manner of respect, it must be that Mordecai, by comparison, did not bow down to Haman for the reason that it was intended in the manner of worship.[117]

It may then be asked: Was it truly among the customs of the people to set up for themselves a man whom they would worship? And we would respond by saying this: To the man of the best qualities among them they[118] do indeed bow down and worship him, and call him by the name Khaqān[119] — notwithstanding that they set up

[116] This latter example is likewise cited by Ibn Ezra 2006b: *ad loc.* (see n. 121 below), and Naḥmias 2006: *ad loc.* (see the following note).

[117] See Yefet 2008: 214–16 (trans.); 23*, lines 19–27 (text):

אמר אלחגאב אן יגתון ויסגדון לה עלי סביל אלעבאדה לא עלי טריק אלאכראם פקט לאנה לו כאן עלי טריק אלאכראם פקט לם כאן מרדכי ימתנע מן דלך ... פאכדו אולא יעאתבוה ... פכאן יקול להם אן דיני ימנעני ען אלסגוד לגיר אללה עלי סביל אלעבאדה. ועלם מרדכי אנה אדא פעל דלך טהר להם אנה יעבד אנסאן פלם יגוז לה דלך כמא לם יגוז לחנניה מישאל ועזריה אן יטהרון אנהם יעבדון אלצנם

("(The king) commanded the gatekeepers to kneel down and prostrate themselves before him in the manner of worship, not merely in the manner of respect; for if it had been merely in the manner of respect, Mordecai would not have refrained from it ... and so (the gatekeepers) undertook at first to scold him ... yet he replied to them, 'My religion prevents me from prostrating myself in the manner of worship before any save God.' He knew that, if he had done this, he would have appeared to them to be worshipping a man, and therefore it was forbidden to him, just as it was forbidden to Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah to appear to be worshipping the idol"); Naḥmias 2006: *ad loc.*:

כריעה והשתחוויה זאת היתה דרך עבודה ... ואם היתה השתחוית כבוד, לא היה מרדכי נמנע ממנו, והלוא כתיב: **וישתחו אברהם לפני עם הארץ** ... אבל אותה השתחוויה היתה דרך כבוד, וזאת דרך עבודה ... ומהפשט יש הוכחה שהשתחוואת עבודה היתה, כאומרו: **ויגידו להמן לראות היעמדו דברי מרדכי כי הגיד להם אשר הוא יהודי**, כלומר: משום כך לא היה משתחוה

("This 'bowing down' and 'prostration' was intended in the manner of worship ... for if it were intended as the prostration of respect, Mordecai would not have refrained from it, for is it not written, *and Abraham bowed down to the people of the land* [Gen 23:12] ... yet that prostration was in the manner of respect, whereas this (before Haman) was in the manner of worship ... and from a straightforward reading, the proof that this was intended as the prostration of worship follows from the statement, *they told Haman, to see whether Mordecai's words would stand; for he had told them that he was a Jew* [v. 4] — i.e., that because (he was a Jew) he would not bow down (to Haman in worship)").

[118] I.e., though ostensibly the Persians, per context, Saadia's referent here may better be construed as the people of the east in general (see the following note).

[119] This term, meaning "Supreme Ruler" or "Emperor" (Steingass 2000: 440b, s.v. *khāqān*), though quite likely known to Saadia from (inter alia) the writings of Arabic-Islamic historians (see, e.g., al-Ṭabarī 2005: 6:87, s.v.) with reference to various Turkic/Turcophone (including the Khazarian), Mongol, and Chinese rulers (see Savvides 2000, and Boyle in *EI*[2] s.v. "Ḵẖāḳān"), is in this instance probably intended with specific reference to the Turkic Khazars, as in his comment on *pārāshat Tĕrūmā* (Exod 25:1–27:19):

ואנה כמא כל מלך ללערב יסמי כליפה. וכל [מלך לל]כזר יסמי כאקאן ...

("Just as every king of the Arabs is designated 'Khalīfa,' so is every king of the Khazars designated 'Khāqān,' ..."; Harkavy 1897: 244). This title is also attested (albeit spelled כגן [Kāgān]) in a tenth-century Hebrew letter of Khazarian provenance to Ḥasdai ibn Shaprūṭ — in which, like Saadia in following, the writer makes explicit reference to the successive transmission of the title (see Golb and Pritsak 1982: 112: **נקראו שמות השופטים שקמו אחריו כגן עד היום** ["the judges who have arisen after (the first Kāgān) have likewise been called Kāgān down to the present time"]; on the intended use of **שופטים** here in the biblical sense, see Shapira 2005: 507; for medieval Perso-Arabic references to this title among the Khazars, see Kalinina 2005: 256). The idea of the Ḵẖāqān/Kāgān actually receiving worship, however, is unusual — though in this respect see the following statement — again concerning the (supposedly Judaized!) Khazars — from an anonymous Byzantine Karaite Esther commentary (actually, a compilation; see Yefet 2008: 133–34) on this same passage (MS NLR Yevr. II 78, fol. 16r):

וזו השתחוית המן אלהות ... ככ׳ **כרעים ומשתח׳ להמן**. כמ׳ שעשה נבוכדנ׳ לדניאל ככ׳ **ומנחה וניחוחין** וג׳ ... וראינו בזמננו כי בארץ תורכיה **בָּזָרְיָא עובדים איש**

("This prostration of Haman was divine worship ... as it is written, *(they) would bow down and prostrate themselves before Haman* — just as Nebuchadnezzar did before Daniel, as it is written, *(Then the king Nebuchadnezzar fell upon his face and worshipped Daniel, and commanded that they should offer unto him) an offering and sweet odors*, etc. [Dan 2:46] .... In this time of ours, moreover, we have seen in the land of Turkey that the Khazars worship a man"). See also the identification of the title Ḵẖāqān/Kāgān with the idea of "sacredness/holiness" in a mid-eighth century Turkish (specifically, Uyğur-Buddist) inscription (per Clauson 1972: 611a, s.v.

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another one (in his place) as time goes on. It has also been said that in the Maghreb is a region whose people have been worshipping Abbāʾ ʿAfīr[120] and his progeny over the course of time. The situation concerning Haman may thus have transpired in much the same fashion.

It may also be asked: Is there any compelling indication in this pericope itself that the bowing down to Haman was intended in the manner of worship? Again I would offer my response and say that Scripture's statement *to see whether Mordecai's words would stand* (v. 4) clearly indicates that the bowing down would cause him to forswear his faith — (i.e.,) per the (entire) statement, *to see whether Mordecai's words would stand*, *for he had told them that he was a Jew*. Were (the bowing down) intended simply as an expression of honor or | respect, there would be no reason to say *he was a Jew* (ibid.) as his circumstantial basis (for the refusal).[121] Also substantiating this view is the addition of the expression כֹּרְעִים here before מִשְׁתַּחֲוִים, for in Scripture we never find the roots כרע and שחה[122] used together for the expressing of respect alone, as it otherwise says: *and he bowed down* [וַיִּכְרַע] *on his knees before Elijah* (2 Kgs 1:13) — without additional use of the root שחה.[123]

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"Dis. ĞĞN"). With respect to the Persians in particular this title is regularly employed for Afrāsiyāb and his descendants (see ibid.).

It should further be noted that Saadia's reference to such worship being directed toward those individuals possessed of "the best qualities" (*al-khayr*) is consistent with Mazdean-Dualist and Manichaean religious thought, on which see, inter alios, Zaehner 1956, and al-Shahrastānī 1948: II, 75 (on the beliefs of the Manichaeans):

النور — جوهره حسن فاضل كريم ... حسن المنظر. نفسه خيرة كريمة حكيمة نافعة عالية. فعله الخير والصلاح والنفع والسرور والترتيب والنظام والاتفاق

("As regards the Divine Light — its substance is pleasing, distinguished, noble, ... and attractive; its essence is good, honorable, intelligent, beneficial, and sublime; its active manifestations [*fiʿluhu*] are goodness, righteousness, usefulness, happiness, orderliness, coherence, and concordance"), as well as the following comment from the commentary on Esther by Saadia's younger, Karaite contemporary Yefet b. ʿEli (per Wechsler 2008: 222–23 [trans.], 25* [text]):

וקולה **ואת דתי המלך אינם עשים.** הו מא אמר בה מן אלסגוד להמן ולא ידוון דלך. ודלך אן בעץ אלפרס ירון אן אלנור לה אפעאל. פאדא ראו אנסאן חסן אלצורה חכים פירון אן קד חל פיה שי מן אלנור פירון עבאדתה עלי וגה מכצוץ

("Regarding (Haman's) statement, *neither do they observe the king's laws* (3:8) — this refers to what the king had commanded concerning prostration before Haman, though (the reason for) it is not recorded — to wit, that some of the Persians believed that the Divine Light (*al-nūr*) had certain active manifestations (*afʿāl*), and therefore, when they saw someone who was attractive and intelligent, they would opine that something of the Divine Light existed within him, and so they would deem fit to worship him in a special fashion").

[120] I.e., Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, Muḥammad's cousin and son-in-law, who was also known by the soubriquet Abū Turāb ("Father of Dust") here represented by the Aramaic calque (apparently unique in the extant literature) **אבא עפיר** (my thanks to Ehud Krinis [Ben-Gurion University of the Negev] and Omar Ali de Unzaga [Institute for Ismaili Studies, London] for pointing out this connection). Those whom Saadia here claims to have heard (or read) "have been worshipping Abbāʾ ʿAfīr and his progeny" are almost certainly to be identified with the Shīʿī *Ghulāt* ("Exaggerators/Extremists") — whether as a general category or in reference to a specific group, such as the Nuṣayriyya — whose devotion to Ali and the hereditary Imāmate extended to virtual deification in consequence of their belief in the imparting to Ali and his imāmate progeny of the "divine light" (*nūr ilāhī*) (see Hodgson in *EI*[2] s.v. "Ghulāt"; and Friedlaender 1907/08: index, s.vv. "'Alî b. Abî Ṭâlib, divinity of"; "Ġulât *and* Ġuluww"; and "Imams, divinity of").

[121] See Ibn Ezra 2006b: *ad loc.*:

כי הגיד להם. זה האות שהיה בבגדי המן צורת צלמי אליל, על כן לא השתחוה לו מרדכי, כי הנה ראינו אברהם אבינו השתחוה לבני חת

("*for he had told them (that he was a Jew)* — this is the proof that there was an idolatrous image on Haman's clothing, because of which Mordecai did not bown down to him — for, indeed, we see that our father Abraham bowed down (in respect) to the sons of Heth [see Gen 23:7]"); and the comment of Naḥmias cited in n. 117 above.

[122] "Roots כרע and שחה" — In the text Saadia in fact employs the corresponding verbal noun (*ism al-fiʿl*; see Dotan 1997: 1:175) of each lexeme — i.e., כְּרִיעָה(!) and הִשְׁתַּחֲוָאָה. As again in the following clause, I have rendered the latter in my translation by the root שחה — rather than the root חוה of modern consensus — since such was how Saadia (as the medieval grammarians ubiquitously) understood it (see Dotan 1997: II, 579: ["If you want to produce the *hitpaʿel* you say יִשְׁתַּבַּח, יִשְׁתַּמַּר, יִשְׁתַּחוּ ... "]).

[123] See Saadia's comment on Dan 2:46, נָפַל עַל־אַנְפּוֹהִי וּלְדָנִיֵּאל סְגִד (Qafiḥ 1981: 57):

קד אנתצר אלמפסר פי הדא למא קיל פי בעץ אלמדרשות אן הדא אלסגוד כאן תעבדא להמן ולדלך אמתנע מרדכי מנה. פקאל אן אלכריעה אנמא תסתעמל פי מעני אלתעבד פנקול אמא טריקה אלדרש פקד עלמת ודלך ומתלה גאיז פיהא ואמא כונה יזעם אן דלך ממא ידל עליה טאהר אללפט פלא יצח לא מן גהה אלמעני ואלתצור אלעקלי ולא מן גהה אללפט כמא זעם ...

("Scripture offers no explicit comment on this prostration that Nebuchadnezzar proffered to Daniel, for it is permissible according to our religious law for one of us to prostrate himself before another as an expression of respect, though not worship, as is explained in (our) commentary on the Scroll (of Esther)"). It is this part of Saadia's comment on Esth 3:2–4, moreover, to which Tanḥum apparently refers in his own commentary *ad loc.* — viz. (per Wechsler 2010):

קד אנתצר אלמפסר פי הדא למא קיל פי בעץ אלמדרשות אן הדא אלסגוד כאן תעבדא להמן ולדלך אמתנע מרדכי מנה. פקאל אן אלכריעה אנמא תסתעמל פי מעני אלתעבד פנקול אמא טריקה אלדרש פקד עלמת ודלך ומתלה גאיז פיהא ואמא כונה יזעם אן דלך ממא ידל עליה טאהר אללפט פלא יצח לא מן גהה אלמעני ואלתצור אלעקלי ולא מן גהה אללפט כמא זעם ...

("As regards this statement the Interpreter has maintained what is asserted in several of the *midrāshōt* — namely, that this prostration was in worship of Haman, and it was for this reason that Mordecai refrained from it; and he has correspondingly averred that the root is employed only in the sense of worship. Now we

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And it may also be asked: Could not Mordecai, in a situation of duress[124] and fear for (his) life, have done (what was required) even though it was forbidden (by his creed)? In response we would say that in connection with the following three sins his duress[125] will be of no avail to a believer[126] in avoiding culpability — to wit, as expressed in our halakhic literature:[127] "There is nothing that takes precedence over the saving of life except idolatry, fornication,[128] and murder" (*b. Kětubbōt* 19a). And when we carefully examine Scripture we find that what it has to say indeed substantiates this halakhic dictum. Regarding "idolatry" — with respect to Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah it says, *But even if (He does) not (deliver us), let it be known to you, O king, (that we will not worship your gods, etc.)* (Dan 3:18).[129] Regarding "murder" — Saul's soldiers were willing to give their lives to avoid it, as it says, *And the king said to the guards who stood about him, ('Turn and slay the priests of the* LORD *… ' But the king's servants were unwilling, etc.)* (1 Sam 22:17). And regarding "fornication" — (Scripture) equates it, in essence, with murder, as per the statement of Moses, *(But if in the field the man finds the girl who is betrothed, and the man takes hold of her and lies with her, then the man only who lay with her shall die …) for just as when a man rises against his neighbor and murders him, so is this matter* (Deut 22:25–26). If, however, it should be asked: "Is there any compelling indication in Scripture that, if unbelievers intend by the sinful action only their own material benefit and not the forswearing of our creed, it is still obligatory that we should submit ourselves to death?"[130] we would reply that, in fact, when Abraham and Isaac were afraid of being killed, they concealed that they were married — knowing full well that the sin (of fornication with their wives) might take place — and the motive was not the forswearing of their faith, but only material benefit; thus Abraham said, *and they will kill me for my wife's sake* (Gen 20:11); and Isaac said, *Lest I die on her account* (ibid., 26:9)[131]

Ad 3:7–15

(MSS א₁, fols. 2r–v; ב₁, fols. 3r–5r; collated with BAIU III.B.75, verso; CUL T-S 8Ca1, fols. 1v–3v; CUL T-S Misc.6.159, 1r–v; CUL T-S Misc.7.47, fols. 1r–v)

| Implicit in the statement מִיּוֹם לְיוֹם וּמֵחֹדֶשׁ לְחֹדֶשׁ שְׁנֵים־עָשָׂר, *from day to day and from month to month, (the) twelfth* is the notion,[132] וַיִּפֹּל עַל חֹדֶשׁ, *and it fell on (the twelfth) month* — for such is, by necessity, the proper sense of the א₁ 2r

admit that, with respect to the *derāsh* approach — (the application of) which is (in this instance) well-known —, this view and the like are possible; yet as to (the Interpreter's) claim that this is borne out by the plain meaning of the words, he is incorrect, not only with respect to the words themselves as he claims, but also with respect to the overall import and rational assessment …").

This lexical argument vis-à-vis the combined use of כֹּרְעִים and מִשְׁתַּחֲוִים, along with the following example of Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, is likewise given by Salmon, *Esther* (MS NLR Yevr.-Arab. II 3350, fol. 10v):

למא באנת אלכריעה מע אלשתחויה(!) לא יגוז אן תכון אלא לאלה פקט כק׳ **באו נשתחוה ונכרעה**. לא יסתגיז מרדכי אן ירכע ויסגד להמן אד׳ דלך חראם וכלאף(!) אמר אלמלך כמא כאלף חנניה מישאל ועזריה אמר נבוכדנ׳ ולם יסגדו לצלם

("Since the bowing down (כריעה) was accompanied by prostration (השתחויה), it was not permissible that it should be done before anyone save God alone, as per the saying, *O come, let us prostrate ourselves* (נִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה) *and bow down* (נִכְרָעָה) (Ps 95:6). Mordecai would thus have deemed it impermissible for him to bow down and prostrate himself before Haman, since this would have been a sin, and so he disobeyed the command of the king — just as Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah disobeyed the command of Nebuchadnezzar and did not prostrate themselves before the idol"). See also idem: *ad* 3:4 (ibid., 11r):

וקולה **לראות היע׳** ידל אנה למא אנכרון עליה קאל אנא יהודי ופי מדהבי חראם אלסגוד לצורה פהדא תחת **כי הגיד להם** וג׳

("The statement *in order to see whether (Mordecai's words) would stand firm* implies that, when they reproached him, he replied, (as it were), 'I am a Jew, and in my religion the worship of a material representation is forbidden.' This underlies the statement, *for he had told them (that he was a Jew)*").

[124] Arabic *taqiyya*, on this sense of which see Piamenta 1990–91: 2:530b. Alternatively, Saadia may intend the term here in the sense of "prudent dissimulation," reflecting the specific terminology and conception of this practice in Imāmī Shīʿīsm (see Kohlberg 1975). This latter construal, however, would be awkward, since (1) it breaks the parallelism with the following phrase (i.e., "fear for (his) life"), and (2) Saadia makes clear that this was *not* an occasion for dissimulation.

[125] Or, "his dissimulation" (Arabic *taqiyyatuhu*), on which see the previous note.

[126] Literally, "servant (of God)" (*ʿabd*; see Blau 2006: 421a).

[127] "halakhic literature" — Arabic *al-athar*, on which see Blau 2006: 2a–b.

[128] "fornication" — so, rather than the more restrictive "incest" (as often understood *ad loc.*), per Saadia's following comment.

[129] This example is also cited as a parallel to Mordecai's refusal by Yefet b. Eli (see n. 117 above).

[130] On this same topic, see the initial part of Saadia's comment *ad* 2:16–20 above.

[131] The folio ends here — on quite a note of suspense, to be sure, seeing that Saadia's comment, as far as it goes, would seem to be permitting the knowing commission (or abetting) of fornication when the underlying pressure to do so does not involve the forswearing of faith.

[132] "The notion" — Arabic *iḍmār*, on this sense of which see Hava 1982: 421a.

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expression. When, for example, (Scripture) says וַיַּפִּילוּ גוֹרָלוֹת, *So they cast lots* (Jonah 1:7), it follows this up with the explicit statement, וַיִּפֹּל הַגּוֹרָל, *and the lot fell (on Jonah)*. Indeed, among those (passages) that contain similarly (implicit) meanings is the elliptical statement, וְהָעִיר שׁוּשָׁן נָבוֹכָה, *but the city of Susa was perplexed* (3:15),[133] for by it (Scripture) intends only the Jews who were in Susa.

As to why Haman cast lots — we would say that this was consistent with the custom of the infidel Gentiles who practice divination by means of astrology, scaring away birds,[134] casting lots, examining livers, examining shoulder blades, and other such practices, as it says, *For the king of Babylon stands at the parting of the way, at the head of the two ways, (to use divination; he shakes the arrows to and fro, he consults the teraphim, he looks in the liver)* (Ezek 21:26); and as it says even before that (time), *So the elders of Moab and the elders of Midian departed with the instrument of divination*[135] *in their hand, etc.* (Num 22:7). In similar fashion Haman would have determined that it was on the solar month[136] of Adar that he would annihilate them. Consistent with our supposition that he determined this month by means of divination,[137] we find that there are in fact many considerations that support (this view). On the one hand, with respect to divination among the people in general, the end-point of anything is considered unpropitious, and towards such they are averse, and for this reason the pious among them do not commence any matter of consequence either at the end of the month or at the end of the year. It is possible, therefore, that (this consideration) incited (Haman's) desire to destroy (the Jews) at the end of the year.[138]

On the other hand, with respect to divination among the more refined class of those within the general populace who were specifically trained in the art, certain meaning would be assigned to[139] the name and form of every sign in the zodiac. It is therefore quite possible that he settled by divination on the sign of Pisces (in the hope) that he might ensnare them at the time when the Sun completes (its ecliptic), just as one ensnares | a fish — that is to say, the stars in this constellation appear to the eye as a fish[140] — as is well known — and other dim stars as a reed containing twine in the hand of a standing man with which he intends to catch them.[141] א1 2v

In addition to all (the aforesaid), with respect to divination from the specific perspective of the individual, one would carefully consider past events and on which month, year, or day had befallen him what he was grieved over having borne as well as what may have happened to him that he despised as having been unfavorable to him. It is therefore quite reasonable[142] in this instance that Haman would have examined (all) the months of the year,

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[133] Thus showing the tendency of the writer of Esther to employ ellipses.

[134] So as to make auguries from their resulting flight patterns. On this sense of *zajr al-ṭā'ir* see Corriente 1997: 226b.

[135] On this construal of קְסָמִים (usually construed here as "fees for divination"), see Koehler et al. 1994–2000: 3:1116a.

[136] This reference to the Persian months as solar — the earliest such statement in a Jewish commentary on Esther — is yet another clear indication of Saadia's broad erudition, insofar as the pre-Islamic Sāsānids (224–651 C.E.), following the Zoroastrians, did indeed employ a purely solar calendar. It is now known, however, that the Achaemenians (encompassing Xerxes reign), as also the Macedonian and Parthian rulers of Persia after them, employed a lunisolar system (see Bickerman 1983: 778–91). For additional references to the Persian months as solar in Jewish exegetical literature on Esther, see MS NLR Yevr.-Arab. I 1755 (an anonymous Karaite abridgement [see Wechsler 2001: 129]), fol. 61v, in which the phrase *many days, even a hundred and eighty days* in Esth 1:4 is explained as "six solar months" (*sitta shuhūr shamsiyya*); and the comment *ad* 2:16 of Tanḥūm b. Joseph ha-Yerushalmī (per MS BLO Poc. 320, fol. 218v):

הדא ידל אן אלאסמא אלמשהורה ענדנא אלאן ללאשהר פארסיה ליסת עבראניה וכדלך הי מערופה באסמא שהור אלפרס ענד ואצעי אלתקאוים ואלמורכין משהורה אלי אלאן לכנהא ענדהם שמסיה ונחנן נצעהא עלי אלאשהר אלקמריה

("This indicates that the names of the months which are now current among us are Persian, not Hebrew, and they have likewise been best known by their Persian names among (our) chronologists and historians (from the time of Persian dominion) until now, though among the Persians (the months) are solar, whereas we reckon them as lunar").

[137] See Yaḥyā *ad loc.* (MS BL Or. 2351, fol. 119v):

אסטרגילוס גדול היה המן יעני עארף באלחרכה ואלטואלע

("'Haman was an adept astrologer' [*Pirqē R. 'Ěl.*, §50] — that is to say, he was learned in the art of divination by instruments [see Dozy 1927: 1:276b, lines 1–2] and by stars").

[138] I.e., the unpropitiousness of the event, being at the end of the year, would have been anticipated by Haman (quite self-servingly, of course) to resolve itself against the Jews as the target of the destruction, rather than against him as the initiator of it.

[139] "certain meaning would be assigned to" — Arabic *yata'awwalu li-*, on which form (and sense) see Blau 2006: 25a, and Dozy 1927: 1:44b. The idea here is that certain meanings relevant to the issue at hand would be inferred from the name and form of each particular zodiac constellation.

[140] The Arabic-Islamic tradition recognizing one fish rather than two in this constellation (see Hartner and Kunitzsch in *EI*^{2} s.v. "al-Burūǧ," 84a–b).

[141] "And other ... them" — referring, it would seem, to the stars constituting the stream of water in Aquarius, the eleventh constellation — a stream that ends at the mouth of the Fish (i.e., Pisces; see the previous note), and so justifying the alternative description of this stream as a fishing "string" (*qaṣab*) or "twine" (*khayṭ*) (see the depiction of Aquarius in the planispheric map dated 818 CE apud Savage-Smith 1992: 17).

[142] "It is ... quite reasonable" — Arabic *fa-yastaqīmu*, on this sense of which cf. Blau 2006: 574b.

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though he would not have found any month (that was unfavorable to Israel) had he not in fact learned from the historical annals of the children of Israel that on each (month) an event of honor and distinction had befallen them — most of these being victory over (their) enemies — with the exception of Adar. Indeed, not only did he find, according to their Scriptures, that nothing particularly joyful had then befallen them, but he also found that there had occurred to them an especially grievous and disturbing event on (that month), and for this reason he selected it. To explain what we have said in specific detail:[143] In the month of Nisan God redeemed them from the hand of Pharaoh, whom He submerged and arrested[144] in the Sea of Reeds. In Iyyar He granted them victory over Amalek, as it says, *And Joshua overwhelmed Amalek, etc.* (Exod 17:13) — the proof that this was in Iyyar being deduced from the statement, *(and Amalek came) and fought with Israel at Rephidim* (ibid., 17:8), since it was at the beginning of Sivan that they departed from Rephidim, as it says, *In the third month, after the children of Israel (had gone forth) … when they set out from Rephidim, and had come to the wilderness of Sinai* (ibid., 19:1–2). In Sivan they defeated Zerah the Cushite in the time of Asa, as it says at the beginning of that pericope, *Now Zerah the Cushite came out against them, etc.* (2 Chr 14:8), and then towards the end of it, *So they gathered themselves together at Jerusalem in the third month, in the fifteenth year of Asa's reign, and they sacrificed to the* LORD *from the spoil they had brought* (ibid., 15:10–11). In Tammuz they defeated Adoni-zedek, Hoham, Piram, Japhia, and Debir — the five kings — in the time of Joshua, as it says, *And it came to pass, as they fled from before Israel …. Then Joshua spoke to the* LORD, *etc.* (Josh 10:11–12), and then it says towards the end of that pericope, *And the sun stopped in the middle of the sky* (ibid., 10:13) — and in this particular latitudinal zone[145] the sun is in the middle of the sky | in the month of Tammuz.[146] In Av they defeated ב1 3r
the king of Arad in the time of Moses, as it is written, *Then Aaron the priest went up to Mount Hor (at the command of the* LORD, *and died there … in the fifth month, on the first day of the month) … And the Canaanite, the king of Arad, heard* (Num 33:38–40); and as it says, *(When the Canaanite, the king of Arad, heard … he fought against Israel …) So Israel made a vow to the* LORD *… And the* LORD *hearkened to the voice of Israel* (ibid., 21:1–3). In Elul they defeated *Midian, Amalek, and the sons of the east* (Judg 6:3, 33) in the time of Gideon, as it says, *And they encamped against them and destroyed the produce of the earth (… and left no sustenance in Israel)* (ibid., 6:4) — at a time when the produce of the land of Syro-Palestine had grown scarce — and again, *Now Zebah and Zalmunna were in Karkor (… and Gideon went up … and routed all the host)* (ibid., 8:10–12). In Tishri their kingdom was revitalized by the consecration of the Sanctuary in the time of Solomon, as it says, *Then Solomon assembled the elders of Israel …. And all the men of Israel assembled themselves … (in the month Ethanim,) which is the seventh month* (1 Kgs 8:1–2). In Marḥeshvan the rebuilding of the Temple was completed, as it is written, *And in the eleventh year, (in the month Bul, which is the eight month, the House was finished)* (ibid., 6:38). In Kislev and Tevet they defeated Sihon and Og, the kings of the Amorites, since (Scripture) relates that Moses reiterated to them his prescription of the Law in the month of Shevet, which was just after they had defeated these two kings, as it is written, *And it came to pass in the fortieth year, in the eleventh month, on the first day of the month … after he had smitten Sihon the king of the Amorites (… and Og)* (Deut 1:3–4). And in this same month — i.e., Shevet — their nation was also revitalized by that reiteration of their laws, as per Moses' exhortation to them, | ב1 3v

[143] In following Saadia presents a "rationally" re-worked (as introduced) version (what he would probably have considered an *explication* rather than an *innovation*, on which see my discussion on pp. 240–43 above) of the early rabbinic tradition concerning Haman's examination of each month/sign of the zodiac (see, e.g., *Esth Rab.* vii.11 and *Tg. Esth I ad* 3:7; for a comparison and discussion of all the early sources of this tradition, see Grossfeld 1983: 119–25).

[144] Arabic *wa-qawwamahu*, on which see Dozy 1927: 2:423b.

[145] "latitudinal zone" — Arabic *aqlīm*, on which see n. 2 above.

[146] "and in this … Tammuz" — Saadia is here referring to the time of the northern (i.e., June or "summer") solstice, and thus the expression חֲצִי הַשָּׁמַיִם in Josh 10:13 as denoting the zenith (from the perspective of an observer in Israel) of the sun's declination. See also the following excerpt from Saadia's commentary on Gen 1:14–19 (per Zucker 1984: 40–41):

> ואלתאלת לנצדק באלאיאת אלתי סיצף לנה(!) אנה צנע פיהא מן וקוף אלנורין ליהושע כ״ק **וידם השמש וירח עמד**. ואנמא כאן דלך בוקוף אלפלך אלמחרך מן אלמשרק לאנה קאל **ויאמר לעיני כל ישראל** וג׳ וליס יטהר לעיון אלנאס אלא אלחרכה אלמשרקיה … ואלראבע לנקבל אלרסום ואלשראיע אלתי אמרנא בהא פיהא. מן דלך … ואן נברך עלי אלשמס פי יום תקופת תמוז **ברוך עשה בראשית**

("The third (fundamental goal of this pericope) is that we might believe the miracles that He will eventually describe to us, such as the standing still of two luminaries for Joshua, as it is said, *So the sun stood still and the moon stopped* [Josh 10:13] — which in fact refers specifically to the celestial orbit proceeding from the east, since it says (just before this), *and he said in the sight of all Israel, etc.* [ibid., 10:12], and only the (celestial orbit) proceeding from the east is visible to the human eye …. And the fourth (fundamental goal) is that we might accept the commands and laws that have been enjoined upon us in connection with (these luminaries), among them being … that on the solstice of Tammuz we are to say over the sun the blessing: 'Blessed is He who made the Universe' [see also Saadia's *Siddūr* apud Zucker 1984: 236 n. 150]").

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Today you have become the people of the LORD *your God* (ibid., 27:9). Thus, [...][147] the words one(?) would say, for Haman according to this [...][148] possibility. And so the only month that remained to them in which they had had no kind of conquest or victory was Adar — all the more so in that Moses b. Amram, their Prophet,[149] died in the month of Adar! Indeed, as I have (previously) explained, his death occurred on the sixth day of that month, since the people remained in the steppe country of Moab mourning over him for thirty days, as it says, *So the children of Israel wept for Moses in the plains of Moab thirty days* (ibid., 34:8) — three days after which they then crossed the Jordan, per Joshua's announcement to them, *for in three more days (you are to pass over this Jordan)* (Josh 1:11), and they crossed over on the tenth of Nisan, as it is written, *And the people came up from the Jordan on the tenth day of the first month* (ibid., 4:19); and so, if you count back thirty-three days you end up on the seventh of Adar.[150]

Finally, with respect to the part of God Himself in divination — which is a consideration above and beyond everything else that we have mentioned — is that to which the masters[151] among the astronomers[152] themselves give careful attention with respect to the beginning of any activity, as well as the precise start of birthdays and alternation of the years — namely, the course[153] of the sun: the first moment of (its appearing in) Aries to human perception and its position in its returning course at the precise moment of the activity's inception. To this end they give careful attention to the coming into conjunction of the (latter) two upper planets[154] — i.e., Saturn and Jupiter — over the course of approximately every twenty years, as well as to their precise movement from one triplicity[155] to another — that is to say, from the constellations of Fire to those of Earth, | and thence to (those) of Air, and thence to (those) of Water — every 238 years,[156] and in the same ones[157] after 258 years, and so on. It may therefore be possible that Haman also had this consideration in mind, and so selected the constellation of Pisces because the forward movement (of Saturn and Jupiter) was towards the triplicity of Water[158] and in that year the conjunction (of the two) was in the constellation of Pisces[159] — which view is augmented by the fact that

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[147] This ellipsis, reflecting a tear in the text, encompasses approximately five to seven words.

[148] This ellipsis, reflecting a tear in the text, encompasses approximately one to two words.

[149] "Their prophet" — literally, "the prophet/messenger to them" (*al-rasūl ilayhim*; see Blau 2006: 248a).

[150] The mourning beginning the day after his death.

[151] Arabic *al-a/ustādhūn*, on the plural form of which see Piamenta 1990–91: 1:8a.

[152] Or, "astrologers" (*al-munajjimīm*), there being no terminological distinction between the two (see Fahd in *EI*^{2} s.v. "Munaḏj-ḏjim," as well as the article of Ben-Shammai in this volume).

[153] Arabic *dukhūl*, on the sense of which see Piamenta 1990–91: 1:146a.

[154] Arabic *al-kawkabayn al-ʿulwayn* — which, drawn from Arabic-Islamic astronomy, reflects the conception that the orbits of these two planets — along with that of Mars — are "above" or "beyond" that of the sun (all three planets being designated *al-kawākib al-ʿulwiyya*), whereas "below" the sun in their orbits around the earth are the moon, Mercury, and Venus (*al-kawākib al-sufliyya* ["the lower planets"]; see Kunitzsch in *EI*^{2} s.v. "al-Nuḏjūm," 101b).

[155] Arabic *muthallatha*, designating each of the four intersecting triangular groupings (*trigona/triquetra*) of zodiacal signs/constellations, with each of which, as also noted by Saadia in following, was associated one of the four elements (see Hartner and Kunitzsch in *EI*^{2} s.v. "al-Burūḏj," 84b–85a).

[156] I.e., the conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter about every twenty years occurs in the first, second, and third constellations of the same triplicity (*muthallatha*) four times over (i.e., twelve times in total), albeit slightly further along in the same constellation each time, before moving on to the next triplicity. This value of 238 years (contra the more rounded value of 240 years as given, e.g., by al-Bīrūnī 1934: 150–51 [§250]) agrees with — and is perhaps drawn from — that of the Jewish astrologer Māshāʾallāh al-Baṣrī (fl. ca. 750–800 C.E.) in his astrological history (*Fi ʾl-qirānāt wa-ʾl-adyān wa-ʾl-milal*; see Kennedy and Pingree 1971: 3, 40 (fol. 215r, lines 4–5), where the precise interval between each conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter is given as nineteen years, ten months, and eleven days — hence the complete movement from one triplicity to another would be 238 years and 132 days).

[157] I.e., the same respective positions within each successive triplicity — or, perhaps, the reference is to the first conjunction position within each succesive triplicity (see our textual note *ad loc.*) — which is to say, 238 years for the *inclusive* span of twelve Saturn–Jupiter conjunctions, plus about twenty years (see the previous note) to the thirteenth conjunction, which would be in the same position of its triplicity as was the first conjunction in the previous triplicity from which one started counting. From this it is clear that the alternatives "238 years or perhaps (*wa-rubbamā*) 258 years" given by Saadia for the same astronomical span in his introduction to Daniel (Ben-Shammai 2004: 55 [text], 72 [trans.], lines 16–17) do not reflect ambivalence in *his calculation*, but rather the choice made between the two numbers by those whose use of such in astrology he there censures. For a summary overview of the Saturn–Jupiter conjunctions in modern astronomy, with a brief consideration of the medieval perspective, see Etz 2000.

[158] I.e., the last of the four *muthallathāt*, comprising the constellations of Cancer, Scorpius, and Pisces (see Hartner and Kunitzsch, ibid.).

[159] The view that the conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter played a role in Haman's selection of Adar is cited (though not favored) by Ibn Ezra 2006b: *ad loc.* — though his explanation of its zodiacal relevance is different (and hence his specific utilization of Saadia in this instance doubtful) — i.e.:

ואחרים אמרו: בעבור חיבור העליונים במזל גדי שהוא שנים עשר למזל דלי שהוא מזל ישראל

("Others maintain (that he selected Adar) on account of the conjunction of the Upper Luminaries in the constellation of Capricorn, which is the twelfth from Aquarius, Israel's constellation" [in view of which he selected the twelfth month/constellation from that in which the lot was cast]).

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when we reckon backward from the planets' present positions we find that it was indeed so. (This is) all the more (compelling) since in that year the process of lot casting (by Haman) came to a determination only after reaching the twelfth month — and especially since Pisces was in the ascendant that year, and to them[160] the twelfth sign of the zodiac represented the house of the Enemies.[161] And perhaps there was even some testimonial significance to the sun,[162] or testimonial significance may have been found in (volcanic) eruptions[163] and (strange celestial) appearances or any other (unusual) occurrence that may have taken place when (the planets) moved into the constellation of Pisces, which[164] in their view would have all but obligated the destruction of (the Jewish) people.

And so, whether Haman found support and confirmation (for his decree) from only one of these four considerations of inauspiciousness or else from all four together as mutually reinforcing, God — the Lofty and Exalted! — the Compassionate and the Gracious, showed Himself above all of it, reversing (Haman's) divinations and changing his determination of auspiciousness, as per the statement, *He captures the wise by their own craftiness* (Job 5:13); for He preempted the (significance of) the conjunction (of Saturn and Jupiter), which to (the Persians) would have portended the annihilation (of their enemies), and by it[165] He annihilated (Haman) himself; and (on the) month that (Haman) had determined that (the Jews) would receive no aid, just as there had previously been none (on that month), God granted the Jews both aid and victory by the annihilation of (Haman) himself; and He turned the portent of the constellation of ill-fortune[166] back upon (Haman) and applied (its) destructive[167] outcome to the destruction[168] of (Haman) himself. Indeed, this plantary exhibition[169] was specifically prepared by God to serve as the basis for Haman choosing a far distant month — i.e., the twelfth month — rather | than one that was near, for ב1 4v then some of the (Jewish) people may have been killed during the period intervening the time (of publication) of the decree entailing their destruction and the time (of publication) of the decree entailing the destruction of their enemies — who, in any event, were unaware of (Scripture's) statement concerning their like: *But they do not know the thoughts of the* LORD*, neither do they understand His counsel* (Mic 4:12).

As to the expression יֶשְׁנוֹ (3:8) — this is in place of יֵשׁ, having been intensified by (the addition of) *nūn* and *vāv* — it being improper to intensify it by *vāv* alone like בְּנוֹ in the expression *(Give ear) unto me, thou son* (בְּנוֹ) *of Zippor* (Num 23:18), for this particular word should not be (pronounced) יְשׁוֹ, but rather should be (pronounced) יֶשְׁנוֹ.[170] And so Haman set the field for (his) slander against the (Jewish) people, introducing and easing in the rest of the matter concerning them.[171] Thus he says (they are) מְפֻזָּר, *scattered* — lest (the king) suppose that are situated

[160] I.e., the Persians/Zoroastrians (see the following note).

[161] Thus affirming the auspiciousness of this month, in this particular year, as the one on which Haman's enemies were to be destroyed. Though the word "Enemies" (*aʿdāʾ*) is somewhat difficult to read in the manuscript (i.e., CUL T-S 8Ca1, fol. 1v; MS ב1 being torn here), this identification in fact corresponds perfectly with the diachronic Zoroastrian conception of the twelfth house — viz., that of *dushfarragān* ("the unfortunate," hence: "Enemies, Prison"; see MacKenzie 1964: 526; see also Saadia's below reference to Pisces as "the constellation of ill-fortune" [*burj al-ḍayr*]). Saadia's recourse to astronomy/astrology is also attested in his commentary on *Sēfer yĕṣīrā*, with reference to which Goldstein observes that "he was the first prominent Rabbanite scholar in the Islamic world to engage in horoscopic theology, where the planetary positions are located in 'houses' with respect to the horizon" (2001: 40).

[162] For example, in exhibiting flares, participating in an eclipse, being an unusual color.

[163] Arabic *thawrān*, on which see Dozy 1927: 1:167a.

[164] I.e., which additional "testimonial significance" (*shahāda*).

[165] Arabic *bihā* — i.e., by its portent (per the instrumental sense of this preposition in the next two clauses); or, simply, "on it."

[166] Or, "harm" (*al-ḍayr*), on which see n. 161 above.

[167] Arabic *al-mufanniya* (see the following note).

[168] Arabic *tafannīhi* (for *tafānnīhi*; see Piamenta 1990–91: 2:380b, and Blau 2006: §9א).

[169] Arabic *al-arḍ al-durrī*; on the latter term — which is an emendation on our part and may also be read *al-darāriyy* — see Corriente 1997: 176b, s.v. drr, *ad fin.*

[170] For the sake of euphony, apparently (see Chomsky 1952: n. 566); though see, by contrast, Qimḥī 1966: 179b:

ואולי יאמר גם כן יְשׁוֹ, יְשִׁי בשו״א כמו בְּנִי בְּנוֹ, וכן בנו״ן ו״ יָשָׁנוֹ עם אחד

("One may also, perhaps, say יְשׁוֹ and יְשִׁי, with *shĕvāʾ*, on the analogy of בְּנִי and בְּנוֹ, (which latter is also attested) with (the suffix) נו- in יֶשְׁנוֹ [Esth 3:8]"; see also Chomsky 1952: 300, 328–29); and see Ibn Ezra 2006a: *ad loc.* (similarly in *Comm. B*): נו״ן **ישנו** נוסף, ויש אומרים גם הו״ו ("The *nūn* of יֶשְׁנוֹ is prosthetic — and some say also the *vāv*"); Naḥmias 2006: *ad loc.*: הנו״ן והו״ו **נוספות בישנו** ("The *nūn* and the *vāv* in יֶשְׁנוֹ are prosthetic"); and, as an alternative to both the *nūn* and the *vāv* constituting "a proleptic pronominal suffix" (*ḍamīr qabla ʾl-dhikr*), Tanḥum 2010: *ad loc.*: וקיל אן אלנון עוֹץ אלתשדיד או עוֹץ אלמתֹל כמא הו **פי לא תמנו** ("It is also said that the *nūn* is in place of doubling/emphasis or in place of the geminate letter — as it is in לֹא־תָמְנוּ [Lam 3:22]").

[171] This sentence is very similar in wording to (and hence quite likely underlies) that by which Salmon opens his own comment *ad loc.* (MS NLR Yevr.-Arab. II 3350, fol. 12r):

הדא שרח סאעיה המן ביש׳ ואגרא קלב אלמלך עליהם. קולה אולא עם אחד ליסהל אמרהם עגד אלמלך

("This (verse comprises) a detailed presentation of Haman's slander against Israel, by which he led the heart of the king against them. The expression *(There is) a certain people* was intended to ease in the matter concerning them to the king").

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close together and as such might resist the king, and perhaps even undertake a coup.[172] Then he says וּמְפֹרָד, *and stretched thin*[173] — lest (the king) speculate that they will incite cities and villages to revolt[174] against him in that province (where they are present) — to which he adds the phrase בֵּין הָעַמִּים, *among the peoples*, by which he implies to (the king) that among the peoples they are shunned on account of their Sabbaths, their holy days, and all[175] that which is proscribed by them.[176] And the phrase בְּכֹל מְדִינוֹת הַמֶּלֶךְ, *throughout all the king's provinces* is intended as a segue to his upcoming proposition that letters concerning (the Jews) be dispatched to every province — lest (the king) decide that dispatching (letters) to one province would be sufficient.[177]

(Haman) then says וְדָתֵיהֶם שֹׁנוֹת מִכָּל־עָם, *their laws are different from (those of) every people*, so as to plant in the king's mind (the idea) that since there is no people that likes them[178] and that will therefore come to their aid, the king will certainly not be criticized for destroying them.[179] Then he says וְאֶת־דָּתֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ אֵינָם עֹשִׂים, *neither do they observe the king's laws*, thus (personally) inciting the king against them in that they do not accept what the king himself has commanded them;[180] and had (the king) asked him to provide clear proof of what he had said, he would undoubtedly have given it by pointing to Mordecai — though[181] not merely as an issue of personal enmity, but rather of the same sort as working on the Sabbath, eating leavened bread (on Passover), breaking a fast, and other things like these.[182] As to his adding the statement וְלַמֶּלֶךְ אֵין־שֹׁוֶה לְהַנִּיחָם, *it is not in the king's interest to let them alone* — this is intended to refer (the king) back to the affair which was mentioned previously — (to wit,) | that one had been expelled from his presence, even though she was a queen, because she did not submit to what the king had command her. How much more so, therefore, (some of the) general citizenry — and not only that, but *dhimmi*s, and the most spurned, and those with whom all the people were at enmity![183]

ב1 5r

As to the statement וַיָּסַר הַמֶּלֶךְ אֶת־טַבַּעְתּוֹ, *Then the king removed his signet-ring from (his hand and gave it to Haman)* (3:10) — the idea here is that, when (Haman) had had written down all that he intended, he would seal it with

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[172] "And perhaps … coup" — so, construing *fa-yukhrijūn wa-yaṭlubūn mulkahu* as a hendiadys. This specific explanation is likewise presented by Naḥmias 2006: *ad loc.* (quite likely drawing from Saadia): **מפוזר** — שלא תאמר: יעמדו בקיבוצם וימרדו עלי ("(they are) scattered — 'lest you should think, "They will stand up *en masse* and rebel against me"'").

[173] So, per Saadia's following comment, rather than the usual rendering "dispersed" or "separated" (see Koehler et al. 1994–2000: 3:962b). See also the following note.

[174] I.e., to dispel the supposition that, though "scattered" (מְפֻזָּר), they may still be present in any given city or village in concentrated "pockets."

[175] Arabic *sāʾir*, on this sense of which see Blau 2006: 283a.

[176] See Ibn Ezra 2006b: *ad loc.* (albeit *ad* מְפֹרָד rather than בֵּין הָעַמִּים): וטעם **מפורד** מתפרד במאכליו ובמשקיו ("The sense of מְפֹרָד is that they are separated (from the peoples) by their food and drink").

[177] See Naḥmias 2006: *ad loc.*:

בכל מדינות מלכותך — כדי כתבים לכל המדינות, לא תישאר אחד

("*throughout all the provinces of your kingdom* — (this is said) with a view to (sending) letters to all the provinces, excepting none").

[178] See Salmon *ad loc.* (MS NLR Yevr.-Arab. II 3350, fol. 12r):

ודתיהם שנ' יעני אין ליס להם מחב לאנהם מכאלפין גמיע אלמדאהב

("וְדָתֵיהֶם שֹׁנוֹת — i.e., 'There is no one that likes them because they are at odds with all the customs (of the peoples)'").

[179] See Saadia's comment on Dan 7:25 (Qafiḥ 1981: 143):

ואמא **דת** פהי סנן אלתוראה, כמא קאל **מימינו אש דת למו**, וקאל עדוהם **ודתיהם שונות מכל עם** …

("As to the term דָּת — this refers to the laws of the Tōrā, as it says, *At His right hand was a fiery law* (דָּת) *unto them* [Deut 33:2]; and as their enemy said, *and their laws* (וְדָתֵיהֶם) *are different from (those of) every people* [Esth 38]"). On the view that this clause (ודתיהם שונות וכו׳) implies enmity toward the Jews, see Yefet 2008: 222 (trans.); 25*, lines 18–19 (text):

תם קאל **ודתיהם שונות** יורי אנהם לא יואפקו אלאמם פי סננהם. והדא איצא ממא ינפר אלנאס ענהם

("He then says, *and their customs are different*, showing that they are not in conformity with the nations in respect to their customs, which is also why the people eschew them").

[180] See Salmon *ad loc.* (MS NLR Yevr.-Arab. II 3350, fol. 12r):

וקולה **ואת דתי המלך** יעני אן סנן אלמלך לא יפעלון ולו אמר באמר לם ימתתלוה ולם יקבלוה

("As to the statement וְאֶת־דָּתֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ (וכו׳), — this means that they do not observe the laws of the king, and were he to issue a decree, they would neither obey it nor accept it").

[181] Arabic *wa-ghayra*(*hu*) — see Blau 2006: 487b–88a, and Dozy 1927: 2:234a.

[182] "Though it was … these" — Saadia is here reminding the reader that, notwithstanding Haman's accusation, Mordecai's disobedience in this instance was not motivated by personal dislike, but rather by the same religious obligation prohibiting work on the Sabbath, etc. (see his comment *ad* 3:2–4 above).

[183] "As to his adding … enmity!" — see Naḥmias 2006: *ad loc.*:

אחר שאמר ואת דתי המלך אינם עושים, אם כן — **למלך אין שווה להניחם**, שהרי אתמול הרג את ושתי המלכה בעבור שלא עשתה דת המלך, כל שכן שיש להרוג עם בזוי כזה

("Having said, *neither do they obey the king's decrees* — if this is truly the case (he adds), *it is not equitable for the king to let them alone*, for yesterday he executed Queen Vashti [though this is not clearly Naḥmias' view *ad* 1:19, cited in n. 38 above] because she did not obey the king's decree, all the more so is it incumbent to execute such a contemptible people as this!").

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(the ring). Regarding, moreover, (the king's) flippancy[184] in saying נָתוּן לְךָ, *the silver is given to you* (3:11) — it quite astonishes us as to who could be worth more than the exchange price of ten-thousand talents[185] of silver — or who would refuse such![186] And regarding his flippancy in saying וְהָעָם לַעֲשׂוֹת בּוֹ בְּעֵינֶיךָ, *and the people also, to do with them as seems good to you* — from our perspective it is certain that Haman would not have laid before (the king) any slander[187] (of the Jews) had (the king) not already been inclined to accept it.[188] We might wonder, finally, in light of the fact that the killing was to take place[189] in the twelfth month, what his reason was for dispatching the letters with the swift couriers. (In response) I would refer to the statement לִהְיוֹת עֲתִידִים (3:14): so that the enemies (of the Jews) might get themselves ready as well as that the (Jewish) people themselves might be disheartened[190] and brought to the point of death by[191] bitterness.[192]

Introductory Excursus to chapter 4

(MSS ב₁, fols. 5r–v; collated with CUL T-S 8Ca1, fol. 3v)

| The first thing that we must draw out from the background[193] of these verses is what justified this generation ב₁ 5r
(of Jews in Esther's time) being tormented with such a great torment — even though it was not in fact consummated. For my part, I would aver that | the cause of this was most likely one among several (suggested) possibili- ב₁ 5v
ties. The first is that they ate of Ahasuerus' food and drank of his wine;[194] yet this must be considered incorrect for two reasons: first, Scripture makes clear that (Ahasuerus) did not compel anyone to drink or eat, as it says, *that they should do according to every man's pleasure* (1:8); and second, as it would logically follow from this view, if this was truly (the cause) then the chastisement would have been incurred only by the Jews of Susa, and none others.

The second possibility is that they bowed down to Nebuchadnezzar's idol which he set up in the plain of Dura, since none among us refused except for the three men;[195] yet this too must be considered incorrect, for had all (the Jews) truly done this they would unquestionably have broken the Jewish creed — even had they been compelled and threatened by execution, as I have discussed above.[196] Moreover, had this truly been the case, it would logically follow that the chastisement should only have been incurred by the Jews who were in Babylon and its environs — how so, then, those who were in Eastern Persia?![197]

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[184] Or (as also in the following sentence) "hastiness," "impetuousness" (*ʿajala*).

[185] Arabic *badra*, a single one of which, according to Ibn Janāḥ (fl. ca. one century after Saadia), is equivalent to 10,000 "Arab" *mithqāl*s (1968: col. 393, lines 25–27). Now, according to Goitein (1967–93: 1:359–60), one such *mithqāl* is equivalent to a Geniza-period *dīnār*, the latter of which was estimated by Goitein (in 1967) as being equivalent to 100 USD. To Saadia, therefore, as an early Geniza-period Jew, the total amount of Haman's bribe would have been, *at the least*, equivalent to the *1967* value 100,000,000 USD!

[186] Saadia's point here, apparently, is that the king's counter-intuitive declining of Haman's enormous monetary offer (see the previous note) indicates his "flippancy" or "readiness" (*ʿajala*) to destroy the Jews (see also the following note).

[187] Arabic *ʿashwa*, which Saadia renders דֹּפִי in Psalm 50:20b, and which Qafiḥ (1966: 138) there explains as a "stumbling block or snare" (המכשול והמוקש), whereas Blau (2006: 438b), citing that same passage, defines the term as "injustice, wrong, oppression."

[188] Again, the point here would appear to be that the king's "flippancy" or "readiness" to accede to Haman's plan indicates that he was already predisposed against the Jews. In this respect Saadia is no doubt seeking to justify/affirm the consensual view of the early rabbinic sages (i.e., רבנן) that "Ahasuerus hated Israel more than Haman the Wicked, for it has always been the custom for the buyer to give a down-payment to the seller, yet here it is in fact the seller who gives a down-payment!"

(אחשורוש שונא את ישראל יותר מהמן הרשע. מנהגו של עולם דרכו של לוקח ליתן ערבון למוכר ברם הכא המוכר נותן ערבון; per *Esth Rab.* vii.20 [*ad* 3:10]; see also *Ab. Gur.*, 29 [*ad* 3:10]).

[189] "was to take place" — so, for one or two illegible words in the text.

[190] Arabic *li-yudhbala*, on this sense of which see Dozy 1927: 1:483b.

[191] "brought … death" (*wa-yamūtūn bi-*) — or, "distracted by" (see Blau 2006: 674b), or, simply, "die in."

[192] In MS ב₁ the commentary ends here, followed by Saadia's *Tafsīr ad* 4:1ff. An additional paragraph of commentary, however, is attested in MS CUL T-S 8Ca1, fol. 3v. On Saadia's explanation of the swiftness with which Haman's decree was issued, see Salmon *ad loc.* (MS NLR Yevr. II C 522, fol. 2r):

קדר המן אללעין אן יקתלו ישראל פי יום ואחד ואן יכונו אלאעדא מסתעדין אלי הדא יום מהדדין ומכופין ישראל חתי יכונו ישראל פי חזן ווגע קלב וכוף וקלק ופזע

("Haman the Cursed determined that Israel should be massacred in a single day and that their enemies should therefore be ready for this day, intimidating and terrifying Israel so that they might be (immobilized) in a state of grief, heartache, fear, anxiety, and dismay").

[193] "From the background" — literally, "from beneath" (*min taḥti*).

[194] On this reason and the second critique of such given here by Saadia, see *b. Měgillā* 12a and my discussion on pp. 242–43 above.

[195] See Dan 3. Of course, the central tenet of this view — on which see again *b. Měgillā* 12a (inter alia) — is, as pointed out by Saadia in following, drawn *ex silentio*.

[196] See his commentary *ad* 3:1–4 above.

[197] "Western Persia" — lit., "Khur(ā)sān and its environs," on this translation of which see Bosworth in *EI*[2] s.v. "Khurāsān."

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It is the third view, consequently, which I consider the most likely — to wit, that the cause of their (affliction) was their assimilating to the people and their intermarrying with them,[198] as it is in fact related in (the book of) Ezra that they did during the seventy-year Exile, as it says, *For they have taken of daughters as wives for themselves and for their sons, and have mingled the holy seed with the peoples of the lands; and the hand of the princes and rulers has been first in this unfaithfulness* (Ezra 9:2). Thus, because a portion (of the people) undertook this and the rest did not reprove them, they were tormented by this (decree of Haman), upon which they were humbled and repented — and in the course of which many (among the Gentiles) converted to Judaism.[199]

Ad 4:5–17

(MSS א$_3$, fols. 1r–2v; ג, r–v; ד, fol. 2r)

א$_3$ 2r | The purport of the statement לָדַעַת מַה־זֶּה, *to know what this was*, concerns the action itself[200] — i.e., the manner by which he did it — , (whereas the statement) וְעַל־מַה־זֶּה, *and why it was*, concerns the matter that was troubling him. And so Mordecai answered her question concerning *what this was* by (mentioning) three things — (to wit:) the distress that overtook him personally, which is *all that had happened to him* (v. 7); the exchange of ten thousand talents of silver, which is *the specific amount of silver*[201] (v. 7); and the transcript of the letter, which is *the copy of*
א$_3$ 2v *the writ* (v. 8). Yet he did not answer her concerning *why this was* because | […][202] the month of Sivan, but rather he would set it at the end of the seventy days. Yet this statement of (Esther) invalidates what he[203] prescribed since, had the matter truly been as he says, Esther would certainly already have went in to Ahasuerus within 67[204] days after the event and so spoken with the king about her people, and therefore she would have had no need to risk her life. And should one suppose, moreover, that she became cognizant (of Haman's decree) only after 67 days, this supposition is (also) incorrect, for the record keepers would surely have reported any news to the king and queen on a daily basis. It is also improbable that Mordecai would have refrained from bestirring (Esther's) knowledge (of the decree) for 67 days, as well as that he would first have informed her (of the decree) after such

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[198] This same essential view — and thus the consequent identification of the sackcloth, weeping, and ashes in v. 3 as accoutrements of repentance — is attested (most likely following Saadia) by Salmon *ad* 4:3 (for the text and trans. of which, see Wechsler 2008: 240 n. 386). An excursus on this same question (i.e., why God allowed Haman's decree) is likewise taken up by Yefet at the beginning of his own commentary on ch. 4 (Wechsler 2008: 237–40 [trans.]; 30*–31* [text]), in which, notably, he considers and rejects not only the same two views as Saadia, but also a third, which he ambiguously describes as "those sins of the people of the Diaspora in which they have been incessantly engaged" (דנוב אהל אלגאליה אלדי הם עליהא דאימא) — by which, I suspect, he is referring to the view adopted by Saadia and Salmon. Yefet's own view — i.e., "what seems most reasonable to me" (יקרב ענדי אלדי) — is that "when the people saw that the House of God was replete with sacrifices and its rebuilding begun, they forsook the state of mourning in which they had been occupied over their exile, the destruction of their homes, and the abolition of their sacrifices, and instead took up eating and drinking, which was an inappropriate reaction"

(אלקום למא נטרו אן בית אללהקד עמר באלקראבין וקד שרע פי בנאה תרכו מא כאנו עליה מן אלחזן עלי גלותהם וכראב דיארהם ובטלאן קראבינהם ואכלו פי אלאכל ואלשרב. וכאן דלך תאויל פאסד).

[199] Here ends the folio in MS ב$_1$. The rest of the commentary until 4:2 is otherwise extant — albeit lacunously and mainly the latter part — in MSS T-S Ar.1b.93 (unedited) and T-S Ar.27.76 (ed. and trans. by Ratzaby 1984: 1167, 1176).

[200] I.e., Mordecai's action of returning the raiment that Esther sent him in v. 4.

[201] "*the specific amount of silver*" — so for Hebrew פָּרָשַׁת הַכֶּסֶף, following Saadia's translation of the phrase by Ar. שרח מבלג ("the specification of the amount"; 1962: 309).

[202] This ellipsis, reflecting a tear in the manuscript, encompasses from 13½ to 16½ lines of text (approximately 135–65 words).

[203] I.e., ʿAnan b. David, the purported Karaite/Ananite heresiarch, who prescribed a seventy-day fast from Nisan 13 to Sivan 23, on which see the following two notes.

[204] So, reading סז rather than מ (= 40) — as also in the following two sentences — as given in the manuscripts, for which latter number I can find no meaningful reference point. In favor of the former reading, on the other hand, are the observations that (1) in certain scripts — especially the Oriental square script of the present fragment — the morphology of סז and מ is indeed quite similar and hence easily confoundable by a scribe who is not paying careful attention to the logical content of the text he is copying; and (2) the number 67 accords *perfectly* with the view held by the Ananites — with which sect Saadia maintained an ongoing literary polemic and to the purported founder of whom (i.e., ʿAnan b. David) he explicitly refers later on in his comment on this pericope — that the communication of 4:4–16 took place on Sivan 20, and the three-day fast on Sivan 20–23 (and thus the empire-wide "fasting" of the Jews begun on Nisan 13, per 4:3, only ended after the additionally/specially enjoined three-day fast for the Jews of Susa on Sivan 23, per 8:9, hence supporting the Ananites' adherence to a seventy-day fast from Nisan 13 to Sivan 23; see al-Qirqisānī 1939–45 4:919–20 [§IX.15.5]); and (3) "67 days" in an *identical* context (i.e., describing and refuting the Ananite view) is explicitly attested in the commentary on Esther by Saadia's younger contemporary Salmon b. Yeruḥam (see the following note).

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a period.[205] Rather, the most likely explanation, and what rational consideration corroborates, is that she communicated with Mordecai on the first day of the event, which was the 13th day of Nisan, whereas the fast took place in uninterrupted fashion[206] on the 14th, 15th, and 16th.[207] | ג v

How, moreover, are we to construe Mordecai's admonition, *Do not think to yourself, (etc.)*? Did he really suppose that she was thinking that the (Jews') enemies would assault her in the king's own palace and put her to death? This is inconceivable! Rather, he was upbraiding her[208] by saying, as it were, "Should you not ensure the safety of your own life as well? For do you really know for certain whether you will remain in the king's palace even for another year, or is it not within the realm of possibility that you may be expelled from his palace and come under the same peril facing the rest of the (Jewish) people?"

As to his saying, "for if you hold back, *you and your father's house will perish*" (v. 14) — it is not that her kinfolk had committed any sin, but rather, we would say, (Mordecai) is referring to himself, and (his point is that) just as she would perish[209] if she did not strive for her people, so too would he perish if he did not petition her to do so. This is comparable to the saying of the Patriarchs to Pharaoh, *Let us go, please, for a three days' journey into the wilderness, (and sacrifice to the LORD our God, lest He fall upon us with pestilence or the sword)* (Exod 5:3) — i.e., "If we do not petition you for this, (He will fall upon us, etc.)."[210] (Mordecai) then juxtaposes *you shall perish* with the

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[205] "It is also … period" — these represent two additional and, according to Saadia, equally improbable views — to wit, that Mordecai would have waited forty days (better: sixty-seven days; see the previous note) to rouse Esther to action vis-à-vis her already existing knowledge of the decree, as well as that he should have waited for such a period to make her first aware of it (on the assumption, already refuted by Saadia, is the previous sentence, that "she was unaware of Haman's decree" until Mordecai brought it to her attention). These same two closely related views — no doubt reflecting the Ananite position (as perhaps explicitly noted in the non-extant earlier portion of Saadia's comment *ad loc.*) underlying their adherence to a seventy-day fast (see the previous note) are likewise refuted by Salmon *ad loc.* (MS NLR Yevr.-Arab. II 3350, fol. 17r):

וקול אסתר ואני לא נקראתי ידל אן הדא לו כאן פי כ׳ מן סיון לכאנת קד תכלמת אלמלך פי כ׳ מן אייר פי הדה אלקצה וליכן ליס אלאמר עלי מא ה[ו] מן טן אן אסתר לם תעלם בהדא אלכבר [ס"ז(?)] יום ולם יקנע **חתי** אוגבהא איאם צי[אמה] וגעל אלדליל עלי דלך קול אלכתאב **[כתב] זאת זכרון** מע קול אלכתאב **[ויבכו אתו] מצרים שבעים יום** ל[…] יקולהא ענאד וא[…]

("Esther's statement *and I have not been called (… these thirty days)* implies that, if this (conversation) had truly taken place on Sivan 20, she would already have spoken with the king about the matter (of the decree) on Iyyar 20. Nonetheless, the situation is not to be understood, as some suppose, to indicate that Esther was unaware of this matter for 67 days, or, (if she did know, that Mordecai) was not satisfied until he had compelled her to (participate in) the days of fasting — as proof of which [i.e., either of which views] they cite Scripture's statement, *Write this for a memorial (in the book, and rehearse it in the ears of Joshua: for I will utterly blot out the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven!)* [Exod 17:14], together with Scripture's statement, *and the Egyptians wept for him seventy days* [Gen 50:3] […] they maintain this view in pig-headed fashion […]"). The manner in which the two cited passages (Exod 17:14; Gen 50:3) are used as "proof" — per al-Qirqisānī's more detailed refutation of the Ananite seventy-day fast (1939–45: 4:919–20 [§IX.15.5]) — is to construe **שִׂים** ("rehearse" in Exod 17:14) as "a (phonetic) allusion" (*ramz*) to Hebrew **צום** ("fast"), and **בְּאָזְנֵי** ("in the ears," ibid.) as "a (numerical) allusion" (*ramz*) to the 70-day fast (since the numerical value of (each letter in) **בְּאָזְנֵי** yields the total of seventy" [**באזני** بحساب الجمّل سبعين وذ كان عَدَدُ]). To this the Gen 50:3 passage adds explicit Pentateuchal/halakhic support for seventy days as the term of mourning/fasting.

[206] "in uninterrupted fashion" — Arabic *ʿala ʾl-niẓām*, the idea being that the fast was maintained without break during the night as well as the day.

[207] In early rabbinic sources, this chronology of Esther's fast is also attested in *Pan. Aḥ. B*, 71, and, albeit implicitly, *b. Měgillā* 15a (explicitly connected to the first three days of Passover by Rashi *ad loc.*). Such is also the view of Yefet, though Esther herself, he maintains, fasted one additional day (see Wechsler 2008: 281). Salmon, on the other hand, maintains that the interchange between Mordecai and Esther took place on the 14th of Nisan, and the fast on the 15th, 16th, and 17th (MS NLR Yevr.-Arab. II 3350, fol. 17r; for the text see Wechsler 2008: 245 n. 416).

[208] Or, "frightening her" (*yurdiʿuhā*, on this sense of which see Blau 2006: 246a–b).

[209] I.e., she, as Mordecai should he fail in his responsibility, will perish by divine judgment (see the following note).

[210] I.e., the "us" threatened by annihilation "with pestilence or the sword" is not Israel generally, but Aaron and Moses specifically, should they fail to discharge their divine commission; and, in the same vein, by "your father's house" Mordecai is referring specifically to himself (the patriarchal representative of Esther's immediate family), and to the expectation that he, along with Esther, will perish by divine judgment should they fail to properly fulfill their role in interceding on behalf of Israel. See also in this respect Saadia's use of Arabic *h-l-k* with reference to the "merciless" (*al-qusāh*) in his ensuing comment on this verse.

This explanation of the clause וְאַתְּ וּבֵית־אָבִיךְ תֹּאבֵדוּ (*you and your father's house will perish*) is given almost verbatim (non-citatively) by Naḥmias 2006: *ad loc.*:

ואת ובית אביך תאבדו – ויש לשואל לשאול: מה חטא בית אביה. ותשובה: שבית אביך האמור כאן רמז למרדכי, כלומר: אם תחריש מלבקש ומרדכי אם יחריש מלהזהיר. וכמוהו: **נלכה נא דרך שלושת ימים במדבר ונזבחה לה׳ אלהינו פן יפגענו בדבר או בחרב**, כלומר: יפגענו אם לא נשאלך דבר זה

("*you and your father's house will perish* — one might might well ask here, 'What was the sin of her father's house?' The answer is that *your father's house* here alludes to Mordecai, the idea being that if she refrains from pleading (with the king) and if Mordecai refrains from exhorting her, (they will perish). Comparable to this is (the statement), *Let us go, please, for a three days' journey into the wilderness, and sacrifice to the LORD our God, lest He fall upon us with pestilence or the sword* [Exod 5:3] — i.e., 'If we do not petition you for this, He will fall upon us'").

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statement *relief and deliverance will arise for the Jews from another place*, from which it is clear that by the phrase *from another place* he is alluding to God — His majesty be exalted! — for it is He who brings relief to the oppressed, and it is He who causes the merciless to perish; and the one to whom He grants the opportunity to champion the oppressed — should he not do so?[211] It is with this in mind that Mordecai combines (the promise of) *relief and deliverance* with (the threat), *you shall perish*. He further says, *And who knows if (you will reach) that particular time (in royalty)*,[212] for Haman had not written that the (Jewish) people were to be destroyed immediately upon the letters' arrival, but rather towards the turn of the year; it is with reference to this, therefore, that he says, *if (you will reach) that particular time*, by which he means that many things may (still) happen during that year like what happened in connection with the expulsion of Vashti.[213]

From the statement *Go, gather, (etc.)* (v. 16) we are clearly given to understand[214] that prayer and fasting by the community have greater merit, which is also consistent with what is expressed many times in the Torah, (such as, *all the congregation) shall assemble themselves, (etc.)* (Num 10:3–4); and as David says, *Bless ye God in full assemblies* (Ps 68:27).[215] Moreover, from her statement, *Neither eat nor drink for three days, night and day*, (we learn) that the typical[216] fast was undertaken only during the daytime, not during the night — whereas concerning the people of Jabesh-gilead, (for example,) it says, *and they fasted for seven days* (1 Sam 31:13), for which we have found no Scriptural indication that these were anything other than seven consecutive days, from which it is to be reasonably concluded that they fasted during the daytime and broke their fast during the night.[217] In connection with

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[211] "And the one … so?" — this proverbial explication, set within a paraphrase of Mordecai's response, is likewise expressed — and similarly worded — by Salmon *ad loc*. (MS NLR Yevr.-Arab. II 3350, fol. 17v):

כל מן אמכנה יתכלם פי כלאץ אלמטלומין [ואתגא]פל פאן אללה יכאפיה מתל פעלה

("God will requite according to their behavior everyone to whom He has granted the opportunity to speak out in the interest of relieving those who are oppressed, yet feigns ignorance").

[212] This translation of the Hebrew text follows Saadia's construal of this clause, on which see further the following note.

[213] According to this explanation, the rhetorical question of v. 14b is to be understood as referring *not* to the (divinely) providential placement of Esther in the role of queen so as to avert Haman's decree, but rather to the possibility of her not remaining in a position of royalty by the time Adar 13 on that year arrives. This second part of the verse therefore constitutes an additional argument in support of the first part — to wit, not only should Esther intervene for her people because she has the ability to do so, and because if she does not God will judge her and cause her to perish, but also because there is no guarantee that she will even remain in her position as queen until the end of that year (thus the example of Vashti) and so come under the fate of the decree anyway. This construal of 14b is likewise attested in Saadia's *Tafsīr* (1962): *ad loc*.:

תם מן יעלם אנך תבלגין אלי מתל הדי אלוקת ואנת פי בית אלמלך

("Moreover, who knows whether you will reach that particular time while still in the king's palace"); and to a certain degree is no doubt influenced by the rendering in *Tg. Esth I*:

ומאן הוא חכימא די ינדע אין לשתא דאתיא בעידנא הדא את מטיא למיחסן מלכותא

("and who is so wise that he might know for sure whether next year at this time you will (still) happen to maintain a strong hold on royalty [or, "come to inherit the kingdom"]").

[214] "we are … understand" — Arabic *yaṣiḥḥu lanā*, on the sense of which see Blau 2006: 362a; or, "it is proven to us," on which see Corriente 1997: 302b.

[215] See, similarly, Salmon *ad loc*. (MSS NLR Yevr.-Arab. II 3350, fol. 18r + Yevr. II C 522, fol. 4r):

קול אסתר **לך כנוס** ידל עלי מערפה אסתר ברסום אלדין ועלמהא אן אלצלאה פי אלגמוע מקבולה ענד אללה כ״ק **במקהלות ברכו אלהים** וג׳ וקאל **במקהלים אברך יי**

("Esther's statement *Go, gather, (etc.)* indicates her familiarity with the rites of the faith as well as her understanding that prayer (undertaken) by the community is efficacious with God, as it says, *Bless ye God in full assemblies, etc.* [Ps 68:27], and, *in the congregations will I bless the* LORD [Ps 26:12]"); Naḥmias 2006: *ad loc*.:

והכניסה יפה לתפילה, על דרך: במקהלות ברכואלהים

("Communal gathering is well-suited to prayer, consistent with (the statement), *Bless ye God in full assemblies, etc.* [Ps 68:27]").

[216] Or, "unspecified" (*al-mursal*, on which see Blau 2006: 248b), Saadia's point being that the specific reference to "night and day" implies that an "unspecified fast" (*al-ṣawm al-mursal*) would be normally construed as covering the day only.

[217] This explanation of the statement *Neither eat nor drink, etc.* as specifically denoting the uninterrupted (i.e., day–night) nature of the fast, contra the usual practice of fasting during the day only — along with explicit reference to 1 Sam 31:13 *and* the refutation of ʿAnan's view — is likewise attested (clearly under Saadia's influence) by Salmon *ad loc*. (MS NLR Yevr.-Arab. II 3350, fol. 18v):

זמן אלמעלום אן אלציאם לא [יוכל] פיה ולא ישרב פ[מא מע]ני **ואל תאכלו [ואל] תשתו**. פנקול למא כאן הדא אלציאם [בכל]אף אלצ[י]אם אלדי מן שאן אלציאם אן יפטר כל לילה קאל **ואל תאכלו ואל תש׳** ונעלם אן קו׳ **לילה ו[יו]ם** דאים ג׳ איאם לא כמא קאל בעץ מן ק[אל] אנהא ג׳ איאם תם לילה ויום לאנא [לם נ]רי **לילה ויום** אלא עלי אלדואם כ״ק **להיות [עי]ניך פתחות**. וכמא לא יד׳כר פיה אכל ושרב והי איאם תתאבעה(!) [קרא: מתתאבעה] יופטר פיהא אללילה [כ]קולה **ויצומו שבעת ימ׳**

("It is generally understood that nothing is eaten or drunk on a fast. What, then, is the reason for (the statement), *neither eat nor drink*? We aver: it was to differentiate this particular fast from the typical fast that would exclude each night that she added, *neither eat nor drink*. We know, moreover, that the expression *night and day* denotes an uninterrupted succession of three (complete) days — not, as one [i.e., ʿAnan] has said, that it was three daytime periods followed by a nighttime period and a daytime period —, for we have not observed the expression *night and day* applied

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this passage (in Esther) it has also been argued by ʿAnan that by the expression לַיְלָה וְיוֹם, *night and day* she means one nighttime period and one daytime period after three days (of fasting) during the daytime, not the night. His error becomes apparent, however, when we carefully consider every (Scriptural occurrence of) לַיְלָה and יוֹם when conjoined to another period of time, for in these instances we find verbs that refer to (both לַיְלָה and יוֹם as) one entire period of time.[218] Thus, for example, the statement וּפָחַדְתָּ לַיְלָה וְיוֹמָם, *and you shall fear during the night and during the day* (Deut 28:66) denotes, according to the reasoning of ʿAnan, a single period of day and its following night — (as also) the statement לַיְלָה וְיוֹמָם לֹא תִכְבֶּה, *It shall not be quenched night or day* (Isa. 34:10), which is immediately juxtaposed with the statement לְעוֹלָם יַעֲלֶה עֲשָׁנָהּ, *its smoke shall rise forever* (ibid.); and the statement וְהָגִיתָ בּוֹ יוֹמָם וָלָיְלָה, *you shall meditate on it day and night* (Josh 1:8), which is juxtaposed with the statement לֹא־יָמוּשׁ, *Let it never depart* (ibid.); and many others like this.[219]

That Esther in fact responded with these statements indicates that she was well versed in the commandments and their practical obligations,[220] and that her royal position did not cause her to neglect[221] them. Also, her statement *I and my maidens will fast in like manner* indicates that she ensured that all of her maidservants and anyone else who attended her were noteworthy[222] believers, for would they have fasted to an idol she would not have required them to fast for (the Jews') deliverance,[223] since to do so at that point would have been a serious infraction and act of impiety.

As to my translation of וְכַאֲשֶׁר אָבַדְתִּי אָבָדְתִּי as "And so, if I perish, I will perish while exerting myself"[224] — I have thus drawn out the idea implied by this clause, which is (the possibility) of perishing under the circumstances,

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to anything but an uninterrupted succession, as when it says, *that Thine eyes may be open (toward this house night and day)* [1 Kgs 8:29]. Thus, had food and drink not been mentioned in (Esther's) statement, even though the days followed in uninterrupted succession, the night would have been excluded, as in the statement, *and they fasted for seven days* [1 Sam 31:13]").

[218] I.e., in these instances the expression לַיְלָה and יוֹם are clearly intended as a specific indication of the *twenty-four-hour duration*, during the conjoined period of time, of the particular action in view.

[219] This view of ʿAnan, along with an essentially identical critique, is likewise attested by Saadia's Karaite contemporary Yaʿqūb al-Qirqisānī in 1939–45: IX.17.3 (4:924):

שלשת ימים לילה ויום معنى ذلك ليلٌ ونهارٌ بخلاف ما ادّعاه عانان من انه اراد بذلك ليلة ويومٌ الذى لا يُعرَف له فى اللغة شبيه ولا نظير وانما ذلك مثل قوله **להיות** **עיניך פתוחות אל הבית הזה לילה ויום** الذى معناه ليل ونهار وقد زعم عانان ان ذلك لو كان كما يقول قوم وانه اراد به ثلثة ايام مع لياليها لكان يقول **שלשה ימים** **ושלשה לילות** كما قال في **יונה** وهذا اعتراض على الكتاب اذ كان الكتاب قد يستعمل فى القول والكلام وجوهٌ وضروبٌ فيقول الشىء الواحد فى موضع على جهة ويقوله فى موضع آخر على جهة أخرى وقد ذكرنا من ذلك طرفا فى أوّل الكتاب

("שְׁלֹשֶׁת יָמִים לַיְלָה וָיוֹם — the meaning of this is (that the three days encompass) both nighttime and daytime — contrary to what ʿAnan has claimed, to wit: that by this (Scripture) means a single night and a single day (in addition to the three days); yet there is no known parallel or equivalent use of this expression (in Scripture). It should rather be understood as in the statement לִהְיוֹת עֵינֶיךָ פְּתוּחוֹת אֶל־הַבַּיִת הַזֶּה לַיְלָה וָיוֹם, *that your eyes may be open toward this House night and day* [1 Kgs 8:29; 2 Chr 6:20], referring to the nighttime and the daytime. ʿAnan, however, maintains that if it were truly as some people say, and (Scripture) intended by this expression three days inclusive of the nighttime, it would have said שְׁלֹשָׁה יָמִים וּשְׁלֹשָׁה לֵילוֹת, *three days and three nights*, as it says in the book of Jonah [2:1]. Such a claim, however, is overly constraining of Scripture, for Scripture may employ the same expression in different ways and senses, and so indeed it employs the same expression in one place in one sense, and in another place in another sense — several examples of which we have already mentioned in the forepart of this book"). See also idem: IX.15.2–4 (4:918–19). A revised form of ʿAnan's view, apparently, underlies Yefet b. ʿEli's explanation of this passage as encompassing four "complete days" (**איאם מטויהּ**) — i.e., both nighttime and daytime — after which he paraphrases Esther's statement as, "I will fast four days — a day for myself and three days for the people" (**אצום ארבעהּ איאם יום עו נפסי ותלתא[י]אם עו אלאמהּ**; see Wechsler 2008: 33*–34* [text]; 245–46 [trans.]; see also idem: 143 n. 24, citing the paraphrase of Yefet's view *ad loc.* in the Esth commentary of the early 17th c. Karaite Yehūdā Mēʾīr Tawrīzī).

[220] "the commandments ... obligations" — or, "the Pentateuch and its obligations" (*al-sharāʾiʿ wa-rusūmihā*; see Blau 2006: s.vv.). On Esther's familiarity with the rites of her faith, see also Salmon's comment (*ad* 4:16) cited in n. 215 above.

[221] Or, "to forget" — Arabic *yunassī/yunsī* (see Hava 1982: 768a; Blau 2006: 693a).

[222] Or, "distinguished" — Arabic *muwaḥḥidīn*, i.e., carefully/specifically selected (see Piamenta 1990–91: 2:519b).

[223] See Yefet 2008: 246 (trans.); 34*, line 2 (text): **ודכרת גואריהא לאנהן מומנאת** ("She mentions her maidservants because they were believers"); Salmon *ad loc.* (MS NLR Yevr.-Arab. II 3350, fol. 18v):

וקולה(!) **גם אני ונערתי** ידל(!) [בה]דא אן גואריהא כאנו עלי מדהבהא ולולא [דלך לם] תסתשפע בהן אלי אללה

("Regarding her statement, *both I and my maidservants* — this indicates that her maidservants were of her faith; indeed, were it not so she would not have appealed together with them to God"); Naḥmias 2006: *ad loc.*:

ויראה שהיו לה נערות עובדות ה', כי אם היו עובדות האלילים מה תועלת בצומם

("It would seem that she had believing maidservants, for if they were idolators, what would have been the use of their fasting?").

[224] This interpretation of Esther's statement is directly cited, whether from Saadia's commentary or translation, by Yaḥyā *ad loc.* (MS BL Or. 2351, fol. 120v):

נעם מא קאל אלגאון **וכאשר אבדתי אבדתי** הלכת מגתהדה

("Well put, to be sure, is the Gaon's interpretation of וְכַאֲשֶׁר אָבַדְתִּי אָבָדְתִּי as: '(if I perish,) I will perish while striving'").

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which I have clearly sought to express by the idea of her "exerting herself." Similar to this is the statement of Jacob, וְאֲנִי כַּאֲשֶׁר שָׁכֹלְתִּי שָׁכָלְתִּי, *And as for me, if I be bereaved, I am bereaved* (Gen 43:14), by which he means to say — likewise according to what is implied — that if he should be bereaved of Benjamin, he will already have been bereaved of him in the course of exerting himself — that is to say, (he will already have experienced the pain of bereavement) as a result of expending his strength[225] to endure and be consoled with respect to all that might possibly happen to (Benjamin); and were he to be detained[226] (in Egypt, Jacob) would never forgive himself or let others absolve him of blame.[227]

Ad 5:1–4(?)

(MS ד, fol. 2v)

ד 2v | I have translated the clause וַתִּלְבַּשׁ אֶסְתֵּר מַלְכוּת as "Esther clothed herself in royal garments,"[228] since this is the obvious meaning,[229] and in expressly stated form would have been either לְבוּשׁ מַלְכוּת (see 6:8) or בִּגְדֵי מַלְכוּת[230] — both of which are represented by what I have added in the translation. As to Esther's invitation of Haman (to the banquet) — for what other motive should you seek but that she had in mind the full deliverance of her people, that their enemy might not slip away to[231] […][232] to be provisioned(?) […][233] it is possible that he may have decided to supply(?) them[234] […][235] to him. This is also the explanation set forth by […][236]

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[225] "Expending his strength" — Arabic *ibdhāl al-majhūd*, on which see Blau 2006: 35b (Form IV), and esp. the citation from Gil 1983: 356.11: אבדלו מגהודהם (which Gil translates: כילו את כוחם).

[226] I.e., permanently imprisoned (as Joseph led them to believe) like Simeon (see Gen 42:24, 36).

[227] At some point Saadia's construal of Jacob's statement seems to have changed, since the present explanation is different from that implied by his translation *ad loc.* — viz. (per Derenbourg 1893: 68): ואנא אכאף אן אתכל כמא תכלת ("As for me, I am afraid that I will be bereaved just as I have already been bereaved" — i.e., as he was already bereaved of Joseph [and Simeon?]; see Derenbourg's gloss, ibid., n. 1: "ואני ירא פן אשכל (בנימין) כאשר שכלתי (יוסף ושמעון)"). Though construing the sense of the clause differently, comparison with the statement of Joseph is also made by Salmon *ad loc.* (MS NLR Yevr.-Arab. II 3350, fols. 18v–19r):

וקולהא **ובכן [אבו]א אל המלך**. אי אני אדכל עלי ציאמי [ואחמל על]י נפסי ואכאטר פאן הלכת הלכת [לא חילהּ והדּ]א מקול מתל קו׳ **ואני [כאשר שכלתי שכלתי**. אי] אלדי קד תכלת תכלת [אי אנמא אסל מן אללה פי] שמעון ובנימן אלדי [הם] אחיא פאמא יוסף אלדי קד תכלת קד [תכלת]

("Her statement *and thus I will go in to the king* means, 'I will go in (to the king) while I am fasting, and I will pull myself together and set my life at risk, and if I perish, I perish — there's no avoiding it.' This expression is similar, moreover, to (Joseph's): וַאֲנִי כַּאֲשֶׁר שָׁכֹלְתִּי שָׁכָלְתִּי [Gen 43:14] — i.e., 'of whom I have been bereaved, I have been bereaved' — that is to say, 'Even though I should petition God on behalf of Simeon and Benjamin, who are living, Joseph of whom I am already bereaved, I am already bereaved'"); and Ibn Ezra 2006a: *ad loc.*:

וכאשר אבדתי –שאינני ישבת עם עמי – אובד לגמרי **...** והטעם: על מחשבתה, וכמוהו **כאשר שכולתי שכלתי**

("*And just as I have perished* — in that I do not dwell with my people — so will I perish completely…the sense of (the first) אָבַדְתִּי pertaining to her psychological state, as also: כַּאֲשֶׁר שָׁכֹלְתִּי שָׁכָלְתִּי [Gen 43:14]").

[228] "Esther … garments" — Arabic *labisat es(tēr) thiyāba ʾl-mulk* (see Qafiḥ 1962: 310, *ad loc.*, and our note *ad loc.* in the edited text).

[229] "the obvious meaning" — Arabic *ẓāhir*, on Saadia's use of which (as well as its counterpart *bāṭin*) see Ben-Shammai 2000: 35–44, and M. Z. Cohen forthcoming: sec. 2 ("Saadia Gaon: Muslim Hermeneutics, *ẓāhir*, *taʾwīl*, *basīṭ*").

[230] Both these alternatives are likewise proposed by Tanḥum 2010: *ad loc.*: יריד לבוש **מלכות** או **בגדי מלכות** ("it means to say לְבוּשׁ מַלְכוּת or בִּגְדֵי מַלְכוּת"). The former reading (**לבוש מלכות**) is also proposed by Ibn Ezra 2006a: *ad loc.*, whereas the latter is the one attested in the early rabbinic sources and adopted by most medieval exegetes (for representative sources and citations, see Wechsler 2008: 248 n. 434, and Breuer and Katsenelenbogen 2006: 115–16); likewise Salmon *ad loc.* (MS NLR Yevr.-Arab. II 3350, fol. 19r): ומעני **ותלבש אסתר** מצמר פיה בגדי (**בִּגְדֵי**) implies (the following term) וַתִּלְבַּשׁ אֶסְתֵּר").

[231] "As to Esther's … away to" — this translation represents a tentative and somewhat paraphrastic resolution of the text, which is at this point quite damaged. On the view that Saadia likely has in mind, see n. 234 below.

[232] This ellipsis encompasses approximately eight to nine effaced or unclear words in the text.

[233] This ellipsis encompasses approximately three lines (i.e., twenty-four to thirty words) of effaced or unclear text.

[234] "To supply them" — Arabic *yuballighahum/yublighahum* (on this sense of which see Blau 2006: 50b [albeit *ad* Form III]), the idea perhaps being that, should Haman have escaped (had Esther not kept him close at hand), he would have been able to strengthen his hand against the Jews (as well as the king) by supplying and consolidating his supporters/the Jews' enemies (see Segal 1994: 3:26). This is likewise the view of R. Mēʾīr in *b. Měgillā* 15b, to which Saadia may be referring in following. See also Yefet 2008: 271, (trans.), 44* (text):

ואחצרת המן לתחצלה עגדהא פאנה לולם יכן חאצר מעהא לקד כאן ימכנה ינפלת מן ידהא

("She invited Haman in order to keep him close to her, for if he had not been present with her he might have been able to slip out of her hand"); Salmon *ad loc.* (MS NLR Yevr.-Arab. II 3350, fol. 19v):

[וא]מא דעוהא להמן מע אלמלך פלם תקצד [אלא(?)] תחצילה לאן לא יפותהא פיתכלץ [ויכו]ן אדא תגד אלפרצה מן אלמלך יקע אל[בטש בה] אלא יתאכר אמרה

("As to her inviting Haman along with the king — she intended by this simply to keep him close so that he could not elude her and

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Ad 6:12

(MS ₂א, fol. 1r)

₂א 1r |[237] (As to the phrase,) הַמֶּלֶךְ (אֶל־שַׁעַר), *to the king's gate* — this is intended in the same sense as לִפְנֵי שַׁעַר־הַמֶּלֶךְ, *before the king's gate* (4:2), for there can be no doubt that (Mordecai) was wearing the sackcloth he had (previously put on), since the description (of him doing so) precedes the present pericope.[238] As to the reason for the phrase אָבֵל וְחָפוּי רֹאשׁ — this is because Haman was in deep distress since his plan was not being realized. The covering of (his) head, moreover, was due to the fact that the evil which he had devised for his enemy had been overturned to something good; in fact, his head was not covered by something tangible, but rather by things which are psychological, such as his deep anxiety over (not) bringing upon his enemy what he had intended, as it says,[239] *and terror shall cover them* (Ezek 7:18); and his shame before those who had counseled him to destroy (Mordecai),[240] as it says, *and the shame of my face has covered me* (Ps 44:16); and, above all, his perception of having injured and done wrong to himself, as it says, *the violence of the wicked covers their own mouth*[241] (Prov 10:6, 11); and, *for the violence (you have done) to Lebanon shall cover you* (Hab 2:17).

Ad 6:13

(MS ₂א, fol. 1v)

₂א 1v | Regarding[242] the response to Haman by his friends, אִם מִזֶּרַע הַיְּהוּדִים מָרְדֳּכַי — the conditional sense of the particle אִם does not apply to Mordecai — whether or not he was a Jew[243] —, but rather to Haman's "falling" before

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escape, and that when the right moment should present itself with the king, the blow should fall (immediately) and his fate not be delayed"); Tanḥum 2010: *ad* 5:10:

ואשגלת המן מעהא לילא יתפכר פי סבב אסתדעאיהא ללמלך ויתשוף אלאכבאר פרבמא שער באלאמר פתחיל פיה בחילה מפסדה

("she kept Haman distracted in her presence lest he should consider the motive for her invitation to the king and anticipate what she would say — and therefore possibly become cognizant of the matter and so slip away by some devious artifice"); and Naḥmias 2006*: ad loc.*, giving as one of several reasons: ושלא יטול עצה וימרוד ("... and that he not take counsel [i.e., learn of her intended accusation] and rebel").

[235] This ellipsis covers approximately four to five effaced or unclear words in the text.

[236] This ellipsis covers approximately two illegible words in the text, at which point the folio ends. No further witness to Saadia's commentary on this pericope (i.e., 5:1–14) is extant in any manuscript (see the appendix below).

[237] Aside from this fragment, no other witness to Saadia's commentary on this pericope (i.e., 6:1–12) is extant.

[238] "Since ... pericope" — literally, "since this (latter) statement is prior to *On that night the king's sleep fled*." Saadia's point is that, since Mordecai put on his sackcloth before the event of his being honored in ch. 6 (and because the situation that prompted the donning of sackcloth was not yet resolved), he must have continued to wear it here, and thus the preposition אֶל in אל שער המלך must be construed in a similarly restrictive sense (i.e., "up to") as לִפְנֵי in 4:2. The idea that Mordecai continued wearing sackcloth (and fasting) after being honored is likewise explicitly stated in, inter alia, *Esth Rab.* x.6; *Tg. Esth I*; and *b. Měgillā* 16a (for additional sources and discussion, see Grossfeld 1991: 73 n. 20, and Segal 1994: 3:91–92 and nn. 252–53).

[239] In following Saadia substantiates his assertion regarding the nature of Haman's "covering" by citing passages (all poetic, it should be noted, and hence more conducive to metaphor) in which the "covering" described (in each instance verbally denoted by Hebrew √כסה) has reference to a particular psychological-emotional state that, according to Saadia, likewise applied to Haman — viz., "deep anxiety/terror" (Arabic *qalaq*; Hebrew *pallāṣūt*), "shame" (Arabic *ḥayāʾ*; Hebrew *bōshet* [see his *tafsīr ad* Ps 44:16 in Qafiḥ 1966: 127]), and "injury/wrong" (Arabic *ẓulm*, *taʿaddin*; Hebrew *ḥāmās* [see his *tafsīr ad* Prov 10:6, 11, cited in the following note]).

[240] See Tanḥum 2010: *ad loc.* (quite likely alluding to Saadia):

קיל אן דלך חיא ממן יבצרה וקד עלם במא אסתעד בה למרדכי פלם ינגח

("It is said that this (covering) was shame before those who were observing him and knew what he had prepared for Mordecai, and that he had not succeeded").

[241] This unusual construal/paraphrase of this passage, according to which חָמָס, *violence*, is the subject of the verb and פִּי רְשָׁעִים, *the mouth of the wicked* its object (lit., *violence covers the mouth of the wicked*), follows from the present context of the citation together with Saadia's translation *ad loc.* — viz., 10:6 (Qafiḥ 1966: 86): וגוה אלטאלמין יגטיהא טלמהם ("Their own injustice covers the faces of the wicked"); and 10:11 (ibid., 88): וקול אלטאלמין יגטיהם טלמהם ("Their own injustice covers the words of the wicked").

[242] With this word begins Saadia's commentary on this pericope (i.e., 6:13–7:10).

[243] Since this is already known to Haman and his household (see 5:13), see, by contrast, the other explanations of the qualifying/conditional referent of אִם here as attested, inter alios, by Ibn Ezra 2006b: 139:

על דעת רבים: **אם** הוא **מזרע היהודים** שהרגו אגג ועמלק, כי השאלה היא: הלוא כתוב: **מרדכי היהודי**. ויש אומרים, כי המתייהד ייקרא יהודי

("In the opinion of many the sense of this clause is: 'If he is from the seed of those Jews who killed Agag and Amalek, etc.' [i.e., if he is specifically a descendant of Saul, etc., for which see *b. Měg*illā 13b] — for (this clause) is indeed a crux in view of (Haman's previous) reference to *Mordecai the Jew* [5:13]. Others, however, say [that the reason for this clause is] that a proselyte [who is not

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him. They are saying to him, in other words, that the outcomes (of affairs) are portended by their beginnings; thus, if you began (something) successfully, you may anticipate its outcome with hope, though if you do poorly (in the beginning), you should think of its outcome with despair. It is for this reason that the Scripture refers to (his friends) as חֲכָמָיו, *his wise men*[244]

Ad 8:15–17

(MS א$_2$, fol. 2r; collated with CUL T-S Ar.27.98, fol. 2v)

א$_2$ 2r As to the four nouns attributed to the Jews (in v. 16) — these represent specifications of the phrase צָהֳלָה וְשִׂמְחָה (v. 15), for this latter refers specifically to the (Jews) and not to the others (in Susa), just as the clause *and the city of Susa was perplexed* (3:15) also refers specifically to them.[245] By these four (nouns), moreover, (Scripture) may be reiterating[246] | the same idea — to wit, the recompensing of their enemies. Thus, *light* (אוֹרָה) would refer to the speed of their destruction, as per the statement, *And the light* (אוֹר) *of Israel shall become a fire, etc.* (Isa 10:17); *joy* (שִׂמְחָה) would refer to (the Jews') relief from them, as per the statement concerning Jehoshaphat (and his people), *(Then they returned …) to go back to Jerusalem with joy* (שִׂמְחָה)*, for the* LORD *had made them to rejoice* (שִׂמְּחָם) *over their enemies* (2 Chr 20:27); *gladness* (שָׂשׂוֹן) would refer to the display (of the Jews' victory) to the rest of them,[247] as per the statement, *Then you shall see this, and your heart shall be glad, etc.* (שָׂשׂ) (Isa 66:14); and *honor* (יְקָר) would refer to their (enemies') lives being taken in exchange[248] for believers, as per the statement, *Since you are precious* (יָקַרְתָּ) *in my sight, and honored, and I have loved you* (Isa 43:4).[249]

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from the seed of the Jews] was also called a 'Jew'"); and Naḥmias 2006 (pp. 139–40):

וכי לא היו יודעים שהיה יהודי עד הנה, והלוא אמר להם המן: בכל עת אשר אני רואה את מרדכי היהודי; אלא אם זה על דרך אם כסף תלוה, כלומר: באמת מזרע היהודים, וכיוון שהחילות לנפול לפניו לא תוכל לו

("It is not that they did not know until this point that he was a Jew — for did not Haman say to them, *every time that I see Mordecai the Jew* [5:13]? —, but rather, the particle אִם is here intended in the same sense as in אִם־כֶּסֶף תַּלְוֶה, *Since/When you lend money, etc.* [Exod 22:24; see Rashi *ad loc.*], and so here: 'Since [Mordecai is] indeed *from the seed of the Jews*, and seeing that *you have already begun to fall before him, you will never prevail against him*'").

[244] The folio ends here. Fragments of the rest of Saadia's commentary on this pericope (until 7:10) are extant in T-S Ar.1b.91 and T-S Ar.25.91 (see the appendix below).

[245] This construal of הָעִיר שׁוּשָׁן (*the city of Susa*) as a synecdoche for the Jews of Susa, as also of שׁוּשַׁן הַבִּירָה (*Susa the capital*) in 3:15, is likewise adopted by, inter alios, Ibn Ezra 2006a, b: *ad loc.*, and Salmon *ad loc.* (MS NLR Yevr.-Arab. II 3350, fol. 13r): **והעיר שושן** וג׳ יכ׳ן אליהוד פי סוס [וקו׳] ("The statement *And the city of Susa, etc.* refers specifically to the Jews in Susa"). See, on the other hand, Yefet's comment on the present passage, in which he refers more broadly to "the people of the land (who) were gladdened by this (second edict) just as they had been grieved by the first" (אהל אלבלד אסרו בדלדכמא אגתמו פי אלדפעה אלאולי; Wechsler 2008: 51* [text], 286 [trans.]).

[246] "As to … them" — so per CUL T-S Ar.27.98, fol. 2v.

[247] I.e., to their surviving enemies (who did not attack the Jews and hence were not killed). See, in the same theological context, Saadia's comment *ad* Isa 66:7 (apud Zucker 1984: 173 n. 44):

תם געל מא יחדתּ מן נעמתה פי וקת אלישועה דלילה עלי תואב אלאברהּ וגמיע מא יתדתּה מן שקא קום אכר דלילא עלי עקאב פיהא

("He then makes clear that the favor He will show them at the time of their redemption (from exile) will be proof of (their full) reward in the hereafter, and all the misfortune that he brings upon other people is proof of (their full) punishment (in the hereafter)").

[248] "Their lives … exchange" — literally, "their becoming a ransom" (*kawnihim fidāʾan*), the idea being that the lives of the Jews/believers are treated/valued as more precious than those of Israel's enemies/unbelievers (see further the following note).

[249] See Saadia's comment *ad loc.* (per Ratzaby 1994: 211):

מאשר יקרת בעיני וג׳ ועלי מעני **והטיבך והרבך מ׳** ודלך יצח במצר אנמא געל פדאנא מצר וכוש פקט ופי וקת אלישועה יגעל אלאמם כלהא פדאנא כק׳ **ואתן אדם תחתיך** ליס אנהם יפדונא מן עקובהּ פינא נסתחקהא לכן אדא גפרת לנא דנובנא ועוקבו הום בד[נובהם צארו] מכאננא פי אלעקאב וימכן אן יכון מעני אלפידא עלי סביל [אלאיהּ אלתי] עמלת אן דניאל כלצה אללה מן אלאסוד פלם תנכי פיה ואוקע מן ס[עי] בה פי אפואההם כ״ק **והיתיו לגבריא אלך** ועלמת איצא **ויתלו את המן**

("As to the statement, *Since you are precious in my sight* [Isa 43:4a] — the sense of which is coordinate with the statement, *He will do you good, and multiply you more than your fathers* [Deut 30:5] — this is borne out by (the account of the Exodus) from Egypt; and though He has (so far) only taken Egypt and Cush as our ransom [see Isa 43:3], at the time of the (Final) Redemption He will take all the nations as our ransom, as per His (following) statement, *Therefore I will give men in your place, and peoples in exchange for your life* [Isa 43:4b]. This is not to say that they will take our place for the punishment that we rightly deserve (in this world [see Saadia 1995, viii.1]), but rather, after our sins have been atoned for and (the nations) have also been punished for their own sins, they will take our place for punishment (in the hereafter). It may also be possible, however, that the sense of the ransom/exchange (in this passage) has to do with what is attested by an explicitly performed miracle — as when God rescued Daniel from the lions so that they did not injure him, whereas those who slandered him were thrown into their jaws, as it says, *and they brought those men (that had accused Daniel, etc.)* [Dan 6:25]; and as also (borne out by the passage) you well know: *So they impaled Haman (on the stake he had prepared for Mordecai)* [Esth 7:10]").

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On the other hand, each one of these (four nouns) may be referring to a distinct idea — to wit: by *light* (אוֹרָה) it may be alluding to the public reading of the Torah, as it says, *For the commandment is a lamp, and the Torah is a light, etc.* (אוֹר) (Prov 6:23); *joy* (שִׂמְחָה) may allude to the execution of just judgments according to what is written in (the Torah), as it is said, *The execution of justice is joy* (שִׂמְחָה) *to the righteous* (Prov 21:15); *gladness* (ששׂן) may allude to the obeying of all the (Mosaic) laws without hindrance,[250] as it says, *Thy testimonies I have inherited forever; for they are the gladness* (שְׁשׂוֹן) *of my heart* (Ps 119:111); and *honor* (יְקָר) may allude to the conversion of those who adopted the Jewish faith and came under the (divine) protection of the (Jewish) people, as it says, *Behold, you will call a nation whom you do not know, etc.* (Isa 55:5).

As to the statement, *And many among the peoples of the land became Jews* — it is said that this would have been somewhere between 75,000 and 150,000 people since (Scripture's) intention here is *many* (רַבִּים) *more* than those who were killed, and insofar as (the number of) those killed was 75,000 — as it says, *Now the rest of the Jews who were (in the king's provinces), etc.* (9:16) — the most that the (number of proselytes) would reasonably have come to was double (that amount)[251] — and this was not by constraint![252]

[250] "without hindrance" — lit., "publicly," "openly" (*ʿalāniyatan*).

[251] See Saadia's comment on Dan 12:2, וְרַבִּים מִיְּשֵׁנֵי אַדְמַת־עָפָר יָקִיצוּ (Qafiḥ 1981: 212–13):

ונטיר קולה איצא **ורבים מעמי הארץ מתיהדים** הם אקל, ומן לם יתהוד הם אלכתיר, ומא אשבה דלך

("A similar instance (of רַבִּים in the sense of 'some') is the statement, *And many* (וְרַבִּים) *among the peoples of the land became Jews* [Esth 8:17] — (in which the 'many') constituted the minority and those who did not become Jews constituted the majority").

[252] Or, "by necessity" (*bi-ʾl-ḍarūra*) — the point being that these conversions were not required by the circumstances, and hence are reasonably to be considered as genuine conversions. By this Saadia is apparently reacting to the view expressed in the minor talmudic tractate *Gērīm* i.7 (apud Kasher 1994: 223):

כל המתגייר משום אשה משום אהבה משום יראה, אין זה גר, וכן היו ר׳ יהודה ור׳ נחמיה אומרים, כל אותם שנתגיירו בימי מרדכי ואסתר, אינם גרים, שנאמר **ורבים מעמי הארץ מתיהדים כי נפל פחד היהודים עליהם**, וכל שאינו מתגייר לשם שמים, אינו גר

("Anyone who converts for the sake of a woman, for the sake of love, or out of fear is not a (genuine) convert, for R. Judah and R. Nehemiah have said, 'All those who convereted in the days of Mordecai and Esther were not (genuine) converts, for it says, *And many from among the peoples of the land became Jews, for the fear of the Jews had fallen upon them* [Esth 8:17] — and anyone who does convert for Heaven's sake is not a (genuine) convert'"). See also the additional sources cited by Kasher, ibid., as well as, inter alios, Ibn Ezra 2004: 10, lines 6–8:

ולפי דעתי שאין פירוש **מתיהדים** כאשר חשב, שטעמו ששבו לתורת יהודה, רק טעמו היו מתיחסים אל משפחת יהודה ואומרים כי אנחנו מבני יהודה

("In my opinion the meaning of מִתְיַהֲדִים is not, as (Ibn Janāḥ) supposed, that they converted to the religion of Judah, but rather that they pretended to belong to the people of Judah, saying, 'We are from among the children of Judah'"); and Ḥalayo 2006: 165:

מפני הפחד שבים לדת יהודה; או: מתייחסים לאמר: "יהודים אנחנו" — אולי יינצלו; ויש אומרים: מתייחסים לשבט יהודה; ואין צורך, כי כל ישראל נקראו: "יהודים"

("The converted to the religion of Judah out of fear; or else they were pretending, saying, as it were, 'We are Jews' — perhaps that they might be spared. There are also some who say that they pretended that they were specifically from the tribe of Judah, though there is no need (for such a restrictive view), since all of Israel were (at this point) called 'Judaeans'").

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APPENDIX

Individually Catalogued Manuscript Fragments of Saadia's Commentary on Esther (*Kitāb al-Īnās*)[253]

(fragments edited in the present article are set in boldface)

1. BAIU III.B.75. One leaf; comm. *ad* 3:4–5. Attributed to Saadia and edited with Hebrew translation by Ratzaby 1990: §ח, 205, 213; catalogued by Schwab 1912: 103 no. 75 (brief description). FGP image nos. C77382–83; IMHM film nos. F 3357 G, PH 916; JNUL sys. no. 150608.

2. BL Or. 5556D.58. One leaf; comm. *ad* 8:1–17 (abridged — not condensed). Attributed to Saadia by Ephraim Ben-Porat under the auspices of the FGP Judeo-Arabic Biblical Exegesis team (FGP *Catalogue*); catalogued by Margoliouth and Leveen 1935: 154; described by Yeivin 1985: 153 (§.10 אג). FGP Id. no. 316301; IMHM film nos. F 6517, PH 473; JNUL sys. no. 123286.

3. BLO Heb.d.62, fol. 118r–v. Comm. *ad* 2:20–23. Attributed to Saadia by the FGP-sponsored team of Yad Harav Herzog (FGP *Catalogue*); catalogued by Neubauer and Cowley 1906: no. 2850.41 (description only); described by Yeivin 1985: 153 (§.10 אג); edited with Hebrew translation by Ratzaby 1990: §ו, 203–4, 212. FGP Id. no. 95301; IMHM film nos. F 21395, PH 3417; JNUL sys. no. 150170.

4. **BLO Heb.e.56, fols. 53r–60v**. Comm. *ad* 2:5–3:2. Attributed to Saadia by (independently of each other) the present writer and Ephraim Ben-Porat under the auspices of the FGP Judeo-Arabic Biblical Exegesis team (FGP *Catalogue*); edited with English translation by Wechsler in the present volume; catalogued by Neubauer and Cowley 1906: no. 2808.5 (description only). FGP Id. no. 137301; IMHM film nos. F 21366, PH 3381; JNUL sys. no. 163886.

5. BLO Heb.f.19. Five leaves; from the end of the introduction to the comm. *ad* 1:2. Attributed to Saadia by Neubauer and Cowley 1906: no. 2655; edited with Hebrew translation by Ratzaby 1984: §ד, 1163–67, 1173–76. IMHM film nos. F 21279, PH 3327; JNUL sys. no. 163487.

6. CUL Or. 1080 7.19. Two leaves (bifolium; apparently contiguous); comm. *ad* 1:5–9. Attributed to Saadia by Ephraim Ben-Porat under the auspices of the FGP Judeo-Arabic Biblical Exegesis team (FGP *Catalogue*). FGP image nos. C147494–95; IMHM film nos. F 19796, PH 2995; JNUL sys. no. 2616396.

7. CUL T-S 8Ca1. Four leaves; from the comm. *ad* 3:6–15 to the introductory excursus *ad* ch. 4. Catalogued by Hirschfeld 1904: 66–67 (description; tentative attribution ["probably by Saadyāh"]; citation of the colophon); definitively attributed to Saadia by Ratzaby 1990: 194 (mention only). FGP Id. no. 2865317; IMHM film nos. F 19686, PH 3017; JNUL sys. no. 141150.

8. CUL T-S Ar.1b.91. Two leaves (bifolium); comm. *ad* 9:31–10:3. Attributed to Saadia by Baker and Polliack 2001: no. 248; described by Yeivin 1985: 153 (§.10 אג). FGP image nos. C152701–2; IMHM film nos. F 19585, PH 3115; JNUL sys. no. 141312.

9. CUL T-S Ar.1b.93. One leaf; comm. *ad* 4:1–4. Attributed to Saadia by Baker and Polliack 2001: no. 250. FGP image nos. C152705–6; IMHM film nos. F 19585, PH 3115; JNUL sys. no. 141312.

10. CUL T-S Ar.1b.94. 44 leaves (17 bifolia + 10 leaves); from the latter part of the introduction to the comm. *ad* 1:4, after which only incipits and the Judaeo-Arabic translation is given through 3:4. Attributed to Saadia and edited with Hebrew translation by Ratzaby 1990: §§ג–ה, 197–203, 207–13; catalogued by Baker and Polliack 2001: no. 251 (description only; attribution following Ratzaby). FGP image nos. C152707–60; IMHM film nos. F 19585, PH 3115; JNUL sys. no. 141312.

[253] Though included in the following list, nos. 36, 37, 38, 41, 45, and 53 represent reworkings or précis of Saadia's commentary, of which they should therefore be considered secondary (indirect) witnesses.

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11. CUL T-S Ar.21.5. One leaf; comm. *ad* 9:24–27. Attributed to Saadia by Ephraim Ben-Porat under the auspices of the FGP Judeo-Arabic Biblical Exegesis team (FGP *Catalogue*); edited with Hebrew translation as an anonymous polemical fragment by Ratzaby 1990: 206, 214 (appendix 2); catalogued by Baker and Polliack 2001: no. 1179 (description only). FGP image nos. C153315–16; IMHM film nos. F 19606, PH 3667; JNUL sys. no. 141333.

12. CUL T-S Ar.21.174. One leaf; comm. *ad* 1:9–12. Attributed to Saadia and edited with Hebrew translation by Ratzaby 1993: §ו, 19–21; catalogued by Baker and Polliack 2001: no. 1350 (description only; attribution following Ratzaby). FGP image nos. C153205–6; IMHM film nos. F 19606, PH 3667; JNUL sys. no. 141333.

13. CUL T-S Ar.22.110. One leaf; part of the introduction. Attributed to Saadia and edited with Hebrew translation by Ratzaby 1984: §ג, 1162–63 and n. 15, 1172–73 and nn. 4–13. Catalogued by Baker and Polliack 2001: no. 1469 (description only; unattributed). FGP image nos. C153481–82; IMHM film nos. F 19607, PH 3668; JNUL sys. no. 141334.

14. **CUL T-S Ar.23.44**. Six leaves (two bifolia + one leaf); comm. *ad* 2:23; 3:1–4, 7–15; 4:1. Attributed to Saadia and edited with English translation by Wechsler in the present volume; catalogued by Baker and Polliack 2001: 114, no. 1546 (description only; unattributed). FGP image nos. C153983–88; IMHM film nos. F 19608, PH 3462; JNUL sys. no. 141335.

15. CUL T-S Ar.25.82. Two leaves (bifolium); comm. *ad* 1:9–10, 13. Attributed to Saadia by Baker and Polliack 2001, no. 1883 (description only). FGP image nos. C154993–94; IMHM film nos. F 19610, PH 3648; JNUL sys. no. 141337.

16. CUL T-S Ar.25.84. Two leaves (bifolium); comm. *ad* 1:10. Attributed to Saadia and edited with Hebrew translation by Ratzaby 1992, §ט, 209–10; catalogued by Baker and Polliack 2001, no. 1885 (description only). FGP image nos. C155007–8; IMHM film nos. F 19610, PH 3648; JNUL sys. no. 141337.

17. CUL T-S Ar.25.91. Two leaves (bifolium); comm. *ad* 8:2–8, 9:1. Attributed to Saadia and edited with Hebrew translation by Ratzaby 1984, §ו, 1169, 1177–78; catalogued by Baker and Polliack 2001, no. 1892 (description only). FGP image nos. C155023–24; IMHM film nos. F 19610, PH 3648; JNUL sys. no. 141337.

18. CUL T-S Ar.27.47. Two leaves (bifolium); part of the introduction; comm. *ad* 1:3–4. Attributed to Saadia and edited with Hebrew translation by Ratzaby 1984, §ב, 1160–62, 1171–73; catalogued by Baker and Polliack 2001, no. 2147 (description only). FGP image nos. C179392–93; IMHM film nos. F 19612, PH 3541; JNUL sys. no. 141339.

19. CUL T-S Ar.27.51. Two leaves (bifolium); part of the introduction; comm. *ad* 1:3–4. Attributed to Saadia and edited with Hebrew translation by Ratzaby 1990: §§ב–א(?),196–97, 207; catalogued by Baker and Polliack 2001: no. 2151 (description only). FGP image nos. C179402–3; IMHM film nos. F 19612, PH 3541; JNUL sys. no. 141339.

20. CUL T-S Ar.27.76. Two leaves (bifolium); comm. *ad* 4:1–4, 7:5–10. Attributed to Saadia and edited with Hebrew translation by Ratzaby 1984: §ה, 1167–69, 1176–77; catalogued by Baker and Polliack 2001: no. 2176 (description only). FGP image nos. C179460–61; IMHM film nos. F 19612, PH 3541; JNUL sys. no. 141339.

21. CUL T-S Ar.27.98. Two leaves (bifolium); comm. *ad* 7:4–8, 8:14–17. Attributed to Saadia by Baker and Polliack 2001: no. 2198 (description only). FGP image nos. C179552–53; IMHM film nos. F 19612, PH 3541; JNUL sys. no. 141339.

22. CUL T-S Ar.28.160. Two leaves (bifolium); the beginning of the introduction. Attributed to Saadia and edited with Hebrew translation by Ratzaby 1984: §א, 1159–60, 1170–71; catalogued by Baker and Polliack 2001: no. 2378 (description only). FGP image nos. C179700–C179701; IMHM film nos. F 19613, PH 3542; JNUL sys. no. 141340.

23. CUL T-S Ar.28.164a. One leaf (fragment); comm. *ad* 4:1–4. Attributed to Saadia by (independently of each other) the present writer and Ephraim Ben-Porat (the latter under the auspices of the FGP Judeo-Arabic Biblical

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Exegesis team; per the FGP *Catalogue*); catalogued by Baker and Polliack 2001: no. 2382 (description only). FGP nos. C179708–9; IMHM film nos. F 19613, PH 3542; JNUL sys. no. 141340.

24. **CUL T-S Ar.33.31**. One leaf; comm. *ad* 4:13–17. Attributed to Saadia and edited with English translation by Wechsler in the present volume; catalogued by Baker and Polliack 2001: no. 3238 (description only). FGP Id. no. 628301; IMHM film nos. F 19618, PH 3626; JNUL sys. no. 141345.

25. **CUL T-S Ar.49.99**. Two leaves (bifolium); comm. *ad* 2:17–23; 4:13–17; 5:1–4(?). Attributed to Saadia and edited with English translation by Wechsler in the present volume; catalogued by Baker and Polliack 2001: no. 7177 (description only). FGP Id. no. 848301; IMHM film nos. F 19634, PH 3057; JNUL sys. no. 141362.

26. CUL T-S AS 62.42. One small fragment, constituting the bottom outside portion of MS CUL T-S Ar.1b.91 (no. 8 above), fol. 2; described by Yeivin 1985: 153 (§.10 אג; yet not, as he suggests, part of JTSL ENA 3400.6. A few broken words from the comm. *ad* 10:1–3. Attributed to Saadia by the present writer. FGP image nos. C113498–99; IMHM film nos. F 34027, PH 4989; JNUL sys. no. 142616.

27. CUL T-S AS 62.67. One small fragment, identified as the bottom portion of MS CUL T-S Ar.1b.91 (no. 8 above), fol. 1, and attributed to Saadia by the present writer. A few broken lines from the initial part of the commentary *ad* 9:1–19. Described by Yeivin 1985: 153 (§.10 אג). FGP image nos. C113556–57; IMHM film nos. F 34027, *ad* 4989; JNUL sys. no. 142616.

28. CUL T-S AS 62.68. One small fragment, constituting the lower center portion of MS CUL T-S Ar.1b.91 (no. 8 above), fol. 1. A few scanty lines from the beginning of the commentary *ad* 9:1ff. Attributed to Saadia by the present writer; described by Yeivin 1985: 153 (§.10 אג). FGP image nos. C113558–59; IMHM film nos. F 34027, PH 4989; JNUL sys. no. 142616.

29. CUL T-S AS 62.69. One small fragment, constituting the lower portion of MS CUL T-S Ar.1b.91 (no. 8 above), fol. 2. A few scanty lines from the commentary *ad* 10:2. Attributed to Saadia by the present writer; described by Yeivin 1985: 153 (§.10 אג; yet not, as he suggests, part of JTSL ENA 3400.6). FGP image nos. C113560–61; IMHM film nos. F 34027, PH 4989; JNUL sys. no. 142616.

30. CUL T-S AS 62.767. One small fragment, constituting the lower outside portion of MS CUL T-S Ar.1b.91 (no. 8 above), fol. 1. A few broken words from the initial part of the commentary *ad* 9:1ff. Attributed to Saadia by the present writer; described by Yeivin 1985: 153 (§.10 אג). FGP image nos. C108682–83; IMHM film nos. F 34027, PH 4989; JNUL sys. no. 142616.

31. CUL T-S AS 158.119. One leaf; comm. *ad* 9:15–19. Attributed to Saadia by Ephraim Ben-Porat under the auspices of the FGP Judeo-Arabic Biblical Exegesis team (FGP *Catalogue*). FGP Id. no. 4790814; IMHM film no. F 35889; JNUL sys. no. 142745.

32. CUL T-S AS 159.7. One small fragment; text only on one side; from the comm. *ad* 1:3–4. Attributed to Saadia by the present writer. FGP Id. no. 406071; IMHM film no. F 35890; JNUL sys. no. 142746.

33. CUL T-S Misc.5.104. Two leaves (bifolium); comm. *ad* 7:4(?)–10; 9:19–26. Attributed to Saadia in the CUL preliminary handlist (FGP *Catalogue*). FGP Image nos. C121357–58; IMHM film no. F 19644; JNUL sys. no. 141266.

34. CUL T-S Misc.6.39. Four leaves (two bifolia; contiguous); comm. *ad* 2:8–23. Attributed to Saadia by Ephraim Ben-Porat under the auspices of the FGP Judeo-Arabic Biblical Exegesis team (FGP *Catalogue*). FGP Image nos. C104910–13; IMHM film no. F 19645; JNUL sys. no. 141267.

35. CUL T-S Misc.6.120. One leaf; comm. *ad* 2:5–10. Attributed to Saadia by Ephraim Ben-Porat under the auspices of the FGP Judeo-Arabic Biblical Exegesis team (FGP *Catalogue*, though incorrectly identified in a separate catalogue note as part of Saadia's *Kitāb ṭalab al-ḥikma*, which is his commentary on Proverbs). FGP Image nos. C104730–31; IMHM film no. F 19645; JNUL sys. no. 141267.

36. CUL T-S Misc.6.159. Two leaves (bifolium); comm. *ad* 3:7, 6:10–7:5. Attributed to Saadia by Ephraim Ben-Porat under the auspices of the FGP Judeo-Arabic Biblical Exegesis team (FGP *Catalogue*); reidentified by the present writer as a reworking of Saadia's commentary. FGP Image nos. C104820–21; IMHM film no. F 19645; JNUL sys. no. 141267.

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37. CUL T-S Misc.7.47. Two leaves (bifolium); comm. *ad* 3:8–4:16. Attributed to Saadia by Ephraim Ben-Porat under the auspices of the FGP Judeo-Arabic Biblical Exegesis team (FGP *Catalogue*); reidentified by the present writer as a reworking of Saadia's commentary. FGP Image nos. C105150–51; IMHM film no. F 19646; JNUL sys. no. 141268.

38. CUL T-S Misc.24.158. Two leaves (bifolium); comm. *ad* 1:1 (on one leaf, the other containing, in a different hand, a Hebrew *piyyūṭ*, an Arabic divine encomium, and an abridged Hebrew paraphrase of Esth 4:5–6:3). Quite possibly a citation from Saadia's commentary as part of a bilingual anthology. Attributed to Saadia (as Esther exegesis) in the CUL preliminary handlist, albeit mistakenly under the title *Kitāb ṭalab al-ḥikma*, which is his commentary on Proverbs (FGP *Catalogue*). Reidentified by the present writer as an abridged reworking of Saadia's comment *ad* 1:1 as part of an apparently bilingual (Hebrew and Judaeo-Arabic) exegetical digest on Esther. FGP image nos. C125215–16; IMHM film nos. F 19663, PH 2339; JNUL sys. no. 141297.

39. **CUL T-S NS 163.3**. One leaf; comm. *ad* 3:2–4. Attributed to Saadia and edited with English translation by Wechsler in the present volume; catalogued by Shivtiel and Niessen 2006: no. 2174 (description only). FGP Id. no. 11023213; IMHM film no. F 31232; JNUL sys. no. 141536.

40. **CUL T-S NS 164.148**. One leaf; comm. *ad* 2:16–23. Attributed to Saadia by (independently of each other) the present writer and Yonatan Meroz (the latter under the auspices of the FGP Judeo-Arabic Biblical Exegesis team; FGP *Catalogue*); edited with English translation by Wechsler in the present volume; catalogued by Shivtiel and Niessen 2006: no. 2417 (description only). FGP Id. no. 244312; IMHM film no. F 31233; JNUL sys. no. 141537.

41. CUL T-S NS 221.5. One leaf; comm. *ad* 3:1–2. Attributed to Saadia and partially edited with Hebrew translation by Ratzaby 1990: §ד, 204, 212; reidentified as an anonymous reworking of Saadia's commentary by the present writer; catalogued by Shivtiel and Niessen 2006: no. 3522 (description only). FGP Id. no. 11732213; IMHM film nos. F 32291, PH 4726; JNUL sys. no. 141742.

42. CUL T-S NS 263.107. Two leaves (bifolium); comm. *ad* 1:22. Attributed to Saadia and edited with Hebrew translation by Ratzaby 1993: §ד, 22; catalogued by Shivtiel and Niessen 2006: no. 5076 (description only). FGP Id. no. 1950301; IMHM film nos. F 32714, PH 4930; JNUL sys. no. 141784.

43. CUL T-S NS 285.30. One leaf; comm. *ad* 9:19–22. Attributed to Saadia by Ephraim Ben-Porat under the auspices of the FGP Judeo-Arabic Biblical Exegesis team (FGP *Catalogue*); catalogued by Shivtiel and Niessen 2006: no. 5492 (description only). FGP Id. no. 1240301; IMHM film nos. F 32974, PH 4825; JNUL sys. no. 141806.

44. **CUL T-S NS 309.52**. One leaf; comm. *ad* 1:1–2. Attributed to Saadia and edited with English translation by Wechsler in the present volume; catalogued by Shivtiel and Niessen 2006: no. 7203 (indication of language and coverage only, citing Brody 1998, 205, no. 3681). FGP Id. no. 2111301; IMHM film nos. F 32998, PH 4910; JNUL sys. no. 141830.

45. JTSL ENA 2638.21–22. Two leaves; comm. *ad* 1:1–10. Identified by the present writer as an anonymous *reworking* of Saadia's commentary on Esther; catalogued by Adler 1921, 142; Lieberman (apud the FGP *Catalogue*). FGP image nos. C22347–50; IMHM film nos. F 33331, PH 4266; JNUL sys. no. 110757.

46. JTSL ENA 2678.7. One leaf; comm. *ad* 5:7–14. Attributed to Saadia by Ephraim Ben-Porat under the auspices of the FGP Judeo-Arabic Biblical Exegesis team (FGP *Catalogue*); catalogued by Adler 1921, 142 (no. 2678^{v}); Lieberman (apud the FGP *Catalogue*). FGP image nos. C23147–48; IMHM film no. F 33695; JNUL sys. no. 110301.

47. **JTSL ENA 2824.1–2.** Two leaves (noncontiguous); comm. *ad* 4:5–16. Attributed to Saadia by the present writer; catalogued by Adler 1921: 134; Lieberman (apud the FGP *Catalogue*). FGP image nos. C27681–84; IMHM film no. F 33738; JNUL sys. no. 110344.

48. JTSL ENA 2971.10. One leaf; comm. *ad* 9:20–24. Attributed to Saadia by (independently of each other) both the present writer and Ephraim Ben-Porat (the latter under the auspices of the FGP Judeo-Arabic Biblical Exegesis team; per the FGP *Catalogue*); catalogued by Adler 1921: 121; Lieberman (apud the FGP *Catalogue*)

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and described by Yeivin 1985: 153 (§.10 אג). FGP image nos. C33413–14; IMHM film no. F 33818; JNUL sys. no. 110424.

49. JTSL ENA 3148, fols. 3–5. Comm. *ad* 9:1–15. The respective outer top portions of JTSL ENA 3371, fols. 11, 10, and 9 (see no. 41 below). Attributed to Saadia and edited with English translation by Wechsler in the present volume; catalogued by Adler 1921: 107; Lieberman (apud the FGP *Catalogue*). FGP image nos. C37381–86; IMHM film nos. F 33865, PH 4108; JNUL sys. no. 110471.

50. JTSL ENA 3371, fols. 9–12. Comm. *ad* 9:1–19. Joined to JTSL ENA 3148.3–5 and attributed to Saadia by the present writer; catalogued by Adler 1921: 152; Lieberman (apud the FGP *Catalogue*). FGP image nos. C42349–56; IMHM film no. F 33920; JNUL sys. no. 110526.

51. JTSL ENA 3400, fol. 6. A top outer corner fragment; part of the leaf that contiguously preceded MS CUL T-S Ar.1b.91 (no. 8 above), fol. 2. Several broken lines from the latter part of the commentary *ad* 9:29–32. Attributed to Saadia by the present writer; catalogued by Adler 1921: 152; Lieberman (apud the FGP *Catalogue*). FGP image nos. C42951–52; IMHM film nos. F 33932, PH 4155, PH 4156; JNUL sys. no. 110538.

52. JTSL ENA 3488, fols. 11–12; inside bottom fragments; comm. *ad* 2:7–8; 3:1. Attributed to Saadia by (independently of each other) both the present writer and Ephraim Ben-Porat (the latter under the auspices of the FGP Judeo-Arabic Biblical Exegesis team; per the FGP *Catalogue*); catalogued by Adler 1921: 87; Lieberman (apud the FGP *Catalogue*). FGP image nos. C44857–60; IMHM film no. F 33957; JNUL sys. no. 110566.

53. JTSL ENA 3601, fols. 14v–15r; two leaves (noncontiguous); identified by the present writer as an anonymous précis of Saadia's commentary *ad* Esth 3:1–4; catalogued by Adler 1921: 90; Lieberman (apud the FGP *Catalogue*). FGP image nos. C46427, C46430; IMHM film nos. F 339811; JNUL sys. no. 110590.

54. **NLR Yevr.-Arab. I 3866**. Three leaves; comm. *ad* 1:13–19; 2:9–15; 3:6–7. Attributed to Saadia and edited with English translation by Wechsler in the present volume. FGP Id. no. 26894317; IMHM film no. F 57606; JNUL sys. no. 155626.

55. **NLR Yevr. II A 700**. Two leaves; comm. *ad* 6:12–13; 8:16–17. Attributed to Saadia and edited with English translation by Wechsler in the present volume. FGP Id. no. 20905317; IMHM film nos. F 65584, CD 1113; JNUL sys. no. 144186.

56. WCC Arab.II.100. One fragment (about half of the original leaf); comm. *ad* 1:2–4. Attributed to Saadia by Karina Shalem under the auspices of the FGP Judeo-Arabic Biblical Exegesis team (FGP *Catalogue*). FGP no. 3227814; IMHM film nos. F 12580, F 15214, PH 2055; JNUL sys. no. 184396.

ABBREVIATIONS

Ab. Gur.	מדרש אבא גוריון. In ספרי דאגדתא [Sammlung agadischer Commentare zum Buche Ester], edited by S. Buber, pp. 1–42. Vilna: Wittwe et Gebrüder Romm, 1886; repr. Jerusalem: Ḥ. Vagshal, 1989
BAIU	Bibliothèque de l'Alliance israélite universelle, Paris
BHS	K. Elliger et al., editors. *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*. 4th edition. Stuttgart: Gesamtherstellun Biblia-Druck, 1990
BL	The British Library, London
EI^2	*The Encyclopaedia of Islam: New Edition*. 12 volumes. Edited by H. A. R. Gibb et al. 1960–2002
Esth Rab.	מדרש אסתר רבה. In ספר מדרש רבה, Volume 2. Vilna, 1887; repr. Jerusalem: Ḥ. Vagshal, n.d.
FGP *Catalogue*	Online catalogue (*sub* "Cataloging Data") of the Friedberg Genizah Project. http://www.genizah.org/

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IMHM	Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts, the Israel National Library, Jerusalem (המכון לתצלומי כתבי יד עבריים, הספרייה הלאומית)
JTSL ENA	Jewish Theological Seminary Library, New York: Elkan Nathan Adler Collection
Pan. Aḥ. B	מדרש פנים אחרים, נוסח ב׳. In ספרי דאגדתא [Sammlung agadischer Commentare zum Buche Ester], edited by S. Buber, pp. 55–82. Vilna: Wittwe et Gebrüder Romm, 1886; repr. Jerusalem: Ḥ. Vagshal, 1989
Tafsīr (Esth)	Saadia 1962
Tg. Chr	A. Sperber, editor. *The Bible in Aramaic, Based on Old Manuscripts and Printed Texts*, Volume 4a: *The Hagiographa: Transition from Translation to Midrash*. Leiden: Brill, 1968
Tg. Esth I	B. Grossfeld, editor. *The First Targum to Esther, According to the MS Paris Hebrew 110 of the Bibliothèque Nationale*. New York: Sepher-Hermon Press, 1983
Tg. Esth II	B. Grossfeld, editor. *The Targum Sheni to the Book of Esther: A Critical Edition Based on MS. Sassoon 282 with Critical Apparatus*. New York: Sepher-Hermon Press, 1994
Tg. Onq.	A. Sperber, editor. *The Bible in Aramaic, based on Old Manuscripts and Printed Texts*, Volume 1: *The Pentateuch According to Targum Onkelos*. Leiden: Brill, 1959
Tg. Pss	M. Cohen, editor. "תרגום תהלים." In מקראות גדולות הכתר: ספר תהלים, חלק ב׳ [Mikra'ot Gedolot 'Haketer': a revised and augmented scientific edition of 'Mikra'ot Gedolot,' based on the Aleppo Codex and early Medieval MSS: Psalms, part II]. Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 2003
WCC	Westminster College, Cambridge

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20

MURABBAʿĀT AND THE FIRST JEWISH REVOLT

*MICHAEL O. WISE**

In October 1951, bedouin of the Taʿamireh tribe, the same tribe involved with the discovery of Cave 1 and the initial Dead Sea Scrolls several years earlier, appeared at the Palestine Archaeological Museum in Jerusalem to present the remains of a leather sandal and a fragment from a scroll.[1] They informed Joseph Saad, secretary of the museum, that the objects derived from a new cave, some distance to the south of Cave 1. Saad requested that the men return with those who had actually made the discovery, then waited nervously for several days with no sign of them. His superior, G. Lankester Harding, was away from the city, and Père Roland de Vaux, famed senior archaeologist attached to the École biblique et archéologique française de Jérusalem, was in Europe at the time, so the anxious Saad could not consult them about what to do. He grew increasingly uneasy, convinced that it was critical to act, and act quickly.

Finally, deciding on a course of action, he made his way to the École, where he showed the scroll fragment to someone and was reassured that the inscribed leather appeared to be both genuine and ancient. Thus confirmed, he turned next to a friend whom he had made during the earlier scroll adventures, a Brigadier Ashton of the British Army. Ashton supplied Saad with a Jeep, some men, and a letter with which he could requisition further military assistance should that prove necessary. Escorted by Ashton's personal bodyguard, Saad drove to Bethlehem, then immediately on to the nearest camp of the Taʿamireh.

Received with typical desert hospitality, Saad immediately began to inquire about the tribe's recent cave explorations. The bedouin were evasive. Why was Saad here? He muttered something about doing some hunting, but found no very plausible explanation when it was pointed out that he had brought no gun. Concluding that further questioning would only stiffen the tribe's resistance, Saad desisted and, after spending the night among them, arose early the next morning to drive into the desert with his men. He would seek signs of tribal activity on his own.

It was not long, however, before Saad realized that his makeshift caravan was being followed. This being so, by now his movements would be broadcast throughout the tribe's territory. Even if he did somehow manage to arrive near the critical cave, it would be impossible to identify, because the workmen would have halted their labors and gone into hiding. To continue was pointless. Discouraged and uncertain of his next move in the evolving chess match, Saad gave the order to return to Bethlehem.

Shortly after arriving in that city, his next move thrust itself upon him. Meandering down the road toward the Jeep, but clearly oblivious of its occupants, came one of the original group of bedouin who had showed Saad the sandal and the scroll. At sharp orders from the secretary, the vehicle skidded to a halt; questioned, the man refused to answer, whereupon he was summarily pitched into the vehicle. The company did an about-face and headed immediately back into the desert. As they drove, Saad explained to his involuntary guest in pellucid terms that any further refusal to cooperate would have nothing but the gravest consequences; given what had already

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* This study is presented in undying friendship and gratitude, and as a small tribute to the teaching and scholarship of my *Doctorvater,* Norman Golb. It was he who introduced me to the study of the Judaean Desert texts, including those associated with the Bar Kokhba revolt. Norman's practice of close attention to the intertwined aspects of manuscript science and historical inference, combined with independent thinking and mastery of all relevant original sources, modeled for me a kind of scholarship that I have tried to emulate ever since.

[1] The story of the discoveries presented here is based upon de Vaux's account in DJD 2:3–50 and Allegro 1964: 37–41, 179–87. For the numismatic evidence of a trove or troves said to come from the Wadi Murabbaʿāt, see Milik and Seyrig 1958; for the results of the 1968 survey that located an additional Roman-period cave and a Roman road in the area, see Greenhut 1984; for the graveyard discovered near the caves in 1993, see Eshel and Greenhut 1993. Convenient current appraisals of the Murabbaʿāt materials can be found in Stern 2000 and Eshel 2000.

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transpired, and stealing a glance at the hard faces of the soldiers all around him, the frightened tribesman found such threats easy to believe. He reluctantly agreed to show the way to the cave.

After stopping at an army post to pick up additional soldiers per Ashton's letter, Saad and the party started out on the heading that the bedouin provided. The driving soon became impossible even for an army Jeep; disembarking, they began what would ultimately become a seven-hour trek on foot. Heading east as the Wadi Taʿamireh became the Wadi Murabbaʿāt, the walking became more and more difficult. Saad and the soldiers gradually found themselves in a deep ravine whose nearly vertical inclines towered eight hundred feet into the air on either side of them.

Suddenly, upon rounding a turn, they spied clouds of dust emanating from two enormous cave entrances high up on the northern face of the cliffs. Simultaneously they were spotted themselves. As shouts of alarm echoed down the canyon, a dozen tribesmen workers darted from the caves, stumbling over one another, urgently seeking to scale the crags in order to escape. Several warning shots that were fired into the air over their heads halted their flight, and the soldiers began to herd the dust-covered bedouin together so that they could be questioned.

Although exhausted, Saad and his bodyguard took this opportunity to climb and enter the nearer cave. They found themselves standing in an enormous cavern, twenty feet wide, roof ten feet above their heads; a boulder-strewn floor stretched back a hundred and fifty feet, fading into Stygian darkness. Dust from the illicit digging still hung thick in the air, but it could not disguise the facts. To Saad's experienced eye it was evident that the bedouin had already removed anything lying near the surface. An expert team of archaeologists might find more, but his own immediate prospects were nil. Meanwhile, the soldiers had questioned the workers, always receiving the same reply: yes, magnificent things had indeed been found here, but not by these men, and not today. As Saad pondered his options, he realized that the tribesman who had led them into the desert was his one secure link to the discoveries that had been made. The chances of keeping that man with him would diminish markedly if the group heeded the urgings of their aching muscles and settled for the night at the cave. Almost certainly the man would find some opportunity to slip from their grasp. Therefore, though he and all the soldiers were bone weary, he gave the order, and they turned to trudge the seven-hour return trek, guide in tow.

Saad arrived in Jerusalem just as morning was dawning. On the way he had handed his guide over to authorities in Bethlehem. Now back home, he dutifully contacted the local inspector of antiquities and reported all that had happened, turning over the sandal and the scroll fragment as well. Then he fell exhausted into bed, awaking much later in the day to find himself accused of kidnapping and incarcerating their guide. To this charge there was, of course, some truth; but the man himself had also been involved in illegal activities. Matters were eventually smoothed over, Saad suffering nothing more serious than a severe reprimand. While this storm was playing itself out, the inspector whom he had contacted, Awni Dajani, made his way to Bethlehem and, led by one of Saad's companions, hiked out to inspect the caves at Murabbaʿāt. He was thus able to confirm the secretary's story, and Harding and de Vaux, both having returned to Jerusalem, were informed of all that had transpired. Prospects for further discoveries in the caves, they were told, seemed excellent.

Yet three months were to pass before the official excavations at Murabbaʿāt got underway, on January 21, 1952. Looking back nearly sixty years later, such a delay is hard to understand. Jordanian resources were being strained, it is true, by the Dead Sea Scroll discoveries that were now following one another in a virtual cascade. Archaeological manpower and financial wherewithal were stretched to the breaking point. Still, no attempt was made to raise awareness or to seek funding, nor was any invitation issued to outside experts, some of whom might have been willing to raise their own monies and come to help with the work.

What the intervening months did accomplish was to raise expectations of what might eventually be discovered. De Vaux and Harding were approached by various members of the Taʿamireh — seemingly in a kind of competition — offering for sale a variety of materials, all allegedly issuing from Murabbaʿāt. On occasion, different groups would present the same materials, as though unaware of the other would-be vendors; presumably, this was merely a tactic to extract the best price. Though a few minor pieces were purchased in November, the spigot opened wide and splashing in the following month. On the 9th of December, de Vaux acquired Mur 1, a fragment of Exodus inscribed in an elegant bookhand; Mur 44, a well-preserved letter of Bar Kokhba; and a portion of Mur 115, a contract for remarriage, composed in Greek and dating to the year 124 C.E. Little more than a week later, a second lot was presented for purchase, this one comprising the I.O.U. Mur 114, fragments of Aramaic contracts, and Mur 24, a Hebrew record of agricultural subleasing by one Hillel b. Garis, done in the name of Simon b. Kosiba. By the end of the year, de Vaux and Harding had managed to bypass the competing groups to enter into direct negotiations with tribal leaders. Many additional portions came into their hands just as excavations were about to start.

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Harding and de Vaux were there to direct when the first shovel bit the dirt. Prominent among the difficulties the excavators faced was the issue of supplies. Everything needed to be transported by pack animal the seven-hour distance from Bethlehem, and it was still the rainy season. Arriving at the plateau above the Murabbaʿāt caves, the mules and donkeys, balking at attempting the vertiginous, water-slicked final descent, had to be unpacked. Bedouin workmen bore the loads down on their own backs at risk to life and limb.

The excavations occupied slightly more than a month, until March 1. Two caves in addition to the original two evidenced human occupation; à la the Qumran caves, each received a numerical designation. Caves 1 and 2, the original caves, were the only ones to yield to the archaeologists written materials. It is believed that all of the documents sold by the bedouin also derived from these caves, mostly from Cave 2. Forty yards to the west of that grotto stood Cave 3. About two hundred yards in the opposite direction, and at a slightly higher elevation, was Cave 4. A large Roman cistern, lined with plaster and furnished with steps and a small holding tank, had been hewn in front of Cave 1, and most of the habitation in the caves proved likewise to date to the Roman period. A few materials of the Chalcolithic, Bronze, and Iron Ages — as indeed of the Arab period — showed that occasional travelers had employed the caves as a caravanserai down through the ages.

Roman-period finds included much pottery, later dated by comparison with the ceramic discoveries even then beginning to be made at Khirbet Qumran, eleven miles to the north. Iron nails, a variety of tools, a heavy and curved iron key, bone dice, combs, buttons, spoons, remnants of sandals (including a child's), and numerous wooden and stone spindles incised with geometric designs yielded themselves to the archaeologist's pick and shovel. One of the biggest surprises was an ancient medical kit. Two coins were also unearthed, and these — added to approximately a dozen other coins that the Taʿamireh later offered for sale — were to be decisive in attempting to draw the difficult distinction between proximate Roman-period habitations.

Written materials proved sparse compared with what already had been, or later would be, purchased from the bedouin.[2] Within Cave 2, sloping down steeply from the entry chamber, two tunnels led to a third, more level underground passageway one hundred and twenty feet in length. Here, it seemed, was the original mother lode, the vein from which most of the bedouin scroll fragments had been mined. John Allegro, a member of the excavating team (later to become famous for his maverick activities and views as a member of the Dead Sea Scroll editorial team), described the search for remaining inscribed materials as follows:

> The written documents came almost entirely from the Second Cave. A few are fairly well preserved, but most had suffered from the depredations of visiting animals, human and otherwise, and particularly in the activities of rats who, with regrettable lack of appreciation of true values, had used the precious leather and papyrus manuscripts as linings for their nests. In fact, the excavation developed into a hunt for rats' nests, since each one was almost sure to produce remnants of a written document or two. Another contributory factor in the denudation of written material was that the later habitation by birds and small animals of the caves over hundreds of years had resulted in an abundant supply of guano which the Bedouin had for years been collecting and selling in Bethlehem. It is not at all improbable, as Father De Vaux points out, that the Jewish orange groves near Bethlehem were fertilized with priceless ancient manuscripts written by their forefathers![3]

In one corner of Cave 2, the bedouin reported having found the biblical scrolls of Genesis, Exodus, Deuteronomy, and Isaiah. All had been ripped, cut, and otherwise desecrated in antiquity, evidently at Roman hands. The fragment of Genesis chapters 32–35 survived only in a thin strip, violently torn across three columns. But a complete phylactery escaped these ravages. Inscribed on very fine skin, minute semi-cursive letters spelled out the same four biblical passages prescribed by the rabbis for such works: Exodus 13:1–10, 11–16; Deuteronomy 6:1–4; 11:13–21.

In March of 1955, three years after the official excavations ended, five bedouin shepherds exploring the same region augmented the biblical findings with a scroll of the Minor Prophets (Mur 88). It was discovered inside a cave overlooked in the earlier searches, removed about three hundred yards from the original caves, subsequently denominated Cave 5. Here a long tunnel delved deep into the rock, bifurcating after a considerable stretch into separate branches. Just at this intersection, archaeologists following up on the bedouin discovery came upon a

[2] The archaeologists uncovered only Mur 1, 2, 4, 42, 72, 78, a portion of 115, and 164; all the rest came by purchase.

[3] Allegro 1964: 182–83.

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pile of human bones and tattered clothing. Near the gruesome find nature had carved out from the cave wall a small niche, sealed since antiquity by a symmetrical stone that the bedouin treasure hunters had pried out. Within this crevice the scroll had been sequestered, perhaps the final act of the ancient insurgent who had borne it for safekeeping to the cavern that became his death trap.

For several more years, materials claimed to be from Murabbaʿāt continued to filter through bedouin hands to the eager grasp of Western scholars. Prominent among such was Mur 43, a letter that evidently preserves the signature of the "messianic" leader of the Second Revolt, Simon b. Kosiba, *propria manu.* Sometimes documents leaked out piecemeal from the tribesmen. An example was Mur 30, a Hebrew deed of sale: initial portions were purchased in 1952, remaining portions in September 1958. That date is the latest recorded for the Murabbaʿāt inscribed finds, attaching also to Mur 29, the upper contract of a *Doppelurkunde,* obtained with string and sealing intact.

All told, 173 numbered literary and non-literary texts comprised the Murabbaʿāt discoveries, written on ostraca, papyrus, and leather in Hebrew, Jewish Aramaic, Greek, Latin, and Arabic.[4] Undoubtedly the centerpiece was the Bar Kokhba letters, seven of which were clearly recognizable as such. De Vaux assigned the Hebrew and Aramaic materials to J. T. Milik, who masterfully deciphered the cursive and "sténographique" (extremely cursive) scripts; Pierre Benoit adroitly edited the Greek and Latin texts, and A. D. Grohmann the Arabic. De Vaux himself published the archaeological findings. The entirety of their treatments was packed off to Oxford University Press late in 1958, and the *editio princeps* appeared as *Les grottes de Murabbaʿât* (DJD 2) in 1961, a decade after Western scholars first became cognizant of Cave 1.[5] Considerable portions had by then appeared in preliminary studies, photographs sometimes included, so that *Les Grottes* profited from an accumulation of lively and learned discussion, gaining thereby more definitive stature.[6] More definitive — but not yet definitive; in 2000, the Israeli palaeographer Ada Yardeni put scholars deeply in her debt by publishing the dual volumes of her *Textbook of Aramaic, Hebrew and Nabataean Documentary Texts.* In these magisterial tomes, she treated all the Semitic texts from Murabbaʿāt in new editions, wresting from the often stubbornly resistant writings many new readings and improved interpretations. Her work amounts to the *editio maior* for these materials and is the point of departure for the present study.

WHO BROUGHT THE TEXTS TO THE CAVES?

For de Vaux, Milik, Benoit, and all subsequent scholarship sifting their treatments, the four years of the Second Revolt represented the principal phase of the Murabbaʿāt caves during the Roman era. Based on what was known when *Les Grottes* was published, this conclusion was eminently sensible. Until recently, little reason existed to question it. But fundamental questions are now in the air and cannot be ignored. At issue is the accurate attribution of the finds.

De Vaux acknowledged that some evidence most likely should be associated with the First Revolt. This included four bronzes spanning the years 42–69 C.E., the last a minting of Year Four inscribed לגאלת ציון "for the redemption of Zion." Certain of the ceramics had parallels with those of Khirbet Qumran period II, which ended with the First Revolt. Of the textual material, Milik assigned to First Revolt habitation Mur 18, an I.O.U. explicitly dated to the second year of Nero, and more tentatively (based on palaeography) the copies of Deuteronomy and Isaiah (Mur 2 and 3), a non-biblical literary text (Mur 6), and Mur 21, a marriage contract.[7] Alongside the much more

[4] The actual number of the discoveries was somewhat higher. Of the Arabic fragments, most measuring less than a centimeter across, only three of forty-eight were considered worthy of publication.

[5] Substantive reviews were not numerous, but include Delcor, Driver, Feldman, Hooke, and Michaud, on all of which see the bibliography.

[6] For bibliography of the preliminary studies, see Pardee 1982: 122–39 for the Murabbaʿāt Bar Kokhba letters, and Yaron 1960: 157 n. 2 for the legal documents.

[7] Milik in DJD 2:67. Milik also allowed that Mur 32, a very fragmentary deed (of purchase?) or I.O.U., might date to the earlier revolt. The hand seemed early: "Écriture cursive peut-être plus ancienne que celle des documents de la Second Révolt et même que celle de 18 (55/56 ap. J.C.)" (DJD 2:149); however, he also observed similarity with the hand of Mur 30, which he believed dated to 134. Accordingly, he refrained from definitely assigning Mur 32 to either period.

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plentiful materials of the Second Revolt, however, these several pieces of evidence were comparatively minor. De Vaux was inclined to associate them with habitation by a single refugee family: "Il est donc possible qu'à la fin de la Première Guerre Juive ou au lendemain de cette guerre les grottes aient été le refuge d'une famille juive fuyant les Romains ou de zélotes continuant la résistance."[8]

To de Vaux the Second Revolt period seemed to be abundantly documented by dated objects. Numismatic evidence was critical and included city coins dated by the emperors, one of 113/114, one of 119/120, and nine Bar Kokhba issues.[9] The dated or securely datable texts were equally fundamental to de Vaux's conclusions: Mur 19, a writ of divorce (understood to date to 111 C.E.); Mur 20, a marriage contract (thought to date to 117 C.E.); a deed of sale, Mur 22 (131 C.E.); the διάστρωμα of 124 C.E., Mur 24; the several Bar Kokhba letters; and finally Mur 115, the previously noted Greek contract of remarriage (124 C.E.). The sure lines laid down by these objects guided the archaeologist's thinking regarding the less precise brush strokes of other types of evidence:

> Le témoignage concordant des monnaies et des textes nous révèle la nature de cette occupation: pendant la Seconde Guerre Juive, Murabbaʿât a été le repaire d'un groupe de révoltés en lutte contre les Romains. Certains des objets qu'ils y ont abandonnés, les petites sandales d'enfants, les fuseaux et les fusaïoles, les peignes montrent qu'ils s'y étaient réfugiés avec leurs familles.[10]

The first suggestion that the evidence for Roman-period habitation at Murabbaʿāt might need to be reassessed came just a few years after publication of *Les Grottes.* As noted, Milik had dated Mur 19, a writ of divorce composed at Masada, to the year 111 C.E. The Aramaic document explicitly indicated its date and place of composition twice, in lines 1 and 12: באחד למרחשון שנת שת במצדא, "On the first of Marḥeshvan, Year Six, at Masada." For Milik, "l'ère sous-entendue est évidemment celle de l'Éparchie (de la Province d'Arabie, de Boṣra), qui commence le 22 mars 106."[11] He believed that the Romans under L. Flavius Silva, having taken the fortress in 73 C.E., gathered a heterogeneous population, including Jews, to raise crops at Masada for the garrison. These people continued to inhabit and cultivate the forbidding rock for years afterward. Their ranks eventually came to include one Joseph b. Naqsan, who divorced his wife Miriam b. Jonathan and gave her this writ as required by customary law. How the document came to be deposited for later discovery at Murabbaʿāt, Milik did not venture to explain. Of its dating, however, he was confident.

Others were not so sure. Elisabeth Koffmahn was the first to protest. She found Milik's agricultural scenario somewhat bizarre: "kann sich nicht vorstellen, daß nach der Eroberung durch die Römer im Jahre 73 n. Chr. ein jüdische Schneidebrief dort ausgestellt worden ist."[12] She noted that the then-recent discovery and publication of materials from Naḥal Ḥever showed that dating by the provincial era of Arabia would be done explicitly, not with a mere mention of "year six." The Greek papyri of Ḥever's Babatha archive, produced in Mahoza, used such wording as κατὰ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῆς νέας ἐπαρχίας Ἀραβίας. The date reference in Mur 19 had to mean something else:

> Dies kann nur die "Ära der Freiheit" des Jüdischen Krieges gegen die Römer gewesen sein, insbesondere, da wir aus Fl. Josephus Bell. l.c. wissen, daß in Masada eine Gruppe unnachgiebiger Patrioten, die sogenannten Sikarier, sich noch drei Jahre lang nach dem Fall Jerusalems gehalten haben. Masada war die einzige Stadt, in der es ein "Jahres sechs" seit der Befreiung beziehungsweise Rückeroberung im Jahre 66 n. Chr. gegeben hat.[13]

Accordingly, she concluded, the date of Mur 19 might well reference a day in October 71 C.E.

Arriving independently at a similar verdict was Yigael Yadin, whose views took on special force since he had just completed directing the excavations at the site of Masada. In the preliminary report on those excavations published in 1965, Yadin observed in a footnote that he had never been persuaded by Milik's analysis. His own

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[8] De Vaux in DJD 2:48.

[9] Here, too, one might note the hoard that came to light outside the excavations, although it lacked any known connection to the manuscript-bearing caves. Purchased from the bedouin, the hoard included 119 Nabataean drachmas, 51 imperial dinars, and 33 tetradrachmas of Trajan. Milik and Seyrig remarked, "Ce trésor est apparu sur le marché de Jérusalem en 1952.... D'après des renseignements dignes de foi, le trésor a été découvert au wâdi Murabbaʿât.... Les monnaies décrites ne constituent qu'une partie du trésor. Les deniers, notamment, étaient beaucoup plus nombreux, et quelque deux cents d'entre eux, vus chez des antiquaires, n'ont pu être étudiés" (1958: 11).

[10] De Vaux in DJD 2:48.

[11] Milik, DJD 2:106.

[12] Koffmahn 1968: 43.

[13] Koffmahn 1968: 44; cf. 148–55. Note also Koffmahn 1963/64: esp. 128–31.

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discoveries at Naḥal Ḥever had showed him that "whenever Jewish documents were dated by the era of Arabia … this fact was expressly mentioned."[14] The Aramaic texts used the expression ועל מנין הפרכיה דא "and according to the reckoning of this eparchy," which presumably should have appeared in Mur 19 if Milik's dating were correct. In his popular work *Bar-Kokhba,* Yadin adduced another telling argument: the coins. "Our excavations at Masada from 1963–5 revealed not one coin of Bar-Kokhba amongst the five thousand coins discovered there, and from the level of the Roman garrison nothing was found which could be associated with Jewish families. It seems to me, therefore, that the unspecified era on the deed refers to the First Revolt."[15] The inhabitants of Masada had begun the war dating by its era, commencing in 66 C.E. and known from the coins of Year One to Year Five. After Jerusalem fell, they simply continued to use that era, thereby refusing to concede Roman victory.

Since Koffmahn and Yadin wrote, a significant number of specialists (amounting, it would seem, to a consensus) have found their perspectives convincing.[16] Mur 19 should be assigned to the Murabbaʿāt texts of the First Revolt. With this reassignment, the first domino tumbled, striking Mur 20.

Milik himself had raised questions about Mur 20. The first line of the *kětubbā* gives a date in "year eleven" (שנת חדה ע[שרה), but then breaks off. Milik pondered the possibility that the reference might be to a regnal year, but because he believed the lacuna too short to encompass any reasonable possibility, he doubled back to implicit dating by the eparchy of Arabia, essentially reprising his view of Mur 19.[17] Koffmahn rejected this reasoning. She saw no reason to doubt that the lacuna could fit an emperor's name, provided it be short, and she opted for Nero.[18] Klaus Beyer adopted her suggestion in 1984, and others have since agreed that a regnal year is entirely possible.[19] In fact, *pace* Milik, we do not know precisely how long the lacuna may be, and no particular option can be ruled out on physical criteria alone. In view of David Goodblatt's thorough demonstration that, as he put it, "[n]ot a single document certainly written in Iudaea bears a date citing the Arabian era," it seems that some ruler's name ought to be supplied.[20] Nero or Claudius are the two most likely options. If the reference was originally to the former, Mur 20 dates to 65 C.E.; if to the latter, to 51 C.E. When all is said and done, the totality of the evidence probably favors the dating to Claudius, as will become clear.

Thus, today two of the "certainly dated" manuscripts that framed de Vaux's arguments concerning the central Roman phase of Murabbaʿāt have by consensus been removed to the First Revolt column of the ledger. Nor have revisionist suggestions stopped there. The dominoes have continued to topple.

In the mid-1980s, Beyer argued for a possible First Revolt setting for two additional documents, Mur 23 and Mur 32. The date formula partially preserved in the first line of Mur 23 allowed a dating of 67 C.E.: ב10 לשבת שנת חדה לחר[ות "on the 10th of Shevat, Year One of the free[dom (of Jerusalem)." The Hebrew word for "son," however, that Beyer read in (what seemed to be) the lone surviving signature to the contract convinced him that the more probable dating was to the Second Revolt (i.e., 133 C.E.), when he believed the use of Hebrew had been mandated by Simon b. Kosiba. Thus, the First Revolt date was a tentative suggestion at best.[21] Mur 32 preserves no date formulas, but Beyer argued that the use of *zayin* to represent the historical phoneme /ḏ/ in the Aramaic text indicated a date in the latter half of the first century B.C.E.[22] This suggestion also proved a false start, however, since the readings in question were extremely uncertain and could equally well be read as *dālet,* the expected reflex for either the first or second century C.E. Thus neither of Beyer's specific suggestions took root in scholarship. Yet the mere fact that questions were being raised about the dating of the Murabbaʿāt texts was in itself notable. Arguably, Beyer helped channel a critical undercurrent into the 1990s, when the really fundamental re-examination began.

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[14] Yadin 1965: 119, n. 112.

[15] Yadin 1971: 188–89.

[16] Beyer 1984: 307; Yadin and Naveh 1989: 9–11; Cotton and Geiger 1989: 1–2; Cotton 1999: 224 (this is evidently Cotton's final, considered view; in between the two publications noted, she had been swayed by Freeman 1986: 38–46, to readopt Milik's dating; thus in Cotton, Cockle, and Millar 1995: no. 288 and n. 15; cf. her joint work with Yardeni, DJD 27:148 and nn. 81–82); Goodblatt 1999; Eshel 2002: 158–59; 2003: 94–95; Eshel, Broshi, and Jull 2005: 48–49.

[17] Milik in DJD 2:111.

[18] Koffmahn 1968: 45–46.

[19] Beyer 1984: 309.

[20] Goodblatt 1999: 255.

[21] Beyer 1984: 312. In point of fact, portions of four surviving signatures can be read on the significantly effaced verso of Mur 23. Of the three where one can determine the language used, all are apparently Aramaic. The signature to which Beyer referred should be read as]◦ יהוחנן בר̊ (line 3).

[22] Beyer 1984: 316.

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In 1999 two scholars, working, as it seems, each without knowledge of the other, separately suggested reassigning a notable selection of the manuscripts to the First Revolt. Their selections overlapped, but were based on largely different arguments. Hanan Eshel made his suggestions in a paper delivered at a conference jointly hosted by the University of Minnesota and Macalester College on April 21–23, 1999.[23] His focus was on the Murabbaʿāt texts that mentioned Jerusalem prominently: Mur 22, 25, 29, and 30. The first two texts listed use related date formulas, לגאולת ירושלים and לחרות ירושלים, respectively "of the redemption of Jerusalem" and "of the freedom of Jerusalem." The second grouping of texts explicitly specifies the place of composition as Jerusalem. For Eshel, Milik's dating of these texts to the Second Revolt initially became problematic because as time had passed, almost no Bar Kokhba coins had ever been discovered in Jerusalem.[24] That phenomenon seemed very difficult to explain on the hypothesis that the rebels under Simon b. Kosiba held Jerusalem for any appreciable time during that uprising. Moreover, Eshel had himself discovered in a refuge cave used by Jews during the Second Revolt two Aelia Capitolina coins, the sort minted by Hadrian.[25] "These finds clearly led to the conclusion," he explained, "that Aelia was founded in 130 C.E. during Hadrian's visit to Judea, and coins were minted in Aelia before 135 C.E. Clearly, the rebels could not have held Jerusalem during 133–5 C.E."[26] In obvious contrast, of course, Jewish rebels held Jerusalem from 66 to 70 C.E., during the First Revolt.

To gain greater clarity regarding the proper dating of these texts, Eshel had two of them, Mur 22 and 29, subjected to radiocarbon analysis. The results: both very probably antedated 78 C.E. The case for attributing all four of these texts to the era of the First Revolt was thus persuasive.

Finally, Eshel suggested that a fifth manuscript, previously thought to originate elsewhere, ought rather to be assigned proximately to Murabbaʿāt, and ultimately to First Revolt Jerusalem: 4Q348.[27] This manuscript was among a group of texts that had been purchased from the bedouin with the understanding that they derived from Qumran Cave 4. When they were officially published, however, Ada Yardeni and Hannah Cotton, the editors, argued that they actually derived from Naḥal Ḥever.[28] Yardeni read the beginning of 4Q348 line 13, where one would expect a date formula, as containing the damaged name of a high priest: וס כוהן גדול◦◦◦◦[, commenting, "No combination of the [uncertain] letters [before וס] … produces the name of a high priest known to us from historical or literary sources."[29] Eshel now proposed to read the letters as *vāv, dālet, yōd,* and the name in question as קומ]ודיוס, referring it to Joseph b. Camydus, high priest from 46 to 47 C.E. Palaeographically, this suggestion was possible. Because the fragmentary text also preserved the phrase "Simon of the timber market," referencing a section of Jerusalem that Josephus mentions in passing (*Bellum judaicum* 2.530), Eshel logically concluded that it came from Jerusalem (as indeed Yardeni also believed), and more provocatively opined, "I believe that this document was found in the caves of Wadi Murabbaʿāt that were used as refuge caves at the end of the First Revolt."[30] Thus it came neither from Qumran, nor from Naḥal Ḥever, but from yet a third locale — a suggestion that, if true, must shake scholarly confidence concerning document attributions made solely on the basis of bedouin assurances.

Since he accepted the arguments for the early dating of Mur 19, and Mur 18 is explicitly dated to the reign of Nero, Eshel was now arguing for the assignment of six Murabbaʿāt texts to the era of the First Revolt, and including 4Q348, for a total of seven documents having been brought to those caves at the end of that rebellion. In all of these points, he seemed likely to be correct. If so, the proportion of the Murabbaʿāt materials assigned to each revolt was now markedly changed, which implicitly raised the possibility that de Vaux's understanding of the relative significance of the Roman-period occupations, and equally that of scholarship in his wake, might need a more thorough reanalysis. Hannah Cotton pushed matters still further.

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[23] Eshel 2002.

[24] Ariel 1982: esp. 293, and Gitler 1996: esp. 328. Over fifteen thousand coins have been unearthed by archaeologists in Jerusalem, among which are numbered only three over-struck by the insurgents.

[25] The story of this discovery is most easily followed up in Eshel 1997.

[26] Eshel 2002: 158.

[27] See also Eshel 1999: 499–500. Eshel later had second thoughts about this suggestion, and urged that 4Q348 be understood as a Qumran text; thus 2001: esp. 134. The connection to Murabbaʿāt is nevertheless more likely (see below).

[28] Yardeni makes the case regarding 4Q347 and 4Q359 in DJD 27:283–84. Further evidence for confusion among the lots purchased from the bedouin comes from her joining of P. Ḥev 50 with Mur 26; see ibid., 123–29.

[29] Yardeni, DJD 27:302.

[30] Eshel 2002: 160.

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In an article published in that same year of 1999 in the *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*,[31] Cotton began by noting the difficulty of dating Mur 29 and 30 to the Second Revolt, as Milik had done. For if that dating were adopted, then it would follow that the Jews must have had control of Jerusalem as late as September/October 135 C.E., the date putatively given in Mur 30. This would be highly problematic for the accepted scholarly view, based on rabbinic literature, that the fall of Bethar occurred in July of 135. Was one to believe that Jerusalem was still in rebel hands *after* the supposedly climactic defeat at the village to its southwest?

Moreover, Cotton had been informed by Yardeni of the latter's new reading of the date formula in Mur 22, "on the 14th of Marḥeshvan, Year Four of the redemption of Israel,"[32] that is, October/November of 135 — another month beyond the (seemingly impossibly late) date of Mur 30. The chronological and geographical implications now in prospect would overturn much that had been believed about the Second Revolt. Rabbinic literature gave no indication that the Jews ever took Jerusalem at all. Were scholars now to acknowledge not only that Jerusalem had fallen to the Jews, but also that imperial forces were continuously repulsed, unable to recapture and hold the city, so that the rebels invested it for at least three years, from August/September of 133 (the date of Mur 29) until nearly the end of 135? In that case, why would rabbinic literature fail to record a "battle of Jerusalem" as the climax to the revolt, rather than making Bethar decisive? Cotton's solution to all these vexations: reassign the Hebrew contracts Mur 22, 29, and 30 to the First Revolt.

Supportive of that possibility, she noted, was the archaeological fact that Murabbaʿāt had been inhabited at the time of that earlier bid for freedom. Thus it was possible that its caves had served as refuge during both revolts. Beyond that, Cotton emphasized the differences between the date formulas of Mur 29 and 30 and those preserved in texts certainly composed during the Second Revolt. The latter group, numbering eight texts, (almost) always mentioned the name of Simon b. Kosiba and often gave him credit for "freeing" or "redeeming" Israel.[33] Of course, neither sort of phrase was found in the texts Cotton proposed to reattribute. In other words, she implied, First Revolt texts could usually be distinguished by the absence of regnal dating.

That observation led her directly to Mur 19 and "Year Six" at Masada, and thence to other Aramaic texts from Murabbaʿāt. None disputed the dating of Mur 18 to 55/56, Nero's second year. Mur 20, referring to "Year Eleven," and inscribed, as it said, in Hardona (near Jerusalem), likely could refer to the same emperor. Milik himself had suspected that Mur 21 was earlier than the Second Revolt materials. The broken date formula in Mur 23 could be read either as Milik had done,]לשנת חדה "Year One of," or as Yardeni was now suggesting,]לשנת חמש "Year Five of." For Cotton, the new reading was decisive: "[It] must refer to the first revolt."[34] Mur 25 was dated to "Year Three of the freedom of Jerusalem," which by analogy to the Hebrew texts might well refer to the First Revolt. Finally, Mur 26, though lacking a preserved date formula, was akin to Mur 20 in having participants said to be from Jerusalem or nearby. Thus, Cotton was proposing that a total of ten Murabbaʿāt manuscripts should certainly, or would better, be assigned to the First Revolt.

Her collection included all of Eshel's except for 4Q348, plus Mur 20, 21, 23, 25, and 26. Taking the two scholars together, then, eleven texts were now being assigned to the First Revolt and the region of Jerusalem, ten of which had not been among de Vaux's original assessment. Eshel's proposals seemed as sound as such things are likely to be; as for Cotton, a number of her suggestions were convincing, especially where her selection overlapped Eshel's and her reasoning fortified his suggestions by offering new reasons. For texts such as Mur 22, 29, and 30, their combined case for a First Revolt dating appeared decisive. Yet arguments for other texts in Cotton's list fell short of that degree of probability, as her own cautious wording recognized.

Regardless of the individual scholar's view of any one of these proposed reassignments, the need for further consideration is surely evident. A different approach, summarized perhaps by a new question, may prove heuristic. Accordingly: Who brought the texts to the caves? What can one reconstruct of the human dimension involved?

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[31] Cotton 1999.

[32] Milik had originally read the formula as "Year One," that is, 131 C.E., as he suggested, or (according to a different scheme for the years of the revolt, followed by Yardeni) 132 C.E. See DJD 2:118 and note *ad loc*., 120.

[33] The only exception would be the text now known as P. Ḥev 8a, which says simply, "20 Adar, Year Three of the freedom of Israel." Prepared by the same scribe who wrote P. Ḥev 8, where the date is explicit as "Year Three of the freedom of Israel in the days of Simon b. Kosiba," no doubt can attend its attribution to the Second Revolt.

[34] Cotton 1999: 224. In fact, Cotton was mistaken on this point, as the number five could equally well apply to regnal dating, either by a Roman emperor (e.g., Nero), or by a Jewish high priest, as in 4Q348. Of the second option Cotton had, of course, no real opportunity to be aware.

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What can prosopography contribute? This promising avenue has never been adequately pursued for Murabbaʿāt texts attached to the Second Revolt; for those potentially of the First Revolt, it has never been explored at all.

ARCHIVES OF THE FIRST REVOLT

The place to begin is with the concept of archive, that is, not just documents, but *groups of related documents.* Many of the Murabbaʿāt papyri are legal writ of one sort or another. The mere fact that a person fleeing for his or her life brought them to the caves speaks for their perceived immense importance. When decisions had to be made about what to carry along and what to leave behind, individuals *in extremis* chose these documents. They evidently hoped to use them to reconstruct their lives, to regain property and reclaim status when life returned to normal. Nor were these arbitrary selections from a communal village archive.

We know from the archaeology that a relatively small number of individuals, and naturally fewer families, fled to the caves. In ideal circumstances, therefore, it would be possible to recognize connections among the related texts: to name names, as it were, for a great portion of what survives. The archives would then lie patent to modern eyes. Unfortunately, fortuitous manuscript survival and uncertain recovery at least jeopardizes, and perhaps dooms, any such effort at intellectual salvage. Certain of the original connections are surely lost; others, obscured and opaque. Yet, given the potential benefit to historical understanding, the search is worth pursuing. The objective must be to reconstruct one or more "conceptual archives" — personal archives not found in situ, hence only conceptual, loosely held, but archives nevertheless: archives potentially historical. If, among surviving texts, possible connections can be discerned and people related, then the likelihood is good — much better than in a random situation — that the connections are real and that actual archives, not mere imaginary constructs, are in view. If, further, relationships established, documents can be dated as groups and attached to the First Revolt, then this archival approach will indurate, and perhaps even expand, earlier suggestions by Eshel, Cotton, and others.

Judging from both rabbinic literature and actual archaeological discoveries, it is plain that many ancient Judaeans did possess personal archives. Tannaitic texts presuppose the fact without explanation. Consider, for example,

> עשרה דלוסקמין מלאים שטרות יש לי בידך ...
>
> You have ten bags full of my documents... (*t. Shĕḇūʿōt* 5:6).

> מצא בחפיסה או בגלוסקמא, תכריך של שטרות, ואגודה של שטרות — הרי זה יחזיר.
> כמה היא אגודה של שטרות, שלושה קשורים זה בזה.
>
> If one found within a satchel or a bag a bundle of documents, or a batch of documents, they must be returned. And what is a "batch" of documents? At least three tied to one another (*m. Bāḇāʾ mĕṣīʿāʾ* 1:8).

People had batches, bundles, bags of documents. Legal writ permeated late Second Temple Judaea. Whereas praxis in Persian times had arguably been largely oral, with the advent and progress of Hellenization, Jewish society began to put markedly greater emphasis upon the written instrument.[35] Many came to possess personal legal materials, and theoretical scenarios such as those portrayed by the excerpts above were a part of the warp and woof of daily existence. Any propertied individual was likely to have at least a small archive sequestered in some safe place. This archive would, of course, feature the person's own name, along with those of family members, prominently, repeatedly. Family members would appear in such roles as witness and *hypographeus.*

Early rabbinic literature further evidences that personal archives often embraced more than a single individual, family, or generation. Archives were personal, but at the same time included documents belonging to the extended family. Not only would it be prudent, often legally necessary, to keep a continuous record of transactions involving property that the person or earlier family had bought or sold, but it was also common to archive the significant documents of earlier generations, retaining them long after such family members had departed to the "house of eternity." Two passages serve to exemplify these points:

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[35] Friedman 2006.

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לא מצינו שטר בין שטרותיו של אבא ששטר זה פרוע.

We have not found among our father's documents that this I.O.U. was ever repaid (*m. Shĕḇūʿōt* 7:7).

אמר להם הלל הזקן הוציאו לי כתובת אמותיכן הוציאו לו ...

(Hillel) said to them, "Bring me your mothers' marriage contracts." They brought them to him ... (*t. Kĕtubbōt* 4:9).

The people these passages portray held their parents' legal documents even though in the first case clearly, and in the second probably, those parents were no longer living. Here are multi-generational records, potentially available for use to establish any number of legal points long after the principals ceased to need the documents. Here, too, is reason to believe that, according to legal necessities, Jews in these years might retain the records not only of parents, but also of grandparents, and perhaps of yet earlier ancestors.

The archives discovered in the Cave of Letters at Naḥal Ḥever can further sensitize us to potential patterns among the Murabbaʿāt texts. Four archives surfaced there. The first, that of Babatha, was unearthed contained in a kind of leather valise and comprised thirty-five documents written in Greek, Jewish Aramaic, and Nabatean. A number of these documents concerned matters other than Babatha's own property and affairs. One such papyrus, P. Yad 7, was a deed of gift that had once belonged to her mother. Three others attached to Babatha's stepdaughter, Shelamzion: a marriage contract, a deed of gift, and a renunciation of claims (respectively, P. Yad 18, 19, and 20). Yet another document, P. Yad 8, belonged originally to one of Babatha's brothers, Joseph b. Simon or Eleazar b. Simon, both of whom were involved in this sale of a white donkey.[36] Thus, although her own materials predominated, the archive might better be characterized not as Babatha's archive per se, but as that of her immediate family.

A second Naḥal Ḥever archive belonged to Eleazar b. Samuel. His papyri were less personal than Babatha's, consisting entirely of leasing contracts he had signed with farmers in En Gedi. Yet the archive was discovered stuffed into a woman's leather bag. Potentially, that fact could be interpreted to mean that Eleazar had requisitioned an old, unwanted bag for his own purposes; but given that Babatha carried some materials for the men in her life, it is preferable to see here an archive carried and sequestered by a female relative or connection of Eleazar's.

Similar in certain respects to Eleazar's archive was the third collection, that of Jonathan b. Baʿya, one of the commanders of Bar Kokhba's forces in En Gedi. His archive comprised nothing but letters received from Simon b. Kosiba and his lieutenants. Like Eleazar's, Jonathan's archive was hidden among the personal belongings of an anonymous woman, wrapped in a bag for wool work. In addition to the fifteen letters in Jewish Aramaic, Hebrew, and Greek, the water skin contained dyed, unspun wool, skeins of wool in various colors, a spindle, a glass jar, and sundry other objects. Evidently a woman was holding the letters for Jonathan.

The fourth archive from the Cave of Letters is a conceptual archive, purchased piecemeal from the bedouin, who claimed in the 1950s that it derived from Naḥal Ṣeʾelim. Since archaeologists discovered additional portions of some of the same documents in the Cave of Letters, however, the actual provenance, Naḥal Ḥever, has become apparent.[37] Hannah Cotton has reconstructed the archive as belonging to a young woman, Salome Komaise, who like Babatha lived out most of her tragically short life in Mahoza.[38] Six Greek and one Jewish Aramaic document make up the archive: a rent or tax receipt evidently once belonging to her first husband, Shamoa b. Simon; a land declaration from the census of 127 C.E. that belonged to Salome's brother (whose name is lost in a lacuna); Shamoa b. Simon's land declaration of that same census; a deed of renunciation between Salome and her mother, Salome Grapte; a deed of gift involving the same two women; a tax or rent receipt that Salome received; and Salome's marriage contract issued by her second husband, Shamoa evidently having died, and dated to August of 131 C.E. Thus this archive, as with Babatha's, combined the woman's personal documents with those of family members. In all four cases, then, it seems that women were carrying the archives.[39] If one may safely extrapolate, women were often the family archivists in ancient Judaea.

[36] The editors of the archive do not connect the principals of this document to Babatha.

[37] Greenfield 1992.

[38] Cotton 1995; Cotton, DJD 27, esp. 158–237.

[39] See the discussions by Ilan (2000) and Peterson (2000).

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Informed by these roughly coeval archives and rabbinic descriptions, one is alerted when sifting the Murabbaʿāt materials to the possibility of multi-generational and multi-linguistic archives. Additionally, they might be the holdings of entire families, not just of single individuals, and female archivists quite possibly kept them.

With these guidelines in mind, and well aware of the necessarily tentative character the evidence assigns to any proposal, three First Revolt families seem to be in view among the Murabbaʿāt texts. An archive represents each family. The first archive, including two (possibly three) texts, may conveniently be denominated the Archive of the Family of Eutrapelus. The texts are Mur 26, Mur 29, and possibly Mur 22. Linking the first two is the patronym of the two principals, Eutrapelus son of Eutrapelus and Cleopas son of Eutrapelus.[40] Of some 3,500 separate, named Judaeans listed in Ilan's *Lexicon of Jewish Names in Late Antiquity*, only one man bore this name apart from the individuals now in question.[41] A Greek name so rare in Judaea is extremely unlikely to have belonged to two separate men, contemporaries at that, both of whom sired sons, both of whose sons were then named among the relatively few texts found in the caves of Murabbaʿāt. Further linking Mur 26 and Mur 29 is the fact that the principals, Eutrapelus and Cleopas, signed them with practiced hands in Greek, even though Mur 26 is an Aramaic deed and Mur 29 a Hebrew one. No other Judaean principal or witness in the entire corpus of the Judaean Desert texts signed a Semitic text in Greek; all others signed in a Semitic tongue, usually in the language of the writ.

Two considerations suggest the provisional placement of Mur 22 in the Eutrapelus archive. First, the scribe of Mur 29, Simon b. Shabi, is also apparently the scribe of Mur 22.[42] This connection could indicate that the Eutrapelus family patronized the same scribal shop, presumably one in their vicinity within Jerusalem, more than once, perhaps regularly for all of their business transactions. Second, both documents mention as neighbors bordering the two properties under transaction "Ḥoni and others." This Ḥoni (a hypocoristic) appears to find mention in other Murabbaʿāt First Revolt texts; his full name was Ḥananiah b. Jonathan (on which more immediately below). A reasonable hypothesis would be that he and his family lived within the city and owned fields immediately outside it, doing so in proximity to the home and holdings of the Eutrapelus family, respectively. For it is observable in late Second Temple legal materials generally that people who lived as neighbors also owned fields and agricultural plots elsewhere situated near each other's holdings. These considerations are inconclusive in assigning Mur 22 to this archive, but they are sufficiently suggestive as to warrant its tentative inclusion.

The second proposed archive may be termed the Archive of the Family of Ḥoni b. Jonathan, the man alluded to above. Several forms of his name, Ḥananiah, run throughout the Murabbaʿāt texts. They are especially notable in those texts already proposed as belonging to the First Revolt. One encounters the formal name only in Mur 30, where a Jonathan b. Ḥananiah is among those listed as intended witnesses (he does not actually sign). Studying the text to discover possible reasons for Jonathan's being a witness, the name of Salome, one of the principals, leaps out: Salome b. Ḥoni b. Jonathan. Jonathan was presumably her brother, hence a logical candidate to witness the transaction. He had been named Jonathan on the principle of papponymy, a common practice among the Jews of the Second Temple. And one of Salome's neighbors is listed as Ḥanin b. Jonathan, quite likely her father, Ḥananiah. Here, then, the same man is plausibly Ḥananiah, Ḥoni, and Ḥanin.

Mur 22 then contributes an additional datum. The inner contract describes as bordering on the property being sold one Ḥanin b. Ḥoni (חנין בר חוני). The outer contract, however, identifies that neighbor as Ḥanin b. Ḥanina

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[40] In the *editio princeps* of Mur 29, Milik read Cleopas' signature as Κ[λέο]πος Εὐτραπέλ[ο]υ χειρὶ ἑαυτοῦ γ(έγραφα); DJD 2:142. Sijpesteijn subsequently offered a slight correction, to read ἐ‹μ›αυτοῦ γ(έγραφα) (1984). Cotton has read Eutrapelus' signature in Mur 26 as [13]Ευ[....]Ευ[[14] χει(ρὶ) ε.[...].[, DJD 27:128, 129, "Note on the Greek Signature." Close study of the photograph under magnification suggests, however, that Eutrapelus simply "lined out" his signature, and that otherwise what he wrote may be read and restored as follows: Ευ — — Ευ[— — ?] χει(ρὶ) ἐμ[αυτ]. The Semitic spelling of his name without patronym appears in line 13 of the outer contract, אוטרפלס.

[41] Ilan 2002: 55 (total individuals) and 280 (Εὐτραπέλος). The other Εὐτραπέλος is a man designated as the father on a Jerusalem ossuary published by C. Clermont-Gannau in 1883 and dated as "pre-70 C.E." (see now conveniently H. Cotton et al. 2010: 534 [#515]). Accordingly, it seems possible that the reference is to the same person who was the father of Eutrapelus and Cleopas here.

[42] Simon also serves as *hypographeus* for the illiterate Shapira b. Jesus in Mur 29, then signs his own signature as a witness: שמעון בר שבי שׂה[ד]. Between the words שבי and שהד, Simon inserted what appears to be a large, stylized *sāmekh*, perhaps representing the word (פר)ס, "scribe." In both cases the hand is recognizably that of the body of the contract. Regarding the suggestion that Simon was the scribe of Mur 22, one notes in addition to the surviving portion of that text's signature (where he again served as *hypographeus*)]שמ, that the letter forms of the outer text of this *Doppelurkunde* are strikingly similar to those of the signatures of Shapira and Simon in Mur 29 — thus the proposal to read and restore his signature in Mur 22 as שמ[עון בר שבי] מָמרה or, less probably, שמ[עון כתב] מָמרה.

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(חנין בר חנינא). Thus the same father is alternately Ḥoni or Ḥanina. Apparently he was known indifferently by either of these hypocoristic forms — as well, of course, as by the formal name Ḥananiah, and again by Ḥanin. His son, Ḥanin, will also have borne the formal name Ḥananiah, as his listed name is yet another hypocoristic for that rather common, indeed biblical, Hebrew appellation. Thus one finds as allonyms Ḥananiah, Ḥoni, Ḥanina, and Ḥanin: a confusing, dangerous quadruplet for the historian.

A fair number of the contracts designate men by one of these onomastic options. In normal circumstances it would be rash to conclude that they all involved the same family; but here, given the very restricted population pool represented by the Murabbaʿāt refugees, that danger is greatly diminished. Nevertheless, the proposal to connect these individuals must be understood as surmise, for all that it fairly forces itself upon the reader of the writs. Which of several potential men may be in view, *avus aut pater aut filius*, is naturally more tentative by a degree of separation.

The proposed texts for the Archive of the Family of Ḥoni b. Jonathan include the following: Mur 18, 19, 25, 27, 32, 33, and 4Q348. The borrower in the I.O.U. Mur 18 is one Absalom b. Ḥanin, said to hail from Kefar Signa, west of Jerusalem, though at the time of the contract he lived in Kislon, where the contract was executed. It may well be, then, that Ḥoni b. Jonathan and his family were originally from Kefar Signa, and that they only came to reside in Jerusalem a few years before the outbreak of the revolt.[43] Mur 19 is the Masada writ of divorce issued to Miriam b. Jonathan. Conceivably she could be Ḥoni's sister, but that option seems unlikely. For if she were, she would have been born in the neighborhood of 10 C.E., the approximate date suggested for him by a genealogical reconstruction (see table 20.2, below). That would make her an old woman at the time of her divorce in 71 C.E. and also place her and her erstwhile husband among the rebels at Masada as sexagenarians: not impossible, but hardly attractive. Hence it seems better to suggest that Miriam was the daughter of that Jonathan who was the potential witness of Mur 30 noted above. She will then have been born about 50 C.E., and in her early twenties at the time of her divorce. (Women typically married as early as thirteen or fourteen.) Leaving Masada, she made her way, presumably not alone but under escort, to the caves of Murabbaʿāt and her family. The implied connection between freedom fighters who knew one another's location after the fall of Jerusalem should not be overlooked.

Her putative father, Jonathan, finds mention in Mur 32, which is probably an I.O.U.[44] That text, it will perhaps be recalled, was one concerning whose palaeographic date Milik wavered, tending at times to date it as early as Mur 18. Yardeni also favored a first-century date on palaeographic grounds, assigning it to the years 66–73 C.E.[45]

Mur 25 is a deed of sale involving a house, land, and the accompanying immovables. The vendor is designated simply as Ḥanina. As it was composed in "year three of the freedom of Jerusalem," this is a third text (with Mur 18 and 19) potentially dating this archive to the First Revolt. Mur 27 is another deed of sale for immovable property, whose principal's patronym survives, the first name lost, as b. Ḥanina. One of the witnesses to the text, whose name has broken away, came from Hebron, just as did a witness to Mur 26 — almost certainly a First Revolt text from Jerusalem.[46] That person's name also failed to survive. Here we have a tenuous wartime Jerusalem connection. Conceivably, these contracts involve the same Ḥanina b. Ḥoni known from Mur 22; Mur 25 might also be writ belonging to the father, Ḥanina b. Jonathan. Yardeni allowed that both texts could be first-century products on the basis of the palaeography.[47]

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[43] The matter hinges on the reconstruction of 4Q348, below. Also possible is that some members were born in Kefar Signa, others in Jerusalem.

[44] The text may also be a deed of purchase, but those types of contract were usually, to judge from what survives, *Doppelurkunden*. Mur 32 has no signatures on the verso, unlike the double contracts, and so is more likely an I.O.U. in its ordinary "simple" format.

[45] Yardeni 2000: 1:35, 2:24.

[46] Neither Milik nor Yardeni remarked the damaged letters apparently belonging to signatures beneath Ḥanina's in Mur 27. Beyer (1984: 313) did discern some illegible letters and also proposed to read a name, חֻנְּין. Under magnification of the digitized image, the preferable reading of the letters beneath בֻּר חנינה על נפשה [חנינא?] is שֻׁהד [PN בר PN], "[PN b. PN], witness," and beneath that, חֶבְרן [מן] "[from] Hebron," the provenance of the nameless witness. The argument placing Mur 26 in Jerusalem also involves new readings. According to line 6 of that document, in the lower text, one of the owners of property bordering the lot being sold was אלעזר בר משחֻ. (Yardeni [2000: 1:37] read only בר מ◦חֻ and does not make the proposed connection.) This neighbor appears to have been the scribe of the text, for it is possible to read line 29 as אלעזר בר] מֻשחה כתב ספריא "Eleazar b.] MSḤ wrote the contracts." Since immediately below the scribe's name, his provenance is explicit, "from Jerusalem" (מן ירושלם), it follows that the contiguous property he owned was also almost certainly in that city; ergo, the contract was written there, too. The reason for the unusual specification of his native provenance may have been the fact of the many refugees who had swollen wartime Jerusalem. In that situation, confusion and uncertainty about people's normal residence could have prompted particular care; the other two witnesses also have specified provenance, the second witness being said to come "from the city" ([מן הקר]ֻה or just מן הקרֻ), presumably Jerusalem.

[47] Yardeni 2000: 1:29–30, 2:22 (Mur 25); and 1:31, 2:23 (Mur 27).

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Mur 33 is an especially interesting text in that it connects two of the suggested First Revolt families. It concerns some money that has changed hands, the amount lost in lacunae, and so is either an I.O.U. or a receipt. Attached to the money is Simon b. Ḥanin, presumably another son of Ḥoni b. Jonathan. Simon is illiterate; a *hypographeus*, the scribe of the text, signed for him.[48] That a scion of a wealthy Jerusalem family would be incapable of signing his name is not without interest. But the more immediately pertinent datum in the contract is the signature of the only witness: he appears to be the Cleopas son of Eutrapelus known from Mur 29. There, as the vendor of a plot of land, perhaps a vineyard, he commissioned a contract written in Hebrew and signed it in Greek. Here, acting as witness — and so not the man who hired the scribe — he signed an Aramaic document with a Semitic (in fact, Nabataean) reflex of his Greek name: קלובו בר א[וטרפלוס שהד].[49] Why a Nabataean form should have been the choice is a mystery, though such forms were not especially uncommon among the Judaeans of these years.[50] In general we know that certain Greek/Semitic equivalencies existed in late Second Temple culture as a matter of convention. Thus, קלובו will perhaps have been an ordinary reflex of Κλέοπος, just as Semitic ישוע was of Greek Ἰάσων, or שמעון of Σίμον.[51] Mur 33 appears to cement the case that the families of Eutrapelus and Ḥoni b. Jonathan knew each other, probably as neighbors in Jerusalem. The signature of Cleopas also confirms the placement of Mur 33 among the First Revolt texts.

The last of the seven documents that may belong to Ḥoni's family archive is 4Q348, and this one requires a bit more discussion. Eshel had proposed, it will be recalled, that 4Q348 derived ultimately from Jerusalem and came to be deposited among the Murabbaʿāt materials when refugees fled the city after its fall in 70 C.E. He also argued for a reading of line 13 as קום]ודיוס כוהן גדול, referring to Joseph b. Camydus, high priest from 46 to 47 C.E. These were significant claims to make and represented a breakthrough in the understanding of this enigmatic document. Intensive study of photographs of the text suggests, however, that these claims are also partially incorrect.

Eshel was correct in connecting 4Q348 to Jerusalem. He did not observe it, but the city's name can be read in just the portion of the contract where form criticism suggests it ought to occur: for the lower text, at the end of line 13.[52] With the provenance now certain, further progress in comprehending this document becomes possible. For Jerusalem's customary law with regard to deeds of sale differed from that observable elsewhere, as for example in the materials from En Gedi or Mahoza.[53] Jerusalem contracts uniquely began by listing, after the particulars of date and place, the witnesses or signatories (Hebrew חותמים) to the transaction. Thus, *per exemplum*, Mur 30: בעשרים ואחד לתשרי שנת ארבע לגאולת ישראל ברשלים(!) חותמים "On the twenty-first of Tishri, year four of the redemption of Israel, in Jerusalem: witnesses…" (four names follow). Similarly, Mur 22: בארבעה עשר לאלול שנת שתים ל[גאולת] יש[רא]ל בירשלים חותמים "On the fourteenth of Elul, year two of the [redemption] of Is[rae]l, in Jerusalem: witnesses…" (again, four names follow).[54]

These examples demonstrate that the ordinary formulas for a deed of sale in First Revolt Jerusalem were as follows: date-day, date-month, date-year, date-era, place, witnesses. Further, the usual number of signatories, in addition to the principals, would be four. Bearing these form-critical patterns in mind, it becomes possible to make sense of something Yardeni remarked as puzzling in 4Q348: "It appears to be unlike other deeds that have survived from that period. The surviving part of the text consists mainly of names."[55] Knowing that the text should list four witnesses by name, however, one can suggest that lines 13–16 comprise that listing, followed by

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[48] Although the scribe/*hypographeus* is anonymous by reason of damage to the document, the critical reading of a *kaf* ensures that Simon himself was not the scribe, which would otherwise be an obvious possibility. The reading: שמעון בר חנין על נפשא כ[תב PN בר PN ממרה "Simon b. Ḥanin accepts the conditions on his own behalf; PN b. PN wrote at his dictation."

[49] Neither Milik nor Yardeni read the entirety of the crucial lines relevant to the witness. Beyer (1984: 317) made suggestions that are correct on important points, but the reading proposed here is new. In particular, the one surviving letter of the patronym has not previously been deciphered. Cleopas' hand was idiosyncratic, his letter forms personal, so that the *ālef* is not a certain reading (and is marked accordingly). Also, the reading of קלובו proposed here may equally be קלופו; that possibility would not, of course, endanger the equation with Κλέοπος. Note that in Mur 29, Cleopas' name appears twice in the Hebrew text, spelled by the scribe as קלבוס (lines 1 and 11) — that is, not the Semitic form, but rather a Semitic spelling of the Greek form. See Yardeni 2000: 1:48–50.

[50] Ilan 2002: 28.

[51] On such pairs, with specific comments regarding the name Κλέοπος, see Baukham 1990: 17.

[52] Yardeni, DJD 27:301, attempted no reading here.

[53] The rabbis acknowledged that customary law differed from place to place and recognized the validity of different customs for legal documents. Cf., e.g., *m. Kětubbōt* 4:12, where the laws of the marriage contract (*kětubbā*) differ between Jerusalem and outlying Judah; note also the beginning of tractate *Giṭṭīn* in the Mishnah for regional differences.

[54] Readings follow Yardeni 2000: 1:51–5 and 1:46–7, respectively.

[55] Yardeni, DJD 27:300.

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the principals, who are indeed unusually numerous, but otherwise just where form criticism would put them. The following reading and reconstruction emerge:

13 ב (date) ל (month name) שנת שתים ליהוסף קמ]ודיוס כוהן גדול ביר[ו]שׁ֯לׄיׄ֯ם
14 [חותמים PN בר PN PN בר י]הוסף מתתיה בר שמעון אלעזר [בר שבי]
15 [אמרו PN בר PN PN בר יהו]חנן אלעזר בר שמעון בר חוני כׄ[לם מן]
16 [ירושלים ל PN בר PN PN בר יהוס]ף֯ ב[ר י]הוחנן יהוסף בר◦◦◦◦

Translation: [13][On the (date) of (month), the second[56] year of Joseph Cam]ydus the High Priest, in Jer[u]salem. [14][Witnesses: PN b. PN, PN b. J]oseph, Matthew b. Simon, Eleazar [b. Shabi]. [15][PN b. PN, PN b. Yo]ḥanan, Eleazar b. Simon, (and) Bar Ḥoni, a[ll of them from Jerusalem, said] [16][to PN b. PN, PN b. PN, Jose]ph b. [Y]oḥanan, (and) Joseph b. (illegible PN)...

It appears, then, that eight men other than the witnesses were involved in the obscure transaction recorded by this contract. Several of the persons named beg comment. The first, the witness Eleazar b. Shabi (אלעזר [בר שבי]), probably requires by his mere presence a revised date for the document, placing its composition in the early 60s, some fifteen years later than Eshel had suggested. The reasoning is as follows. The witnesses to 4Q348 signed it in an exceptional manner, rotating the papyrus and inscribing their names perpendicularly between the upper and lower texts, rather than, as is usual with *Doppelurkunden*, signing on the reverse. Traces of three names remain. Only one can be read with any confidence, but this is the name that connects this text with at least two other Murabbaʿāt texts likely to derive from First Revolt Jerusalem: [א]לעזרׄ בׄרׄ שבי.[57] Recall that another b. Shabi, Simon b. Shabi, signed Mur 29 as a witness and was the probable scribe of Mur 22. Note, too, that the name Shabi was exceptionally rare. Apart from its appearance in Mur 29 and here in 4Q348, the name is attested on two ossuaries discovered in Isawiyya, near Jerusalem, and published by Eliezer Sukenik in 1930.[58] These ossuaries, evidently related, are thought to antedate the fall of Jerusalem in 70 C.E. Otherwise, the name never occurs in Second Temple sources. Accordingly, the two men Simon b. Shabi and Eleazar b. Shabi are very likely to be brothers, and both of them scribes as well. If so, given the dating of Mur 22 and 29 to the decade of the 60s, when Simon was active, one may most reasonably attribute the activity of the second scribal brother, Eleazar, witness to 4Q348, to the same decade. That probability in turn focuses attention on a second figure in the text, the high priest, Joseph Camydus.

Eshel had identified the high priest of 4Q348 with a figure twice referenced by Josephus (*Antiquitates judaicae* 20.16, 103), bearing a name usually regularized in English as Joseph b. Camydus. In point of fact, however, his patronym is variously spelled in the manuscript tradition of *Antiquitates* as Καμεί, Κάμη, Καμυδός, Καμοιδί, Κεμεδί, and Κεμεδή. Most scholars would see this tradition as an increasingly corrupt rendering of Semitic קמחית.[59] This name is attached by the Talmud to an earlier, presumably ancestral, high priest, Simon b. Camithus (17–18 C.E.), and may be related to the Aramaic word for "flour," קמחא. But even that connection is problematic, hence probationary. The entire discussion of this name is little more than informed guesswork. We do not know for certain how the name was heard, or whence derived, in either Greek or Semitic. Josephus renders the ancestral Camithus as Κάμιθος, perhaps related, but obviously not identical, to the name Καμῆτις recorded in Egyptian papyri and sometimes suggested as a *comparandum.* A derivation from Latin *Commodus* has also been proposed.[60] Uncertainty and complexity are the watchwords here: it is entirely possible that none of the proposed Greek, Latin, or Semitic *comparanda* and derivations is correct. Eshel's proposed reading steers well through dangerous waters, but the degree of our ignorance about ancient *onomastica* and the contingent interplay here among that ignorance, palaeography, and history must be frankly acknowledged. If, however, on balance קמודיוס is the best option for reading

[56] *Exempli gratia* only; the first year is equally possible.

[57] Strangely, scholars have not previously attempted to read the names of the witnesses. The reading here then prompts the reconstruction of the name at the end of line 14.

[58] Ilan 2002: 213. A related "Nabataean" form, שביו, is also attested once, on a jar discovered at Masada.

[59] On the manuscript tradition and possible talmudic intersections, see conveniently Schürer 1973–87: 2:230–31 and nn. 11, 16.

[60] On all of these options, see Ilan 2002: 425–26. Ilan here reads Eshel (1999: 499–500) as suggesting the equation with Commodus. In fact, however, he nowhere does more than equate with Josephus' Καμυδός. He does not explain the name's derivation. Thus the Roman equation, implicitly acceptable to her, becomes Ilan's own. VanderKam (2004: 454–55) finds Eshel's suggestion attractive while noting its uncertainty. He also remarks the possibility of reading the name as נ]דביוס, thus dating 4Q348 to the reign of Ananias b. Nedebaeus (48–59 C.E.). That possibility can fit equally well with the proposals below for the date of 4Q348, probably putting it in the late 50s.

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4Q348, and that Semitic spelling does represent a reality hidden as Καμυδός behind Josephus' welter of readings, then another complication intrudes itself. A man with a name similar to Eshel's Joseph Camydus ascended to the high priesthood in 61–62 C.E.

That man bore a name usually rendered as Joseph Cabi b. Simon (*Antiquitates judaicae* 20.196; *Bellum judaicum* 6.114). The manuscript tradition for Cabi is comparable to that for Camydus, offering variously Καβί, Δεκαβί, and Κάμης.[61] With the last name we step once more onto the onomastic merry-go-round we have already visited for Joseph Camydus, and scholars therefore typically consider this later figure to be related both to Eshel's man and to the ancestral Camithus.[62] Accordingly, if קמודיוס can reference Joseph Camydus, high priest in 47–48 C.E., it can equally well reference Joseph Cabi b. Simon, occupant of the office some fifteen years later. And that later option better accords with the probable floruit of the two sons of Shabi. If this reasoning is accepted, then Eshel's suggestion for the dating of 4Q348 to the earlier man must be modified. This document dates instead to the year 61 or 62, the eve of the First Revolt, the approximate time when Josephus returned from a diplomatic mission to Rome and set foot anew in Palestine: "There I found revolutionary movements already on foot and widespread elation at the prospect of revolt from Rome."[63] The explosive social setting both explains the use of a high-priestly era for the dating of 4Q348 and turns attention to a third figure in the text.

The high-priestly era is highly significant. Eshel somewhat underplayed the sharp force of the fact:

> If we are correct that the high priest is mentioned in the dating formula of this deed, then this evidently proves that some people dated deeds according to the high priests' service. It can be assumed that these were Jews who were scrupulous in not using the years of the reign of the Roman emperors when dating their documents.[64]

1 Maccabees provides the lens through which to regard this dating. According to that work, in 141 B.C.E. the Jewish people slipped from beneath the control of the Seleucids to the north and proclaimed that fact by using new dating formulas in their documents: "In the one hundred seventieth year the yoke of the Gentiles was removed from Israel, and the people began to write in their documents and contracts, 'In the first year of Simon the great high priest and commander and leader of the Jews.'"[65] To begin dating by the high priests in the run-up to the First Revolt was itself a revolutionary act, by intent a repulsion of the Roman yoke, and probably tells us something about each of the participants in this contract. In early 60s Jerusalem, revolution was the topic of the hour among priestly circles, especially younger priestly circles, and it was a matter of parties and factions;[66] this connection spotlights the name of Eleazar b. Simon in line 15 of 4Q348.

The name Eleazar b. Simon is very prominent in Josephus' narratives about the First Revolt.[67] A priest and member of the ruling class, he was the ringleader of a faction that Josephus denominates "Zealots" (not to be confused with the generic term for revolutionary). This faction helped to seize control of the Temple in 66 C.E. and force cessation of the sacrifices on behalf of the emperor, an action that precipitated a chain of events that led directly to the war. Eleazar and the Zealots then controlled the Temple's inner court for virtually the whole of the war, sometimes by themselves, sometimes in concert with other revolutionary factions, prominently the group led by John of Gishala. Association with this Eleazar would by inference draw the family of Ḥoni b. Jonathan near to the center of revolutionary events. It might suggest that they were priestly. It would further imply that they did not so much flee Jerusalem to save their lives as choose to continue the war in the Judaean Desert (along with numerous other insurgents). The caves of Murabbaʿāt would accordingly take on a new aspect. But is the Eleazar of 4Q348 the same man as the factional leader?

Both Eleazar and Simon are exceedingly common names, a fact strongly warning against facile identification. At the same time, adding to the name the evident revolutionary character of the dating formula would seem to improve the chances markedly. If this is not the Zealot Eleazar b. Simon, then this is a man of compatible radical views. Certainty is impossible absent further information, but we may cautiously begin to see the Murabbaʿāt First Temple documents in a different light. Attention then turns to the fourth and final significant figure in this maddeningly fragmentary source.

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[61] Schürer 1973–87: 2:232 and n. 19.

[62] See VanderKam 2004: 475–76 for a recent summary of the few facts known about the man.

[63] *Vita* 17; trans. per Thackeray 1926.

[64] Eshel 2001: 133.

[65] 1 Maccabees 13:41–42.

[66] For judicious discussion, see Goodman 1987: esp. 137–51.

[67] On Eleazar b. Simon and the Zealots, see Price 1992: 17–19 and 102–74.

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That figure is Bar Ḥoni, mentioned last in the asyndetic listing of vendors or, at any rate, actors in line 15. The presence of this name would explain why this text is in the reconstructed archive; presumably, 4Q348 would be Bar Ḥoni's record of the transaction. This man was then arguably one of Ḥoni b. Jonathan's four sons, as proposed from the other texts in his reconstructed archive: Absalom, Simon, Jonathan, or Ḥanina. The appellation Bar Ḥoni was a nickname or "handle." A study of the names "son of X" among the ancient Jews, conducted by Joseph Naveh, showed that a man of any social level might at different times be called by his formal name, his handle (usually a reference to origin, occupation, characteristics, nature, or physical defect), or the expression "son of X." "People spent most of their lives," Naveh observed, "in informal and familiar surroundings, such as military units, working groups, or among friends, where there was a tendency to abbreviate and to drop one of the elements of the 'X son of Y' formula."[68] Thus Bar Ḥoni was evidently a familiar, a friend to Eleazar b. Simon and others listed in the contract, making it yet more reasonable to suggest that he would have shared the revolutionary ideology they had agreed to declare through the high-priestly dating.

In sum, the proposal is to assign seven documents to a reconstructed First Revolt archive of Ḥoni b. Jonathan and family: Mur 18, 19, 25, 27, 32, 33, and 4Q348. A much more tenuous possibility would add an additional two manuscripts to the archive. These two are not certainly related between themselves, so one might accept the one and reject the other. They are Mur 20 and 4Q346. Mur 20, a marriage contract, we have encountered above, noting that its dating formula (שנת חדה ע[שרה "year eleven") would best be taken as a regnal dating, and that further the two best possibilities for the ruler in question were Claudius and Nero. Thus the year of its inscription would become either 51 or 65 C.E. Yardeni allowed that a first-century dating was possible on the basis of the letter forms.[69]

We know from the study of other surviving marriage contracts of this general period (e.g., Mur 21; P. Yad 10) that the grooms or their *hypographeis* normally signed the document in first position. Thus the sole surviving signature of Mur 20, located in first position, is probably that of the groom:]יהודה בר יהו֯ "Judah b. *yhw*[ ]." In turn, it seems probable that the מנשה of line 2 is his grandfather. If one tentatively restored the damaged patronym of the signature as יהו֯[נתן "Jonathan," then Mur 20 lines 1–2 might be read and restored as follows and, further, the text assigned to the archive of Ḥoni b. Jonathan: בשבעה לאדר שנת חדה עש֯[רה לקלדוס קסר בהרדונא אמר יהודה בר יהונתן][2] בר מנשה מן בני אלישיב[1] "On the seventh of Adar, year ele[ven of Claudius, Caesar, in Harodona, Judah b. Jonathan] b. Manasseh from Bene Eliashib [said to ...]." Clearly, this is a hypothetical, but one seeks to account somehow for this text's presence among the archives, and this explanation makes sense of the few data we have. The Judah b. Jonathan who would then emerge would be the brother of Ḥoni b. Jonathan, and if the text were dated to the reign of Claudius, he would be seen as getting married (again?) at the age of thirty or forty. The name of Ḥoni and Judah's paternal grandfather, Manasseh, would likewise emerge. This name then potentially implicates 4Q346.

As with 4Q348, 4Q346 is of dubious connection with the site of Qumran. Indeed, as noted, scholars today question whether any documentary texts, as opposed to literary works, come from the caves near that site. Accordingly, it becomes necessary to explain whence they really do derive. One cannot absolutely rule out proximate origin in the Cave of Letters or another Naḥal Ḥever cave; yet palaeographically the dubious documentary materials mostly date to the first century C.E. or B.C.E.,[70] whereas textual scholars and archaeologists are in nearly complete agreement that the Naḥal Ḥever caves were unoccupied during the First Revolt and earlier.[71]

Given that a good case can be made for the association of 4Q348 with Murabbaʿāt and the First Revolt, we have reason to sift the other documents in the group 4Q342–348, 4Q351–354, and 356–361 looking for similar possible connections. Composed in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek, the writs are preserved in so fragmentary a condition that they offer little with which to work. 4Q346, however, does provide a few clues for the historian. It is an Aramaic deed of sale that Yardeni dated to the late first century B.C.E.[72] A certain Simon is the vendor, a Manasseh the purchaser. Since it was written during the years when a genealogical reconstruction would place that Manasseh who was grandfather of a putative Judah b. Jonathan, one might tentatively consider placing this text in the Murabbaʿāt archive of Ḥoni b. Jonathan and family.

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[68] Naveh 1990: quotation from 117.

[69] Yardeni 2000: 1:119–20, 2:54.

[70] See the palaeographic discussions attached to each text by their editor, Yardeni, in DJD 27:285–317.

[71] An exception is Freund 2004. His arguments have yet fully to convince any colleague who has responded in print. Eshel (1999: 500 n. 22) allowed the slight possibility ("אי אפשר לפסול לחלוטין את האפשרות") that 4Q348 might derive from Naḥal Ḥever.

[72] The text is published in DJD 27:296–98.

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The third proposed archive may be denominated the Archive of the Family of Dositheos b. Eleazar. Three documents potentially belong here: Mur 21, 30, and 31. At the heart of this collection is Mur 30, for it is the most complete and most suggestive of personal relationships, and so of possible relationships among the texts. The papyrus is a *Doppelurkunde* recording the sale of a sizeable field (4 dunams) in the vicinity of Jerusalem, together with its crops and trees; the seller is the eponymous Dositheos. Composed in excellent vulgar or "Mishnaic" Hebrew, the contract is evidently to be dated — if Eshel and Cotton are correct — to the late autumn of 69 C.E., only eight months before the fall of Jerusalem to Roman forces. The price of the field, 88 *zūz,* is consistent with prices known from other contracts and rabbinic literature. Despite the reign of terror that Josephus portrays as existing within the city at this late stage of the revolt, then, no deflation of property values is evident. This fact is surprising and may say something about the revolutionary sentiments of the people involved.

Another actor in the document is the vendor's wife, Salome b. Ḥoni, who stipulates to the sale and clears the property from any claims of her own. This was necessary as the wife might otherwise retain rights by virtue of her dowry. Typically, dowry monies were the husband's to use while married to a woman, but legally refundable to her upon divorce. If Mur 30 were ever challenged subsequent to a divorce, Dositheos might be accused of having used Salome's monies to make the initial purchase. If he could not clear this accusation, his right to the later sale would be at issue. The purchaser of the property could find himself the owner, so to speak, of a stolen painting: hence, the need for Salome's statement indemnifying the purchase.

As noted above, Salome seems to have been the daughter of Ḥoni b. Jonathan. If valid, this connection is important, for the intermarriage of archival families would likely require that the various First Revolt occupants of the Murabbaʿāt caves did not simply end up together there by chance, haphazardly, each group making its way as best it could amid the slaughter and chaos of Jerusalem's fall, only to have everyone look up when the dust had settled to find themselves together. Rather, some of these people were related and had laid careful plans, devising joint survival protocols. The caves were prepared ahead of time as a desert refuge, should such become necessary, and when the time did come, the families retreated to Murabbaʿāt.

More than the surmise of Salome's paternity potentially links the families of Dositheos and Ḥoni. Recall that in Mur 18, Abraham b. Ḥanin — in the present reconstruction, one of Ḥoni b. Jonathan's sons, and thus Salome's brother — is said to be residing in Kislon in 55 or 56 C.E. According to Mur 30, the same village may be connected to the family of Dositheos as well. A possible reading and reconstruction of lines 10–11 would be: דוסתס בר אלעזר[10] בר אלֿ[עזר מן כ]סלון ישֿ[ב בירושלים[11] "Dositheos b. Eleazar b. E[leazar from Ki]slon, resid[ing in Jerusalem."[73] Thus Dositheos' home village is revealed as Kislon, although he was living in the Judean capital at the time of Mur 30. If this reconstruction is correct, one may reasonably conduce that members of Abraham's family, including his sister Salome, came to know Dositheos and his family in Kislon ten or fifteen years before the inscription of Mur 30. This acquaintance led to intermarriage between the two families. In turn, that relationship brought them all to Jerusalem some years later, where they found themselves when the First Revolt erupted.

Mur 21 is an extraordinarily interesting *kětubbā* or marriage contract recording the union of one Menahem b. [PN] with a bride whose name has only partially survived, as [PN] b. Lazar. Milik noted the scribal peculiarities and concluded on that basis that the text was one of the earliest among the Murabbaʿāt finds:

> Le *ductus* du scribe est très particulier. On notera surtout les formes courbes et arrondies des lettres comme *aleph, bet, dalet, samek,* parfois *lamed, mem, nun, reš, taw;* la distinction très nette entre *bet* et *kaph*; les formes caractéristiques de *hé, mem, taw*; l'alternance des formes finales et médianes; le module varié des lettres: autant d'indices qui pourraient suggérer une date relativement haute pour ce document (avant la Première Révolte?) à moins que ce ne soit maniérisme de scribe.[74]

Several additional aspects of the manuscript layout and language mark it as peculiar. The lines are uneven and the beginning points rather helter-skelter. The Aramaic is notable for its verbal and nominal gender neutralization; for the use of the Greek loan νόμος (נמסא) "law," instead of the term דין normal to *kětubbōt;* and for the use of the informal *nota accusativi* ית, instead of the marker -ל usual in the diction of the Aramaic contracts of this period. One has the impression that this document expresses a generally more informal and quotidian Aramaic

[73] Yardeni 2000: 1:28, 2:51 offers:]◦◦לון◦[ ]◦בר א[10דוסתס בר אלעזר 11. Cf. Cotton 1999: 224, where she suggests a connection between Mur 30 and Kislon, but without proposing a reading.

[74] DJD 2:114.

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than the genre ordinarily adopted. All of these indications point to a non-professional scribe, and indeed, the signatures appear to verify that the writer was none other than the bride's father, Lazar b. Joseph — who wrote with an unpracticed hand.[75]

Lazar is a hypocoristic for Eleazar, the name shared by Dositheos' father and grandfather. If Lazar b. Joseph is indeed related to Dositheos, he obviously could not be his father, Eleazar b. Eleazar. The suggestion is therefore that he may have been his grandfather. The family had retained this old *kětubbā* for two generations beyond its inscription. If this posited connection is correct, then it probably means that Mur 21 is one of the two oldest manuscripts among the surviving materials from Murabbaʿāt.[76] For if Dositheos and Salome b. Ḥoni as man and wife were wealthy Jerusalemite property holders in 69 C.E., then they were perhaps born between 30 and 40 C.E. Receding approximately twenty years for the time between generational births would put the birth of Eleazar b. Eleazar and his sister, [PN] b. Lazar, at about 10 C.E. The birth of Lazar b. Joseph would be about 10 B.C.E. Allowing for the typical female age of fifteen at marriage would place the nuptials of [PN] b. Lazar and Menahem b. [PN] in approximately the year 25 C.E. This extreme age, and the rural setting for its composition, might explain the odd scribal and legal characteristics of Mur 21. All of this is rough-and-ready calculation, of course, but in assessing the facts, it helps to imagine the social context within which this remarkable document may have come into existence.

The inclusion of Mur 31 in the Archive of the Family of Dositheos b. Eleazar depends on the correctness of the proposed linkage between Dositheos and Lazar b. Joseph. Accordingly, this is a very tentative attribution. The document is a fragmentary *Doppelurkunde,* probably recording the sale of some land, as 37 *zūz* changed hands. Yardeni dates the handwriting to the first century C.E.[77] A damaged phrase reads either "daughter of Joseph" (ברת יוסף) or, possibly, "the house of Joseph" (בית יוסף). Potentially this Joseph is Lazar's father, and his daughter, Lazar's sister. If so, this text might be the very oldest of all the Murabbaʿāt manuscripts, originating about the beginning of the Common Era.[78]

Tables 20.1 and 20.2 below summarize and illustrate the foregoing discussion of the three possible family archives.[79] Undoubtedly, some of the suggested connections and attributions are mistaken. The fragmentary state of the evidence virtually guarantees that any effort at historical and prosopographic reconstruction will make wrong turns. Nevertheless, the exercise has shown that it is reasonable to consider that perhaps seventeen documents discovered at Murabbaʿāt have survived from First Revolt Jerusalem. They represent the archives of three(?) families of that place and time who retreated in 70 C.E. to the Judaean Desert, probably to continue the fight along with other *Sicarii*, Zealots, and like-minded freedom fighters. The families, like their texts, were intertwined: Eutrapelus b. Eutrapelus signed as a witness for Simon b. Ḥananiah, binding the archives of their

[75] That Lazar is the writer emerges from several other elements of the contract in addition to the signatures, which themselves may only be fully reconstructed and understood in light of these other elements. The reasoning may begin with the fact, at first puzzling, that Lazar indicates in line 18 that he "confirms everything that is written above." Normally, this is the legal statement of a principal, who agrees to all that has been stipulated and says so, then signs. Thus Lazar is in some sense a principal, who, like the groom, stipulates to the contract's conditions. Then, a reading in line 2, not suggested by Yardeni, indicates the relationships — Lazar is the father of the bride: thus, זר[לע]תון ברתֿ[. Taken with these clues, line 3 suggests that Lazar has given Menaḥem something, probably the money of the *mōhar* or dowry (again, Yardeni has not offered a full reading): יהב לעזר לֿמנ[ח]ם כ[סף זוזין "Lazar hereby [g]ives to Mena[ḥe]m mo[ney, *zūzīn*...]." Finally, one notes that the hand of the second signatory to the contract is that of the writer. In fact, this same person also signs for the first principal, doubtless the illiterate groom, Menaḥem. Another *hypographeus* then signs for the bride. The first witness bears a patronym that may be reconstructed, hypothetically, as Mattat (PN בר מ[תת שׁהּ[ד]). The spacing for the signature of the groom requires that he, too, bore a short patronym, further suggesting the possibility that this first witness was his brother and that the groom's short patronym was therefore also Mattat. The following readings/reconstructions for the first two lines of the signatures result: line 1, נפשה [מנהם בר מתת על]; line 2, [כתב לעזר בר י]הוסף ממֿר[ה] "Menaḥem b. Mattat accepts the conditions on his own behalf; Lazar b. Joseph wrote at his request." Lazar is then remarkably father of the bride, principal, scribe, and *hypographeus* all at once, a combination of roles otherwise unexampled in the materials of the Judaean Desert.

[76] Excepting 4Q346, if it is from Murabbaʿāt.

[77] Yardeni 2000: 1:34, 2:23.

[78] At the same time, the one surviving signature on the verso reads [PN בר] מעון[ש. It is the signature of a principal, since it appears in line 2 of the signatures. Possibly this could be the Simon b. Ḥanin of Mur 33, who, being illiterate as seen above, would have written here by the hand of a *hypographeus.* In that case, Mur 31 would belong to the Archive of the Family of Ḥoni b. Jonathan. The fact that the document was written in Hebrew may also support this second option, since we have little evidence for the use of that tongue in legal texts written in times not arguably connected to the wars with Rome. In the case of this second option, the text would probably fall to the 60s C.E.

[79] The palaeographer's dates in table 20.1 derive from the discussions in Yardeni 2000. The "unattributed" texts either cannot be connected to a specific archive or are so tenuous that it did not seem appropriate to make a definite proposal in the table, even though possibilities are discussed above. The hyphenated lines in table 20.2 characterize the most tentative proposed genealogical connections.

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respective families, and the family of Ḥoni b. Jonathan intersected with that of Dositheos b. Eleazar by intermarriage. Family members from one group find apparent mention in documents belonging to another group. This is a picture notably different from that of Milik and de Vaux, who assigned perhaps two or three manuscripts to a single putative First Revolt refugee family.

Instead, about half of the Aramaic, Hebrew, and Greek textual finds from Murabbaʿāt arguably attach to these three families. The isolation of these three possible archives calls for a next step, a detailed prosopographical study, which promises to contribute important facts about life in antebellum Jerusalem — the home of Josephus. Moreover, as noted, it seems that a re-examination of the totality of the archaeological evidence from Murabbaʿāt may be appropriate. We may find that these caves were much more central to the time of the First Revolt than to that of the Second.

Table 20.1. Possible First Revolt archives among the Murabbaʿāt texts

Archive	*Document*	*Type/Language*	*Family Member*	*Absolute/Internal Date (C.E.)*	*Palaeographer's Date (C.E.)*
Family of Eutrapelus	Mur 22	Deed of Sale/ Hebrew	—	10/69	69
	Mur 26	Deed of Sale/ Aramaic	Eutrapelus b. Eutrapelus	—	1st/early 2nd c.
	Mur 29	Deed of Sale/ Hebrew	Cleopas b. Eutrapelus	8/67	67
Family of Ḥoni b. Jonathan	Mur 18	I.O.U./Aramaic	Absalom b. Ḥanin	55/56	55
	Mur 19	Divorce/ Aramaic	Miriam b. Jonathan	10/71	72
	Mur 25	Deed of Sale/ Aramaic	Ḥanina [b. Ḥanina?]	68/69	ca. 68
	Mur 27	Deed of Sale/ Aramaic	[Ḥanina?] b. Ḥanina	—	1st/early 2nd c.
	Mur 32	Deed of Sale/ Aramaic	Jonathan [b. Ḥanina]	—	66–73
	Mur 33	I.O.U./Aramaic	Simon b. Ḥanin	—	1st/early 2nd c.
	4Q348	Fragment/ Hebrew	b. Ḥoni	61/62	1st c.
Family of Dositheos b. Eleazar	Mur 21	Marriage/ Aramaic	Eleazar b. Joseph	—	1st c.
	Mur 30	Deed of Sale/ Hebrew	Dositheos b. Eleazar	10/69	69
	Mur 31	Deed of Sale/ Hebrew	[Daughter] of Joseph	—	1st c.
Unattributed	4Q346	Deed of Sale/ Aramaic	Manasseh	—	Late 1st c. B.C.E.
	Mur 20	Marriage/ Aramaic	Judah b. Jo[nathan?] b. Manasseh	12/51	66 or 117
	Mur 23	Deed of Sale/ Aramaic	—	—	1st c.
	Mur 28	Deed of Sale/ Aramaic	Joseph b. Gabinius	—	66–73

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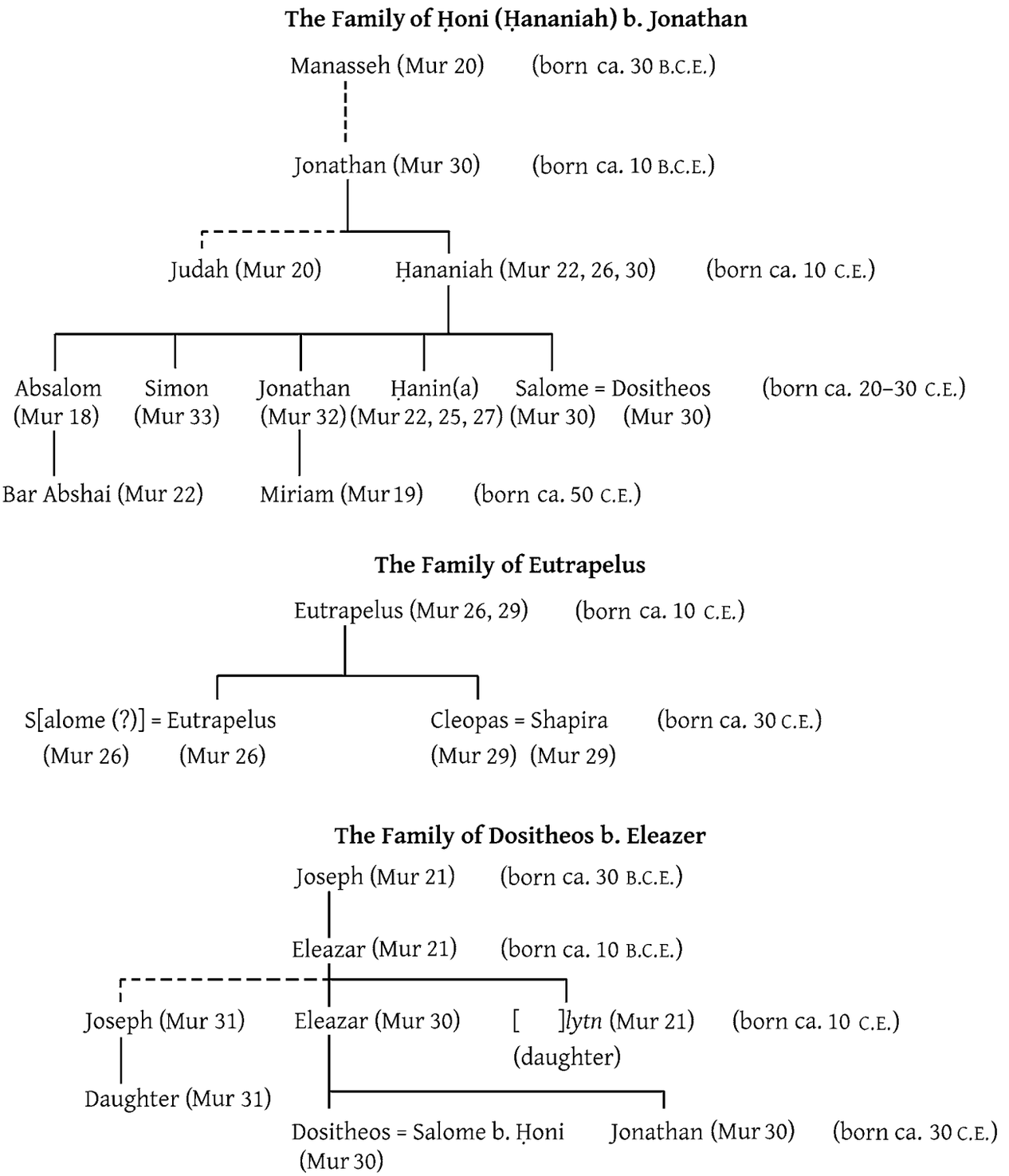
Table 20.2. Three possible First Revolt families



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ABBREVIATIONS

DJD 2	Benoit, Milik, and de Vaux 1961
DJD 27	Cotton and Yardeni 1997
P. Ḥev	Papyrus Ḥever (see Cotton et al. 1995)
P. Yad	Papyrus Yadin (see Cotton et al. 1995)
PN	personal name

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INDEXES

I. MANUSCRIPTS CITED OR NOTED

(for references to the Dead Sea Scrolls, see Index III)

Academy of Oriental Studies, St. Petersburg (Санкт-Петербургский Филиал Института востоковедения Российской академии наук)

B135 151 n/ 12
B217 17 nn. 56, 58, 59

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich

Clm 4112 190 and n. 29, 192 n. 44
Clm 6225 188
Clm 22016 190 and n. 29; pls. 15.1–2
Cod. hebr. 91 205–12
Heb. 2264/6 142 n. 6

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Ebr. 386 204, 206–12
Neofiti 30 204, 206–12
Pal. lat. 2 188
Urb. Ebr. 48 204, 206–12

Biblioteca del Talmud Torah di Livorno

38 142 n. 6

Biblioteca Franzoniana Urbani, Genoa

Cod. 1/2 142 n. 6

Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence

Amiatinus 187
Or. 491 205–12
Pluteo 44.2 105 n. 16

Biblioteca Palatina, Parma

1808 142 n. 6
1936 142 n. 6
2085 142 n. 6
2569 142 n. 6

Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid

10289 86 n. 20
17812 142 and n. 10

Bibliotheek der Universiteit, Leiden

Scaliger Heb. 8 187–88, 191–92

Bibliothèque de l'Alliance israélite universelle, Paris

III.B.75 261, 265, 280; 18*, 28*, 30*

Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris

5 194
12 194 n. 67

Bibliothèque municipale (Bibliothèque centrale Louis Aragon), Amiens

6–7, 9, 11–12 (the Maurdramnus Bible) 187–88, 191–92

Bibliothèque municipale, Chartres

22 189 n. 19

Bibliothèque municipale, Dijon

11–15 (the Bible of Stephen Harding) 192

Bibliothèque municipale, Dole

15 195

Bibliothèque municipale, Lyon

403 188
414 195 n. 71
1964 188

Bibliothèque nationale, Paris

676/1 142 n. 6
héb. 805 205–12
héb. 1047 205–12
héb. 1061 205–12
lat. 15 196 n. 77
lat. 152 191 n. 42
lat. 364 194 n. 61
lat. 393 194 n. 61
lat. 8824 (the Paris Psalter) 190 n. 30
lat. 11937 (the Bible of Theodolfus) 190

oi.uchicago.edu

Bibliothèque nationale, Paris (*cont.*)

lat. 13149 195 n. 75
lat. 14233 192 n. 51
lat. 14417 194
lat. 16558 189 n. 19
lat. 16794 193
lat. 17204 194
lat. 17868 190 n. 27
lat. 17950 196 n. 77

Bodleian Library, Oxford (BLO)

Auct. d.5.11 188 n. 8
Finch e.25 194 n. 64
Finch f.25 192 n. 49
Heb.a.3 (fol. 19) 80 n. 37
Heb.c.23 (fol. 38a) 35
Heb.d.62 (fol. 118) 240, 258, 260, 280; 18*, 26*–27*
Heb.d.68 (fol. 31v) xvi, 249 n. 10, 250 n. 13, 258; 17*, 39*
Heb.d.74 (fol. 41) iv, 75–76, 76 n. 14, 79 n. 26, 80 n. 32; pl. 6.1
Heb.e.56 (fols. 53r–60v) (ד) 237 n. 1, 240, 253–62, 280; pl. 19.7; 18*; 22*–28*
Heb.f.19 240, 249–50, 280; 18*, 20*–21*
Opp. 183 204, 206–12
Hunt. 241 (fols. 23v–25v) 19*
Pococke 284 142, 143 and n. 20
Pococke 320 266 n. 136

British Library, London (BL)

Add. 15452 193
Add. 26899 205–12
Harley 1748 187 n. 3, 196 n. 77
Harley 2793 190
Harley 3038 191 n. 38
Or. 2350 187 n. 3
Or. 2351 254 n. 52, 257 n. 73, 266 n. 137, 275 n. 224
Or. 2549 151 n. 12
Or. 2554 149 n. 1
Or. 2696 187 n. 3
Or. 5556D.58 280; 18*
Or. 5566D.24 80 n. 33
Or. 10538 205–12
Or. 10776 205–12
Royal 1 D, V–VIII (Codex Alexandrinus) 188
Royal 10.A.12 191 n. 38

Bürgerbibliothek Bern

417 189 n. 24

Cambridge University Library (CUL)

Add. (Or.) 465 195
Add. 539/32 105 n. 16
Add. 545 142 n. 6
Add. 3340 76 n. 10
Add. 6679 195 n. 71
Or. 1080 7.19 280
T-S 8Ca1 239, 261, 265, 269 n. 161, 271 and n. 192, 280; 18*, 28*, 30*–35*
T-S 8J5.13 75 n. 3
T-S 8J18.1 76–77
T-S 8J19.28 78 n. 22
T-S 10J15.1 78 n. 25
T-S 10J16.8 80 n. 33
T-S 12.122 5
T-S 12.138 117 and n. 5
T-S 12.274 78 n. 23
T-S 12.285 77
T-S 12.830 75 n. 3
T-S 13J14.21 79
T-S 13J26.12 78 n. 22
T-S 16.100 6
T-S 18J1 3
T-S Ar.1b.91 278 n. 244, 280
T-S Ar.1b.93 272 n. 198, 280
T-S Ar.1b.94 240, 249–50, 280; 18*, 20*–21*
T-S Ar.7.18 80 n. 37
T-S Ar.21.5 281
T-S Ar.21.174 281
T-S Ar.22.110 281
T-S Ar.23.44 (ב$_1$) 239, 260–65, 267–71, 281; pl. 19.2; 18*, 27*–35*
T-S Ar.25.82 239, 251 and n. 24, 281; 18*, 21*–22*
T-S Ar.25.84 251, 281; 18*; 21*–22*
T-S Ar.25.91 278 n. 244, 281
T-S Ar.27.47 281
T-S Ar.27.51 281
T-S Ar.27.76 272 n. 198, 281
T-S Ar.27.98 239, 278 and n. 246, 281; 18*, 38*
T-S Ar.28.160 237 n. 2, 240, 281
T-S Ar.28.164a 281–82
T-S Ar.33.31 (ג) 240, 282; pl. 19.3; 18*, 35*–37*
T-S Ar.43.121 11 n. 3
T-S Ar.49.99 (ד) 240, 258, 260, 282; pl. 19.4; 18*, 26*–27*, 35*–37*
T-S AS 62.42 282
T-S AS 62.67 282
T-S AS 62.68 282
T-S AS 62.69 282
T-S AS 62.767 282
T-S AS 158.119 282
T-S AS 159.7 282
T-S Misc.5.104 240, 282
T-S Misc.5.139i 16 n. 48
T-S Misc.6.39 239–40, 255, 257–58, 260, 282; 18*, 24*–27*
T-S Misc.6.120 240, 253, 255, 253, 282; 18*; 22*–24*
T-S Misc.6.159 265, 282; 19*, 30*–31*
T-S Misc.7.47 265, 282; 19*, 30*, 33*–34*

oi.uchicago.edu

T-S Misc.24.158 283; 19*
T-S Misc.35.38 5
T-S NS 163.3 (ה) 237 n. 1, 240, 261, 283; pl. 19.5; 18*, 28*–30*
T-S NS 164.148 (ב$_2$) 237 n. 1, 239, 258, 260, 283; 18*, 26*–27*
T-S NS 221.5 261, 283; 19*, 28*–29*
T-S NS 263.107 283
T-S NS 285.30 240, 283; 17* n. 1
T-S NS 309.52 (ו) 240, 249–50, 283; pl. 19.6; 18*, 20*–21*
T-S NS 312.82 117 and n. 6

Christ Church, Oxford

87 193

Corpus Christi College, Cambridge

48 iv, 191–93, 195 and n. 75, 196; pl. 15.4
184 192 n. 44

Durham Cathedral Library

B.II.30 189
C.III.22 196 n. 77

Eton College

26 191 n. 43, 192 and n. 48, 194 n. 64, 195 and n. 75

Hebrew Union College–Jewish Institute of Religion, Cincinnati

898 204, 206–12

Hessische Landesbibliothek Fulda

Bonifatianus 1 192 n. 49

Jewish Theological Seminary Library, New York

2397/2 142 n. 6
2500 204, 206–12
2564 204, 206–12
2596 204, 206–12
5512 204, 206–12
ENA 2638.21–22 283; 19*
ENA 2678.7 239, 283
ENA 2824.1–2 (א$_3$) 239, 283; 18*, 35*–37*
ENA 2971.10 283–84
ENA 3148.3–5 284
ENA 3371.9–12 284
ENA 3400.6 284
ENA 3488.11–12 239–40, 253, 255, 261, 284; 18*; 22*–24*, 28*–29*
ENA 3601.14–15 261, 284; 19*, 28*–29*

Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtár), Budapest

DKG (Kaufmann) 219 17 n. 52

London School of Jewish Studies

Halberstam 227 (= Montefiore 478) 105 and n. 15

Magdalen College, Oxford

168 195 n. 71

National Library of Russia (Российская национальная библиотека), St. Petersburg (NLR)

Yevr. II 78 263 n. 119
Yevr. II A 113 156 n. 31
Yevr. II A 700 (א$_2$) 239, 277–79, 284; 18*, 37*–38*
Yevr. II C 0001 17 n. 50
Yevr. II C 521 251 n. 25
Yevr. II C 522 271 n. 192, 274 n. 215
Yevr.-Arab. I 28 18 nn. 60, 65
Yevr.-Arab. I 568 151 n. 12
Yevr.-Arab. I 1679 12–26
Yevr.-Arab. I 1755 266 n. 136
Yevr.-Arab. I 1854 57
Yevr.-Arab. I 3039 57
Yevr.-Arab. I 3105 57 n. 5
Yevr.-Arab. I 3373 123 and nn. 11 and 13
Yevr.-Arab. I 3866 (א$_1$) iv, 239, 251–53, 255, 257, 265–67, 284; pl. 19.1; 18*, 21*–22*, 24*–25*, 30*–31*
Yevr.-Arab. I 4132 17 n. 51
Yevr.-Arab. I 4887 70 n. 58
Yevr.-Arab. I 4529 17 n. 54
Yevr.-Arab. II 2170 57–71
Yevr.-Arab. II 3295 251 n. 26
Yevr.-Arab. II 3350 241 n. 12, 251 n. 25, 254 n. 52, 255 n. 55, 256 n. 69, 257 n. 73, 259 n. 89, 260 n. 96, 265 n. 123, 269 n. 171, 270 n. 178, 273 nn. 205 and 207, 274 n. 211, 274 n. 215, 274 n. 217, 275 n. 223, 276 n. 227, 276 n. 230, 276 n. 234, 278 n. 245

Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna

Cod. Heb. 154 142 n. 6

Philadelphia Free Library

E 15 194 n. 61

Russian State Library (Российская государственная библиотека), Moscow

Ginzburg 509 205–12
Ginzburg 1473 142 n. 6

Saint John's College, Cambridge

1 (A1) 195
7 194
G.15 192 n. 49

Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin

Theol. fol. 353 190 n. 28
Tübingen Or. 4° 943.7, frags 22–27 57

oi.uchicago.edu

Trinity College, Cambridge

212 195 n. 71
B.XIII.3 191
R.17.1 (the Eadwine Psalter) 190

Trinity College, Dublin

51 191 n. 43
56 192

Valmadonna Trust Library, London

1 193

Westminster College, Cambridge

Arab.II.100 284

II. REFERENCES TO THE BIBLE

References follow the chapter and verse numbering of the Hebrew Bible and Jewish tradition. References to ancient versions are parenthetically indicated by the following sigla: LXX (= Septuagint), Sam. P. (= Samaritan Pentateuch), Targ. (= Targum; for Esth further indicating I or II), Vulg. (= Vulgate).

Genesis

1:1 26; 42* n. 7, 43* n. 15
1:2 44*
1:3 43* n. 15
1:5 210–11
1:9–10 210
1:14 207–09
1:14–19 267 n. 146
1:17 143 n. 20
1:21 26
1:26 69; 42* n. 9
2:1 42* n. 6
2:2 41* n. 1, 44* n. 29
2:3 41* and n. 1 (LXX)
2:4 43* n. 16
2:11–12 15*
2:24–3:7 216
2:25 216
3:7 216
3:21 217
4:8 239, 252
5:3 69
5:31/6:1 195 and n. 75
6:1–4 38, 46–47
6:2 47
6:3 66 n. 31
6:13 47
9:22 216
10:1–2 11*
10:3 15*
10:6 11*
10:6–10 250 n. 21
10:13 15*
10:22 16* (Targ.)
11:2 14*
11:31 14*
13:17 212
15:1 44* n. 27
15:9 257 and n. 70 (Targ.)
18:2 262
20:11 265
22:1–19 53*
23:7 246, 263, 264 n. 121
23:12 263 and n. 117
24:10 14*
26:9 265
27:40 14*
28:12 42* n. 9
28:14 212
30:14 66 n. 38
30:32 66
33:3 263
36:11, 15 14*
37:9 66
37:12–36 49
37:31 49
38:5 255
39:4 244, 258 n. 75
39:21 244, 257, 258 n. 75
41:8 16–17
41:24 17
41:45 12* (Targ.), 13* (Targ.)
41:49 66
42:6 262

oi.uchicago.edu

42:9, 12 217
42:24, 36 276
43:14 245, 276 and n. 227
45:5 244
45:7 244, 261
47:14 66
47:31 263
48:16 66 n. 35
49:3 66
49:9 66 n. 35
49:10–11 66
49:17 66 nn. 30 and 35
49:22 66
50:3 273 n. 205

Exodus
1:11 13*
3:2 42* and nn. 12 and 19
3:15 43* n. 15
4:22 170
5:3 248, 273 and n. 210
6:1/2 196
6:2ff. 257 n. 71
7:11 16–18, 17 n. 51
7:19–24 17
7:22 17
8:3 17
8:14–15 17
9:11 17
11:3 244, 257 and n. 74 (LXX, Sam. P., Vulg.)
12:36 244, 258
12:37–38 46*
13:16 70
15:14 258 n. 75
17:8 267
17:13 267
17:14 273 n. 205
18:1 16
18:1–4 16 n. 48
18:7 263
18:19ff. 22
19:1 65
19:1–2 267
19:4 65
20:1 44* n. 32
20:2 65
20:11 44* nn. 29 and 32
20:23 216 n. 6
21:15 50
21:16 39
21:34 125 n. 23, 131 n. 53
22:1/2 196
22:4 4* n. 24
22:24 278 n. 243
23:11 209
23:20 43* n. 15
23:31 249
Ch. 25 41 n. 12
25:1ff. 263 n. 119
25:8 209
25:20–22 40 n. 9
29:36 179
30:10 38, 43 n. 20
31:13 208
33:21 43* n. 15

Leviticus
6:1/8 196
10:10–11 128 n. 37
16:1–34 38, 40, 44, 47 n. 27
16:10 40
16:12–18 41 n. 12
16:12–13 43 n. 20
16:16–19 44
16:21–22 40–41, 47
16:26–27 40–41
18:6–19 216
23:4–44 38
23:11 42* n. 9
23:28 38
23:29–32 44
23:30 44
23:31 43 n. 21
25:3 209
25:29–30 209
25:55 7*

Numbers
1:10 253
2:2 66 n. 34
2:3 66 n. 35 (Targ.), 66 n. 36
2:10 66 n. 38
2:25–29 66 n. 32
10:3–4 274
11:6 65
11:21 46*
13:22 13* (Targ.)
15:25 179
15:39 68
16:36/17:1 196
21:1–3 267
22:4 66
22:7 242, 266
23:18 269
24:4 16
24:16 15 n. 38, 16, 21
24:17 21

oi.uchicago.edu

Numbers (*cont.*)

25:1–18 169 n. 91
26:14 123 n. 13
26:51 46*
29:39 208
33:38–40 267
34:2 249

Deuteronomy

1:1–5 48* n. 17
1:3–4 267
2:25 244, 257, 258 n. 75
4:6 169 n. 88
4:15–16 48 n. 30
4:19 25
4:39 68
5:1 64 n. 23
6:5 68
7:5 52*
7:12 169 n. 88
7:25 52*
11:19 64 n. 23
12:3 52*
12:32–13:1 196
17:3 209
17:18 123–24
21:5 169
22:25–26 265
23:15 217
24:1 217
27:9 268
27:26 64 n. 20
28:15 123 n. 13
28:20 160
28:66 275
28:69 64 n. 22
29:18 47 n. 25
30:5 278 n. 249
30:11 130
31:1–8 48* n. 17
31:26 123
32:44–47 48* n. 17
33:2 270 n. 179
33:10 128 n. 37
33:16 42* and n. 11
33:17 66 and n. 35
Ch. 34 125 n. 25
34:5 5*
34:8 268

Joshua

1:8 275
1:11 268
4:19 268
5:14 262–63
10:11–13 267 and n. 146
18:28 254 n. 52
19:35 14*
22:17 169 n. 91
24:1–28 48* n. 17

Judges

1:8 254 n. 52
2:1–5 48* n. 17
6:3–4, 33 267
8:10–12 267
10:6 172
Chs. 17–21 157 n. 36
Chs. 17–18 171–72
18:30–31 173 n. 113
Chs. 19–21 170–71
19:30 170
20:13 173
20:18 173
20:21, 25 173 n. 108

1 Samuel

2:1–10 47*
Chs. 4–6 174
4:21–22 174
8:4ff. 171 n. 95
11:1 169 n. 88, 173 n. 114
12:1–25 47*
12:19 5*
19:23–24 216
22:17 265
28:6, 15 51*
30:13 261
Ch. 31 51*, 53*
31:13 244, 274–75 and n. 217

2 Samuel

5:2 51*
5:6, 8 48*
5:21 51*
5:24 48*
7:12–14 227, 229; 52* n. 54
7:14 226
7:19 257 n. 71
10:6–8 14*
14:22 262
18:21, 28 262
Ch. 24 53*
24:9 46*

1 Kings

1:1–2 52* n. 54

oi.uchicago.edu

2:2–10 48*
2:15 52* n. 54
3:5–15 48*
3:13 52*
6:38 267
Ch. 6 53*
7:14 255
Ch. 8 48*
8:1–2 267
8:6–7 40 n. 9
8:12–53 48*
8:29 275 n. 217, 275 n. 219
Chs. 9–10 46*
9:5 48*
9:10–13 52*
9:26–28 52* n. 52
10:10–12, 18–22 52* n. 52
11:13 5*
11:26 255
12:6 251
12:22–24 173 n. 111
12:28 169 n. 89
17:9 11*

2 Kings
1:13 264
1:23 262
2:16 5*
5:4 249
15:16 249 n. 7
15:29 167 n. 76
17:6 167 n. 77
17:7–23 48* n. 17
17:13 5*
17:18–23 48*
18:26 12*
20:20 51*
21:8 48*
22:3–23:25 122
22:8 122 n. 4, 123 and n. 11
22:8–9 123 n. 10
23:2 53* n. 57
23:26–27 48*
24:8–17 54*
24:12 254, 262 n. 108
24:13 262 n. 108
25:25 253

Isaiah
1:1 45* n. 3
5:3 230
8:15 178 n. 139
10:17 278
14:13 226 n. 25, 230 n. 47
19:12 22
19:13 13* (Targ.), 15*
20:2 216
21:14 15*
23:3 15*
28:10 67
29:10 131
29:10–14 126–27
29:13 127 n. 29, 159 n. 45, 178 and n. 137
29:14 129–30
32:17 135 n. 74
33:20 16*
34:10 275
36:19 167
40:26 20
42:5 44*
43:3 278 n. 249
43:4 278 and n. 249
44:24 206
44:25 22
49:2 44* n. 26
55:5 279
58:10 178 n. 137
59:10 127 n. 29
59:20 177–78
61:10 67
65:6 260 n. 102
66:14 278

Jeremiah
1:1–3 45* n. 3
2:18 15*
3:17 47 n. 25
7:24 47 n. 25
9:12–13 47 n. 25
10:7 21 n. 80, 23–24
18:18 128 n. 37
23:29 162 n. 58
24:3–7 243, 245, 254
29:2 254
36:3 39 n. 5
36:6–7 39 n. 5
41, passim 259–60 n. 92
41:1 253
41:16–43:8 159 n. 43
42:16 166 n. 70
46:25 12* (Targ.)
50:6 129

Ezekiel
1:1–3 45* n. 3
1:6 65
1:10 65 and nn. 24 and 25
6:2 67

oi.uchicago.edu

Ezekiel (*cont.*)
6:11 68 n. 47
7:18 277
10:14 65 and n. 24
21:26 242, 266
28:2 226 n. 25, 230 n. 47
29:10 15*
30:6 15*
35:1–11 229
37:26–27 71
38:2 249 n. 11
38:6 11*
39:1 11*
39:6–9 11*
43:10 68

Hosea
Chs. 1–3 164–65
1:1 151
1:9 178 n. 139
2:5 179 and n. 146
2:23 179 and n. 146
3:1–5 175–76
3:2 155, 167–68
13:3–5 175 and n. 118
4:1–2 165
4:4 169
4:10 169 n. 88
4:13 165 and n. 68
4:19 154 n. 25
5:5 166 and n. 71
5:8 170–71 and n. 96, 174, 178 n. 139
5:11 159 n. 45, 178 n. 138
6:1 160 and n. 49, 177 and n. 133, 178 n. 144
6:3 177 and n. 135, 178 nn. 143–44
6:7–8 169 n. 88, 173 n. 114
6:9 128 n. 37
7:1–7 166 n. 72
7:14 160 and n. 48
7:15 158
8:12 126 n. 28
8:13 157, 166 n. 70
9:6 166 n. 70
9:8–10 172
9:9 170–72 and n. 101, 174
9:10 169 and n. 90
9:15 170 n. 92
10:5 174 and n. 116
10:6 166 n. 70, 169 n. 89
10:9 170–71 and n. 95 (Targ.), 172 and n. 102, 174
10:10 173 and n. 114, 174
10:12 127, 135 and n. 72, 178, 179 nn. 146 and 149
10:15 166 n. 72
11:1–4 170
11:5–7 166 n. 70
11:10 178 n. 144
12:4–5 170, 174 n. 115
12:5 168 n. 84
12:13–14 170, 174 n. 115
13:1 154, 174 n. 117
13:2 165
13:3 163 n. 61
13:8 166 and n. 73
13:11 169 n. 89
13:14 166 n. 72, 174 n. 117
14:2 161 and n. 52
14:3 176
14:5 177, 178 nn. 142–44

Joel
1:11 127 n. 29
1:17 127
2:23 135 nn. 72 and 76, 178, 179 n. 147
3:9–12 230

Amos
3:7 7*
7:14 155–56
8:11 127 n. 30
8:11–12 127 n. 29

Obadiah
20 11*, 12* (Targ.), 14*–15* (Targ.)

Jonah
1:7 266
2:1 275 n. 219

Micah
4:12 269
5:6–7 177–78

Nahum
3:8 12* (Targ.)

Habakkuk
2:17 277

Haggai
2:11 128 n. 37

Zechariah
5:8 155–56
5:11 127 n. 29, 130 n. 49
Ch. 8 53* n. 60
11:16 127 n. 29

Malachi
1:2–3 11*

oi.uchicago.edu

2:6–9 128
2:7 128 n. 37
2:8 178 n. 139
3:16 260 and n. 102
3:23 179 n. 146

Psalms
2:3 259 n. 86
2:7 227
2:7–8 226
22:13–14 67
22:17–19 67
22:21–22 67
26:12 274 n. 215
29:2 263
30:3 177
38:3–5 177
41:5 177
44:16 277
44:17 124 n. 17
50:1 249
50:20 271 n. 187
60:2 14*
68:6 255
68:27 274 and n. 215
69:1 121 n. 2
74:5 179 n. 147
77:21 170
83:15–16 47 n. 25
89:26–27 226
92:15 45*
95:6 265 n. 123
96:9 263
97:11 178 n. 137
99:5, 9 263
102:17 135
103:12 212
103:20–21 25
104:4 26
104:19 209
104:30 44*
105:16 261
105:16–17 244
105:23, 27 11*
106:22 11*
113:5–6 42* n. 10
115:14 66
119, passim 190–91 (LXX: 118)
119:18 129–31
119:33 178
119:108 177
119:111 279
119:162 131
124:8 42*
137:7–8 11*
139:6 129
145:9 260 and n. 100
145:18 51*
148:5 20
148:5–6 43* n. 15

Job
1:21 216
5:11 255
5:13 269
9:26 66
29:16 255
36:15 258–59 n. 84
37:2 43*
42:7 22

Proverbs
1:1 45* n. 3
2:4–5 129
2:7 24
3:19 206
6:23 279
8:14 24
9:12 251
10:6, 11 277 and n. 241
11:20 129
14:4 66
17:25 127 n. 32
18:1 19 n. 76
21:15 279
25:11 127
26:16 251 n. 25
27:1 8
29:19 251
30, passim xiv; 2*–3*
30:1 xv; 1*
30:10–17 xiv; 3*–7*
30:15 xiv–xv; 1* and n. 6 (LXX, Pesh.), 7* (LXX, Pesh.)
31:1 xv; 1*

Ruth
1:16 260

Song of Songs
1:1 45* n. 3
1:6 7*
1:7–8 128 n. 40

Ecclesiastes
1:1 45* n. 3
1:9 43* n. 15, 44* n. 32
7:13 41* n. 1

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Ecclesiastes (*cont.*)

7:29 130 n. 48
8:5 251 n. 25
10:2 70
12:7 70

Lamentations

2:9 127 nn. 29–30
3:22 269 n. 170
3:30 259 n. 84

Esther

1:1 xvi, 243, 246–47, 249–50; 20*–21*, 39*
1:2 250 and n. 21; 21*
1:3 250; 39*
1:4 266 n. 136; 39*
1:5ff. 242, 245
1:6 39*
1:8 271; 39*
1:13 243, 245–46, 251 n. 25
1:13–19 251–53; 21*–22*
1:14 262 n. 115
1:17 247
1:18 246–47
1:19 247
1:22 246–47, 250
2:5 246–47, 253, 254 and n. 47 (Targs. I and II)
2:5–7 253–55; 22*–24*
2:6 243, 245, 247–48
2:7 244
2:8 241, 247, 258 n. 82
2:8–11 255–56; 24*–25*
2:9 244, 247, 258 n. 75
2:10 244–47
2:11 259 n. 89
2:12–15 257–58; 25*
2:14 244–48, 257 n. 73 (Targ. II)
2:15 244
2:16 262 n. 111, 266 n. 136
2:16–20 258–60; 26*–27*
2:16–17 241
2:18 244–45
2:19 244–45
2:20 244–47
2:21–23 244–45, 260, 261 n. 103; 27*
3:1 241, 244–47, 261–62
3:1–4 243; 28*–30*
3:2–4 241, 244–48, 258 n. 82, 262–65
3:4 244
3:7 241–42 and n. 12, 242, 246, 248 (Targ. I), 265–69, 267 n. 143 (Targ. I); 30*–33*
3:8 244–48
3:8–14 269–71; 33*–34*
3:12 246–47, 250
3:14–15 244
3:15 266, 278 n. 245
4:1ff. 245; 34*–35*
4:1–3 242, 244
4:2 277 and n. 238
4:4–16 244
4:5 252 n. 29
4:5–17 272–76; 35*–37*
4:14 244, 246–48, 274 n. 213 (Targ. I)
4:16 244–46, 248
5:1 245–47, 250 n. 20, 276 n. 230
5:1–4(?) 276; 37*
5:4 245, 247–48, 276 n. 234
5:8 245, 247
5:10 247
5:13 277–78 n. 243
6:8 276
6:12 247, 277, 277 n. 238 (Targ. I); 37*
6:13 260 n. 98, 277–78; 37*
7:10 278 n. 249
8:9 246–47, 250; 17* n. 1
8:15 245–46
8:15–17 278–79; 38*
8:17 279 nn. 251–52
9:3–4 260 n. 98
9:16 279

Daniel

1:9 244, 258 n. 75
1:20 17
Ch. 2 229
2:2 17
2:31–43 176 n. 125
2:46 238 n. 2, 263 n. 119, 264 n. 123
Ch. 3 242
3:18 265
4:10 41 n. 14, 47
4:14 41 n. 14
5:30–6:1 262 n. 108
6:1 261 and n. 105, 262 n. 108
6:3 251
6:4 260 n. 96
6:9, 13, 16 11*
6:25 278 n. 249
Ch. 7 225–27, 229–31
7: 1–28 176 n. 125
7:7 225 n. 9
7:8, 11 230
7:13–14 230
7:20–21 230
7:22 230
7:24–26 230

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7:25 270 n. 179
7:27 225 n. 9
8:2, 22 250
9:1 262 n. 108
9:1–3 238 n. 2
9:24 126 n. 27
10:21 43* n. 15
Ch. 11 225, 231
11:5 15*
11:6 251 n. 25
11:36 230
11:43 11*
12:2 279 n. 251
12:3 177
12:7 43* n. 15
12:10 178
12:13 154

Ezra
1:7 54*
5:13–15 54*
6:5 54*
7:1–5 44 n. 22
7:14 251 and n. 25
7:28 244, 258 n. 75
8:22, 31 51* n. 50
9:2 272

Nehemiah
1:1 45*
2:1 45* n. 2
11:3–19 53*

1 Chronicles
1:1–9 53*
2:7 48* n. 28
2:31–35 253 n. 46
3:17–18 50*
3:24 50*, 53*
4:41 51*
5:26 167 n. 75
5:27–41 44 n. 22
8:29–38 53*
9:2–17 53*
9:3–34 53*
9:39–44 53* n. 58
Ch. 10 53*
10:13 48* n. 28
10:13–14 48*, 51*
11:2 51*
11:6 48*
12:1–41 51* n. 48
13:2 46*
14:12 52*
14:15 48*
14:17 244, 258 n. 75
15:11–24 53* n. 57
16:4 53* n. 57
16:29 263
17:11–13 52* n. 54
17:17 257
20:12 229
21:1–22:1 53*
21:7–16 47*
22:9 48*
22:14 46*
28:2–10 47*
28:4 51*
28:5–6 52*
28:6 52* n. 54
28:8–15 46*
28:9 68; 48*
28:18 41 n. 12, 45
29:1 52*
29:1–9 46*
29:1–5, 10–19 47*
29:11 48*
29:19 48*

2 Chronicles
1:7–13 48*
2:10 47*
3:1 53*
6:20 275 n. 219
7:18 48*
8:1–2 52*
8:17–18 52* n. 52
9:9–11, 17–21 52* n. 52
Ch. 13 49*
13:4–12 47*
14:8 267
15:3 127 n. 30, 128 n. 37, 135
15:3–4 127
15:10–11 267
17:10 244
19:5–8 48* n. 28
20:1 51* n. 45 (LXX)
20:5–12 47*
20:6 48*
20:12 48* n. 28
20:27 278
20:29 258 n. 75
21:12–15 47*
21:19 209
24:15 261 and n. 105
24:20–22 51* n. 48
24:24 48*

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2 Chronicles (*cont.*)
25:9 48*
25:16 48*
26:7 51*
26:8 51* n. 45 (LXX)
28:5–8, 17–19 166
29:5–11 47*
30:6–9 47*
32:2 51*
32:2–7 48* n. 28
32:4 51*
32:30 51*
33:8 48*
34:8–33 122 n. 3, 123
34:14 123 and n. 12
34:30 53* n. 57
36:10 54*
36:15–21 47* n. 16
36:17–21 48*
36:18 54*

Matthew
27:46 12*

Mark
Ch. 13 230 n. 49

Luke
1:1–4 46* n. 4
1:32–35 226 and n. 24, 228

Acts of the Apostles
12:22 230 n. 47

1 Corinthians
2:36–41 253
6:2 230
8:34–38 253

2 Peter
2:4 48 n. 30

Revelation
1:11 12*

III. REFERENCES TO CLASSICAL (NON-BIBLE) AND MEDIEVAL WORKS

The definite articles in Arabic (*al-*) and Hebrew (*ha-*/*he-*) have been ignored in the alphabetizing of entries. For exegetical works containing both Arabic translation of the biblical text as well as commentary thereto (collectively subsumed under the rubric "Interpretation"), the former is indicated by a superscript "t" and the latter by a superscript "c."

1. Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha

1 Enoch
Chs. 1–36 47
Chs. 6–16 40 n. 11
10:4–8 48
19:1–3 40 n. 11
Chs. 29–32 41 n. 12
39:1–2 40 n. 11
54:5 40 n. 11
54:5–6 48
63:1 47 n. 29
Chs. 64–67 39 n. 6
64:2–4 40 n. 11
65:6–11 40 n. 11
69:1–12 40 n. 11
73:5 43
Ch. 106 39 n. 6
106:13–15 40 n. 11

2 Enoch (ed. Charlesworth)
8:4 41 n. 12
18:7 40 n. 11, 48
Ch. 71 39 n. 6

1 Maccabees
2:48–69 48*

4 Ezra
Ch. 14 124 n. 17

Jubilees
1:20 41 n. 15
3:12 41 n. 13
3:27 41 n. 12
Chs. 5–7 39 n. 6
5:1–21 38
5:1–11 40 n. 11
5:2 47 n. 26

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5:6 48
5:14 46, 48
5:17–19 39
7:21–26 40 n. 11
7:38 39 n. 6
8:3 40 n. 11
8:19 41 n. 13
10:8 41 n. 15
11:5 41 n. 15
16:24 41 n. 12
Ch. 34 40 n. 7
34:4 51
34:10–18 39
34:11–12 49
34:18–19 49
50:10–11 40

Life of Adam and Eve (ed. Charlesworth)
29:1–7 41 n. 12

Testament of Levi
19:1 51

2. Dead Sea Scrolls

4Q174 (*Florilegium*)
I:10–12 229

4Q180 (Ages of Creation A)
Frag. 1:7–8 47 n. 27

4Q227 (Pseudo-Jubilees^{c}?)
Frag. 2:4 47 n. 29

4Q246 (Aramaic Apocalypse)
Passim 223–32

4Q252 (*Commentary on Genesis A*)
I:1–19 47 n. 29
I, frags. 1, 2:1–22 47 n. 29
II:1–5 47 n. 29
II, frags. 1, 3:1–5 47 n. 29

4Q254a (*Commentary on Genesis D*)
Frag. 3:1–3 47 n. 29

4Q346 (*Deed of Sale ar*) 308, 310 n. 76, 311

4Q347 (*papDeed F ar* [with XḤev/Se 32]) 299 n. 28

4Q348 (*Deed B heb?*) 299–300, 304–08, 311

4Q359 (*papDeed C? ar or heb*) 299 n. 28

Berakhot^{a} (4Q286)
Frag. 7ii:1–12 47 n. 29

Community Rule (1QS)
I:6–7 47 n. 25
II:26 47 n. 25
II:19–IV:14 47 n. 29
III:20–24 41 n. 15
V:4–5 47 n. 25
VII:23–24 47 n. 25
VIII.1–10 230

Damascus Document (CD, 4Q266)
4Q266, frag. 2ii:13–21 47 n. 29
CD II:15–16 47 n. 25
CD V:3–5 133 n. 69

Habakkuk Commentary (1QpHab)
V:4 230
VIII:8–13 43 n. 18
IX:4–5 43 n. 18
XII:6–9 42 n. 18

Ḥever (Ḥev) MSS
P. Ḥev 8/8a 300 n. 33
P. Ḥev 50 299 n. 28

Miqṣat maᶜăśē ha-tōrā (4QMMT)
Frags. 14–21:7 42 n. 18

Murabbaᶜāt (Mur) MSS
Mur 1 294 and n. 2
Mur 2 294 n. 2, 296
Mur 3 296
Mur 4 294 n. 2
Mur 6 296
Mur 18 296, 299–300, 304, 308–09, 311–12
Mur 19 297–300, 304, 308, 311–12
Mur 20 297–98, 300, 308, 311–12
Mur 21 296, 300, 308–10, 311–12
Mur 22 297, 299–300, 303 and n. 42, 304–06, 311–12
Mur 23 298 and n. 21, 300, 311
Mur 24 297
Mur 25 299, 300, 304, 308, 311–12
Mur 26 299 n. 28, 300, 303 and n. 40, 304 and n. 46, 311–12
Mur 27 304 and n. 46, 308, 311–12
Mur 28 311
Mur 29 296, 299–300, 303 and n. 40, 303 n. 42, 305 and n. 49, 306, 311–12
Mur 30 296 and n. 7, 299–300, 303–05, 309 and n. 73, 311–12

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Murabbaʿāt (Mur) MSS (*cont.*)
Mur 31 309–12
Mur 32 296 n. 7, 298, 304 and n. 44, 308, 311–12
Mur 33 304–05, 308, 310 n. 78, 311–12
Mur 42 294 n. 2
Mur 43 296
Mur 44 294
Mur 72 294 n. 2
Mur 78 294 n. 2
Mur 88 295
Mur 114 294
Mur 115 294 and n. 2, 297
Mur 164 294 n. 2

Pseudo-Moses (4Q387a, 4Q388a, 4Q390)
4Q387a, 4Q388a 41 n. 15
4Q390 43 n. 18

Songs of the Sage[a] (4Q510)
Frag. 1:4–6 41 n. 15

Temple Scroll (11Q19–20; 11QT)
VI:11–VII:6 133 n. 69
VII:9–13 40 n. 9
XXVI:13

Thanksgiving Scroll (1QH)
8:4, 15 47 n. 25

War Scroll (1QM)
I, passim 229
I:1–2 51 n. 37
XIII:4 41 n. 15
XIII:10–12 41 n. 15

Yadin (Yad) MSS
P. Yad 7 302
P. Yad 8 302
P. Yad 10 308
P. Yad 18–20 302

3. Early Rabbinic and Medieval Jewish Works

Abraham b. Ḥayya (Ḥiyya)
Sēfer hā-ʿibbūr
Introduction 205–09
I.1 210–11
I.5 211–12

Abraham (b. Moses) Maimonides
Kitāb kifāyat al-ʿābidīn 63 n. 9, 70 n. 55

Abravanel, Don Isaac
Commentary on Genesis
15:1 44* n. 27
Sēfer mifʾălōt ha-ʾĕlōhīm 142; 43* and n. 22; 44* n. 27

Aḥimaʿaz b. Paltiel
Mĕgillat yūḥāsīn 15*

Albalag, Isaac
Sēfer tiqqūn ha-dēʿōt 44* n. 27

Baḥya b. Asher
Commentary on Genesis
2:3 41*

David ha-Nagid (b. Joshua Maimonides)
Commentary on Pirqē āḇōt 34–35
Al-murshid ila ʾl-tafarrud wa-ʾl-murfid ila ʾl-tajarrud 69 n. 53

Duran, Simon b. Ṣemaḥ (Rashbaṣ)
Sēfer māgēn āḇōt
2:1 44* n. 28

Efodi (Profiat Duran)
Commentary on Maimonides' Guide of the Perplexed
ii.10 67 n. 41
Sēfer maʿăśē ēfōd
Ch. 9 42* n. 10

Eleazar of Worms
Commentary on Sēfer yĕṣīrā 104 and n. 7
Ēlleh ezkĕrā 50 n. 35

al-Fāsī, David b. Abraham
Kitāb jāmiʿ al-alfāẓ (ed. Skoss)
1:231 34
1:328 19 n. 76
2:402 1* nn. 6 and 8

Ganzfried, Shlomo
Qiṣṣūr Shulḥān ʿārūkh
2:150 219 nn. 19–20
Gērīm i.7 279 n. 252

al-Ḥarīzī, Judah
Kitāb al-durar (ed. Blau et al.)
12.172 xix

Ḥalayo, Moses b. Isaac
Commentary on Esther
8:17 279 n. 252

Ḥasdai Crescas
Sēfer ʾōr ha-shēm 142; 44* n. 27

oi.uchicago.edu

Hay (Hayya) Gaon
Responsa 19 and n. 74

Ibn Balᶜam, Judah (b. Samuel)
Commentary on Esther
1:1 xvi, 246, 249 n. 10, 250 nn. 13 and 16; 39*
1:3–4 39*
1:6 39*
1:8 39*

Ibn Daʾūd, Abraham
Sēfer ha-qabbālā 250 n. 21; 14* and n. 21

Ibn Ezra, Abraham
Commentary on Genesis
Ch. 1 141 n. 3
1:1 43* n. 15, 44* n. 28
1:3 43* n. 15
2:3 41*–42*
2:4 43* n. 16
2:11 14*
27:40 14*
28:12 42* n. 9
Commentary on Exodus
3:2 42* and nn. 12 and 19
3:15 43* n. 15
20:1 44* n. 32
23:20 43* n. 15
33:21 43* n. 15
Commentary on Leviticus
23:11 42* n. 9
Commentary on Hosea
13:3 163 n. 61
Commentary on Job
37:2 43*
Commentary on Ecclesiastes
1:9 43* n. 15
7:13 41* n. 1
Commentary on Esther ([a] = earlier; [b] = later)
1:1 xvi[a, b]
1:13 246[b], 251 n. 26[b]
2:5 246[a, b], 254 n. 47[a, b]
2:9 256 n. 69[a]
2:10 246[a], 256 n. 67[a]
2:14 246[a, b], 257 n. 73[a, b]
2:20 246[a, b], 259 n. 88[a]
3:2–4 246[b]
3:4 264 n. 121[b]
3:7 246[b], 268 n. 159[b]
3:8 246[a, b], 269 n. 170[a], 270 nn. 172[b] and 176[b]
4:16 246[a], 276 n. 227[a]
5:1 246[a], 276 n. 230[a]
6:13 277 n. 243[b]
8:15 246[a, b], 278 n. 245[a, b]
Commentary on Daniel
10:21 43* n. 15
12:7 43* n. 15
Sēfer śāfā bĕrūrā 279 n. 252
Yĕsōd mōrāʾ vĕ-sōd tōrā
7:1 41* n. 1
12:3 19 n. 76

Ibn Gabirol, Solomon
Sēfer mĕqōr ḥayyīm (*Kitāb yanbūᶜ al-ḥayāt*) 42* and n. 12

Ibn Janāḥ, Judah (Abu ʾl-Walīd Marwān)
Kitāb al-uṣūl 271 n. 185

Ibn Quraysh, Judah
Risāla 33

Ibn Zara, Samuel
Sēfer mĕqōr ḥayyīm 43* nn. 16 and 24

Jacob b. Asher
Arbāᶜā ṭūrīm
Ōraḥ ḥayyīm: hilkhōt tĕfillā
113 104 n. 8

Joseph Caro
Shulḥān ᶜārūkh
Eḇen hā-ᶜēzer
21:1, 5 217
Ōraḥ ḥayyīm
2:1–2 220
11 68 n. 45
91:3 218
240:4–5 219 n. 19
Yōreh dēᶜā
200:1 216 n. 6

Joseph (b. Joseph) Naḥmias
Commentary on Esther
1:1 247, 250 n. 16
1:17 247, 252 n. 32
1:18 247, 252 n. 35, 253 n. 37
1:19 247, 253 n. 40, 270 n. 183
2:5 247, 254 nn. 47 and 49
2:6 247
2:8 247
2:9 247, 256 n. 64
2:10 247, 255 n. 60, 256 n. 67
2:14 247, 257 n. 73
2:20 247, 260 n. 94
3:1 247, 261 n. 103
3:2–4 247, 263 n. 117
3:8 247–48, 269 n. 170, 270 n. 172, 270 n. 177, 270 n. 183
4:14 248, 273 n. 210
4:16 248, 274 n. 215, 275 n. 223

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Joseph (b. Joseph) Naḥmias (*cont.*)
Commentary on Esther (cont.)
5:4 248, 277 n. 234
5:8 248
6:13 278 n. 243

Judah ha-Levi
Kitāb al-khazarī
I.4 142 and n. 13, 144
I.5 142 n. 13, 144
I.43 144
I.43–67 141 n. 1
I.47 144
I.58 144
I.63 144
I.67 141, 144
I.83 144
I.91 141 n. 1
I.95 144
II.14 144
III.11 34
III.31 34
IV.3 33, 144
IV.26 43* and n. 18
V.10 143 n. 20
V.18 141 n. 1

Judah Moscato
Qōl yĕhūdā (commentary on ha-Levi's *K. al-khazarī*)
IV.26 43*
Kol bō 67 n. 44

Levi b. Gershom (Ralbag)
Commentary on Proverbs
30:15 1* n. 5

Maimonides, Moses
Guide of the Perplexed (*Dalālat al-ḥāʾirīn*)
i.61 67 n. 43
i.62 67 nn. 39 and 43
i.67 44* n. 29
ii, introduction 65 n. 25
ii.13 141 n. 2
ii.28 43* n. 15
ii.43 67 n. 41
iii.1ff. 65 n. 25
iii.3 66 n. 37
iii.44 63 n. 9, 70 n. 55
iii. 54 65 n. 28
Mishnēh tōrā
Hilkhōt tĕshūḇā
8:5 1* n. 5
Hilkhōt tĕfillīn ū-mĕzūzā vĕ-sēfer tōrā
1:3 69 n. 50
6:13 63 n. 9
Hilkhōt ṣīṣīt
1:8 68 n. 45
Responsa 68 n. 45

Māshāʾallāh al-Baṣrī
Fi ʾl-qirānāt wa-ʾladyān wa-ʾl-milal 268 n. 156

Mĕkhīltāʾ
ʿĂmālēq 1–2 16 n. 47
Ba-ḥōdesh 2 16 n. 47

Midrash abbāʾ guryōn (*Ab. Gur.*)
iii.10 271 n. 188

Midrash ʿăśeret hărūgē malkhūt 40

Midrash Bĕmidbar rabbā (*Num Rab.*)
ii.7 66 nn. 35, 36, and 38
xiii.15 162 n. 58

Midrash Bĕrēʾshīt rabbā (*Gen Rab.*)
iii.7 141 n. 4
x.9 44* n. 29
xxxvi.7 216
lii.5 15 n. 37
lxxii.5 66 n. 38
lxxiv.7 15 n. 37

Midrash Estēr rabbā (*Esth Rab.*)
iv.1 251 n. 25
iv.6 256 n. 69
vii.11 241, 267 n. 143
vii.20 271 n. 188
x.6 277 n. 238

Midrash pānīm ăḥērīm (*Pan. Aḥ.*)
iv.16 273 n. 207

Midrash Shīr ha-shīrīm rabbā (*Song Rab.*)
i.1 7* n. 50

Midrash Tĕhillīm (*Midr. Pss*)
xviii.12 1* n. 4
cii.3 128 n. 37, 135 and n. 73

Midrash Vayyiqrāʾ rabbā (*Lev Rab.*)
i.12–13 15 n. 37

Mishnah
Bĕrākhōt
1.3 64
Mōʾēd qāṭān
3:4 124 n. 14
Ḥăgīgā
1:7 216

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Kĕtubbōt
4:12 305 n. 53
7:6 218
Sōṭā
9:15 179
Giṭṭīn
1, passim 305 n. 53
Bāḇāʾ mĕṣiīʿāʾ
1:8 179, 301
Shĕḇūʿōt
7:7 302
Kēlīm
15:6 124 n. 14

Naḥmanides, Moses
Commentary on Genesis
1:1 42* n. 7
2:3 41*–42*
Commentary on Numbers
2:3 66 n. 36

Nathan b. Yeḥiel of Rome
Sēfer he-ʿarūkh 1* n. 4

Pĕsīqtāʾ rabbātī
xv.1 208

Pirqē (dĕ-)rabbī ĕlīʿezer
Ch. 22 144 n. 25
Ch. 38 40 n. 7, 49 n. 32
Ch. 45 66 n. 33
Ch. 46 49 n. 32

Qimḥi, David b. Joseph
Commentary on Genesis
2:3 41* and n. 3
Commentary on Hosea
4:4 169 n. 88
13:3 163 n. 61
Sēfer mikhlōl 269 n. 170
Sēfer ha-Shorāshīm 257 n. 73; 41* n. 3

al-Qirqisānī, Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb
Commentary on Genesis (*Kitāb al-riyāḍ wa-ʾl-ḥadāʾiq*)
Introduction 124 n. 17, 125 n. 25
41:8 17
Kitāb al-anwār wa-ʾl-marāqib
I.2.8 132 and n. 61
I.2.10 159 n. 44
I.3.3 125 n. 23
I.13.3 34
II.5.1 34
II.18–23 122 and n. 5
II.18.5 124 n. 17, 125 n. 26
II.18.6 122 and n. 6
II.19 123 and n. 8
II.19–20 122 n. 6
II.19.1 122 and n. 7
II.20 123 and n. 9
III.26 144 n. 28
V.7.1 35
VI.9 17 n. 55
VI.11.7 34
IX.15.2–4 275 n. 219
IX.15.5 272 n. 204, 273 n. 205
IX.17.3 275 n. 219

al-Qūmisī, Daniel (b. Moses)
Commentary on Exodus 130 and n. 48
Commentary on Leviticus 127 and n. 33
Commentary on the Minor Prophets (*Pitrōn Shĕnēm ʿāśār*)
Hosea
Chs. 1–3 164–65
1:9 178 n. 139
3:4–5 176 n. 124
4:1–2 165
4:14 159
4:18 158
5:8 171, 178 n. 139
5:11 159 n. 45
6:1 160
6:3 178 n. 137
6:9 128 n. 37
7:14 160
7:15 158
7:16 159
8:12 126 n. 28
8:13 157–58
10:10 173 n. 114
13:2 165
14:1–3 161
Joel
1:11 127 n. 29
1:17 127 and n. 30
2:23 135 n. 76, 179 n. 147
Zechariah
5:11 127 n. 29
11:16 127 n. 29
Malachi
2:6–9 128 and n. 39
2:9 176 n. 123
Commentary on Psalms
74:5 179 n. 147
74:6 127 and n. 34
Kitāb al-tawḥīd 130 and n. 50, 131 and n. 51

Rashi (Solomon b. Issac)
Commentary on Genesis
2:11 15*

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Rashi (Solomon b. Issac) (*cont.*)

Commentary on Exodus
22:24 278 n. 243
Commentary on Obadiah
20 14*–15*
Commentary on Zechariah
Introduction 127 n. 36
Commentary on Proverbs
30:15 1* n. 5
Commentary on Esther
4:16 273 n. 207
Commentary on the Babylonian Talmud
Yōmāʾ 67b 51

Saadia Gaon b. Joseph

Interpretation of Genesis
1:14–19 267 n. 146[c]
2:2 44* n. 29
2:3 41* n. 2[c]
4:8 252 n. 35[c, t]
10:13 16*[t]
11:2 14*[t]
41:8 17[t]
41:24 17[t]
41:45 13*[t]
43:14 276 n. 227[t]
Interpretation of Exodus
1:11 13*[t]
6:2ff. 257 n. 71[c]
7:11 17[t] and nn. 51[t] and 52[c]
7:19–24 17[c]
7:22 17[t]
8:3 17[t]
8:14–15 17[t]
25:1ff. 263 n. 119[c]
Interpretation of Isaiah (*Kitāb al-istiṣlāḥ*)
43:4 278 n. 249[c]
66:7 278 n. 247[c]
Interpretation of Psalms (*Kitāb al-tasābīḥ*)
44:16 277 n. 239[t]
50:20 271 n. 187[t]
Interpretation of Job (*Kitāb al-taʿdīl*)
29:16 255 n. 57[t]
36:15 258–59 n. 84[t]
Interpretation of Proverbs (*Kitāb ṭalab al-ḥikma*)
Introduction 2*, 8*
10:6, 11 277 n. 241[t]
30, passim xiv[c]; 2*–3*[c]
30:10–17 xiv[c]; 3*–7*[c, t]
30:15 xv[c]
Interpretation of Esther (*Kitāb al-īnās bi-ʾl-jalwa*)
1:1 xvi[c], 249–50[c]; 20*–21*[c]
1:2 250[c]; 21*[c]
1:13–19 251–53[c]; 21*–22*[c]
1:18 252 n. 34[t]
2:5–7 253–55[c], 260 n. 92[c]; 22*–24*[c]
2:8–11 255–56[c]; 24*–25*[c]
2:12–15 257–58[c]; 25*[c]
2:14 257 n. 73[t]
2:16–20 258–60[c], 265 n. 130[c]; 26*–27*[c]
2:21–23 260[c]; 27*[c]
3:1–4 255 n. 59[c], 261–65[c]; 28*–30*[c]
3:7 265–69[c]; 30*–33*[c]
3:8–14 269–71[c]; 33*–34*[c]
Ch. 4, proem 271–72; 34*–35*
4:5 252 n. 29[t]
4:5–17 272–76; 35*–37*[c]
4:14 274 n. 213[t]
5:1–4(?) 276[c]; 37*[c]
6:12 277[c]; 37*[c]
6:13 277–78[c]; 37*[c]
8:15–17 278–79[c]; 38*[c]
Interpretation of Daniel (*Kitāb al-mamālik wa-ʾl-malāḥim*)
Introduction 268 n. 157
1:20 17[t]
2:2 17[t]
2:46 238 n. 2[c], 264 n. 123[c]
6:1 261 n. 105[c], 262 n. 108[c]
7:25 270 n. 179[c]
9:1 262 n. 108[c]
9:1–3 238 n. 2[c]
11:6 251 n. 25[c]
12:2 279 n. 251[c]
Book of Beliefs and Opinions (*Kitāb al-amānāt wa-ʾl-iʿtiqādāt*)
i, passim 141 n. 1
iii, proem 260 n. 100
v.1 260 n. 102
v.8 258–59 n. 84
viii.1 278 n. 249
x, passim 4* n. 25
Kitāb faṣīḥ lughati ʾl-ʿibraniyyīn 267 n. 146
Kitāb jāmiʿ al-ṣalawāt wa-ʾl-tasābīḥ (*Siddūr Rasag*) 264 n. 122
Tafsīr Kitāb al-mabādiʾ (Interpretation of *Sēfer yĕṣīrā*) 269 n. 161
Tafsīr Mĕgillat Anṭiyyōkhōs
Introduction 238 n. 2

Sahl (Abu ʾl-Surrī) b. Maṣliaḥ

Epistle to Jacob b. Samuel 128–29 and nn. 40 and 41, 129 n. 45, 131 n. 54
piyyūṭ 126 n. 28, 127 n. 29, 129 n. 43

Salmon b. Yeruḥam

Interpretation of Psalms
Introduction 127 n. 29
44:17 124 n. 17[c]
69:1 121 n. 2[c]

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Interpretation of Esther
1:1 243[c], 250 n. 16[c]
1:13 243[c], 251 nn. 25[c, t] and 26[t]
2:5 254 n. 52[c]
2:6 243[c], 254 n. 52[c]
2:7 244[c], 255 n. 55[c]
2:9 244[c], 258 n. 75[c]
2:10 244[c], 256–57 n. 69[c]
2:14 244[c], 257 n. 73[c]
2:15 244[c]
2:18 244[c], 259 n. 86[c]
2:19 244[c], 259 n. 89[c]
2:20 244[c]
2:21–23 244[c], 260 n. 96[c], 261 n. 103[c], 260 n. 96[c], 261 n. 103[c]
3:1 244[c]
3:2 244[c], 265 n. 123[c]
3:4 265 n. 123[c]
3:7 241 and n. 12[c]
3:8 244[c], 269 n. 170[c], 270 nn. 178[c] and 180[c]
3:14–15 244[c], 271 n. 192[c]
4:1–3 244[c]
4:3 272 n. 198[c, t], 272 n. 198[c]
4:4–16 244[c]
4:7 272 n. 201[t]
4:11 273 n. 205[c]
4:14 244[c], 274 n. 211[c]
4:16 244–45[c], 273 n. 207[c], 274 n. 215[c], 274 n. 217[c], 275 n. 220[c], 275 n. 223[c], 276 n. 227[c]
5:1 245[c], 276 n. 230[c]
5:4 245[c], 276 n. 234[c]
5:8 245[c]
8:15 245[c], 278 n. 245[c]

Sēder ʿōlām rabbā
Ch. 21 15 n. 36

Sēder ʿōlām zūṭāʾ 12* and n. 6

Sēfer ḥăsīdīm 104

Sēfer pitrōn tōrā 135 and n. 74

Sēfer tōrā
ii.6 192 n. 46

Sēfer yĕṣīrā
1:1–2 104 and n. 5

Sēfer Yōsippōn 105 and n. 12

Shīr ha-yiḥūd 41 n. 14

Sifrē
Deut
160 124 n. 14, 124 nn. 16–17
353 42* n. 11
357:10 15 n. 38

Sōfĕrīm
i.12 192 n. 46
ii.6 192 n. 46
iii.10 192 n. 46
vi.4 145 n. 28

Ṭābā (Abu ʾl-Khayr) b. Ṣalḥūn
Kitāb al-manāẓir 11–26

Taku, Moses
Kĕtaḇ tāmīm 132 and n. 63

Talmud (Babylonian)
Bĕrākhōt
24a 218–19
Shabbāt
88b 162 n. 58
118b 219
Pĕsāḥīm
87a 164 n. 63
112b 219 n. 20
Yōmāʾ
54a–b 40 n. 9
67b 51
Sukkā
20a 124 n. 16
Mĕgillā
6a 12*
7a 167 n. 79
12a 242, 271 nn. 194–95
12b 251 n. 25
13b 241, 261 n. 103, 277 n. 243
15a 273 n. 207
15b 276 n. 234
16a 277 n. 238
Ḥăgīgā
12a 205
13b 66 n. 37
14b 64
Yĕḇāmōt
63a 12*
115b 12*
Kĕtubbōt
19a 241, 243, 265
Nĕdārīm
30b 218
Sōṭā
37a–b 65 n. 23
37a 64
Qiddūshīn
71a 67 n. 39

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Talmud (Babylonian) *(cont.)*
Bāḇāʾ qammāʾ
67a 257 n. 71
Bāḇāʾ mĕṣīʿāʾ
65a 257 n. 71
Bāḇāʾ batrāʾ
15b 15 n. 36
Sanhedrīn
21b–22a 124 n. 16
34a 162 n. 58
70a 216
103b 122 n. 4. 170 n. 95
ʿĂḇōdā zārā
17a 1* n. 3
Mĕnāḥōt
29a 50 n. 35
33b 63 n. 9
38b 68 n. 45
Ḥullīn
16b 158
Bĕkhōrōt
18b 257 n. 71
24a 135 n. 76
Tĕmūrā
6b 257 n. 71
Niddā
30b 12*

Talmud (Jerusalem)
Shĕqālīm
iv.48a 124 n. 14
Rōʾsh ha-shānā
lviii.4 167 and n. 79
Mĕgillā
i.5 (7a) 167 n. 79
i.7b–c 124 n. 16
Sanhedrīn
ii.20c 124 n. 14
iv.2 128 n. 39

Tanḥum b. Joseph ha-Yerushalmi
Commentary on Hosea in *Kitāb al-ījāz wa-ʾl-bayān*
13:3 163 n. 61
Commentary on Esther in *Kitāb al-ījāz wa-ʾl-bayān*
1:1 246, 250 nn. 14 and 16
1:18 246, 252 n. 25
2:14 246, 257 n. 73
2:16 266 n. 136
3:1 247
3:2–4 246, 264 n. 123
3:8 246, 269 n. 170
4:14 247, 261 n. 103
5:1 247, 276 n. 230
5:4 247
5:10 247, 277 n. 234
6:12 247, 277 n. 240

Tawrīzī, Yehuda Meʾir
Commentary on Esther
4:16 275 n. 219

Tobiah b. Eliezer
Midrash Leqaḥ ṭōḇ (*Pĕsīqtāʾ zūṭartāʾ*)
Exodus
37 124 n. 14
Numbers
2:2 66 n. 34

Todros Abu ʾl-ʿAfiya
Ōṣar ha-kāḇōd 64 n. 18

Tōseftāʾ
Pĕsāḥīm
x.12–13 64 n. 20
Kĕtubbōt
4:9 302
Sōṭā
xiii.1 122 n. 4
Sanhedrīn
iv.7–8 124 nn. 15–16
Shĕḇūʿōt
v.6 301
Kēlīm
v.8 124 n. 14

Yaḥyā b. Sulaymān (Zechariah b. Solomon)
Commentary on Esther in *Midrash ha-ḥēfeṣ*
2:5 254 n. 52
2:6 248
2:14 248, 257 n. 73
3:7 248, 266 n. 137
4:16 248, 275 n, 224

Yalqūṭ shimʿōnī
Remez 44 49 n. 32

Yefet b. ʿEli
Interpretation of Genesis
Introduction 154 and n. 24
41:8 17[c, t]
41:24 17 nn. 56[t] and 59[c]
Interpretation of Exodus
Introduction 130 n. 49
7:11 18[c, t]
21:34 131 n. 53[c]
Interpretation of Deuteronomy
Introduction 130 n. 49
Interpretation of 2 Kings

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22:8 123 and n. 11[c]
Interpretation of Hosea
Introduction 154
Chs. 1–3 164–65[c]
2:5, 23 179[c]
3:2 155 and n. 26[c], 167–68[c]
3:3–5 175–76[c]
4:1–2 165[c]
4:4 169[c]
4:10 169 n. 88[c]
4:13 165–66[c]
4:14 159[c]
4:18 158[c]
4:19 154 n. 25[c]
5:5 166[c]
5:8 171–72[c]
5:11 159 n. 45[c], 178 n. 138[c]
6:1 160[c], 177[c]
6:3 177–78[c]
6:7–8 169 n. 88[c], 173 n. 114[c]
7:1–7 166 n. 72[c]
7:14 160[c]
7:15 158[c]
8:13 157–59[c], 166 n. 70[c]
9:6 166 n. 70[c]
9:9 172[c]
9:10 169–70[c]
10:5 174[c]
10:6 166 n. 70[c], 169 n. 89[c]
10:9 172–73[c]
10:10 173–74[c]
10:12 179 n. 149[c, t]
10:15 166 n. 72[c]
11:1–4 170[c]
11:5–7 166 n. 70[c]
12:5 168 n. 84[c]
13:1 154[c]
13:2 165[c]
13:3 163 n. 61[c]
13:8 166–67[c]
13:11 169 n. 89[c], 174 n. 117[c]
13:14 166 n. 72[c], 174 n. 117[c]
14:2 161[c]
14:3 176–77[c], 179[c]
14:5 177[c]
Interpretation of Zechariah
5:8 155–56[c]
5:11 127 n. 29[c], 129 n. 45, 130 n. 49[c]
Interpretation of Malachi
3:23 179 n. 146
Interpretation of Psalms
2:3 259 n. 86
Interpretation of Song of Songs
Hebrew proem 154 n. 23[c]
Interpretation of Esther
1:13 245[c], 251 n. 26[c]
2:5 254 n. 52[c]
2:6 245[c]
2:10 245[c], 256 n. 67[c]
2:14 245[c], 257 n. 73[c]
2:18 245[c], 259 n. 86[c]
2:19 245[c], 259 n. 89[c]
2:20 245[c], 259 n. 88[c]
2:21–23 245[c], 261 n. 103[c]
3:1 245[c]
3:2–4 245[c], 263 n. 117[c]
3:7 241–42 n. 12[c]
3:8 245[c], 264 n. 119[c], 270 n. 179[c]
4:1, proem 245[c], 272 n. 198[c]
4:16 245[c], 273 n. 207[c], 275 n. 219[c], 275 n. 223[c]
5:4 245[c], 276 n. 234[c]
5:8 245[c]
8:15 278 n. 245[c]
Interpretation of Daniel
12:13 154 and n. 23[c]

Yeshūʿā b. Judah
Commentary on Deuteronomy
33:16 42*

4. Greek and Latin Works

Dio Chrysostom
Orationes 4.21 228

Galen (Galenus) of Pergamon
Quod animi mores corporis temperamenta sequantur (in Ar. trans: *Fī anna quwa ʾl-nafs tābiʿa li-mizāj al-badan*) 63 n. 8

Herodotus
Historiae
1:1 46* n. 4, 48* n. 26
2:123 50*
4:205 48*
5:106–07, 109 48*
7:61–62 49*
7:152 50*
7:186 47*
7:220, 237 48*
7:224 47*

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Josephus
Antiquitates judaicae
20.16, 103 306
20.196 307
Bellum judaicum
2.530 299
6.114 307
7:332–38 48*
Vita
17 307 and n. 63

Plato
Timaeus 141

Plutarch
Artaxerxes
13:6 47*

Polybius
Historia
11:3 47*
11:4–6 48*

Sallustius
De diis et mundo
IV:14–15 46 and n. 23

Tatian
Oratio ad graecos
Ch. 38 27

Thucydides
De bello peloponnesiaco
1:1 46*
1:22 48*
1:39 48* n. 19
1:140–45 48*
2:35–46 48*
2:59–71 48* n. 19
2:60–64 48*
2:239–53 48* n. 19
2:319–41, 361–73 48* n. 19
3:37–40 48*

Titus Livius
Ab urbe condita
27:49 47*

Xenophon
Anabasis
1:7 47*–48*

5. Medieval Muslim Works

Al-Bukhārī, Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl
Kitāb al-jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ 220 n. 24

Al-Bīrūnī, Abu ʾl-Rayḥān Muḥammad b. Aḥmad
Kitāb al-tafhīm li-awāʾil ṣināʿati ʾl-tanjīm 268 n. 156

Abū Dāʾūd al-Sijistānī, Sulaymān b. al-Ashʿath
Kitāb al-sunan 219 and n. 14

Al-Fārābī, Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad
Fī mabādiʾ arāʿ ahl al-madīnat al-fāḍila
IV, ch. 14 16 n. 40

Al-Fīrūzābādī, Majd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb
Al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ 18 n. 62

Al-Hujwīrī, Abu ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿUthmān
Kashf al-maḥjūb 64 n. 13

Ibn ʿAbbād al-Rundī
Al-rasāʾil al-ṣughrā 58 n. 7

Ibn ʿĀbidīn, Muḥammad Amīn b. ʿUmar
Ḥāshiyyat radd al-mukhtār: Kitāb al-ṣalāt 219 and n. 15

Ibn al-Athīr, ʿIzz al-Dīn
Al-kāmil fī ʾl-taʾrīkh 94 nn. 5 and 7

Ibn Ḍūyān, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad
Kitāb manār al-sabīl fī sharḥ al-dalīl 219 and n. 16

Ibn Ḥanbal, Aḥmad
(*al-*)*Musnad* 119 and n. 14

Ibn Ḥazm, Abū Muḥammad ʿAlī b. Aḥmad
Al-faṣl fi ʾl-milal wa-ʾl-ahwāʾ wa-ʾl-niḥal 125 and n. 22

Ibn al-Jawzī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAlī
Al-muntaẓam 94 n. 7, 95 n. 9

Ibn Manẓūr, Muḥammad b. Mukarram
Lisān al-ʿarab 252 n. 31,

Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, ʿAlī b. Munjib
Al-ishāra ilā man nāla ʾl-wizāra 94 n. 8

Ibn Taghrībirdī, Abu ʾl-Maḥāsin Yūsuf
Al-nujūm al-zāhira fī mulūk miṣr wa ʾl-qāhira 94 n. 8

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al-Maqdisī, Abū Naṣr al-Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir
Kitāb al-badʾ wa-ʾl-taʾrīkh (ed. Huart)
Vol. 1:141 16 n. 43

al-Nābulusī, ʿAbd al-Ghanī
Miftāḥ al-maʿiyya fī dustūr al-ṭarīqa al-naqshabandiyya 64 n. 19

Al-Nasāʾī, Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, Aḥmad b. ʿAlī
ʿIshrat al-nisāʾ 219 n. 21

al-Qāshānī, ʿAbd al-Razzāq
Al-iṣṭilāḥāt al-ṣūfiyya 64 nn. 13 and 14, 68 n. 46

Qurʾān
ii.223 219
v:31 217 n. 7
vii:11–12 217
vii:19–27 216
vii:26–27 217
xix:5 5* n. 40
xxiv:31 216–17
xxiv:58 217
xxxiii:13 217
xxxiii:55 220
xcvi:15–16 218

Rasāʾil ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ wa-khullān al-wafāʾ
(Dār Ṣādir ed., 1957)
2:63 69 n. 54
2:206–377 18 and n. 67
2:287–88 19 and n. 72

al-Sarakhsī, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad
Kitāb al-mabsūṭ 219 n. 19, 220

Al-Shahrastānī, Abū ʾl-Fatḥ Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm
Kitāb al-milal wa-ʾl-niḥal 264 n. 119

Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, Abu ʾl-Muẓaffar Yūsuf ibn Qizāwaghlī
Mirʾat al-zamān 94 n. 8

al-Suhrawardī, Shihāb al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. Ḥabash,
Ḥikmat al-ishrāq 68 n. 46, 70 n. 56

Al-Ṭabarī, Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Jarīr
Taʾrīkh al-umam wa-ʾl mulūk 263 n. 119

Yāqūt al-Rūmī
Muʿjam al-buldān 97 n. 15, 249 n. 1, 250 n. 13,

IV. GENERAL INDEX

The definite articles in Arabic (*al-*) and Hebrew (*ha-*/*he-*) have been ignored in the alphabetizing of entries.

Aaron (biblical) 18, 38, 51 n. 38, 43 n. 22, 128, 144, 169–70, 248, 267, 273 n. 210; "the progeny of," 43 and n. 22, 45
Aaron b. Moses b. Asher (Masorete) 13*
Abbāʾ ʿAfīr. *See* ʿAlī b. Abī Tālib
ʿAbbāsid(s) 119
Abbo of Fleury 190
Abbott, Nabia 111
Abel (biblical) 144, 217, 252 and n. 35
Abelard 191
ăbēlē ziyyōn. *See* Mourners of Zion
Abendana, Jacob 142–43
Abner of Burgos (Alphonso de Valladolid) 44* and n. 25
Abnimos ha-Gardi (Oenomaus of Gadara?) 16 and n. 41
Abraham (biblical) 144, 150 n. 3, 177, 246–47, 250 n. 21, 262–63, 264 n. 121, 265
Abraham al-Behbehí 87
Abraham b. Farrāḥ 97
Abraham b. Furāt of Alexandria 93
Abraham b. Ḥanin 309
Abraham b. Ḥayya (Ḥiyya) 203–13; his interaction with Christians, 212 and n. 17. *See also* Index II.3, *sub nomine*
Abraham b. Moses (Maimonides). *See* Maimonides, Abraham (b. Moses)
Abraham b. Saadia (b. Abraham) of Hebron 96
Abraham (Barhūn) b. Ṣāliḥ al-Tāhirtī 97, 99
Abraham ibn Muʿṭī. *See* Ibn Muʿṭī, Abraham
Abraham ibn Yijū. *See* Ibn Yijū, Abraham
Abramson, Shraga 117, 237 n. 1
Abravanel, Don Isaac 142; 14*, 43*, 44* n. 31. *See also* Index III.3, *sub nomine*
Absalom b. Ḥanin 304, 308, 311–12
Abu Aaron b. Samuel the Babylonian 104
Abū Bakr (al-Ṣiddīq, the first caliph) 220
Abū Dāʾūd al-Sijistānī, Sulaymān b. al-Ashʿath. *See* Index III.5, *sub nomine*
Abū Joseph b. Simon 77–78, 80
Abu ʾl-Faraj Hārūn 150
Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Yāzūrī 94
Abu ʾl-Rabīʿ al-Yūsānī 77–78, 80
Abū Turāb. *See* ʿAlī b. Abī Tālib
Abū Zayd al-Balkhī 16 n. 43
Abū Zikrī Kohen 80
Abyssinia 246, 249, 250 n. 14

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Abumalham Mas, Montserrat 87–88
Active Intellect 57
Acts (of the Apostles), book of 190 n. 29
ʿād(a) ("still") 35. *See also mā ʿād*
Adam (biblical) 18, 43, 46, 66, 141–45, 216–17
Adams, Robert McCormick 111–12
Aelia Capitolina (Jerusalem) 299
Aeneas 14*
Afrāsiyāb 264 n. 119
Ages of Creation A (4Q180). *See* Index III.2, *sub titulo*
aggadah (*aggādā*). *See* haggadah
Aharōn b. Mōshe 117–18
Aharōn Gaon ben Meʿir xx, 117, 119
Ahasuerus 241, 245–46, 249–50, 251 n. 25, 252–53, 255, 257–59, 261–62, 271–72
Aḥaz (king; biblical) 122 n. 4, 166
Aḥimaʿaz b. Paltiel 15*. *See also* Index III.3, *sub nomine*
aḥsan(*a*) (*an*) *yafʿal* ("to want") 35
ʿĀʾisha (Muḥammad's wife) 219
akhadh(*a*) *fī fiʿl*(*in*) ("to intend to do") 34
Akhzīḇ (Zīb) 98
Akiba Academy 2
Akkadian literature 38 n. 3
Albalag, Isaac 44* and n. 27. *See also* Index III.3, *sub nomine*
albān 96
Albany Park (Chicago neighborhood) 1
Albigensian heretics 194
(W. F.) Albright Institute of Archaeological Resarch 45* n. *; library of, 4
Albright, William Foxwell 2, 109
alcohol. *See* wine
Alcuin (of York) 188, 190, 192–94
Alexander the Great 227–28; 11*
Alexandria (al-Iskandariyya) xvi, 27, 43 n. 19, 93–98, 100; 12*–13*
Algeria 76–80
ʿAlī b. Abī Tālib designated by the Aramaic calque Abbāʾ ʿAfīr (Abū Turāb), 248, 263 and n. 119
ʿAlī b. Ḥayyim 96
ʿAlī b. Sulaymān 150 and n. 5
ʿAlī ha-Kohen b. Ezekiel 96
al-alif al-fāṣila xiii
al-alif al-maqṣūra xiii
alif al-waṣl xiii
Aljamía, Aljamiado, use and development of 87–88
Allegro, John 295
Allepo 14*
alm(s). *See* charity
Almería (Spain) 75–80
Alphonso de Valladolid. *See* Abner of Burgos
ălūqā xiii
American School of Oriental Research (Albright Institute of Archaeological Research, Jerusalem) 4
American Schools of Oriental Research 109–11
amulet(s) 67 n. 42. *See also* charm(s); magic, magician(s); talisman(s)
ʿAnan b. David 118, 128 n. 37, 132, 133 and n. 66, 155 and n. 29, 156, 176 n. 124, 244–45, 248, 272 and nn. 203–04, 274 n. 217, 275 and n. 219, 273 n. 205; his prescription of a 70-day fast, 272 n. 203
Ananism, Ananite(s) 118, 244, 248, 272 nn. 203–04
ancient Hebrew and Aramaic literature 37
Ancona 104–06
Andalusía (al-Andalus) 78–80, 84, 85 n. 16, 86, 88–89, 125, 151; 13*
Andrew of Saint Victor 189–91
angel(s) 15 and n. 37, 19–21, 25–26, 37–39, 41–43, 45–49, 226, 230, 263. *See also* angel of darkness; angel of the presence; Elohim
angel of darkness 40, 41 and n. 15
angel of the presence (*malʾakh ha-pānīm*) 48
Animal Apocalypse (of 1 Enoch) 229
Annales school (French) xvii, 7 and n. 29
Annenberg Research Institute. *See* Dropsie College
Anschluss 1
Antichrist 225 and n. 16
Antiochus Epiphanes 225–26, 230–31; 11*
Apion 27
Apocalypse of Abraham 40
Apocrypha 37, 38 n. 3, 42, 46, 51, 124, 132 n. 58, 188
apologetics. *See* polemics
Arab(s) 132; gnomic tradition, 215 n. 3; Jāhilī, 220; philosophical tradition of, 12 n. 12, 14–16, 19–20, 25 nn. 117–18, 27, 63 n. 8, 64 n. 14, 64 n. 16. *See also* Islam; Muslim(s)
Arabic (language), and the Baṣran school of linguistics 150 n. 9, 151; diachronic morphology and phonology, 12; semantic shifts in the Judaeo-Arabic variety, 33–35; poetry 2; "sins" against its grammatical canons, 84. *See also* Judaeo-Arabic (language)
Arabic alphabet 85
arād(*a*) ("to be necessary," "to be about to happen/to do") 34
Aragon, kingdom of 87
Aramaic (language) xii, 1, 37 and n. *, 41 n. 14, 46 and n. 24, 47 and n. 28, 51 n. 38, 105, 124, 132 n. 57, 156 n. 34, 170 n. 95, 223–32, 241, 257 n. 70, 294, 296–98, 300, 302–03, 305–06, 308–09, 311; calque from Arabic, 248, 264 n. 120
Aramaic Apocalypse (4Q246) 223–32; also identified as the "Apocryphon of Daniel," 225; reminiscent of the War Scroll, 229
Aristotelian division of sciences 12 n. 12
Artaxerxes I 45*
Artaxerxes II 47*
aruzz. *See ruzz*
aṣāb(*a*) ("to be able") 35
ʿasal 97
Ascalon 97
ashbāḥ 70 and n. 56
Ashton (Brigadier) 293–94
Ashtor, E. *See* Strauss-Ashtor, Eliyahu

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Assaf, Simḥa 117
Assyria, Assyrian(s) 27, 164, 166 and nn. 70–71, 174, 224
astrologer(s), astrology 21 n. 90, 265–69. *See also* astronomer(s); *munajjim*
astronomer(s), astronomy 21 and n. 90, 22, 43, 203, 207, 212, 265–69. *See also* astrologer(s); *munajjim*
al-āthār, signifying rabbinic literature/oral law 243 and n. 13, 265 and n. 127
Attā kōnantā (*piyyūṭ*) 51 n. 38
attire. *See* clothing
Auerbach, Zacharias 85
Augsburg 190 n. 29
Augustin, J. J. (publisher) 113
Augustinian Abbey of Saint Victor (Paris) 189–91, 194
Augustus (Caesar) 27, 228 and n. 38
Austria 1 n. 1
Averroes. *See* Ibn Rushd
Avōn b. Ṣedāqā 99
ʿAwāḍ b. Ḥananēl 94, 100
ʿawra 216–20. *See also ʿervā*; genitals
ʿAyyāsh b. Ṣadaqa 97
ʿayn, in a wordplay by David II Maimonides 64 n. 12
Azazel 40–43, 45–51; Hebrew spelling of, 47 n. 27
Azriel b. Yeḥiel Trabottò 105–06

Babatha bat Simon 297, 302
Babylonia, Babylonian(s) 103–05, 117–18, 135, 176 n. 123, 262 n. 108; conquest and exile of the Jews by, 122 n. 4, 123, 126 n. 28, 166 n. 72, 178, 187, 254; Karaite centers in, 149, 154. *See also* Iraq
Bacon, Roger 195 n. 72
Baer, F. 87
Baer, Yeruham ben Issachar 142
Baffioni, Carmela 27 n. 134
Baghdad xxi, 6, 14 n. 26, 95, 105, 111, 119; 14*; the diffusion of philosophy from, 11; thousandth anniversary of its founding, 114
Bagohi (Bagōas; Persian governor of Judaea) 51*
Bahnasā (Egypt) 93
Baḥya b. Asher 41*, 44* n. 31. *See also* Index III.3, *sub nomine*
Baḥya b. Joseph Ibn Paqūda. *See* Ibn Paqūda, Baḥya (Abū Isḥāq) b. Joseph
Balaam (biblical) 15–16, 21 and n. 87, 66, 150 n. 3
Balas, Alexander 225
Baneth, D. H. 3, 142–45
baqā (“therefore,” “now”) 34. *See also baqiy*(*a*)
al-Bāqillānī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayyib, his *K. al-bayān ʿani ʾl-farq bayna ʾl-muʿjizāt wa-ʾl-karāmāt, etc.* 18 n. 62
baqiy(*a*) (“to be,” “to become”) 34. *See also baqā*; *mā baqiy*(*a*)
Bar Ḥayya (Ḥiyya), Abraham. *See* Abraham b. Ḥayya (Ḥiyya)
Bar Kokhba 302; coins issued under, 297–99; letter(s) of, 294, 296 and n. 6, 297; revolt of, 293 n. *
Bareket, Elinoar vii, xiv, xvii
Barhūn b. Ṣāliḥ al-Tāhirtī. *See* Abraham (Barhūn) b. Ṣāliḥ al-Tāhirtī
Barqa (Cyrenaica) 99
Barukh b. Isaac 67 n. 44
Barukh b. Neriah 39 n. 5
barzakh 68 and n. 46
al-Baṣīr, Joseph 150
Baṣra 149, 150 n. 9
Bat qōl yĕhūdā (by Judah Moscatto) 142 n. 6
bāṭin 276 n. 229. *See also pĕshāṭ*; *ẓāhir*
Bavaria, Benedictine abbeys of 190
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek xviii
Bayrāst (king of the *jinn*) 18 and n. 69
Bayrāz (Bayrāst’s vizier). *See ṣāḥib al-ʿazīma*
Becket, Thomas 191
Bede (the Venerable) 189, 190 n. 20
bedouin 293–96, 297 n. 9, 299, 302. *See also* Taʿamireh bedouin
Belial 40–43, 45–46, 48–49, 51
Bellinger, Alfred R. 113–14
Bellinger, Charlotte 109
Ben Gurion University of the Negev 45*
Ben Meʿir, Aharōn Gaon. *See* Aharōn Gaon ben Meʿir
Ben-Porat, Ephraim 280–84
Ben-Shammai, Ḥaggai vii, xvii, 117 n. *, 121 n. 1, 125, 133 n. 64, 143–145, 240 n. 5, 241 n. 11; 2*
Ben Yehuda, Eliezer 216 n. 4
Ben-Zion, Dinur 106
Ben Zoma 64 and n. 18
Ben-Zvi Institute, and Geniza research 83
Benāyā b. Mūsā 95, 100
bĕnē (*hā-*)*ĕlōhīm* 46 and n. 24, 47, 144
benē rabbānān 117–18
Benjamin (biblical), person 276 and n. 227; as a representative of “the sons of light,” 51; tribe of, 171–74, 254 n. 52, 253
Benjamin al-Nahāwandī 155
Benoit, Pierre 296
bĕrākhā. *See* blessing
Berakhot^{a} (4Q286). *See* Index III.2, *sub titulo*
Berber(s) 14*
Berdichev 1
Berman, Lawrence V. 141 n. 4
bestiality 46
Bet ha-Knesset ha-Gedolah (Chicago synagogue) 1
Bet Sheʾan 95
Bethany (Connecticut) 111, 114
Bethar 300
Bethlehem (Israel) 293–95
Beyer, Klaus 298 and n. 21, 304 n. 46, 305 n. 49
Biblioteca Nacional de España 86 n. 20
Biblioteca Palatina (Parma) xxii, xxiv
Bilalovska family 1
Bielatchekhov 1
Binski, Paul 195 n. 71

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Al-Bīrūnī, Abu ʾl-Rayḥān Muḥammad b. Aḥmad. *See* Index III.5, *sub nomine*
Blake, Frank R. 2 and n. 3
Blau, Joshua vii, xvii, 22 n. 96, 87–88
blessing, blessedness 18, 25, 40, 42 and n. 17, 43, 45, 64 nn. 21 and 23, 66–67, 96, 128, 161, 216 n. 6, 257, 258 and n. 75, 261 n. 103, 268 n. 140, 274
Bodleian Library xvi, xviii, 86, 142 n. 12
Book of Armagh 192 n. 49
Book of Giants (part of original Enoch) 46 n. 24
Book of Parables (part of original Enoch) 46 n. 24
Book of the Watchers. *See Sēfer ha-ʿīrīm*
Bornstein, Ḥayyim Yeḥiel 117
Boston University 109
"bourgeoisie," Middle Eastern 13
Bowman, Raymond 1
brain, its "four inner faculties" 69
Bravmann, Meir M. 2 and n. 6
Britania 15*
British Library 7
Brooklyn Heights 114
Buenos Aires 142 n. 11, 143 and n. 24
Buḥayra (Tinnīs) 93
al-Bukhārī, Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl. *See* Index III.5, *sub nomine*
bunduq (hazelnuts) 99
al- Būnī 97
Buxtorf, Johannes, the Younger 142 and n. 9
Byzantium 97, 115, 193; 14*

Caesar, Julius, divinity of 231 and n. 50
Cain (biblical) 144, 252 and n. 35
calendar, calendrics 38 and n. 4, 39 and n. 6, 42, 43 and n. 18, 45, 117, 203–04, 212, 251 n. 25, 266 n. 136; geonic dispute over, 117
Cambridge University Library (CUL) xi, xviii, 6, 16 n. 48, 83, 88, 237
camel driver 95
Camp Ramah (Wisconsin) 1
cannibalism 94
canonical exegesis. *See* exegesis
canonization, of the Hebrew Bible 23–24
Canons of Eusebius 193
Canterbury 190–92, 194–96
Canterbury Psalter. *See* Eadwine Psalter
capitulum 193
Capua 15*
Carder, J. xviii
Caro, Joseph. *See* Joseph Caro
Carthage 14*
Cassel, David 142
Cassiodorus 189
Cassuto, Umberto 39 n. 6
Cathedral School of Paris 189
Center for Advanced Judaic Studies. *See* Dropsie College
Centro de Estudios Históricos 86
charity 65, 95–96
charm(s) 18 n. 69, 67, 177. *See also* amulet(s); magic, magician(s); talisman(s)
cherub(im) 40, 41 n. 12, 42–46, 50, 65 and n. 28, 66, 72
Chiesa, Bruno 27 n. 132
child, children, childhood 2, 65 n. 29, 66, 141 n. 3, 143 n. 24, 159, 165–66, 216 and n. 5, 217–18, 219 n. 20, 261, 295
chiton (χιτών) 220
Christian(s), Christianity ix–x, xiv, 5 n. 21, 7, 14 n. 26, 38 n. 3, 48 n. 30, 86, 103, 112, 114, 144, 187–96, 212 and n. 17, 225, 227–28, 232, 259; and censorship of Jewish books, 142; Jewish converts to, 132, 189 n. 19, 190–91; polemics against Islam, 5, 125 n. 23; polemics against the Jews, 5, 124–25; scholastic interchange with Jews, 189, 212 and n. 17.
Christology 228
Chronicle of Aḥimaʿaz 104
circumcision 35
cistern (Roman) 295
Cîteaux, Burgundian Abbey of 192, 195
Claudius (emperor) 298, 308
Cleopas b. Eutrapelus 303 and nn. 40–41, 305 and n. 49, 311–12
Cleopatra 231
clime(s) (*iqlīm*, *aqālīm*) 249
clothing 49, 66, 123 n. 13, 177, 276, 296; and corporal modesty, 216–17; and mourning/fasting, 244–45, 272 n. 198, 277 and n. 238; and ritual fringes (*ṣīṣīt*), 58, 67; Haman's, 264 n. 121; "sacred," 43 n. 22
codex, codices 187–96, 239
Codex Alexandrinus. *See* Index I, *sub* British Library, London, Royal 1 D, V–VIII
Codex Amiatinus. *See* Index I, *sub* Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence
Codex Colberto-Serravianus 188
Cohen, David, the Nazir 143
Collingwood, R. G. 54*–55*
Collins, John J. 226, 229, 232
Cologne 103
Comestor, Peter 189, 195; his *Scholastica historica*, 195
commensality 220. *See also convivencia*
Commentary on Genesis A (4Q252). *See* Index III.2, *sub titulo*
Commentary on Genesis D (4Q254a). *See* Index III.2, *sub titulo*
Commentary on Habakkuk (1QpHab). *See* Habakkuk Commentary
Commentary on Jeremiah (by Jerome) 191
Commentary on the Psalter (by Cassiodorus) 189
Community Rule (1QS). *See* Index III.2, *sub titulo*
constellation(s) 241, 246, 266 and nn. 139–41, 268–69. *See also* astrologer(s), astrology; astronomer(s), astronomy
convivencia 87, 215. *See also* commensality
Cook, Edward M. 225, 230 n. 48
Córdoba (Cordova, Qurṭuba) xxiii, 75 n. 1, 88 n. 47, 237 n. *
cosmogony, cosmology xvi, 25–26, 204–13, 268–69; 41*–44*; prime matter vs. successive worlds, 141–42, 144. *See also* creation *ex nihilo*; emanationism

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Cotton, Hannah 298 n. 16, 299–302, 303 n. 40, 309 and n. 73
covenant(s) (biblical) 34, 39–40, 42, 43 n. 18, 45, 47 n. 25, 49–50, 64–65 n. 23, 124 n. 20, 128, 169 n. 88, 173 n. 114, 174–75
creation *ex nihilo* xvi, 19–20, 26, 141 and n. 1, ibid. n. 4; Ibn Ezra's adherence to, xvi, 41*–44*. *See also* cosmogony, cosmology
Crescas, Ḥasdai. *See* Ḥasdai Crescas
Cross, Frank Moore 225–26, 229 n. 42
Crusade(s), Crusader(s) 93, 113; First, xx, 6; Second, xxii
curse(s), cursing 40–43, 47–48, 64 and nn. 21 and 23, 160, 170, 216, 271, 271 n. 192
Cyprus, Cypriots 14*

Dalālat al-ḥāʾirīn. *See* Index III.3, *sub* Maimonides, Moses
Damascus 94 and n. 8, 99, 142; 13*
Damascus Document (Damascus Covenant; CD, 4Q266) xix, 2, 132, 133 n. 69. *See also* Index III.2, *sub titulo*
Dan, Joseph 133 n. 66
Daniel, book of, and 4Q246 225–27, 229–31. *See also* Index II
Daniel (b. Moses) al-Qūmisī. *See* al-Qūmisī, Daniel
Dār Simḥa (Karaite) Synagogue (Cairo) 12 n. 7
dār(*a*) (marking the beginning of an action) 34
Darius II 50*
Darius the Mede 251, 261, 262 n. 108
David (biblical) 67–68, 117–18, 127 n. 33, 130, 132, 175, 225, 244, 258, 259 n. 92, 261, 274; 47*–48*, 49*, 51*–54*; "branch of," 225–27, 229
David b. Abraham al-Fāsī. *See* al-Fāsī, David b. Abraham
David (Maimūnī) ha-Nagid. *See* Maimonides, David II (b. Joshua)
David ha-sofer 57
Davidhizar, Larry xviii
dawwana 125 n. 25. *See also* (*al-*)*mudawwin*
Day of Atonement. *See yōm ha-kippūrīm*
de Bourges, Guillaume 189 n. 19
de Courson, Robert 194
De formis Hebraicorum litterarum (by Pseudo-Jerome) 189
de Toledo, Pedro 86
de Vaux, Roland 3, 114, 293–300, 311
de Vreugd, Cees (Kees) 127 n. 29, 129 n. 45, 130 n. 49
Dead Sea Scrolls xix, xxi–xxiv, 2–5, 7, 37–42, 46–48, 49 n. 31, 51, 121, 132–36, 161–63, 179 and n. 149, 188, 223–32, 293–312; and manuscripts of Deut, Isa, and Ps, 5; and radiocarbon dating, 3 n. 10; and the Essene hypothesis, 3–7, 223; and the New Testament, 5; and Thomas Kuhn's theory of scientific revolution, 5; purported influence on the Karaites, 132–36, 161–62, 179–80
death, dying 39–52, 70–71, 113, 171, 253, 258–59, 261 and n. 105, 265, 268 and n. 150, 271, 273
demon(s), demoniac 18 and n. 69, 40, 41 n. 15, 42, 46, 127. *See also jinn*
dĕrāsh 162 and n. 58, 265 n. 123. *See also* exegesis; *pĕshāṭ*
Derenbourg, Joseph 17, 83–86
Deuteronomy, book of fragments discovered at Wadi Murabbaʿāt 295
dhimmī(s), applied to Esther and the Jews of her day 256, 270
Diamant, S. xviii
Diaspora xiv
dinar(s) 34, 76 n. 8, 94–96, 98, 100, 118 n. 12, 271 n. 185, 297 n. 9
Dio Chrysostom 228. *See also* Index III.4, *sub nomine*
disputation, involving Christians, Jews, and Muslims 5
dissimulation (*taqiyya*) 241 n. 9, 265 and nn. 124–25
divination (*tafāʾul*) 18 n. 62, 241–42, 248, 266 and nn. 135 and 137, 268–69
divine beings 38, 46–47. *See also* angels; *bĕnē* (*hā-*)*ĕlōhīm*
Divine Name. *See* Tetragrammaton
Donnolo, Shabbetai 104
Dositheos b. Eleazar 309; family of, 309, 311–12
Dreux (France) 7
Dropsie College 2 and n. 5
drought(s) 93–94, 95, 100. *See also* famine(s)
Dumbarton Oaks 109–15; Research Library and Collection, xviii
Dubnow, Simon (Semyon Markovich Dubnov) 55*
dūn(*a*) ("even," "the more so") 33
Dunn, James D. G. 231–32
Dura Europos synagogue 112–14
Duran, Profiat. *See* Efodi
Duran, Simon b. Ṣemaḥ (Rashbaṣ) 44* n. 28. *See also* Index III.3, *sub nomine*

Eadwine Psalter 190 and n. 33. *See also* Index I, *sub* Trinity College, Cambridge, R.17.1
Ebal, Mount 64 n. 23, 67
ecliptic (of the Sun) 266
École biblique et archéologique française de Jérusalem 3, 114, 293
Eden, garden of 40–43, 45, 48–49, 216
Edom (Esau) xiv; 14*–16*
Efodi (Profiat Duran) 42*. *See also* Index III.3, *sub nomine*
Efros, Israel 142
Egypt, Egyptian(s) xx, 3, 16–19, 22–23, 38, 65, 159, 165, 166 n. 70, 170, 257, 261, 273 n. 205, 276, 278 n. 249; 11*, 15*; post-biblical history of the Jews in, xx, 12 n. 7, 57, 75–80, 93–100; topography of, xx, 3
Egyptian Delta. *See* al-Rīf
Egyptian topography. *See* topography
Ēl Shadday 64 and n. 10
Eleazar b. Eleazar 310
Eleazar (Lazar) b. Joseph 311–12. *See also* Lazar b. Joseph
Eleazar b. Samuel 302
Eleazar b. Shabi 306
Eleazar b. Simon 302, 306–08
Eleazar of Worms 104. *See also* Index III.3, *sub nomine*
Elephantine papyri 50*–51*, 53*
Elḥanan b. Shemaria 13*
ʿEli ha-Kohen b. Ezekiel 97
Eliash, Joseph 3 n. 7

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Elijah (biblical) 135 n. 76, 179, 264
Elior, Rachel vii, xvii, 5
Ēlleh ezkĕrā (*piyyūṭ*) 39, 40 n. 7, 50. *See also* Index III.3, *sub titulo*
Elohim, as the name of an angel mediating God's speech 15 and n. 37, 21
emanationism 20; not held by Ibn Ezra, 41*–44*
En Gedi 302, 305
England (Great Britain) 7, 87, 103, 187–96
Enoch (biblical) 39 n. 6, 41 n. 12, 43 and n. 22, 49, 145 n. 32
Enoch, books of 40, 46 n. 24, 47 and nn. 27–28. *See also* Index III.1, *sub titulo*
Entervioform 114
Ephraim b. Ismaʿīl al-Jawharī 94–95
epilepsy, cause of 219 n. 20
Epiphanes, Antiochus. *See* Antiochus Epiphanes
Epstein, Louis M. 217 and n. 11, 220
equator 249 n. 3
Erder, Yoram 133 n. 64
ʿervā 216–19. *See also ʿawra*; genitals
Esau (Edom) xiv; 14*–16*
Esdras, books of 188
Eshel, Hanan 299–301, 305–07, 308 n. 71, 309
Essenes 3–5. *See also* Dead Sea Scrolls; Qumran
esotericism. *See* mysticism
Essene hypothesis. *See* Dead Sea Scrolls
Esther (person; biblical) 241, 255–56, 258–60, 261 n. 103, 262, 272–76; her fast, 273–75; her "getting into a predicament with King Ahasuerus," 258–59; her restrained/modest conduct, 257
Ethiopia, Ethiopian(s) 12*
Ettinger, Samuel 5 n. 20
Eucharist 194
Euphrates 249 n. 8
European Orientalism, heyday in Arabic studies 1 n. 1
Eutrapelus, family of 303, 311–12
Eutrapelus b. Eutrapelus 303, 310, 311–12
Evans, Craig A. 226–27
Eve (biblical) 41 n. 12, 66, 141–45, 216–17
Even Shmuel, Yehuda 143, 144 n. 28
exegesis (scriptural), "actualizing" 159–68, 175–80; "historicizing," 159–68; "illumination," 130 n. 49; inner-biblical (canonical), 168–74; "*pēsher*-type," 134, 161–62; philosophical, xiv–xv; polemical, xiv–xv; structural, xv; Ṣufi, 130 n. 49. *See also bāṭin*; *dĕrāsh*; Karaism, Karaite(s); *pĕshāṭ*; Saadia Gaon; *ẓāhir*
exilarch(s), exilarchate 117, 175, 176 n. 124. *See also nasi*, *nesiʿim*
exile. *See* Karaism, Karaite(s)
exodus (biblical event) 38, 64–65, 170, 278 n. 249
Exodus, book of 38, 40, 50, 192 nn. 47–48; Dead Sea Scroll fragments of, 294–95. *See also* Index II
expiation. *See kippūrīm*
Ezekiel (biblical) 68, 71, 104, 57–58
Ezra (biblical) 122–24
Ezra b. Mūsā 98
Faḥṣ al-ballūṭ (Los Pedroches, Córdoba) 97
Falaquera, Shem-Ṭov b. Joseph 43* and n. 24
falāsifa 11–26; adopted by Yefet b. ʿEli to render biblical *ḥarṭummīm*, 17–18; *al-mutaʾallihīn min*, 13
al-falsafa al-ilāhiyya 22 n. 98. *See also al-ʿulūm al-ilāhiyya*; *al-falsafa al-ūlā*; metaphysics
al-falsafa al-ūlā 22 n. 98. *See also al-ʿulūm al-ilāhiyya*; *al-falsafa al-ilāhiyya*; metaphysics
famine(s) 94–95, 261. *See also* drought(s)
fānīd (highly distilled sugar) 98 and n. 19
al-Fārābī, Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad 16; his work *Fī mabādiʾ arāʿ ahl al-madīnat al-fāḍila*, 16 n. 40. *See also* Index III.5, *sub nomine*
Faraḥ b. Joseph 96, 99
al-Fāsī, David b. Abraham, his *Kitāb jāmiʿ al-alfāẓ* 2, 19, 34. *See also* Index III.3, *sub nomine*
Al-faṣl fi ʾl-milal wa-ʾl-ahwāʾ wa-ʾl-niḥal. *See* Index III.5, *sub* Ibn Ḥazm, Abū Muḥammad ʿAlī b. Aḥmad
fasting, on *yōm ha-kippūrīm* 40
Fayyūm (Egypt) 95, 254 n. 52; 13*
Federación Sionista Argentina 143 n. 24
Feigin, Samuel Isaac 1
Fenton, Paul B. vii–viii, xvii
Ferrando, Ignacio 88 n. 45
festival(s) (Jewish) 13, 38–39, 42–45, 50, 171, 179, 204, 207–08
Fez (Morocco) 75, 77–79
Fi ʾl-qirānāt wa-ʾladyān wa-ʾl-milal. *See* Index III.3, *sub* Māshāʾallāh al-Baṣrī
Fī mabādiʾ arāʿ ahl al-madīnat al-fāḍila. *See* Index III.5, *sub* al-Fārābī
fiqh 19. *See also tūshiyyā*
Filipowski, H. 203 n. 2, 204
fiqh 19, 218, 255 n. 58
Firkovich (Firkovitch), Abraham 12 n. 7, 83; his collections of MSS (in the NLR), xi, 57, 83 n. 2, 88, 149 n. 1, 243 n. 14
First Enoch 229. *See also* Index III.1, *sub titulo*
Al-Fīrūzābādī, Majd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb. *See* Index III.5, *sub nomine*
Fitzmyer, Joseph 3, 225–26, 229–30
Flanders 194
Fleischer, Ezra 75–80
Fleury 189–90
flood (biblical) 38–39 and n. 6, 46–48, 144
Florilegium (4Q174) 229. *See also* Index III.2, *sub titulo*
Flusser, David 104–06, 225; 15*
Foliot, Gilbert 191
fornication 241 and n. 10, 265 and nn. 128 and 131. *See also* incest; sex, sexuality
Four Compound (Aristotelian) Elements 25 n. 116
four kingdoms (in Daniel) 176 and n. 125, 231 n. 52; "the secret of (knowing) how to properly order," 250 and n. 21
Fourth Ezra 225, 227–29, 231
France, Franci (gens Francorum), the history of the Jews in, xxi–xxii, 6–7, 86–87, 103, 106, 188–90, 194–95, 203; 11*, 13*
Friedberg Genizah Project 83, 284
Friedman, Mordechai A. viii, xvii

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Friend, Albert M., Jr. 112
fringes (*ṣīṣīt*) 58; the number of knots in, 67–68
fūl (broad beans) 100
Fulda 189, 192 n. 49
Fustat (Fusṭāṭ), the Karaite presence in, 12 n. 7, 80, 93, 95–99; 13*

Galen (Galenus) 63. *See also* Index III.4, *sub nomine*
Gallego, María Ángeles viii, xvii
Gallican (language) 190
Gallican Psalter 190
gan ʿēden. *See* Eden, garden of
Ganges 12*
Ganzfried, Shlomo. *See* Index III.3, *sub nomine*
García Martínez, Florentino 226
garments. *See* clothing
Gaza 249
Gaziantep 115
Gelb, I. J. 1, 3
Genesis, book of 38, 142, 144; fragments discovered at Wadi Murabbaʿāt, 295. *See also* Index II
genitals 216–17, 219–20
Geniza (Cairo) xiv, 11, 12 n. 7, 57, 75, 83 and n. 1, 88, 93, 95 n. 9, 163 n. 62, 168 n. 83, 237; 13*–14*, 16*; and book lists, 237 n. 2; and European Jewish history, 6; and Maimonidean autographs, 146 n. 33; containing fragments of pseudepigraphal works, 51 n. 38, 132 n. 57; containing MSS with notation of Gregorian chants, 6; containing pietist texts, 57; "society," 13; Norman Golb's research on, xix–xxii, 2–3, 3 n. 7, 5–7. *See also* Friedberg Genizah Project; Princeton-Cambridge Geniza On-Line Database; Taylor-Schechter Genizah Research Unit
Genizi, Mordecai 143
Gentile(s) 16, 96, 160, 172, 217, 227, 230, 241–42, 244, 248, 251 n. 24, 254 n. 53, 256 n. 69, 258–59, 266, 272, 307
geometrist(s), geometry 22 and n. 93
Gerizim, Mount 64 and n. 23, 67
Germany, German(s) 1 n. 1, 103–04, 111, 114, 132, 189–90; 11*, 13*, 15*–16*
Gershom b. Judah 103–07
gĕzērā shāvā 168 and n. 86
ghayr an(*na*) ("even," "moreover") 34
al-Ghazālī, Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad 44* n. 26
giants 40
Gibb, A. A. R. 1 n. 1
gibbōrīm 38
Gil, Moshe viii, xvii, 34–35, 75, 117–18, 133 n. 64
Glueck, Nelson 3
Goitein, S. D. 1 n. 1, 2–3, 13, 75–80; his "India Book," 75 and nn. 3 and 5, 76 n. 10, 76 n. 14–15, 77 n. 19, 78 n. 22–23, 78 n. 25, 79 nn. 16 and 28, 80 n. 32–34, 99, 215 and nn. 1 and 3, 271 n. 185
Golb, Norman 1–8, 11, 33, 37 n. *, 57, 83, 93, 103, 117, 119, 132 n. 60, 133 n. 65, 133 n. 69, 134 n. 70, 141 n. *, 149 n. *, 215, 223 and n. 1, 237 and n. *, 263 n. 119, 293 n. *; 11* and n. 1, 41*, 45*; comprehensive bibliography of, xix–xxiv
Golb, Ruth 5
Goldring, Gretel (Mary Margaret) 113
Goldstein, Miriam 1* n. *
Goldziher, Ignaz 85, 142
Goloborodko family 1
Goodblatt, David 298
Goodenough, Erwin R. 114
Gospel(s) 188 and n. 14, 192 n. 49, 193, 227–28; of Matthew in Judaeo-Arabic, 86 n. 27; parallel in Luke to 4Q246, 226, 228 and n. 34
Goth(s) 15*
Graetz, Heinrich Tzvi 55*
Granada, Yeshiva of 76–80; University of, 87–88
Great Britain. *See* England
Gregorian chants, musical notation of in Geniza MSS 6
Grohmann, A. D. 94 n. 8, 296
Grosseteste, Robert 195 n. 75
Grossman, Avraham 117 n. *
Gross, Heinrich 7
Guenée, Bernard 7
Gypsy, Gypsies 15*–16*

Habakkuk Commentary (1QpHab) 40, 44. *See also* Index III.2, *sub titulo*
(*he-*)*ḥāḇēr* (in *K. al-khazarī*) 5 n. 21, 141, 144 and n. 28
Hades 47. *See also* hell
ḥadīth 218–20, 243 n. 13, 252 n. 31
Hadrian 299
haggadah (aggadah) 19, 66 n. 34, 168.
Haggadah (Passover). *See* Passover
Hai Gaon. *See* Hay (Hayya, Hai) Gaon
ḥăkhāmīm (biblical) 16–19, 21–25; explained by Yefet b. ʿEli, 17–18. *See also ḥukamāʾ*
halakhah (*hălākhā*) 104, 149 n. 2, 150, 160, 218–19, 241. *See also* oral law; *sharīʿa*
Ḥalayo, Moses b. Isaac. *See* Index III.3, *sub nomine*
Ḥalfon ha-Levi b. Nethanel 75–80
Haman xiv, 241–42, 244–48, 256, 257 n. 69, 260 n. 98, 261 n. 103, 262–64, 265 n. 123, 266, 267 n. 143, 268–72, 273 n. 205, 274 and n. 213, 276 and n. 234, 277, 278 nn. 243 and 249
Ḥamū (qāʾid) 96
Ḥanafī(s). *See* Muslim(s)
Ḥananʾel b. Samuel 57 and n. 4
Ḥananiah b. Jonathan 303–05; also designated by the hypocoristics/allonyms Ḥanin, Ḥanina, and Honi, 303; family of, 303–04, 310 n. 78, 311–12
Ḥanbalī(s). *See* Muslim(s)
Ḥanina b. Ḥoni/Ḥanina 304, 311–12
Ḥanin b. Jonathan. *See* Ḥananiah b. Jonathan
Harding, G. Lankester 293–95
Harding, Stephen, Bible of 192. *See also* Index I, *sub* Bibliothèque municipale, Dijon
Hardona 300
al-Ḥarīzī, Judah, his travelogue *Kitāb al-durar* xix. *See also* Index III.3, *sub nomine*

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Harnack, Adolph von 228
ḥarṭummīm (biblical) 16–18, 22; as translated by Saadia, 17; explained by Yefet b. ʿEli, 17–18. *See also ḥukamāʾ*
Harodona 308
Harvard University 4–5, 113–14, 225
Ḥasdai (unidentified, in a Geniza letter) 79–80
Ḥasdai Crescas 142; 44* n. 27. *See also* Index III.3, *sub nomine*
Ḥasdai ibn Shaprūṭ. *See* Ibn Shaprūṭ, Ḥasdai
ḥāshā ("in addition to") 34
Ḥāshiyyat radd al-mukhtār: Kitāb al-ṣalāt. *See* Index II.5, *sub* Ibn ʿĀbidīn, Muḥammad Amīn b. ʿUmar
ḥăsīdīm (German pietists) 104. *See also* pietism, pietist(s)
Hasmoneans 42, 43 nn. 19 and 22, 225, 231; 11*
Ḥasūn b. Isaac al-Khawlānī 97–98
Hay (Hayya, Hai) Gaon 19 and n. 73, 105 and n. 11, 124–25 and n. 21; Gershom b. Judah's marriage to the sister of, 106. *See also* Index III.3, *sub nomine*
Ḥayyūj, Judah (Abū Zakariyyāʾ Yaḥyā) b. David 84, 88
hayʾa 21 and n. 89
Hebrew College (Chicago) 1
Hebrew (language), employed by early Karaites as a counter-alternative to Aramaic 156 n. 34; Geniza phrases, xiv; Khazarian documents, 5; lexicography, 83 n. 2; Modern, for the first time in an Oriental Institute publication, xviii; spoken by Adam and Eve, 144; Tannaitic, 2
Hebrew alphabet 187, 189–91; pl. 15.2
Hebrew Union College 3
Hebrew University 2–3, 3 n. 7, 4–5
Hebron 96, 304 an n. 46
hēkhālōt literature 40 n. 7, 50. *See also merkāḇā* literature; mysticism
Hēkhālōt rabbātī 39, 50 and n. 35
hell xiv, 48 n. 30, 49, 218. *See also* Hades
Hellenism, Hellenistic world xv, 1, 38 n. 3, 220, 227–28
Hengel, Martin 226
Hereford 191
heresiography 121
hermeneutics. *See* exegesis
Herod Agrippa 230 n. 47
Herodotus 47*–50*. *See also* Index III.4, *sub nomine*
Herzfeld, Ernst 111
heterotopic space 40 and n. 8
Hezekiah b. David b. Hezekiah (exilarch) 13*
high priest (Levitical) 38, 40, 42–46, 49–51, 122, 124 n. 14, 131 n. 54, 299, 300 n. 34, 305–08. *See also* priesthood
Hilkiah (biblical) 122–24
Hillel 205, 302. *See also* Shammai
Hillel b. Garis 294. *See also* Index III.2, *sub* Dead Sea Scrolls, Murabbaʿāt (Mur) 24
ḥillūf 127
Hirschfeld, Hartwig 84–85, 142 and n. 13, 143 and n. 20, 145 and n. 32, 280
Hirschfeld, Yizhar 4
historiography 103–05, 121, 166 n. 72, 167, 45*–55*; ancient Near Eastern, xv; as a biblical genre, xv–xvi; Greek, xv; Hellenistic, xv; Roman, xv; the post-modernist view of, 7
Hofius, Otfried 226
Holo, Joshua viii, xvii
holy of holies 38, 40–46, 49–50. *See also* tabernacle; temple
Holy Spirit 151
homonymy xiv
Ḥoni b. Jonathan. *See* Ḥananiah b. Jonathan
Horovitz, Saul 142
Hoshea (Hosea) b. Elah (biblical) 174 n. 117
Hrabanus Maurus 189
Hugh of Saint Victor 189
al-Hujwīrī, Abu ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿUthmān. *See* Index III.5, *sub nomine*
ḥukamāʾ, adopted by Saadia and al-Qirqisānī to render biblical *ḥarṭummīm* 17; Ṭābā b. Ṣalḥūn's designation of the biblical sages of Egypt (biblical *ḥăkhāmīm* and *ḥarṭummīm*), 16–25
humanitas xvii
Hutchins, Robert M. 112
Hyde Park (Chicago neighborhood) 1

ibdāʿ (in the cosmology of *kalām* and *falsafa*) 20 and n. 77. *See also ikhtirāʿ*
Iberia 86–87, 215. *See also* Andalusia; Spain
Ibn ʿAbbād al-Rundī. *See* Index III.5, *sub nomine*
Ibn ʿĀbidīn, Muḥammad Amīn b. ʿUmar 219 and n. 15. *See also* Index III.5, *sub nomine*
Ibn al-Athīr, ʿIzz al-Dīn. 94. *See also* Index III.5, *sub nomine*
Ibn ʿAwkal family 94–95
Ibn ʿAwkal, Jacob b. Joseph 95
Ibn ʿAwkal, Joseph 99
Ibn al-Minna, Abū Jacob 76 and n. 8
Ibn Bārūkh, Isaac 75–80
Ibn Balʿam, Judah b. Samuel 85 n. 13, 243, 246; his comm. on Esth, xvi; 17*; influenced by Saadia's exegesis, xvi, 243. *See also* Index III.3, *sub nomine*
Ibn Baqṭāl Sulaymān 79–80
Ibn Danān, Saadia 88
Ibn Daʾūd, Abraham 250 n. 21; 14*. *See also* Index III.3, *sub nomine*
Ibn Ḍūyān, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad 219. *See also* Index III.5, *sub nomine*
Ibn Ezra, Abraham xvi, 7, 141, 150 n. 7, 151, 163 and n. 61, 170 n. 93, 217 n. 10, 243; 14*; his relationship to Judah ha-Levi, 141 n. 3; his *Yĕsōd mōrāʾ vĕ-sōd tōrā*, 19 n. 76; frequently cites Yefet b. Eli, 150; possible influence by Saadia, 246. *See also* Index III.3, *sub nomine*
Ibn Ezra, Moses, his *Kitāb al-muḥāḍara wa-ʾl-mudhākara* 86, 88
Ibn Gabirol, Solomon 42*. *See also* Index III.3, *sub nomine*
Ibn Ghiyāth (Gayyāt), Judah 76–78, 80
Ibn Ḥanbal, Aḥmad. *See* Index III.5, *sub nomine*
Ibn Ḥazm, Abū Muḥammad ʿAlī b. Aḥmad 125 and n. 22. *See also* Index III.5, *sub nomine*

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Ibn Janāḥ, Jonah (Abu ʾl-Walīd Marwān) 84, 85 n. 16, 86, 88, 271, 279 n. 251. *See also* Index III.3, *sub nomine*
Ibn al-Jawzī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAlī 94–95. *See also* Index III.5, *sub nomine*
Ibn Kaspi, Joseph 43* and n. 23
Ibn Khaldūn, Walī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad 111
Ibn Manẓūr, Muḥammad b. Mukarram. *See* Index III.5, *sub nomine*
Ibn Migash, Joseph 78
Ibn Muʿṭī, Abraham 77 n. 20, 78
Ibn Naghira, Yūsuf b. Shuʿayb 75
Ibn Nūḥ, Yūsuf 150, 153–54, 156 and n. 30, 163
Ibn Paqūda, Baḥya (Abū Isḥāq) b. Joseph 86
Ibn Quraysh, Judah, his *Risāla* 33. *See also* Index III.3, *sub nomine*
Ibn Rushd, Abu ʾl-Walīd Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (Averroes) xix, 1
Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, ʿAlī b. Munjib 94
Ibn Shāhīn, Nissīm b. Jacob 125 and n. 21
Ibn Shaprūṭ, Ḥasdai xxiii–xxiv, 263 n. 119
Ibn Sughmār family 94–95
Ibn Sughmār, Judah (b. Moses) 95
Ibn Sughmār, Labrāṭ (b. Moses) 94–95
Ibn Sumayḥ Synagogue (Cairo) 12 n. 7
Ibn Ṭafīn 77–78, 80
Ibn Taghrībirdī, Abu ʾl-Maḥāsin Yūsuf 94
Ibn Tibbōn, Judah, his translation of *K. al-khazarī*, 142–45
Ibn Yijū, Abraham 80
Ibn Yijū, Joseph 80
Ibn Zara, Samuel 43* nn. 16 and 24. *See also* Index III.3, *sub nomine*
ijmāʿ 125 and n. 24
ijtihād 130 n. 48
Ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ 19, 27. *See also Rasāʾil ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ*
ikhtirāʿ (in the cosmology of *kalām* and *falsafa*) 20 and n. 77. *See also ibdāʿ*
Ilan, Nahem vii, xiv–xv, xvii
immersion (purification ritual) 40, 43 n. 22, 44, 216 n. 6
impurity. *See* purity/impurity
incest 216, 241 and n. 10, 265 n. 128. *See also* fornication; sex, sexuality
"India Book." *See* Goitein
infidel(s) (unbeliever[s]) 64 n. 19, 242, 258, 260, 263, 265–66, 178 n. 248. *See also* pagan(s)
iniquity. *See* sin
injustice. *See* justice/injustice
inner-biblical exegesis. *See* exegesis
Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts (IMHM; Jerusalem) 142
intercalation 176, 203, 251 n. 25. *See also* calendar, calendrics
intermediaries (of divine creation). *See* (*al-*)*wasāʾiṭ*
interpretation. *See* exegesis
interreligious discussion between Christians and Jews 14 n. 26. *See also* disputation
Iran, Iranian(s) 18, 135 n. 74. *See also* Persia
iqlīm, *aqālīm*. *See* clime(s)
Iraq 11–12, 93–95, 111, 114, 121, 149, 249 n. 8, 250 n. 16; 11*, 14*; Judaeo-Arabic dialect of, 86 n. 21. *See also* Babylonia, Babylonian(s)
irdabb 93, 94 n. 8
ʿīrīm/*ʿīrīn*. *See* Watchers
Irwin, W. A. 1
Isaac (biblical) 144, 177, 263, 265
Isaac ibn Bārūkh. *See* Ibn Bārūkh, Isaac
Isaac Nathan 195
Isaiah, book of fragments discovered at Wadi Murabbaʿāt 296
Isaiah of Trani 105
īsh ʿittī 40
Ishmael, as a designation of Islam and Arabs generally xiv, 250 n. 21; the biblical people, 49, 50 n. 35
ʿIshrat al-nisāʾ. *See* Index III.5, *sub* al-Nasāʾī, Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, Aḥmad b. ʿAlī
Islam 85, 87, 103, 111, 124, 151, 249 n. 8; 11*–13*, 15*; as the fourth kingdom (with or without Edom/Byzantium) of Daniel's vision, 176; designated "Ishmael" in Jewish tradition, xiv; 16*; engendered a more favorable environment for Karaites, 129 n. 45; general symbiosis/commensality with Jews, 85 n. 11, 215–20; intellectual (exegetical-philosophical) influence on Islamicate Jews, 121–22, 135 n. 71, 153, 176, 263 n. 119, 268 and n. 154; 14*; Jewish converts to, 243; polemics against the Jews, 5, 124–25; zodiacal tradition, 266 and n. 140. *See also* Arab(s); Muslim(s)
Ismaʿīl b. Barhūn 96
Ismaʿīl b. Faraḥ al-Qābisī 94–95, 97–98, 100
Ismaʿīl b. Isaac al-Andalusī 99
Ismaʿīl b. Jacob al-Andalusī 99
Ismaʿīlī(s). *See* Muslim(s)
Israel, ancient xv–xvi; modern, xiv
Israel Antiquities Authority 4
Israel b. Sahlūn 94
Israel Museum 4
Israel National Library 142, 146, 180, 285
Israel of Zamosc 142
Israel Science Foundation 75 n. 1
Italy 6, 103–07, 190; 14*

Jacob (biblical), the person 49–51, 57, 66, 144, 155, 168 n. 84, 170, 174 n. 115, 177, 263, 276 and n. 227; the people, 21, 160 n. 50, 177–78
Jacob b. Asher (Baʿal ha-Ṭurim) 104 n. 8. *See also* Index III.3, *sub nomine*
Jacob b. Ismaʿīl al-Andalusī 99
Jacob b. Joseph ibn ʿAwkal. *See* Ibn ʿAwkal, Jacob b. Joseph
Jacob (ʿUqbān) b. Salmān al-Ḥarīrī 97–98
Jacob Tam xxii
Japhet b. Eli. *See* Yefet b. ʿEli
Jastrow, Morris 84
jawz (walnuts) 99
jāz(*a*) ("to be plausible/conceivable/valid") 35
Jeremiah (biblical) 23 and n. 105, 39 n. 5

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Jeremiah Apocryphon 40
Jeroboam (biblical) 154 n. 25, 169 n. 89, 173, 174 n. 117, 178, 255, 261
Jerome 187–91, 192 n. 44; 15*; his *Epistle* no. 30 (to St. Paula), 191
Jerusalem xix, xxi, xxiii, 2–5, 11 n. *, 14 n. 24, 41 n. 15, 42 and n. 18, 43 n. 18, 94, 96–97, 114, 117–19, 122, 126, 132, 134, 143, 149–50, 153–54, 156 and n. 33, 157, 175, 177–78, 180, 230, 243, 245, 248, 254 and nn. 52–53, 267, 278, 293–94, 297–300, 303–07, 309–11; 11*–12*, 15*
Jesus 226–28, 130 n. 49; identified with Esau, 14*. *See also* Christology
Jethro (biblical) 15–16, 22; medieval debate concerning the chronology of his visit to Moses, 16 n. 48
Jewish Theological Seminary (of America) Library (JTSL) xviii, 237, 239–40, 253, 255, 261, 282–85
jinn 18
Job (biblical) 15–16, 22
Joḥanan b. Kareaḥ (biblical) 159 and n. 44, 166 n. 70
John of Gishala 307
John of Salisbury 191
Johns Hopkins University 2
Jonathan b. Baʿya 302
Jonathan b. Ḥananiah 303, 311–12
Jonathan b. Uzziel 12*–14*. *See also* Index II, *ad* Gen 10:22, 41:45; Num 13:22; Isa 19:13; Jer 46:25; Obad 20; Nah 3:8
Joseph (biblical) 39–40, 49–52, 66, 150 n. 3, 217, 244–47, 257, 258 n. 75, 261–63, 266 n. 136, 276 nn. 226–27; "Joseph's Prison" (Memphis), 23
Joseph b. ʿAlī Kohen Fāsī 98
Joseph (b.) Camydus 299, 305–07
Joseph (Abu ʾl-ʿAlāʾ) b. Dawūd b. Shaʿyā of Fustat 99
Joseph b. Ezra 77 n. 20, 78
Joseph b. Faraḥ 95
Joseph b. Gabinius 311–12
Joseph b. Khalfa 95
Joseph b. Mūsā al-Tāhirtī 96, 98
Joseph (b. Joseph) Naḥmias 243, 247–48
Joseph b. Naqsan 297
Joseph b. Saul. *See* Ibn Naghira, Yūsuf b. Shuʿayb
Joseph b. Simon 302
Joseph b. Yoḥanan 306
Joseph al-Baṣīr. *See* al-Baṣīr, Joseph
Joseph Cabi b. Simon 307
Joseph Caro 218. *See also* Index III.3, *sub nomine*
Joseph ibn ʿAwkal. *See* Ibn ʿAwkal, Joseph
Joseph ibn Migash. *See* Ibn Migash, Joseph
Joseph (ibn) Yijū. *See* Ibn Yijū, Joseph
Josephus 105, 223 n. 2, 231 and n. 52, 297, 299, 306–07, 309, 311; 12* and n. 1, 14*; 48*. *See also* Index III,4, *sub nomine*
Joshua (b. Nun; biblical) 125 n. 25, 258 n. 75, 262, 267 and n. 146, 268, 273 n. 205
Josiah (biblical) 122–26, 133–34; in rabbinic literature, 122 n. 4
Jost, Isaak Markus 55*
Journal asiatique, one of the first journals to include works encompassing Judaeo-Arabic 85
jubilee(s) (biblical) 38, 43 nn. 18 and 20, 44, 51, 207–09. *See also* sabbatical
Jubilees, book of 38–41, 46 n. 24, 47–51. *See also* Index III.1, *sub titulo*
jubn 96
Judaeo-Arabic (language) and Spanish scholarship 83–89; first Spanish translation of a text in, 86; Iraqi dialect of, 86 n. 21; new modal verbs in, 34; orthographic and phonological deviations from Classical Arabic, 12; semantic shifts vis-à-vis Classical Arabic, 33–35; translation of the Gospel of Matthew, 86 n. 27; use of the dual to express "a few," 80. *See also* Arabic (language)
Judaeo-Spanish 86–87
Judah (biblical), person 66, 255; as a representative of "the sons of light," 51; "house of," 39 n. 5; tribe of, 66 and n. 36, 72, 166 and nn. 70–71, 173, 279 n. 252; the southern kingdom of, 172 n. 106, 230, 253–54, 258, 262 n. 108, 279 n. 252, 305 n. 53
Judah b. Jonathan 308, 311–12
Judah al-Ḥarīzī. *See* al-Ḥarīzī, Judah
Judah Ḥayyūj. *See* Ḥayyūj, Judah
Judah ha-Levi 75–80; 43*; his *Kuzari*, 5 n. 21, 141–46; his relationship to Abraham ibn Ezra, 141 n. 3; 43*. *See also* Index III.3, *sub nomine*
Judah ibn Balʿam. *See* Ibn Balʿam, Judah
Judah ibn Ghiyāth (Gayyāt). *See* Ibn Ghiyāth (Gayyāt), Judah
Judah Moscato 43*. *See also* Index III.3, *sub nomine*
Judayla family 96
Julius Caesar. *See* Caesar, Julius
Jund Filasṭīn 118. *See also* Palestine
Jund Urdunn 118
Jupiter, conjunction with Saturn 268–69. *See also* constellation(s)
justice/injustice 16, 22 and n. 94, 41 n. 15, 47, 170, 251–52, 252 n. 27, 271 n. 187, 277 n. 241, 279
Jurāwa (Los Pedroches, Córdoba) 97 n. 15

Kabbalah, Kabbalism, Kabbalist(s). *See* Qabbalah, Qabbalism, Qabbalist(s)
kāda yafʿalu. *See yakādu* (*an*) *yafʿal*
Kaegi, Walter E. vii–viii, xvii
Kāgān (Khazarian throne name) 263 n. 119. *See also* Khaqān
Kahle, Paul 132–33
al-kāʾināt 25 n. 117
kaʿk 96
kalām 14 and n. 24, 20 and n. 77, 150; and cosmogony/cosmology, 141 n. 1. *See also* philosophy; theology
Kalimi, Isaac viii, xv–xvii
Kalonymids 103–05
Kalonymus b. Kalonymus, his *Iggeret baʿălē ḥayyīm* 18 n. 67. *See also ṣāḥib al-ʿazīma*
kappōret 40 and n. 9, 42, 44–45

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Karaism, Karaite(s) xiv–xv, xix–xx, 2, 12 and nn. 6–7, 14–17, 83 n. 2, 85, 88, 96, 121–36, 144, 149–80, 237–79 (passim); 1*–7*, 14*; and *kalām*, 14 and n. 24; and their role in the Tiberian Yeshiva, 117–19; conception of the exile, 158 and nn. 39–40, 160–61, 171, 175 and n. 120, 176, 178 and n. 139, 179; exegesis, 122–36, 149–80; "golden age" of, 151; historical self-conception of, 121–36; Islamicate/Muʿtazilite influence upon, 150–51, 153 n. 19; polemics against Christianity, 125 n. 23, 129; polemics against Islam, 125 n. 23, 129; polemics against the Rabbanites, 121, 125–26, 129, 150, 153, 155–56, 159–60, 164–65, 171, 175–80, 241–42; purported influence of the Dead Sea Scrolls on, 132–36, 161–62, 179–80; later self-identification with the Sadducees, 133–34 and n. 70; synagogue (in Cairo?), 12 and nn. 6–7; use of both Arabic and Hebrew script, 85
Karaite literature 2, 12 and nn. 6–7, 14 and n. 24, 83 n. 2, 84 n. 2
Karaite synagogue (Cairo?) 12
"Karaite Texts and Studies" (Brill) ix–x, 237 n. 1
kārra 94 and n. 8
Kasemaa, R. xviii
kashf 130 n. 49
kashrut 96
al-kayfiyyāt 25 n. 116
Kāzirūnī family 12 n. 6
Kedar, Benjamin Z. viii–ix, xvii
Kefar Signa 304 and n. 43
Kĕlīl ha-yōfī (by David II Maimonides) 57
Kessler, Herbert 112
kĕtubbā 298, 305 n. 53, 309–10
khalwāt 69 and n. 48
khamr 97. *See also* wine
Khaqān 248, 263 and n. 119. *See also* Kāgān
kharrūb (carobs) 100
Khazarian Hebrew documents 5–6
Khazars xix, xxii, 5 and n. 21, 6, 84 n. 2, 133 n. 69, 141, 144, 263 n. 119
Khirbat al-Mafjar 219
khubz 95
Khurāsān, Khurāsānian(s) 18, 271 n. 197
al-khurūj 244–45, 259 and n. 86
kidnapping 39, 50 and n. 35, 247–48, 254 and nn. 49 and 53, 294
Kiev 5
Kim, Seyoon 226–27
al-Kindī, Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb b. Isḥāq 14
King James Version (KJV) of the Bible 24 n. 112, 25 n. 114, 26 n. 124
kippūrīm 37–52
Kislon 304, 309 and n. 73
Kitāb al-anwār wa-ʾl-marāqib 17, 34–35, 122. *See also* Index III.3, *sub* al-Qirqisānī
Kitāb al-badʾ wa-ʾl-taʾrīkh 16 n. 43. *See also* Index III.5, *sub* al-Maqdisī
Kitāb al-bayān ʿani ʾl-farq bayna ʾl-muʿjizāt wa-ʾl-karāmāt, etc. (by al-Bāqillānī) 18 n. 62
Kitāb al-hidāya ilā farāʾiḍ al-qulūb (by Ibn Paqūda) 86
Kitāb al-ījāz wa-ʾl-bayān. *See* Index III.3, *sub* Tanḥum b. Joseph ha-Yerushalmi
Kitāb al-īnās bi-ʾl-jalwa 237–92; pls. 19.1–7; also referred to as *Kitāb al-īnās*, *Tafsīr mĕgillat estēr*, and *Tafsīr al-mĕgillā*, 237 n. 2; an edition currently in preparation, 237 n. 1. *See also* Index III.3, *sub* Saadia Gaon
Kitāb al-istiṣlāḥ. *See* Index III.3, *sub* Saadia Gaon
Kitāb jāmiʿ al-alfāẓ 11–26, 19, 34. *See also* Index III.3, *sub* David b. Abraham al-Fāsī
Kitāb al-jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ. *See* Index III.5, *sub* al-Bukhārī, Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl
Kitāb al-khazarī 33–34, 141–46; commentaries on, 142; reception history of, 142 n. 9. *See also* Index III.3, *sub* Judah ha-Levi
Kitāb al-mabsūṭ. *See* Index III.5, *sub* al-Sarakhsī, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad
Kitāb al-mamālik wa-ʾl-malāḥim. *See* Index III.3, *sub* Saadia Gaon
Kitāb manār al-sabīl fī sharḥ al-dalīl. *See* Index III.5, *sub* Ibn Ḍūyān, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad
Kitāb al-manāẓir 11–26; perhaps the most extensive evidence of early Judaeo-Arabic Neoplatonism, 20. *See also* Index III.3, *sub* Ṭābā b. Ṣalḥūn
Kitāb al-milal wa-ʾl-niḥal. *See* Index III.5, *sub* al-Shahrastānī, Abū ʾl-Fatḥ Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm
Kitāb al-muḥāḍara wa-ʾl-mudhākara (by Ibn Ezra) 86, 88
Kitāb al-riyāḍ wa-ʾl-ḥadāʾiq 17, 124 n. 17. *See also* Index III.3, *sub* al-Qirqisānī, Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb
Kitāb al-sunan. *See* Index III.5, *sub* Abū Dāʾūd al-Sijistānī, Sulaymān b. al-Ashʿath
Kitāb al-taʿdīl 16. *See also* Index III.3, *sub* Saadia Gaon
Kitāb al-tafhīm li-awāʾil ṣināʿati ʾl-tanjīm. *See* Index III.5, *sub* al-Bīrūnī, Abu ʾl-Rayḥān Muḥammad b. Aḥmad
Kitāb ṭalab al-ḥikma xiv, 282, 283; 2*. *See also* Index III.3, *sub* Saadia Gaon
Kitāb al-tasābīḥ. *See* Index III.3, *sub* Saadia Gaon
Kitāb al-taswiʾa (by Ibn Janāḥ) 86
Kitāb al-tawḥīd (by al-Qirqisānī) 14
Kitāb al-uṣūl. *See* Index III.3, *sub* Ibn Janāḥ, Judah (Abu ʾl-Walīd Marwān)
Kitāb yanbūʿ al-ḥayāt. *See* Index III.3, *sub* Ibn Gabirol, Solomon
Kittim 231 and n. 51
Kitzinger, Ernst 112–13
Klein, Jacques 6
Klutstein, Ilana 1* n. 4
Knohl, I. 226, 231 n. 50
Koffmahn, Elisabeth 297–98
Kogan, Barry 5 n. 21, 141 n. 4, 144 n. 25, 145 n. 32
kōhēn ṣedeq 135. *See also mōrēh* (*ha-*)*ṣedeq*
Kokovcov (Kokovtsov), Pavel 5
Korobkin, Daniel 143
Köstenberger, A. 226
k-p-r (Heb. root) 38 n. 2, 40
Kraemer, David 193 n. 60
Krakowski, Tichye 121 n. 1

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Kraeling, Carl Hermann 109–16
Kraeling, Elsie 109, 111–13
Kraeling, Emil G. 111
Kraemer, Joel L. ix, xvii, 1–9, 237 n. *
Krakowski, Eve ix, xvii, 179 n. 149
Kreisel, Howard T. 145 n. 32
Krinis, Ehud 145 n. 31, 264 n. 120
(al-)Kūfa 249
Kufic (Cufic) script 85
Kuhn, K. A. 226–27
Kuhn, Thomas S. 5
Kuhne, Rosa 88 and n. 40
kulliyyāt (universals of divine creation) 19–20; 25–26
(*ha-*)*Kuzari*. *See Kitāb al-khazarī*

lā taqdir(*u*) ("you must not") 34
lā yajib(*u*) ("to be impossible," "he must not") 34
lā yalzam(*u*) ("to be impossible") 34
lā yumkin(*u*) ("one must not") 34
Labrāṭ b. Moses b. Sughmār. *See* Ibn Sughmār, Labrāṭ (b. Moses)
Lādhiqiyya (Laodikea) 97–98
laḥm 96
lamed auctoris (*lamed* of attribution) xiv
Lamentations, book of 191. *See also* Index II
Langton, Stephen 187–96; his *Quaestiones*, 194; his *Summa*, 194
Lasker, Daniel J. ix, xvii
Lazar, Moshe 142 n. 10
Lazar (Eleazar) b. Joseph 310 and n. 75. *See also* Eleazar b. Joseph
Lazarus-Yafeh, Hava 3
Le Goff, Jacques 7
Leipzig 142 and n. 14
Leonidas (king of Sparta) 47*
Levi (biblical), person 51; as a representative of "the sons of light," 51; "covenant with," 128; descendants of (Levites), 51 n. 37, 123, 124 n. 20, 128 n. 37, 169, 173
Levi b. Abraham 145 n. 32
Levi b. Gershom (Ralbag). *See* Index III.3, *sub nomine*
Levi b. Yefet (ha-Levi) 149 n. 1, 150; his *K. al-niʿma* (the earliest extant Karaite *kalām* work), 14 n. 24
ha-Levi, Judah. *See* Judah ha-Levi
Levite(s) 123, 124 n. 20, 128 n. 37, 169, 173
Leviticus, book of 38–40, 47–48, 50, 127, 150 n. 10, 188, 196. *See also* Index II
Levy-Rubin, Milka 27 n. 127
Liber de divinis officiis (by Rupert of Deutz) 193
Liber interpretationis Hebraicorum nominum (by Jerome) 189 n. 15, 190 and n. 29, 192 n. 44
Libya 111
Lieberman, Saul 132
Liesborn, abbey of 190
Life of Adam and Eve. *See* Index III.1, *sub titulo*
Lilith 41 n. 15
linguistics, Semitic 2
Linsider, Joel 37 n. *
Lipshitz, Abraham xi, xvi–xvii
Lisān al-ʿarab. *See* Index III.5, *sub* Ibn Manẓūr, Muḥammad b. Mukarram
literature Karaite, 2
Livy. *See* Titus Livius
Lobel, Diana 5 n. 21
Loewe, Raphael 189
Lorraine 106
Lozano Galán, M. A. 88
Lucca 103
Lucena 77–80
Luke, Gospel of 193, 226, 228 and n. 34. *See also* Index II
Lydia (kingdom of) 11*
Lyubimova, M. xviii

mā ʿād ("no longer") 35. *See also ʿād*
mā ʿăśēh merkāḇā. *See merkāḇā* literature; mysticism
mā baqiy(*a*) ("no longer," "no more") 34. *See also baqiy*(*a*)
mabādiʾ (fundamentals of divine creation) 19. *See also uwal*
Macalester College 299
Maccabees. *See* Hasmoneans
Machpelah, cave of 144
Maḍmūn ha-Nagid b. Ḥasan 80
Magdalena Nom de Déu, J. R. 88
Magen, Yitzhak 4
(al-)Maghāriyya xx, 132–34, 134 n. 70
Maghreb 58, 78, 93–94, 96, 264; 11*. *See also* North Africa
magic, magician(s) 16–18, 22–23; *See also ḥukamāʾ*; *saḥara*
Magid, Ruth 2. *See also* Golb, Ruth
Mahdi, Muḥsin 111
Mahdiyya 94, 99
maḥlab, *muḥallab* (pistachio) 99
Mahoza 297, 302, 305
Maimonides, Abraham b. Moses 2 n. 2. *See also* Index III.3, *sub nomine*
Maimonides, Moses ix, xix, 19 n. 73, 58, 63 n. 9, 65 nn. 25 and 28, 66, 67 and nn. 39 and 43, 69 nn. 50–53, 70 n. 55, 85, 141 n. 2, 144; and the "four motions," 65 n. 25; and the "four perfections," 65 n. 28, 72; autograph MSS in the Geniza, xx, 146 n. 33; his grave in Tiberius, 118; his *Guide of the Perplexed*, 57, 86; his *Thirteen Articles of the* (Jewish) *Faith*, 57. *See also* Index III.3, *sub nomine*
Maimonides, David II (b. Joshua), his commentary on the Pentateuch (*Kĕlīl ha-yōfī*) 57; a MS of his *Tajrīd al-ḥaqāʾiq*, 57 n. 5; newly discovered epistle (*maktūba*), 57–72. *See also* Index III.3, *sub nomine*
Mainz 103–04
Makhpelah, cave of. *See* Machpelah, Cave of
maktūba, *maktūbāt* (Sufi epistolary genre) 58
malʾakh ha-pānīm. *See* angel of the presence
Mālikī(s). *See* Muslim(s)
Malkiresha 42, 45, 49 n. 31

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Malkizedek. *See* Melchizedek
mamzēr 216 and n. 5
Manetho 27
Manf (Memphis), called "Joseph's Prison" (*Ḥabs Yūsuf*) 23 and n. 101
Mann, Jacob 11, 117
al-Maqdisī, Abū Naṣr al-Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir 16, 95; his *K. al-badʾ wa-ʾl-taʾrīkh*, 16 n. 43. *See also* Index III.5, *sub nomine*
Marcus, Ralph 1, 3
Mardūk b. Mūsā 98
Marquet, Y. 18 n. 69
marriage contract. *See kětubbā*
martyr(s), martyrdom 39–40, 40 n. 7, 48, 50
Masada 297–98, 300, 304, 306 n. 58
Māshāʾallāh al-Baṣrī. *See* Index III.3, *sub nomine*
Masīṭūs (Manetho?) 19, 27
maśkīl(*īm*) 127 nn. 31 and 33, 131 n. 54, 178
Masora, Masorete(s), Masoretic Text 132, 134, 143 n. 20, 191, 193, 195–96
Mastema 40–41 and n. 15, 43, 45–46, 48–49
masṭūr 21 n. 83
mathematics 203, 212. *See also* calendar, calendrics
Matthew b. Simon 306
Maurdramnus Bible 187–88, 191–92. *See also* Index I, *sub* Bibliothèque municipale (Bibliothèque centrale Louis Aragon), Amiens
Maurice of Kirkham 190
Maymūn b. Khalfa 98
Maxwell Street (Chicago) 1
Māzar (Sicily) 97
Měgillat yūḥāsīn 15*. *See also* Index III.3, *sub* Aḥimaʿaz b. Paltiel
Meʿir Gaon 117, 119
Měkhīltāʾ. *See* Index III.3, *sub titulo*
Melammed, Uri 22 n. 96
Melchizedek 42–43, 45, 49 and n. 31, 51; as the nephew of Noah, 39 n. 6
Melchizedek Scroll (11Q13) 51–52
Memphis. *See* Manf
Memucan (biblical) 247, 252, 253 n. 40
Menache, Sophia 7 n. 28
Menaḥem b. Gadi (biblical) 249
Menaḥem b. Mattat 310 n. 75
Menaḥem al-Rūjī. *See* al-Rūjī, Menaḥem
Menschlichkeit xvii
merchant(s), merchantry 11–12, 80, 93–100, 251
merkāḇā literature and tradition 50, 57, 104. *See also hēkhālōt* literature; mysticism
Meroz, Yonatan 283
Messiah 128, 130, 135, 225–32; era of, 121, 127 and n. 36, 131, 135 n. 74, 179; hastening the advent of, 152; pretenders to the role of, xxiii, 296; "son of God" as a pre-Christian title of, 226
metaphysics 13, 22 and n. 98, 23–24. *See also al-ʿulūm al-ilāhiyya*; *al-falsafa al-ūlā*; *al-falsafa al-ilāhiyya*
Metatron identified with the "Active Intellect," 57
metempsychosis 34, 70 n. 57
Methusaleh 145 n. 32
mězūzā 58, 63 and n. 9, 64 and n. 10
Michael, Murad 3 n. 7
Middle Eastern "bourgeoisie" 13
Midrash ʿăśeret hărūgē malkhūt 40 n. 7, 50. *See also* Index III.3, *sub titulo*
Midrash Bĕmidbar rabbā (*Num. Rab.*). *See* Index III.3, *sub titulo*
Midrash Bĕrēʾshīt rabbā (*Gen. Rab.*). *See* Index III.3, *sub titulo*
Midrash ha-ḥēfeṣ. *See* Index III.3, *sub* Yaḥyā b. Sulaymān
Midrash Leqaḥ ṭōḇ (*Pĕsīqtāʾ zūṭartāʾ*) 124 n. 14. *See also* Index III.3, *sub* Tobiah b. Eliezer
Midrash Shīr ha-shīrīm rabbā (*Song Rab.*) 40 n. 7
Midrash Vayyiqrāʾ rabbā (*Lev. Rab.*). *See* Index III.3, *sub titulo*
Milgrom, Jacob 38 n. 3
Milik Józef T. 46 n. 24, 225 and nn. 12 and 14, 295, 297–300, 303 n. 40, 304, 305 n. 49, 309, 311
Minor Prophets, scroll of, discovered at Wadi Murabbaʿāt 295
Miqṣat maʿăśē ha-tōrā (4QMMT). *See* Index III.2, *sub titulo*
Miret, J. 87
Miriam bat Jonathan 297, 304, 311–12
Mishnah (Mishnā). *See* Index III.3, *sub titulo*
mithqāl(s) 76–80, 271 n. 185
Moab, Moabite(s) 64, 65 n. 23, 67, 169 n. 91, 172, 266, 268
mōʿădīm 209. *See also* festival(s) (Jewish)
Monieux xx, 6
Moody Bible Institute xvi
moon 25, 66, 207, 209, 267 n. 146, 268 n. 154; new (Rosh Ḥodesh), 51, 176 n. 128, 207–09
Mordecai (biblical) xiv, 241, 244–45, 247–48, 255–56, 257 n. 69, 259–60, 261 n. 103, 262–65, 270, 272–74, 277, 278 n. 243, 279 n. 252; 16*; his full geneaology, 253–54
mōrēh (*ha-*)*ṣedeq* 127 and n. 36, 135–36, 178–79. *See also kōhēn ṣedeq*
Moreh, Shmuel 3
Morocco 75
mortification (physical) 44, 51. *See also* fasting
Moscato, Judah 142
Moses (biblical) 16 and n. 48, 18, 22, 25 n. 118, 27, 41 n. 15, 65 n. 23, 66, 69, 122–24, 125 nn. 23–25, 128, 131 n. 54, 143–44, 151, 167 n. 80, 169–70, 175, 178 n. 137, 187, 192, 241, 248, 253 n. 43, 263, 265, 267–68, 273 n. 210; his prophethood lower than Balaam's, 38
Moses b. Asher (Masorete) 13*
Moses b. Kalonymos 104–05
Moses b. Naphtali (Masorete) 13*
Moses Taku. *See* Taku, Moses
Mosul 94
Mourners of Zion (Karaite) 158 n. 39, 177, 178 nn. 139 and 141, 179
Moses (biblical) 15 n. 38, 16, 25 and n. 118, 18, 22, 25 n. 118, 27, 41 and n. 15, 65 n. 23, 66–67, 69, 122–24, 124 n. 20, 125 nn. 23–25, 128, 131 n. 54, 132–33, 143–44, 151, 156 n. 31, 167

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n. 80, 169–70, 175, 178 n. 137, 192, 241, 248, 253 n. 43, 263, 265, 267–68, 273 n. 210
Moses b. Naḥman. *See* Naḥmanides
Mosul 11; synagogue of, 13
Mount Ebal. *See* Ebal, Mount
Mount Gerizim. *See* Gerizim, Mount
Mount Sinai. *See* Sinai, Mount
Mozarabic 86
muʿallim(*ūn*) 154, 157, 175–76 and n. 123; *al-jāliya* ("of the exile"), 157
mudabbir 16
(*al-*)*mudawwin* 125–26 n. 27. *See also dawwana*
Mudejar(s) 87
al-mufassir(*ūn*), as a designation of Karaite exgetes 154, 157, 176 n. 123; as a designation of Saadia Gaon, 243 n. 15
Muḥammad (the Prophet) 125 n. 24, 217–20, 264 n. 120
Muʿjam al-buldān. *See* Index III.5, *sub* Yāqūt al-Rūmī
munajjim 21 and n. 90, 22. *See also* astronomer(s); astrologer(s)
Munk, Salomon 83–85
Al-murshid ila ʾl-tafarrud wa-ʾl-murfid ila ʾl-tajarrud (by David ha-Nagid). *See* Index III.3, *sub* David ha-Nagid (b. Joshua Maimonides)
Mūsā b. Abi ʾl-Ḥayy 96–98
Mūsā b. Isḥāq b. Ḥisdā 99
Mūsā b. Yaḥyā al-Majjānī 95, 97
mushāhada 64 n. 14
Muslim(s) 5 and n. 21, 18, 25, 87, 124 n. 17, 125 and nn. 23–24, 129, 144–45, 243 n. 13; and corporal modesty, 218–19; conquest of Palestine by, 117; cultural interaction with Jews, 215; disputation with Jews, 125, employing Jews and Christians, 259 and n. 90; Ḥanafī, 218; Ḥanbalī, 218; influence upon Yefet b. Eli, 153; Ismaʿīlī, 145 n. 31; Mālikī, 218; prohibition against wine consumption, 97; Shāfiʿī, 218; Shiʿite, 18 n. 68, 145 and n. 31, 264 n. 120, 265 n. 124; theology, 151. *See also* Islam
Musnad. *See* Index III.5, *sub* Ibn Ḥanbal, Aḥmad
Muʿtazila, Muʿtazilism 14, 150 n. 10, 151, 176 n. 126. *See also kalām*
mysticism 3, 37, 40–52, 57–71, 103–05. *See also hēkhālōt* literature; *merkāḇā* literature
myth 37, 40–52

Nabatean(s) 231
nabīdh 97. *See also* wine
al-Nābulusī, ʿAbd al-Ghanī. *See* Index III.5, *sub nomine*
Naḥal Ḥever 297–99, 302, 308 and n. 71. *See also* Index III.2, *sub* Dead Sea Scrolls
Naḥal Ṣeʾelim 302
Naḥmanides (Moses b. Naḥman) 118; 44* n. 31. *See also* Index III.3, *sub nomine*
Naḥmias, Joseph (b. Joseph). *See* Joseph (b. Joseph) Naḥmias
names, Arabic, for Geniza Jewry 3
naql, *nāqilīn* 125 and n. 24, 144
nārinjāt (or *nāranjāt*), a variant of 18 n. 62
Narboni, Moses b. Joshua 44* and n. 26
al-Nasāʾī, Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, Aḥmad b. ʿAlī. *See* Index III.5, *sub nomine*
nasi, *nesiʿim* 117–18. *See also* exilarch(s), exilarchate
nīranjāt 18 n. 62
Naskhī (Neskhi) script 85
Nathan b. Isaac ha-Bavlī 95
Nathan ha-Kohen b. Meḇōrākh 97
Nathan b. Makhir of Ancona (scribe) 105
Nathan b. Nehōrai 94, 96, 98
Nathan b. Yeḥiel of Rome 105. *See also* Index III.5, *sub nomine*
National Library of Russia (NLR) xviii, 12 and n. 7, 59, 83, 123 n. 11, 149 n. 1, 237, 243 n. 14, 330
Nature 45, 47, 48, 68; as a hypostasis (neoplatonic), 69 n. 54
Nazis 1 n. 1
Nebuchadnezzar 17, 57, 242, 245, 248, 254 n. 53, 261, 262 n. 108, 263 n. 119, 264–65 n. 123, 271; 50*, 54*; his vision in Dan 3, 57
Neckam, Alexander 190
nĕfīlīm 38
Nehōrai b. Nissīm 93–94, 95 n. 9, 97–100
Nemoy, Leon 142
neoplatonism, neoplatonist(s) 14–26. *See also* philosophy
Nero (emperor) 296, 298–300, 308; 15*
Neubauer, Adolph 83 and n. 2, 84–86, 280
New Moon (biblical festival) 51, 176 n. 128, 207–09
New Testament 5, 48 n. 30, 126, 192–94, 226–29. *See also* Acts (of the Apostles), book of; Gospel(s)
New York Academy of Sciences 4
Newman, Abraham 2
nīranjāt. *See nārinjāt*
Nile 12*, 15*–16*
Nissīm b. Isaac al-Tāhirtī 98
Nissīm b. Jacob ibn Shāhīn. *See* Ibn Shāhīn, Nissīm b. Jacob
NJPS version of the Bible 11 n. *, 21 nn. 80 and 86, 24 n. 112, 26 n. 124, 37 n. *, 38, 39 n. 5, 46, 48 n. 30, 177 n. 131
Noah 39 and n. 6, 141–45, 216, 250 n. 21,
Nock, Arthur Darby 114, 225
nomina sacra. *See* Tetragrammaton
Nora, Pierre 37–38
Norman War 94
Normandy xix, xxi–xxii, 7, 103
North Africa (as a region) 77–79, 86 n. 27, 103, 105, 125. *See also* Maghreb
Northumbria 189
nudity. *See ʿawra*; *ʿervā*
al-nūr (Divine Light) 264 nn. 119–20
(al-)Nuṣayriyya 264 n. 120

Obadiah the Proselyte xx–xxi, xxiii, 6
Octavian 226–27, 231 and n. 50
Odo (sub-prior of Canterbury) 191
Oegema, Gerbern S. 226
Oenomaus of Gadara 16 and n. 41
Old Latin version (of the Bible) 188, 192

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Onqelos 13*. *See also* Index II, *ad* Num 13:22
Oppido Lucano 6
Oracle of Hystaspes 225 n. 16
oral law/tradition 161, 175, 178 and n. 138, 218, 255 and n. 58, 258
Oratio ad graecos (by Tatian) 27. *See also* Index III.4, *sub* Tatian
Oria (in italy) 105–06
Oriental Institute (University of Chicago) xvi–xvii, 1–4, 109–12, 115, 117 n. *
Origen 1* n. 4
Orléans 190
ʾŌṣār neḥmād (by Izrael of Zamosc) 142–43
ossuary, ossuaries 303 n. 41, 306
Outhwaite, B. xviii
Oxford University 1 n. 1, 6; Press of, 296

pagan(s), paganism 188, 216 n. 6, 220, 225 n. 14, 227
Palermo 99
Palestine 93–99, 104–05, 113, 117–19, 121, 122 n. 5, 132–33, 135 n. 74, 156, 161, 187, 227, 249 n. 6, 250 n. 16, 267, 293, 307. *See also* Jund Filasṭīn
Palestinian Archaeological Museum 225, 293
paradise 41 and n. 12, 49, 66, 217. *See also* Eden, garden of
pārāshā, *pārāshiyyōt* 187–88, 195, 257 n. 71, 263 n. 119
Paris 6 n. 27, 189–96
Paris, Matthew (of Saint Albans) 194
Paris Psalter 190 n. 30. *See also* Index I, *sub* Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, lat. 8824
Parthian(s) 231, 266 n. 136
Passover 38, 270; Esther's fast held on the first three days of, 273 and n. 207; Haggadah of, 64 n. 20
Pearlman, Moshe 2 n. 6
Paul (the Apostle) 227, 230
Peleg, Yuval 4
Pentateuch. *See* Samaritan Pentateuch; Torah (Tōrā)
Pentecost. *See* Shāḇūʿōt
Peqaḥ (biblical) 166–67
Perlmann, Moshe 2 and n. 6
Perry, Micha 121 n. 1, 132 n. 57
Persia, Persian(s) (people) 27, 99, 103, 121, 149, 154, 243, 245–46, 251 and nn. 24–25, 262 n. 108, 263–64 n. 118, 269 and n. 160, 271, 301; 11*, 48*; adherence to a solar calendar, 266 and n. 136. *See also* Iran; Khurāsān; Sassanian(s)
Persian (language) 2, 98 n. 19, 156 and n. 33
pĕshāṭ 161–63. *See also dĕrāsh*; exegesis
pēsher, *pĕshārīm* 40, 135, 152, 161–62
Peshiṭta 13*. *See also* Index II, *ad* Prov 30:15
Pĕsīqtāʾ zūṭartāʾ. *See Midrash Leqaḥ ṭōḇ*
Peter the Chanter 189
Peter the Venerable 189 and n. 19
Pharisees, Pharisaic Judaism 4, 42 n. 17, 43 n. 22
Philadelphia 2
Philo of Alexandria xvi, 223 n. 2. *See also* Index III.4, *sub nomine*
philosophy xiv, 69, 141–42, 149 and n. 2, 150, 203–04, 209–10; and the Hebrew Bible, 11–26; and the issue of the soul's simplicity, 69 and n. 52; neoplatonic, 14, 19–20, 69 n. 54, 141–42; Platonic, 5, 14, 141–42; of history, xv, xvii. *See also kalām*
phylacteries (*tĕfillīn*) 58, 69–70, 70 n. 55
physics 24
pietism, pietist(s) (medieval Jewish) 57, 65 n. 28, 70 n. 58, 104 and n. 8
Pinsker, Simḥa 83 n. 2
Pirqē āḇṓt, commentary on (by David ha-Nagid) 34–35. *See also* Index III.3, *sub* Maimonides, David
Pirqē dĕ-rabbī ĕlīʿezer 40. *See also* Index III.3, *sub titulo*
pisqāʾ(ōt) 188, 195–96
piyyūṭ 126 n. 28, 127 n. 29, 129 n. 43, 283
Plato 141, 227. *See also* philosophy
Plutarch 47*. *See also* Index III.4, *sub nomine*
poetry, Arabic 2
polemics, Christian-Jewish 5, 124–25; Karaite-Rabbanite, 121, 125–26, 155, 241–42; Muslim-Jewish, 5, 124–25 and n. 23, 129; modern scholastic, 227
Pollensa (Mallorca) 87
Polliack, M. ix, xvii, 121 n. 1, 127 n. 35, 135; 17* n. *
Polybius 47*–49*. *See also* Index III.4, *sub nomine*
polygyny 104
Pompey 231
Pontigny 194
Pravoslavni Palestinski Sbornik 113
Prawer, Joshua 113
prayer xv, 44, 104 and n. 6, 129, 135, 161, 175, 176 n. 128, 177, 194, 217–19, 244, 248, 258 n. 84, 274 and n. 215
Pressburg 142
priest(s), priesthood (Jewish) 16, 37–47, 49–51, 122–24, 126 n. 28, 127–31, 134–35, 169 and n. 88, 174 n. 117, 189, 261 n. 105, 265, 267, 299, 300 n. 34, 305–08. *See also* high priest
Prince Mastema. *See* Mastema
Princeton-Cambridge Geniza On-Line Database (GOLD) 83
Princeton University 112
Pritsak, Omeljan 5
Profiat Duran. *See* Efodi (Profiat Duran)
prophecy, prophethood, prophet(s) 13–16, 18–19, 23–25, 43 n. 18, 68, 70, 71, 122, 125 n. 24, 126 n. 28, 127–31, 134–35, 144, 151–79, 216, 230, 256, 262, 268; cessation of, 126–29, 131
Pseudepigrapha (pre-Christian) 37, 39, 46–47, 132
Pseudo-Apollonius 25 n. 116
Pseudo-Jerome 189 and n. 24
Pseudo-Jubilees^{c} (4Q227). *See* Index III.2, *sub titulo*
Pseudo-Moses (4Q387a, 4Q388a, 4Q390). *See* Index III.2, *sub titulo*
Ptolemais 111
Ptolemy 19, 27
Ptolemy (a priest of Mendes) 27
Ptolemy Philadelphos II 228
pudenda. *See* genitals
Puech, Émile 224–25,
Puglia 105

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Pul (biblical) 166–67
Pumbedita (Pumbeditha) 105 n. 11, 119
punishment, divine 38–39, 43–48, 50, 130, 144, 169, 170 n. 95, 171–72, 278 nn. 247 and 249. *See also* reward, divine
purity/impurity 37–52, 70, 96, 177, 215
Pyramids (Egyptian) 22–23

Qabbalah, Qabbalism, Qabbalist(s) 64 n. 18; its terminology, 64 n. 15, 68 n. 46
Qābis (Cabès) 99
Qafiḥ, Yosef 143, 144 n. 28, 238
qafīz (Ar. dry measure) 94–95
qām(*a*) *yafʿal*(*u*) ("to start doing," "to continue doing") 34
qamḥ 93–94
Al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ. *See* Index III.5, *sub* al-Fīrūzābādī
al-Qāshānī, ʿAbd al-Razzāq. *See* Index III.5, *sub nomine*
Qāsim, ʿAbd al-Karīm 114
Qaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Gharbī 219
Qayrawān 94, 96
Qimḥi, David b. Joseph 122 n. 4, 163 n. 61, 169 n. 88, 170 n. 93, 257 n. 73, 269 n. 170; 41*, 44* n. 31; his commentary on Ezekiel's vision of the chariot, 57. *See also* Index III.3, *sub nomine*
Qimḥi, Joseph b. David 162
qīrāṭ(s) 95
al-Qirqisānī, Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb 14, 17–19, 121–26, 132–34, 150, 151 n. 13, 154, 159 n. 44, 178 n. 140, 272 n. 204, 273 n. 205, 275 n. 219; his commentary on Genesis, 17; his *K. al-anwār wa-ʾl-marāqib*, 17, 122, 132; his *K. al-tawḥīd*, 14 n. 24; the first to employ the concept of the *mudawwin*, 125 n. 27. *See also* Index III.3, *sub nomine*
Qiṣṣūr Shulḥān ʿārūkh. *See* Index III.3, sub Ganzfried, Shlomo
Qōl yĕhūdā (by Judah Moscato) 142 and n. 6, 143
quadrivium 12 n. 12, 24 n. 108
al-Qūmisī, Daniel (b. Moses) 126–31, 134, 135 nn. 74 and 76, 149–80; a fragment of his commentary on Exodus, 130 and n. 48; a fragment of his commentary on Leviticus, 127 and n. 33; a fragment of his *Kitāb al-tawḥīd*, 130; and pluralistic interpretation, 127 n. 35; his "actualizing" exegesis of prophecy, 157–65, 79–80; his use of the term "*taʾwīl*," 176 n. 123; influence on Yefet b. Eli, 157–65, 170. *See also* Index III.3, *sub nomine*
Qumran xix–xxi, xxiii–xxiv, 2–5, 37 n. *, 38, 47 n. 28, 51 n. 38, 115, 223, 225–26, 228, 231, 295–96, 299, 308. *See also* Dead Sea Scrolls
Qumran literature. *See* Dead Sea Scrolls
Qurʾān 126, 216–20; exegesis of/commentary on, 1, 153, 176. *See also* Index III.5, *sub titulo*
Qurṭuba (Córdoba). *See* Córdoba
Quṣayr ʿAmra 219

R. Akiva 50 and n. 33
R. Ishmael 50
R. Yossi 219
Rabbenu Tam 7
Rabbanite(s) 12 n. 6, 16, 34, 85, 96, 121–25, 127 n. 36, 128 n. 38, 129 and n. 45, 130–31, 134 n. 70, 150 and n. 4, 153, 156, 159 and n. 45, 160, 162–65, 171, 175–80, 204, 237, 241, 243 and n. 15, 269 n. 161; polemics against the Karaites, 121–36, 144, 160 (*See also* Saadia Gaon); their ascension in the Tiberian Yeshiva, 117–19; their tendency to hire non-Jewish women to raise their daughters, 159
rabbinate 103
radiocarbon analysis 3 n. 10, 299
rajaʿ(*a*) ("to be/become," "to start doing") 35
rajaʿ(*a*) *wa-faʿal*(*a*) ("to do again") 35
Ralbag. *See* Levi b. Gershom
Ramla (Ramleh) 97, 149 n. 1, 117–19
Ranke, Leopold von 49* and n. 36, 50* n. 38
Rasāʾil ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ 18, 19 nn. 71–72, 69 n. 54. *See also* Index III.5, *sub titulo*
Rashbam (Samuel b. Meir) 7, 189
Rashi (Solomon b. Isaac) 105 n. 11, 122 n. 4, 127 n. 36, 189, 273 n. 207, 278 n. 243; 14*–15*; his Talmud commentary, 51; on the *mōrēh ṣedeq* of Zechariah, 127 n. 36; use of his commentaries by medieval Christian scholars, 189. *See also* Index III.3, *sub nomine*
Rashīd (transit port) 98
raṭl(s) (Ar. weight) 95–96, 100, 168
Ratzaby, Yehuda 237 n. 1
al-Rāzī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ 88 and n. 40
Rehavia (Israel) 3
Reims xxii, xxiv
responsa, responsum (שו"ת) 2, 19, 78, 96, 124, 125 n. 21, 135
Revelation, book of 231
reward, divine 50, 144, 244, 278 n. 247; for the care of orphans, 244, 255 and nn. 55–56. *See also* punishment, divine
Rhodez (Languedoc) 7
Richard of Saint Victor 189
al-Rīf (Egyptian Delta) 93, 95, 100
Risāla (by Ibn Quraysh) 33. *See also* Index III.3, *sub* Ibn Quraysh, Judah
Rivkin, Ellis 3
riyāḍa 58, 64, 69
Rockefeller family 111–12
Rodom. *See* Rouen
Rodriguez, Carlos del Valle 142 n. 10
Rofé, Alexander 45* n. *
Roma. *See* Gypsy, Gypsies
Roman Empire (and period) xv–xvi, 4–5, 50, 103, 105, 114, 226–28, 230–31, 295–99, 300 n. 34, 307, 309; 12*
Romano, David 87
Roosevelt University 1
Rosenblatt, Samuel 2 and n. 2
Rosenthal, Franz 1 n. 1
Rosh ha-Shanah 51
Rostovtzeff, Michael 112, 114
Rothomagus. *See* Rouen
Rouen xix–xxi, 6–7

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al-Rūjī, Menaḥem xxiii
al-Rūjī, Solomon xxiii
Rupert of Deutz 193
Russia 5
Russian National Library. *See* National Library of Russia
ruzz 94–95

Saad, Joseph 293–94
Saadia b. Abraham of Hebron 96
Saadia (Gaon) b. Joseph 14, 19, 84–85, 117, 141, 150 n. 4, 151, 152 and n. 16, 170 n. 93; 13*–14*; and political philosophy, 16; his anti-sectarianism (esp. anti-Karaism), xv, 241; 3*–7*; his *Book of Beliefs and Opinions* (*K. al-amānāt wa-ʾl-iʿtiqādāt*), 2 n. 2, 141 and n. 1; his calendar dispute with Ben Meir, 117; his comm. on Esth (new fragments), xvi, 237–92; pls. 19.1–7; his comm. on Exod, 16 n. 48, 17; his comm. on Isa, 16; his comm. on Prov, xiv–xv, 127 n. 35, 282, 283; his cosmogony/cosmology, 141 n. 1; his exegetical method, xiv–xv, 240–43; his method of translating biblical place names, 13*; his proofs of creation, 141 n. 1; his Arabic reworking of Hebrew/Aramaic rabbinic source material, 240–41; in prison with the Karaite heresiarch ʿAnan, 133 n. 66; parameters for identifying fragments of his commentary, 238–39; the first Rabbanite writer to engage in horoscopic theology, 269 n. 161; the question of which script he used in his writings, 17* n. 1; the title of his comm. on Job (*K. al-taʿdīl*), 16. *See also* Index III.3, *sub nomine*
Saadia ibn Danān. *See* Ibn Danān, Saadia
Saadia ha-Melammed b. Zakkay ha-Levi ha-Ḥazzan (scribe) 12
Sabbath 13, 34, 38, 40, 42–44, 48, 95–96, 176 and n. 127, 179, 187, 207–09, 256 n. 67, 270 and n. 182. *See also shabbat shabbātōn*
sabbatical (biblical) 38. *See also* jubilee
Sadducee(s) 133–34 and n. 70
Saenger, Paul ix, xvii
Sáenz-Badillos, Angel 88
Safāquṣ (Sfax) 96–97
"sages of the nations" 11–27, 203
saḥara, adopted by Saadia to render biblical *ḥarṭummīm* 17
ṣāḥib al-ʿazīma (Bayrāst's vizier, Bayrāz?) 18 n. 69, 27; rendered *baʿal ha-hashbāʿā* by Kalonymus b. Kalonymus, 18 n. 69
Sahl (Abu ʾl-Surrī) b. Maṣliaḥ 126–29, 130 n. 49, 131 and nn. 52 and 54, 134 and n. 70. *See also* Index III.3, *sub nomine*
Sahl b. Neṭīrā 95–96
(*al-*)*Ṣaʿīd* (Upper Egypt) 98
Saint Albans, royal Abbey of 190–92
Saint Albans Bible 192–93
Saint Petersburg xi, xviii, 12 and n. 7, 83 and n. 2, 141 n. *, 149, 237, 243 n. 14, 330
Salāma b. Abraham 95
Ṣāliḥ b. Mūsā 98
Sallustius 46. *See also* Index III.4, *sub nomine*
Salmon b. Yeruḥam 121 n. 2, 126 and n. 28, 127 n. 29, 134, 150, 155, 241 and n. 8, 242–45, 272 n. 204; his "astonishment" at an assertion by Saadia, 254 n. 52; the spelling of his patronymic, 243 n. 15. *See also* Index III.3, *sub nomine*
Salome bat Ḥoni b. Jonathan 303, 309–10, 312
Salome Grapte 302
Salome Komaise (bat Levi) 302
Samaria 166–67, 174 and n. 116
Samaritan alphabet 189 and n. 22, 190 and n. 29, 326 (pl.)
Samaritan Pentateuch 47 n. 27, 258 n. 74. *See also* Index II
Samarra 119
Samson (biblical) 172 n. 105
Samuel (biblical) 171 n. 95, 172 n. 105
Samuel b. Meir. *See* Rashbam
Samuel b. Solomon Kāzirūnī (MS dedicator) 12 and n. 6
Samuel ha-Nagid b. Ḥananyā 80 n. 34
sanctity of life 45, 51
Sandman, Israel Moshe ix, xxii
Saragossa 87
al-Sarakhsī, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad. *See* Index III.5, *sub nomine*
Sardis 11*–12*
Sasanian(s) 27, 266 n. 136. *See also* Iran; Persia
Satan (ha-Sāṭān, al-Shayṭān) 51, 217
Saturn, conjunction with Jupiter 268–69. *See also* constellation(s)
Saul 169 nn. 88–89, 172 n. 105, 173 n. 114, 216, 265, 277 n. 243; his geneaology, 246–47, 253–54
Schechter, Solomon 5, 83 n. 1, 83 and n. 1
Schlossberg, Eliezer 2*
Scholem, Gershom 3, 104
Schreiner, Martin 86
Schultz, Bruno 37
Schwab, M. 87, 280
Schwarz, Michael 141 n. 4, 143 n. 21
Schwartz, Dov 143
science(s), the Aristotelian division of 12 n. 12
scriptio defectiva xiii
Scrolls of the Judean Desert. *See* Dead Sea Scrolls
Seʿadya b. Abraham of Hebron. *See* Saadia b. Abraham
Second Baruch 231 n. 52
Second Temple Period 37–52
sĕdārīm 187–89, 193, 195–96
Sēder ʿōlām rabbā 168 n. 84. *See also* Index III.3, *sub titulo*
Sēder ʿōlām zūṭāʾ 12*. *See also* Index III.3, *sub titulo*
Sēfer he-ʿarūkh. *See* Index III.3, *sub* Nathan b. Yeḥiel of Rome
Sēfer hā-ʿăzārā 124
Sēfer ḥăsīdīm 104
Sēfer hā-ʿibbūr 203–13; alternately titled *Sēfer ha-ḥizzāyōn*, 203 n. 2. *See also* Index III.3, *sub* Abraham b. Ḥayya (Ḥiyya)
Sēfer ha-ʿīrīm (1 Enoch, chs. 1–36) 47
Sēfer ha-kuzari. *See Kitāb al-khazarī*
Sēfer livyat ḥēn (by Levi b. Abraham) 145 n. 32
Sēfer maʿăśē ēf̱ōd. *See* Index III.3, *sub* Efodi (Profiat Duran)
Sēfer māgēn āḇ̱ōt. *See* Index III.3, *sub* Duran, Simon b. Ṣemaḥ
Sēfer mĕqōr ḥayyīm. *See* Index III.3, *sub* Ibn Gabirol, Solomon

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Sēfer mifʿălōt ha-ʾĕlōhīm. *See* Index III.3, *sub* Abravanel, Don Isaac
Sēfer mikhlōl. *See* Index III.3, *sub* Qimḥi, David b. Joseph
Sēfer ʾōr ha-shēm. *See* Index III.3, *sub* Ḥasdai Crescas
Sēfer pitrōn tōrā 124 n. 20. *See also* Index III.3, *sub titulo*
Sēfer ha-qabbālā. *See* Index III.3, *sub* Ibn Daʾūd, Abraham
Sēfer śāfā bĕrūrā. *See* Index III.3, *sub* Ibn Ezra, Abraham
Sēfer ha-Shorāshīm (by David Qimḥi). *See* Index III.3, *sub* Qimḥi, David
Sēfer ha-tĕrūmā (by Barukh b. Isaac) 67 n. 44
Sēfer tiqqūn ha-dēʿōt. *See* Index III.3, *sub* Albalag, Isaac
Sēfer yĕṣīrā 104
Sēfer yĕsōd mōrāʾ vĕ-sōd tōrā 19 n. 76. *See also* Index III.3, *sub* Ibn Ezra, Abraham
Sēfer Yōsippōn 105; 14*–15*. *See also* Index III.3, *sub titulo*
sĕfīrōt (Qabbalastic) 68 n. 46
Seleucids 42, 43 n. 19, 225 and n. 14, 228, 230, 231 n. 51, 307
Ṣemaḥ Gaon b. Yōshiyyāhū ha-Nasi 117–18
Semitic languages 19 n. 75
Senatus of Worcester 193
Sennacherib 166–67
Sephardim 2
Septuagint (LXX) 19 n. 75, 188, 190; Codex Alexandrinus of, 188. *See also* Index II, *ad* Gen 2:3; Exod 11:3; Ps 119, passim; Prov 30:15; 2 Chr 20:1, 26:8
sex, sexuality 42 n. 17, 46–48, 51, 65, 165–66, 171–72, 215–20, 255 and n. 59
Sfax. *See* Safāquṣ
shabbat shabbātōn 38, 43, 45
Shāḇūʿōt (festival) 39
Shāfiʿī(s). *See* Muslim(s)
al-Shāfiʿī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Idrīs 218
Al-Shahrastānī, Abū ʾl-Fatḥ Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm. *See* Index III.5, *sub nomine*
shaʿīr 95
Shalmaneser III 46*
Shalmaneser (V) 166–67
Shalom (Sholom) Aleichem 1
al-Shām. *See* Syro-Palestine
Shammai 205. *See also* Hillel
Shamoa b. Simon 302
Shapira b. Jesus 303 n. 42
sharīʿa 157, 218–20. *See also* halakhah (*hălākhā*)
Shelamzion 302
Shem (b. Noah; biblical) 144, 250 n. 21
Shĕmaʿ 64, 218
Shear, Adam 142 n. 9
Shemḥazai 49
Sheol 43, 46, 48, 166 n. 72
shĕrīrūt lēḇ, meaning of 47 n. 25
Shiʿite(s), Shiʿism 18 n. 68, 145 and n. 31, 264 n. 120, 265 n. 124; *Ghulāt*, 264 n. 120; Imāmī, 265 n. 124
Shīr ha-yiḥūd 41 n. 14
Shiʿūr qōmā 132
Shlomo Ganzfried. *See* Ganzfried, Shlomo
Shulḥān ʿārūkh. *See* Index III.3, *sub* Joseph Caro
sibistān (plums) 99
Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, Abu ʾl-Muẓaffar Yūsuf ibn Qizāwaghlī 94
Sicarii 310
Sicily 6, 80, 93–94, 97, 99
Ṣifroni, Avraham. *See* Zifrinowitsch (Ṣifroni), Avraham
Silva, L. Flavius 297
Simon b. Camithus 306
Simon b. Ḥoni/Hanin(iah) 305 and n. 48, 310 and n. 78, 311–12
Simon (Simeon) b. Kosiba xxii, 294, 296, 298–300, 302. *See also* Bar Kokhba
Simon b. Shabi 303, 306–07
Simon b. Yoḥai 242
sin 40, 41 n. 15, 58, 63, 174, 218, 255 n. 59, 273 and n. 210; against Arabic grammatical canons, 84; "captives of" (Isa 59:20), 160 n. 50; collective, 38–40, 43–51, 64, 129, 161, 165, 166 n. 71, 169–75, 177 and n. 130, 178–79, 212, 244, 255, 272 n. 198, 278 n. 249; of Azazel (and Shemḥazai), 41, 48–49; of Ham, 216; of Joseph's brothers, 40 and n. 7, 49–50, 50 nn. 33 and 35, 51; of the Wicked Priest (in 1QpHab), 43 n. 18; the three "cardinal/inexcusable" sins in rabbinic tradition, 48, 265
sin offering 38, 49 n. 32, 50, 179
Sinai, Mount 16, 38, 41, 64, 65 nn. 23 and 29, 67, 69, 167 n. 80, 267
siwā ("in addition to") 33, 35 n. 10
Skoss, Solomon L. 2
Slav(s) 13*
Slucki, David 142
Smalley, Beryl 189
Société des études juives 85
Society for Judaeo-Arabic Studies vii, xvii, 11, 33, 75 n. 1, 83, 88 and n. 47, 141 n. *, 143, 237 n. *
sōf pāsūq 191
Solomon (biblical) 18, 19 and n. 71, 66, 68, 143 n. 20, 249, 261 and n. 105, 267; 46*, 48*–49*, 52*–55*
Solomon b. Isaac. *See* Rashi
Solomon b. Judah 13*
Solomon b. Nissīm ha-Levi al-Barkī 93, 95
Solomon ibn Gabirol. *See* Ibn Gabirol, Solomon
Solomon al-Rūjī. *See* al-Rūjī, Solomon
Songs of the Sage[a] (4Q510). *See* Index III.2, *sub titulo*
"sons of darkness" 49, 51–52
"sons of God" 46, 226
"sons of justice" 41 n. 15
"sons of light" 41 n. 15, 42, 49, 51–52, 229
soul 16, 21, 44, 50, 63 n. 8, 64, 67–71, 104, 130
Spain, Spaniard(s) 75–80, 83–89, 96, 103, 151, 162 n. 59, 203; 11*, 13*
Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation 83 n. *
Speyer 103
spirits (disincarnate). *See ashbāḥ*
St. Petersburg (Russia). *See* Saint Petersburg
Stein, G. xviii

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Steinschneider, Moritz xvii, xxii, 83, 85–86
Stern, S. 203 n. *
Steudel, A. 225
Stillman, Norman A. ix–x, xvii
Stillman, Yedida Kalfon x, 217
Strauss, Leo 5 n. 21
Strauss-Ashtor, Eliyahu 3
Stroumsa, Sarah 1* n. *
structural exegesis. *See* exegesis
Ṣufi(s), Ṣufism 58, 64 n. 10, 64 nn. 13–14, 64 n. 16, 68 n. 46, 69 n. 48, 71 n. 59, 130 n. 49
Sughmār family. *See* Ibn Sughmār family
al-Suhrawardī, Shihāb al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. Ḥabash 68 n. 46. *See also* Index III.5, *sub nomine*
Sukenik, Eliezer 3, 306
sukkar (sugar) 98
Sukkōt 38
Sura (in Baghdad) 119
Sūsa 95
synecdoche 249 and n. 1, 278 n. 245
Syracuse (Sicily) xx, 6
Syria 93–94, 96–99, 112, 118, 249 n. 6; 12*, 14*
Syriac 27, 190
Syro-Palestine (al-Shām) 94, 97, 149 and n. 6, 250 n. 16, 267

Ta-Shma, Israel 104–06
Taʿamireh bedouin 293–95
Ṭābā (Abu ʾl-Khayr) b. Ṣalḥūn, his *K. al-manāẓir* 11–26. *See also* Index III.3, *sub nomine*
al-ṭabāʾiʿ 25 n. 116
Al-Ṭabarī, Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Jarīr. *See* Index III.5, *sub nomine*
tabernacle (biblical) 66 nn. 32–38, 71. *See also* temple
Tabernacles, Feast of. *See* Sukkōt
tadwīn 23 and n. 106. *See also mudawwin*
tafāʾul. *See* divination
tafsīr 153, 163 and n. 60, 237 n. 2, 238 n. 3
al-Tāhirtī, Abraham (Barhūn) b. Ṣāliḥ. *See* Abraham (Barhūn) b. Ṣāliḥ al-Tāhirtī
al-Tāhirtī, Joseph b. Mūsā. *See* Joseph b. Mūsā al-Tāhirtī
al-Tāhirtī, Nissīm b. Isaac. *See* Nissīm b. Isaac al-Tāhirtī
taḥrīf 124
Tajrīd al-ḥaqāʾiq (by David II Maimonides) 57 n. 5
Taku, Moses 132–33. *See also* Index III.3, *sub nomine*
talisman(s) 23 and n. 101. *See also* amulet(s); charm(s); magic, magician(s)
Talmud. *See* Index III.3, *sub titulo*
Talshir, Zipporah 45* n. *
Tamīm b. Muʿizz (sulṭān) 96
tamr (dates) 98
Tanḥum b. Joseph ha-Yerushalmi 57, 163 n. 61, 239, 243, 246–47. *See also* Index III.3, *sub nomine*
Tanis 13*
Tannaitic Hebrew. *See* Hebrew
Tanwīn xiii
taqiyya. *See* dissimulation
taqlīd 130, 131 n. 54, 176
Targum(s), of Esther 254 n. 47; of Hosea, 170 n. 95; Pseudo-Jonathan, 71, 135 n. 71. *See also* Index II
Taʾrīkh al-umam wa-ʾl mulūk. *See* Index III.5, *sub* al-Ṭabarī, Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Jarīr
Tatian, *Oratio ad Graecos* 27
tawātur 124
taʾwīl(*āt*) 127, 153, 155 n. 26, 163 n. 60, 175 n. 119, 176 and n. 123, 276 n. 229
Tawrīzī, Yehuda Meʾir 275 n. 219. *See also* Index III.3, *sub nomine*
Taylor-Schechter Genizah Research Unit xviii, 83
"teachers of the exile." *See muʿallimūn al-jāliya*
tĕfillīn. *See* phylacteries
Tel-Aviv University vii–ix, 4, 75 n. 1
temple (biblical) 37–38, 40–46, 71, 122–24, 128, 131 and n. 54, 135 and n. 74, 176 n. 128, 177, 230 n. 49, 262 n. 108, 267, 307; as an idiom for the human body, 68; vessels of, 122 n. 4. *See also* tabernacle
Temple Scroll (11Q19–20; 11QT) 133 n. 69. *See also* Index III.2, *sub titulo*
Ten (Jewish) Martyrs 50. *See also Midrash ʿăśeret hărūgē malkhūt*
Testament of Levi, an Aramaic version found in the Cairo Geniza 132 n. 57. *See also* Index III.1, *sub titulo*
Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs 39–40, 47, 51; fragments found at Qumran and the Cairo Geniza, 51 n. 38
Tetragrammaton (*nomina sacra*) 66, 67 and nn. 39 and 43, 70 n. 55, 144, 191
Thacher, John S. 109
Thanksgiving Scroll (1QH). *See* Index III.2, *sub titulo*
theodicy 16
Theodolfus, Bible of. *See* Index I, *sub* Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, lat. 11937
Theodosian Code 103
Theology (speculative/rational). *See kalām*
theophany 65 n. 29
Thermopylae 47*
Thucydides 45*–46*, 48*–49*. *See also* Index III.4, *sub nomine*
Tiberius 117–19; 14*
Tieken, Theodore D. (Elizabeth B.) 111
Tigris 14*
Tilgath-Pilneser (Tiglath-Pileser) 166–67; 51*
tillīs 94–95
Timotheus I (Nestorian Patriarch) 132–33
tīn (fig) 98
tithe, tithing, ecclesiastical 194; secular, 96
Titus 12*, 14*
Titus Livius 47*, 49*. *See also* Index III.4, *sub nomine*
Tlemçen (Algeria) 76–80
Tobiah b. Eliezer. *See* Index III.3, *sub nomine*
Tobiah b. Moses 96
Todros Abu ʾl-ʿAfiya. *See* Index III.3, *sub nomine*

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Toledo 78, 86–87, 88 n. 45
Toledo Cathedra, Jewish documents in the archive of 88 n. 45
Tomasino, Anthony J. x, xvii
topography, Egyptian 3
Torah (Tōrā, Pentateuch) 16, 39 n. 6, 47 n. 27, 49, 57, 122–25, 126 n. 28, 127–31, 135, 149–50, 157, 161–62, 164–65, 167–69, 171, 175–76, 178–79, 187–96, 210, 212–13, 216 and n. 6, 218, 255, 258 n. 74, 270 n. 179, 273 n. 205, 274, 275 n. 220, 279; "secrets of," 67 n. 39
Torrey, Charles C. 114
Tosafist(s) 7, 132, 1* nn. 5 and 7
tōsāfōt 7
Tōseftāʾ. *See* Index III.3, *sub titulo*
Touati, Charles 141 n. 4, 143, 145 n. 32
Tours (France) 188, 190
transgression. *See* sin
Tree of (the) Knowledge (of Good and Bad) 145 n. 32
Trinity (doctrine of) 191
Tripoli 95
Triumvirs 231
Troyes 189
Turkey 11*–12*
Turkic (language) 5
tūshiyyā, its meaning 19 and n. 75, 24 and n. 112; rendered *fiqh* by Saadia, 19
Tutian, Aviezer 121 n. 1
Tyre 93, 226 n. 25, 230 n. 47

UCLA 1 n. 1
Ukraine 1; 12*
(*al-*)ʿ*ulamāʾ* xvii, 176 and n. 123, 218; adopted by Saadia to render biblical *ḥarṭummīm* and *mĕkhashshĕfīm*, 17 and n. 51
*al-*ʿ*ulūm al-ilāhiyya* 22 and n. 98, 23. *See also al-falsafa al-ūlā*; *al-falsafa al-ilāhiyya*; metaphysics
Umayyad(s) 219
unbeliever(s). *See* infidel(s)
Universidad Central de Madrid 86, 88
Universidad de Barcelona 86
Universidad de Córdoba 88 n. 47, 237 n. *
Universidad de Granada 87–88
Universidad de Madrid 86
University College London 203 n. *
University of California 111. *See also* UCLA
University of Chicago xviii, 1 and n. 1, 3, 11, 109–14, 114–15, 215 n. 2
University of Minnesota 299
University of Pennsylvania 1 n. 1, 2 n. 5
University of Rouen 7
University of Vienna 1 n. 1
University of Wisconsin 3, 112
ʿUqbān b. Salmān al-Ḥarīrī. *See* Jacob (ʿUqbān) b. Salmān al-Ḥarīrī
Uriel (angel) 45, 49
uwal (fundamentals of divine creation) 19. *See also mabādiʾ*

Vajda, Georges 142, 215 n. 1
Vallicrosa, José María Millás 86–87
Van Boxel, P. xviii
Vashti (biblical) 247, 251–53, 270 n. 183, 274
Vasiliev, Alexander A. 112
Venice 143
Vermès, Géza 226
Vespasian 12*
Vespasian Psalter 190–91
Vienna 1, 142
Vilá, Jacinto Bosch 87
Vivarium (Italy) 189, 191
von Grunebaum, Gustave E. 1, 111
Vulgate ix, 187–96; 15*; oldest complete MS of, 187. *See also* Index II, *ad* Exod 11:3

Waddell, W. G. 27
Wadi Murabbaʿāt 293–312. *See also* Index III.2, *sub* Dead Sea Scrolls
Wadi Taʿamireh 294
wajab(*a*) ("to be possible") 34
War Scroll (1QM) 51; and the Aramaic Apocalypse (4Q246), 229, 231 and n. 51. *See also* Index III.2, *sub titulo*
ward (roses) 99
Warduniā ("of Baghdad") xxi, 6
Warsaw 142–43
Wartenberg, Ilana 203 n. *
(*al-*)*wasāʾiṭ* (intermediaries of divine creation) 20, 25 and n. 122, 26
waṣla xiii
Watchers (*hā-ʿīrīn*) 40–41, 41 n. 14, 43, 46–48
wayba(s) (dry measure) 95 and n. 9, 98, 168
Wechsler, L. xviii
Wechsler, Michael G. x, xvi–xviii, 117 n. *, 149 n. *
Weeks, Feast of. *See* Shāḇūʿōt
Weitzmann, Kurt 112–13
Welles, C. Bradford 113
Wellhausen, Julius 50* n. 41
Wessobrunn 190 n. 29
wicked priest 42–43 n. 18, 45, 49
William the Conqueror 103
Wilson, John A. 111
wine (*nabīdh*) 66, 97 and n. 17, 160, 252 and n. 32, 271
Wise, Michael O. x, xvii
Wissenschaft des Judenthums xvii, 83, 215
World War II 112–14
Wright College 1

Xenophon 47*–48*. *See also* Index III.4, *sub nomine*

Yadin, Yigael 3, 231 n. 51, 297–98
Yahuda, Abraham Shalom 86 and n. 21
Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī 14 n. 26

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Yaḥyā b. Sulaymān (Zechariah b. Solomon) 243, 248. *See also* Index III.3, *sub nomine*
yakādu (*an*) *yafʿal* ("he possibly/perhaps does") 35
Yale University 1 n. 1, 112–14
Yalqūṭ shimʿōnī. *See* Index III.3, *sub titulo*
Yanūnash (Tunisia) 96
Yaʿqūb (Abū Yūsuf) al-Qirqisānī. *See* al-Qirqisānī, Yaʿqūb (Abū Yūsuf)
Yāqūt al-Rūmī. *See* Index III.5, *sub nomine*
Yardeni, Ada 296, 298 n. 16, 299 and n. 28, 300 and n. 32, 304–05, 308, 309 n. 73, 310 and nn. 75 and 79
Yefet b. ʿEli 15, 17–19, 85, 122–26, 127 n. 29, 129 n. 45, 130 n. 49, 131 n. 53, 134, 149–80, 237–38, 241 and nn. 8 and 12, 243 and n. 14, 245; and anti-Rabbanite polemic, 175–80; Daniel al-Qūmisī's influence on, 156–80; his comm. on Exod, 18, 127 n. 29; his comm. on Gen, 17; his comm. on Hosea, 151–80; his development the concept of the *mudawwin*, 125 n. 27; his eight "values" (*manāfiʿ*) of prophecy, 151–52; his exegetical method, 149–80 (esp. 151 n. 11); his exegetical sources, 153–56; his influence on later Karaite writers, 150–51; his intro. to Ezek, 151 n. 12; his intro. to Isa, 151; his overall exegetical objective, 150; his *Sēfer* (*ha-*)*miṣvōt*, 149 n. 1; his tendency to reconstruct the historical *realia* of biblical narrative, 165–68; his use of the term "*taʾwīl*," 176 n. 123; recent and in-progress editions of his commentaries, 150 n. 3. *See also* Index III.3, *sub nomine*
Yefet b. Meshullam 96
Yehōshāfāṭ Gaon b. Yōshiyyāhū 117–18
Yemen, Yemenite(s) xix, 80
yeshiva, yeshivot 7, 76, 117–19, 176 and n. 124
Yeshūʿā b. Ismaʿīl al-Makhmūrī 97, 99
Yeshūʿā b. Yākhīn 96
Yeshūʿā b. Judah 150 and n. 5; 42*. *See also* Index III.3, *sub nomine*
Yiddish 86 n. 27
Yinon, Y. *See* Fenton, P.
Yiṣḥāq Gaon 117
Yoḥanan b. Zakkai 135 n. 74
yōm ha-kippūrīm 38–51; *Mūsāf* service of, 39, 51 n. 38, 124 n. 14. *See also kippūrīm*
Ysagoge in Theologiam (by Odo) 191
Yūshaʿ b. Nathan al-Andalusī 93, 97
Yūsuf b. Shuʿayb Ibn Naghira. *See* Ibn Naghira, Yūsuf b. Shuʿayb
Yūsuf ibn Nūḥ. *See* Ibn Nūḥ, Yūsuf

zabīb 97
Zadokites 42 n. 17, 43 nn. 18–22, 47 n. 25
ẓāhir 163, 165, 166 n. 72, 276 n. 229. *See also bāṭin*; *pĕshāṭ*
Zaykovsky, B. xviii
zayt(*ūn*) 96–97
Zechariah b. Jacob al-Shāma 95–97
Zechariah b. Solomon. *See* Yaḥyā b. Sulaymān
Zeitlin, Solomon 2–3, 3 n. 10
Zealot(s) 307, 310
Zholkva 142
Zīb (Akhzīḇ) 98
Zifrinowitsch (Ṣifroni), Avraham 142 and nn. 11 and 16, 143 and n. 21
Zigeuner. *See* Gypsy, Gypsies
Zimmer, Yitzḥaq 104–06
Zimmermann, J. 226
Zion (Mount) 40, 296. *See also* Mourners of Zion, the
zodiac 241, 266–69
Zohar 3; origins of, 133 n. 69
Zoroastrianism, Zoroastrian(s) 266 n. 136, 269 nn. 160–61
Zunz, Leopold 105–06
zūz(*īm*) 309–10, 310 n. 75

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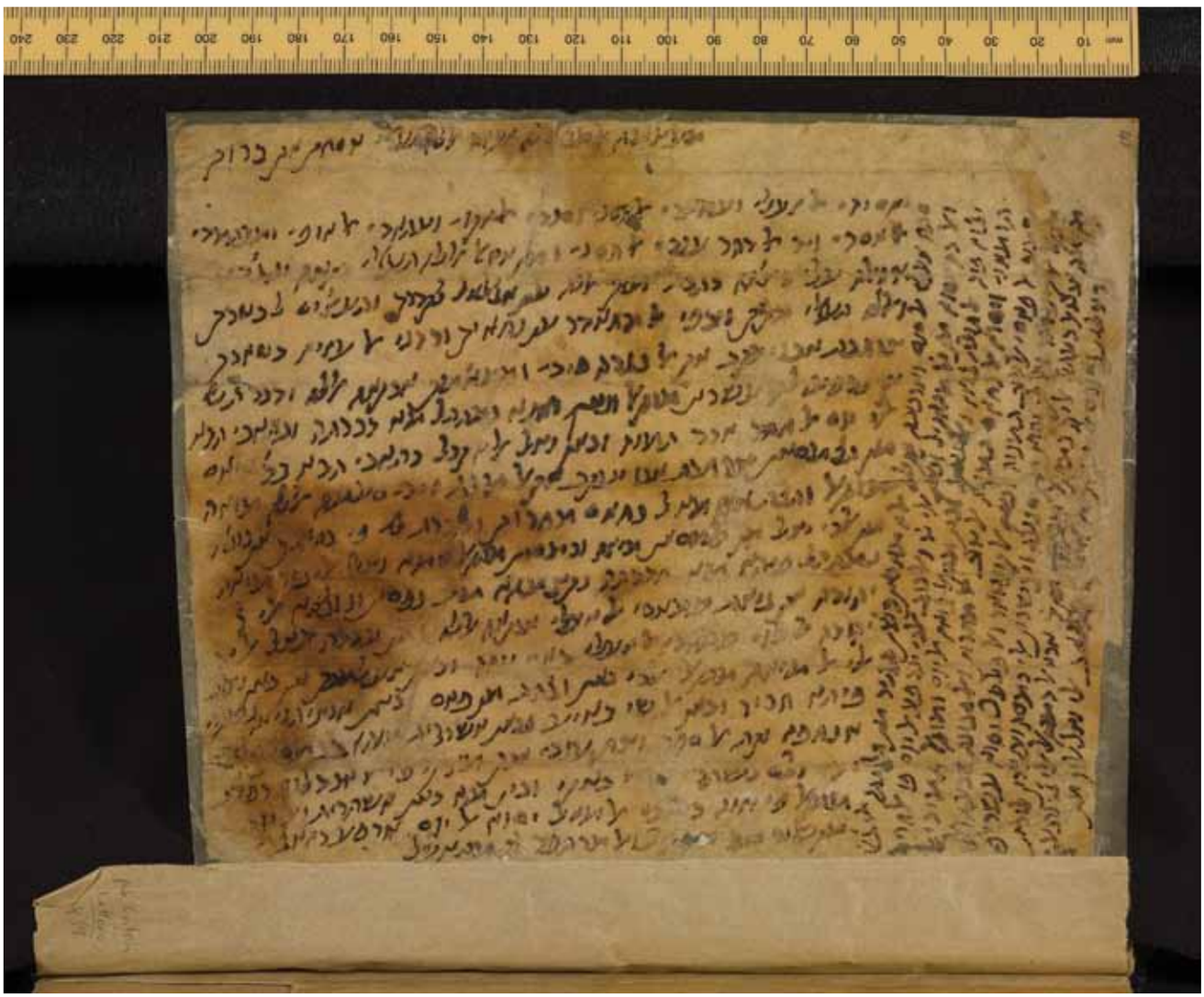

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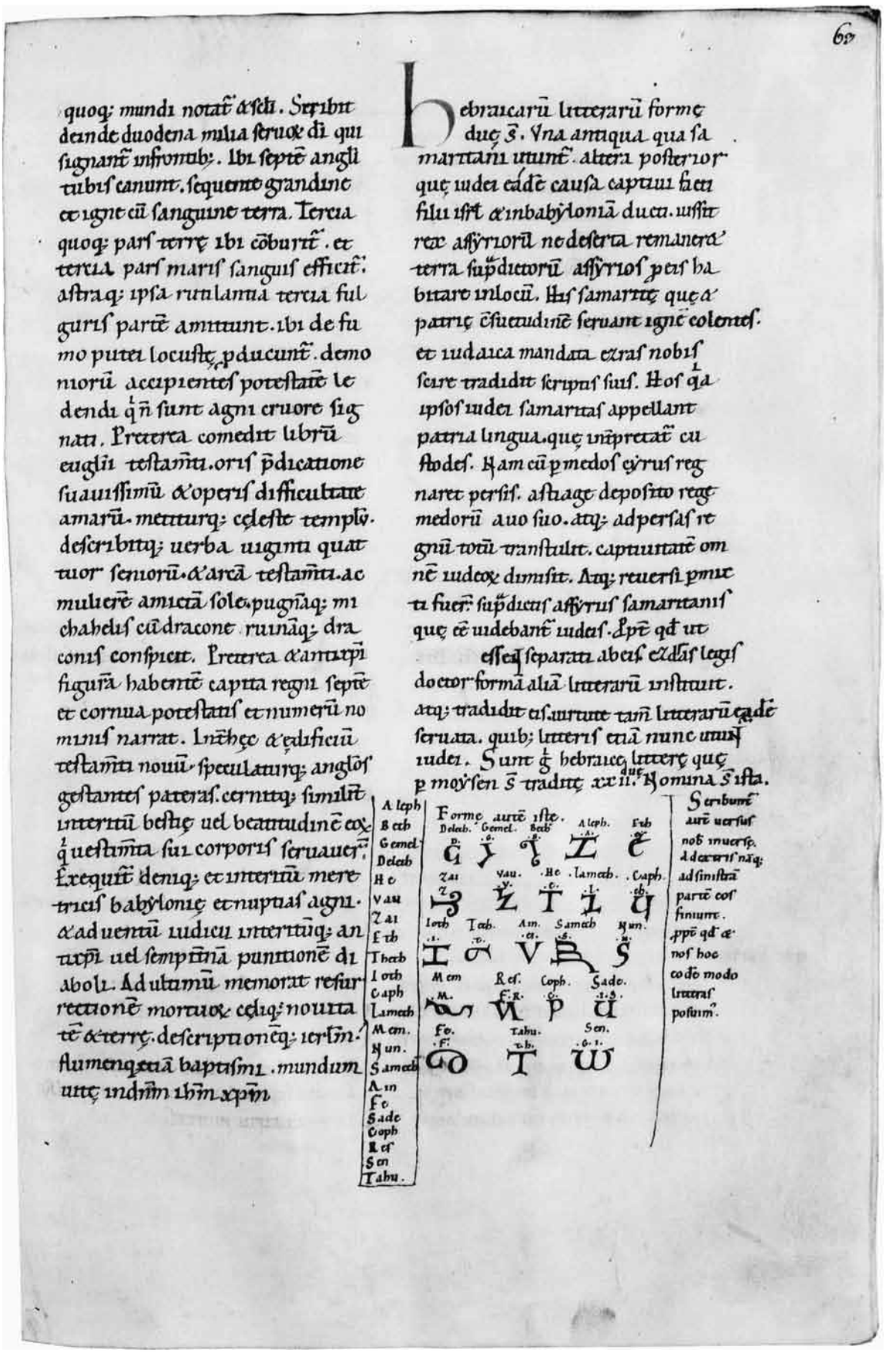

60

quoq; mundi notat̃ ascli. Scribit deinde duodena milia seruoꝝ dñi qui signant̃ in frontib;. Ibi septẽ angli tubis canunt. sequente grandine et igne cũ sanguine terra. Tercia quoq; pars terre ibi cõburit̃. et tercia pars maris sanguis efficit̃. astraq; ipsa ruitantia tercia fulguris partẽ amittunt. ibi de fumo putei locuste; p̃ducunt̃. demoniorũ accipientes potestatẽ lendi q̃n̄ sunt agni cruore signati. Preterea comedit librũ euglii testamti. oris p̃dicatione suauissimũ. & operis difficultate amarũ. metitur; celeste templũ. describitq; uerba uigintiquatuor seniorũ. & arcã testamti. ac mulierẽ amictã sole. pugnãq; michahelis cũ draconẽ. ruinãq; draconis conspicit. Preterea & antichristi figurã habentẽ capita regni septẽ et cornua potestatis et numerũ nominis narrat. Inthec & edificiũ testamti nouũ speculatur; anglos gestantes pateras. cernitq; similit interitũ bestie; uel beatitudinẽ eoꝝ q̃ uestimta sui corporis seruauer̃. Exequit̃ denicq; et interitũ meretricis babylonie; et nuptias agni. & aduentũ iudicii interituq; antichristi uel sempiternã punitionẽ diabolꝰ. Ad ultimũ memorat resurrectionẽ mortuoꝝ. celiq; nouitatẽ. & terre. descriptionẽq; ierusalem. flumenq; etiã baptismi. mundum uite; in dñm ihm xpm

hebraicarũ litterarũ formę duę s̄. Una antiqua qua samaritani utunt̃. altera posterior quę iudei eidẽ causa captiui facti filii isrl̃ & in babyloniã ducti. ussit rex assyriorũ ne deserta remanerẽt terra supdictorũ assyrios p̃cepit habitare in locis. Has samaritę quę a patrię cõsuetudinẽ seruant igne colentes. et iudaica mandata extraꝝ nobis scire tradidit scriptꝝ suis. Hos q̄ ipsos iudei samaritas appellant patria lingua. quę imprecat̃ eis hodie. Nam cũ p medos cyrus regnaret persis. astiage deposito regno medorũ auo suo. atq; ad persas regnũ totũ transtulit. captiuitatẽ omnẽ iudeox dimisit. Atq; reuersi primi fuer̃ supdicti assyrius samaritanis quę tẽ uidebant̃ iudeis. dpẽ qd ut essent separati ab eis eidẽ legis doctor formã aliã litterarũ instituit. atq; tradidit eis. utute tam litterarũ eãdẽ seruata. quibꝰ litteris etiã nunc utunt̃ iudei. Sunt & hebraice litterę quę p moysen s̄ tradite xxii. duę. Nomina s̄ ista.

Samaritan alphabet. MS Munich CLM 22016, folio 60r (courtesy of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich)

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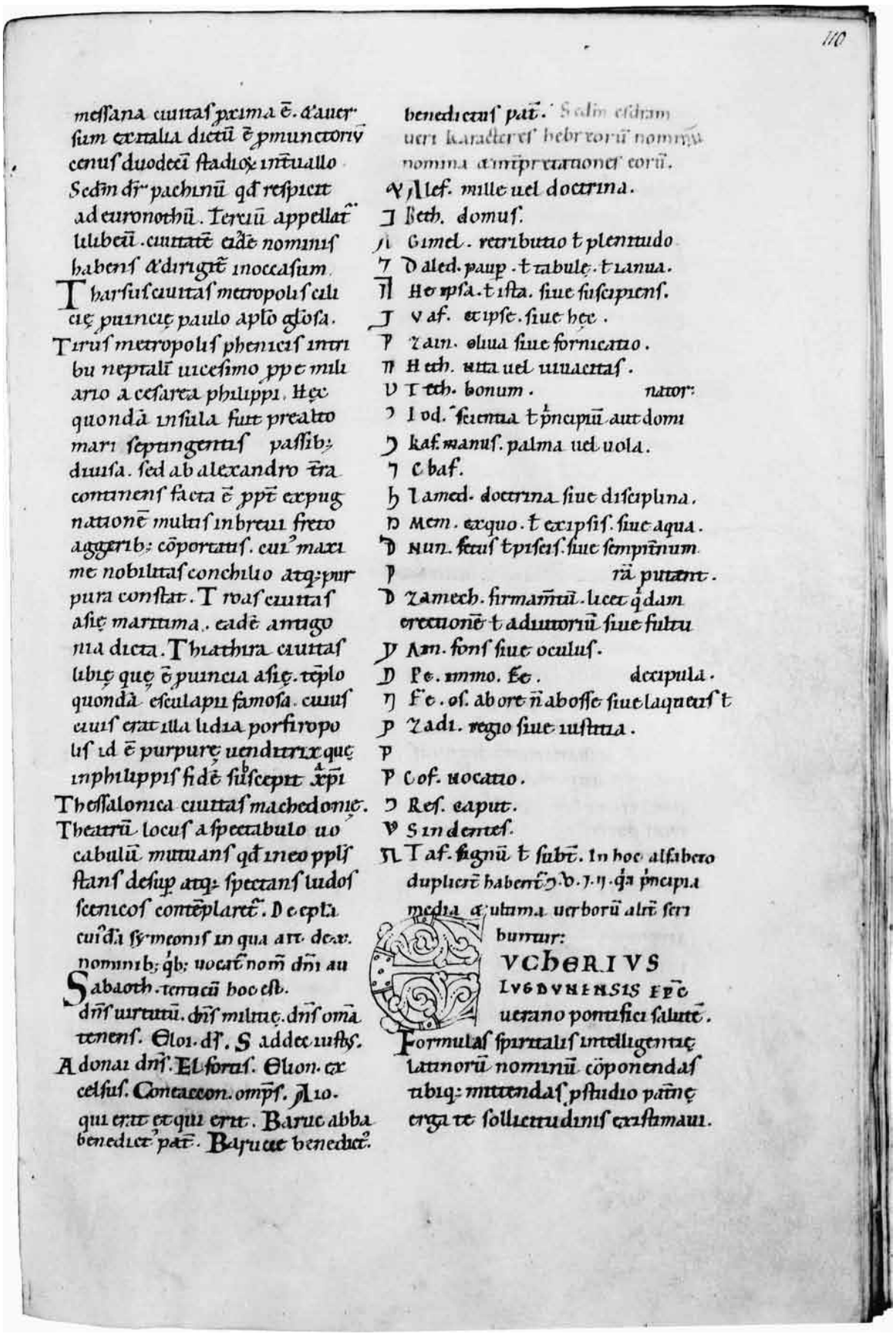

110

messana ciuitas prima ē. a'auer-
sum exitalia dicitū ē pmunctoriū
cenus duodecī stadiox intuallo
Sedīn dr' pachinū qđ respicit
ad euronothū. Tercū appellat'
lilibeū. ciuitatē eadē nominis
habens a'dirigtē inoccasum.
Tharsus ciuitas metropolis cili
cię paulo aplō glōsa.
Tirus metropolis phenicis intri
bu neptalī uicesimo ppe mili
ario a cesarea philippi. Hęc
quondā insula fuit prealto
mari septingentas passib;
diuisa. sed ab alexandro ītra
continens facta ē ppt expug
nationē multis inbreui freto
aggeribꝫ cōportatus. cui' maxi
me nobilitas conchilio atq; pur
pura constat. Troas ciuitas
asię maritima. eadē antigo
nia dicta. Thiathira ciuitas
lubię quę ē puincia asię. tēplo
quondā esculapii famosa. cuius
cuius erat illa lidia porfiropo
lis id ē purpurę uenditrix quę
inphilippis fidē suscepit x̄pi
Thessalonica ciuitas macedonię.
Theatrū locus a spectabulo uo
cabulū mutuans qđ ineo ppli
stans desup atq; spectans ludos
scenicos contēplarē. Decpta
cui'dā symeonis in qua arc. dcxv.
nominib; qb; uocat' nom̄ dn̄i au
Sabaoth. tetracū hoc est.
dn̄s uirtutū. dn̄s militię. dn̄s oma
tenens. Eloi. dr'. S addec iusus.
Adonai dn̄s. El forus. Elion. ex
celsus. Contaccon. omps. Jlio.
qui erat et qui erit. Baruc abba
benedict' pat'. Baruch benedict'

benedictus pat'. Sedin eisdem
uero karacteres hebreorū nomina
nomina a'imprecationes eorū.

א Alef. mille uel doctrina.
ב Beth. domus.
ג Gimel. retributio t plenitudo
ד Daled. paup. t tabule. t ianua.
ה He ipsa. t ista. siue suscipiens.
ו Vaf. et ipse. siue hęc.
ז Zain. oliua siue fornicatio.
ח Heth. uita uel uiuacitas.
ט Teth. bonum. nator.
י Iod. scientia t principiū aut domi
כ kaf. manus. palma uel uola.
ל Claf.
מ Lamed. doctrina siue disciplina.
נ Mem. exquo. t excipsis. siue aqua.
ס Nun. fetus t piscis. siue sempiternum
ע rā putant.
פ Zamech. firmamētū. licet q̄dam
erectionē t adiutorū siue fultu
צ Ain. fons siue oculus.
ק Pe. immo. Ee. decipula.
ר Fe. os. abort ñ abosse siue laqueus t
ש Zadi. regio siue iustitia.
ת
ת Cof. uocatio.
ת Res. caput.
ת Sin dentes.
ת Taf. signū t subtē. In hoc alfabeto
duplicē habentꝫ d. j. ŋ. q̄a principia
media a' ultima uerborū alit' scri
buntur:

VCHERIVS
LVGDVNENSIS EPC
uetrano pontifici salutē.

Formulas spiritalis intelligentię
latinorū nominū cōponendas
tibiq; mittendas, studio patię
ergā te sollicitudinis existimaui.

Hebrew alphabet. MS Munich CLM 22016, folio 110r (courtesy of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich)

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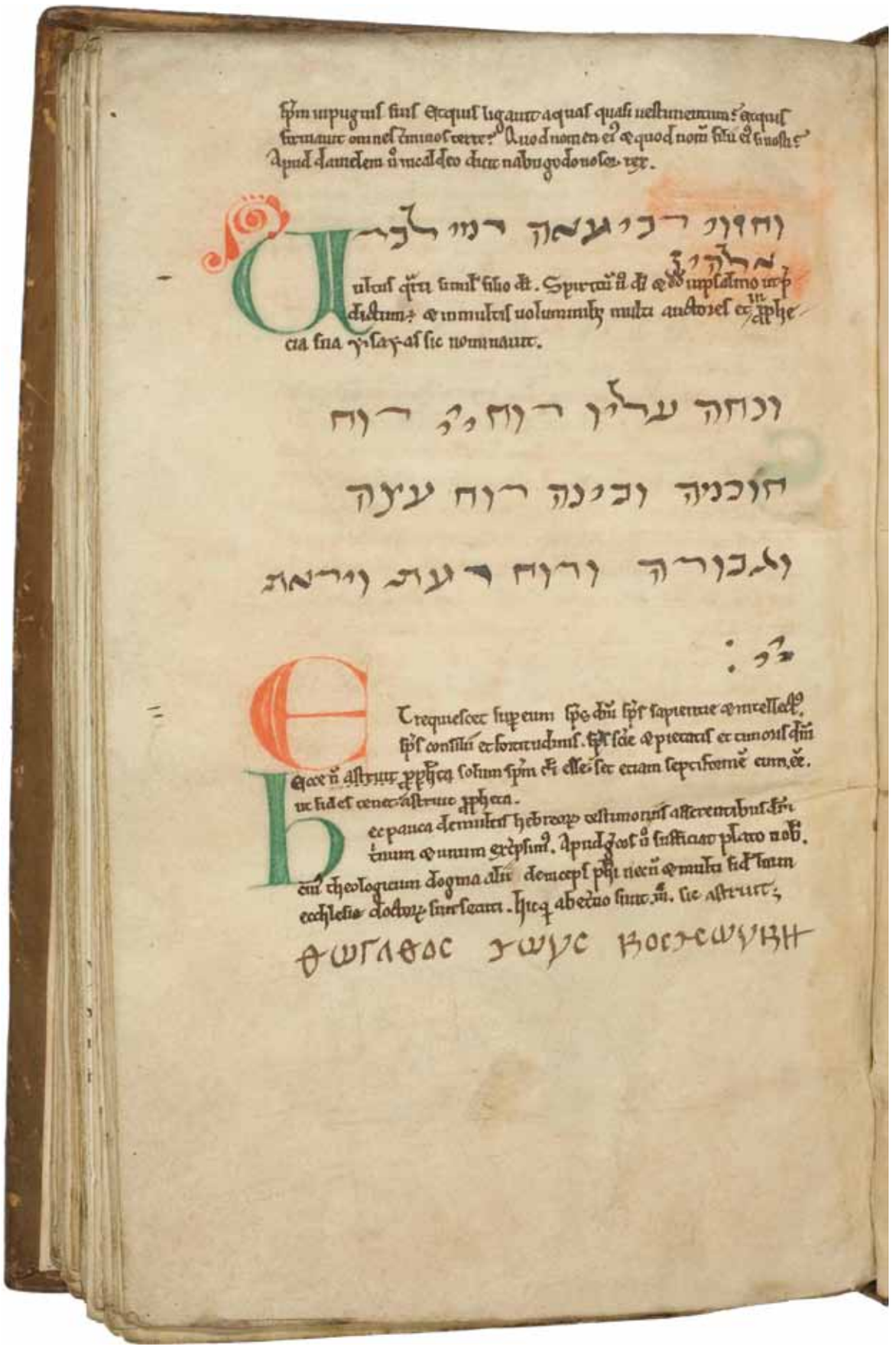

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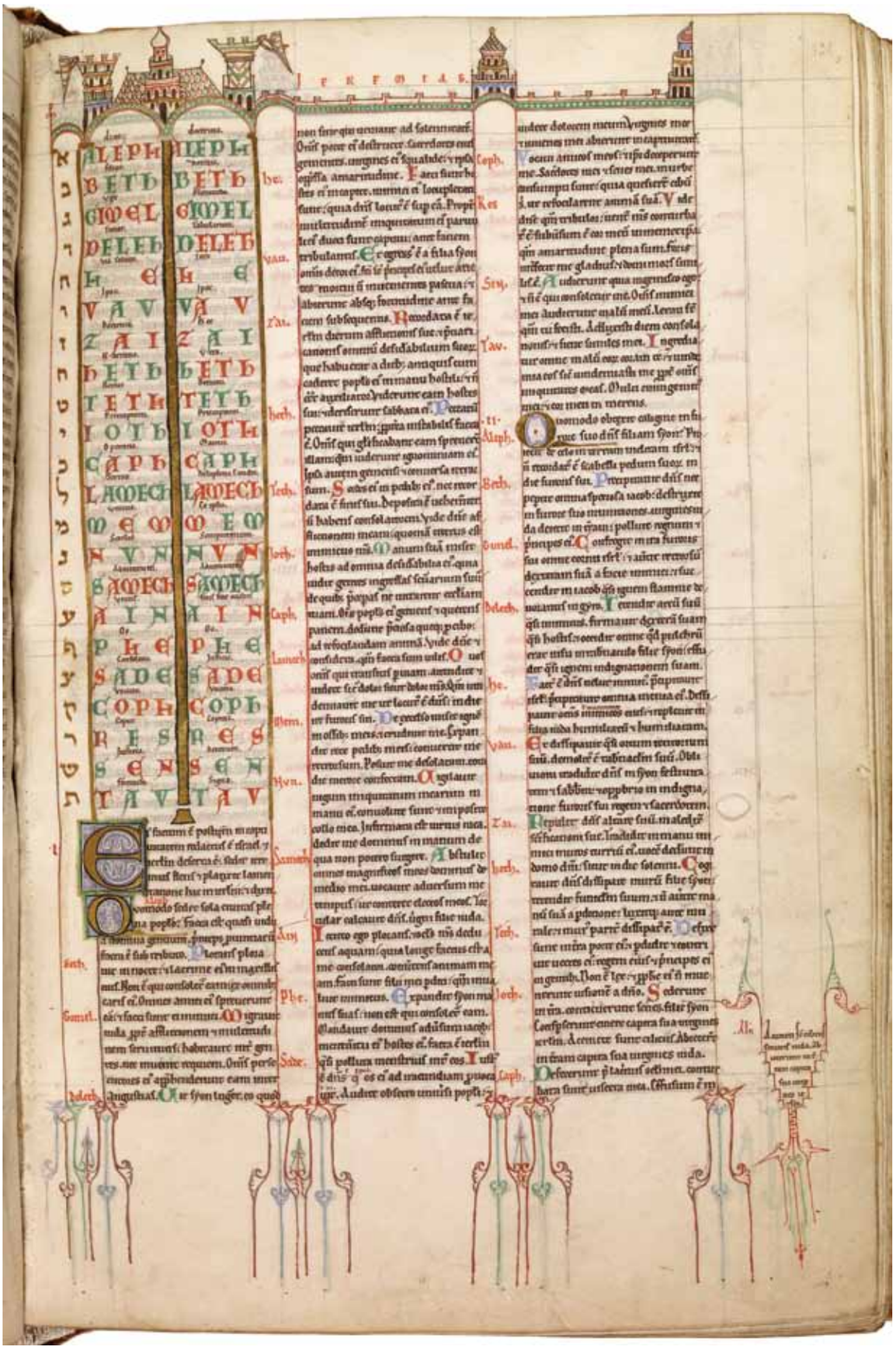

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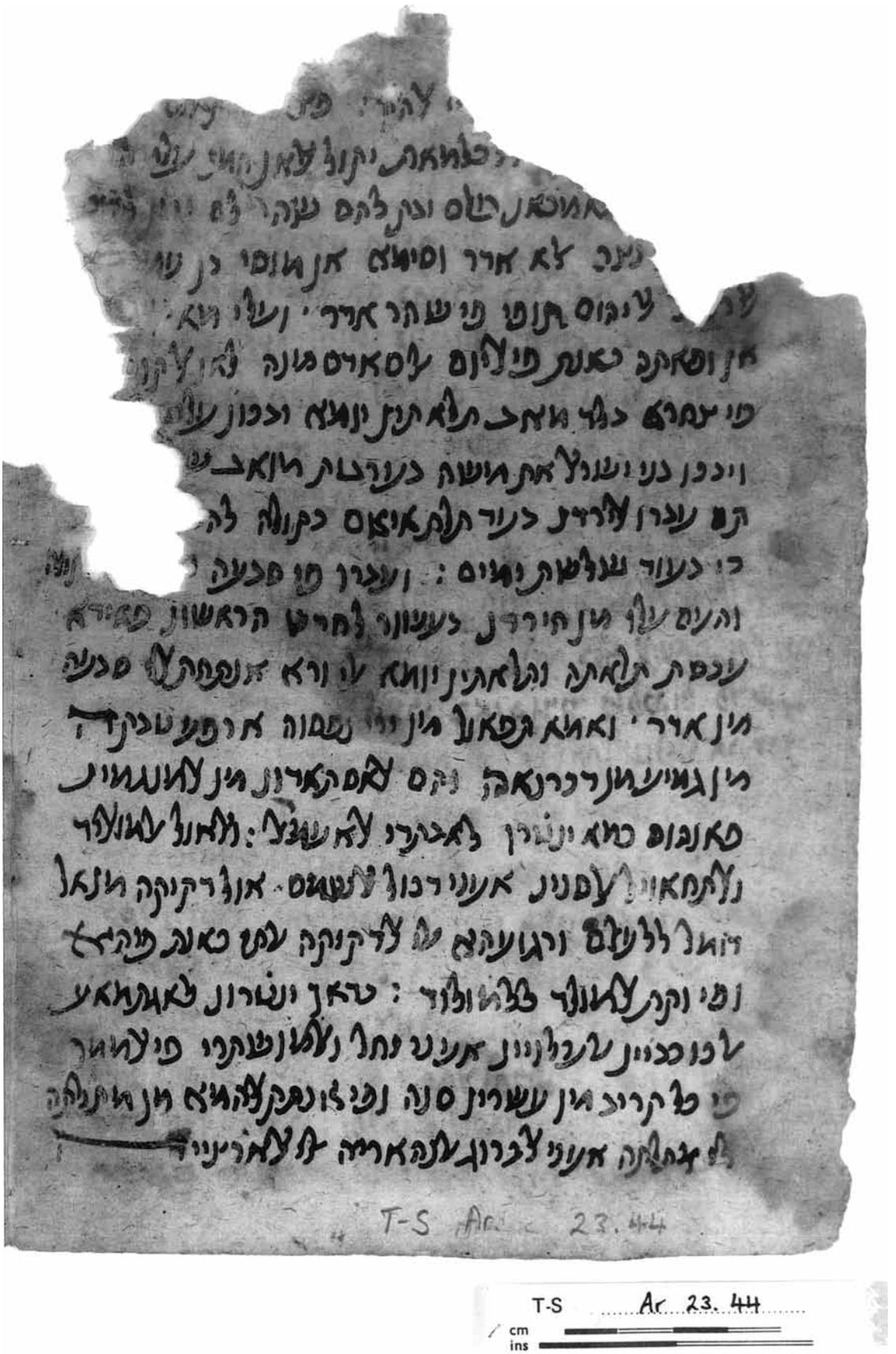

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Plate 19.3

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Plate 19.5

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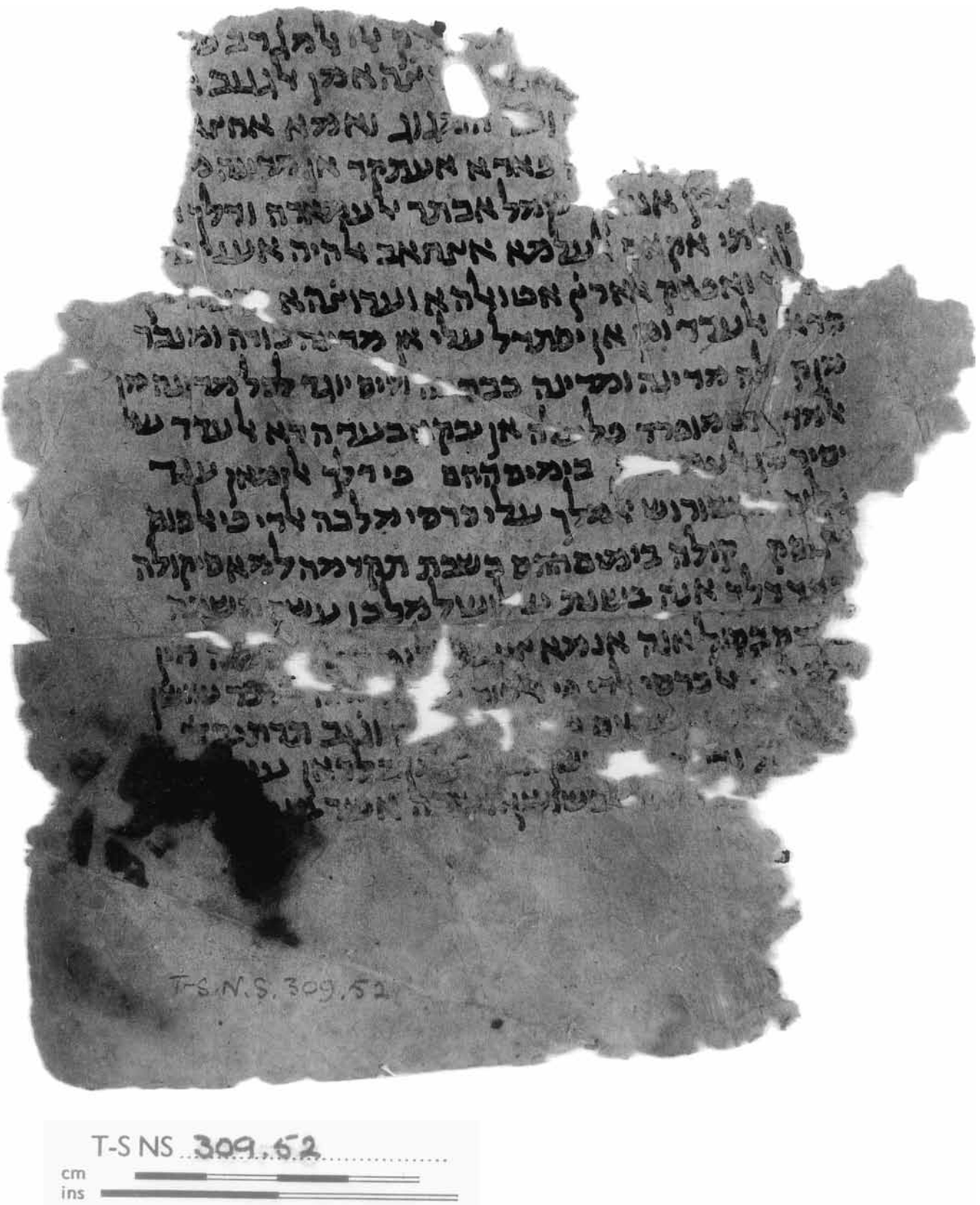

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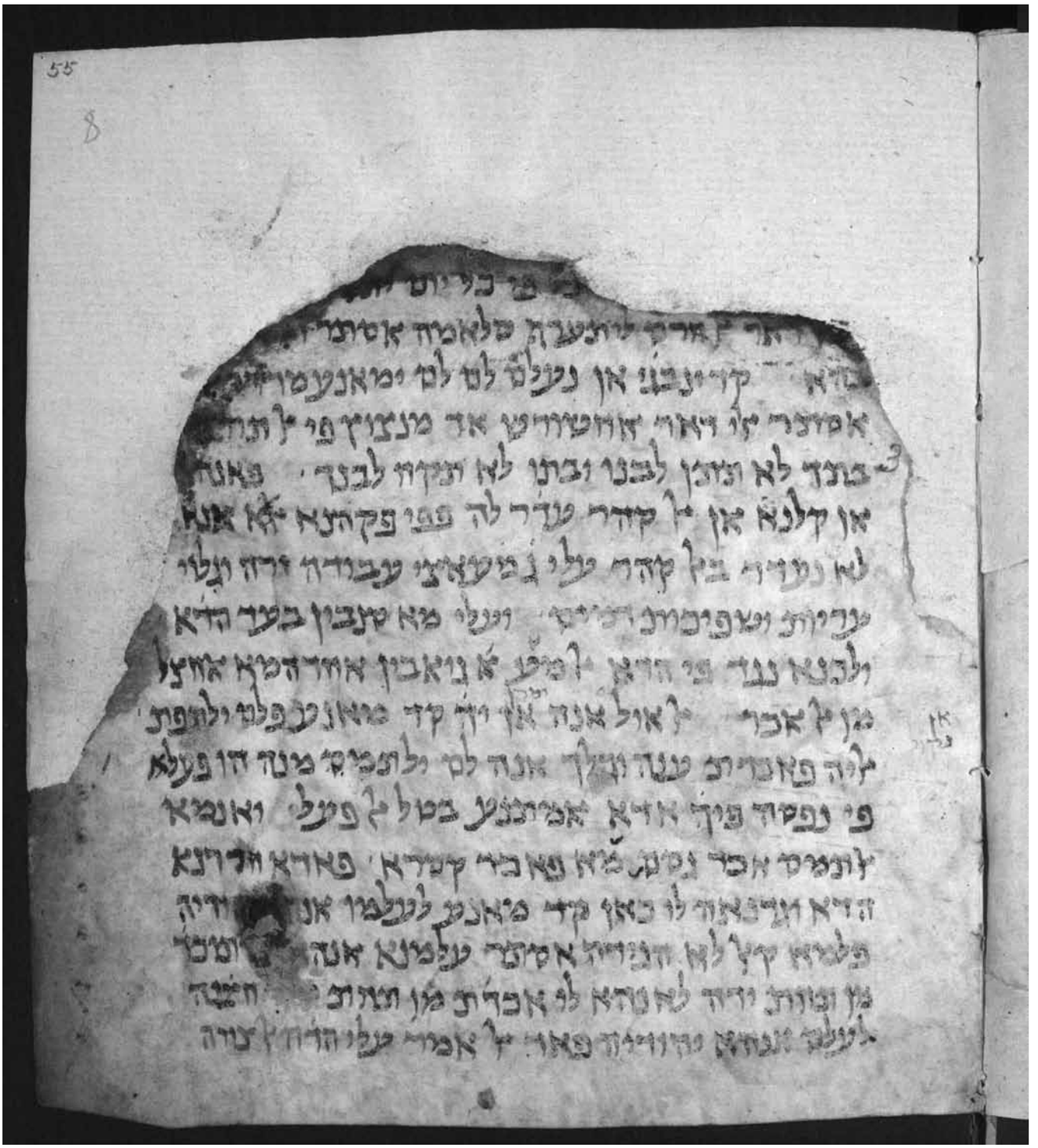

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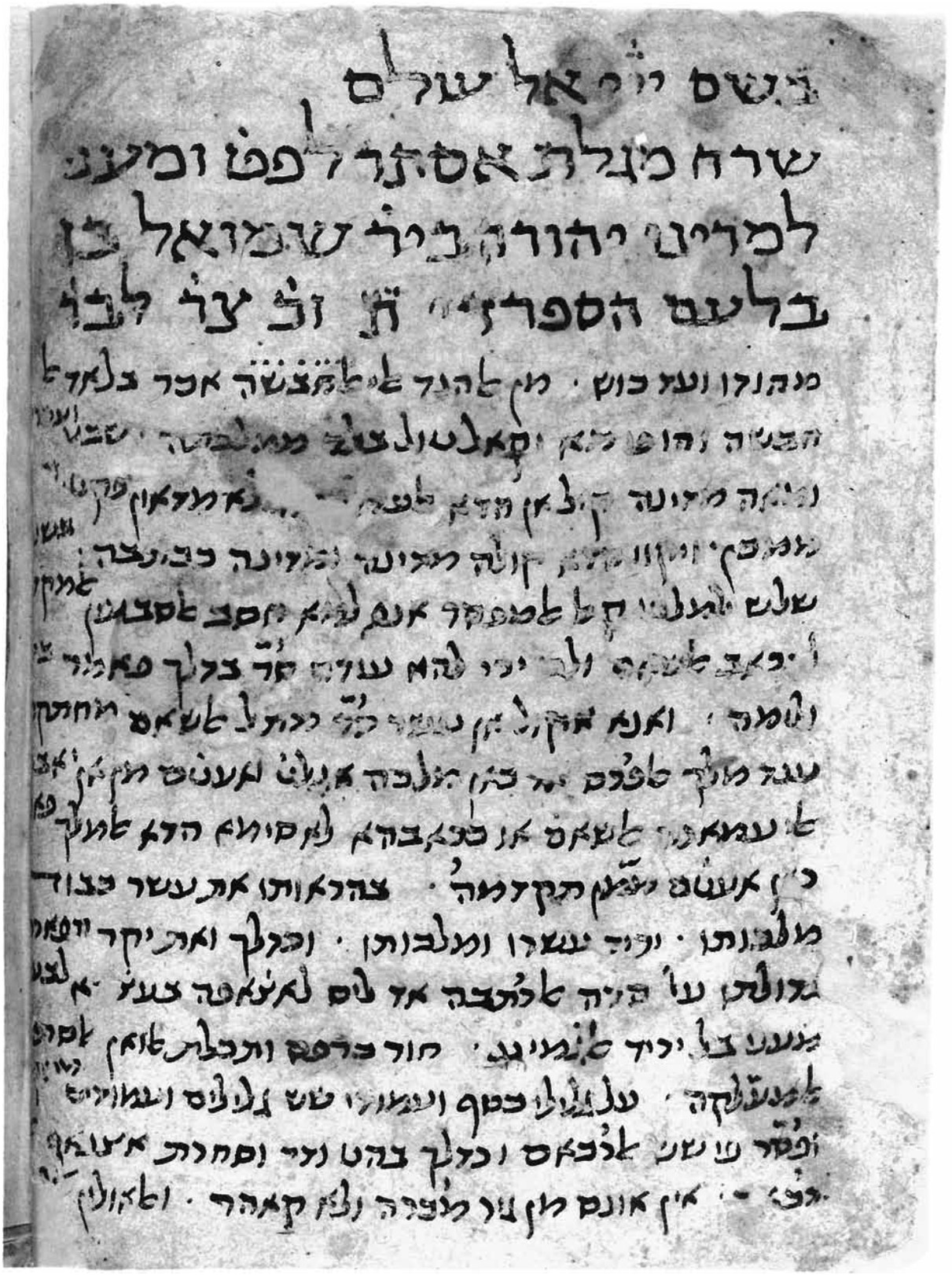

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5. סיכום ומסקנות

מאמר זה מנסה להציג את ספר דברי הימים בתוך המסגרת ההיסטורית שלו, על־מנת לעשות צדק לספר ולמחברו. הוא מגיע למסקנה שטיבו הספרותי **המרכזי** של הספר **בכללותו** הוא "היסטוריוגרפיה" (ליתר דיוק, כתיבה היסטורית סקראלית־דידקטית, רוצה לומר: "הפילוסופיה של ההיסטוריה" שלו היא תאולוגית בעיקרה, ומטרתו המרכזי דתית־דידקטית). קיומם של הגזמות מספריות, נאומים, תפילות, ומכתבים פיקטיביים, כמו־כן, קווים תאולוגיים, פרשניים, ודרשניים בספר, אין בהם כדי לגרוע מן ההגדרה היסודית הזאת.

כהיסטוריון, בעל דברי הימים מעריך את מקורותיו בדרכו הוא ולפי היגיון פנימי משלו, על הרקע ההיסטורי התרבותי, החברתי והדתי של ימיו. הכרוניסט איננו חותר רק לתאר את האירועים, המוסדות, והאישים של העבר כפי שהיו "באמת"; אלא הוא מתכוון לסקור את העבר מתוך נקודת הסתכלות המסויימת של תקופתו, מקומו, ובמסגרת החברתית, הפוליטית, התרבותית, והדתית שבהן הוא חי וכתב. המאמר מנסה להראות כי כמי שחי בזמנו ובמקומו ובתוך ניסיבות היסטוריות מוגדרות, הכרוניסט ברר מתוך הטקסטים הקדומים שעמדו לרשותו את אותם הנושאים והטקסטים המספרים על עברו של עם ישראל שיש להם זיקה ברורה לאגנדה שלו ושל קהל נמעניו הפוטנציאליים. הוא העריך את אותם הטקסטים והנושאים המספרים את העבר מתוך הקונטקסט הסוציו־היסטורי והנורמות השונות שלו; מתוך טעמו הלשוני והספרותי והסטנדרטים הדתיים, החברתיים, והאחרים שעמדו לנגד עיניו. לפיכך, שומה על כל אחד המבקש להבין את הספר לאשורו לקרא אותו לאור הרקע ההיסטורי הנתון והגישה המיוחדת של בעל דברי הימים.

הגישה שהובעה והודגמה כאן מציגה את הכרוניסט באור שונה, הרבה יותר חיובי, מאשר הגישות השונות הרווחות במחקר המקרא וההיסטוריה של עם ישראל בעת העתיקה. הכרוניסט מעריך את המקורות שעמדו לרשותו מנקודות מוצא שונות ומתוך היגיון פנימי משלו. מכל מקום, אין זאת אומרת כי ההיסטוריון המודרני חייב לקבל את דרכי עבודתו ואת תאוריו ומסקנותיו של הכרוניסט בלא ביקורת יסודית ולהתייחס אליהם באופן אוטומאטי כמידע היסטורי אמין. אך גם אין זה מן הראוי לבטל את כל התיאורים שבספר כלא אמינים כלל ועיקר. ישנם לא מעט מקרים ועניינים המופיעים בדברי הימים שיש להן ביסוס היסטורי יציב. תפקידו של היסטוריון בת זמננו לבחון בזהירות יתרה כל כתוב וכתוב בדברי הימים בפני עצמו במטרה למצות מהם מידע אמין — ודאיי או אפשרי — לתולדות ישראל בתקופה הקדם־ והבתר־גלותית.

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[68] ראה קלימי, היסטוריון (לעיל, הע׳ 1), עמ׳ 38–39.

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פחות בגודלו, בעושרו ובהיצעיו הפולחניים בהשוואה לקודמו בימי המלוכה.[61] בנוסף לכך, קרוב לודאי, המאמצים הללו של הכרוניסט טומנים בחובם גם פולמוס עם השומרונים והמקום המקודש להם על הר גריזים כמקום נבחר ומקודש יותר לפולחן האל מקדמת דנא.[62]

ד. בניגוד למסופר במצע הטקסטואלי (*Vorlage*) שלו, ההיסטוריוגרפיה הדויטרונומיסטית (מלכים ב׳ כד, ח–יז), הכרוניסט מדגיש שבעת גלות יהויכין (597 לפני סה״נ) נבוכדנאצר ב׳ לקח עמו בבלה את כלי בית ה׳ בשלימותם, רוצה לומר שלא שבר או חתך אותם (דברי הימים ב׳ לו, י). באותו אופן נהג נבוכדנאצר בכלי בית ה׳ הנותרים גם מאוחר יותר, בעת חורבן ירושלים והמקדש (587/6 לפני סה״נ; דברי הימים ב׳ לו, יח — ״תוספת״). בלשון אחרת, כל כלי המקדש נלקחו לבבל בשלימותם ונשארו שם עד שפקד אותם ה׳ והשיבם ליהודה. וזה אכן קרה כאשר ששבצר הנשיא ליהודה קיבל מכורש מלך פרס ״את כלי בית ה׳ אשר הוציא נבוכדנצר מירושלם״ והחזירם לירושלים (עזרא א, ז; ראה גם ה, יג–טו; ו, ה). הכרוניסט מבקש לומר איפא, שהכלים במקדש זרובבל — דהיינו, מקדשו של הכרוניסט עצמו — הם בדיוק אותם הכלים ששימשו במקדש שלמה. זהו פולמוס ברור עם אותם הגורמים ביהודה שזילזלו — בכל אופן לא היו מרוצים ממקדש זרובבל הקטן והדל, כפי שעולה מספר חגי וממקורות אחרים מימי הבית השני.[63]

ה. כפי שכבר העירו במחקר המקרא, הכרוניסט שופט את התנהגותם ומעשיהם של אישים היסטוריים מתקופת המלוכה, כמו דוד ושלמה, כאילו שהמקור המשנה־תורתי והמקור הכוהני של התורה כבר היו קיימים באותם הזמנים, ממש כמו שהם קיימים בימיו הוא בתקופה הפרסית.[64]

ו. הכרוניסט השמיט את חלקו האחרון של הצהרת כורש. הוא בחר לסיים את חיבורו במלה ״ויעל״, היינו בקריאה לעלייה לארץ ישראל. נראה קריאה ״ציונית״ זאת נעוצה ברצונו לעודד עלייה מן המרכזים היהודיים בגולה ליהוד מדינתא.[65]

בסך הכל, לפי מיטב ידיעתנו ספר דברי הימים הוא החיבור הראשון מסוגו ממחצית השניה של התקופה הפרסית.[66] חיבור זה היה צורך הדור בהתחשב בהתפתחות החברתית והדתית, הלשונית והספרותית, והנורמות השונות שחלו בעם ישראל, בייחוד בדורות הרבים שלאחר חיבורם של ספרי שמואל ומלכים. אי־לזאת, נראה שספר דברי הימים ומחברו הם בבחינת ״דור דור וההיסטוריוגרפיה וההיסטוריון שלו״. כיוון ש-*veritas filia temporis* (״האמת היא בת זמנה״),[67] מסתבר שספר דברי הימים הוא החיבור ״הנכון, האמיתי״, לזמנו, למקומו ולקהל הייעד שלו.

אחתום חלק זה בהערה שנמצאה בשולי כתב־היד של ההיסטוריון הבריטי ר״ג קולינגווד משנת 1936, שיש בה להבהיר את עמדתי:

> אוגוסטין הקדוש הביט על ההיסטוריה הרומית מנקודת מבטו של איש הנצרות הקדומה; טלימונט מזו של צרפתי בן המאה הי״ז; גיבון מזו של אנגלי בן המאה הי״ח; מומזון מזו של גרמני בן המאה הי״ט. אין זה ראוי לשאול איזה מהן היא נקודת הראות הנכונה. כל אחת מהן היתה האפשרות היחידה להיסטוריון שאימץ אותה.

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[61] ראה בפירוט I. Kalimi, "The Land/Mount Moriah, and the Site of the Jerusalem Temple in Biblical Historical Writing," in *idem*, *Early Jewish Exegesis and Theological Controversy: Studies in Scriptures in the Shadow of Internal and External Controversies* (Jewish and Christian Heritage Series 2; Assen, 2002), 9–32, esp. 25–31.

[62] ראה I. Kalimi, "The Affiliation of Abraham and the *Aqedah* with Zion/Gerizim in Jewish and Samaritan Sources," in *idem*, *Early Jewish Exegesis and Theological Controversy* (see n. 61 above), 33–58; *idem* and J. D. Purvis, "The Hiding of the Temple Vessels in Jewish and Samaritan Literature," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 56 (1994), 679–85.

[63] הישארותם של כלי בית ה׳ בשלימותם בבבל המודגשת בדברי הימים ובעזרא (א–ו), מנוגדת למסורות אחרות — יהודיות ושומרוניות — הטוענות שחלק מאביזרי הפולחן — כולל כלי בית ה׳ — הוטמנו באדמה וישארו שם עד לאחרית הימים. ראה Kalimi, "The Affiliation of Abraham" (see n. 62 above), 33–58; *idem*, "The Twilight of Jerusalem: King Jehoiachin and the Temple's Vessels in the Deuteronomistic and Chronistic History," *An Ancient Israelite Historian*, 115–23.

[64] ראה את הדוגמאות השונות לתופעה זו שנאספו בידי קלימי, כתיבה היסטורית (לעיל, הערה 25), עמ׳ 142–146, 148–156.

[65] ראה בפירוט קלימי, היסטוריון (לעיל, הע׳ 1), עמ׳ 152–155, וראה גם עמ׳ 85–157. ישנם כמה דוגמאות נוספות התומכות בנקודת היסתכלות זו שהוצעה והודגמה כאן. ראה קלימי, כתיבה היסטורית (לעיל, הע׳ 25), עמ׳ 140–156, 178–181, 267–268, 276, 296 הע׳ 37, 298–299 הע׳ 43; Kalimi, "The Land/Mount Moriah" (see n. 61 above), esp. 25–31.

[66] אני מחזיק בדעה כי ההיסטוריוגרפיה המשנה־תורתית — הדויטרונומיסטית — נכתבה ונערכה בשני שלבים: השלב הראשון היה בתקופת המלוכה, ככל הנראה בימי יאשיהו; השלב השני והאחרון היתה בתקופת גלות בבל, סביב 550 לפני סה״נ. דיון והפניות לספרות המחקר, ראה Kalimi, "The Land/Mount Moriah" (see n. 61 above), 23–24, n. 40.

[67] על ביטוי זה ראה באחרונה את מאמרו המאלף של B. Dooley, "*Veritas filia Temporis*: Experience and Belief in Early Modern Culture," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 60 (1999), 487–504.

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הסטנדרטים הספרותיים, הלשוניים והאחרים שלו ושל בני תקופתו ומקומו. במלים אחרות, ספר דברי הימים משקף, בראש ובראשונה, את השקפת מחברו על מאורעות העבר באופן כזה שהוא מתאים אותם ועושה אותם ראוים לשימוש מקומו ובני דורו, יותר מאשר הכוונה והרצון לפרוש את מאורעות העבר באופן מלא ומדויק. ובאמת, המסר של הכרוניסט הוא שונה בהחלט מן המסר(ים) של החיבורים ההיסטוריים המקראיים הקודמים, ומכוון לזמן, מקום וקהל ייעד שונה. החומרים הקודמים ששולבו בחיבורו הותאמו איפוא לנסיבות ההיסטוריות החדשות של בני זמנו ומקומו. אי־לכך, עבודתו של הכרוניסט צריכה להיחשב כתרומה חשובה לדיאלקטיקה בין ההיסטוריון בן תקופת בית שני ובין התקופה הקדם־גלותית, באמצעות סיפור מחדש של ההיסטוריה הישראלית הקדומה, ובעיקר זאת של יהודה בימי דוד ושושלת בית דוד. דיאלקטיקה כזאת מביאה יחד איתה הערכה מחודשת של ההיסטוריה הישראלית/היהודאית בעיקר של ימי בית ראשון מנקודת מבט של היסטוריון בן תקופת הבית השני. הדוגמאות הבאות יש בהן כדי להבהיר עמדה זאת:

א. הכרוניסט ממקד את הכתיבה שלו בשבט יהודה, בתולדות בית דוד, תוך מתן תשומת־לב מיוחדת לירושלים, למקדש הירושלמי ולמשרתי המקדש. מסתבר, שהתמקדות הכרוניסט בנושאים הללו דווקא נעוצה באקטואליות של הקבוצות ומסודות הללו בתקופתו הוא. במלים אחרות, בעל דברי הימים מנסה להעצים את קדושתו ואת עליוניתו הרוחנית של בית המקדש שבזמנו הוא, ואת העיר שבה הוא יושב — ירושלים, והקהילה היהודית בה הוא חי — יהוד מדינתא, ואת המנהיגות הדתית והפוליטית של דורו — הכהונה הגדולה וצאצאי בית דוד — ענני. הוא מתאר את הכהן הגדול בממלכת יהודה בקווים ובצבעים המשקפים את מעמדו של מוסד זה בימיו ביהוד מדינתא.[56] כיוון שהוא מקדיש בחיבורו מקום נרחב ללויים ומטפל בהם באהדה יתרה, יש להניח שהוא עצמו היה נמנה עליהם.[57]

ב. הכרוניסט מנסה לקשור בין העיר ירושלים ובין בית דוד באופן מוחלט. הוא מציג את ירושלים כמקום שישבו בו דוד וצאצאיו בריצפות, כמעט ללא הפסקה, מאז כיבוש העיר בידי דוד ועד לימי הכרוניסט עצמו בימי שלטון פרס (סוף המאה ה־–הרבע הראשון של המאה הד׳ לפני סה״נ, בקירוב). יתר על כן, בדברי הימים א׳ ט, ג–לד הוא משתמש ברשימת יושבי ירושלים מימי בית שני שמופיעה בנחמיה יא כנקודת השיא (קלימאס) של המבוא האתנוגרפי־גניאולוגי של ספרו (דברי הימים א׳ א–ט), אף־על־פי שהרשימה יוצרת הפרדה בין רשימת היחש של בית שאול (שם ח, כט–לח — ״תוספת״) ובין סיפור מותו הטראגי של שאול ובניו, המופיע מיד בהמשך (שם י // שמואל א׳ לא).[58] יתרה מזאת, התמונה המצטיירת מדברי הימים א׳ ט היא שיישוב ירושלים נעשה מתוך רצונם הטוב והחופשי של כל ישראל — על כל שבטיו ושכבותיו. ירושלים היתה העיר המרכזית של האומה כולה — של כל שבטי הצפון והדרום גם יחד. זאת ואף זאת, באמצעות שינויים הללו ושינויים אחרים שהוא מכניס לכתובים משמואל — וביחוד לתיאור כיבוש ירושלים — הכרוניסט מנסה קרוב לודאי להרים את קרנה של העיר ירושלים בת זמנו — עיר פרובינציונאלית דלה ודלת אוכלוסין (נחמיה יא, ג–יט // דברי הימים א׳ ט, ב–יז) — כדי להופכה למרכז לאומי חשוב, עיר שתמשוך מתיישבים פוטנציאליים. במלים אחרות, הכרוניסט מנסה לעודד תושבים מיהוד מדינתא ויהודים מן הגולה — בייחוד אלה השוכנים במצרים ובבבל — לעבור ולגור בירושלים, מקום מושבם ההיסטורי והעכשוי של צאצאי בית דוד (״ענני״ המוזכר במקום השביעי בדברי הימים א׳ ג, כד זהה, קרוב לודאי, לזה המופיע בפאפירוסים מיב).[59] אל נשכח כי רק מספר שנים קודם זמנו של הכרוניסט, נחמיה אילץ יהודים להתיישב בירושלים שהיתה דלת תושבים.[60]

ג. באמצאות מאמצים ספרותיים שונים הכרוניסט מנסה להעצים את גודל קדושתו של מקדש שלמה, מקומו, כליו ומשרתיו, כנראה כדי להאדיר את קדושתו וחשיבותו היתרה של מקדש זרובבל שבימיו, מקדש שבהשוואה לקודמו היה קטן במימדיו, נחות בבנייתו ומצויד בפחות כלי קודש. הוא מקשר בין מקום המקדש למקום עקידתו של יצחק (בראשית כב, א–יט), קישור שלא מופיע במקום המקביל בספר מלכים (דברי הימים ב׳ ג, א — ״תוספת״ למלכים א׳ ו). הוא מקשר באופן היותר ברור בין מקום המקדש למקום שבו נעצרה המגפה — גורן ארונה היבוסי — לאחר מפקד יואב (שמואל ב׳ כד // דברי הימים א׳ כא, א–כב, א). נראה, שכל זה מצטרף למאמציו להאציל קדושה יתרה על מקדש זרובבל, דהיינו המקדש שבימיו, שהיה

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[56] ראה קלימי, כתיבה היסטורית (לעיל, הע׳ 25), עמ׳ 140–142, 178–181.

[57] ראה למשל, דברי הימים א׳ טו, יא–כד; כג–כו; טז, ד (״תוספות״); והשווה דברי הימים ב׳ לד, ל עם הכתוב המקביל במלכים ב׳ כג, ב.

[58] על מנת ליצור סמיכות ספרותית בין הגניאולוגיה של בית שאול ובין סיפור על מפלת שאול, הכרוניסט חזר על רשימת היחס גם בדברי הימים א׳ ט, לט–מד (חזרה מקשרת/*Wiederaufnahme*); ראה קלימי, היסטוריון (לעיל, הע׳ 1), עמ׳ 92.

[59] ראה לעיל, חלק 2, דוגמה ב במאמר זה (עמ׳ *50–*51).

[60] ראה קלימי, היסטוריון (לעיל, הע׳ 1), עמ׳ 85–108, 125–141. מן הראוי להוסיף כי המצב בירושלים לא השתנה מאז נבואת העידוד של הנביא זכריה על העיר (זכריה ח), כמאה שנה קודם לכן.

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ומייסד שושלת המלוכה, לא ידע את מצות התורה: "פסילי אלהיהם תשרפון באש לא תחמד כסף וזהב עליהם ולקחת לך" (דברים ז, כה; ראה גם שם, פסוק ה; וכן יב, ג). בשביל הכרוניסט זה גם בלתי אפשרי שדוד ידע את החוק והחליט להתעלם ממנו בשל תאות השלל שאחזה בו. אי לזאת, הוא שינה את המקור הקדום בהתאם להערכה ההיסטורית שלו, ורשם: "ויעזבו שם את אלהיהם ויאמר דויד וישרפו באש" (דברי הימים א' יד, יב). במלים אחרות, דוד הכיר את החוק בתורה ופעל בדיוק בהתאם להוראותיו.[51]

ג. הכרוניסט קרא במקור שעמד לרשותו — ספר מלכים — על הערים ששלמה המלך נתן לחירם מלך צור בתמורה לסחורות שהלה סיפק לו לצורכי בנין המקדש והארמון בירושלים (מלכים א' ט, י–יג). הוא שאל את עצמו האם זה סביר ששלמה, המלך הישראלי העשיר ביותר שקם אי־פעם,[52] האחד שה' הבטיח לו "וגם אשר לא שאלת נתתי לך **גם עשר גם כבוד, אשר לא היה כמוך איש במלכים כל ימיך**" (שם ג, יג),[53] לא היה מסוגל לשלם עבור סחורות שקיבל מחירם? הייתכן כלל שבחיר ה', שלמה (דברי הימים א' כח, ה–ו; כט, א — "תוספות"),[54] מסר חלק מן הארץ המובטחת לידי שליט זר תמורת עצים וסחורות? לבעל דברי הימים התשובות לשאלות הללו היו שליליות לחלוטין. בשבילו, מן הנמנע שה' לא קיים את הבטחתו לשלמה במלואה. לפיכך, הוא פיקפק באמינותה של מידע כזה שמצא במקורו ודחה אותו לחלוטין. הוא הפך את הכערה על פיה וכתב בדיוק את ההיפך: "והערים אשר נתן חורם לשלמה בנה שלמה אתם ויושב שם את בני ישראל" (דברי הימים ב' ח, א–ב).[55]

כללו של דבר, הערכה כזאת של המקורות על־ידי הכרוניסט מביא להסבר של מאורע היסטורי בעבר הרחוק של תולדות ישראל (למשל, הדוגמה הראשונה דלעיל), או מונע התנגשות בין המסופר במקור לבין התורה (למשל, הדוגמה השניה דלעיל), או שמונע סתירה פנימית במקור עצמו (למשל, הדוגמה השלישית דלעיל). אימוץ הגישה שהודגמה כאן מציגה את הכרוניסט באור אחור לגמרי, באור הרבה יותר חיובי מאשר היה עד עכשיו: הכרוניסט אינו מזיף את המקורות הקדומים, אלא הוא מעריך אותם מנקודת מבט שונה שיש בה היגיון פנימי משלו והצדקה לא מועטה מנקודת מבטו של ההיסטוריון הקדום. שוב, אין זאת אומרת שאנחנו, ההיסטוריונים של ימינו, צריכים לקבל את שיטות העבודה — המתודות — של הכרוניסט ולפעול לפיהן או לייחס להן אמינות היסטורית.

4. כתיבת היסטוריה: דיאליקטיקה בין הוה ועבר

כתיבת היסטוריה, היסטוריה כלשהי, איננה רק תיאור של מאורעות, מוסדות, אישים וכיו"ב של העבר. אלא היא כתיבה והערכה של העבר בתוך הקונטקסט המסוים של ההיסטוריון עצמו: הרקע החברתי, הכלכלי, הדתי, התרבותי, והפוליטי של זמנו ומקומו. כך, ש"העבר" לעולם איננו נשאר בגדר "עבר" בלבד. ולמעשה ה"עבר" אף פעם לא גוויע, אלא הוא לובש צורה ופושטה בהתאם לניסיבות השונות בהן חיי ופועל ההיסטוריון. ההיסטוריון — ושוב, כל היסטוריון — שייך לניסיבות ולמצבים היסטוריים המיוחדים בהם הוא גדל, חי, וכתב, לא פחות מאשר ההיסטוריה שייכת להיסטוריון כחומר לימוד, מחקר מדעי וכתיבה. כך שכל הבנה של מאורע היסטורי כלשהו היא עצמה במידה מסוימת היסטורית. שכן, ההבנה המסוימת היא שילוב בין הנושא, "האובייקט" ההיסטורי שלעצמו, ובין ההיסטוריון "הסובייקט" הבלתי נשלט — במידה כזאת או אחרת — של המצב החיצוני, התנאים והתכונות האישיות הקיימות של ההיסטוריון, שלאף אחד אין שליטה עליהן, על כל פנים לא שליטה מוחלטת.

פרקים אחדים בספרי *An Ancient Israelite Historian* חותרים להראות כי אכן בעל דברי הימים היה מותנה (או כפוף לתנאי) הנסיבות ההיסטוריות שהתקיימו בזמנו ובמקומו. ככזה — ואף אחד לא יכול להתעלם מאלה — הוא נטל מן המקורות הקדומים את הנושאים המספרים על עברו של עם ישראל שיש להם נגיעה לסדר היום שלו ושל קהל נמעניו. הוא העריך את אותם הטקסטים והנושאים המתייחסים לעבר מתוך עניין ונקודת נגיעה החברתית־ההיסטורית העכשוית, ומתוך אמות המידה של הנורמות הדתיות,

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[51] ראה בפירוט קלימי, כתיבה היסטורית (לעיל, הע' 25), עמ' 152–154.

[52] ראה דברי הימים ב', ח, יז–יח // מלכים א' ט, כו–כח; דברי הימים ב', ט, ט–יא, יז–כא // מלכים א' י, י–יב, יח–כב.

[53] בכתוב המקביל הכרוניסט אף מעצים את ההבטחה האלוהית שניתנה לשלמה באמצעות שינויים שהכניס לטקסט הקדום: "ועשר ונכסים וכבוד אתן לך אשר לא היה כן למלכים אשר לפניך ואחריך לא יהיה כן" (דברי הימים ב' א, יב). ראה קלימי, כתיבה היסטורית (לעיל, הע' 25), עמ' 43–45, 219, 297.

[54] דברי הימים א' כח, ו רומז לנבואת נתן בדברי הימים א' יז, יא–יג // שמואל ב' ז, יב–יד. במקומות אלה הכרוניסט ביסס כנראה את ההצהרות שלו על מלכים א' ב, טו: "ויאמר את ידעת כי לי היתה המלוכה ועלי שמו כל ישראל את פניהם למלך ותסב המלוכה ותהי לאחי **כי מה' היתה לו**". כיוון ששלמה נבחר לרשת את כס אביו ולבנות את בית המקדש, זה אינו מותיר מקום לסבירות המסופר במלכים א', א–ב על היריבות בנוגע לירושת כסא דוד.

[55] לדיון מפורט והפניות, ראה קלימי, כתיבה היסטורית (לעיל, הע' 25), עמ' 43–45.

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הפאפירוסים הללו, נציגי חיל המצב היהודי ביב שלחו מכתב לבגוהי, הפחה הפרסי של יהוד, לכהן הגדול יוחנן ב׳ ול״אוסתן אחי עננ׳.״[44]

ג. הכרוניסט מזכיר — גם הפעם בכתובים שאין להם מקבילה בשום מקום אחר במקרא — קבוצה שבטית ששמה ״מעונים״. הכתובים הם במסגרת תיאור תולדות מלכי יהודה של המאה הח׳ לפני סה״נ, מימיהם של עוזיהו (783–742 לפני סה״נ; דברי הימים ב׳ כו, ז) וחזקיהו (716/5–687/6 לפני סה״נ; דברי הימים א׳ ד, מא).[45] ״המעונים״, שהיו נודדים בצפון סיני ובנגב המערבי, אינם יצר דמיונו של הכרוניסט אלא שבט(ים) של נודדים, כפי שמעידה כתובת הסיכום מכלח (נימרוד; ND 400, שורות 22–23) של תגלת־פליסר הג׳ מלך אשור (744–727 לפני סה״נ).[46]

ד. בדברי הימים ב׳ לב, ל (״תוספת״ למלכים ב׳ כ, כ) מסופר שחזקיהו מלך יהודה ״סתם את מוצא מימי גיחון העליון ויישרם למטה מערבה לעיר דויד״ (השווה דברי הימים ב׳ לב, ב, ד — ״תוספות״). ובאמת, דבר זה מוכח מניקבת השילוח ומהכתובת שנמצאה בכניסה אליו, שנחצבה זמן קצר קודם לפלישת צבא סנחריב לממלכת יהודה (701 לפני סה״נ).[47]

ה. ארכיאולוגים רבים מצדדים באמיתות המידע בנוגע לביצורי חומות ירושלים על ידי חזקיהו מלך יהודה, כפי שנמסר בדברי הימים ב׳ לג, יד (״תוספת״).[48]

3. הערכה של מקורות

כהיסטוריון, הכרוניסט העריך את המקורות שעמדו לרשותו. להלן מספר מקרים המדגימים היבט זה בהיסטוריוגרפיה הכרוניסטית:

א. כאשר קרא בעל דברי הימים את הסיפור המופיע בשמואל א׳ לא, ככל הנראה, הוא שאל את עצמו: מדוע הודח שאול מכס המלוכה זמן לא רב אחרי עלייתו, ומדוע הוא (ובניו) נהרגו במלחמה עם הפלשתים על הרי גלבוע. כך הוא העריך את מעשיו של שאול מצד אחד, ואת הסרתו מן המלוכה ומותו הטראגי מצד אחר. על בסיס הבנתו את המסופר בספר שמואל ובהתאם לתפיסת העולם הייחודית שלו (או אם תרצה, בהתאם ל״פילוסופיה של ההיסטוריה״ שלו, שהיא לבטח תאולוגית בעיקרה ומושתת על עיקרון של שכר ועונש מיידי), הוא הוסיף למקור הקדום סיכום-מסקנה קצרה: ״וימת שאול במעלו אשר מעל בה׳ על דבר ה׳ אשר לא שמר וגם לשאול באוב לדרוש, ולא דרש בה׳ וימיתהו ויסב את המלוכה לדויד בן־ישי״ (דברי הימים א׳ י, יג–יד — ״תוספת״ לשמואל א׳ לא).[49] הכרוניסט לא התחשב בדברי הכתוב בשמואל א׳ כח, ו: ״**וישאל שאול בה׳** ולא ענהו ה׳ גם בחלמות גם באורים גם בנביאם״ (ראה גם שם, פסוק טו), וקבע ששאול ״**לא דרש בה׳**״. עבורו, אם ה׳ לא ענה לשאול זה אומר, למעשה, ששאול לא דרש באמת בה׳, שכן ״קרוב ה׳ לכל קראיו, **לכל אשר יקראהו באמת**״ (תהלים קמה, יח).[50]

ב. מחבר ספר דברי הימים קרא במקור שלו על המפלה שהנחיל דוד לפלשתים ועל השלל שהשאירו אלה אחריהם: ״ויעזבו שם את עצביהם וישאם דוד ואנשיו״ (שמואל ב׳ ה, כא). עבור הכרוניסט, מן הנמנע — או אם תרצה, אין זה מדויק מן הבחינה ההיסטורית — כי דוד, שה׳ בחר בו למלוך על ישראל (שמואל ב׳ ה, ב // דברי הימים א׳ יא, ב; שם כח, ד — ״תוספת״),

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[44] לדיון רחב בנדון, ראה קלימי, היסטוריון (לעיל, הע׳ 1), עמ׳ 59–61.

[45] המעונים נזכרים, קרוב לודאי, גם בדברי הימים ב׳ כ, א (קרא לפי נוסח תרגום השבעים: εκ των M[ε]ιναιων [= מהמעונים], במקום נוסח המסורה: ״מהעמונים״); וכן בדברי הימים ב׳ כו, ח (קרא לפי נוסח תרגום השבעים: τους M[ε]ιναίους, במקום נוסח המסורה: ״העמונים״).

[46] ראה ח׳ תדמור, ״המעונים בדברי הימים לאור תעודה אשורית,״ בתוך: ב׳ אופנהיימר (עורך), המקרא ותולדות ישראל: מחקרים במקרא ובספרות ימי בית שני לזכר יעקב ליוור (תל־אביב, תשל״ב), עמ׳ 222–230; R. Borger and H. Tadmor, “Zwei Beiträge zur alttestamentlichen Wissenschaft aufground der Inschriften Tiglatpilesers III,” *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 94 (1982), 244–51, esp. 250–51; I. Eph’al, *The Ancient Arabs: Nomads on the Borders of the Fertile Crescent 9th–5th Centuries B.C.* (Jerusalem/Leiden, 1982), 65–71; H. Tadmor, *The Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III King of Assyria: Critical Edition, with Introduction, Translations and Commentary* (Jerusalem, 1994), 178–79.

[47] לכתובת השילוח, ראה *ANET* (see n. 8 above), 321b; F. W. Dobbs-Allsopp *et al.*, *Hebrew Inscriptions: Texts from the Biblical Period of the Monarchy with Concordance* (New Haven/London, 2005), 499–506.

[48] ראה בפירוט יתר I. Himbaza, “Le mur de Manassé (2 Chr xxxiii 14) entre archéologues et théologiens,” *Vetus Testamentum* 57 (2007), 283–94. מן הראוי לציין, כי חלקם ניכרים מדברי הימים א׳ יב, א–מא מבוסס על רשימה(/ות) קדומה שכנראה עמדה לרשותו של מחבר דברי הימים. וראה גם את הדיון על דברי הימים ב׳ כד, כ–כב אצל I. Kalimi, “Murder in Jerusalem Temple: The Chronicler’s Story of Zechariah—Literary and Theological Features, Historical Credibility and Impact,” *Revue biblique* 117 (2010): 200–209.

[49] דיון על הפסוקים האלה בדברי הימים, ראה קלימי, כתיבה היסטורית (לעיל, הע׳ 25), עמ׳ 138–140, 206–207, 310–314.

[50] ראה גם עזרא ח, כב: ״יד אלהינו על כל מבקשיו לטובה ועזו ואפו על כל עזביו״ (השווה שם, פסוק לא). לתפיסה זאת של בעל דברי הימים, ראה בפירוט קלימי, כתיבה היסטורית (לעיל, הע׳ 25), עמ׳ 311–312.

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כך, *historia est magistra vitae* ("ההיסטוריה היא מדריכת החיים"),[37] והכרוניסט אימץ לעצמו את המשימה שזנחו פון ראנקה וכל ההולכים בדרכו בתקופה המודרנית.[38] במלים אחרות, הכרוניסט כן שופט את העבר ומנסה ללמוד ממנו וללמדו לטובת בני דורו. הענין הזה אינו רק חלק מדאגותיו "התאולוגיות" של הכרוניסט, אלא הוא, נובע גם מדאגתו העמוקה לחברה בה הוא חי ולהתנהלותה הדתית והמוסרית שלה, הווה אומר אמונה בה' וציות לחוקותיו ולמצותיו, על מנת להמשיך ולשרוד כקהילה קטנה הסובבת שכנים עויינים. באותה הזדמנות, הוא "מעדכן" את הלשון, הסגנון והצורה הספרותית של הטקסטים שהוא שואל מן הספרים הקדומים, לעתים הוא משנה לא מעט את תוכנם ואת המסר הדתי שלהם, ומסביר למה קרה מה שקרה.

שאלת אמינותו של דברי הימים כמקור היסטורי לתקופה הקדם־גלותית היא שאלה נפרדת לחלוטין משאלת טיבו הספרותי העיקרי של הספר. מכל מקום, שאלת אמינותו ההיסטורית של הספר לא צריכה להאפיל על הערכת עיקר טיבו של הספר כהיסטוריוגרפיה. אפילו אם משהו מעריך את החיבור כספר "לא טוב", דהיינו חיבור שמציג מידע לא מדויק ולא אמין, עדיין אין זה גורע מעיקר כוונתו וטיבו הספרותי הכללי של הספר. אף אחד אינו מכחיש שספרו של הירודוט (היסטוריה) מכיל סיפורים לא אמינים, מספרים מוגזמים, נאומים פיקטיביים, וכיו"ב; אך באותה מידה גם אין מי שמכחיש שטיבו העיקרי של הספר הוא היסטוריה, ומחברו צריך להיות מוגדר "היסטוריון". ואל נכון, הירודוט עצמו מדגיש זאת בבירור: "מחובתי היא לתעד את מה שהאנשים מספרים, אבל בשום פנים ואופן אין זאת אומרת שאני מאמין בהם — והנאמר כאן צריך להקיש אותו על הספר כולו" (היסטוריה 152:7, וראה גם 123:2).[39]

אין זה מדויק לומר כי "הכרוניסט כהיסטוריון הוא אינו אמין לחלוטין".[40] אין זה ראוי לבטל באופן גורף את אמינותו ההיסטורית של דברי הימים על־ידי הגדרתו כמידרש,[41] פירוש, תאולוגיה, ספרות בדיונית, וכו' ובכך להכחיש, בעצם ההגדרה, אוטומטית את האמינות ההיסטורית של הספר בכללותו. ההגדרה שלי את ספר דברי הימים כהיסטוריוגרפיה איננה הופכת אותו אוטומאטית לחיבור היסטורי אמין, אך בד בבד משאירה מקום נרחב לבדיקה עניינית של כל מקרה ומקרה לגופו, על מנת להחליט אם יש או אין בו יסודות היסטוריים אמינים.[42] כל אחד מן התיאורים הכלולים בספר מצריכים בחינה והערכה מדוקדקת, מזויות ראיה שונות: טקסטואלית, ספרותית, פילולוגית, תאולוגית, והיסטורית. הבחינה חייבת להיעשות לכל תיאור ותיאור כיחידה העומדת ברשות עצמה ובמסגרת הקשרו הקרב, ובהקשר הכללי של הספר בתוך המקרא. כמו־כן, היא צריכה להיעשות על בסיס המידע המצוי בידינו מן הספרות החוץ־מקראית, ובכלל זה המחקר האפיגראפי והארכיאולוגי. ואל נכון, ישנם מספר לא מבוטל של כתובים בדברי הימים המוסרים מידע אמין על התקופות הקדם־ והבתר־גלותיות. כתובים כאלה מצויים הן ברשימות היחש והן בחלק הסיפורי של הספר, כך דרך משל:

א. בדברי הימים א' ג, יז–יח ("תוספת") מופיעה רשימת שבעת בניו של יכוניה (כניהו)/יהויכין) מלך יהודה. שיכוניה היו לו ילדים בכלל ולכל הפחות חמישה, מוכחת מן הרשימה המינהלית הבבלית משנתו הי"ג של נבוכדנאצר הב' (592/1 לפני סה"נ). הרשימה מדווחת על המזון שסופק ליכוניה הגולה ולחמשת בניו.[43]

ב. השם "עבני" החותם את רשימת צאצאי בית דוד בדברי הימים א' ג, כד, איננו שם בדיוני אלא היסטורי. הוא זהה, קרוב לודאי, עם אותה הדמות הנזכרת בפאפירוסים של יב, מן השנה הי"ד של דריוש הב' מלך פרס (407 לפני סה"נ). לפי

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[37] ראה קלימי, כתיבה היסטורית (לעיל, הע' 25), עמ' 140–156, 293–295, 321–323.

[38] ליאופולד פון ראנקה עם 54 הכרכים שפירסם על ההיסטוריות השונת — ההיסטוריה העולמית, הגרמנית, וכו' — נחשב לגדול ההיסטוריונים של אירופה, כבר בימי חייו. השפעתו המתודית — ולא רק מתודית — על ההיסטוריונים של זמנו היתה מכרעת. ההיסטוריון הבריטי ג"פ גוך (G. P. Gooch) אמר עליו: "הוא הגותה של ההיסטוריונים, ואנו כולנו תלמידיו."

[39] ראה גודליי, הירודוטוס (לעיל, הע' 4), כרך ג, עמ' 463.

[40] כך טען בזמנו C. C. Torrey, *The Composition and Historical Value of Ezra-Nehemiah* (BZAW 2; Gießen, 1896), p. 52.

[41] למכלול הנימוקים הדוחים את הגדרתו של יוליוס וילהאוזן את הספר כמידרש ואת מחברו כדרשן, ראה קלימי, היסטוריון (לעיל, הע' 1), עמ' 20–23. אציין כאן בקצרה, כי מגמת וילהאוזן היתה, בראש ובראשונה, להציב את המקור הכוהני שבתורה (P) בתקופה הבתר־גלותית בעוד שאת המקור המשנה־תורתי (D) תיארך לתקופה הקדם־גלותית — תקופת המלוכה. בהתאם לכך, ספרי שמואל ומלכים, המכלים מקורות קדומים, נערכו בהתאם לקווים התאולוגיים של ספר דברים. אבל הכרוניסט שחי מאות שנים מאוחר יותר והשתמש בספרי שמואל ומלכים כחומר גלם, עבד בשיטות מדרשיות על מנת להחדיר בהם את קווי המחשבה המצויים במקור הכוהני. לדעת וילהאוזן, בעוד שדברי הימים מייצג באופן כללי את היהודים והיהדות המונעים על דרך המדרש, הרי ששמואל ומלכים מציגים בכל המובנים את ישראל העתיקה ואת הממשיכים "האמיתיים" שלו, היינו הנוצרים והנצרות. יתרה מזאת, וילהאוזן הושפע, בלא ספק, גם מן המתודה ההיסטוריוציסטית של פון ראנקה, וראה קלימי, היסטוריון (לעיל, הע' 1), עמ' 22 והע' 71.

[42] ראה קלימי, היסטוריון (לעיל, הע' 1), עמ' 32–33.

[43] ראה E. F. Weidner, "Jojachin, König von Juda, in babylonischen Keilschrifttexten," *Mélanges syriens offerts à M. René Dussaud* (Paris, 1939), 2:923–35; *ANET* (see n. 8 above), 308b. להסבר בענין השינוי במספר הבנים בין דברי הימים לתעודה הבבלית, ראה קלימי, מסע היסטורי (לעיל, הע' 5), עמ' 244–246.

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(היסטוריה 61:7); "המדיים נקראו בתקופה הקדומה אריים (*Arians*), אבל כאשר האשה מדי (*Medea*) מכולחיאן באה מאתונה (והתיישבה) בקרב האריים, (ולכן) הם שינו את שמם..." (היסטוריה 62:7).[30] למרות כל זאת, הירודוטוס אינו נקרא "דרשן"/"מדרשיסט", אלא "אבי ההיסטוריה."[31]

יתרה מזו, הכרוניסט אינו סתם מעתיק או פלגיאטור האוחז במיתודה של "גזור" ו"הדבק", כפי שתארים אלו הוצמדו לו על ידי מספר חוקרים. הגדורות מסוג זה עושות עוול נורא לבעל דברי הימים. ובאמת, הכרוניסט הוא סופר יוצר, היסטוריון מקצועי בעל שיטות כתיבה מתוחכמות. הוא לא רק ברר לו את החומרים הרצויים לו מתוך הספרים הקדומים שעמדו לרשותו, אלא גם שיכתב אותם תוך שהוא משווה להם סגנון לשוני וצורה ספרותית המתאימות לבני תקופתו.[32]

ההגדרה שלי את דברי הימים כחיבור היסטוריוגרפי ואת מחברו כהיסטוריון, ודאי אינה מושתת על שאלת האמינות ההיסטורית של הספר.[33] ההגדרה אף אינה נשענת אך ורק על הראייה של מחבר הספר את עצמו כמי שמספר את מאורעות שקראו בעבר. היא מבוססת על אמות מידה נוספות המשתקפות מן הספר, דהיינו: הכרוניסט בורר חומר מן הכתבים הקדומים ומעריך אותם.[34] הוא מסדר את החומר מחדש ועורך אותו לפי הסדר, ההקשר והצורה שהוא מוצא לנכון. הוא מקשר בין הטקסטים שהוא ליקט, מסגנן אותם מחדש, מבאר את המלים והביטויים שלדעתו נחוץ לבארם, ומלביש צורות ספרותיות חדשות על הטקסטים הסיפוריים והרשימות השונות. הכרוניסט מנסה גם להביע את ה"פילוסופיה" ההיסטורית שלו (או אם תרצו, את "התאולוגיה" שלו) לאורך החיבור באמצעות נאומים, תפילות ומכתבים ששם בפי אישים כאלה ואחרים (לדוגמה, דברי הימים ב׳ יג), לעתים הוא גם מסביר את מה שאירע. כך הוא יוצר חיבור המשתבץ היטב במסגרת ההיסטוריוגרפיה המקראית המאוחרת.[35]

כעת, כל התכונות הללו של ספר דברי הימים אינן עושות אתו אוטומאטית לחיבור היסטורי אמין הכל בכל, רוצה לומר, חיבור שמתאר את שקרה באמת בעבר. הן גם אינן עושות את מחבר הספר ל"היסטוריון מדעי". על מנת להבהיר את כוונתי, אוסיף ואומר שהאיכות של הכרוניסט כהיסטוריון אינו כמו זאת של מחבר(י) ספר מלכים, או כמו זה של תוקידידס (460–396 לפני סה"נ לערך) וההיסטוריון היווני של רומא, פוליביוס (208–118 לפני סה"נ לערך), או אחרים. המטרה המרכזית של הכרוניסט — בדומה לאלה של היסטוריונים יווניים, הליניסטיים, ורומיים בזמנים ובמקומות שונים, כמו למשל הירודוטוס (484–425 לפני סה"נ לערך) וטיטוס ליויוס (59 לפני סה"נ–17 לספירה) — לא היתה ניתוח ממצה של המקורות שעמדו לרשותו, ותיאור מדויק של המאוראות שהתרחשו בעבר.

בהקדמה לספרו תולדות העמים הרומניים והגרמניים מ־1494 ועד 1535 מציין ליאופולד פון ראנקה (1795–1886): "כתיבת היסטוריה מאתגרת את ההיסטוריון לשפוט את העבר וללמד אותו לטובת בני דורו. החיבור הנוכחי איננו מתיימר לקחת משימה כבדה כזו; אלא הוא מבקש לתאר את העבר כפי שהדבר באמת קרה (*wie es eigentlich gewesen*)".[36] משימתו של הכרוניסט **לא היתה** לתאר את העבר כפי שקרה באמת, מבלי לשפוט את העבר כדי ללמדו לבני דורו ולטובתם. אמות מידה כאלו בכתיבת היסטוריה — ששימשו מספר היסטוריונים בעבר (דרך משל, תוקידידס ופוליביוס) ובמיוחד בתקופה המודרנית — לא הדריכו את הכרוניסט בכתיבתו, ותהיה זאת טעות חמורה לשפוט אותו על־פיהם. נהפוך הוא, הכרוניסט משתמש בטקסטים הקדומים כדי לקדם את סדר יומו החברתי, הפוליטי, המוסרי, והדתי. הוא מדריך את קהל נמעניו באמצעות תיאור "היסטורי" של אישים לאומיים ששמרו בקפדנות (למשל, דוד, שלמה, חזקיהו, ויאושיהו) או לא שמרו (כמו למשל, שאול, יהורם, יואש [במחצית השניה של מלכותו], ואחז) את מצוות התורה. ככאלה, האישים הללו מהווים דוגמה ומופת לבני דורו ולקוראיו הפוטנציאליים.

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[30] ראה: גודליי, הירודוטוס (לעיל, הע׳ 4),כרך ג, עמ׳ 377.

[31] מן הראוי לציין, שישנו דמיון בין הכתיבה של הירודוטוס לבין ההיסטוריונים הישראלים (הגזמות מספריות, יחוס נאומים לגיבורים שונים בעבר, מדרשי שמות, וכיו"ב). אבל, מצד אחד, תופעות אלו מצויות כבר בספרות ההיסטורית הישראלית הקדומה (כך למשל, במקור היהויסטי, האלוהיסטי, ובהיסטוריוגרפיה הדויטרונומיסטית — J, E, JE, D) שחוברה קודם זמנו של הירודוט. מן הצד השני, דברי הימים חובר לאחר זמנו של הירודוט (400–375 לפני סה"נ בקירוב). סביר להניח איפוא שהכרוניסט אימץ את המתודות הכתיבה הללו מהחיבורים העבריים — "המקראיים" — שהיו בידיו ולא מן ההיסטוריוגרפיה היוונית הרחוקה והזרה בלשונה וברוחה.

[32] ראה בפירוט קלימי, כתיבה היסטורית (לעיל, הע׳ 25), עמ׳ 21–384 והמסקנה בעמ׳ 389–391.

[33] וראה בנדון בהמשך החלק הזה של המאמר.

[34] דיון ודוגמאות לעניין הנדון, ראה להלן במאמר זה.

[35] ראה בפירוט יתר, קלימי, היסטוריון (לעיל, הע׳ 1), עמ׳ 29–39.

[36] ובמקור: "Man hat der Historie das Amt, die Vergangenheit zu richten, die Mitwelt zum Nutzen zu belehren, beygemessen: so hoher Aemter unterwindet sich gegenwärtiger Versuch nicht: er will bloß sagen, *wie es eigentlich gewesen*" (התרגום העברי וההדגשה שלי); וראה L. Ranke, *Geschichte der romanischen und germanischen Völker von 1494 bis 1535* (Leipzig/Berlin, 1824), v–vi. מן הראוי לציין כי תואר האצולה "von" העונק לראנקה, באופן אישי וכיוצא מן הכלל, רק בשנת 1865. אי־לזאת, חסרון התואר "von" מן השם המקדים את החיבור הנזכר, הוא מכוון ואין לראותו כשגיאה.

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שמכונה "צוואת דוד" (מלכים א' ב, ב–י); ותפילת שלמה (שם ח,יב–נג).[17] מתודה זאת ידועה היטב גם מן ההיסטוריוגרפיה היוונית, ההליניסטית, והרומית, כגון הנאומים המופיעים בחיבוריהם של הירודוטוס (היסטוריה 106:5–107, 109 ; 220:7, 237)[18] תוקידידס (ההיסטוריה של המלחמה הפילופוניסית 22:1, 140–145 ; 35:2–46, 60–64 ; 37:3–40),[19] כסונופון (מסע הרבבה 7:1)[20] פוליביוס (היסטוריות 4:11–6)[21] מקבים א' (ב:מח–סט), ויוסף בן מתתיהו (מלחמת היהודים ברומאים 332:7–338). האם ישנו היסטוריון רציני המטיל ספק בדבר טיבם הספרותי של החיבורים הללו כהיסטוריוגרפיה?

אין ספק שישנם כמה יסודות תאולוגיים בספר דברי הימים. כך, דרך משל, נקודת המוצא של הכרוניסט הוא שהאל מתערב בפעולותיהם של בני האדם (לדוגמה: דברי הימים א' י, יג–יד ; כט, יא ; דברי הימים ב' א, ז–יג ; כ, ו ; כה, ט ; לו, יז–כא).[22] אולם, יסודות כאלה מופיעים גם בספר מלכים (למשל: מלכים א' ג, ה–טו ; ח ; מלכים ב' יז, יח–כג ; כג, כו–כז). כמו כן, הם מופיעים גם במקורות שונים מן המזרח הקדום, לדוגמה בכתובת מישע מלך מואב, בטקסטים היסטוריים ממצרים, בכתובות מלכותיות מאשור, ובמה שקרוי הצלינדר של כורש מלך פרס. התופעה של התערבות האל(ים) במעשיהם של בני אדם מופיעה גם במקורות ההיסטוריים הקלסיים, למשל בכתבי הירודוטוס (היסטוריה 205:4).[23] אולם אף אחד לא מכנה את הטיב הספרותי של המקורות הללו "תאולוגיה".[24]

כהיסטוריון המבקש להעביר את מסריו באופן ברור לקהל קוראיו הפוטנציאליים, לעתים הכרוניסט מלווה את מקורותיו בביאור מסוים במקומות שהוא מוצא לנכון (מבחינת קטיגוריות הכתיבה במקרא, פעילות זו יכלה להיכלל במסגרת פרשנות "פנים־מקראית"). כך למשל, הוא משבץ מלים רגילות ומוכרות לקהל קוראיו במקום המלים הנדירות והארכאיות שבמקורותיו. לדוגמה, במקום המלים "כאשר **דברתי**" (מלכים א' ט, ה) הוא כותב "כאשר **כרתי**" (דברי הימים ב' ז, יח); במקום "ולא אסיף **להניד**" (מלכים ב' כא, ח), הוא רושם "ולא אסיף **להסיר**" (דברי הימים ב' לג, ח). הוא משכתב ביטויים קשים כמו "ויהי בשמעך את קול צעדה בראשי הבכאים **אז תחרץ**" (שמואל ב' ה, כד), לביטוי מובן יותר: "ויהי בשמעך את קול צעדה בראשי הבכאים **אז תצא למלחמה**" (דברי הימים א' יד, טו). לפעמים הכרוניסט מנסה להבהיר את מקורותיו גם על ידי השמטת הביטויים הקשים והבלתי־מובנים המצויים בהם, כדי שהקורא ירוץ בקריאת הספר שלו. כך הוא נוהג למשל בסיפור כיבוש ירושלים (השווה דברי הימים א' יא, ו עם שמואל ב' ה, ו, ח). הוא מתאים (יוצר הרמוניה) בין כתובים סותרים על־מנת ליישב את דעתם של קוראיו שלא אמונים על לימוד הכתובים.[25] יש והוא מוסיף דברי הסבר למאורע היסטורי ומציין מדוע אירע מה שאירע (למשל, דברי הימים א' י, יג–יד ; דברי הימים ב' כד, כד ; כה, טז).[26] מכל מקום, היקפן של כל הפעילויות הפרשניות הללו אין בהן די כדי להגדיר את עיקר טיבו של הספר בכללותו כ"פירוש."[27]

באותה נשימה אפשר לומר שקיימות יסודות מדרשיים בספר דברי הימים. למשל, ישנם שמות שונים המופיעים בספר אשר מקורם מוסבר באופן מדרשי על יסוד דמיון התיבות והצלילים. לדוגמה, שלמה/שלם (דברי הימים א' כח, ט ; כט, יט) ו־שלמה/שלום (שם כב, ט).[28] מכל מקום, תהיה זאת טעות לראות בספר כולו כמדרש.[29] הרי יסודות כאלה מצויים גם בספרים ההיסטוריים הקדומים במקרא ובכתבי הירודוטוס, לדוגמה: "זה היה מן המלה פרסיס (*Perses*) שהפרסים גזרו את שמם"

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[17] קיימות דוגמאות רבות נוספות בהיסטוריוגרפיה הדויטרונומיסטית, כגון: חלקו הגדול של ספר דברים מוצג כנאומו של משה בטרם מותו (דברים א, א–ה ; לא, א–ח ; לב, מד–מז); יהושע כד, א–כח ; שופטים ב, א–ה ; מלכים ב' יז, ז–כג.

[18] ראה גודליי, הירודוטוס (לעיל, הע' 4), כרך ג, עמ' 127–133, 537, 555.

[19] ראה תוקידידס (מהד' Smith), 39:1 (כאן תוקידידס דן בנאומים ששיבץ בספרו); 59:2–71, 239–253, 319–341, 361–373 (לפי הסדר).

[20] ראה Brownson, *Xenophon*, 3:61–65

[21] ראה Paton, *Polybius: The Histories*, 4:237–43

[22] הפניות מפורטות לספרות הדנה בשאלות תאלוגיות שונות הנוגעות לספר דברי הימים, ראה I. Kalimi, *The Books of Chronicles: A Classified Bibliography* (Simor Bible Bibliography 1; Jerusalem, 1990), 91–105, items 575–726; and lately, W. Johnstone, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, vol. 1: *1 Chronicles 1–2 Chronicles 9: Israel's Place Among the Nations* (Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 253; Sheffield, 1997), 10–16; S. S. Tuell, *First and Second Chronicles* (Interpretation; Louisville, KY, 2001), 12–14.

[23] ראה גודליי, הירודוטוס (לעיל, הע' 4), כרך ב, עמ' 407.

[24] ראה דיון מפורט והפניות למקורות הקדומים ולרשימת מחקרים על הנושא אצל קלימי, היסטוריון (לעיל, הע' 1), עמ' 27–29 וביחוד הערה 50.

[25] ראה בפירוט, י' קלימי, ספר דברי הימים: כתיבה היסטורית ואמצעים ספרותיים (ירושלים, תש"ס; להלן: קלימי, כתיבה היסטורית), עמ' 152–154.

[26] השווה מתודה זאת למה שמופיע אצל הירודוטוס, היסטוריה 1:1 (גודליי, הירודוטוס [לעיל, הע' 4], כרך א, עמ' 3). הירודוטוס מציין כי אחד ממטרותיו הוא לחקור את "הסיבה מדוע הם (= היוונים והברבארים/הזרים, י"ק) נלחמו האחד נגד השני."

[27] ראה בפירוט קלימי, היסטוריון (לעיל, הע' 1), עמ' 23–27 ושם הפניות לספרות המחקר בנושא.

[28] ראה גם דברי הימים א' ב, ז ; י, יג ; דברי הימים ב' יט, ה–ח ; כ, יב ; לב, ב–ז ; ועיין I. Kalimi, "Utilization of Pun/Paronomasia in the Chronistic Writing," *An Ancient Israelite Historian*, 67–81, esp. 77–81, ושם דיון מפורט וביבליוגרפיה.

[29] ראה קלימי, היסטוריון (לעיל, הע' 1), עמ' 20–23 ושם הפניות לחוקרים הרואים בספר כמדרש.

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האבידות של הקואליציה האנטי־אשורית בקרב קרקר, הוא יצר מספר חדש, מספר שמביע "הישג" גדול יותר של המלך אשר עד כה לא היה כמוהו!

תופעה זאת של הגזמות נמצאת גם בכתבים לא שמיים, רוצה לומר בהיסטוריוגרפיה היוונית, ההליניסטית והרומית, דרך משל:

א. לפי סיפורו של הירודוטוס (היסטוריה [*Historia*] 186:7)[9] צבאו של המלך הפרסי, כסרכס א' (הגדול, אחשורוש; 486–465 לפני סה"נ), בקרב תרמופלאי (Thermopylae; מרכז יוון, 480 לפני סה"נ) מנה 5,283,220 איש, בעוד שכוחות הקואליציה של ערי־מדינה היווניים היו כ־7,000 חיל (כולל 300 ההופליטים של ספרטה, בפיקודו של ליאונידס מלך ספרטה [היסטוריה 224:7]).[10] אולם, כוחות הקרקע של צבא פרס בקרב תרמופולאי נאמד על־ידי ההיסטוריונים המודרניים בין 60,000 ל־300,000 איש, וזאת על בסיס הידוע לנו על מערך הכוחות של צבא פרס דאז, הלוגיסטיקה שלו ויכולת האספקה של המרכזים שהיו פזורים לאורך תווי־המסע של הצבא.[11]

ב. כסונופון מעיר (מסע הרבבה [*Anabasis*] 7:1),[12] שבקרב קונאקסא (בבל, הגדה המזרחית של הפרת; 401 לפני סה"נ), הכוח המרכזי של ארתחשסתא ב' מלך פרס (404–359 לפני סה"נ) מנה 1,200,000 איש, ואילו של אחיו־יריבו, כורש הצעיר, מנה בין היתר 100,000 ברבארים. אולם, ככל הנראה צבא ארתחשסתא היה לא יותר מאשר 400,000 איש וזה של אחיו כלל בסביבות 13,000 ברבארים, כפי שמספר פלוטרך (החיים, ארתאכסרכסס [*Vitae*, Artaxerxes] 6:13) וההיסטוריון היווני דיודורס איש סיציליה (ספריה [*Bibliotheke*] 19:14).[13]

ג. לפי מה שמספר ההיסטוריון היווני פוליביוס (תולדות [*The Histories*] 3:11), האבידות של צבא חניבעל — שהובל בידי אחיו הסדרובעל — בקרב מיטאורוס (צפון איטליה, 207 לפני סה"נ) היו 10,000 איש לערך.[14] מאוחר יותר, ההיסטוריון הרומי, טיטוס ליויוס (מייסוד העיר [*Ab Urbe Condita*] 49:27)[15] מעצים את מספר האבידות של צבא חניבעל ומעמידן על 56,000 איש.

ההגזמות הללו ואחרות נועדו, קרוב לודאי, להאדיר את נצחונותיו של המלך או המצביא כדי לפאר ולרומם את שמו. ההגזמות — כולן או חלקן המכריע — מעידות על כושר השיפוט הלקוי של ההיסטוריונים/הסופרים שכתבו את המסופר, אבל אין בכוחם כדי לערער את עצם התרחשותו של המאורע באופן זה או אחר. רוצה לומר, שאין לפסול על הסף את עצם קיום התרחשותו של מלחמה או מאורע רק בשל הגזמה מספרית כזאת או אחרת המופיעה בסיפור המעשה. ובאופן עקרוני, הדבר אף אינו יכל להכתיב לנו את הגדרת טיבו הספרותי המרכזי — הזאנר — של דברי הימים, כתובות מלכים וכתבים אחרים מן המרחב השמי והלא־שמי.

יתר על כן, בספר דברי הימים מצויים מספר תפילות ונאומים שהכרוניסט מייחס אותם למלכים ונביאים שונים, אבל באמת הם לא נאמרו מפי הנביאים והמלכים הללו, מכל מקום בטח לא בצורתם הנוכחית. כך דרך משל, התפילה והנאומים של דוד (דברי הימים א' כא, ז–טז; כח, ב–י; כט, א–ה, י–יט); נאום אביה מלך יהודה (דברי הימים ב' יג, ד–יב); תפילת יהושפט (שם כ, ה–יב); והנאום של חזקיהו (שם כט, ה–יא). לקטיגוריה זאת יש לצרף גם את המכתבים/האיגרות שהכרוניסט חיברם ויחסם לחורם מלך צור (שם ב, י); לאליהו הנביא (שם כא, יב–טו); ולחזקיהו מלך יהודה (שם ל, ו–ט). כל אלה מופיעים בכתובים שאין להם מקבילה מחוץ לספר דברי הימים ("תוספות").[16] אבל, יסודות פיקטיביים כאלה מצויים לרוב גם בספרים ההיסטוריים הקדומים של המקרא, כגון ספרי שמואל ומלכים, למשל: תפילת חנה (שמואל א' ב, א–י), הנאום האחרון של שמואל (שם יב, א–כה); מה

[9] ראה גודליי, הירודוטוס (לעיל, הע' 4), כרך ג, עמ' 505.

[10] ראה שם, עמ' 541.

[11] ראה לדוגמה T. Kelly, "Persian Propaganda—A Neglected Factor in Xerxes' Invasion of Greece and Herodotus," *Iranica Antiqua* 38 (2003): 173–219, esp. 198–99, ושם סקירה של הדעות השונות והפניות ביבליוגרפיות מפורטות.

[12] ראה C. L. Brownson, *Xenophon in Seven Volumes: Anabasis, Books I–VII* (LCL; London/Cambridge, MA, 1968), 3:65.

[13] ראה C. H. Oldfather, *Diodorus of Sicily* (LCL; London/Cambridge, MA, 1954), 6:62–65.

[14] ראה W. R. Paton, *Polybius: The Histories* (LCL; London/Cambridge, MA, 1968), 4:235.

[15] ראה F. G. Moore, *Livy* (LCL; London/Cambridge, MA, 1963), 7:235

[16] ראה גם דברי הימים ב' לו, טו–כא.

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שהתנהלה בין הפליפוניסים והאתונאיים, האחד נגד האחר" (ההיסטוריה של המלחמה הפליפוניסית 1:1).[4] לפיכך, שומה על החוקר המודרני ללמוד בזהירות ובדייקנות את הספר בשלימותו, ועל בסיס זה להסיק על המחבר, זמנו, מקומו, מטרתו, טיבו הספרותי העיקרי של הספר והרקע ההיסטורי שלו.

כעת, אם בזמנים עברו ספר דברי הימים ומחברו הוזנחו במידת מה ויחיסת לספרי מקרא אחרים קיבל תשומת לב מועטה,[5] הרי הזמנים החדשים הראו קשיחות רבה כלפיהם. ובאמת, חברה הסוגדת למדע, ובכלל זה "היסטוריה" כסוג של מדע, מקבלת את ספר דברי הימים והכרוניסט ככל דבר מלבד "היסטוריה" ו"היסטוריון". האם יחס זה משקף נכונה את מה שיש לנו בספר? האומנם הכרוניסט אינו יותר מאשר סתם "מעתיק", "זייפן", "בעל דמיונות (פנטאזיות)", "דרשן", "פרשן", או "סתם תאולוג מקראי"? או שהוא היה, בראש ובראשונה, היסטוריון עם היגיון משלו, עם מטרות לגיטימיות, אחד שחי ויוצר בתוך מסגרות היסטוריות של העולם הקדום בכלל והעולם "המקראי" בפרט?

בספרי, *An Ancient Israelite Historian*, וכן בחיבוריי האחרים על ספר דברי הימים, אני מנסה לעשות צדק עם ספר מופלא זה ועם מחברו. שם אני משתדל להראות שטיבו הספרותי העיקרי של דברי הימים הוא לא מדרש או פירוש או תאולוגיה. אף אחת מן ההגדרות הללו אינה תופסת במלואה את התמונה המצטיירת מן הספר. משום כך, גם לא ניתן להגדיר את הכרוניסט כדרשן, פרשן, תאולוג וכיוצ"ב. אומנם, מחבר־יוצר יכול לשאת בו־זמנית במספר תארים: הוא יכול להיות דרשן, פרשן, תאולוג, היסטוריון וכיוצא באלה. מכל מקום, ההגדרה שלי את הכרוניסט כ"היסטוריון" מתבסס על החיבור האחד והיחיד שיש לנו מפרי קלמוסו — ספר דברי הימים. למיטב הבנתי, ההגדרה היחידה החובקת את עיקרו של כלל הספר, את טיבו הספרותי המרכזי הוא, במילה אחת: "היסטוריוגרפיה," או אם נרצה לדייק יותר: סוג של כתיבה היסטורית סקראלית־דידקטית, זאת אומרת: ש"הפילוסופיה של ההיסטוריה" שלו בעיקרה תאולוגית ועיקר מטרתו דידקטית ביסודה. אי־לזאת, מחבר הספר הוא קודם כל "היסטוריון". בכל מקרה, מן הנמנע להדביק לספר בכללותו תויות כמו "פיקציה היסטורית," או "ספרות דמיונית," כפי שעשו מספר חוקרים חדשים מבלי להשקיע מאמץ אנטליקטואלי רציני כדי לנסות להבין אותו לאשורו.[6]

מן הראוי להדגיש, כי אין זאת אומרת שספר דברי הימים נטול יסודות פיקטיביים. כך, דרך משל, הכמות הדמיונית של זהב שדוד הכין לצורך בנין המקדש (דברי הימים א׳ כב, יד; כט, א–ט);[7] המספרים האדירים של צבאות ממלכת יהודה וממלכת ישראל (דברי הימים ב׳ יג, ב); מספר השבויים מיהודה שהובאו לשומרון (שם כח, ח–טו) — כל אלה הם פשוט רחוקים מן המציאות. מכל מקום, דגמאות להגזמות מספריות מן הסוג הזה ניתן למצוא בכל הספרות המקראית, ובכלל זה בהיסטוריוגרפיה המקראית הקדומה, במקורות ההיסטוריים מן המזרח הקדום ומארצות אגן הים התיכון. ואל נכון, ישנן דוגמאות רבות לתופעה זאת. קבוצה אחת מצויה במקורות הכתובים בשפות השמיות, דרך משל:

א. מספרם העצום של בני ישראל הנודדים במדבר (שמות יב, לז–לח; במדבר יא, כא; כו, נא).
ב. המספר העצום של כוחות הצבא הישראליים והיהודאיים הנמנים בשמואל ב׳ כד, ט.
ג. עושרו האדיר של המלך שלמה כפי שמתואר במלכים א׳ ט–י.
ד. המספר הגדול במיוחד של אבידות האויב כפי שדווחו בכתובות האשוריות. כך לדוגמה, בכתובות של שלמנאסר ג׳ (858–824 לפני סה"נ) ביחס לאבידותיה של הקואליציה האנטי־אשורית שנלחמה בקרב קרקר (853 לפני סה"נ). לפי כתובת המונוליט מכורח׳ (שורות 96–102) מספר הכולל של אבידות הקואליציה עמד על 14,000 חייל — מספר גדול לכל הדעות. מספר זה הולך וטופח בדיווחים המלכותיים הבאים של אותו הקרב בשנים שלאחר מכן: אובליסק השחור (שורות 54–66): 20,500 איש; בכתובת השור מכלח (נימרוד) המספר מגיע ל־25,000; ובפסל של שלמנאסר ג׳ (828 לפני סה"נ) המספר נאמד בלא פחות מאשר 29,000 איש.[8] מסתבר, כי כל פעם שסופר מן הסופרים האשוריים בא להעלות על הכתב את מספר

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[4] ראה C. F. Smith, *Thucydides* (Loeb Classical Library [= LCL]; London/Cambridge, MA, 1969), 1:3. ראה גם הירודוטוס, היסטוריה 1:1 (A. D. Godley, *Herodotus* [LCL; London/Cambridge, MA, 1960], 1:3).

[5] על כך עיין בפירוט I. Kalimi, *The Retelling of Chronicles in Jewish Tradition and Literature: A Historical Journey* (Winona Lake, IN, 2009). למראי מקומות נוספים, ראה קלימי, היסטוריון (לעיל, הע׳ 1), עמ׳ 19, הע׳ 1. מן הראוי לציין שבניגוד לאיונגיליונים על־פי מתי, מרקוס, ויוחנן, האיונגיליון של לוקס פותח במילות הקדמה על מטרת החיבור (לוקס א, א–ד).

[6] לפירוט ממצה של הטיעונים וההפניות הביבליוגרפיות, ראה קלימי, היסטוריון (לעיל, הע׳ 1), עמ׳ 35–36.

[7] "הסכומים האלה הם בלתי אפשריים, והם מעל ומעבר להוצאות האמיתיות של בנין המקדש. הערך הכללי של הזהב והכסף הוא קרוב לחמישה ביליון דולאר בכסף של ימינו (1910, י"ק)..."; ראה E. L. Curtis and A. A. Madsen, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Chronicles* (ICC;Edinburgh, 1910), 258.

[8] ראה J. B. Pritchard, ed., *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (= *ANET*; 3rd ed., with Supplement; Princeton, 1969), 279a, 279b; W. W. Hallo *et al.*, eds., *The Context of Scripture: Canonical Compositions, Monumental Inscriptions and Archival Documents from the Biblical World* (Leiden, 2002), 2:261–64, esp. 264.

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25

היסטוריה וכתיבה היסטורית בספר דברי הימים לאור המקרא ותרבויות המזרח הקדום, יון ורומא

יצחק קלימי*

לפרופסור נורמן גולב,
בברכת
"עוד ינובון בשיבה דשנים ורעננים יהיו"
(תהלים צב, טו)

1. הקדמה

מטרת המאמר הזה היא להביע ולחדד את השקפותיי באשר לנושאים: היסטוריה, היסטוריוגרפיה, הערכה היסטורית ואמינות היסטורית בספר דברי הימים. כמו־כן, אתייחס לשאלת טיבו הספרותי של הספר, על רקע המציאות של תקופת חיבורו מחד, והמציאויות התרבותיות הקרובות והרחוקות — מבחינת המרחב והזמן — מאידך.[1] חשיבותו של הנושא הנדון איננה רק בכך שבא לתת מענה ליצר הסקרנות הטבעית של קורא מלומד בת זמנינו בנוגע לאחד מספרי המקרא הארוכים, ועד לאחרונה אף מן המוזנחים ביותר. שכן, לאמיתו של דבר לנושא הזה יש חשיבת ראשונה במעלה להבנת תוכנו ומגמתו של הספר בכלל, ואמינותו כמקור היסטורי לתקופת בית ראשון ולהתפתחות היהדות בתקופת הבית השני בפרט. על מנת להשיג מטרה זו, אצביע על מספר תכונות משותפות הקיימות בין הכתיבה ההיסטורית בספר דברי הימים לבין הכתיבה ההיסטורית במזרח הקדום, יון ורומא. יתרה מזאת, אנתח ואדגים קווי־חשיבה מסויימים של מחבר ספר דברי הימים (להלן: הכרוניסט) ושיקוליו בהערכת המקורות שעמדו לרשותו. אבחן גם את שאלת אמינותם של נושאים אחדים המופיעים בדברי הימים בלבד, על מנת להראות כי אכן הספר מכיל לא מעט נתונים היסטוריים אמינים.

2. היסטוריה, היסטוריוגרפיה ואמינות היסטורית

כדי להבין יצירה כלשהי במלואה ולהעריך את ערכה הסגולי, שומה על הקורא לדעת את טיבה הספרותי ואת כוונת מחברה: מה באמת עיקר כוונתה של היצירה: פיקציה או היסטוריה? סיפור או נובלה היסטורית? פירוש או חיבור תאולוגי? חשוב גם שטרם שהקורא נגש לקרוא את היצירה ידע — עד כמה שאפשר — יותר פרטים על המחבר, אישיותו, מקומו, וזמנו המדויק או לכל הפחות על התקופה שבה הוא חי ופעל. במלים אחרות, נחוץ לקרוא את הספר במסגרת החברתית, התרבותית, הדתית, והיסטורית שלו.

לרוע המזל, הדברים הללו אינם בנמצא — לפחות לא בצורה גלויה — ביחס לספר דברי הימים. בדומה למחברים אחרים במקרא, הכרוניסט אינו מסגיר מידע כלשהו — מכל מקום לא בצורה מפורשת — על עצמו, זמנו, מקומו, מטרת חיבורו ודרכי עבודתו (להוציא הפניותיו לחיבורים קודמים שלטענתו הוא מסתמך עליהם). בדומה למחברים קדומים ומאוחרים במקרא, הוא העדיף להתחיל הישר בתיאור נושאי ספרו ולהישאר עלום באופן מוחלט. הוא אינו מספק אפילו הקדמה בסיסית כמו זאת שפותחת, למשל, את זכרונות נחמיה: "דברי נחמיה בן חכליה: ויהי בחדש כסלו שנת עשרים[2] ואני הייתי בשושן הבירה" (נחמיה א, א);[3] או את חיבוריהם של מספר היסטוריונים יוונים, לדוגמה תוקידידס: "תוקידידס, אתונאי, כתב את תולדות המלחמה

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* מאמר זה מבוסס על ההרצאה השנתית לזכרם של צבי ומטילדה רויפר, שנתכבדתי לשאת במחלקה למקרא והמזרח הקדום של אוניברסיטת בן־גוריון בבאר שבע, ביום כ"ב באייר תשס"ח (27 במאי 2008). תודתי נתונה לפרופסורים אלכסנדר רופא וציפורה טלשיר על ההזמנה. המאמר הוכן בעת שהותי כעמית מחקר בכיר במכון ו"פ אולברייט לחקר המזרח הקדום, שהות שמומנה מטעם הקרן הלאומי למדעי־הרוח של ממשלת ארצות הברית (National Endowment for the Humanities).

[1] הספר שלי, *An Ancient Israelite Historian* (Studia Semitica Neerlandica 46; Assen, 2005) (להלן: היסטוריון), מנסה לתת מענה מפורט לשאלות יסוד אלה, והקורא ימצא שם הפניות ביבליוגרפיות מפורטות ביחס לדעות ומגמות השונות המהלכות במחקר.

[2] קרוב לודאי, שזאת היתה, למעשה, שנת תשע עשרה למלך ארתחשסתא א' (ראה נחמיה ב, א).

[3] מכל מקום, הקדמות מסוג זה מצויות בספרי הנבואה (למשל, ישעיה א, א; ירמיה א, א–ג; יחזקאל א, א–ג), או אפילו בספרות החכמה (שיר השירים א, א; משלי א, א; קהלת א, א), אבל הן אינן בנמצא בספרות המקראית ההיסטורית.

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ואבנר,[25] והנרבוני,[26] ואלבלג[27] ..., בהצצת פנת חדוש העולם לא ראו אור הבריאה הראשונה וחשבו, שעל זה נאמר **תשלח רוחך יבראון ותחדש פני האדמה** (תהלים קד, ל), ומה שתקנו לומר בתפלת יוצר "מחדש טובו בכל יום תמיד מעשה בראשית" ... וכן **רוקע הארץ ונותן נשמה** (ישעיה מב, ה) כפי ההויה וההפסד התמידי ..., מי יתן שאלתים ... מה יהיה אם כן ענין פרשת **ויכלו** (בראשית א, ב), שהנה ביאר הכתוב בה, שאותו מעשה מחודש, שנעשה בששת ימי בראשית, נח ונפסק ביום השביעי ולא נעשה כמוהו עוד כל ימי הארץ? ... אבל בהפך כי אז התחיל להיות, כ[מו] ש[נאמר] **אשר ברא אלהים לעשות** (שם), הכרח הוא שנאמר, שחדו[ש] ששת הימים שנזכר בתורה היה החדוש הראשון ההחלטי ושהוא אשר שבת ונפסק בסוף יום הששי,[28] שמשם ואילך חדלה הבריאה הראשונה ונמשך המנהג הטבעי.

לנוכח השיקולים הללו מתברר, שהמציאות ההיסטורית שהעולם נברא מאין מתאשרת על־ידי הסיפור המקראי על התהוותם של הנבראים היום־יומיים בששת ימי בראשית הקדומים. אכן בריאה זו הייתה פעולה על־טבעית, שהגיעה בהחלט לסופה עובר ליום השביעי,[29] ובמקומה נתגבש התהליך של הפעלת הכחות שהוטבעו בשרשים **לעשות** יש מיש. אבל התהליך הזה עודנו זקוק אל הפיקוח הבלעדי של מי שאמר והיה העולם המתמיד להעמיד את הנבראים בהתאם לחוקים של הנוהג הטבעי.[30]

בסיכום, כשם שעמדנו למעלה על השיטה הרווחת והמקובלת אצל פרשני המקרא הקלאסיים,[31] המצמצמת את הפעולה של בריאה יש מאין לששת ימי בראשית בלבד, כך בוקעת ועולה לפנינו הגישה החיובית של הראב"ע לשיטה זו[32] בהתאם לרוחו ולנבכי פרשנותו.

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[25] בפירוש אברבנאל ליהושע (ירושלים, תשט"ו), פרק י, עיון ב (עמ' נב): "ר' אבנר". וכן במאמר האחדות, חלק אור החיים, לר' יוסף יעבץ (וארשא, תרל"א), פרק יב (דף יד, ע"ב): "רבי אבנר", כנראה עובר להתנצרותו. אבל ברשימת החכם א' כרמולי (בתוך טעם זקנים, הוצאת ר"א אשכנזי, פראנקפורט ענ"מ, 1854, עמ' v) ביתר דיוק: "איש רשום ר' אבנר די בורגש אשר הסיב שמו אלפונז די ואלאדוליד" (= Alphonso of Valladolid). על כתביו של המומר הזה, ראה י' רוזנטל, מחקרים ומקורות (ירושלים, תשכ"ז), עמ' 324-325. אבל המקור שאברבנאל נשען עליו באיזכור שלפנינו לא נזדמן לנו.

[26] ר' משה בן יהושע נרבוני, בן המאה ה־14. עי' קולט סיראט, "פרקי משה", תרביץ, כרך לט (תש"ל), עמ' 269 מפירושו של נרבוני ל־"כוונת הפילוסופים" של אלגזאלי: "הנמצאות כלם עומדות באל יתעלה, הלא טוב אמנה כי האל מחדשם חדוש אמיתי תמיד בכל רגע מצד ציורו להם, ולכן אמר: **בורא [ה]שמים ונוטיהם** (ישעיה מט, ב) אחר שבראם מן האין וההעדר הגמור".

[27] ר' יצחק אלבלג, בן המאה ה־13. עי' תקון הדעות ליצחק אלבלג, מהד' י"א וידה (ירושלים, תשל"ג), עמ' 30–31: "ואפשר שלזה רמזו בתפלת שחר 'וטובו מחדש בכל יום תמיד עשה בראשית' (ראה למעלה, הערה 18, על שינויי־נוסח בתפילה זו), ר[וצה] ל[ומר], שהבורא מחדש המציאות בכל יום ויום ושהחידוש הזה תמיד". בהקשר זה יצויין, שר' חסדאי קרשקש (1340–1410) גם כן עמד על התיקון "במטבע הברכות 'מחדש בכל יום תמיד מעשה בראשית', לפי שחידוש המציאות בכללו לא מדבר הוא תמיד". עי' אור ה', מאמר ג, כלל א, פרק ה (תל־אביב, תשכ"ג, דף ע, ע"ב; ראה עוד שם, ע"א על החיוב של "חדוש תמיד לא מדבר ... כשלא ימנע מצד המקבל"). בשים לב לדברי קרשקש הנידונים מתקבל הרושם, שגם לדעתו אין הבריאה מאין אלא תהליך תמידי ואינסופי, שאינו פוסק לעולם. הילכך מוזר הדבר, שאברבנאל המשתמש במשנתו של קרשקש למכביר (ראה למשל מפעלות אלהים, מאמר א, פרק ד; מאמר ו, פרק ד; מאמר ט, פרק ז; מאמר י, פרק יב; פירוש אברבנאל לבראשית טו, א ועוד), עובר בשתיקה על המאמר הסתמי "שחידוש המציאות בכללו לא מדבר הוא תמיד".

[28] גם ר' שמעון בן צמח דוראן (רשב"ץ) סבור, שאחר אשר יצאה אל המציאות זאת ההויה מן ההעדר הגמור "לא נעשית בריאה מהאפס המוחלט כי אם דבר מדבר ... כי לא נתחדש אחר יום א' כי אם הויות נתהוו זה מזה (לפי פירוש אבן עזרא הרגיל לבראשית א, א, "לא נברא ביום אחד כי אם דבר אחד"), עד שנשלמה הבריאה ברצון ה[אל] י[תברך] בסוף מעשה בראשית בבריאת האדם הזה". עי' מגן אבות (ליוורנו, תקמ"ה [ד"צ]), חלק ב, פרק א (דפים ט–י).

[29] עי' פירושי רב סעדיה גאון לבראשית, הוצאת ר"מ צוקר (ירושלים, תשד"ם), עמ' 261, על הכתוב **וישבת [ביום השביעי** (ב, ב)]: "הרי היא עזיבת בריאת דברים, שלא היו במציאות, ובדרך ההעברה נאמר: לא ברא שום דבר נוסף — לא נשאר דבר שיברא עוד". השווה עוד פירושי רבינו סעדיה גאון על התורה, מהד' ר"י קאפח, עמ' יג. ייתכן, שברוח זו מביא הרמב"ם על הכתוב **וינח ביום השביעי** (שמות כ, יא) בשם "אמרו חכמים ז"ל (בראשית רבה י, ט) 'וינח לעולמו ביום השביעי', כלומר: פסקה הבריאה בו ... או התמיד את המציאות במצב שהיא בו ביום השביעי, כלומר: כי בכל יום מן הששה היו מתחדשים בו חדשות מחוץ לטבע הזה היציב והמצוי עתה במציאות בכללותה, וביום השביעי התמיד הדבר ונתיצב כפי שהוא עתה". עי' מורה הנבוכים, מהד' הנ"ל, חלק א, פרק סז (עמ' קיא).

[30] וראה עכשיו [פירוש] ספר בראשית לר"ש רפאל הירש (ירושלים, תשס"ב), עמ' ב: "הכל, חומר וצורה של כל הווה, נברא על ידי בורא חפשי כל־יכול, והבורא עודנו שליט בחירות על החומר וצורה של כל הווה, על הכוחות הפועלים בחומר, על החוקים שעל פיהם הם פועלים ועל הצורות שאותם הם יוצרים, שכן רצונו של האל החפשי והכל־יכול". המאמר הזה מובא על ידי ר' דויד צבי הופמן, ספר ויקרא מפורש (ירושלים, תשי"ג), כרך א, עמ' עא, בשינויים ובתמימות דיעים גמורה.

[31] ראה למעלה, הערות 3, 4, 6 על הכתוב **אשר ברא אלהים לעשות** המתפרש אצל הרד"ק, הרמב"ן, רבינו בחיי, ור"י אברבנאל במקביל לפירוש אבן עזרא.

[32] ועי' פירוש אבן עזרא הקצר לשמות כ, א (מהד' פליישער, עמ' 135) על הטיעון נגד חכמי יון, "שאמרו כי לעולם השם הוא בורא, והנה כל עושה מלאכה בשבת מכחש מעשה בראשית". וראה שם, "משנה לעזרה" על כוונת הראב"ע לדחות את טיעונם של חכמי יון, "שהשם עדיין לא כלה את מלאכת הבריאה, אלא הוא תמיד בורא", שכן הכתוב כי **ששת ימים עשה השם ... וינח ביום השביעי** (שמות כ, יא) מורה, שמאז ו"הלאה אין **כל חדש תחת השמש** (קהלת א, ט)".

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תפקידם, שהוטל עליהם מיום היותם.[15] שכן מן הנמנע הוא, שהמכלול הרב־גוני של העולם הנברא יחזיק מעמד אם הכול־יכול לא יתמיד עליו את השגחתו, שלא ימוש ולא יתמוטט לגמרי. להמחיש את הרעיון הזה הראב״ע נסתייע בביטוי ״כהגה היוצא מפי אדם״ המשמש מעין השוואה להשגחת הבורא, שאין לה הפסק, והשאול כנראה בפירושו מן הכתוב **והגה מפיו יצא** (איוב לז, ב)[16] דרך קירוב והבלעה.

לשיטה זו מצאנו נקודות אחיזה בהרצאתו הנלהבת של ר׳ יהודה הלוי, בן דורו ובן ארצו של הראב״ע.[17] מתוכה אנו למדים, ש״לפי המסופר בסדר מעשה בראשית ברא האלוהי כל הדברים המרובים לכל מיניהם בבת אחת, ואחרי בראו אותם שם בהם את כח הקיום וההולדה הפועל בהם לרגעים בכח אלוהי, כמו שאנו אומרים בתפילתנו: ׳מחדש בטובו בכל יום תמיד מעשה בראשית׳״.[18] בשים לב לדברי ר׳ יהודה הלוי ״ואחרי בראו אותם שם בהם את כח הקיום וההולדה הפועל בהם לרגעים ...״ מתעוררת התחושה, שלפנינו קיימת קירבה רעיונית לא מועטה בינם ובין לשונו הקצרה של הראב״ע בשני הפירושים שלפנינו.[19] מסתבר גם כן, שמגע ספרותי זה הניע את ר׳ יהודה מוסקטו להסיק,[20] שבמקביל לדברי ר׳ יהודה הלוי ״כן כתב ראב״ע פרשת שמות על [ו]**רצון שוכני סנה**, וזה לשונו: ור׳ ישועה אמר הכבוד ששכן בסנה, ולא דבר נכונה ... ואיננו כן **עושה שמים וארץ** כי ה׳ הוא עושה תמיד ומעמידם כהגה היוצא מפי אדם״.

אמנם ידוע ידענו, שבין חכמי ימי הביניים מבני עמנו היו שומרי אמונה אל השיטה של בריאה מאין, שאינה אלא תהליך של חידוש תמידי הנמשך ללא הרף או הפסק כלשהו. לשיטה זו מצאו החכמים הללו סמוכים במקראות ובמדרשי רבותינו[21] הרומזים לדעתם על הרעיון של חידוש המציאות מן האפס, הפועל למעשה באורח תמידי ואינסופי.

אולם כבר השמיע ר׳ יצחק אברבנאל[22] את תוקף טענתו נגד בעלי דיעה זו, שבהתפלספותם מלאו לבם

לזייף הכתובים ולגלות פנים בתורה שלא כהלכה וכאמת, ומזאת הכת הארורה היו אבן כספי,[23] ופלקירא,[24]

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[15] עי׳ ר׳ י״ש דיל־מדיגו, נובלות חכמה (בזל, שצ״א [ד״צ]), דף צד, ע״ב, על קיום העולם וכל אחד מחלקיו התלוים ״באל יתׄ[ברך] שׄ[מו] ...., סוף דבר, הם ככלים בידי אומן וכאשר יחרוש בבקרים, כן האל יתעלה יפעל על־ידיהם״. אפשר, שבמאמר ״כי השם הוא עושה תמיד ומעמידם״ מסתמן רמז חשאי אל הכתובים **כי הוא צוה ונבראו**, **ויעמידם לעד לעולם** (תהלים קמח, ה–ו), שהראב״ע רגיל להשתמש בהם. ראה פירוש אבן עזרא לבראשית א, א (שיטה אחרת, פרידלנדר, עמ׳ 21); שם, לבראשית א, ג, (שיטה אחרת, פרידלנדר, עמ׳, 25); שם, הפירוש הקצר לשמות כג, כ (מהד׳ ר׳ י״ל פליישער, וינה, תרפ״ו, עמ׳ 201) ;שם, הפירוש הרגיל לשמות לג, כא; שם, הפירוש לקהלת א, ט; שם, הפירוש הרגיל לדניאל י׳, כא. מהראוי גם כן לשים לב לבנין הפעיל של השרש ״עמד״ שבפירוש אבן עזרא הרגיל לשמות ג, טו: ״בעבור שהשם שוכן עד עומד לבדו ובו הכל עומד ... והטעם שהוא המעמיד״. וכן בפירושו לדניאל יב, ז: ״והטעם המעמידם כמו החיים לאדם״. אף כאן ״כי השם הוא עושה תמיד ומעמידם״ אחר הבריאה מאין. לדעת הרמב״ם (מורה נבוכים, מהד׳ ר״י קאפח, ירושלים, תשמ״ד, חלק ב, פרק כח) מורים הכתובים בתהלים על ״נצחיות השמים ותמידות חקיה וכל אשר בה״, שלא ישתנו לעולם.

[16] לפי תרגומו של Benyowitz, כרך ב, עמ׳ 248 [כנ״ל, הע׳ 1]: “like speech that is emitted from the mouth of man”, כלומר: השם מתמיד לתקן ולהעמיד על מתכונתה (כמו בפירוש אבן עזרא הרגיל לבראשית ב, ד: ״ומלת **ביום עשות**, הוא תיקון״) את שירות הכחות הנתונה בנבראים, כשם שאדם מפעיל ומשמיע את קולו באמצעות האויר, שהוא מתמיד להוציא מפיו. ראה עוד ר׳ שמואל אבן צרצה, מקור חיים (מנטובה, שי״ט), דף ג, ע״ב, על פירוש אבן עזרא דנן: ״כלומר: מציאות העולם מן הבורא כמציאות הדבור מן המדבר, לא כמציאות הפעולה מן הפועל, והכונה כי לא יתמיד הדבור רק בהתמיד מציאות המדבר״. לא כרוזין, שמצא כאן בפירוש אבן עזרא את השיטה הפילונית של חידוש הבריאה האינסופית, ולא כמו שקבע קויפמן, שהמאמר ״כי השם הוא עושה תמיד ומעמידם כהגה היוצא מפי אדם״ שאול אצל הראב״ע מהגותו של ר׳ שלמה אבן גבירול (כנ״ל, הע׳ 12).

[17] על היחס בין שני החכמים הללו, ראה נ׳ בן־מנחם, ענייני אבן עזרא (ירושלים, תשל״ח), עמ׳ 224–240.

[18] עי׳ ספר הכוזרי, מהד׳ ר׳ יהודה אבן שמואל (ירושלים, תשל״ג), מאמר ד, כו (עמ׳ קפח). בספר הכוזרי, דפוס ווילנא (תרס״ה), שם (דף סב, ע״א–ב), הנוסח: ״ומכלכלם לרגעים״ במקום ״הפועל בהם לרגעים״. וראה שם ״אוצר נחמד״ על ההסבר, ש״אין רגע מבלי השפעת כחו יתברך והשגחתו, ולולא זה יגוע כל בשר יחד ויפול כל הנוצר והנברא במעט רגע״. על שינויי נוסח בתפילת שחרית ״מחדש ... מעשה בראשית״, ראה סידור אוצר התפילות (ווילנא, תרע״ה), עמ׳ קלב, ע״א.

[19] בפירוש לפסוקנו ולשמות ג, ב.

[20] בביאורו ״קול יהודה״ על ספר הכוזרי, דפוס ווילנא (כנ״ל, הערה 18).

[21] ראה למשל פרקי רבי אליעזר עם ביאור הרד״ל (ירושלים, תשכ״ג), פרק נא (דף קכג, ע״ב): ״ר׳ ינאי אומר כל צבאות השמים עוברין ומתחדשין בכל יום״; וראה שם, ציון יח על ההוספה: ״כאמור לעושה אורים גדולים״.

[22] עי׳ מפעלות אלהים (ירושלים, תשכ״ז), מאמר ב, פרק א (ע״א–ב).

[23] ר׳ יוסף אבן כספי, בן המאה ה־14. בפירושיו על התורה, שיצאו לאור על־ידי ר׳ יצחק לאסט, לא מצאנו שאבן כספי מזדהה עם הדיעה, שחידוש המציאות מן האין פועל בהתמדה ללא הפסק כלשהו. אפשר, שאברבנאל מצא כן בביאורו של אבן כספי על סיפור הבריאה המקראי (״מזרק כסף״), שאבד. עי׳ עליו ספר גביע כסף להרב יוסף אבן כספי, בעריכת ר׳ ב״א הרינג (ניו־יורק, תש״ב), המדור האנגלי, עמ׳ 126.

[24] ר׳ שם טוב אבן פלקירא, בן המאה ה־13. עי׳ עליו ר׳ מתתיהו שטראשון, מבחר כתבים (ירושלים, תשכ״ט), עמ׳ ריג–ריד. פירושיו הפילוסופיים של אבן פלקירא לא הגיעו אלינו, פרט לקטעים, שר׳ שמואל אבן צרצה מביאם בספרו מקור חיים (כנ״ל, הערה 16).

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מאין ..., וזה טעם **ויכולו השמים והארץ וכל צבאם**, שנתן כח בשרשים לעשות כמותם",[6] בדיוק כמו בפירוש אבן עזרא שלפנינו. ברוח דומה הרמב"ן כותב ב"דרשה על דברי קהלת": "כי הב"ה ברא רגע אחד יסוד שמים ויסוד הארץ והוא היולי שלהם[7] ... ואחרי כן לא ברא ולא יצר, אלא שאמר שיעשו הכללים פרטיהם כאשר שם בטבעם ... ולכן אמר [הכתוב] **אשר ברא אלהים לעשות**".[8] לאור האמור מסתבר, שאין בפירוש הרמב"ן לפסוקנו אלא הצעה משנית כיצד להגדיר את משמעותה של המלה **לעשות**. אבל הראב"ע והרמב"ן שניהם תמימי דיעה: (א) שעם מעשה בראשית הגיע המאורע החד־פעמי של הבריאה מאין לסופו ההחלטי. (ב) שמבחינה עקרונית אין הרמב"ן שולל את המציאות של בריאת השרשים בעלי כח המעשה (במ"ם שוואית) לנמצאים להוציא בעתיד כדמותם יש מיש.

עד כאן עמדנו על המקורות של חכמי ימי הביניים המחייבים את שיטת הצימצום של הבריאה מאין לששת הימים הקדומים בלבד; השיטה שהראב"ע רימז אליה בלשונו הקצרה שבפירושו.

מעתה דעתנו נתונה על הרעיון של בריאה מאין אינסופית, שבעלי אסופות יחסוהו להגותו הקוסמוגונית של הראב"ע לפי אומד דעתם. לפיהם מתבטא הרעיון הזה בפירוש אבן עזרא הרגיל לשמות ג, ב. שם הראב"ע מתדיין עם הפרשן הקראי ר' ישועה[9] המגדיר את הכתוב **ורצון שכני סנה** (דברים לג, טז) במובן "הכבוד ששכן בסנה" בשעה שנגלה למשה בחורב **מתוך הסנה**. נגד הגדרה זו הראב"ע אומר: "ולא דבר נכונה", בשל הטענה: (א) המונח **שכני** מורה על שיכון קבוע ולא על גילוי שכינה ארעי־מהיר,[10] "כי איך יקרא **שוכני** על רגע אחד". (ב) גם מבחינה דקדוקית יוקשה "למה נאמר [**שכני**] על גזרת פועל" הנופלת על פעולה מתמדת, לעומת המאורע החד־פעמי של גילוי שכינה, שחלף חיש־מהר ואיננו.[11] בהמשך הראב"ע מעיר: "ואיננו כן **עושה שמים וארץ** (תהלים קכד, ח) כי השם הוא עושה תמיד ומעמידם, כהגה היוצא מפי אדם". בהערה זו מצאו חוקרי עמנו עילה להעמיס על הראב"ע את האימון בשיטה מיסודם של פילון אלכסנדרוני ור' שלמה אבן גבירול המשלימה עם הרעיון, שחידוש המציאות מאין מהווה תהליך מתמיד, שאינו פוסק לעולם.[12]

אולם לדעתנו נשאר הראב"ע נאמן אל ההשקפה הרווחת, שאין הבריאה של יש מאין אלא מאורע חד־פעמי על־טבעי,[13] שהגיע לסופו האבסולוטי בששת ימי בראשית, ובמקומה הוטבע כח בשרשים שבכל המינים שנבראו "לעשות דמותם" יש מיש.[14] יתר על כן, הראב"ע סבור "כי השם הוא עושה תמיד" להעמיד את הנבראים מאין ושולט עליהם בהתמדה, שימלאו כראוי את

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[6] עי' כתבי רמב"ן, מהד' הנ"ל (ירושלים, תשכ"ג), כרך א, עמ' שפג. וראה עוד שם: "ולא כדברי תועה רוח בינה, שאומרים כי בכל יום ויום בורא נפשות בהולדם". וכן בדרשת "תורת ה' תמימה" (כנ"ל, שם, עמ' קס): "וזהו פירוש **ויכלו השמים והארץ וכל צבאם** (ב, א), ביאר השמים וכל צבאם והארץ וכל צבאיה כלם כלו בששת ימים ... ואין דבר נברא מעת ההיא והלאה".

[7] לדעת הרמב"ן המציאה הבריאה הראשונה חומר אחד להתהוותו של העולם העל־ירחי וחומר אחד להתהוותו של העולם התת־ירחי. עי' פירוש הרמב"ן לבראשית א, א (עמ' יב). וראה א' ליפשיץ, "לתורת הבריאה של רבי משה בן נחמן", סיני, כרך ק (תשמ"ז), עמ' תקכה ואילך.

[8] עי' כתבי רמב"ן (כנ"ל, הע' 6) עמ' קפז. וראה פירוש הרמב"ן על התורה, מהד' ר' מ"צ איזנשטט (ניו־יורק, תשי"ט), כרך א, עמ' מד, הערה יא, על הפירוש הזה המקביל לפירוש הראב"ע.

[9] חכם קראי, כנראה בן המאה ה־11. מקוריותו של התואר "ר'" מוטלת בספק כי אין הראב"ע רגיל להעניק את התואר הזה לחכמי הקראים. ראה למשל שיטה אחרת לבראשית א, כו (פרידלנדר, עמ' 31): "ויאמר ישועה"; וכן בפירוש אבן עזרא לבראשית כח, יב (לפי כתב־יד ווטיקאן 38, במקום הנוסח בספרים שלנו: "ויאמר ר'י"); שם, לויקרא כג, יא: "וישועה השיב" בהשמטת התואר "ר'". על זיהותו של החכם הזה, ראה ש' פינסקער, לקוטי קדמוניות (ווין, תר"ך), עמ' רי; שם, נספח ז, עמ' 78–80.

[10] לדעת ר' יצחק פרופיאט דוראן (Profiat Duran) מורה היו"ד היתירה בסוף המלים **שכני**, **המגביהי**, **המשפילי** (תהלים קיג, ה–ו) "על השפע אלה העניינים מאתו ית[ברך] על ההתמדה". עי' מעשה אפוד (ירושלים, תש"ל), שער ט (עמ' 46).

[11] עי' ספרי לדברים, שם, פיסקא שנג (מהד' ר"מ איש־שלום, ווינא, תרכ"ד, דף קמו, ע"ב): "**ורצון שוכני סנה**, שעשה רצון [מי] שנגלה על משה בסנה". אבל הראב"ע סבור, שמבחינת דקדוק הלשון אין הביטוי **שכני** תואם את העיתה של גילוי שכינה למשה בחורב.

[12] ראה דוד רוזין (Rosin), "Die Religionsphilosophie Abraham Ibn Esra's," *Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* XLII (1898), עמ' 13 על הראב"ע, שיצא בפירושו הרגיל לשמות ג, ב בעקבות השיטה הפילונית המחייבת את הרעיון של בריאה יש מאין אינסופית. השווה Philo, *Allegorical Interpretations* (Cambridge/London, 1962), 1:81 (עמ' 157). ראה עוד דוד קויפמן, מחקרים בספרות העברית של ימי הביניים (ירושלים, תשכ"ב), עמ' 134, הע' 39 על הטיעון, שהראב"ע נשען בפירושו לשמות (כנ"ל) על האימרה במקור חיים לר' שלמה אבן גבירול: "ועוד תדמה הבריאה לאימרה שידבר בה האדם" (במקור חיים, מהד' בלובשטיין ו־צפרוני, ירושלים, תרפ"ו, שער ה [עמ' 220], הנוסח: "ויש להשוות את הבריאה למלה שהאדם מוציא מפיו").

[13] וראה א' ליפשיץ, "לתורת הבריאה של ר' אברהם אבן עזרא", סיני, כרך פד (תשל"ט), עמ' קה–קכה על הגישה החיובית של הראב"ע אל הכלל העקרוני העתיק, שהעולם מחודש ונברא יש מאין (המחקר הזה מופיע גם כן בפרקי עיון במשנת רבי אברהם אבן עזרא, ירושלים, תשמ"ב, עמ' קנא ואילך בשינויים).

[14] ראה למעלה, הערה 1 על פירוש אבן עזרא לבראשית ב, ג.

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מעשה בראשית אינסופי או מאורע חד־פעמי לפי השקפת רבי אברהם אבן עזרא

אברהם ליפשיץ*

To Professor Norman Golb,
A most distinguished scholar and eminent teacher
in token of high esteem and admiration

בפירושו הרגיל לבראשית ב, ג הראב״ע כותב: ״ופי[רוש] **אשר ברא אלהים לעשות**, השרשים בכל המינים, שנתן בהם כח לעשות דמותם״.[1] לדעת הראב״ע מתפרש הכתוב הזה להבא. זאת אומרת, הכח השוכן בשרשים שנבראו מאין נועד להפעיל את המינים הנמצאים, **לעשות** ולהוציא מכאן ואילך ישות כדמותם.[2] הפירוש הזה מתבטא היטב בלשונו המורחבת והרהיטה של הרד״ק: ״פירוש **לעשות**, מהיום ההוא ואילך, כלומר: כי הוא ברא כל מין ומין מהנבראים בששת ימי המעשה, להיותם עושים הם ומחדשים כל אחד במינו עוד כל ימי עולם״.[3] ההסבר הזה מפיץ די אור על לשונו הקצרה של הראב״ע וקולע אל כוונתו. לפירוש זה מצאנו גם כן הקבלה לא מועטת בביאור על התורה לרבינו בחיי בן אשר[4]: ״ומה שהוסיף **לעשות**, כי מאחר שהוא יתברך ברא עד עתה והוסיף והוציא כל הנמצאים יש מאין, גזר על הנמצאים לעשות הם פעולותיהם יש מיש מכאן ואילך״.

בדין שיוטעם עוד, שהרמב״ן מביא כאן את הפירוש הזה בשם הראב״ע בנוסח שונה ומקוצר: ״אבל רבי אברהם [אבן עזרא] אמר כפשוטו כי מלאכתו השרשים בכל המינים, שנתן בהם כח לעשות כמותן״. על־יד מובאה זו הרמב״ן מוסיף: ״ולי נראה פירוש, ששבת מכל מלאכתו אשר ברא יש מאין לעשות ממנו כל המעשים הנזכרים בששת הימים״.[5]

ברם, מן הביטוי ״ולי נראה״ אין להסיק עדיין, שהרמב״ן שולל כאן את דברי הראב״ע ודוחה את הפירוש ״כפשוטו״ לגמרי. שכן המקורות שבידינו מעידים, שהרמב״ן מתייחס לפירושו הפשטני של הראב״ע ברצינות ובכובד ראש. כך משתמע מן הסיוע, ששימש בבית מדרשו של הרמב״ן להוכיח, ״שהנשמות כולן נבראו מאז ... כי הקב״ה אחר ששת ימי בראשית אינו בורא שום דבר

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* להלן: הראב״ע. בהמשך מחקרנו הדגשנו גם כן את המקראות ואת הספרים שהשתמשנו בהם.

[1] המאמר הזה מתורגם לאנגלית על־ידי A. R. Benyowitz בתוך: *Translation of Abraham Ibn Ezra's Commentary on the Pentateuch* (Jerusalem, 2006), כרך ב, עמ׳ 48. בשיטה אחרת M. Friedlaender,) *Essays on the Writings of Abraham Ibn Ezra* [London, 1877] (להלן: שיטה אחרת, פרידלנדר], המדור העברי, עמ׳ 35) הלשון: ״או יהיה פירושו **אשר ברא אל[הים]** בתחילה לעשות כל נברא כדמותו״. ראה עוד פירוש אבן עזרא לקהלת ז, יג: ״והוא פי[רוש] **אשר ברא אלהים לעשות** כי אלהים שם בכל מלאכתו כח על הדמות הראשונה״. מהראוי גם כן לציין, שביסוד מורא, דפוס קושטנטינא, ר״ץ (ד״צ של הוצאת נ׳ בן־מנחם, ירושלים, תש״ל), עמ׳ 43, הנוסח: ״כי כן כתוב **וישבת ביום השביעי מכל מלאכתו** (ב, ב), ופי[רוש] **לעשות** לפני יום השבת״. וכן ביסוד מורא, דפוס פראג 1833, דף כו, ע״ב. אבל ביסוד מורא הנדפס בתוך ילקוט אבן עזרא (ניו־יורק/תל־אביב, תשמ״ה [1985]), עמ׳ 329, המלים ״ופי[רוש] לעשות״ חסירות. יצויין עוד, שבספר בראשית מפורש על־ידי הרב דוד הופמן, כרך א (בני־ברק, תשכ״ט), עמ׳ מז, הועלתה הטענה ״נגד פירושו של הראב״ע (״לעשות השרשים ... דמותם״), שהמלה מלאכה (בכתוב **מכל מלאכתו אשר ברא**) אינה באה אף פעם כמושא לפועל ברא, אלא לפעל עשה״. אבל ראה ר׳ י״צ מעקלענבורג, הכתב והקבלה (פראנקפורט א״מ, תר״מ), שם, דף ז, ע״א, על המאמר במדרש הנעלם (זהר חדש עם פירוש ״הסולם״), חלק ז (ירושלים, תשנ״ט), עמ׳ 219: ״מאי **לעשות**? לעשות ולהוליד כל דבר כמותו, ... וכפירוש הראב״ע לעשות השרשים בכל המינים, שיתן בהם כח לעשות דמותם״.

[2] לפי תרגום השבעים, מהד׳ צ׳ קאדל, (ירושלים, תש״ל), עמ׳ 10, הכוונה, שהשם שבת ״מכל מלאכתו אשר החל לעשות״; ולפי פירושי רבינו סעדיה גאון על התורה, מהד׳ י׳ קאפח (ירושלים, תשכ״ג), עמ׳ יג, מוסב הכתוב על השביתה מלברוא ״שום דבר מעין הבריאה שעשה״. אבל לדעת הראב״ע הכתוב מדבר על עתידם של המינים הנמצאים ״לעשות דמותם״. מעניין, שר׳ אברהם ב״ר חייא הנשיא גם כן סבור, ״שכל הנבראים אשר עומדים בכח לצאת למעשה העמידם הקב״ה משׁשת ימי בראשית, ומשם ואילך הם יוצאים למעשה, וביום השביעי ישלמו כל העומדים בכח מצאתם למעשה, שנאמר **אשר ברא אלהים לעשות**״, קרוב לשיטת הראב״ע. עי׳ מגלת המגלה, מהד׳ פאזנאנסקי וגוטמאנן (ברלין, תרפ״ד), שער ב, עמ׳ 19.

[3] עי׳ ספר השרשים לרבי דויד בן יוסף קמחי (ירושלים, תשכ״ד), ערך ״עשה״ (עמ׳ 281); פירושי רבי דוד קמחי על התורה, מהד׳ ר״מ קמלהר (ירושלים, תש״ל), עמ׳ כד (בקיצור). ראה גם ספר אברבנאל על התורה (טשערנאוויץ, תר״ך; להלן: פירוש אברבנאל), שם, דף לג, ע״א: ״וכנגד הברכה אמר מלת לעשות, ר[וצה] ל[ומר], שברך את יום השביעי ... להתמיד הויתם בתולדות דומיה[ם], והוא אמרו לעשות כי נתן כח בשרשים אשר ברא לשיעשו כמותם״. ראה עוד מבוא למדרש תנחומא, הוצאת ר״ש באבער (ירושלים, תשכ״ד [ד״צ]), דף יז, ע״ב מכתב־יד די־רוסי: ״כל מה שברא אלהים במעשה בראשית הוא לעשות פרי: אדם ובהמה, חי ועוף וכל בריה להוליד אחרים ... זה **לעשות**״.

[4] מהד׳ ר׳ ח״ד שעוועל, כרך א (ירושלים, תשכ״ו), שם, עמ׳ נד.

[5] עי׳ פירושי התורה לרבינו משה בן נחמן, מהד׳ הנ״ל, כרך א (ירושלים, תשי״ט; להלן: פירוש הרמב״ן), שם, עמ׳ ל.

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נספח:
שריד (היחיד הנודע בעולם) של פירוש יהודה אבן בלעם למגילת אסתר
לפי כ״י אוקספורד־בודליאנה Heb.d.68, דף 13ב

בשם יי״י אל עולם
שרח מגלת אסתר לפט ומעני
למרינו יהודה בירׄ שמואל בן בלעם הספרדי זכׄ צדׄ לברׄ

(א, א) **מהודו ועד כוש.** מן אלהנד אלי אכר בלאד אלחבשה והו פי מא יקאל טול בלד ממלכתה.
שבע ועש[רים] ומאה מדינה. קיל אן הדא אלעד[ד כור] לא מדאון פקט. ו[הדא] ממכן. ויקוי הדא קולה **מדינה ומדינה ככתבה.**
(א, ג) **בשנ[ת] שלש למלכו.** קאל אלמפסר אנה למא חסב אלסבעין אלמקו[לה] ל[כ]ראב אלשאם ולם ירי להא עודה סרׄ בדלך פאמר ב[אל]ולימה. ואנא אקול אן **עשר** סרׄ מתל אלשאם מחתק[ר] ענד מלך אלפרס אד כאן מלכה אגלי ואעטם מן אן יאב[ה] אלי עמארה אלשאם או כראבהא לא סימא הדא אלמלך פא[נה] כאן אעטם ממן תקדמה.
(א, ד) **בהראותו את עשר כבוד מלכותו.** יריד **עשרו ומלכותו.** וכדלך **ואת יקר תפאר[ת] גדולתו** על הדה אלרתבה אד ליס לאצאפה בעצ[ה]א לבע[ץ] מעני בל יריד אלגמיע.
(א, ו) **הור כרפס ותכלת.** אלואן אלסת[ור] אלמעלקה.
על גלילי כסף ועמודי שש. גלילים ועמודים מתק[רנה] ופסר **פי שש** אלרכאם וכדלך **בהט ודר וסחרת** אצנאף א[ל]רכאם.
(א, ח) **אין אונס.** מן גיר מכרה ולא קאהר. ואלאולין |

3 **הספרדי** — לאחר מילה זו נכתבה האות ״**ת**״ ונמחקה בסימן מחיקה מעל לשורה // **זכׄ צדׄ לברׄ** — ר״ל, **זכר צדיק לברכה** // 4 **אלי** — לאחר מילה זו נכתבה ״**אלחבשה**״ ונמחקה בסימני מחיקה (נקודות) מעל לשורה // 8 **עשר** — עדיף: **בעשר** // **מתל** — מלה זו פותחת משפט אסינדיטי (כל׳: ״**... סר; מתל ...**״ [ראה דקדוק 229ה]) // 10 **עשרו** — אולי נשמטה כאן ״**וכבוד**״ בטעות // **על** — במקום **עלי** (ראה דקדוק 159א) // 13 **מתק[רנה]** — במקום **מתק[ארנה]** (ראה מילון, עמׄ 541ב; דקדוק § 78), אולם קריאת הת״ו (ולכן השלמתנו) אינה מוחלטת

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16. לפס׳ ח, טו–יז
(כ״י א$_2$ 2א; בהשוואה ל־ע 2ב)

⌜והדׄה אלארבע /אסאם/ אלמקולהׄ לליהוד הי שרוח **צהלה ושמחה** לאנה מכׄצוץ בהם לא בגירהם כמא כאן **והעיר**
שושן נבוכה מכׄצוצהׄ בהם איצׄא. וקד יומי⌝ | ⌜בארבעתה⌝א אלי מעני ואחד והי כפאיהׄ אלאעדא. ⌜אמא **אורה**⌝ פאלי א$_2$ 2א
סרעהׄ פנאיהם. כקולה **והיה אור ישראל לאש** וג׳. ו⌜א⌝מא **שמחה** פאלי אלראחהׄ מנהם ⌜כקולה⌝ פי יהושפט **לשוב אל**
ירושלם בשמחה כי שמחם י״י מא׳. ואמא **ששון** פאלי אלטׄהור עלי בקאיהם כקולה **וראיתם ושש לבכם** וג׳. ואמא **יקר**
פאלי כונהם פדאא ללמומנין כקולה **מאשר יקרת בעיני נכבדת ואני** וג׳. וקד יומי בכל ואחדהׄ מנהא אלי מעני מפרד.
פאמא **אורה** פישאר בה אלי קראהׄ אלתוריהׄ טׄאהרא כמא קאל **כי נר מצוה ותורה אור** וג׳. **ושמחה** פאלי תנפידׄ
אלאחכאם עלי מא פיהא כמא קאל **שמחה לצדיק עשות מש׳**. **וששון** פאלי אמתׄאל גׄמיע אלשראיע עלאניהׄ כמא
קאל **נחלתי עדותיך לעולם כי ששון לבי ה׳**. **ויקר** פאלי תהויד מן תהוד /וכונהם/ פי טׄל אלאמהׄ כמא קאל **הן גוי לא**
תדע תקרא וג׳. ויקאל אן **ורבים מעמי הארץ מתיהדים** מא בין ה״ע אלי ק״נ אלף לאנה יגׄעל אלמקצוד **רבים** מן
אלמקתולין וכאן אלמקתולין ע״ה אלף כמא קאל **ושאר היהודים אשר** וג׳. פיבלג אלאכתׄר באלתקריב אלי אלצׄעף.
וליס הדׄא באלצׄרורהׄ.

§16. 2 **והי** — ע: **והו** // 3 **וג׳** — ע: **וקדוש ללהבה** // 4 **אלטׄהור** — ע: **אלטׄאהר** // **וג׳** — ע: **ועצמותיכם כדשא תפרחנה** // 5 **בכל** — ע: **אלי כל** // 6 **פישאר** — ע: **ישאר** // **טׄאהרא** — ע: **טׄאהרהׄ** // 7 **פאלי** — ע: **אלי** // 9 **וג׳** — ע: **וגוי לא ידעוך אליך ירוצו למען י״י אלה[י]ך ולקדוש ישראל כי פארך**

§16. 1–2 ⌜**והדׄה ... יומי**⌝ — כך ע // 1 **אלארבע /אסאם/** — במקום **ארבע אלאסאם** (ראה דקדוק § 243ב) // **/אסאם/** — על צורת הריבוי זו ראה מילון, עמ׳ 310ב; ע: **אסאמא**(!) // 2 ⌜**בארבעתה⌝א** — כך ע, שֶׁבו נכתבו שלוש האותיות האחרונות בראש השורה, אז (כנראה באותה היד) נמחקו בקו לוכסני ונוספו לסוף השורה הקודמת; א$_2$: כאן מתחיל דף 1ב // ⌜**אמא אורה**⌝ — כך ע // 3 **פנאיהם** — ע: **פנאהם** (ראה דקדוק § 11אab) // **כקולה** (הראשון) — ע: **בקולה**(!) // **ו⌜א⌝מא** — כך ע // ⌜**כקולה**⌝ (השני) — כך ע // 4 **מא׳** — ע: **מאיביהם** // 5 **פאלי** — ע: נכתבה האל״ף מעל לשורה // **כונהם** — א$_2$: תוקנה המ״ם, כנראה, מן אל״ף // **פדאא** — א$_2$: תוקנה הדל״ת, כנראה, מן רי״ש; ע: **פִדֶאא** (כנראה במקום **פִדַאא** > فِدَاءٌ; ראה דקדוק § § 4–5; פיאמנטה, ב, עמ׳ 368ב; הווא, עמ׳ 551ב) // **מאשר** — ע: **באשר**(!) // **וג׳** — ע: **אהבתיך ואתן אָדם תחתיך ולאמים תחת נפשך** // 6–7 **כמא קאל כי נר ... פיהא** — ע: נשמט בשל הומויוארקטון // 7 **מש׳** — ע: **משפט** // 8 **ה׳** — ע: **המה** // **/וכונהם/** — כך ע; א$_2$: **ובינהם**(!) // **אלאמהׄ** — ע: **אלאׄמהׄ** (כל׳, الأُمَّة; ראה דקדוק § 4) // **ע״ה** — ע: **[כׄ]מסהׄ** | **[וסבעין אלפא]** — ונסתיים כה״י

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אלמצ̇מר אלד̇י הו אהלאך עלי הד̇א אלחאל פפצחת בהא אנהא אג̇תהאדא וכד̇לך קול יעקב **ואני כאשר שכלתי שכ׳** הם עלי אלאצ̇מאר יקול אנה אן תַ̇כִל בנימן יך קד ת̇כלה והו מג̇תהד וד̇לך אנה מן /אבד̇ל/ אלמג̇הוד פהו יתעזא ויֻ̇תעזא לה עלי כל מא יחדת̇ עליה ואן הו קצר לם יעד̇ר נפסה ולם יֻ̇עד̇ר.

13. לפס׳ ה, א–ד(?)
(כ״י ד 2ב)

ד 2ב [פסרת] קולה **ותלבש אסתר** [**מלכות** לבסת אסתר ת̇יאב אלמל]ך לאנה ט̇אהר פי פציח קול[ה] א[...] **בגדי** [**מל**]**כו**[**ת**] ומנהא זדתה פי אל[ת]פ[סיר.] וממא תלתמס [אל]עלה̇ פיה דעוה̇ אסתר להמן אד̇ [...] אנמא קצדת כ̇לאץ אמתהא פלם ת[הרב] עדוהם אלי [...] לאזיוד פיצק[...] ימכן אן יפ[א]ר יבלגהם [...] לה. כד̇לך פ[סר אן] לא[נ]ה א[ן] כאן הד̇א ע[...] |

14. לפס׳ ו, יב
(כ״י א$_2$ 1א)

א$_2$ 1א [... קולה **אל שער**] | [**ה**]**מלך**. ומענא[ה] **לפני שער המלך** [א]ד̇ לא שך פי [אנ]ה לאבס אלמ[סח כמ]א כאן אד̇ הד̇א אלקול הו קבל [**ב**]**לילה ההוא נדדה**. ומעני **אבל וחפוי ראש** פי המן קלק אד̇ לם יתם תדבירה. מגטא אלראס אד̇ אנעכס אלאמר אלד̇י דברה עלי עדוה שרא כ̇ירא. פלם יג[ט] ראסה בשי מחסוס לכן באשיא מעקולה̇ מנהא קלקה אלי מא אראד אן יחלה בעדוה כמא קאל **וכסתה אותם פלצות**. וחיאוה ממן שאורה פי אהלאכה כמא קאל **ובשת פני כסתני**. ופוק אלג̇מיע ט̇למה לה ותעדיה עליה כמא קאל **ופי רשעים יכסה חמס**. וקאל **כי חמס לבנון יכסך**.

15. לפס׳ ו, יג
(כ״י א$_2$ 1ב)

א$_2$ 1ב קול אצדקא המן לה **אם מזרע היהודים מרדכי**. לם יוקעו אלאסתת̇ני בקול **אם** עלי **מרדכי** הל הו יהודי אם לא. ואנמא אוקעוה עלי אלוקוע בין ידיה פקאלו לה אן אלעואקב יסתדל עליהא מן אלאואיל פאן נג̇חת אלאואיל רג̇ית עואקבהא ואן פסדת /ייסת/ מן עואקבהא. ולד̇לך סמאהם אלכתאב **חכמיו** |

29 **קול יעקב** — ד: **קאל** // 30 **עלי** — ד: **הד̇א** // **יקול** — ד: [ו]**קולה**

29 **אהלאך ... אלחאל** — ד: **אהלך ... אלחל** (ראה דקדוק § 9ג) // **אג̇תהאדא** — ד: **אג̇תהאד** (ראה דקדוק § 218) // **שכ׳** — א$_3$ ד: **שכלתי** — וכאן נסתיים כ״י א$_4$ (דף 1ב) // 30 **הם** — כל׳, هَمْ (מילה מלווה מפרסית; ראה מילון, עמ׳ 735א [במיוחד הציטוטים מכ̣תבי רס״ג) // **אן** — ג: נכתב מעל לשורה (כנראה באותה היד) // **יך** — כל׳, **יכון** (ראה דקדוק § 102בa) // **אנה** — ג: נכתב מעל לשורה (כנראה באותה היד) // **/אבד̇ל/** — כך ד, במקום **אבד̇אל** (ראה דקדוק § 9ג), אם אינו פשוט טעות; ג: **אבלא**(!) // 31 **ואן** — ג: נכתבה הו״ו מעל לשורה (כנראה באותה היד)

§13. 1 **א**[...] — ד: מטושטשות כאן כשלוש מילים // **לבסת ... אלמל]ך** — כך לפי ת״ס // 2 [...] — ד: מטושטשת כאן מילה אחת // 3 [...] (הראשון) — ד: מטושטשות כאן למן שש ועד שמונה מילים // **לאזיוד** — במקום **לאזיאד**? // **פיצק**[...] — ד: מטושטשות כאן כשלוש שורות (למן 24 ועד 30 מילים בערך) // **יבלגהם** — על האסינדיזה זו (ר״ל, השמטת ״**אן**״ לפני המילה) ראה דקדוק § 334 // [...] (השלישי) — ד: מטושטשות כאן כארבע או חמש מילים // **ע**[...] — ד: מטושטשות כאן כשתי מילים (בסוף השורה האחרונה) ובכך נסתיים כה״י

§15. 1 **אצדקא** — כל׳, أصْدِقاءِ (ראה דקדוק § 11אbα) // **/ייסת/** — כל׳, يَئِسْتَ; א$_2$: **ייס**(!) (שמא טושטשה הת״ו)

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והדא נטיר קול אלאבא לפרעה **נלכה נא דרך ש׳ ימים במד׳** אן לם נסלך דלך. ועטף **תאבדו** עלי /קול/ **רוח והצלה יעמד ליהו׳ ממק׳ א׳** ממא יבין אן הדא אלמק׳ **אחר** אשאר בה אלי אלהים גל גלאלה לאנה הו אלדי יגית אלמטלומין והו אלדי יהלך אלקסאה ומן ימכנה אן יאכד ביד אלמטלומין פלא יאכד לדלך גמע מרד׳ **רוח והצ׳** מע **תאבדו**. ואנמא ק׳ **ומי יודע אם לעת כז׳** לאן המן לם יך כתב באבאדה אלקום פי וקת וצול אלכת׳ בל אלי אלחול פמנהא ק׳ מרדכי **אם לעת כז׳** יעניהא אן אמורא כתירה תחדת פי הדה אלסנה כמ׳ חדת מן טרדה לושתי. ויצח לנא מן קולהא **לך כנוס** אן אלצלה ואלצום פי אלגמאעה אפצל ועל מא ק׳ כתירא פי אלתורה **ונועדו** וקאל דוד **במקהלות ברכו אלהים**. ומן קול׳

ג ב **ואל תאכלו ואל תש׳ ש׳ ימ׳ לילה ויום** | אן אלצום אלמרסל אנמא הו אלנהאר פקט לא אלליל ועלי מא קאל פי אהל יבש גלעד **ויצומו שבעת** ימ׳ ולם נגד נצא עלי ז׳ ימים אנהא גיר מתואלית פיתבין מן דלך אנהם כאנו יצומון נהארא ויפטרון לילא. ולקד זעם ענן איצ׳ פי הדא אלמוצע אן קולהא **לילה ויום** אראדת בה לילה ואחדה ויומא ואחדא בעד ג׳ איאם נהארא לא לילא וביאן כטאיה בתצפחנא כל **לי[ה ויום]** יך מעהמא זמאן אכר. ווגדנא לדלך אפעאל מקולה עלי כל דלך אלזמאן פמן דלך קולה **ופחדת לילה ויומם** עלי קול ענן הו יום ואחד ולילתה וקול׳ **לילה ויומם לא תכבה**. וקאל בעד **לעולם יעלה עשנה**. וקול׳ **והגית בו יומם ול׳**. וק׳ מעה **לא** /**ימוש**/ ומא אשבה דלך כתיר. וקול אס׳ הדה אלאקאויל ידל עלי אנהא כאנת בצירה באלשראיע ורסומהא לם ינסיהא דלך אלמלך. וידל קולהא **גם אני ונער׳ אצ׳ כן** עלי אן גמיע גואריהא ומן יכדמהא געלתהם מומנין מוחדין לאנהם לו כאנו יצומו ללצנם לם תסתעין הי בצומהם עלי אלפרג לאנה כאן יך חיניד מעציה לא טאעה. וקולי פי תפס׳ **וכאשר אבדתי אב׳** פאן הלכת הלכת מגתהדה לאני אכרגתה מן

14 /קול/ — $א_3$: ליתא // 15 **אחר** — T: ליתא // **אלהים** — $א_3$: **אלה אסראיל** // 16 **והו** — $א_3$: נוסף **הו** // **אן** — ג: תחילה נכתב **באן** (ראה דוזי, ב, עמ׳ 607א, בערך "מכן" [בניין רביעי]) ונמחקה הבי״ת ע״י נקודה מעליה // **אלמטלומין** — $א_3$: **אלמטלום** // **פלא** — T: ליתא // 17 **אלכת׳** — $א_3$: **אלכתאב**; T: **אלכתאב** // 19 **אלגמאעה** — $א_3$ T: **גמאעה** // **כתירא** — T: ליתא // 20 **ש׳ ימ׳ לילה ויום** — T: ליתא // 21 **פיתבין** — T: **פתבין** // 23 **נהארא לא לילא** — T: **נהארהא ולא לילהא** // 24 **ולילתה** — ג: מעל לשורה, בין שתי האותיות האחרונות, יש נקודה, ולאורה שמא יש לגרוס "וליל" // **לא תכבה** — T: ליתא (שמא נשמט בטעות) // 25 **בעד** — $א_3$: **מעה** // **וקול׳** — T: **וקאל** // **ומא אשבה** — $א_3$: **וממא ישאבה** // **אלאקאויל** — $א_3$ T: **אלאקואל** // 26 **ינסיה א** — $א_3$: **ינסאהא** (במקום **ינסהא** = יַנְסִיהָא [בניין ראשון]; ראה דקדוק §8ט, ומילון, עמ׳ 693א; אך הכתיב **ינסיהא** הוא במקום **ינסהא** = יִנְסִיהָא [בניין רביעי]; ראה דקדוק §111א, ומילון, שם) // **כן** — T: ליתא // 27 **גמיע** — T: ליתא // **יצומו** — במקום **יצומון** (ראה דקדוק §175), שנכתב כך בכ״י $א_3$ ו־T // 28 **חיניד** — $א_3$: ליתא

13–14 **ועטף תאבדו עלי** — ג: תחילה נכתב **ועטפה**, אז נמחקה הה״א (ע״י נקודה מעליה) ובשולי הדף נכתבו המילים **תאבדו עלי** (שקריאתן כאן מסומנת ע״י קו לוכסני מעל לפ״א של "ועטף") // 14 /**קול**/ — או שמא יש לקרוא **אלקול**; ג: **בקול**(!) (כנראה, שכח הכותב למחוק את הבי״ת לאחר שתיקן את המילה הקודמת (ראה ההע׳ הקודמת)) // **רוח** — מכאן כ״י ד, 2א // 15 **ליהו׳ ... א׳** — $א_3$ T: **ליהודים ממקום אחר** // **אלמק׳** — $א_3$ T: **אלמקום** // 16 **מרד׳** — $א_3$: **מר[דכ]י**; T: **מר׳** // **והצ׳** — $א_3$ T: **והצלה** // 17 **ק׳** — $א_3$: **קאל**; T: **קאלת**(!) // **כז׳** — $א_3$ T: **כזאת** // **יך** — כל׳, **יכן** (ראה דקדוק §102בa), כמו בכ״י $א_3$ // **וקת** — ג: נכתבה המילה מעל לשורה // **וצול** — ג: נכתבה הו״ו השנית מעל לשורה // **אלחול** — T: **חול**(!) // **ק׳** — T: **קאל** // 18 **כז׳** — T: **כזאת** // **כמ׳** — $א_3$ T: **כמא** // **ויצח ... קולהא** — כך $א_3$ T (אך בכ״י T: **קולה**[!]) // 19 **ועל** — במקום **ועלי** (ראה דקדוק §159א), כמו בכ״י $א_3$ ו־T // **אלתורה ... דוד** — כך $א_3$ T // **ומן** — $א_3$: לאחר מילה זו נקרע שאר דף 1א ונמשך להלן (בראש דף 1ב) במילים "**קול ענן הו יום ואחד**" // **קול׳** — T: **קולהא** // 20 **תש׳** — T: **תשת**[ו] // 20–21 **ועלי ... שבעת** — כך T, אולם במקום **ועלי** נכתב **עלי**(!) (או שמא נכתב **ועלי** ונמחקה הו״ו — כ״תיקון" בעקבות ההשמטה המוטעה של "**אלליל**") // 21 **ימ׳** — T: **ימים** // **ולם נגד ... ימים** — T: נשמט בשל הומויוטלויטון // **מתואליה** — T: **מותאליה**(!) // **דלך ... כאנו** — כך T // **יצומון** — ג: נכתבה המילה באותה היד בשולי הדף (מקום קריאת המילה בשורה נאבר בשל קריעה) // 21–22 **נהארא ויפטרון** — כך T // 22 **איצ׳** — כל׳, **איצא** — כמו בכ״י T // **אראדת ... ואחדה** — כך T // 23 **יך** — כל׳, **יכון** (ראה דקדוק §102בa) // 24 **קולה** — כך T // **קול** — $א_3$: מכאן דף 1ב // **וקול׳** — T: **וקולה** // 25 **ול׳** — $א_3$ T: **ולילה** // **וק׳** — $א_3$ T: **וקאל** // **/ימוש/** — כך $א_3$ (כ״י T מטושטש כאן); ג: **ימיש** (מן־הסתם ט״ס, ושמא פליטת־קולמוס לאור אותה הצורה בשמ׳ יג, כב ו־/או לג, יא) // **אס׳** — $א_3$ T: **אסתר** // 26 **לם** — T: מכאן דף 2ב // **ינסיה א** — כך לפי $א_3$ (נאבדו שתי האותיות האחרונות בכ״י T): **ינסאהא** (ראה עוד ההע׳ לכאן באפראט הראשון) // **קולהא** — T: **קו׳** // **ונער׳ אצ׳** — $א_3$: **ונערתי אצוה** // 27 **גואריהא** — $א_3$: **גואהרא** // **יצומו** — במקום **יצומון** (ראה דקדוק §175), כמו בכ״י $א_3$ ו־T // 28 **לאנה** — ג: נכתב **לאנהא** ונמחקה האל״ף הסופית ע״י נקודה מעליה // **יך** — במקום **יכון** (ראה דקדוק §102בa), כמו בכ״י $א_3$; T: **יכן**(!) // **וקולי** — T: **וקולה**(!) // **תפס׳** — $א_3$ T: **תפסיר** // **אב׳** — T: **אבדתי** // **הלכת** — T: כך מנוקדת הכ״ף בפתח, שמבטא המילה כנראה הוא *halakat* (במקום *halaktu*; ראה דקדוק, עמ׳ 296 [לעמ׳ 67, אחרי §56, הסע׳ השני])

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תלזם יהוד ש֗ושן פקט לא גירהם֗ ואלאמר אלתאני לאנהום סגדו ללצנם נבו֗כד נצר אלדי נצבה֗ נבוכד נצר פי **בקעת דורא** אד לם ימ֗תנע בינא֗ אלא אלתלת נפר. והדא איצא לם יסתקים ֗לאן כלהם֗ לו כאן קד פעלו דאלך לכרגו ען דין אליהודיה֗ ועלי אנהם֗ מקהורין מותהדדין באלקתל עלי [מא ק]דמת [...] אן אלאמר לו כאן כדאלך לכאנת אלעקובה֗ אנמא תלזם אליהוד אלדי בבבל ונואחיהא פקט. ואמא אלדין בכרסאן ונואחיהא. ולא כני אדא אלקול אלתאלת אקרב אלאקואל והו אן סבבהום כאן מכאלטה֗ אלאמם ותזויגהום מנהום כמא וצף פי עזרא אנהום פעלו פי גלות אלסבעין סנה֗ כמא קאל **כי נשאו מבנותיהם להם ולבניהם והתערבו זרע הקדש בעמי הארצות ויד הש׳ והס֗ג׳ הייתה במעל הזה ראשנה**. פאפגעו בהדא לאן אלבע[ץ] פעלו ואלבאקיין לם יאכדו עלי אידיהום פענד הדא אלחאדת אנכסרו ורגעו ופימא לתהוד כתיר |

12. לפס׳ ד, ה—יז

(כ״י א֗3 1א—2ב, ג א—ב, ד 2א)

א֗3 2א מעני קולה **לדעת מה זה** נפס אלפעל כיף פעל. **ועל מה זה** אי שי כאן עכסה. פאגאבהא מרדכי ען מסלה֗ **מה זה** בתלתה֗ אשיא מא נאלה מן אלגם והו **כל אשר קרהו**. ובדל י׳ אלף בדרה֗ ורק והו **פרשת הכסף**. ונסכה֗ אלכתאב והו א֗3 2ב **פתשגן** ולם יגיבהא ען **מה זה** לאן | [...] שהר סיון בל יגעלהא אכר אלע׳ יום. פקולהא הדא יבטל מא וצעה לאן אלאמר לו כאן כמא קאל לכאנת אסתר קד דכלת אלי אחשורש בעד /ס״ז/ יום מן אלחאדת֗ה. פכאנת תכלמה פי אלאמה֗ ולם תכן מחתאגה֗ אלי אלמכאטרה֗ בנפסהא. פאן טן טאן אנהא לם תעלם אלא בעד /ס״ז/ יום כאן דלך טנא כטאא לאן אצחאב אלאכבאר ירפעון אלי אלמלך ואלמלכה֗ כבר יום ביום. ואיצא לם יך מרדכי לימסך ען אלתחרך פי תעריפהא /ס״ז/ יום תם יערפהא בעד דלך. בל אלאקרב ומא תשהד בה אלעקול אן תכון מראסלה֗ מרדכי פי אליום אלאול מן אלחאדת֗ה והו יום י״ג מן ניסן. פיכון אלצום יום ד״י ה״י י״ן עלי אלנטאם. | וכיף נכטר בבאלנא קול מרד׳ ג א להא **אל תדמי בנפשך** אהודי תוהם אן אלאעדא יהגמון עליהא פי דאר אלסלטאן פיקתלונהא. הדא גיר מתגה וליכנה ירדעהא באן יקול ואנת איצ׳ לנפסך הל אכדת אמאנא הל תעלמין אנך תבקין פי דאר אלסלטאן אלי סנה֗ או ליס פי אלאמכאן אן יטרדך מן דארה. פתדכלין תחת אלכטר מת֗ל אלאמה֗ כלהא וקול׳ פאן תגאפלת **ואת ובית א׳ תא׳**. מא דנב אהל ביתהא פנקול אנה יע׳ נפסה כמא אנהא הי אן לם תנחץ פי אלאמה֗ תהלך כדאך הו איצ׳ אן לם יסלהא דלך יהלך והדא נטיר קול אלאבא לפרעה **נלכה נא דרך ש׳ ימים במד׳** אן לם נסלך דלך. ועטף **תאבדו**

§12. 5 **ללצנם** — ס: **לצנם** (ראה דקדוק §1226ו) // **נבוכד נצר** (השני) — ס: ליתא // 6 **לם** — במקום **לא** (ראה דקדוק §1205ג), שכך נכתב בכ״י ס // **פעלו** — ס: **פעל** // 7 **אליהודיה֗** — ס: מטושטשת הה״א ושמא יש לקרוא מאידך ״**אליהודים**״ // 12 **כתיר** — ב1: או שמא יש לקרוא **כתיר[ין]** // 13 **במד׳** — א֗3: נוסף **ונזבחה** (שמא נוסף גם **ליי״**, אך הטקסט מטושטש כאן [בסוף השורה])

5 **ש֗ושן ... גירהם֗.** — כך ס // **אלתאני** — ס: **אלב׳** // **לאנהום** — במקום **לאנהם** (ראה דקדוק §50י), כמו בכ״י ס // **נבו֗כד נצר ... נצבה֗** — כך ס (אך שנכתב **נבוכדנצר** כמילה אחת) // 6 **ימ֗תנע בינא֗** — כך ס // **אלתלת** — במקום **אלתלאתה֗** (ראה דקדוק §9ב; 234א); ס: **אלג׳** // **איצא** — ס: **איצ׳** // **֗לאן כלהם֗** — כך ס // **דאלך** — ס: **דלך** // 7 **֗ועלי אנהם֗** — כך ס // **מותהדדין** — במקום **מתהדדין** (ראה דקדוק §8כ), כמו בכ״י ס // **עלי** — כאן נסתיים כ״י ס // [...] — ס: מטושטשות כאן כשלוש מילים // 8 **אלדי** — במקום **אלדין** (כמו במשפט הבא; ראה דקדוק §361אc) // **בבבל** — ב1: תוקנה הבי״ת השלישית מן למ״ד // **ולא כני** — כל׳, ול(א)כני // 9 **סבבהום ... ותזויגהום מנהום ... אנהום** — במקום **סבבהם ... ותזויגהם מנהם ... אנהם** (ראה דקדוק §50י) // 11 **אידיהום** — במקום **אידיהם** (ראה שם) // 12 **כתיר** — כאן נסתיים כ״י ב1

§12. 1 **מסלה֗** — במקום **מסאלה֗** (= مَسْأَلَة; ראה דקדוק §11ג) // 2 **י׳** — א֗3: לאחר ממילה זו נכתב **אשיא** ונמחק בקו עבה לאורכו // 3 [...] — א֗3: נאבדו כאן בשל קריעה למן שלוש עשרה ועד שש עשרה שורות וחצי (135–165 מילים בערך) // 4 **/ס״ז/** — כך לפי ההקשר (ראה ההע׳ לכאן בתרגומנו האנגלי); א֗3: מ׳(!) // 5 **אלי** — מכאן ג, צד א // **/ס״ז/** — כך לפי ההקשר (ראה לשו׳ 4 לעיל); א֗3 ג: מ׳(!) // 6 **יך** — במקום **יכן** (ראה דקדוק §102בa) // **מרדכי** — ג: [**מר**]**ד**[׳] // 7 **/ס״ז/** — כך לפי ההקשר (ראה לשו׳ 4 לעיל); א֗3 ג: מ׳(!) // **תכון** — ג: **תך** (ראה דקדוק §102בa) // **מרדכי** — ג: **מרד׳** // 8 **פיכון** — ג: **פיך** (ראה דקדוק §102בa) // **ד״י ה״י י״ן** — ג: **י״ד וט״ן י״ן** // **אלנטאם.** — כאן נסתיים כ״י ג // 9 **וליכנה** — במקום **ל(א)כנה** (ראה מ֗ילון, עמ׳ 639א) // 10 **איצ׳** — כל׳, **איצא** // 12 **הי** — ג: נכתבה המילה מעל לשורה // **איצ׳** — כל׳, **איצא** // **יסלהא** — במקום **יסאלהא** (ראה רייט, א, §140) // 13 **נלכה** — מכאן כ״י א֗3, 1א // **ש׳ ... במד׳** — א֗3: **של[ש]ת י[מ]ים במדבר** // **נסלך** — במקום **נסאלך** (ראה רייט, א, §140) // **ועטף** — א֗3: **ועטפה בקול**

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להום אומה תחבהום פתנתצר להום בטלא /אן/ תדום /אלמלך/ עלי אבאדתהום. וקאל **ואת דתי המלך אינם עושים**
יגריה בהם אנהום לא יקבלון מא יאמרהום בה אלמלך ולו סאלה עז אקאמה אלבינה עלי מא קאל לאקאמה וגעל
דלילה מרדבי וגירה /כפעל/ גיר מא בינה ובינה לא כן כעמל /פי/ אלסבת ואכל אלכמיר ואלפטר פי אלצום ומא שאכל
ב1 5א דאלך. וזידתה **ולמלך אין שווה להניחם** ליצלה בלחאדתה אלדי כאן תקדמת | מן טרד מן חצרתה אד לם תמתל מא
אמרהא בה ועלי אנהא מלכה וכיף רעיה בל דמה בל אכסא בל כל אלנאס יעאדיהם. ומעני וי[ר] **המלך את טבעתו**
ליכון אדא כתב במא יריד יכתמה בה ועגלתה בקולה **הכסף נתון לך** ליעגבנא ממן אכתר מן אלבדל עשרה אלאף
בדר ורק או מן אלראדהא ועגלתה בקולה **והעם לעשות** /בו/ **כטוב בעיניך** תקה מנא בהמן אנוה לא יעטיה עשוה
אד לם יכון גרב עלי קבלהא תם נקול אדא כאן אלקתל אנמא [... פי אלאתני]עשר שהר פמא אלסבב פי בעתה
ללכתוב מע אלפיוג פאדכר /בקולה/ **להיות עתידים** /ליסתעתד/ אלאעדא /ולידבל אלקום וימותון במר/.

11. ההקדמה לפרק ד
(כ״י ב1 5א–ב; בהשוואה ל־ס 3ב)

ב1 5א אול מא ינבגי אן נפחץ ענה מן תחת הדה אלפואסיק במא אסתחק אהל דאלך אלגיל אן יפגעו דאך אלאפגאע אלעטים
ב1 5ב ועלי אנוה לם יתם פאקול אנוה | קד י[כון] אלסבב פי דלך אחד אמרין אלאול אנהם אכלו מן טעאם אחשורוש
ושרבו מן שראבה. והדא מא לא יסתקים מן וגהין אחדהומא אן אלכתאב יד[ל] עלי אנה לם יכרה אחד עלי טעאם
ולא שראב לקולה **לעשות כרצון איש ואיש**. ואלתאני עלי אלמתאבעה א[נה] לו כאן כדאך לכאנת אלעקובה אנמא

60 **להום** — ס: ליתא // **בטלא** — ס: **בטאילה** // 61 **לאקאמה** — שמא טעות במקום **לאקאמהא**, שכך נכתב בכ״י ס, אך ראה דקדוק §193 // 62 **גיר** — ס: ליתא (שמא נשמט בט״ס) // **ואלפטר** — ס: **ופטיר** // 62–63 **שאכל דאלך** — ס: **אשבה** // 63 **כאן** — ס: **כאנת** (ראה דקדוק §287) // 65 **אלבדל** — ס: **אלבאדל** // 68 **ללכתוב** — ס: **אלכתב** (אולם לפני מילה זו השורה מטושטשת ושמא יש לקרוא ״**לאלכתב**״)

§11. 1 **מן** — ס: **ממא** // **במא** — ס: **במאדא** // **דאך** — ס: **בהדא** // 4 **ולא** — ס: **או** // **לקולה** — ס: **בק׳** // **אלמתאבעה א[נה]** — ס: **מתאבעה אלאמר**

60 **להום** (הראשון) — במקום **להם** (ראה דקדוק §50י) // **אומה** — במקום **אמה** (ראה דקדוק §8ga), כמו בכ״י ס // **תחבהום** — במקום **תחבהם** (ראה דקדוק §50י), כמו בכ״י ס // **להום** (השני) — במקום **להם** (ראה דקדוק §50י), כמו בכ״י ס // **/אן/** — כך ס; ב1: **או**(!) // **תדום** — במקום **תדם** (כל׳, תַּדֹּם; ראה דקדוק §8ga), כמו בכ״י ס // **/אלמלך/** — כך ס; ב1: **אלמלוך**(!) // **אבאדתהום** — במקום **אבאדתהם** (ראה דקדוק §50י), כמו בכ״י ס // **וקאל** — ס: **וק׳** // **עושים** — ס: **עשים** // 61 **אנהום** — במקום **אנהם** (ראה דקדוק §50י), כמו בכ״י ס // **יאמרהום** — במקום **יאמרהם** (ראה שם), כמו בכ״י ס // 62 **/כפעל/** — כך ס; ב1: **בפעל**(!) // **לא כן** — כל׳, **לכן**, שכך נכתב בכ״י ס // **/פי/** — כך ס; ב1: נשמט בטעות // 63 **וזידתה** — כך במקום **וזיאדתה** (ראה דקדוק §9א), כמו בכ״י ס // **להניחם** — ס: **להניי** // **בלחאדתה** — במקום **באלחאדתה** (ראה דקדוק §36), כמו בכ״י ס // **אלדי** — במקום **אלתי** (ראה דקדוק §361aא) // **כאן** — במקום **כאנת** (ראה דקדוק §287), כמו בכ״י ס // 63–64 **מן טרד ... וכיף** — כך ס א׳3 // 64 **בל דמה ... וי[ר]** — כך ס // 64–65 **טבעתו ... יכתמה** — כך ס // 65 **בקולה** — ס: **בק׳** // **נתון ... אכתר** — כך ס // **עשרה** — ס: **י׳** // 66 **בדר ... ועגלתה** — כך ס // **בקולה** — ס: **בקו׳** // **/בו/** — כך ס; ב1: נשמט בטעות // **כטוב** — ס: **כט׳** // **בעיניך** ... **בהמן** — כך ס // **תקה** — כל׳, תִּקֵּהּ, אך קריאת מילה זו אינה מוחלטת // **אנוה** — במקום **אנה** (= אֹנֵהּ; ראה הערתנו על אותה הצורה בשו׳ 56 לעיל), כמו בכ״י ס // 67 **יכון** — במקום **יכן** (ראה דקדוק §175) // **גרב עלי** — כך ס // **קבלהא** — מכאן כ״י ס, דף 3ב // [... — ס: מטושטשות כאן מילה אחת או שתיים // 68 **ללכתוב** — במקום **ללכתב** (ראה דקדוק §8כ) // **מע ... פאדכר** — כך ס // **/בקולה/** — כך ס; ב1: **כקולה**(!) // **/ליסתעתד/** — ב1: **ליס תעתד**(!) // **אלאעדא** — כך ס // **/ולידבל ... במר/** — כך ס; ב1: ו[ל]**ידכל אלקול** [תוקן, כנראה, מן ״אלקום״!] **וימתון כמותה** (!)

§11. 1 **אול** — מכאן נמשך גם כ״י ס (דף 3ב) // **דאלך** — ס: **דלך** // 2 **ועלי** — כך ס // **אנוה ... אנוה** — במקום **אנה ... אנה** (כנראה בשל גם התאחדות אֹנֵהּ ו־אֹנֹ [ראה דקדוק §342] וגם מבטא הכינוי כ־״oh/uh״ [ראה שם, §50ה]), כמו בכ״י ס // **י[כון]** — ס: היו״ד משובשת וההשלמה אינה מוחלטת // **קד ... אחשורוש** — כך ס, אך שנקצר המילה האחרונה: **אחש׳** // 3 **מן ... אחדהומא** — כך לפי ס // **אחדהומא** — במקום **אחדהמא** (השווה דקדוק §50י), כמו בכ״י ס // **יד[ל]** —— ב1: שתי האותיות הראשונות מטושטשות וקריאתן אינה מוחלטת // **עלי ... אחד** — כך ס // 4 **לעשות ... ואיש** — כך ס // **ואלתאני** — ס: **ואלב׳** // **לו כאן כדאך** — כך ס

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באלקסמה אלי ברג אלחות/ וסימא אן אלחות ⸢כאן מן טאלע תלך⸣ אלסנה אלבורג אלאתניעשר אלדי הו ענדהום ⸢בית אלא[עדא]⸣ ולעל אן תכון אלשמס כאנת להא /שהאדה⸣ א⸢ו שהאדה⸣ פי אלתוראן ואלטואלע או פי גמיע מא יכון אדא חלת בברג אלחות אוגבת עלי זעמהום הלאך הדה אלאומה. פעלי מא /וגדנא/ מן אחד הדה אלארבע מנאחס או אגתמאעהא כולהא ותעאצדהא אעתמד המן ועול וכאן אללה עז וגל אלרחים אלראוף פוק דאלך קלב מקאדירה וגיר /אכתיאראתוה/ כקולה **לוכד חכמים בערמם**. פחול אלקראן אלדי תוהמהא מהלכה להם ואהלכה הו בהא ואלשהר אלדי קדר אנה ליס להום גות כמא קבל לם יכון געל אללה להום פיה גותא ונצרא בהלאכה הו ואלבורג אלציר עכסה אלמציר אליה ואלאכר אלמפניה צירהא תפניה הו. וכאן אלערץ /אלדרי/ מן ענד אללה חתי תסבב בה להמן אכתיאר שהר בעיד מן וקת אתניעשר שהרא | [פלם] ⸢יכן קריבא פיקתל בעץ אלאמה פימא בין זמאן אלאמר [בקתלהם] עלי ב1 4ב זמאן אלאמר בקתל אעדאיהם והם לא יעלמון ב⸢קולה פי בעצהום **והמה לא ידעו מחשבות ייי ולא**⸣ **הבינו עצתו**. וקולה **ישנו**. הו מ⸢קאם [יש] קד פכם בנון וו⸣או. ולם יגז יפכם בואו וחדה מתל ⸢**בנו בעד[י]**⸣ **בנו צפור**. לאן הדה אללפטה לא תכון **ישו** וא⸢נמא תכון **ישנו**⸣ ואתסע המן פי אלסעאיה באלקום תוטיה ות⸢סהיל לתמאם⸣ אלאמר עליהם. פקאל **מפוזר** לילא י⸢תוהם אנהם מגתמעין⸣ פיתעצבון עלי אלמלך. פיכרגון ויטלבון ⸢מלכה. וקאל **ומפורד**⸣ לילא /יטן/ אנוה סיכרג עליה מדנא וקראיא ⸢פי ד[לך] אלבלד⸣ וזיאדתוה **בין העמים** יערפה אנהם פי אלאמם ⸢יכ[רק]⸣ון מן אגל סבותהום ואעיאדהום וסאיר מא לא יחל להם. וקולה **בכל מדינות מלכותך** תקדמה למא סיסומה אנפאד כתב פיהם אלי כל בלד לילא יקדר אן אנפאד אלא בלד ואחד יכפיה. וקאל **ודתיהם שנות מכל עם** ליצע פי נפס אלמלך אד ליס

46 **גמיע** — ס: **אלגמיע** // 47 **הדה** — ס: ליתא // 48 **עז וגל** — ס: ליתא // 49 **בערמם** — ס: נוסף **ועצת נפתלים** נמ׳ // **פחול** — ס: **פאחול** או **פאחור** (מטושטשת האות האחרונה) // **אלקראן** — ס: **אלאקראן** // 50 **קבל** — ס: ליתא // **אלציר** — ס: **אלצ׳יר** // 51 **/אלדרי/** — או שמא יש לגרוס **אלדר(י)ין** (= ״שני כוכבי־הלכת״) או **אלדראר** (״כוכבי־הלכת״) (ראה מילון, עמ׳ 208ב, וליין ג׳, עמ׳ 864ב) // 54 **ולם יגז** — ס: **ולא יגוז** // 52 [**פלם**] — או שמא [**לילא**] // 56 **פיתעצבון** — ס: **פיעתצבון** // **פיכרגון** — ס: **ויכרגון** // ⸢**מלכה ... ומפורד**⸣ — כך ס // 57 **מדנא** — ס: **מדאינא** // **פי** (השני) — ס: נוסף **כל** // 58 **תקדמה** — ס: **תקדימה** // 59 **אנפאד** — ס: **אנפאדהא** // **אד** — ס: **אן**

44–45 **/וסימא ... אלחות/** — כך ס; ב1: נשמט בשל הומויוארקטון // 45 ⸢**כאן ... תלך**⸣ — כך ס // **אלבורג** — במקום **אלברג** (ראה דקדוק § 8כ), כמו בכ״י ס // **אלאתניעשר** — ס: **אלי״ב** // **ענדהום** — במקום **ענדהם** (ראה דקדוק § 50י), כמו בכ״י ס // 45–46 ⸢**בית אלא[עדא]**⸣ — כך ס (וראה גם ההע׳ לכאן בתרגומנו האנגלי) // 46 **/שהאדה⸣/** — כך ס; ב1: **שאהדה⸣(!)** // **א⸢ו שהאדה⸣** — כך ס // 47 **בברג** — ס: **בברוג(!)** // **זעמהום** — במקום **זעמהם** (כל׳, زَعْمِهِم; ראה דקדוק § 50י), כמו בכ״י ס // **אלאומה** — במקום **אלאומה** (ראה דקדוק § 8גa), כמו בכ״י ס // **/וגדנא/** — כך ס; ב1: **וגהנא(!)** // **אלארבע** — ס: **אלד׳** // 48 **אגתמאעהא** — ב1: תוקנה האלף הסופית מן מ״ם // **כולהא** — במקום **כלהא** (ראה דקדוק § 8גa), כמו בכ״י ס // **אלראוף** — במקום **אלרווף** (כל׳, الرَّؤُوف; ראה דקדוק § 11הa), שכך נכתב בכ״י ס // **דאלך** — ס: **דלך** // 49 **/אכתיאראתוה/** — במקום **אכתיארתוה** (ראה דקדוק § 216); ב1: **אכתיארתוה(!)** // **כקולה** — ס: **כק׳** // 50 **ליס** — מכאן כ״י ס, דף 3א // **להום** — במקום **להם** (ראה דקדוק § 50י), כמו בכ״י ס // **קבל** — במקום **קבלא** (ראה שם, § 218) // **יכון** — במקום **יכן** (ראה שם, § 175); ס: **יך** (ראה שם, § 102בa) // **להום** — במקום **להם** (ראה דקדוק § 50י) // **ואלבורג אלציר** — במקום **וברג אלצ׳יר** (ראה דקדוק § 8כ; 1226ו) — אם אינו טעות במקום **ואלברג אלצ׳יר**, שכך נכתב בכ״י ס // 51 **תפניה** — כל׳, تَفَنِّيهِ (< تَفَنِّيهِ; ראה פיאמנטה, ב, עמ׳ 380ב ודקדוק § 9א) // **תפניה הו** — ב1: מעל לאותיותיהן האחרונות של המילים יש נקודות, אך הוראתן אינן ברורה לנו // **/אלדרי/** — ב1: **אלרי(!)** (או שמא **אלדי[!]**) (ראה קוריאנטה, עמ׳ 176, בערך ״DRR״, סוף), ועוד ייתכן לגרוס (כ״י ס מטושטש כאן) **אלדר(י)ין** או **אלדראר** (ראה האפראט הראשון לכאן) // 52–53 ⸢**יכן קריבא ... ב⸢קולה**⸣ — כך ס (אך במקום ״**בקולה**״: **בק׳**) // 53 **בעצהום** — במקום **בעצהם** (ראה דקדוק § 50י) // ⸢**והמה ... ולא**⸣ — כך ס // 54 **וקולה** — ס: **וק׳** // **מ⸢קאם ... וו⸣או** — כך ס // **פכם** — ס: מנוקדת הכ״ף ברפה (לציין האות ך) // **יפכם** — ס: מנוקדת הכ״ף ברפה (לציין האות ך) // **בואו** — ס: **בוו** // ⸢**בנו בעד[י]**⸣ — כך ס // **אללפטה** (ראה דקדוק § 21ב) // 55 **וא⸢נמא ... ישנו**⸣ — כך ס // **ואתסע** — ס: **ואתסע** (כנראה טעות, אך ראה דקדוק § 8ט) // **ות⸢סהיל לתמאם**⸣ — כך ס // 56 **י⸢תוהם ... מגתמעין**⸣ — כך ס // **/יטן/** — כך ס; ב1: **נטן(!)** // **אנוה** — במקום **אנה** (= أَنَّهُ; כנראה בשל גם התאחדות أَنَّ ו־أَنْ [ראה דקדוק § 342] וגם מבטא הכינוי כ־״oh/uh״ [ראה שם, § 50ה]), כמו בכ״י ס // 57 **וקראיא** — על צורה זו (במקום ״**וקריא**״) ראה מילון, עמ׳ 543א; ס: **קראא(?!)** // ⸢**פי ... אלבלד**⸣ — כך ס // **וזיאדתוה** — במקום **וזיאדתה** (ראה דקדוק § 50ה), כמו בכ״י ס // ⸢**יכ[רק]**⸣**ון** — כך ס, אולם הקריאה/ההשלמה מפוקפקת (אך על שימוש השורש خرق כאן ראה מילון, עמ׳ 176א) // 57–58 **סבותהום ואעיאדהום** — במקום **סבותהם ואעיאדהם** (ראה דקדוק § 50י), כמו בכ״י ס // 58 **יחל** — ב1: כנראה תוקנה המילה // **וקולה** — ס: **וק׳** // **מדינות** — ס: כנראה נשמט בטעות, אך מטושטש כאן הטקסט (בסוף השורה) ושמא נכתבה המילה בקיצור (כג׳, [מ׳]) // 59 **אנפאד** — ב1 (ו־أَ): לאחר מילה זו נכפלו המילים ״**כתב פיהם**״ ובכ״י ב1 נמחקו ע״י נקודות מעל לשורה // **שנות** — ס (ו־أَ): **שונות** // **אד** — על אסינדיזה זו ראה דקדוק § 334 — אם אינו טס במקום ״**אן**״, שכך נכתב בכ״י ס

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שלמה כק׳ **אז יקהל שלמה את זקני ישראל. ויקהלו אל המלך שלמה. הוא החד ש השביעי.** ופי מרחשואן כאן /תמאם/ בנא אלבית כקולה **ובשנה האחת עשרה.** ופי כסליו וטבת טׇפרו בסיחון ועוג מלכי האמרי כמא וצף אן משה אעאד עליהום מן עיון אלשראיע פי שהר שבט ודׇאלך בעד צׇפרו בהדׇין אלמלכין /כק׳/ **ויהי בארבעים שנה בעשתי עשר חדש באחד לחדש. אחרי הכתו את סיחון מלך האמורי.** ופי הדׇא אלשהר בעינה אעני שבט תגדדת אמתהום
ב1 3ב /באעאדה/ שראיעהא כקולה להם משה | [**היום הזה**] ⸢**נהיית לעם ל**⸣[י]**יי אלהיך.** פצ⸢אר מראד⸣ [...]לכלמאת יקול אלאן המן עלי הדׇא [...] ⸢באל⸣אמכאן פלם יבק להם שהר לם יכון להום ⸢פיה פתח א[ו]⸣ נצר אלא אדר וסימא אן מוסי בן עמרם אלר[סו]ל אליהום תופי פי שהר אדר. ועלי מא בי⸢נת⸣ אן ופאתה כאנת פי אליום אלסאדס מנה לאן אלקום ⸢א[ק]אמו⸣ פי צחרא בלד מאב תׇלאתין יומא יבכון עלי⸢ה⸣ [בקולה] **ויבכו בני ישראל את משה בערבות מואב ש[לשים]** ⸢יום⸣. תׇם עברו אלירדן בעד תׇלת איאם בקולה לה[ם] ⸢יהושע⸣ **כי בעוד שלשת ימים.** ועברו פי /עשרה/ מ⸢ן ניסן כ⸣קולה **והעם עלו מן הירדן בעשור לחדש הראשון** פאידׇא עכסת תׇלאתׇה ותׇלאתין יומא אלי ורא אנתהת אלי סבעה מן אדר. ואמא תפאול מן יי נפסוה ארפע טבקה מן גׇמיע מן דׇכרנאה והם אלאסתאדון מן אלמנגׇמין פאנהום כמא ינטׇרו לאבתדי אלאעמאל. ואלאול אלמואליד ואלתחאויל אלסנין אעני דׇכול אלשמס. אול דקיקה מן /אלחמל/ ללאלם ורגׇועהא אלי אלדקיקה אלתי כאנת פיהא /פי/ וקת אלמולד ללמולוד. כדׇאך ינטׇרון לאגׇתמאע אלכוכביין אלעלויין אעני
40 זחל ואלמושתרי פי אלממר פי כל קריב מן עשרין סנה ופי אנתקאלהמא מן מתׇלתׇה אלי מתׇלתׇה אעני /מן/ אלברוג
ב1 4א /אלנאריה/ אלי אלארצ⸢ייה⸣ | ⸢ומנהא [אלי] אלהואיה ומנהא אלי אלמאיה פי רל״ח סנה ופי אלאחדיין בעד רנ״ח⸣ סנה ⸢ומא בעד דׇלך. פימכן איצ׳ אן יכון המן על⸢י הדׇא אלנטׇר. נטׇר ⸢פאכתאר ברג אלחות⸣ לאן אנתקאל אלמתקדם כאן אלי מ⸢תׇלתׇה אלברוג אלמאיה⸣ ולאן אלקראן אלדי פי דׇאלך אלוקת כאן פ⸢י ברג אלחו⸣ת ⸢ויזיד ד⸣ׇאלך אנא אדׇא חסבנא אלחסאב מן מואצ׳יע אלכואכב ⸢פי הדׇא א⸣ל⸢וקת⸣ ראגׇעה קהקרא וגׇדנא כדׇאך /וסימא אן תלך אלסנה אנתהת

27 שלמה. — ס: ש׳ כל איש יש׳ בירח האיתנים בחג // 28 עשרה — ס: נוסף בי⸢ר[ח בול] הו(!) החדש השמיני כלה הבית // 30 מלך האמורי — ס: ליתא // 31 /באעאדה/ — ס: שמא יש לקרוא **באתאדת**(!) (במקום ״**באתׇארת**״; ראה מ⸢ילון⸣, עמ׳ 77ב, והאפראט השני לכאן) // 32 **להום** — ס: ליתא // 33 **אן** — ס: ליתא // 35 **ימים** — ס: נוסף **אתם עברי[ם א]ת הירדן** // 37 **אלמנגׇמין** — ס: **אלמנגׇמון** (ראה דקדוק §127ג) // **כמא** — ס: ליתא // 38 **ואלאול** — ס: **ולאול** // **ואלתחאויל** — ס: **ולתחאויל** // **אעני** — ס: ליתא // 39 **אלמולד** — ס: **אלמילאד** // 42 **אנתקאל** — ס: **אלאנתקאל** (ראה דקדוק §229) // 43 **אלקראן** — ס: **אלאקראן** // **אלדי** — ס: **אלתי** (ראה דקדוק §361גa) // 44 **וגׇדנא** — ס: **וגדנאה**

27 **ישראל** — ס: **יש׳** // **אל ... שלמה** — ס: **את**(!) **המ׳ ש׳** // 28 **/תמאם/** — כך ס; ב1: נשמט, כנראה, בטעות // **כקולה** — ס: [**כ**]**ק׳** // **בסיחון** — ס: **בסיחן** // 29 **עליהום** — במקום **עליהם** (ראה דקדוק §50י) // **ותׇאלך** — ס: **ותׇלך** // **צׇפרו** — במקום **טׇפרו** (ראה דקדוק §21ב) // **צׇפרו בהדׇין** — ס: **טׇפרה במדין** (!) // **/כק׳/** — כך ס; ב1: **בקולה**(!) // 30 **באחד** — ס: משובשת המילה ונכתבה שנית מעל לשורה // **סיחון** — ס: **סיחן** // **אמתהום** — במקום **אמתהם** (ראה דקדוק §50י), כמו בכ״י ס // 31 **/באעאדה/** — ב1: **באעאהדה**(!); ס: **באמאדת**(!) — או שמא **באתאדת**(!) (ויש לקרוא ״**באתׇארת**״? [ראה מ⸢ילון⸣, עמ׳ 77ב]) // **כקולה** — ס: **כק׳** // ⸢**נהיית ... ל**⸣[**י**]**יי** — כך ס // **פצ⸢אר מראד⸣** — כך ס // [...]**לכלמאת** — ב1: נאבדו כאן (מפאת קריעה) למן שלוש ועד חמש מילים ס: מכאן דף 2ב // 32 [...] — ב1: נאבדו כאן מילה אחת או שתיים // ⸢**באל**⸣**אמכאן** — כך ס // **יכון** — במקום **יכן** (ראה דקדוק §175); ס: **יך** (ראה שם, §102בa) // **להום** — במקום **להם** (ראה שם §50י) // ⸢**פיה ... א**[**ו**]⸣ — כך ס // 33 **אליהום** — במקום **אליהם** (ראה דקדוק §50י), כמו בכ״י ס // **בי⸢נת⸣** — כך לפי ס: **בינת** (ראה שם §30ב) // **אליום אלסאדס** — ס: **אלוׇ יום** (!) // 34 ⸢**א**[**ק**]**אמו**⸣ — כך ס // **צחרא** — ב1: תוקנה האל״ף מאות אחרת // **תׇלאתׇין** — ס: **לׇ** // **עלי⸢ה**⸣ — כך ס // **[בקולה]** — ס: **בק׳** // **ישראל ... ש**[**לשים**] — ס: **יש׳ א׳ מש׳ בע׳ מוא׳ לׇ** // 35 ⸢**יום**⸣ — כך ס // **תׇלתׇ** — ס: **גׇ** // **כקולה** — ס: **כק׳** // ⸢**יהושע**⸣ — כך ס // **/עשרה/** — ס: **י׳**; ב1: **סבעה**(!) // מ⸢ן ... כ⸣**קולה** — כך לפי ס: **מן ניסן כק׳** // 36 **פאידׇא** — במקום **פאדׇא** (ראה דקדוק §8י), כמו בכ״י ס // **תׇלאתׇה ותׇלאתׇין** — ס: **גׇל** // **סבעה** — ס: **ז׳** // 37 **נפסוה** — במקום **נפסה** (ראה דקדוק §50ה), כמו בכ״י ס // **אלאסתאדון** — על צורת הריבוי הזאת (לעומת ״**אלאסאתדׇה**״) ראה פיאמנטה, א, עמ׳ 8א // **פאנהום** — במקום **פאנהם** (ראה דקדוק §50י), כמו בכ״י ס // **ינטׇרו** — במקום **ינטׇרון** (ראה שם §175), כמו בכ״י ס // 38 **ואלאול** — במקום **ואול** (ראה שם §1226, והאפראט הראשון) // **ואלתחאויל** — במקום **ותחאויל** (ראה שם) // **/אלחמל/** — כך ס; ב1: **אלדומל**(!) // 39 **/פי/** — כך ס; ב1: **ופי**(!) // **אלכוכביין אלעלויין** — כל׳, الْكَوْكَبِيِّ الْعُلْوِيِّ (ראה דקדוק §131ו) // 40 **ואלמושתרי** — במקום **ואלמשתרי** (ראה דקדוק §38כ), כמו בכ״י ס // **עשרין** — ס: **כׇ** // **/מן/** — ס; ב1: נשמט, כנראה, בט״ס // 41 **/אלנאריה/** — כך ס; ב1: **אלנהאריה**(!) // **אלארצ⸢ייה⸣** — ס: **אלארצׇיה** // ⸢**ומנהא [אלי] ... רנ״ח**⸣ — כך ס // 42 **איצ׳** — ר״ל, **אישׇא** // ⸢**ומא בעד ... על⸣**׳**י** — כך ס // ⸢**פאכתאר ... אלחות**⸣ — כך ס // **אנתקאל** — במקום **אלאנתקאל** (ראה דקדוק §229), כמו בכ״י ס // 43 מ⸢תׇלתׇה ... אלמאיה⸣ — כך ס // **פ⸢י ברג אלחו⸣ת** — כך ס // ⸢**ויזיד ד**⸣ׇ**אלך** — כך לפי ס: **ויזיד דׇלך** // 44 ⸢**פי ... א**⸣ל⸢**וקת**⸣ — כך ס // **ראגׇעה** — במקום **ראגׇעה** (ראה דקדוק §218, סוף), כמו בכ״י ס

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אל אם הדרך בראש שני הדרכים וג׳. וקאל קבלה **וילכו זקני מואב וזקני מדין וקסמים בידם** וג׳. כדי פעל המן תפאאל בשהר אדר אלשמסי אן יפניהם פיה. וענד תפכרנא פי וגה תפאולה בהדא אלשהר נגד לדלך /וגוהא/ כתירה. אמא תפאול אלעאמה פאן אואכר אלאשיא ענדהם כלהא מנחוסה יסתתקלון בהא ולדלך תקאהם לא יבתדון באלאמור דואת אלעואקב לא פי אואכר אלשהור ולא פי אואכר אלסנין. פימכן אן יכון אגרא טמעה פי אהלאכהם פי אכר אלסנה. ואמא תפאול מן יקדר מן אלעאמה אנה ארפע טבקה פאנה יתאול לכל ברג מן אסמה וצורתה. פיתגה אן יכון תפאאל בברג אלחות אן יצטאדהם פי אלזמאן אלדי תחלה אלשמס כמא יצטאד | אלסמך. ודלך אן פי הדא אלברג א1 2ב כואכב תטהרן ללעין ״כאנהא״ סמכה והי מערופה וכואכב אכר כפיה כאנהא קצב״ה״ ופ״יהא״ כיט פי יד רגל קאים ליצטאד אלסמכה בהא. ואמא תפא״ול״ מן ראי נפסה אנה פוק דלך. פאנה יסתקרי חואדת פאי שהר או סנה או יום חדת עליה פיה מא יגמה אסתתקל״ה״ ואיהא חדת לה פיה מא יסרה אסתכפה. פיסתקים עלי הדא אלמוצע אן יכון המן תצפח שהור אלסנה פלם יגד שהרא מנהא אלא וקד עלם מן אכבאר בני אסראיל אן חאדתה גלילה שריפה חדת להם פיה ואכתרהא טפר בעדו מא כלא אדר. פאנה לם יגד להם פי כתבהם חאדתה סארה כאנת להם פיה בל וגד חאדתה עטימה גאמה גאיחה חדת עליהם פיה פאכתארה מן אגל דלך. ושרח מא קלנאה אנהם פי שהר ניסן נגאהם אללה מן יד פרעון ואגרקה וקומה פי בחר אלקולום. ופי אייר נצרהם עלי עמלק כמא קאל **ויחלש יהושע את עמלק** וג׳. ואלדליל עלי אן דלך כאן פי אייר לאנה קאל **וילחם עם ישראל ברפי׳**. ופי ראס סיון רחלו מן רפידים כמא קאל **בחדש השלישי לצאת בני יש׳** וג׳. **ויסעו מרפידים ויבאו מדבר סיני**. ופי סיון טפרו בזרח הכושי עלי עהד אסא כמא קאל פי אול אלקצה **ויצא אליהם זרח הכושי** וג׳ וקאל פי אכרהא **ויקבצו ירושלם בחדש השלישי לשנת חמש עשרה למלכות אסא. ויזבחו ליי ביום ההוא מן השלל הביאו**. ופי תמוז טפרו באדני צדק והוהם ופראם ויפיע ודביר אלה׳ מלוך עלי עהד יהושע כמא קאל **ויהי בנוסם מפני יש׳** וג׳. **אז ידבר יהושע** וג׳. וקאל פי אכר אלקצה **ויעמד השמש בחצי השמים**. ואנמא תכון אלשמס פי נצף אלסמא פי | הדא אלאקלים פי שהר תמוז. ופי אב ״טפרו״ במלך ערד עלי עהד משה ב1 3א כקולה **ויעל אהרן הכהן [אל הר הה]ר. וישמע הכנעני מלך ערד**. וקאל **וידר ישראל נדר ״ליי״**. ״וי״שמע יי בקול ישראל. ופי אלול טפרו במדין ועמלק ובני קדם עלי עהד גדעון. /כמא/ קאל /**ויחנו/ עליהם וישחיתו את יבול הארץ**. /פי/ וקת אגתאעת גלאת בלד אלשאם וקאל **וזבח וצלמנע בקרקר**. ופי תשרי כאן תגדיד מלכהום לדשן בית אלמקדס עלי עהד

5 וג׳ (הראשון) — ס: קלקל [כך נשמט לקסם קסם!] [ב]חצים שאל בת[ר]פים ראה בכבד // וג׳ — ס: ליתא // 17 כמא קאל — ס: כק׳ (= כקולה) // וג׳ — ס: ליתא // 18 כמא קאל — ס: כק׳ (= כקולה) // 19 וג׳ — ס: ליתא // כמא קאל — ס: כק׳ (= כקולה) // 20 וג׳ — ס: ליתא // וקאל — ס: וקו׳ // השלישי ... אסא — ב1: ליתא // 21 ויזבחו ...הביאו. — ס: ליתא // 22 כמא קאל — ס: כק׳ (= כקולה) // וג׳ (הראשון) — ב1: הם במורד בית חורון; ס: ליתא // יהושע — ס: נוסף ליי״ // וג׳ (השני) — ב1 ס: ליתא // וקאל — ס: וקו׳ // השמים — ב1: ליתא // 23 נצף — ס: וסט // 24 וקאל — ס: וקו׳ // 25 /כמא/ קאל — ס: כק׳ (= כקולה) // 26 וקאל — ס: וקו׳

5 אם — ס: אֵם // וקאל — ס: וק׳ // תפאאל — ייתכן לקרוא את מילה זו או כפועל (פַּעֲאֵל, הפותח עפ״כ משפט תמורה; ראה דקדוק §333) או כשם פועל (פַּעֲאֵל) (ראה מילון, עמ׳ 518ב), אך לדעתנו האפשרות הראשונה היא יותר מסתבר הואיל ולהלן צורת שם הפועל בכ״י זה (א1) היא ״תפאול״ וצורת הפועל היא ״תפאאל״; ס: תפאול // 6 /וגוהא/ — כך י2 (כ״י ס מטושטש כאן); א1: אמורא וגוהא (!) (יש להניח שהמילה ״אמורא״ — או שמא ״וגוהא״ — היתה פירוש שולי בכ״י קודם והוכנסה בתוך הטקסט ע״י כותב מאוחר ברגע אי־זהירות) // 7 תקאהם — ס (ו־י2): תראהם(!) // 8 אגרא — במקום אגרי (ראה דקדוק §10א) // 10 תפאאל — ס: תפאול (כמו לעיל) // אן — כאן בהוראת ״כדי ש־״ (ראה מילון, עמ׳ 21ב) // 11 תטהרן — במקום תטהר (השווה דקדוק §185ב) // ללעין — ס: לאלעין (ראה דקדוק §35) // כאנהא — כך ס (ו־י2) // אכר — כל׳, אַחֵר // קצב״ה״ ופ״יהא״ — כך י2 (מטושטש כאן כ״י ס) // 12 תפא״ול״ — כך ס // 13 אסתתקל״ה״ — כך י2 (מטושטש כאן כ״י ס); ס: מכאן דף 2א // 14 אלא — ס: נשמט בטעות — ושמא נכתבה המילה מעל לשורה (הטקסט כאן מטושטש מאוד) // 17 עמלק — ס: עמ׳ // 18 קאל (הראשון) — ט: קו׳(!) // ישראל ברפי׳ — ס: יש׳ ברפידים // 19 לצאת בני — ס: לצ׳ ב׳ // מדבר — ס: מד׳ // פי — מכאן כ״י ב1, דף 3א // 20 ירושלם — ב1: ירושלים (כך בהתאם ל״קרי״ של נה״מ); ס: ירוש׳ // 20–21 עשרה — ס: עש׳ // 21 אלה׳ — ב1: אלכמס (במקום אלכמסה; ראה דקדוק §234אa) // אלה׳ מלוך — במקום ה׳ אלמלוך (ראה דקדוק §243ב) // 22 יש׳ — ב1 ס: ישראל // יהושע — ב1: יהו[׳] // 23 ״טפרו״ — כך ס // 24 כקולה — ס: כק׳ // ישראל (הראשון) — ס: יש[׳] // ״ליי״. ״וי״שמע — כך ס // יי ... ישראל — ס: י״י בקו׳ יש׳ // 25 /כמא/ — ב1: כנראה, נשמט בטעות // /ויחנו/ — כך ס; ב1: ויחנן(!) // וישחיתו — ס: נשמט בטעות // /פי/ — כך ס; ב1: ופי(!) // 26 אגתאעת — ב1: צורת האל״ף השנית מוזרה (שמא תוקנה מן אות אחרת) // מלכהום — במקום מלכהם (ראה דקדוק §50י), כמו בכ״י ס

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מר זמאנהום. פעלי הדא אלמתאל יכון יגרי אמר המן. תם יוסל איצא והל פי הדה אלקצה מתעלק ילוח פיה באן אלסגוד אלא המן כ[א]ן עלי סביל אלעבאדה. פאגיב איצא ואקול אן קול אלכתא[ב] **לראות היעמדו דברי מרדכי** /ידל עלי אן אלסגוד כאן ליכרג מרדכי עז [דינה] לקולה **היעמדו דב' מרדכי כי** [הגיד] ל[**הם אשר הוא יהוד**]י/. ולו כאן
ב$_1$ 2ב תש[רי]פא או | [אכראמא פקט לא מעני לקול]ה **הוא יהודי** /כחאלה./ [וזיאדתה] [האהונא בקולה **כור**]**עים** קבל **משתחוים** ממא תו[יד דלך] [לאן פי אלמכתוב] נגד קט כריאה והשתחואה מגמועין [לאכראם פקט.] ועלי אנוה קד קאל **ויכרע על ברכיו לנגד אליהו** [לם] יצם אליה השתחואה. ויסאל איצא פי אלמוצ[ע] אלתקי[יה] ואלכוף עלי אלנפס כאן יפעל דאליך מרד' [עלי] אנוה חראם. פנגיב ונקול אן הדה אלתלת מ[עאצי] לא ינפע אלעבד תקייתוה מעהא לתכון לה עדרא ול[הדה] גא פי אלאתאר **אין לך דבר עמד לפני פקח נפש** [**אלא עב'**] **זרה וגלוי עריות ושפיכות דמים.** וענד תצפ[ח אל]מכתוב נגד אכבארוה תויד הדא אלאתר. אמא **עב**[וד]**ה זרה** פאן חנניה מישאל ועזריה קאלו /**והן**/ **לא** /**ידיע**/ **להוי לך מלכא.** ואמא **שפיכות דמים** פאן גנוד שאול בדלו נפוסהם דונהא כמא קאל **ויאמר המלך לרצים הנצבים עליו.** ואמא **גילוי עריות** פאנוה פי הדא /אלמעני/ ישאבה אלקתל כקולוה משה **כי כאשר יקום איש על רעיהו ורצחו נפש.** פאדא סיל פהל פי אלמכתוב איצא מא יתעלק בה אן אלכאפרין אדא קצדו בלמעציה מנפועהום לא אכראגנא ען דיננא לם ילזמנא בדל אנפוסנא לקתלהום קולנא הודא אברהם ויצחק למא תכופא אלקתל כתמא תזויגהום לעלמהום אן אלתעדי אן /יקע/. ליס אלקצד פיה אלאכראג ען אלדין לא כן אלאנתפאע פקט. פקאל אברהם **והרגוני על דבר אשתי.** וקאל יצחק **פן אמות עליה.** |

10. לפס' ג, ז–טו

(כ"י א$_1$ 2א–ב, ב$_1$ 3א–5א; בהשוואה ל־מ$_1$ ב, ס 1ב–3ב, أ$_2$ 1א–ב, أ$_3$ 1א–ב)

א$_1$ 2א פי קולה **מיום ליום ומחדש לחדש** אצמאר **ויפל על חדש שנים עשר** לאן כדי חק אלמכאטבה באלצרורה. ואדא הו קאל **ויפילו גורלות** יתבעה איצא **ויפל הגורל.** וקולה **והעיר שושן נבוכה** מכצץ יריד בה אליהוד אלדין פי שושן פקט. וממא ינטר פיה פי הדה אלמעאני. לם אלקי המן סהאמא פנקול עלי עאדה אלאמם אלכפאר אלדין יתפאלון באלנגום ובזגר אלטאיר וברמי אלסהאם ובאלנטר פי אלכבד ובאלנטר פי אלכתף ובמא אשבה דלך כמא קאל **כי עמד מלך בבל**

33 **פיה** — ה: ליתא // 34 **אלא המן** — ה: **להמן** // 37 **תויד** — ה: **יאיד** // 40 **אין ... דמים** — מובאה מן כתובות יט., שבנוסח המקובל (ר"ל, מה' ונציה) היא: **אין לך דבר שעומד בפני פיקוח נפש אלא עבודה זרה וגלוי עריות ושפיכות דמים**

§10. 2 **מכצץ** — ס: **מכצוץ**

33 **זמאנהום** — במקום **זמאנהם** (ראה דקדוק §50י) // **יוסל** — במקום **יסאל** (כל', יُسْأَل; ראה רייט, א, §140 ודקדוק §§78ד; a11ג) // 34 **אלא** — במקום **אלי** (ראה דקדוק §10א) // **כ[א]ן** — כך ה // **אלכתא[ב]** — כך ה // 34–35 **/ידל ... יהוד]י/** — כך ה; ב$_1$: נשמט בטעות, מן־הסתם בשל הומויוטלויטון במילה "**מרדכי**", שֶׁבה נספתיים הציטוט השני ("**היעמדו דב' מרדכי**") בכה"י שהעתיקו הסופר // 36 **תש[רי]פא** — כך ה, שֶׁבו נכתב גם הסימן ל"תנוין" (ً) מעל לפ"א // **/כחאלה./** — כך ה; ב$_1$: **ב[חאלה.]**(!) // **[וזיאדתה]** — כך ה // 37 **תויד** — במקום **תאיד** (ראה דקדוק §91 וההע' הבאה) // **תו[יד דלך]** — כך לפי ה (ראה האפראט הראשון), וכאן נסתיים כה"י // **אנוה** — במקום **אנוה** (ראה הערתנו על אותה הצורה בשו' 1 [על פס' ג, א] לעיל) // **אנוה** — במקום **אנוה** (ראה שם) // 39 **מ[עאצי]** — על השלמה זו השווה לעיל בפירושו של רס"ג לפס' ב, ח–יא // **תקייתוה** — במקום **תקיתה** (ראה דקדוק §§38; 31ב) // 41 **נגד** — במקום **נגד אן** (ראה דקדוק §334) // **אכבארוה** — במקום **אכבארה** (ראה דקדוק §38כ) // **תויד** — במקום **תאיד** (ראה דקדוק §91) // **/והן/** — כך נה"מ; ב$_1$: **והו**(!) // 42 **/ידיע/** — כך נה"מ; ב$_1$: **ודיע**(!) // 43 **פאנוה** — במקום **פאנה** (ראה הערתנו על אותה הצורה בשו' 1 [על פס' ג, א] לעיל) // **/אלמעני/** — ב$_1$: **אלמעאני**(!) // **כקולוה** — במקום **כקולה** (ראה דקדוק §50ה) // **רעיהו** — ב$_1$ נכתבה היו"ד מעל לשורה, מסתמא כאם הקריאה לתנועת צירה // 44 **סיל** — כל', سِيلَ (< سُئِلَ; ראה רייט, א, §140) // **מנפועהום** — במקום **מנפועהם** (ראה דקדוק §50י) // 45 **אנפוסנא** — במקום **אנפסנא** (ראה דקדוק §38כ) // **לקתלהום** — במקום **לקתלהם** (כל', لِقَتْلِهِم; ראה דקדוק §50י) // 46 **תזויגהום** — במקום **תזויגהם** (ראה דקדוק §50י) // **לעלמהום** — במקום **לעלמהם** (כל', لِعِلْمِهِم; ראה דקדוק §50י) // **/יקע/** — ב$_1$: **וקע**(!) // **לא כן** — כל', **לאכן**

§10. 1 **קולה** — ס: קו' // 3 **אלקי** — ס: **אלקא** (ראה דקדוק §10א) // **יתפאלון** — כל', يَتَفَاءَلُونَ; ס: **יתפאולון** (ראה מילון, עמ' 518ב) // 4 **כמא קאל** — ס: **כ"ק**

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15 אלאכבאר. כדאך ואן קולנא כאן תשריף המן פ֗י אלסנה֗ אלאתניעשריה֗ או אלאחידעשריה֗ יבעד אן יכון. פ[כיף
אקדר] פי סנה֗ בהב דאלך אלמלא אלגליל. תם נפחץ ען ג[יר מן] האדין אל[תב]עידין. ונקול יגוז מן עביד אלמלך אן
יחתארו מרדכי סנינא כתירה֗ לא ירפעון כברה כראמה֗ ללמלכה֗ לעלמהום במחלה מנהא. ויגוז איצא אן יוחמל אלי המן
פי סנה֗ /גלוסה/ ופימא אן כאנת לה נעמה֗ מתקדמה֗. פאי אלקולין קולנא בה כאן קולא צחיחא מסתקימא. וענד קולה
וכל עבדי המלך אשר בשער המלך ינ֗בגי֗ אן אקף וקפה֗ חתי אשרח אגובה֗ הדה אלמ[ס]איל. פאולהא אקול לם
20 אמתנע מרדכי מן אלסגוד להמן. והל הו כיר מן אלסלף אלדי כאן בעצהום י֗סגוד לבעץ פמנהום אלדני ללגליל כמא
יקול **ויבאו /אחי/ יוסף /וישתחוו/ לו אפים ארצה**. ויקול **וישת֗ח֗ו כושי ליואב**. ען אחימעץ **וישתחו למלך על אפיו**
ארצה. ען יואב **ויפל יואב על פניו ארצה**. ומא אשבה דאליך. ומנהום אלגליל ללגליל כמא יקול ען נתן | **֗הנביא ויבא֗** ב1 2א
[ל]**פני המלך ויש[תחו למלך על אפיו ארצה**. וע]ן אברהם וירץ **/לקראתם/**. ו֗ען יה֗[ושע **ויפל יהושע אל**] **פניו ארצה**
וישתחו. /יעני ללמלאך. [ומנה]ם א[לגלי]ל [ל]לדני כמא קאל **ויצא משה לקראת חתנו וישתחו**./ וקאל **וישתחו ֗ישראל**
25 **על ראש המטה֗**. יועני ליוסף. חתי אלמומן ללכאפר קד [סגד] ֗כמא קאל [ו]**יקם֗ אברהם וישתחו לעם הארץ לבני חת**.
[**וישתחו /אברהם/**] לפ֗**ני עם֗ הארץ**. וקאל ען יעקב **וישתחו /ארצה/ שבע פעמ**[י]**ם עד גש֗**. פלם לם ינחו הדא אלנחו
ויקתדי באלקודמא ואלאגילא. [פ]אגיב אן אלסגוד עלי צ֗רביין סגוד עבאדה֗ והו לא יכון [אל]א ללה כקולה **/השתחוו/**
ליי בהדרת קדש. **רוממו** [י]**י אלהינו והשתחוו**. וסגוד איכראם ואיגלאל והו אלדי [נרי] אן יצנעוה אלנאס בעץ לבעץ
עלי מא וצפת. פאדא כאן אלאמר כדא וכאן אברהם ויצחק ויעקב ומשה ונתן וסאיר מא וצפנא אנמא סגדו ללנאס עלי
30 סביל אלאכראם וכאן מרדכי אנמא לם יסגוד להמן לאן דאך כאן עלי סביל אלעבאדה֗. תם יוסל איצא והל כאן מן
עאדאת אלנאס אן ינצבו להום אנסאנא ויעבדוה. פנגיב באן נקול הדא אלכיר להום אנסאן /יסגדו לה ויעבד[ו]נה
ויסמונה/ כקאן ואן אקאמו אכר עלי מר זמאנהום. וקד קיל אן באלמגרב בלדא יעבד קומהא אבא עפיר ונסלה עלא

22 **על** — כך בהתאמה למקצת כה״י של נה״מ (וגם ת״י), אך ברובם (ובכ״י ו) נכתב ״**אל**״ // 23 **/לקראתם/** — ב1: **לקראתו** (מסתמא ט״ס בשל ציטוט מזיכרון) // 26 **שבע ... גש֗** — ה: **ומא אשבה דלך** // 27 **ויקתדי** — ה: **ואקתדי** // **באלקודמא ואלאגילא** — ה: **באלאגלא ואלקד[מא]**

15 **קולנא** — במקום **קלנא** (ראה דקדוק §8כ — ושם, §334, על חיסור מילת החיבור ״אן״) // **כאן** — במקום **אן כאן** (ראה דקדוק §334) // **פ֗י אלסנה֗** — כך ל // **אלאתניעשריה֗** — במקום **אלאתנעשריה֗** (על צורה זו [לעומת ״**אלתאניה֗ עשרה֗**״] ראה מילון, עמ׳ 76א), מן־הסתם מפאת ״אמאלה֗״ (ראה דקדוק §§24ב ו־8י); כאן נסתיים כ״י ל (דף 11ב) // **אלאחידעשריה֗** — כך במקום **אלאחדעשריה֗** (שהוא במקום **אלחאדיה֗ עשרה֗**; השווה בהע׳ הקודמת) // 16 **יגוז** — במקום **אן יגוז** (ראה דקדוק §334) // 17 **יחתארו** — המילה קצת מטושטשת וקריאתה אינה מוחלטת, אך בנוגע לשימוש זו של הבניין השמיני במובנו של הבניין השישי, או העשירי, ראה דקדוק §84 // **לעלמהום** — במקום **לעלמהם** (כל׳, لِعِلْمِهِم; ראה דקדוק §50י) // **יוחמל** — כל׳, يُحْمَلَ (ראה דקדוק §8ד) // 18 **/גלוסה/** — ב1: **גלוסהום**(!) // **אלקולין** — על חיסור מילת היחס ״**אלדי**״ כאן, ראה דקדוק §356 // **קולנא** — במקום **אן קלנא** (ראה דקדוק §§8כ; 334) // 19 **ינ֗בגי֗** — כך ו1 // 20 **בעצהום** — במקום **בעצהם** (ראה דקדוק §50י) // **י֗סגוד** — כך ו1; על כתיב זה בו״ו ראה דקדוק §8ה // **פמנהום** — במקום **פמנהם** (ראה דקדוק §50י) // 21 **/אחי/** — כך ו1 ונה״מ; ב1: **אחרי**(!) // **/וישתחוו/** — כך ו1 ונה״מ; ב1: **וישתחו**(!) // **וישת֗ח֗ו** — כך ו1 // 22 **ומנהום** — במקום **ומנהם** (ראה דקדוק §50י) // **֗הנביא ויבא֗** — כך ו1 // 23 **/לקראתם/** — כך ה (שבמילה זו מתחיל בו צד א) ונה״מ; ב1: **לקראתו** (מסתמא ט״ס בשל ציטוט מזיכרון) // ו֗ען יה֗[ושע — כך ה // 24 **/יעני ... וישתחו./** — כך ה; ב1: נשמט בשל הומויוטלויטון // 24–25 **֗ישראל ... המטה֗** — כך ה // 25 **יועני** — כל׳, يُعْنِى (בניין I > IV; ראה מילון, עמ׳ 464א, ודקדוק §8כ) // **אלמומן ... [סגד]** — ה: **אלמומנין ללכפאר קד סגדוא** (על סיום הפועל בא׳ ראה דקדוק §42) // ֗**כמא ... [ו]יקם֗** — כך ה // 26 **/אברהם/** — כך ת; ב1: כנראה נשמט (שמא דרך קיצור), משום שאין מקום לַמילה בחלק השורה הנקרע // **הארץ לבני ... עם** — ה: נשמט, מן־הסתם, בשל הומויוטלויטון // **לפ֗ני עם֗** — כך ט // **/ארצה/** — כך ה; ב1: נשמט (שמא דרך קיצור) // 27 **באלקודמא ואלאגילא** — במקום **באלקדמא ואלאגלא** (כל׳, بِالْقُدَمَاءِ والأَجِلَّاءِ; ראה דקדוק §§8גb; 8כ; 11אab) // **צ֗רביין** — כאן נקטע כ״י ה, צד א, ונמשך בצד ב במילים ״**ונסלה עלא מר זמאנהום**״ למטה // **/השתחוו/** — ב1: **והשתחוו** (מן־הסתם ט״ס עקב ציטוט מזיכרון) // 28 **איכראם ואיגלאל** — במקום **אכראם ואגלאל** (ראה דקדוק §8י) // 30 **יסגוד** — כל׳, يَسْجُدْ (ראה דקדוק §8ה) // **לאן** — ב1: תוקנה הלמ״ד מן כ״ף // **יוסל** — במקום **יסאל** (כל׳, يُسْأَل; ראה רייט, א, §140 ודקדוק §§8ד; 11גa) // 31 **להום ... להום** — במקום **להם ... להום** (ראה דקדוק §50י) // 31–32 **/יסגדו ... ויסמונה/** — כך ט; ב1: **יסמונה** (מן־הסתם, נשמט ״**יסגדו לה ויעבדונה** ו־״ בשל הומויוארקטון) // **ויעבד[ו]נה ויסמונה** — במקום **ויעבדוה ויסמוה** (ראה דקדוק §175) // 32 **לכאן** — מבטאה הגרוני של הכ״ף מצביע ע״י קו אופקי מעליה (על מובן המונח, שהוא פרסי, ראה ההע׳ לכאן בתרגומנו האנגלי) // **זמאנהום** — במקום **זמאנהם** (ראה דקדוק §50י) // **אבא עפיר** — ר״ל, אבו תראב, שהוא עלי בן אבי טאלב, חתנו של מוחמד (ראה עוד ההע׳ לכאן בתרגומנו האנגלי) // **ונסלה** — מכאן כ״י ה, צד ב // **עלא** — במקום **עלי** (ראה דקדוק §10א), כמו בכ״י ה (אף שהמילה מטושטשת וקריאתה אינה מוחלטת)

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9. לפס׳ ג, א–ד

(כ״י ב$_1$ 1א–2ב, ה א–ב, ז 60א–ב; בהשוואה ל־ל 11א–ב, מ$_1$ א, ס 1א, أ$_1$ א–ב, ت 14ב–15א)

ב$_1$ 1א; ז 60א

תצ׳דירה פי הדה אלקצה אחר הדברים האלה ליד׳כרנא ׳עא׳דתה | ׳אלמ׳ערו׳פה אנה יסבק באלדוא קבל אלדא כתס׳ביקה ׳אלחאג׳א׳ת קבל אלמחתאג׳ ׳אליהא וכמא כ׳ל׳ק אל׳נור׳ ואלגד׳א קבל אלאחיא כד׳אך ׳יעד אלמג׳ות׳ה קב׳ל ורו׳ד אלאפה. ואד׳כר מן ד׳לך אבעאצ׳א פמנהא אנה ג׳ל ג׳לאלה קבל יבעת׳ אלג׳וע עלי אלאבא קדם יוסף רחמה להם כמ׳ קאל ויקרא רעב על הארץ כל מטה לחם שבר. שלח לפ׳נ׳יהם איש לעבד נמכר יוסף. וקאל יוסף וישלחני ׳אל׳הים לפניכם לשום לכם שארית בארץ. וק׳ב׳ל אן תנהב אלעמאלקה צקלג ותנצרף ב׳סביהא ת׳כ׳לף אלרג׳ל אלמצרי לידל דוד עליהם פית׳כ׳לצהם כ׳מ׳ [קא]ל לה נער מצרי אנכי עבד לאי׳ש עמלקי׳ [ו]יעזבני ׳אד׳ני כי חליתי היום שלשה. וקבל אן

ז 60ב

ינקסם | ׳אלאסבאט פי איאם רחבעם וירבעם ולד יהוידע אלמצלח אמורהם כקולה [ויזק]ן יהוידע וישבע ימים וימת בן מאה ו׳של׳שים ש[נ]ה. פאד׳א אלתמסת אלחסאב אלי ור׳א וג׳דתה קד ולד ק[בל ופאה ש]ל[מה] בסת סנין. וקבל׳ אן ׳ידכ׳ל נבודכדנצר אלי בית אלמקדס׳ עלי עהד יהוי׳כי׳ן ׳ולד דר׳יוש ׳המדי אלמזיל מלכה׳ אלמ׳צל׳ח א׳מר׳ ישראל כמ׳ קאל ודריוש ׳/מדאה/ קבל׳ מלכותא כבר [שנין] ש׳ת׳ין ותרתין. ו[...]ע לנא פי אז[...] ליך אד׳א רדדנאה אלי ורא וג׳דנ[א]׳ה׳ באלגא אלי חית׳ וצפנא. וכד׳לך קבל א׳ן ישר׳ף המן וירפע מן קדרה אעד כתבה נצ׳יחה׳ מרדכי אלתי סתכון סבבא לכ׳לאץ מרדכי ואמ׳תה׳ ותבטילא לכיד המן. וקו׳ גדל המלך א׳חשורוש א׳ת המן בן המ׳ הא׳ וינשאהו. ותנאזעה ׳תבעידאן׳ אחדהמא אנא אן קלנא אן תע׳צ׳ים׳ המן ׳כאן בע׳קב דכ׳ול אסתר אלי אלמלך ו[מנאעה] מרדכי סוא יבעד

ב$_1$ 1ב

קולה ויהי כאמ׳ר׳ם אליו יום | [וי]׳ום אן׳ יכון כ׳מס סנין או ארבעה אד׳ ליס פי עאדה אלעואם א׳ן יצברו׳ ברפע

§9. 2 כתסביקה — أ$_1$: כתסבקה // 6 פיתכ׳לצהם — أ$_1$: יסתכ׳לצהם // כמ׳ [קא]ל — ב$_1$: כקולה; ל أ$_1$: כק׳ (כ״י ל מטושטש כאן מאוד ושמא יש לקרוא כ״ק) // [ו]יעזבני ... שלשה — ב$_1$ (ו־أ$_1$) : ליתא // 6 ינקסם — ב$_1$: יקסם // 9 אלמקדס — أ$_1$: המקדש // אמר — ב$_1$: אמור // 11 קבל — ב$_1$: מן קבל // 12 בן ... וינשאהו — ב$_1$: ליתא // 13 ו[מנאעה] — שמא יש לגרוס ״ודאפעה״ (השווה יפת, שרח, עמ׳ *42, שו׳ 1) או ״וכ׳אלפה״ // 14 יבעד — ב$_1$: ובעד (שמא ט״ס) // כ׳מס — ל : כ׳מסה (ראה דקדוק §234אb)

§9. 1 ׳תצ׳דירה — כך أ$_1$ ت // ליבצרו הל יתב׳ת ... ׳עא׳דתה — ז: נאבד כולו מפאת קריעה // ׳עא׳דתה — כך أ$_1$ ت // 1–2 ׳אלמ׳ערו׳פה ... כתס׳ביקה — כך ב$_1$ أ$_1$ ت (אך בגרסאות שציינון לעיל ובהע׳ הבאה) // 1 אנה — ב$_1$: אנוה (כך, כנראה בשל גם התאחדות أَنَّ ו־أَنْ [ראה דקדוק §342] וגם מבטא הכינוי כ־״oh/uh״ [ראה שם, §50ה]) // באלדוא — ב$_1$: אלדוא // אלדא — ב$_1$: אלאד׳א (כל׳, ولأذى; ראה דקדוק §10א) // 2 כתסביקה — ב$_1$: כסבקה (כך! אך המילה מטושטשת וקריאתה אינה מוחלטת) // ׳אלחאג׳א׳ת — כך ב$_1$ أ$_1$ // ׳אליהא ... אל׳נור׳ — כך ב$_1$ أ$_1$ ت // ואלגד׳א — ב$_1$: ואלגיד׳א (ראה דקדוק §8י) // 2–3 ׳יעד ... ורו׳ד — כך ב$_1$ أ$_1$ // 3 אלאפה — ב$_1$: מטושטשת הה״א ושמא יש לקרוא ״אלאפא״ (ראה דקדוק §27גc) // אנה — ב$_1$: אנוה (ראה ההע׳ על אותה הצורה בשו׳ 1 (בכ״י זה) לעיל) // ג׳לאלה — ב$_1$: ג׳לאלוה (ראה דקדוק §8כ) // יבעת׳ — במקום אן יבעת׳ (ראה דקדוק §337ד), כמו בכ״י ב$_1$ // עלי — ב$_1$: עלא (ראה דקדוק §10א) // 4 רעב — מכאן כ״י ל, דף 11א // לפ׳נ׳יהם — כך أ$_1$ // כל ... יוסף — ב$_1$: ליתא // ׳אל׳הים — כך ב$_1$ ל أ$_1$ ت // 5 וק׳ב׳ל — כך ב$_1$ أ$_1$ // ב׳סביהא ת׳כ׳לף — כך ב$_1$ أ$_1$ // אלרג׳ל — ב$_1$: אלרג׳ול (ראה דקדוק §8כ) // 6 עליהם — ב$_1$: עליהום (ראה דקדוק §50י) // פית׳כ׳לצהם כ׳מ׳ — כך לפי أ$_1$: יסתכ׳לצהם כק׳ // לאי׳ש עמלקי׳ — כך ב$_1$ أ$_1$ // ׳אד׳ני — כך ל // 7–9 ׳אלאסבאט פי איאם ... אלמקדס׳ — כך לפי ב$_1$ أ$_1$ // 7 אמורהם — ב$_1$: אמורהום (ראה דקדוק §50י) // 8 ק[בל ופאה ש]ל[מה] — על השלמה זו השווה פירוש רס״ג לפס׳ ו, א (פ״ד, עמ׳ קח): ״פנקול אנא רדדנא אלסנין מן הד׳א אלתאריך אלי ורא פבלגת אלי סת סנין קבל חדות׳ אלתכ׳ליט בעד ופאה שלמה ...״ // 9 יהוי׳כי׳ן ... א׳מר׳ — כך לפי ב$_1$ أ$_1$ // מלכה — ב$_1$: מלכוה(!) // 10 ׳/מדאה/ קבל׳ — כך לפי ב$_1$: מדאא(!) קבל; תיקוננו ״מדאה״ הוא הכתיב בנה״מ, והקרי שם: מדיא // ש׳ת׳ין — כך ב$_1$ // ו[...]ע — ז: מטושטשות כשתי מילים // אז[...] — ז: מטושטשות כאן שתיים או שלוש מילים // ליך — כל׳, ליכון (ראה דקדוק §102בa), כמו בכ״י ב$_1$ (ובו מתחיל כאן דף 1ב) // 11 וג׳דנ[א]׳ה׳ — כך ל, שמכאן מתחיל בו דף 11ב // א׳ן ישר׳ף — כך ב$_1$ ל أ$_1$ (אך ב$_1$: אן יושרף; ראה דקדוק §8ד) // נצ׳יחה׳ — כך ב$_1$ // 11–12 מרדכי ... לכ׳לאץ — ב$_1$: בתחילה נשמט בשל הומויוטלויטון, וכיוון שכתב הסופר ״ואמתה ותבט״ הוא שב ומחק את המילים ע״י נקודות מעל לשורה // 12 ואמ׳תה׳ — כך ב$_1$ // וקו׳ — ב$_1$ ל: וקולה // א׳חשורוש א׳ת — כך ב$_1$ أ$_1$ // 13 ׳תבעידאן׳ — כך ב$_1$ ל (על משמעותו של המובן ״תעביד״, שהוא כנראה ״פיתרון רחוק״, השווה אוצר, עמ׳ 54ב, בערך ״בעידון״) // תע׳צ׳ים׳ — כך ב$_1$, במקום תעט׳ים (ראה דקדוק §21ב) // ׳כאן בע׳קב — כך ב$_1$ ל // 14 כאמ׳ר׳ם — כך ב$_1$ בהתאם לכתיב בנה״מ, והקרי שם: באמרם // יום — כאן נסתיים כ״י ז // [וי]׳ום אן׳ — כך ל // ארבעה — כך במקום ארבע (ראה דקדוק §234אb) // א׳ן יצברו׳ — כך ל

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יקול אן אסתר ועלי אנהא קד גֹעלת למרדכי מרתבהֿ פי דאר אלסלטאן לם תכֹברה מע דֹלך באמתהא לכנהא צנעת כמא הודֹא נשאהד כתֹירא מן אליהוד ואלנצארי ינקטעון אלי מסלמין פיכֹדמונהם כדֹאך כאן אלטֹן בהא. וקולה **מולדתה ועמה** גֹמיעא לאן אלאנסן קד יולד פי מא בין קום תֹם לא יך עלי מדֹהבהם כישמעאל בן נתניה. וקד יך עלי מדֹהב קום לם יולד פי מא בינהם כרות אלתי קאלת **עמך עמי ואלהיך אלהי.** | ⌈וגֹמע קולה **ואֹת מאמר מרדכי אסתר עושה** גֹמיע אלמצות ואל⌉טאעא⌈ת בגיר תקציר לתוכדה בקול **כאשר היתה באומנה.** ב$_2$ ב

8. לפס׳ ב, כא–כג

(כ״י ב$_1$ 1א, ב$_2$ ב, ד 1ב, ז 59א–ב; בהשוואה ל־נ$_1$ א–ב, מ$_2$ 4ב)

אכֹתצר האהנא אן ידֹכר מאהיהֿ אלמכירהֿ אלתי אראדהא הדֹאן אלכֹאדמאן באלמלך וכיפיתהא ואעתמד עלי אנהא נציחהֿ מא נצח בהא מרדכי אלמלך. ואפאדנא פי דֹלך פואידא מנהא אן נכשף ען אלקום אלטֹאלמין ולא נקול אן הדֹה סעאיהֿ חראם בל הם אולי אן יקעו פי מא אחתפרוה מן וקוע אלברא פיה. ואנה ינבגי למן אועי אליה כלאמא גֹמילא | אן ירויה ען קאילה וינסבה אליה ⌈ו⌉ל⌈א ינסבה אלא נפסה הו אלי תר⌈י אן אסתר לו לם תרפע⌈ | ⌈אלנציחהֿ באסם מרדכי לם תתם אלמגותֹהֿ ואנה ינבגי אן נחסן אלי אלמומן ואלכאפר אעתבארא באן⌈ אלב⌈ארי תע׳ [יגֹוד]הם כלהם וידה ל[דיהם] כק׳ **טוב י״י לכל⌈ [ורחמיו על כל] מעשיו.** ואן אלחסנהֿ אלואחדהֿ אדֹ⌈א כאן אלנאס⌈ /יותֹבתונהא/ דֹכרא ללמחסן בהא פבאלחרי אן יכ⌈תב⌈ אללה פי עלמה עלי אלתמתֹיל חסנאת אוליאה ומטיע[יה] כמ׳ קאל **ויכתב ספר זכרון לפניו ליראי י״י ולחשבי שמו.** ז 59א ד 1ב; ז 59ב

14 **יקול אן אסתר** — מ$_2$: **וקול אין אסתר** (מן־הסתם, ט״ס) // 15 **מסלמין** — ד: **אלמסלמין** // 17 **אלתי** — ד, נ$_1$: **אלדֹי** (ראה דקדוק § 361א) // 18 **לתוכדה בקול** —ד: **ל[א]תוכדה** (ראה פיאמנטה, ב, עמ׳ 531א [על הבניין החמישי] ודקדוק § 75 [על אל״ף פרוסתיטיקון]); נ$_1$: **לתוכידה** // **באומנה** — נ$_1$: נוסף **אתו**

§8. 1 **מאהיהֿ** — מ$_2$, נ$_1$: **מא הי** // **וקולה** — מכאן כ״י נ$_1$, צד א // **אלתי** — ד: **אלדֹי** (ראה דקדוק § 361א) // **אראדהא** — נ$_1$: **אראדאהא** (ראה דקדוק § 182ב) // **הדֹאן אלכֹאדמאן** — ב$_2$, ד, מ$_2$, נ$_1$: **האדֹין** (מ$_2$: **האדֹיין** [ראה דקדוק § 131ו]) **אלכֹאדמין** (ראה שם, § 125א; בכ״י ב$_2$ נאבד **״אלכֹאדמין״**; בכ״י ד נאבד **״האדֹין״**) // 2 **ולא** — נ$_1$: **ואלא** (כל׳, وَأَلَّا) // 3 **אלברא** — נ$_1$: **אלאבראר** // **אועי** — נ$_1$: כך נכתב ואז ״תוקן״ (כנראה באותה היד) ל־**״אועץ״** (= **אועט**; ראה דקדוק § 21ב וקוריאנטה, עמ׳ 567ב, בערך ״W'Ḍ״), אף שהוא מגושם בהקשר זה (ר״ל, בקשרו התחבירי־הסמנטי למילים הבאות) // 4 **אן ירויה** — נ$_1$: **ירויה** (ראה דקדוק § 331) // 5 **[יגֹוד]הם** — או שמא **[ירחמ]הם** (השווה תרגום רס״ג לתה׳ קמה, ט [פ״ת, עמ׳ רפג]) // 7 **ומטיע[יה]** — נ$_1$: ליתא // **כמ׳ קאל** — נ$_1$: **כק׳** (= **כקולה**)

14 **אנהא** — מכאן כ״י ד, דף 1ב // **אלסלטאן** — מ$_2$: **אלסו[לטאן]** (ראה דקדוק § 8כ) // **וקולה** — מכאן כ״י נ$_1$, צד א // 16 **אלאנסן** — נ$_1$: **אלאנסאן**; מ$_2$: כאן (לאחר התווית **״אל״**) נסתיים דף 4א // **קד** — נ$_1$: כנראה נשמט בטעות // **יך** (הראשון) — **יכון** (ראה דקדוק § 102בa), כמו בכ״י נ$_1$ // **כישמעאל** — מכאן כ״י ב$_2$, צד ב // **יך** (השני) — **יכון** (ראה דקדוק, שם), כמו בכ״י ב$_2$ ו־נ$_1$ // 17 **⌈וגֹמע קולה ואֹת** — כך נ$_1$ // **קולה** — ד: **קו׳** // 17–18 **וגֹמע ... אתו.** — ז: נאבד מפאת קריעה (בראש דף 59א) // 18 **עושה** — נ$_1$: **עשה** // **ואל⌉טאעא⌈ת** — כך נ$_1$ ו־ד

§8. 1 **האהנא** — ב$_2$: **האהונא**; ד, נ$_1$: **ההונא** (על כל הצורות האלה ראה דקדוק § § 8ח [והע׳ 29]; 172); מ$_2$: **ההנא** // **מאהיהֿ** — ב$_2$: **מהיהֿ** (ראה דקדוק § 9א) // **אלמכירהֿ** — לא מצאתי צורה זו — ר״ל, **מכירהֿ** (שמבטאה מסתמא: مَكِيرَة) — במילונים הערביים, וכפי הנראה היא צורה אלטרנטיבית למונח **מכרהֿ** (مَكْرَة) או שמא **מכריהֿ** (ראה דוזי, ב, עמ׳ 606ב) // **וכיפיתהא** — ד: **וכפיתהא**(!) // 2 **אן** (הראשון) — נ$_1$: **מא**(!) // **נכשף ען** — מ$_2$: נשמט בטעות // **אלטֹאלמין** — ב$_2$, נ$_1$: **אלצֹאלמין** (ראה דקדוק § 21ב) // **נקול** — מכאן כ״י נ$_1$, צד ב // 3 **בל הם** — מ$_2$: **כלהם**(!) // **הם** — נ$_1$: **הום** (ראה דקדוק § 49ח) // **אולי** — מ$_2$, נ$_1$: **אולא** (ראה דקדוק § 10א) — וכאן נסתיים כ״י מ$_2$ // **אחתפרוה** — נ$_1$: **אקתרפוה** (מן־הסתם טעות, ואמנם רומז רס״ג כאן לתהלים ז, טז — ובפ״ת לשם תרגם: **״וכרא בירא תֹם אחתפרהא פליקע פי הותהֿ פעלהא״**) // 4–5 **אן ירויה ... באן⌈** — ז: נאבד מפאת קריעה (בראש דף 59ב) // 4 **וינסבה** — נ$_1$: **וינסבוה**(!) (גם במשפט הבא) // **⌈ו⌉ל⌈א ... תר⌈י** — כך נ$_1$ ו־ו$_1$ (אך ב־נ$_1$ נכתב **ינסבוה**(!) במקום **ינסבה**) // **אלא** — במקום **אלי** (ראה דקדוק § 10א) // **אלי** — במקום **אלא** (כל׳, أَلَا; ראה דקדוק § 10בa) // **תרפע** — כאן נסתיים כ״י ד (דף 1ב) // 5 **אלמגותֹהֿ** — כאן נסתיים כ״י ב$_2$ // 5–6 **אלב⌈ארי ... לכל⌈** — כך ו$_1$ (נשמט בט״ס בכ״י נ$_1$; ראה ההע׳ הבאה) // **אלב⌈ארי תע׳ ... אלחסנהֿ** — נ$_1$: נשמט בטעות (שמא בשל הומויוארקטון בַתווית **״אל-״**) // 6 **אדֹ⌈א ... אלנאס⌈** — כך נ$_1$ ו־ו$_1$ // **/יותֹבתונהא/** — כך נ$_1$; ז: **יכאפונהא**(!) (אינו מתאים היטיב למובנו של המשפט) // 7 **יכ⌈תב⌈** — כך נ$_1$ // **אוליאה** — במקום **אוליאיה** (ראה דקדוק § 11אab), כמו בכ״י ב$_1$, שמכאן מתחיל בו דף 1א // **ספר** — נ$_1$: **בספר**(!) (מן־הסתם, ט״ס) // 8 **י״י ולחשבי** — נ$_1$: **ייי ולחושבי**

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7. לפס׳ ב, טז–כ

(כ״י ב$_2$ א–ב, ד 1א–ב, ז 57ב–58ב; בהשוואה ל־מ$_2$ 3א–ב, נ$_1$ א)

ז 57ב קד יעיבנא בעץ̇ ג̇האל אלאמם בכון אסתר תחת אחשורש אלמלך. וסימא מע תעט̇ימנא להא ותנאקלנא כ̇ברהא עלי
טול אלזמאן. ובאלחרי לקולנא **ויאהב המלך את אסתר**. פנקול אן כאן מוצ̇ע אעאבתה עלינא מן ג̇הת אלדניא פליס
ז 58א ד̇לך עיב בל שרף אד̇ שרף כל | ⌜אלד̇י אחב אלמלך. ואן כ⌜אנת אל⌜אעאבה̈ מן ג̇הת אלדניא פיק[...]תה⌝ אולא ק⌜תלת
ולם תנצרף אליה⌝ ק⌜לנא⌝ [...] אלדין אנמ⌜א יורד⌝ מן ⌜ג̇הה̈⌝ אל⌜פקה⌝ [...]מא פי אלפקה אן אלכאפרין א⌜ד̇א סאמו עלי
מו⌜מנין תרך שי מן דינהם ולם יך קצד אל[סאא]ם פי ד̇לך אכ̇ראג̇ה ען דינה ואנמא כאן קצדהם אלאנתפאע בה הם
אנפסהם ותכ̇וף אלמומנין אן יכונו אד̇א לם יג̇יבוהם אן יקתלוהם פינבגי להם אן יג̇יבוהם עלי הד̇ה אלשריטה̈ ויחקנון
דמאהם ארתפע מע ד̇לך כל עיב. וד̇לך אן אסתר לם יעלם אנהא יהודיה̈ פיקצד סאאמהא אכ̇ראג̇הא ען דינהא. ואנמא
כאן קצדה מנפועה הו ולא ישך איצ̇א פי אנהא לו אמתנעת לתכ̇ופת אלקתל. וקולה **ויעש המלך משתה גדול** אלאקרב
פיה אן יך הד̇א רסם לם יזל להם אית מלכה̈ נצבת צנע אלמלך בסבבהא הד̇ה אלג׳ אשיא ולימה̈ עט̇ימה̈ לקו׳ **משתה**
ז 58ב **גדול**. ורפאהיה̈ פי אלכ̇רוג̇ ורפע אלמון לקו׳ **והנחה למדינות**. | ⌜וג̇ואיז וצל בהא כל הד̇ה צלה̈ לקולה **ויתן משאת**. ואמא
קולה **ובהקבץ** ואתבע⌜ה **א⌜ין אסתר מגדת מולדתה⌝**. פ[הד̇א ידל] ⌜עלי [...]ף אן יכון ערץ̇ אלא⌝ך אלאבכ⌜אר⌝
⌜לית⌝[...]דה̈ אלי בלדהא ואמתהא פער⌜צ̇ת⌝ [...]כ̇ברה בשי. לאן קו׳ אלאול **/לא/ הגידה אסתר [את עמה]** ואנמא הו
⌜להגי⌝ והדא אלב׳ **אין אסתר מגדת מולדתה** לאחשורש. וכד̇לך תאליף **ומרדכי יושב בשער המלך** מע **אין אסתר מגדת**.

§7. 3 **כל** — ד: כנראה, חסר (מטושטש כאן הטקסט) // 4–5 **עלי מומנין** — מ$_2$: **אל[מומנין]** // 5 **מן** — ד: נוסף **[א]מור** (המילה מטושטשת וקריאתה אינה מוחלטת) // **אכ̇ראג̇ה ען דינה** — מ$_2$: **[אכ̇רא]ג̇הם ען דינהם** // 6 **ויחקנון** — ב$_2$: **פיחקנון** // 7 **דמאהם** — מ$_2$: **דמהם** // **פיקצד** — מ$_2$: **פקצד** // **סאאמהא** — מ$_2$: **אסאמהא** // 8 **לתכ̇ופת** — ב$_2$: **לכ̇אפת** // **משתה גדול** — ד: ליתא // 10 **משאת** — ב$_2$: נוסף **כיד המלך** // 11 **ובהקבץ** — ב$_2$: נוסף **[ב]תולות** // 12 **לאן** — ב$_2$: **לאנוה** (כך, כנראה בשל גם התאחדות أَنَّ ו־أَنْ [ראה דקדוק §342] וגם מבטא הכינוי כ־״oh/uh״ [ראה שם, §50ה]) // 13 **מולדתה** — ז: שמא נאבד ״הו״ (בשל קריעה) לאחר מילה זו

§7. 1 **קד** — מכאן נמשך גם כ״י מ$_2$ (דף 3א) // 2 **ויאהב** — מכאן כ״י ד, דף 1א // 3 **⌜אלד̇י ... פיק[...]תה⌝** — כך ד // **פיק[...]תה** — ד: מטושטשות כאן כשלוש מילים // 3–4 **ק⌜תלת ... אליה⌝** — כך ד // 4 **ק⌜לנא⌝** — כך ד, אף שמטושטשת המילה וקריאתה מפוקפקת // [...] — ז: נאבדו כאן בשל קריעה למן שלוש ועד ארבע מילים (כ״י ד מטושטש כאן מאוד) // **אנמ⌜א ... אל⌜פקה⌝** — כך ד // [...]**מא** — ז: נאבדו כאן בשל קריעה שתי מילים (כ״י ד מטושטש כאן מאוד); מכאן (לאחר קריעה) מתחיל כ״י מ$_2$, דף 3ב // 4–5 **א⌜ד̇א ... מו⌜מנין** — כך ד // 5 **יך** — במקום **יכן** (ראה דקדוק §102בa) // **אל[סאא]ם** — על השלמה זו ראה ההע׳ על הצורה **סאאמהא** בשו׳ 7 למטה // **ולם יך ... דינה** — ד: נשמט, כנראה, בשל הומויוארקטון (במילה ״**דינה(ם)**״) // 6 **אן** (השני) — מכאן כ״י ב$_2$, צד א // **יקתלוהם** — ב$_2$: **[י]ק[תלוה]ום** (ראה דקדוק §50י) // **להם** — ב$_2$: **[לה]ום** (ראה דקדוק, שם) // **יג̇יבוהם ... אן** — ד: נשמט, כנראה, בשל הומויוארקטון (במילה ״**יג̇יבוהם**״) // **יג̇יבוהם** (השני) — ב$_2$: **[יג̇י]בוהום** (ראה דקדוק, שם) // 7 **דמאהם** — כל׳, دِمَاءَهُم (ראה דקדוק §11אab); ב$_2$: **דמאהום** (ראה דקדוק §50י) // **יהודיה̈** — מ$_2$: **יהודייה̈** (ראה דקדוק §30ב) // **פיקצד** — ב$_2$: **פי קצד** (!) // **סאאמהא** — ראה מילון, עמ׳ 317א, בערך ״סום״, ששָם מובאה זאת הצורה [כל׳, ״סאאם״] מהקדמת רס״ג לפירושו לבראשית [צוקר, בראשית, עמ׳ 22, שו׳ 71]; וראה גם דקדוק §11הa) // 8 **קצדה** — ב$_2$: **קצדוה** (ראה דקדוק §50ד) // **מנפועה** — על צורה זו ראה מילון, עמ׳ 710א; מ$_2$: **מנפעה** (השווה דקדוק §9א — אם אינו ט״ס, שמא במקום ״**מנפעתה**״) // 9 **יך** — במקום **יכון** (ראה דקדוק §102בa), כמו בכ״י ב$_2$ ו־מ$_2$ // **להם** — ב$_2$: **להום** (ראה דקדוק §50י) // **פיקצד** — ב$_2$: **פי קצד** (!) // **אית** — במקום **איה̈** (ראה דקדוק §27אb); ב$_2$: **[א]יא** (הקריאה אינה מוחלטת) // **בסבבהא** — כאן נסתיים כ״י מ$_2$, דף 3ב // **הד̇ה** — ז: תוקנה הה״א השנית מן אות אחרת (שמא אל״ף [ראה דקדוק §51אa]) // **אלג׳** — ב$_2$: **אלת̇[לאת̇]** // **עט̇ימה̈** — ב$_2$: **עצ̇ימה̈** (ראה דקדוק §21ב) // **לקו׳** — ב$_2$: **לקולה**; ד: **לקול** (שמא קיצור, וסימנו טושטש) // 10 **ורפאהיה̈** — ב$_2$: **ורפההיה̈**(!) // **לקו׳** — ב$_2$, ד: **לקולה** // 10–11 **⌜וג̇ואיז ... מולדתה⌝** — כך ב$_2$, ד (אך בגירסאות בכ״י ב$_2$, כמו שציינון לעיל) // 11 **ואתבעה אין** — ב$_2$: **ואתבעהא אן** (!) // **⌜עלי ... אלאבכ⌜אר⌝** — כך ב$_2$ // [...]**ף** — ב$_2$: טושטשו כאן מילה אחת או שתיים // 12 **⌜לית⌝[...]דה̈** — כך מ$_2$, שמכאן מתחהיל בו דף 4א; ז: נאבדו כאן בשל קריעה כשלוש או ארבע מילים (נקרע כאן גם מ$_2$) // **פער⌜צ̇ת⌝** — כך ב$_2$ // [...]**כ̇ברה** — ז: נאבדו כאן בשל קריעה כשתיים וחצי מילים // **קו׳** — מ$_2$: **קולה**; ב$_2$: **קול** (במקום **אלקול**; ראה דקדוק §229) // **/לא/** — כך ב$_2$; ז: נשמט, כנראה, בטעות // 13 **⌜להגי⌝** — כך מ$_2$; ז: נכתב ״**לגה**״ ונמחק בלוכסן מעליו, והגירסה המתוקנת — שהיא נאבדה מפאת קריעה בשולי הדף — נרמזת ע״י עיגול נבוב מעל ללוכסן // **אלב׳** — ב$_2$: **אלת̇אני**

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15 דינהא לכן בכתמאנהא דלך ימכנה אלתקריב מן אלמלך כמא יד לנסא אלמלוך וכלא כתירין דמיהּ. תם לעל אן תחתאג אלאמהּ אלי חאגהּ פתקציהא להא והי גיר מערופהּ אנהא יהודיהּ פאנה אמצא מנה אדא ערפת ליס אנה עלם אן תאדתהּ המן בעינהא תחדת לכנה פעל עלי מא פי אלממכן אן יד.

6. לפס׳ ב, יב–טו

(כ״י א$_1$ 1ב, ז 56ב–57א ; בהשוואה ל־מ$_2$ 2א–ב)

ז 56ב פסרת **תור** נובהּ לאנה ג׳ אלפאט כדי מכתלפהּ. **ותר וגוזל**. שפנין. **תר נערה**. נובהּ. **כתור האדם המעלה**. מרתבהּ אלאנסן אלעליא. ויגוז אן יקאל חליהּ. ויד מתל **תואר** מכתצר אלאלף. ערפנא פי הדה אלפואסיק מן גלאלהּ אחשורש ונעמתה ג׳ אשיא אנה לם תד גאריהּ תדכל אלי אלמלך אלא בעד י״ב שהרא ותגמר ותטיב כמ׳ וצף ואן גמיע מא כאנת תסל מן פרש ואלהּ וגלמאן ואניהּ ידפע אליהא לתלך אללילהּ. ואנהא תנצרף מן ענד אלמלך אלי דאר תאניהּ כאנת
ז 57א 5 לכל גאריהּ קד ערצת עליה כמ׳ קאל **אל בית** | ־**הנשים שני**. וערפנ־א מן חאל א־סתר כפהּ אלמונהּ ואלקצד פי אמ־ורהא. וקולה **ותהי אסת־ר נשאת־ חן** הדה הי חאל אלגלות אלתי נרזקהא פיהא מן ענ־ד־ אללה. ודלך אן אלחואיג אנמא תקצא לאחד סבבין אמא כופא ואמא חטאא. פקבל איאם דולתנא לם יזל רבנא ירזקנא אלחטא כמ׳ קאל **ויט אליו חסד ויתן חנו**. וקאל פי אלאבא במצר **ויתן י״י את חן העם הזה בעיני מצ׳**. פלמא ואפת איאם דולתנא געל לנא אלפזע ואלהיבהּ כמ׳ קאל **היום הזה /אחל/ תת פחדך ויראתך על פני העמים**. וקאל **ויצא שם דוד בכל הארצות וי״י נתן את פחדו על כל הגוים**. וקאל **ויהי פחד י״י על כל ממלכות הארצות אשר סביבות יהודה ולא נלחמו עם יהושפט.** 10 פלמא זאלת אלדולהּ /עדנא/ אלי אן ירזקנא אלחטא כמ׳ קאל **ויתן האלהים את דניאל לחסד ולרחמים**. וקאל עזרא **ועלי הטה חסד לפני המלך ויעציו**. וקאל **ותהי אסתר נשאת חן בעיני כל ראיה**. וקאל עז גמיענא **ויתן אותם לרחמים לפני כל שביהם.**

15 **אלתקריב** — א$_1$, מ$_2$: **אלתקרב** // **דמיהּ** — א$_1$: **דמין** (ראה דקדוק §187) // 16 **להא** — מ$_2$: ליתא

§6. 1 **לאנה** — מ$_2$: **לאנהא** // 2 **אלעליא** — א$_1$: ליתא // 3 **אלי אלמלך** — א$_1$: **אליה** // 6 **הדה הי** — מ$_2$: [**הדא**(?)] **הו** // 7 **קאל** — א$_1$, מ$_2$: **נוסף פי יוסף** // 8 **הזה** — כך בהתאמה לנוסח השומרוני, תרגום השבעים, והוולגטה ; א$_1$ (ונה״מ): ליתא // **ואפת** — א$_1$: **ואפא** (ראה רייט, ב, §144) // 10 **על כל הגוים** — מ$_2$: ליתא // **ולא ... יהושפט** — מ$_2$: ליתא

15 **יד** — כל׳, **יכון** (ראה דקדוק §102ב) // **אלמלוך** — מ$_2$: **אלמולך**(!) // **וכלא** — מ$_2$: **ווכלא** (כל׳, אם אינו ט״ס, ?; ראה דקדוק §38) // **כתירין** — א$_1$: **כתירון** (ראה דקדוק §127א–ב) // **דמיהּ** — במקום **דמין** (ראה דקדוק §187 והגירסה בכ״י א$_1$ [באפראט הראשון]) // 16 **אלאמהּ** — מ$_2$: **אלאומהּ** (ראה דקדוק §18ג) // **ערפת** — מ$_2$: **עורפת** (ראה דקדוק §18ד) // 17 **חאדתהּ** — ז: בסוף המילה נכתבה אל״ף (לאחר הה״א) ונמחקה בקו אלכסוני מעליה // **תחדת** — מ$_2$: **תחדתת המן** (!) — וכאן נסתיים דף 1ב (ב־מ$_2$) // **יד** — כל׳, **יכון** (ראה דקדוק §102ב)

§6. 1 **פסרת** — מכאן נמשכים גם א$_1$ ו־מ$_2$ // 2 **אלעליא** — מ$_2$: **אלעול[יא]** (ראה דקדוק §18כ) // **ויד** — **במקום ויכון** (ראה דקדוק §102ב), כמו בכ״י א$_1$ // 3 **תד** — במקום **תכן** (ראה דקדוק, שם) // **שהרא** — א$_1$: **שהר** (ראה דקדוק §218) // **כמ׳** — א$_1$: **כמא** // **גמיע** — א$_1$: **כאנת**(!) // 4 **תסל** — במקום **תסאל** (ראה רייט, א, §140) // **ואניהּ** — א$_1$: נשמט ונכתב מעל לשורה // 5 **כמ׳** — א$_1$: **כמא** // **־הנשים ... וערפנ־א** — כך א$_1$ // **אסתר** — מ$_2$: מכאן דף 2ב // 5–6 **א־סתר ... אמ־ורהא** — כך א$_1$ // 6 **אסת־ר נשאת־** — כך א$_1$ // **ענ־ד־** — כך א$_1$ (נשמטה המילה ונכתבה מעל לשורה) ו־מ$_2$) // 7 **סבבין** — מ$_2$: **סבבין**(!) // **כמ׳ קאל** — א$_1$: **כמא קאל** ; מ$_2$: **כ״ק** // 8 **מצ׳** — מ$_2$: **מצר׳** // 9 **כמ׳ קאל** — א$_1$: **כמא קאל** ; מ$_2$: **כ״ק** // **/אחל/** — כך א$_1$ (נקרע כאן מ$_2$) ; ז: נשמט בטעות // **העמים** — א$_1$: **העי** // **דוד** — א$_1$, מ$_2$ (ונה״מ): דויד // 10 **הגוים** — א$_1$: **הגי** // **י״י** — מ$_2$: **יי** // **הארצות** — מ$_2$: [**האר**]**צי** // **סביבות** — א$_1$: **סביבת**(!) // 11 **/עדנא/** — כך א$_1$ (נקרע כאן מ$_2$) ; ז: **ועדנא**(!) (נוספה הו״ו, שמא ביד אחרת) // **אלחטא** — כאן נסתיים כ״י מ$_2$, דף 2ב // **כמ׳** — א$_1$: **כמא** // **עזרא** — כאן נסתיים כ״י א$_1$, דף 1ב

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[אל]סחנה ובקולה לקחה **מרדכי לו לבת** חתנא עלי תרביה אליתאמי לנפעהם לנא פי אלאכרה באלתואב וקד יד איצא
פי אלדניא במנזלה יבלגונהא. ופי דלך קאל איוב **אב אנכי לאביונים**. ופוק דלך תסמיה אללה נפסה **אבי יתומים ודיין**
אלמנות.

5. לפס׳ ב, ח—יא

(כ״י א$_1$ 1א, ז 55א—56א; בהשוואה ל־כ ב, ל 12ב, מ$_2$ 1א—ב)

ז 55א קד ינבגי אן נעלם לם לם ימאנע מרדכ[י עז] אסתר אלי דאר אחשורש אד מנצוץ פי אלתור[ה] **בתך לא תתן לבנו ובתו**
לא תקח לבנך. פאנה אן קלנא אן אלקהר עדר לה פפי פקהנא אנא לא נעדר באלקהר עלי ג׳ מעאצי **עבודה זרה וגלוי**
ערות ושפיכות דמים. ועלי מא סנבין בעד הדא. ולכנא נגד פי הדא אלמע׳ גואבין אחדהמא אחצל מן אלאכר. אלאול
אן נקול אנה ימכן אן יד קד מאנע פלם ילתפת אליה פאכדת ענה ודלך אנה לם ילתמס מנה הו פעלא פי נפסה פיד
אדא אמתנע בטל אלפעל. ואנמא אלתמס אכד גסם מא פאכד קסרא. פאדא חררנא הדא וגדנאה לו כאן קד מאנע
לעלמו אנה יהודיה פלמא קאל **לא הגידה אסתר** עלמנא אנהא [לם] תוכד מן תחת ידה לאנהא לו אכדת מן תחת
ז 55ב י[ד] חצנה לעלם אנהא יהודיה פאד אלאמר עלי הדה אלצורה | [...]ת אלמסלה פי אלמ[ומ]ן ...] וקאל **ויבהל את**
תמרוקיה ואת מנתיה מן אג[ל] [אן] אלוכלא רבמא חבסו אסתחקאקאת אלחכם [ו]גירהם וכתירא מא יוכדון ענהם
גאריהם. פאסתר למא חטית עגד הגא כאן ירוג להא גמיע חקוקהא בל אסכנהא ומן מעהא פי אגוד מסכן כמ׳ קאל
לטוב בית הנשים. ומן קולה **וישנה ואת נערתיה** עלמנא אן כאן סביל כל ואחדה אן יסכן גואריהא אלז׳ כל ואחדה מנהן
פי מנזל מפרד תם נלתמס מא אלפאידה פי אן אמר מרדכי אסתר בכתמאן אמתהא בעד מא אכדת עז גיר עלמה פנגד
לדלך וגוהא כתירא מן אלמנאפע אחדהא אנהם לו עלמו אנהא יהודיה אמכן אן יסומוהא בל ילזמוהא אלכרוג מן
דינהא ולעלהם איצא כאנו יתהמונהא ויתפקדונהא חתי לא תקדר עלי אן תמסך מנה שיא. תם לעלהם אדא עלמו
ז 56א אנהא דמיה | [יסון בהא לא באלטרד] פקט לכן במא אגלט מן דלך. תם ימנעון מרדכי מן מראסלתהא אד [הו] מן אצל

25–26 **ודיין אלמנות** — כ: ליתא

§5. 1 **אחשורש** — כ: נוסף **ללמ**[...] (או שמא "**ללמנצוץ**", כגירסת "**אד מנצוץ**"?) // 5 **כאן** — כ: נוסף **כדאך** // 6 **קאל** — כ: נוסף **אן** — או
שמא **באן** (מטושטשת המילה וקריאתה מפוקפקת) // 5 **אלמסלה** — מ$_2$: **הדה אלמסלה** // 7 **וקאל** — כ: [ו]**קולה** // 13 **אדא** — ד$_1$: **אד** (ראה דקדוק
§ 397ב; 413) // 14 **יסון** — מ$_2$: **יסו** (ראה דקדוק § 175) // **באלטרד** — מ$_2$: **בטרד** // **מן** (הראשון) — מ$_2$: נוסף **כן**(?!)

24 [אל]**סחנה** — כך כ, ל // **יד** — במקום **יכון** (ראה דקדוק § 102ב)a), כמו בכ״י כ

§5. 1 **קד** — מכאן נמשך גם כ״י כ // **ען** — על השלמה זו ראה דוזי, ב, עמ׳ 618, בערך מ״ע (בניין שלישי) //**אחשורש** — כ: **אחשורוש** //
אלתור[ה] — ז: או **אלתור[יה]** // 2 **פקהנא** — ז: לאחר מילה זו נכתב "**אלא**" ונמחק בלוכסניים // **ג׳** — כ: **תלת** // **מעאצי** — כ: **מעאני**(!) // **עבודה**
— כ: **עבדה** // 3 **ועלי** — מתחיל כאן כ״י ל, דף 12ב // **סנבין** — כ: **סאביין** (ראה דקדוק § 30ב) // **אלמע׳** — ל: **אלמעני** // **גואבין** — ז: לפני מילה
זו נכתבה האות "**א**" ונמחקה בלוכסן מעליה (לדעתנו אינו סביר לתפוס את זה כקיצור במקום "**אחד**" משום ש־(1) לשון זו (כל׳, "**נגד ... א**(**חד**) **גואבין**")
היא מגושמת מאוד בהקשר זה, ו־(2) במקומות אחרים נכתב המילה בכ״י זה במלואה) // 4 **אן נקול** — ז: נוספו מילים אלו בשולי הדף, וקריאתן כאן
נרמזת ע״י עיגול נבוב הנכתב מעל לשורה לאחר המילה "**אלאול**" // **ימכן** — ז: נכתבה מילה זו מעל לשורה // **יד** — כל׳, **יכון** (ראה דקדוק § 102ב)a) //
ודלך — במילה זו מתחיל כ״י מ$_2$, דף 1א // **פעלא** — ל: **פעל** // **פיך** — כל׳, **פיכון** (ראה דקדוק § 102ב)a), כמו בכ״י מ$_2$ // 6 **אנה**[א] **יהודיה** — כך מ$_2$
// **אסתר** — כאן נסתיים כ״י ל (דף 12ב) // [לם] — כך כ, מ$_2$ // **מן** (הראשון) — במילה זו נסתיים כ״י כ // 7 [...]**ת** — ז: נאבדו כאן מילה אחת או
שתיים // **אלמסלה** — במקום **אלמסאלה** (ראה רייט, א, § 140) // **אלמ**[ומ]**ן** — כך מ$_2$ // ...] — ז: נאבדו כאן כשלוש או ארבע מילים // 8 [אן] — כך
מ$_2$ // **ענהם** — כנראה במקום **ענהא** (ראה דקדוק § 191) // 9 **ירוג** — במילה זו מתחיל כ״י א$_1$, דף 1א // **מסכן** — ז: נכתב **אלמסכן** ונמחקה התווית בקו
אלכסוני מעליה // **כמ׳** — ז: **כמא** // 10 **גואריהא** — א$_1$: לפני מילה זו נכתבה התווית ("**אל**") ונמחקה בקו מעליה // 12 **כתירא** — במקום **כתירה** (כל׳
כְּתִירָה; ראה דקדוק § 190), שכך נכתב בכ״י א$_1$ // **אנהם** — מ$_2$: מכאן דף 1ב // **יהודיה** — כך א$_1$ // 13 **ולעלהם** — ז: לפני מילה זו נכתב "**נע**" (או
שמא "**וע**") ונמחק בקו אלכסוני מעליו // **שיא** — מ$_2$: **שי** (ראה דקדוק § 218) // 14 [יסון ... **באלטרד**] — כך א$_1$ ו־מ$_2$ // **לכן ... דלך** — כך א$_1$ ו־מ$_2$ //
[הו] — כך א$_1$ ו־מ$_2$

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הוליד את [ז]בד. וזבד הוליד את אפלל ואפלל הו[ליד] את עובד. ועובד הוליד את יהוא ויהוא הוליד את עזריה. ועזריה הוליד את חלץ וחלץ הוליד את אלעשה. ואלעשה הוליד את ססמי וססמי הוליד את שלום. ושלום הוליד את יקמיה ויקמיה הוליד את אלישמע. ובלג ההנא אלי פוק אלי חית אנתהי הנאך [ו]אלי אספל פקאל בא ישמעאל בן נתניה בן אלישמע בן יקמיה בן שלום בן /ססמי/ בן אלעשה בן חלץ בן עזריה בן יהוא בן עובד בן אפלל בן זבד בן נתן /בן עתי/ בן ירחע. וקולה מזרע המלוכה יעני מן אמה לאנהא אבנת ששן בן יש[עי מן] /–/ בני יהודה. קאלו ועלי הדא אלאצל פ[י אלכתא]ב ההנא אלי פוק אלי קיש פעלמנא אנה מת [אלי] חית אנתהי פי אלנסב אלי אספל פי בני שאול לאנה קאל | [פי בני בנימין ובן יהונת]ן מריב בע[ל ומריב בעל הולי]ד את מיכה. ובני מיכה פיתון ומלך ותארע ואחז. ואחז [הוליד א]ת יהועדה /ויהועדה/ הוליד את עלמת ואת עזמות [וא]ת זמרי וזמרי הוליד את מוצא. ומוצא הוליד את בנעא /רפה/ בנו אלעשה בנו אצל בנו. ולאצל ששה בנים ואלה שמותם עזריקם בכרו וישמעאל ושעריה ועבדיה וחנן. פתצור אלנסבה עלי דלך אלאצל מרדכי בן יאיר /בן שמעי/ בן קיש בן עזריקם בן אצל בן אלעשה בן רפה בן בנעא בן מוצא בן זמרי בן יהועדה בן אחז בן מיכה בן מפיבשת בן יהונתן בן שאול. ופי קולה אשר הגלה ד׳ תשריפאת לה ועלי אן אסם אלגלות אדל אולהא אשר הגלה מירושלם לא מן סואד ולא מן רסתאק. ואלב׳ עם הגלה לא וחדה פיד כאלמסרוק או אלמסתרק. ו׳אלג׳ אשר הגלתה עם יכניה מלך יהודה אצלה לחאלה אד הו ממן אגלי מע יכניה מן ד׳ גהאת. אחדהא לאנהם כרגו פי אלאמאן כמ׳ קאל | ויצא יהוי[כין מל]ך יהודה ע׳ל מלך [בבל ולכונהם מס]תאמנין לא ילחקהם ענף אלמה[לכי]ן. ו׳א׳לב׳ לחכמתהם מן קולה אחרי צא[ת] יכניה המלך והגבירה והסריסים שרי יהודה וירושלם והחרש והמסגר מירוש׳. ואלג׳ לצלאחהם כמ׳ שבההם התאנים הטובות טובות מאד. ואלד׳ לחסן מא ועדהם בה מן כן אביר את גלות יהודה אלי אכר אלמעני. ושרחה ען אסתר כי אין לה אב ואם תקויה לקלוב אלצעפי ואליתאמי יקול להם לא תאיסו. כם מן אסעדה אללה. אלם תרא אלי בני יהודה ער ואונן ולדא בחצרתה ושלח ולד והו גאיב מן קולה והיה בכזיב בלדתה אתו וכאן הו אלבאקי. וכאן חירם בן אשה אלמנה ובלג פי אלחכמה חתי אצלח חואיג אלקדס. וכאן ירבעם בן [אש]ה אלמנה ומלך עלי אלי׳ אסבאט ועלי מא קאל אלכתאב קולא עאמא לשום שפלים למרום. | [ו]קדרים שגב[ו] ישע. וכדלך אסתר זאד פי שרח אמרהא כי אין לה אב ואם. להדא אלסבב [מתק]דמה צפה חסנהא לסבב מא סיקולה מן אכתיאר אחשורוש להא. ומע׳ יפת תאר פי אלגסם וטובת מראה פי

11 וחנן — כ: נוסף כל אלה [בני] אצל // דלך — כ: דאך // מרדכי — כ: ליתא // 12 הגלה — כ: נוסף מירושלם (כך; נה״מ: מירושלים) // 13 אדל — כ: ד[ליל] // אשר הגלה — כ: ליתא (אע״פ שנאבדו המילים מפאת קריעה, אינו מקום להן לאור אורך השורה) // 14 אלמסתרק — כ: כאלמסתרק // 15 כמ׳ קאל — כ: כקו׳ // 16 לחכמתהם — כ: מן חכמתה[ם] // 19 מן — כ: נוסף שקי // אללה — כ: רבה // אלם — כ: אלא // 21 קולא עאמא — כ: ליתא //

5 /ססמי/ — ז: סקמי(!) // 6 /בן עתי/ — ז: בקעתי(!) // אבנת — במקום אבנה (השווה דקדוק §27aא) // /–/ — ז: בני(!) (נכפלה המילה בראש השורה הבאה) // 8 הולי]ד — מכאן כ״י כ, צד א // הולי]ד ... מיכה — כך כ // 9 ואחז — כך כ // /ויהועדה/ — כך כ (= נה״מ); ז: נשמט בשל הפלוגרפיה // עלמת ... [וא]ת — כ: עלמות ועלמות הוליד את [עזמות ועזמות הו]ליד את (שיבוש־סופר) // 10 בנעא — ז: נוסף בט״ס [ובנ]ע[א] הוליד את רפה // /רפה/ — כך נה״מ ובמשפט השני הבא, וגם לפי כ: ורפה (שנוספה בו הו״ו, מן־הסתם, כפליטת־קולמוס לאור דה״ב ט, מג) // 11 /בן שמעי/ — כך לפי כ, שיש בו מקום למלתיים, אע״פ שהן מטושטשות ולא־קריאות; ז: נשמט, כנראה, בטעות // 12 בנעא — כ: בנענה(!) // בן אחז — כ: נשמט, מן־הסתם בשל הפלוגרפיה // אבנת — במקום אבנה (השווה דקדוק §27aא) // ד׳ — ז: לפני מילה זו נכתבה ״א״ ונמחקה בסימן מחיקה (קו לוכסני) מעל לשורה // 13 הגלה — כך כ // 14 פיד — במקום פיכון (ראה דקדוק §102ba) // ו׳אלג׳ — כך כ // 15 ד׳ — כ: ג׳(!) // ויצא ... מלך — כך כ // 16 ילחקהם — ז: נוסף הכינוי (״-הם״) לאחר המילה באותיות קטנות // אלמה[לכי]ן. ו׳א׳לב׳ — כך כ // י׳הודה — כך כ // 17 כמ׳ — כ: כ[מא] (כך לפי אורכו של הרווח) // 18 אלמעני. — ז: כנראה נשמטה כאן (מן־הסתם בשל טעות סופר) ה״תשריפה״ הרביעית שרומז עליה המשפט ״אשר הָגלה נבוכדנצר מלך בבל״ // 19 אלם — ז: מטושטשת המ״ם, כנראה מפאת שתוקנה מאות אחרת (שמא אל״ף; ראה כ״י כ והשע׳ הבאה) ובכן נכתבה המילה עוד בשולי הדף // תרא — ז: נוספה האל״ף מעל לשורה, אף שהתנועה הסופית (צ״ל) קצרה (כל׳, קַ; ראה דקדוק §8ט) — או שמא מובנו של הצירוף ״אלם תרא״ הוא למעשה ״הלא תראה ...?״ (כל׳, הֲלֹא תִרְאֶה; ראה דקדוק §205ג) // 20 חירם — כ: תחילה נכתב ירבעם (בשל הומויוארקטון), אז נמחק בקו לאורכו ונכתב ״חירם״ מעליו // ובלג — כ: לפני מילה זו (שהיא נאבדה בשל קריעה) נכתב ״מלך״ ונמחק בקו לאורכו (ראה ההע׳ הקודמת) // אלחכמה — כך כ // 21 בן — כך כ // אלי׳ — כ: אלעשרה // 22 [ו]קדרים ... כי — כך כ (ומתחיל בו צד ב׳ במילה ״[ו]קדרים״) // 22–23 אלסבב ... חסנהא — כך כ; ומכאן (ר״ל, מהמילה ״חסנהא״) מתחיל כ״י ל, דף 12א // 23 אכתיאר אחשורוש להא — כך כ, ל (אך ל: אחשורש) // ומע׳ — כ: [ו]מעני // וטובת — ל: וטבת //

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ויועץ המלך רחבעם את הזקנים א⌜שר היו⌝ [וג׳.] ⌜וקאל פי⌝ אכ̇באר גירהם **די להון אחשדרפניא /אלין/ יהבין להון ⌜טעמא⌝** [וג׳.] וקאל איצ̇א **כל קבל די מן קדם מלכא ושבעת יעטוהי שליח.** ומא אשבה ד̇לך. ומעני קולה **ידעי דת ודין** ולם יקל **ידעי דין** וחדה. הו אן קולה **דין** יריד בה חכם אלקצ̇אה̈ ואלפקהא באלעדל ואלאנצאף. וקולה **דת** יריד בה סנה̈ אלמלוך ומא יחכם בה אלאמרא באלתקדיר ואלתקריב. וד̇לך אן אלנאס על גאבר אלדהר מחתאג̇ין אלי הד̇ין אלתדבירין מעא. לתסן סיאסה̈ אלקצ̇אה̈ באלעדל ללתג̇אר ואלצנאע ואהל אלסלאמה̈ ואלעפה̈. וסיאסה̈ אלשרטיין באלתד[ביר] ללשראר ואלדעאר ומן כאן פי צורתהם ועלי מא קא[ל] **לא יוסר עבד ב׳** וג׳. ואנמא נבה האהנא עלי תדבירי [**דת**] **ודין** ג̇מיעא לאן הד̇א אלג̇זא אלד̇י ג̇וזית בה וש[תי הו] עלי סביל אלחכם ואלאנצאף לאנה לו אמצ̇י עלי[הא אמרה] ילזמהא שיא אד̇ אלג̇ור עליהא בין. ואלתעקי ט̇אהר עלי מא קדמת. ולכנה אמצ̇י מעהא עלי סביל [סנה̈ אלמ]מלכה̈ ותשדיד אמורהא. וד̇לך אן אלמלוך [...]ת̇ל בריא ליצלחו בה ממלכ[ת]הם ואן לם יסתחק [אחדא. פלד̇לך] לם יתול אלמשורה̈ בקתל ושתי אג̇ל אלז׳ אלמש[ירין ולם באכ̇ראג̇הא] לכן תקלדהא /אדהאהם/ והו ממוכן. פקאל [...]דתבתהא פסאדא [...] | אלמלך [פ]כל עאם וכ̇אץ מן ממלכתה. כמא קאל **לא על המלך לבדו** ומענאה **לא אל המלך לבדו.** וכד̇לך **כי אל כל הש[רים] ואל כל העמים.** וד̇לך אד̇א סמעו במכ̇אלפתהא ללמלך א[ח׳] באלט̇אהר פכ̇אלפת כל זוג̇ה̈ בעלהא. ולם יתבינו הל כאנת ושתי באמתנאעהא מנצפה̈ לאחשורש אם לא. בל לא יג̇וז אן יכשף להם תעדי אחשורש פי[מ]תחן בה. פמן קולה **כי יצא** עלמנא אנה [כ̇א]ף אלתשניע. ומן קולה **להביא [את ושתי המל]כה לפניו ולא באה.** ואמסך ען אן יד̇כר [אלחאל אל]ד̇י חמלה עלי ד̇אך. והו **כטוב לב המלך ביין.** [עלמ]נא אנה קצד אלסתר עלי אלמלך ואלא יכשף תעדיה לאנה הו בחצ̇רתה לא יקדר אן יקולה. ולאן אלאבעדין אנמא יכ̇רג̇ אליהם עין אלכ̇בר פקט. לא שרוחה פיציר מבתורא. וקולה **והיום הזה תאמרנה** וג׳ אראד בה ובאלעאג̇ל אלי אן יכ̇רג̇ אלכ̇בר אלי אלבעידין תכ̇אלף נסוה̈ אלקואד אלד̇ין /בחצ̇רתהא/ ג̇מיע אלקואד. ותכ̇אצמהם כמא קאל **תאמרנה.** ופסרתה מקאולה̈. מת̇ל **ויאמר קין אל הבל אח[יו].** וקולה **וכדי בזיון וקצף.** יעני אנה ולו אמנא אן יכ̇רג̇ אלכ̇בר אלי אל[קרב]. לכאן פי כ̇רוג̇ה אלי אלקרב כפאיה̈ אן יג̇צ̇ב פיה [אלמ]לך. ת̇ם אקול ולמוצ̇ע מא לם תך ושתי מתעדיה̈ [ואנמא] ג̇וזית במא וצף לאצלאח אלממלכה̈ ואלכוף [מן ממאנ]עה̈ פקט. לד̇לך לם ישאר בקתלהא בל לא [בא]כ̇ראג̇הא ען /דאר/ אלמלך. ואנמא שיר במנעהא [ען] אלדכ̇ול [לל]מלך פקט. כמא קאל **אשר לא תבוא ושתי לפני ה[מלך א]חשורש** ולם יקל **אשר לא תשב ושתי בב[יתה ו]לא עלי אשר תהרג ושתי.** ופסרת א[...]איר לה פי אלמקרא. וסימא פי אל[...] |

א$_1$ 3א

4. לפס׳ ב, ה–ז

(כ״י ז 53א–54ב; בהשוואה ל־כ א–ב, ל 12א)

ז 53א [... **אלי]שמע בן עמיהוד** [אלד̇ין הם מן בני] אפרים. ומן קול חואדת̇ [...]זע בן עתי וד̇אהב **ועתי הוליד את נ[תן ונתן]**

8 [וג׳.] — י$_1$: עמדים את פני שלמה אביו בהיותו חי לאמר. // 9 [וג׳.] — י$_1$: ומלכא לא להוא נזיק

8 **א⌜שר היו⌝** — כך י$_1$ // **⌜וקאל פי⌝** — כך י$_1$ // **/אלין/** — כך נה״מ; א$_1$ י$_1$: **אלך**(!) // 9 **⌜טעמא⌝** — כך י$_1$ // 9–10 **ידעי ... קולה דין** — י$_1$: **די**(!) (נשמט שאר הטקסט מ״ידעי״ — כנראה בשל הומויוארקטון במילה ״קולה״) // 10 **יריד** (הראשון) — נסתיים כאן י$_1$ (דף 2ב) // 13 **ואלדעאר** — א$_1$: מטושטשת הדל״ת ושמא יש לקרוא **ואלאעאר** (במקום **ואלעיארין**?) // 14 **ג̇וזית** — כל׳ جُزِيَتْ (ראה דקדוק § 8ד) // 15 **ואלתעקי** — א$_1$: מטושטשות שתי האותיות האחרונות, ואע״פ שלא מצאנו את המילה בַמילונים, תפסנו אותה במובנו של عقوق (= ״אי־ציות״) // 16 [...]**ת̇ל** — א$_1$: נאבדו כאן כשתים או שלוש וחצי מלים // **לם** — במקום **לא** (ראה דקדוק § 205ג) // 17 **/אדהאהם/** — א$_1$: **אדתהם**(!), ומעל לאות ת׳ נכתבו, כנראה, שתי אותיות, שהראשונה אי־אפשר לקרואה בצילומנו והשנית היא ה׳ // 18 [...]**דתבתהא** — א$_1$: נאבדו כאן כארבע או חמש וחצי מלים // [...] — א$_1$: נאבדו כאן (בסוף הדף) מילה אחת או שתיים // 19 **א[ח׳]** — א$_1$: או שמא יש לקרוא **א[נהא]** // 23 **ואלא** — כל׳ **ואן לא** // 25 **אלד̇ין** — במקום **אל(ו)אתי** (השווה דקדוק § 361) // **/בחצ̇רתהא/** — א$_1$: **בחצ̇רה̈**(!) // 27 **תך** — במקום **תכן** (ראה דקדוק § 102בa) // **ג̇וזית** — כל׳ جُزِيَتْ (ראה דקדוק § 8ד) // 28 **/דאר/** — א$_1$: **דאך**(!) // 29 **אלדכ̇ול** — א$_1$: לאחר ממילה זו נכתב בטעות (בשל דיטוגרפיה) **בקתלהא בל לא באכ̇ראג̇הא ען דאך**(!) ונמחק בקו בלאורך המלים // 30 **א[...]איר** — א$_1$: נאבדו כאן כשלוש וחצי מילים // **וסימא** — כך, בהוראת ״לא סימא״ (ראה מילון, עמ׳ 319א) // **אל[...]** — א$_1$: נאבדו כאן (בסוף הדף) מילה אחת ושמא שתיים

§4. 1 [... — ז: נאבדו כאן (בראש הדף) כשתים או שלוש מילים // [...]**זע** — ז: נאבדו כאן כשתים או שלוש וחצי מילים, ושמא יש לקרוא את המילה האחרונה ״ירחע״, אף שהוא אביו של עתי

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הי֯ה אלפ֯לך ואפאק אלארץ אטואלהא וערוצ֯הא ק֯ריבה מן הד֯א אלעדד ומן /אין/ יסתדל עלי אן **מדינה** כורה ומנבר מן ק֯ו֯לה **מדינה ומדינה ככתבה** וליס יוגד לכל מדינה מן אלמדן כט מופרד פלעלה אן יבקא בעד הד֯א אלעדד שי יסיר מן אלעמא֯ר֯ה.

2. לפס׳ א, ב

(כ״י ו ב; בהשוואה ל־ח 5א, ט 15ב–16א)

ו ב קולה **בימים ההם כשבת** תקדמה למא סיקולה בעד דלך אנה **בשנת שלוש למלכו עשה משתה**. פ֯סבק בקול אנה אנמא צנע אל֯ו֯לימה א֯לעט֯ימה חין גלס עלי אלכרסי אלדי פי אלסוס. ו֯לאפצא֯חה בד֯כר **שושן הבירה** מעני ע֯ט֯ים פ֯יה סר כיפ֯ה וגוב תרתיב ד׳ **מלכיו֯ת** ודלך א֯ן **שו֯שן ה֯בירה** מן בלדאן עילם כק׳ **ויהי בראות֯י ואנ֯י בשושן הבירה א֯שר בעי֯ל֯ם המ[׳]** |

3. לפס׳ א, יג–יט

(כ״י א$_1$ 3א–ב; בהשוואה ל־ר$_1$ 2א–ב, ר$_2$ 2ב)

ו֯עלי הד֯א אלסביל וגד כלק אלרחמה הו אלגאלב עלי אלסלטאן פאנה בכת֯רה רחמתה יעפי ען אלמסתחקין אלקתל פיכת֯ר אלפסאד פי אלארץ פיגב אן תתעאדל רחמתה בקסוה מן משארך לה פי אלתדביר חתי ימתזג בין אלחאלין גמיעא כמא קאל **נהם ככפיר זעף מלך וכטל על עשב רצונו**. ובאלעכס אד֯א | **וגד֯ת** אלקסוה גאלבה עלי אכלאקה א$_1$ 3ב עודל במעאצ֯ד חנין שפק ח֯תי ינתט֯ם בה אלתדביר. ועלי הד֯א אלמסלך יגרי תדביר ס֯איר אלאכלאק אלמתצ֯אדה. ומן גיר אכ֯תלאף אלאכלאק יחתאג֯ איצ֯א אלי אלמשירין למגאדבה כל אנסן מן חאשיה אלממלכה אלמלך אלמנצוב אלי הואה ומראדה. פאד֯א רסם אלא ימצ֯א אמר אלא בקול משירין מעה אעתאץ הד֯א אלמטלב. ולם יקדר עליה בסרעה. ולד֯לך לם יזל מלוך אלאסראיליין ומלוך אלאעאגם יחצ֯רון /פי/ מגאלסהם מש֯ירי֯ן כמ֯א קאל פ֯י כ֯בר בני אסראיל

17 אן — ט: ליתא (השווה דקדוק §331)

§2. 1 כשבת — ט: ליתא // סיקולה ... אנה — ט: פי ק׳ בעד דלך // עשה משתה — ט: וג׳ // פסבק — ט: פיסבק // 2 אלעט֯ימה — ט: אלעצ֯ימה (על העדרת התוות כאן — אם אינה ט״ס — ראה דקדוק §21; ושם §21ב על הכתיב בצ֯) // 3 הבירה — ט: ליתא // עילם — ח, ט: נוסף בן שם // כק׳ — ח: כמ׳ קאל; ט: כמא קאל //

§3. 4 ועלי ... תדביר — ר$_1$: וכדלך // 5 למגאלבה — ר$_1$: למגאלבה (שמא ט״ס, או להיפך) // אלמנצוב — ר$_1$: אלמציב (שמא ט״ס) // 6 משירין — ר$_1$: אלמשירין // אלמטלב — ר$_1$: אלמטלוב // 7 אלאעאגם — ר$_1$: אלאמם

15–16 אליה ... היה — במקום אליאה ... היאה (כל׳, הַיָּאָה; ראה דקדוק §11gb ועמ׳ 284 לשם; מ֯ילון, עמ׳ 739ב), כמו בכ״י ט // 16 הי֯ה אלפ֯לך — כך ח, ט // 16 ק֯ריבה — כך ח, ט // הד֯א — ״תוקן״ מן הד֯ה (אך ראה דקדוק §51אb), שכך (ר״ל, הד֯ה) נכתב בכ״י ט // /אין/ — כך ח, ט; ו: אן(!) // מן (האחרון) — ט: נשמט, כנראה (לאור ההקשר התחבירי) בטעות // 17 ק֯ו֯לה — כך ט; ח: קו׳ // מופרד — במקום מפרד (כל׳, מֻפְרָד; ראה דקדוק §38כ), כמו בכ״י ח // 18 אלעמא֯ר֯ה — כך ח, ט, וכאן נסתיים הפרוש על פס׳ א

§2. 1 קולה בימים — מכאן נמשכים גם כ״י ח ור־ט, אך ב־ט: קו׳ בימים // פ֯סבק — כך ח, ט // בקול — ט: בק׳ // 2 אל֯ו֯לימה א֯לעט֯ימה — כך ח, ט // ו֯לאפצא֯חה ... מעני — כך ח, ט; ובכ״י ט נוסף בט״ס אן // 2–3 ע֯ט֯ים ... כיפ֯ה — כך ח, ט // 3 ד׳ — ט: ארבע // מ֯לכיו֯ת ... ה֯בירה — כך ח, ט // ו֯יהי ... ואנ֯י — כך ח, ט // 3 א֯שר בעי֯ל֯ם — כך ח, ט // 4 אשר — ט: אשאר(!) // המ[׳] — ח, ט: המדינה; ו: נסתיים כאן הדף, אך נמשך הפירוש על הפסוק עד סופו בכ״י ח, דפ׳ 5א–ב, ור־ט, דפ׳ 16א–20א

§3. 1–3 ו֯עלי ... אד֯א — כך ר$_2$ + ר$_1$ // 2 חתי — כאן נסתיים כ״י ר$_2$, דף 2ב, ובמילה הבאה (ימתזג) מתחיל כ״י ר$_1$, דף 2א // 3 וגד֯ת — כך ר$_1$ // 4 עודל — במקום עדל (כל׳, עֹדֵל; ראה דקדוק §78ד), כמו שנכתב (בחולם) בכ״י ר$_1$ // ח֯תי — כך ר$_1$ // ס֯איר — כך ר$_1$ // 5 אנסן — ר$_1$: אנסאן // חאשיה — ר$_1$: חאשייה (ראה דקדוק §31ב) // אלממלכה — במקום ממלכה (שמא ט״ס, אך ראה דקדוק §226ה–ו) // 6 ימצ֯א — ר$_1$: ימצ֯י (כל׳, יִמְצֵי; ראה דקדוק §10א) // 7 /פי/ — כך ר$_1$; א$_1$: נשמט בטעות // מש֯ירי֯ן ... כ֯בר — כך ר$_1$

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ג. הטקסט

1. לפס׳ א, א
(כ״י ו א–ב; בהשוואה ל־ח 3ב–4ב, ט 11ב–15א)

ו א וגב אן יד קולה **מהדו ועד כוש** ליס הו גאיה לא סואהא לכנה מתאל כמן יריד אן יקול **ממזרח שמש עד מבואו.** | פוצע מכאן דלך **מהדו ועד כוש.** ודלך אן גמלה אלעמארה סבעה אקאלים טול כל אקלים מן אלמשרק אלי אלמגרב וערצה מן אלגנוב אלי אלשמאל פרבמא חדד אלמחדד אי מכאן אראד אן יחדה בטולה וערצה גמיעא ורבמא חדה בטולה פקט. פלמא כאן אלאקלים אלאול הו אטול אלאקאלים מן אלמשרק אלי אלמגרב וכאן מא בעדה מן אלו אלאקאלים אלאכר כל מא קרב מן אלשמאל יקצר טולה אלדי הו מן אלמשרק אלי אלמגרב /–/ דלך לתצאיק אגזא כרה אלארץ אלמוסתדירה חדד אלכתאב ההנא ממלכה אחשורוש באלטול פקט לא באלערץ פקאל **מהודו ועד כוש** לאן אטול אלאקאלים הו אלאול אלדי כטה מן אלצין אלי אלחבשה פקד תבין אן קולה **מהודו ועד**

ו ב **כוש** הו מקאם קולה **ממזרח שמש עד** | **מבואו.** ורבמא חדדה בערצה פקט והו מא קאל פי שלמה **כי הוא רדה בכל עבר הנהר מתפסח ועד עזה.** פמדינה גזה הי עלי טרף אלבחר והי אכר חד /אלגנוב/ ללשאם. **ותפסח** הי אלמדינה אלדי פתחהא מנחם בן גדי פי אלבריה והי אכר חד /אלשמאל/ ללשאם. ולא יסתקים אן יעתקד אנהא אלכופה לבעדהא מן אן יפתחהא מנחם. ואמא אלחדוד דוו אלטול ואלערץ פכמא קאל **ושתי את גבולך מים סוף ועד ים פלשתים וממדבר עד הנהר.** ומחקק אכתר מנה קצה **זאת הארץ אשר תפל לכם בנחלה ארץ כנען לגבולת׳.** פעלי מא קדמנא חד אלכתאב טול ממלכה אחשורוש מן אלמשרק פקאל **מהדו ועד כוש.** ולם יחד ערצהא מן אלגנוב אלי אלשמאל פיקול **מהדו ועד המגוג.** ואמא אחצא **שבע ועשרים ומאה מדינה** פאדא אעתקד אן **מדינה** מנבר וכורה תבין אנה קד שמל אכתר אלעמארה ודלך אן אלמדן אלתי אקאם אלעלמא אצחאב אלהיה אעני

§1. 1 קולה — ט: קו׳ // מתאל — ט: מתל // אן יקול — ט: יקול (ראה דקדוק §334) // עד — ט: ועד (שכך נכתב במקצת כה״י של נה״מ) // 4 הו — ט: ליתא // 5 אלאקאלים — ט: אקאלים (ראה דקדוק §§229, 243ב) // יקצר — ט: קצר // 9 הי עלי — ט: עלי // והי — ט: והו // 11–12 מים ... הנהר — ט: ו[ג׳] // 12 לכם ... לגבולת׳ — ט: וג׳ // 15 אלתי — ט: אלדי (ראה דקדוק §361אa)

§1. 1 יד — במקום יכון (ראה דקדוק §102בa) // מהדו — ט: מהודו // סואהא — ט: סואה (!) // וגב ... מבואו. — כך ח, ט // פוצע — כך ח, ט // 2 דלך — ט: נשמט בטעות // מהדו — ט: מהודו // מהדו ... אלעמארה — כך ח, ט // סבעה — ח, ט: ז׳ // 2–3 אקאלים ... אלמגרב — כך ח, ט // 3 אלגנוב ... אלמחדד — כך ח, ט // יחדה — כנראה במקום יחדדה (ראה דקדוק §90) // יחדה ... גמיעא — כך ח, ט // 4 חדה — במקום חדדה (ראה ההע׳ הקודמת), כמו שנכתב בכ״י ח, ט // בטולה — ח: נוסף בט״ס וערצה ונמחק בקו לאורכו // אלאקלים — נכפלה המילה בטעות ולא תוקנה (נמחקה) בשום סימן // פקט ... אלאקלים — כך ח, ט // אלמגרב וכאן — כך ח, ט // 5 קרב — כך ח; ט קורב (ראה דקדוק §78ד) // טולה — ט: לפני מילה זו נכתבה האות ב׳ ונמחקה בקו מעליה // אלמגרב — כך ח, ט // /–/ — ו: נוסף בטעות (בשל דיטוגרפיה): וערצה מן אלגנוב אלי אלשמאל פרבמא חדד אלמחדד אי מכאן אראד אן יחדה בטולה וערצה גמיעא ורבמא חדדה בטולה פקט פלמא כאן אלאקלים אלאול הו אטול אלאקאלים מן אלמשרק [אלי אל]מגרב וכאן מא בעדה מן אלו אלאקאלים אלאכר כל מא קרב מן אל[שמאל] יקצר טולה אלדי הו מן אלמשרק אלי אלמגרב // 6 לתצאיק — כך ח, ט // אלמוסתדירה — במקום אלמסתדירה (כל׳, الْمُسْتَدِيرَة; ראה דקדוק §38ב), כמו בכ״י ח // ההנא — ח: האהנא; ט: ההונא // אלכתאב ... אחשורוש — כך ח, ט // בערץ — כך ח, ט // 7 מהודו — ח: מהדו // כוש — כך ח, ט // אלאול — כך ח, ט // פקד — כך ח, ט // תבין — ט: תביין (ראה דקדוק §30ב) // אן קולה — כך ח, ט // קולה — ט: קו׳ // מהודו — ח: מהדו // 8 ממזרח שמש עד — כך ח, ט // מקאם — ט: פקאם(!) // קולה — ח, ט: קו׳ // 8–13 מבואו ... אלמשרק — כך ח, ט // 9–10 /אלגנוב/ ... /אלשמאל/ — כך לפי ההקשר; ו, ח, ט: אלשמאל ... אלגנוב (!) // 9 הי אלמדינה — ט: פי(!) אלמדינה // 10 אלדי — במקום אלתי (ראה דקדוק §361אa) // אלבריה — ט: בריה(!) // אכר חד — ט: נראה שמעל למלים אלו נכתבו אחת או שתי מילים שאי־אפשר לקרואן בתצלומנו // יסתקים אן יעתקד — כך ט // 11 לבעדהא מן אן יפתחהא — כך ט // דוו — ט: דוי (ראה דקדוק §216) // פכמא — ט: נכתבה המילה בצורה קצת מוזרה (שמא תוקנה) ועל־כן נכתבה עוד מעל לשורה // 12 לכם — ח: תוקן מן להם (נכתבה האות כ׳ מעל לאות ה׳) // פעלי — ט: נכתב משהו אחר (משובש) בטעות ונכתבה המילה הנכונה מעליו // 13 חד ... יחד — שמא במקום חדד ... יחדד (ראה ההע׳ לשו׳ 3 ו־4 לעיל) // פקאל ... ערצהא — כך ח, ט // מהדו — ט: מהודו // 14 מהדו — ט: מהודו // אלי ... מהדו — כך ח, ט // שבע ... מדינה — כך ח; ט: זכ״ק // 15 מנבר — ט: מוגבר (כך [ראה דקדוק §38ב], שמא בט״ס [במקום מִגְבָּר]) // מנבר ... תבין — כך ח, ט // תבין — ט: ונבין(!) // קד — כך ח, ט // אלעלמא — ט: אלעולמא (ראה דקדוק §38ב) // אן אלמדן — כך ח; ט: אן אלמודן (ראה דקדוק §38ב)

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פ״ד פירוש רס״ג לדניאל המוהדר ע״י יוסף קאפח, דניאל עם תרגום ופירוש הגאון רבינו סעדיה בן יוסף פיומי זצ״ל, מהד׳ שנייה, ירושלים, תשנ״ד.

פיאמנטה Moshe Piamenta, *Dictionary of Post-Classical Yemeni Arabic*, 2 vols., Leiden, 1990.

פ״ת פירוש רס״ג לתהלים המוהדר ע״י יוסף קאפח, תהלים עם תרגום ופירוש הגאון רבינו סעדיה בן יוסף פיומי זצ״ל, ירושלים, תשכ״ו.

צוקר, בראשית משה צוקר, פירושי רב סעדיה גאון לבראשית, ניו יורק, תשמ״ד.

קאפח, אסתר ראה ת״ס.

קוריאנטה Federico Corriente, *A Dictionary of Andalusi Arabic*, Leiden, 1997.

רייט William Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language, translated from the German of Caspari and edited with numerous additions and corrections*, revised by W. Robertson Smith and M. J. de Goeje, 3rd ed., 2 vols., Cambridge, 1955.

ת״י תרגום יונתן (לספר שמואל: לפי מקראות גדולות ״הכתר״, מה׳ מ׳ כהן, ירושלים, תשנ״ג).

ת״ס תפסיר סעדיה גאון (ר״ל, תרגומו הערבי סתם) למגילת אסתר, בתוך: חמש מגילות ... עם פירושים עתיקים היוצאים לאור פעם ראשונה על פי כתבי יד בצירוף מבואות הערות והארות, מה׳ יוסף קאפח, ירושלים, תשכ״ב, עמ׳ שא–שכב.

أ עיבוד ערבי אנונימי לכתאב אלאנאס (= $أ_1 + أ_2 + أ_3 + أ_4$).

$أ_1$ כ״י ספריית אוניברסיטת קמבריג׳ (CUL): T-S NS 221.5.

$أ_2$ כ״י ספריית אוניברסיטת קמבריג׳ (CUL): T-S Misc.6.159.

$أ_3$ כ״י ספריית אוניברסיטת קמבריג׳ (CUL): T-S Misc.7.47.

$أ_4$ כ״י ספריית בית המדרש לרבנים שבאמריקה, ניו יורק (JTSL): ENA 2638, דפ׳ 21–22.

ب עיבוד ערבי מקוצר של כתאב אלאנאס בפירושו של יצחק גאון בן ישראל על פרשת תרומה, לפי כ״י ספריית בודליאנה של אוניברסיטת אוקספורד (BLO): Hunt. 241 (Neubauer no. 1001), דפ׳ 23ב–25ב.

ت תמצית ערבי אנונימי של פירוש רס״ג לאס׳ ג, א–ד, הנמצא בכ״י ספריית בית המדרש לרבנים שבאמריקה, ניו יורק (JTSL): ENA 3601, דפ׳ 14ב–15א.

ث עיבוד ערבי מקוצר של פירוש רס״ג לאס׳ א, א, הנמצא בכ״י ספריית אוניברסיטת קמבריג׳ (CUL): T-S Misc.24.158, דף ב.

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ב. רשימת סימנים וקיצורים

/ /	הצעת תיקון למילה או למילים מוטעות או כאלה החשודות כטעות.
[ ]	הצעת השלמה לטקסט חסר (על־סמך ההקשר או כ״י אחר).
‹ ›	מילה או מילים שנכתבו מעל לשורה או בשולי הדף.
⌜ ⌝	טקסט (אותיות או מילים) מטושטש או חסר בכה״י הבסיסי אותו השלמנו על־סמך כ״י אחר — או תיקון סופרים (בתרגום הערבי של פסוקי התנ״ך בלבד), כשכ״י אחר אינו קיים.
|	התחלת דף חדש או סופו (דהיינו, מעבר מדף אחד לאחר).
(!)	טעות או מה שהוא חשוד בטעות.
(?)	השלמה (שלנו) משוערת.
אוצר	יהודה רצהבי, אוצר הלשון הערבית בתפסיר ר׳ סעדיה גאון, רמת־גן, תשמ״ו.
א$_1$	כ״י הספרייה הלאומית הרוסית, סנקט פטרסבורג (NLR): Yevr.-Arab. I 3866.
א$_2$	כ״י הספרייה הלאומית הרוסית, סנקט פטרסבורג (NLR): Yevr. II 700.
א$_3$	כ״י ספריית בית המדרש לרבנים שבאמריקה, ניו יורק (JTSL): ENA 2824, דפ׳ 1–2.
ב$_1$	כ״י ספריית אוניברסיטת קמברידג׳ (CUL): T-S Ar.23.44.
ב$_2$	כ״י ספריית אוניברסיטת קמברידג׳ (CUL): T-S NS 164.148.
ג	כ״י ספריית אוניברסיטת קמברידג׳ (CUL): T-S Ar.33.31.
ד	כ״י ספריית אוניברסיטת קמברידג׳ (CUL): T-S Ar.49.99.
דוזי	Reinhart Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, 2nd ed., 2 vols., Leiden-Paris, 1927.
דקדוק	יהושע בלאו, דקדוק הערבית־היהודית של ימי־הביניים, מהד׳ שנייה, ירושלים, תש״ם.
ה	כ״י ספריית אוניברסיטת קמברידג׳ (CUL): T-S NS 163.3.
ו	כ״י ספריית אוניברסיטת קמברידג׳ (CUL): T-S NS 309.52.
ז	כ״י ספריית בודליאנה של אוניברסיטת אוקספורד (BLO): Heb.e.56, דפ׳ 53–60.
ח	כ״י ספריית בודליאנה של אוניברסיטת אוקספורד (BLO): Heb.f.19.
ט	כ״י ספריית אוניברסיטת קמברידג׳ (CUL): T-S Ar.1b.94.
ט״ס	טעות סופר
י$_1$	כ״י ספריית אוניברסיטת קמברידג׳ (CUL): T-S Ar.25.82.
י$_2$	כ״י ספריית אוניברסיטת קמברידג׳ (CUL): T-S Ar.25.84.
יפת, שרח	שרח מגלת אחשורוש ליפת בן עלי הקראי, בתוך: Michael G. Wechsler, *The Arabic Translation and Commentary of Yefet ben ʿEli the Karaite on the Book of Esther* (Études sur le judaïsme médiéval 36; Karaite Texts and Studies 1), Leiden, 2008, pp. 3*–63*.
כ	כ״י ספריית אוניברסיטת קמברידג׳ (CUL): T-S Misc.6.120.
כ(ה)״י	כתב(י)־(ה)יד.
ל	כ״י ספריית בית המדרש לרבנים שבאמריקה, ניו יורק (JTSL): ENA 3488, דפ׳ 11–12.
ליין	Edward W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, 8 vols., London, 1863–93; repr., Beirut, 1968.
מ$_1$	כ״י ספריית כל ישראל חברים, פריס (BAIU): III.B.75.
מ$_2$	כ״י ספריית אוניברסיטת קמברידג׳ (CUL): T-S Misc.6.39.
מילון	יהושע בלאו, מילון לטקסטים ערביים־יהודיים מימי הביניים, ירושלים, תשס״ו.
נ$_1$	כ״י ספריית בודליאנה של אוניברסיטת אוקספורד (BLO): Heb.d.62, דף 118.
נ$_2$	כ״י הספרייה הבריטית, לונדון (BL): Or. 5556D.58.
נה״מ	נוסח המסורה לפי Karl Elliger and Wilhelm Rudolph, *et al.*, eds., *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*, 4th ed., Stuttgart, 1990.
ס	כ״י ספריית אוניברסיטת קמברידג׳ (CUL): T-S 8Ca1.
ע	כ״י ספריית אוניברסיטת קמברידג׳ (CUL): T-S Ar.27.98.

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23

עשרה קטעים חדשים מפירוש רס״ג למגילת אסתר: הטקסט הערבי־היהודי (עם נספח כולל קטע מפירוש יהודה אבן בלעם לַמגילה)

מיכאל וקסלר*

א. שיטת ההדרה

הטקסט הערבי של עשרת הקטעים הנידונים — שזיהוֵם ותוכנם נדונים במאמרי האנגלי בספר זה — נכתב, כמו רוב עדי הנוסחים של כתבי רס״ג הלא־פיוטיים, באותיות עבריות.[1] עם זאת, הואיל וכתבי־היד אינם משתמשים בשיטה אחת כדי לאבחן בין נקודות הבוחן (הדיאקריטיות) בערבית, השתמשנו בשיטה אחידה לציונן במהדורה, וזאת כדי להקל על הקריאה, כמקובל כיום בפרסום טקסטים בערבית־יהודית, דהיינו: תׄ (= ث), גׄ (= ج), כׄ (= خ), דׄ (= ذ), צׄ (= ض), טׄ (= ظ), ו־הׄ (= ه).[2] בכל הנוגע לכתיב הערבי־היהודי לא הנהגנו שיטה אחידה אלא שימרנו את ההבדלים בַשימוש של כתיב מלא (ויתר־מלא) או חסר, ההחלפה בין עיצורים קרובים במבטא, וכו׳,[3] וזאת משום שהשינויים בכתיב חשובים לחוקרי הלשון הערבית־היהודית ותולדות הנוסח של כתבי־היד.

כ״טקסט הבסיסי״ של המהדורה השתמשנו בקטע השלם יותר והערנו בַאפראטים על כל חילופי הגירסאות מהקטע(ים) האחר(ים) שנשתמרו לאותו החלק מהתרגום או הפירוש. במקרים שהטקסט הבסיסי מטושטש או חסר, השלמנו אותו על סמך הטקסט הנמצא בקטע אחר (מצוין בין חצאי סוגריים מרובעים, כגון: ⸢מרדכי⸣) או על פי ההקשר, כמידת יכולתנו (מצוין בין סוגריים מרובעים, כגון: [מרדכי]). במקרים בהם לא יכולנו להשלים את הטקסט ציינו נקודות השמטה (בין סוגריים מרובעים, דהיינו: [...]).

אשר לחילופי הגירסאות, השתמשנו בשני אפראטים: באפראט הראשון הובאו כל חילופי הגירסאות הסמנטיים, וגם צורות נפרדות של אותו השורש באותה הנטייה (אף שמשמען אחד — כגון: ״אקואל״ ו״אקאויל״); באפראט השני ריכזנו חילופי גירסאות שאין להם משמעות סמנטית מובהקת: חילופים באורתוגרפיה של אותו המונח (לדוגמא: ״גוזית״ במקום ״גוזית״, ששניהם = جُزَيَتْ), קיצורים וטעויות, וגם הערות שלנו על אפשרויות תחביריות או ולקסיקוגראפיות אחרות בהבנת הכתוב.

לבסוף, הוספנו כנספח את הקטע היחיד (צד אחד של דף אחד) ששרד מפירושו של יהודה אבן בלעם (נולד במחצית השנייה של המאה ה־11) למגילת אסתר (בכ״י אוקספורד־בודליאנה Heb.d.68, דף 13ב; ראה תצלום 23.1). קטע זה, אשר למיטב ידיעתנו לא פורסם עד הנה,[4] חשוב משום שהוא מהווה עד מוקדם להשפעתו הפרשנית של רס״ג על הבאים אחריו (ראה מאמרנו האנגלי בספר זה, עמ׳ 246).

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* תודתי נתונה מקרב לב לעמיתתי פרופ׳ מאירה פוליאק מאוניברסיטת תל־אביב על הצעותיה המצוינות ותיקוניה לטיוטת המאמר.

[1] אין להסיק מזה בוודאות שכל *מקודות* כתביו נכתבו באותיות עבריות (על שאלה זו ראה י׳ רצהבי, אוצר הלשון העברית בתפסיר ר׳ סעדיה גאון [רמת־גן, תשמ״ו], עמ׳ 17–18, ולאחרונה דיונו של ריצ׳ארד שטיינר, *A Biblical Translation in the Making: The Evolution and Impact of Saadia Gaon's* Tafsīr [Cambridge, Mass., 2010], 94–99). ועלינו לשים לב עכשיו למה שאמר רס״ג בפירושו לאסתר ח, ט, המצוי (ועד עתה לא פורסם) בכ״י T-S NS 285.30: **ואן אלאמהׄ יגׄב אן תחפטׄ כטׄהא ולגתהא פי אלגלות מן קולה ואל היהודים ככת׳ וכלש׳ ולא תציעהמא** (״חובה היא על העם לשמור את כתבם ולשונם בַגלות ככתוב **ואל היהודים ככתבם וכלשונם** — ולא לעזבם״).

[2] ראה בלאו, דקדוק הערבית־היהודית של ימי־הביניים (ירושלים, תש״ם), עמ׳ 46–47 (§ 28).

[3] על שינויים אלו בכלל — וסטיותיהם מהכתיב ותורת הצורות של טקסטים ערביים הנכתבים באותיות עבריות — ראה בלאו, שם, עמ׳ 17–122 (§§ 2–173).

[4] מוזכר הקטע אצל כמה חוקרים — כגון, חוץ מהקטלוג של נויבאואר־קאולי: נ׳ אלוני, מחקרי לשון וספרות, כרך ג (תשמ״ט), עמ׳ 512, הע׳ 2; ש׳ פוזננסקי, "The Arabic Commentary of Abu Zakariya Yahya (Judah ben Samuel) ibn Bal'am on the Twelve Minor Prophets," *Jewish Quarterly Review*, n.s. 15 (1924–25), 3; B. D. Walfish, *Esther in Medieval Garb: Jewish Interpretation of the Book of Esther in the Middle Ages* (Albany, 1993), 319.

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בגרמנית: ״צִיגוֶינֶר״, או ברוסית: ״צִיגַן״). שלישית, הוראת השורש צע״נ בעברית היא ״עקר״, ״נדד״ (כך בישע׳ לג, כ: ״אהל בל יצען״), דבר המאפיין את בני הרומה כעם הנודד ממקום למקום. גלגול השם: השם ציגאני יצא משם צוען (ע׳ נחלף בג׳). לוד (בר׳ י, כב) — יונתן בן עוזיאל מתרגם לוודים גיווטאי שהם הציגאני שיצאו מצוען. ורס״ג מתרגם לוודים אלתניסיין והוא צוען. ושניהם פירשו אם כך לוודים הם הציגאני.

סיכום

את הנטייה לזיהוי שמות יישובים, מקומות גיאוגרפיים וקבוצות אתניות עם מושגים בני זמנם, אנחנו רואים לאורך כל ההיסטוריה של העם היהודי, בכל מקומות התיישבותו. ההסברים לכך יכולים להיות שונים ומגוונים. הסבר לשוני־אטימולוגי יצביע על השימוש בצלילים דומים או בעיצורים דומים כדי לזהות שמות של מקומות עם הידוע מהמסורת המקראית. הסבר סקרני־אינטלקטואלי יצביע על הנטייה החקרנית, על הצורך להבין את העולם שבו הם חיים, על הצורך לתרגם ולזהות שמות קיימים במציאות מקומם וזמנם עם שמות הידועים להם מהמסורת המקראית. הסבר פסיכולוגי יעיד על חיים בעבר ובדמיון: לא היה בקרב היהודים רצון ממשי למצוא חידוש במאורעות החולפים. להיפך, היתה נטייה מוצהרת לסגל אף מאורעות חדשים חשובים לארכיטיפים מוכרים, שכן אף האסונות הנוראים ביותר אימתם תפחת איכשהו, אם ישקיפו עליהם באמצעות דגמים ישנים ולא יראו אותם בייחודם המהמם. כך המדכא האחרון כמוהו כהמן, ויהודי החצר המנסה למנוע את האסון הוא כמרדכי (״מרדכי הזמן״ — התייחסות מקובלת בכתבי הגניזה לחצרן שהיהודים תלויים בו ובקשריו עם השלטונות), הנצרות היא ״אדום״ או ״עשו״ והאסלאם הוא ״ישמעאל״. שמות גיאוגרפיים מוסעים בחדווה מהתנ״ך ומודבקים למקומות שהתנ״ך לא ידע אותם מעולם, ומכאן השמות ״ספרד״ ״צרפת״ ו״אשכנז״. קווי המתאר העיקריים של יחסי יהודים וגויים צוירו זה כבר באגדות חז״ל, ומכאן העניין המועט, אם בכלל, בתולדות העמים בני זמנם.[30] הסבר רגשני יעיד על הצורך הנפשי להרגיש בכל מקומות פזוריהם כמו בבית, על ידי הענקת שמות מקראיים למקומות יישוביהם, ולחוש כאילו ישבו במחוז חפץ, ארץ הצבי. ואולי כל ההסברים הללו יחד נותנים לנו תמונת מצב של התודעה האינטלקטואלית־לשונית־מסורתית־רגשית של היהודים בארצות פזוריהם. כך או כך, המסורת הזאת חזקה ומשתמרת בחלקה. כמה מהשמות שהעניקו היהודים לאורך ההיסטוריה למקומות מגוריהם ולקבוצות אתניות נשארו אתנו עד היום, כגון צרפת, ספרד וצוענים. כמה מן השמות עברו מן העולם ביחד עם היהודים שהשתמשו בהם כגון: תוגרמה לתורכיה, פישון לנילוס ואשכנז לגרמניה. נשארו האשכנזים כשריד לשם הזה.

[30] י״ח ירושלמי, זכור — היסטוריה יהודית וזכרון יהודי (תל־אביב: עם עובד/ספרית אפקים, תשמ״ח), עמ׳ 56. כנראה שאין מדובר בתופעה ייחודית לעם ישראל. ראה מהגרים אחרים שהעתיקו אתם את שמות העבר שלהם דוגמת ניו אמסטרדם, ניו יורק, ניו המפשייר. הענקת שמות תנ״כיים למקומות יישוב נפוצה מאוד בארה״ב: בית לחם, חברון, בית חולים הר סיני, וכו׳.

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בספרות העברית של ימי הביניים שימש השם "אשכנז" ככינוי לגרמניה. ייתכן שהשימוש בשם זה ככינוי לגרמניה, נובע מהדמיון בצליל לשם "סקסוניה" (אחת ממדינות גרמניה). אבל כבר בכרוניקה של הירונימוס מן המאה הרביעית לספירה (342–420, מאבות הכנסייה, מפרש מקרא מהאסכולה המילולית־היסטורית, מחבר ה"וולגטה" — תרגום התנ"ך ללטינית. דבק בפשט הכתובים), נאמר בדיון על לוח העמים שבבראשית י: "אשכנז הם השבטים הגותיים". בספר יוסיפון נאמר: "בעת ההיא בא בספסינוס שר החיל אשר שלחו נירוס אל ארץ המערב ואשכנז ובריטנייא וסקסוניה ואסקוטיאה ויכניעם".[24] פלוסר מוסיף בהקדמתו לספר יוסיפון שבימיו של יוסיפון הזיהוי אשכנז־גרמניה כבר היה מובן מאליו לקוראים היהודים.[25]

אבל אולי מקור הזיהוי אשכנז הוא דווקא באסלאם ובערבית: הערבים בימי הביניים כינו את ארצות הגותים בשם כולל אלשכנזה, והזיהוי ממילה זו לאשכנז בלוח העמים קרוב מאוד.[26] תחילה שימש הביטוי "יהודי אשכנז" ככינוי ליהודי גרמניה. משהחלו היהודים לנדוד למזרח אירופה, הפך הביטוי "אשכנזים" למייצג את כל היהודים במרכז אירופה ובמזרחה. בבלקן ובמערב אירופה ישבו גם יהודים ספרדים. על אף הקשר האתני בין יהודי מרכז ומערב אירופה ובין יהודי מזרח אירופה, החל מהמאה ה־19, בעקבות תנועת ההשכלה, החילון והרפורמציה הדתית, חל תהליך של בידול תרבותי בין יהודי מרכז ומערב אירופה לבין יהודי מזרח אירופה. אף על פי כן, מה שאיחד את היהודים בארצות אלה הייתה המסורת הדתית האשכנזית, גם אם לא היה לה ביטוי בפועל בחלק מהמקומות.

"וגלות ירושלים אשר בספרד יירשו את ערי הנגב" (עובד׳ כ). כפי הנראה רצו היהודי בימי הביניים להשתמש בשם עברי לחצי האי האיברי, ושאלו שם זה מספר עובדיה, שם הוא מוזכר כיעד ההגליה מירושלים. נראה כי יהודי ספרד אימצו את השם המקראי־מיתולוגי במחשבה תחילה ובכוונה גדולה: הם ביקשו לייחס את עצמם לשבט יהודה (שממנו עתיד לבוא המשיח) ולגולים מירושלים לאחר חורבן הבית הראשון. באמצעות הבחירה בשם ספרד הם העניקו מימד היסטורי־מיתולוגי לתפיסתם העצמת בתור נבחרי העם היהודי. מאות שנים לאחר מכן חזרו אל המיתוס הזה המומרים ממוצא יהודי. כדי להקל על השתלבותם בחברה הנוצרית, טענו המומרים שהפסוק מספר עובדיה מוכיח שאבותיהם באו לספרד לפני הופעת ישוע הנוצרי, ומכאן שידיהם לא היו בצליבתו.[27] פירוש רש"י לפסוק הנ"ל בספר עובדיה: "ספרד תרגם יונתן אספמיא". כלומר, רש"י מסתמך על תרגום יונתן למקרא, שבו תרגם את השם "ספרד" לשם "אספמיא".

מנהג זה שנהגו בו היהודים בימי הביניים לכנות את ארצות מושבם בשמות מקראיים על פי שם מקראי הדומה לו בצלילו חל גם על צרפת. צרפת זו, הנזכרת במקרא בתור עיר ליד צידון בצפון ארץ ישראל, גם היא דוגמה לדמיון צלילי. פירושו של רש"י למילה צרפת בספר עובדיה הוא המקור למשמעותה המודרנית: "ואומרי׳ הפותרים צרפת הוא המלכות שקורין פרנצ"א בלע"ז". באשר לשמותיו של נהר הנילוס, נסמכו רוב המפרשים על בראשית (ב, יא–יב). "שם האחד פישון הוא הסבב את כל ארץ החוילה אשר שם הזהב, וזהב הארץ ההיא טוב שם הבדלח ואבן השהם". ורש"י מפרש "פישון, הוא נילוס נהר מצרים ועל שם שמימיו מתרבין ועולין ומשקין את הארץ נקרא פישון כמו ופשו פרשיו. דבר אחר פישון שהוא מגדל פשתן שנאמר בישעיה אצל מצרים ובושו עובדי פשתים". במקרא מכונה הנילוס "יאור" וכן "שיחור" (ישע׳ כג, ג וכן ירמיה ב, יח). מקורו של השם הנוכחי בעברית הוא השם היווני אשר ממנו התפתח גם השם הלועזי המקובל היום, ויש סברה כי השם נילוס הוא גלגול חוזר לעברית של המילה נהר שהשתבשה במעבר בין השפות.

החיבור היהודי בן המאה ה־11 מגילת יוחסין או מגילת אחימעץ, שכתב אחימעץ בן פלטיאל איש קפואה שבאיטליה הביזנטית, משמר גם הוא כמה צורות מעניינות. למשל הוא מזהה את נהר פישון של בראשית א דווקא עם נהר הפו האיטלקי: "באניה בנהר פאו הוא פישון, נהר גן עדן הראשון"[28] כשאחימעץ מתאר מקומות במצרים של ימיו הוא נוטה לזהותם עם מקומות מקראיים: "אלמֶעז מלך התימנים" — תימנים כינוי לערבים (הפאטמים ראו עצמם ערבים, צאצאיהם הישירים של עלי ופטמה) על שם העיר תימא שבצפון ערב (ישע׳ כא, יד); "במלכות סְוֵנים" — כינוי למצרים. "ונתתי את ארץ מצרים לחרבות חורב שממה ממְגדוֹל סְוֵנֵה ועד גבול כוש" (יחזקאל כט, י; ל, ו); "מלכות הנגב" — כינוי למצרים (דני׳ יא, ה); "מלכות נֹף ועֵנָמים" — כינוי למצרים (ישע׳ יט, יג; בר׳ י, יג).[29] עצם העובדה שאחימעץ נוטה לזהות את נהר הפישון עם נהר באיטליה מעידה על המגמה הפסיכולוגית־היסטורית המעניינת של שימור וזכרון: היהודים נטו להעניק ליישובים בארץ מגוריהם שמות מקראיים, אולי כדי לחוש תחושת בית.

ולקינוח צוענים. בעברית, אחד מהכינויים לבני הרומה הוא "צוענים", ישנם שלושה מקורות לשם העברי הזה: ראשית, בעבר סברו כי מוצא בני הרומה הוא במצרים, וכך למשל השם באנגלית (Gypsy) פירושו "זה שבא ממצרים" (Egyptian), ובשם העברי ישנה רמיזה לעיר צוען שהייתה במצרים העתיקה. שנית, השם "צוענים" נשמע בדומה לכינויים בשפות אירופיות רבות (כך

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[24] יוסיפון, מהדורת פלוסר, כרך א, עמ׳ 298; בהט, עמ׳ 145.
[25] שם, כרך ב, עמ׳ 103–106.
[26] בהט, עמ׳ 145.
[27] רון ברקאי, המיתולוגיה הספרדית (תל אביב: מפה, 2003), עמ׳ 9.
[28] מהדורת בנימין קלאר (ירושלים: תרשיש, תשל"ד), עמ׳ 12.
[29] שם, עמ׳ 34–35.

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1025.[14] במשפט זה אנו מוצאים גם התייחסות מקראית לעיר חלב שבצפון סוריה, שכונתה בפי היהודים "ארם צובא" על פי שמואל ב (י, ו, ח) ותהלים (ס, ב); והתייחסות גם לאזור בגדאד שבעיראק, המכונה כאן "ארם נהריים" על פי בראשית (כד, י) ועוד כמה מקומות במקרא. על פי פירוש זה נמצא בכתבי הגניזה אנשים שכונו בשם "אלחלבי", או נזכר מוצא מצובא, ושכונו בשם "אלחראני", היא העיר חראן שבצפון סוריה הנזכרת בתור חרן בראשית (יא, לא) ובעוד מקומות במקרא.[15]

השם אדום נתייחד בכתבי הגניזה לביזנטיון ולביזנטים: "כי תרום הגאולה על יד אחינו עתה הבאים מהשבי יום יום מכל גבולות ארץ אדום ומשערי הארצות ומארץ הצבי נחזיק בהם ..."[16]; "כי עשה חסד עם אחי מפרג בעת ביאתו מארץ אדום".[17]

הפרשן הספרדי הרציונליסט אברהם אבן עזרא (ראב"ע; משנת 1092 או 1093 עד 1164 או 1167), כבר הוכיח אותם וכתב בפרושו לבראשית: "וישנים שלא הקיצו משנת האיוולת יחשבו, כי אנחנו בגלות אדום, ולא כן הדבר" (בראשית כז, מ). אבן עזרא נטה גם לבקר את זיהויו של רס"ג לשמות מקומות והוא מצליף בו בלשונו החדה באשר לזיהוי ארבעת הנהרות בגן העדן בספר בראשית (ב, יא): "יאמר הגאון כי פישון יאור מצרים ... ואין ראיה על פישון שהיא היאור ... וכן עשה במשפחות ובמדינות ובחיות ובעופות ובאבנים. אולי בחלום ראה וכבר טעה במקצתם כאשר אפרש במקומו ... אולי עשה כן לכבוד השם בעבור שתרגם התורה בלשון ישמעאל ובכתיבתם שלא יאמרו כי יש בתורה מילות לא ידענום".[18] אותו אבן עזרא תרגם כמו רש"י את הפסוק בעובדיה באומרו: "שמענו מפי גדולים כי ארץ אלמנייה הם הכנענים שברחו מפני בני ישראל בבואם אל הארץ. גם ככה צרפת היא פרנסיה, ותרגום יונתן בן עוזיאל ספרד אספמיא וזו היא גלות טיטוס". רס"ג וגם המתרגמים הקראים של המקרא זיהו את שנער המקראית (בראשית יא, ב) עם עיראק של ימיהם ואת השם המקראי חידקל, טיגריס בלעז, עם השם הערבי "דִג'לה".[19] במכתבי הגניזה מכנים יהודים שמוצאם מעיראק בתואר בבלי או מזכירים שמוצאם משנער — שני שמות מקראיים לחלוטין שאין להם קשר עם ההווה של המאה ה־11.[20] כינוי מעניין אנו מוצאים בכמתבי הגניזה לעיר טבריה, כשהם מתייחסים אליה כאל רַקַת, על פי יהושע (יט, לה).

אברהם בן דוד הלוי (הראב"ד הראשון, 1110–1180) אסטרונום, היסטוריון ופילוסוף; נולד בקורדובה המוסלמית ומת על קידוש השם בטולדו הנוצרית. הושפע הן מהנצרות והן מהאסלאם. כתב את חיבורו הידוע ספר הקבלה. כשהוא מתייחס לאמירים הבָּרְבָּרים של האמירויות הספרדיות במאה ה־11 הוא מכנה אותם "סרני פלשתים". זיהוי זה עם הביטוי המקראי מפתיע בדיוקו: בשני המקרים מדובר בשליטים של עיר־ממלכה.[21]

פרשנות ימי הביניים בארצות הנצרות

בספרות היהודית של ימי הביניים אין אדום אלא הנצרות, שהרי הנבואות נוהגות להתפרש תמיד על הצורר העכשווי, הקרוב והמוכר. מחבר ספר יוסיפון (חיבור היסטורי אנונימי שנתחבר בדרום איטליה במאה ה־10 והוא מעין עיבוד לספריו של יוספוס פלביוס קדמוניות היהודים ומלחמות היהודים) מציע שושלת יוחסין של רומא, המסבירה את הקשר בין איניאס, מייסדה של רומא במיתולוגיה הרומית, ובין עֵשָׂו, נכדו של עשיו (בר' לו, יא, טו). על פי ספר יוסיפון שבה יוסף את צפו בן אליפז בן עשיו והביאו מצרימה. אחרי מות יוסף ברח עֵשָׂו ממצרים לאפריקה, אל אגניאס מלך קרתגו, ומאפריקה הלך לארץ כִּתים. בגבורתו זכה בשלטון בכל ארץ כִּתים ובכל איטליה ובניו מלכו אחריו, ולפיכך הרומאים הם האדומים. נכדו של עֵשָׂו, לטינוס, הוא שנתן לרומאים את לשונם ואת האלפבית שלהם. כך, מאחר שעֵשָׂו בא לאיטליה כשהוא נושא עמו את האיבה ליעקב, אין תימה, כי הוריש לצאצאיו הרומאים איבה זו.[22]

דון יצחק אברבנאל (1437–1508, נולד בליסבון, פורטוגל, נפטר בונציה, איטליה, מדינאי יהודי, פילוסוף, פרשן מקרא, ואיש כספים) מסכם את התפיסה היהודית של אדום ומוסיף: "והנה חכמי האמת קבלו שנפש עשו נתגלגלה בנפש ישו הנוצרי ... ואולי שעל זה נקרא ישוע שאותיותיו הם אותיות שם עשיו במילואו ומפני זה כל המחזיקים בדתו ואמונתו ועובדים אותו היה ראוי שיקראו בני אדום כיון שישו הוא עשיו ועשיו הוא אדום והנה ברומי היתה התחלת הדת הזאת ושורשה וקיסרי רומי ומלכי הנוצרים קבלו אותה ראשונה ולכן כל הנוצרים המאמינים בדת ישו הם בלי ספק בני אדום בני עשיו".[23]

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[14] שם, עמ' 98, שורות 13–15.

[15] ברקת, שפריר מצרים, עמ' 17.

[16] גיל, ארץ ישראל, כרך ב, עמ' 21, שורות ג14–ד2.

[17] שם, עמ' 439, שורות 21–22.

[18] טובי, עמ' פ.

[19] M. Polliack, *The Karaite Tradition of Arabic Bible Translation* (Leiden, 1997), 205, 207.

[20] ברקת, שפריר מצרים, עמ' 16.

[21] מהדורת א' נויבאואר, סדר החכמים קורות הימים (ירושלים, תשכ"ז), כרך א, עמ' 71, 73.

[22] ספר יוסיפון, מהדורת דוד פלוסר (ירושלים: מוסד ביאליק, תשל"ט), עמ' 10–20, 298.

[23] פירוש אברבנאל לספר בראשית (ירושלים: ארבאל, תשל"ט), עמ' רצו–רצש.

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המתרגמים כגון יונתן בן עוזיאל והפשיטא, ששמעו את הדמיון הצלילי בדברי היוונים, נזקקו לו כאשר תרגמו את השם ספרד, ועל פי דרכם התאימו את השם המקראי ספרד לצליל היווני הספרידס.[7]

הנקדנים הטברנים "בעלי המסורה" משה בן אשר, אהרן בן משה בן אשר ומשה בן נפתלי, במאות השמינית עד העשירית לספירת הנוצרים, הביאו לזיהוי ספרד עם היספניה. סברה אומרת שמכיוון שגלות היהודים לספרד המקראית קדמה לייסוד הנצרות, היה השיוך כתב הגנה בפני טענות הנוצרים, כיוון שתפוצת ספרד יכלה לטעון כי היא עצמה לא הייתה עוד בארץ ישראל בזמנו של ישו ובעת צליבתו, ועל כן אין היא חולקת באשמת שאר היהודים. בנוסף לשם זה נקראה הארץ בימי הביניים בשמה הלועזי אספמיא.

החל מהמאה העשירית לערך החלה ההגות היהודית בארצות האסלאם צומחת ומתפתחת בתוך עולם ההגות הערבית הלא־יהודית. הוגים יהודים השתייכו השתייכות מלאה לעולם ההגות של שכניהם המוסלמים. רוב חיבוריהם של ההוגים היהודים בראשית ימי הביניים נכתבו בערבית. השפה המשותפת היתה גורם מרכזי בשילובם של היהודים בעולם התרבות הערבי. עם זאת שייכות מלאה אין פירושה ביטול הזהות העצמית, ונטעה אם נניח שהשפה המשותפת גרמה לביטול גמור של הזהות העצמאית. המחקר המודרני של המחשבה היהודית בימי הביניים הערביים מעריך נכונה את ההשפעה הערבית העצומה על ההגות היהודית, ואת הדמיון, המדהים לעתים, בין הגות יהודית להגות מוסלמית. אך עם זאת מדגיש את מידת העצמאות של ההגות היהודית בערבית.[8] בעקבות השפעת הערבית אפשר למצוא במכתבי הגניזה את הזיהוי ספרדי-אנדלוסי. גם המילה אנדלוס היא גלגול בפני עצמו, כשמקור השם הוא שם השבט הגרמאני שהתיישב בדרום ספרד החל מהמאות חמישית־ששית, הונדאלים. האזור נקרא על שמם וַנדלוסיה, והשתבש ברבות השנים בפי הערבים לשם אנדלוסיה, הוא שם האזור עד היום, ושמו של חצי האי האיברי כולו בפי הערבים, ומהם גם בפי היהודים בימי הביניים.[9]

סעדיה גאון (רס"ג, 882–942), היה בין הראשונים והמשפיעים ביותר על ההגות היהודית בעולם הערבי. לא לחינם כינהו אברהם אבן עזרא "ראש המדברים בכל מקום". רס"ג היה הראשון שתרגם את המקרא לערבית (ערבית־יהודית). יש להניח שתרגומו זה, שהיה גם פירוש, התבסס על הפירושים שקדמו לו, אבל קיבע היטב את השמות בתודעתם ההיסטורית של היהודים. אחד האתגרים שעמדו בפני מתרגמי המקרא היתה שאלת תרגומם של שמות עצם פרטיים, בין שהם שמות של בני אדם בין שהם שמות של מקומות. בעיית התרגום כפולה היא: (א) האם לזהות את הדמות ואת המקום המקראיים בדמות ובמקום הידועים לקהל היעד של התרגום או להניח את שמותיהם כצורתם במקור? (ב) אם מעדיף המתרגם שלא להידרש לזיהויים המוכרים לקורא התרגום, האם יביא את שמות העצם המקראיים בצורתם המקורית או בתחליפיהם המקומיים, למשל בערבית? רס"ג נטה לתרגם את השמות המקראיים, בעיקר בלוח העמים בפרושו לבראשית י, לשמות הערביים המקובלים למקומות אלה, ולזהותם עם מקומות ידועים בימיו.[10] גומר — "אלתרכ"; בני גומר, אשכנז, וריפת — "סקלאבה" (סלאווים) "ופרנג'ה" (פרנקים ושבטים גרמאניים בכלל). רס"ג נולד במצרים והכיר היטב את ישוביה. כשהוא מתייחס לאלכסנדריה הוא הולך בעקבות יונתן בן עוזיאל וקורא לה נא אמון. את כהן און בבראשית (מא, מה) הוא מתרגם "אמאם אלאסכנדריה". בעקבותיו גם במכתבי הגניזה מתייחסים אל אלכסנדריה כאל נא אמון. את פיתום המקראית (שמות א, יא), הגאון מתרגם "אלפיום". (והיא עיר מולדת הגאון לכן נקרא רבינו סעדיה הגאון "אלפיומי"). בעקבות תרגום זה אפשר למצוא בכתבי הגניזה את השם פיתום, כשהכוונה היא לפיום.

את צוען (במדבר יג, כב) תרגם אונקלוס תנס וכן יונתן בן עוזיאל טאניס, וכן שרי צוען (ישע' יט, יג) תרגם יונתן בן עוזיאל "רברבי טאניס". הגאון במקרה זה אינו הולך בעקבות המתרגמים הקודמים. הוא מתרגם "פֻסטַאט מִצְר". יש להניח שצוען נתפסה בתור עיר ראשית במצרים המקראית, ולכן יאה היה לכנות את עיר הבירה פסטאט בכינוי צוען. העיר פסטאט קמה רק לאחר הכיבוש הערבי ב־640 והמתרגמים הקודמים לא הכירוה. מקרה זה מעיד על התאמת התרגום למציאות המשתנה.[11] מכאן ואילך נמצא את היהודים במצרים קוראים לפסטאט בשם המקראי צוען: "הלא ידע מעשיו מפורסמין בצובה ובדמשק ובצוען וארץ כנען" כתב יחיזקיהו ראש הגולה בן דויד על אלחנן בן שמריה בשנת 1021.[12] "לכנס בצוען ולא בחנס", כתב הגאון שלמה בן יהודה במכתב לפֻסטאט בשנת 1015. וכאן ברור שצוען כבר אינה חָנֵס או תְּנֵס, אלא פֻסטאט.[13] "בשאלם על הדבר הזה החליף לכתו לארם צובה ולארם נהרים לבוא ארצה מצרים ובידו כתבים מהקהל אל קהלות צוען וכל סביבותיהם", כתב אותו גאון בשנת

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[7] ש"י רפפורט, ספר ערך מלין (ורשה, תרע"ב); בהט, עמ' 143.

[8] ש' סטרומזה, סעדיה גאון, הוגה יהודי בחברה ים־תיכונית (תל־אביב: אוניברסיטת תל־אביב, תשס"ב), עמ' 9.

[9] א' ברקת, שפריר מצרים — ההנהגה היהודית בפסטאט במחצית הראשונה של המאה ה־11 (תל־אביב: אוניברסיטת תל־אביב, תשנ"ה; להלן: ברקת, שפריר מצרים), עמ' 18.

[10] י' טובי, "תרגומי שמות עצם פרטיים בתרגומי המקרא הערביים־היהודיים מימי הביניים", ואלה שמות — מחקרים באוצר השמות היהודיים, כרך ג, בעריכת אהרן דמסקי (רמת־גן: אוניברסיטת בר־אילן, תשס"ב; להלן: טובי) עמ' עט.

[11] פירוש רס"ג לבראשית, מהדורת דוד קאפח (ירושלים: מוסד הרב קוק, תשכ"ג.

[12] מ' גיל, ארץ ישראל בתקופה המוסלמית הראשונה (634–1099) (תל־אביב: אוניברסיטת תל־אביב, תשמ"ג; להלן: גיל, ארץ ישראל),כרך ב, עמ' 44, שורות 10–11.

[13] שם, עמ' 92, שורה 11.

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פרשנות בתר־מקראית קדומה וחז״ל

מקורות מהמאה הראשונה לספירה העוסקים בעקיפין בשמות אנשים ועמים הם יוסף בן מתתיהו והברית החדשה. יוסף בן מתתיהו ציין שהאנשים שגרו בגלטיה (טורקיה של ימינו) נקראו קודם לכן גומר. מאוחר יותר היגרו רבים מתושבי גלטיה לאזור צרפת, ספרד ווֵילְס. עד היום יש בספרד אזור שנקרא גלציה. השפה הוולשית המסורתית נקראת גומרית. לפי יוסף בן מתתיהו, מגוג הייתה באזור אוקראינה. הוא ציין שלוב נוסדה על ידי פוט, והוא עצמו המשיך לכנות את הלובים בשם פוטים. כן הוסיף ואמר שהעם האיברי היה מצאצאיו של תובל ושכן באזור שבו נמצאת היום גרוזיה. יתכן שמקור שמה של העיר טובולסק או מקור שמה של העיר טביליסי הוא תובל. כשדיבר על האתיופים טען שהם בני כוש. כתב שגיחון הוא הנילוס ופישון הוא הגאנגס. תירס הם התרקים, (לימים התורכים). על רוב השמות מציין יוסף בן מתתיהו שאלה הם שמות שנתנו ההלנים (היוונים) למקומות.[3]

כשכתבי הקודש מתייחסים לאזור אתיופיה, השם שמופיע הוא כוש. צאצאיו של לוד התמקמו באזור מערב טורקיה של ימינו. עיר הבירה שלהם הייתה סַרְדִיס, שאליה נשלחה אחת האיגרות מתוך השבע שמוזכרות בספר ההתגלות (חזון יוחנן א, יא). ארם היא סוריה. הסורים נקראו בעבר ארמים, ושפתם הייתה השפה הארמית. עד להתפשטות האימפריה היוונית נחשבה הארמית לשפה הבינלאומית העיקרית (ראה מל״ב יח, כו). גם ישוע זעק על הצלב בארמית: ״אלי, אלי, למה שבקתני?״ (מתי כז, מו), מה שאולי מעיד שזו הייתה השפה הרווחת באותם ימים, ואולי אפילו שפת אמו.

יונתן בן עוזיאל, בן הדור הראשון לתנאים, תרגם את ספרי הנביאים לארמית, וכשהגיע לעובדיה תרגם את השם ״ספרד״ לשם ״אספמיא״. זאת כנראה על פי השם שנתנו הרומים לחצי האי האיברי. השם הרומי ״היספניה״ לחצי האי האיברי הוא שיבוש של השם העברי־כנעני (פיניקי) **אי שפנים** שאנשי קרתגו נתנו למושבה שלהם באיבריה, אשר פרחה בין המאה השמינית לבין המאה השלישית לפני ספירת הנוצרים (יש חוקרים המקדימים זאת אף למאה הארבע־עשרה לפני הספירה). בתלמוד נמצא את השם אספמיא כמה פעמים. היו כאלה שטענו שמדובר במקום סתמי ורחוק בקצה העולם, מהלך שנה מארץ ישראל, על פי הכתוב ״שהרי אדם ישן כאן ורואה חלום באספמיא״ (נידה ל ע״ב), אך מקומות אחרים בתלמוד מבהירים היטב שכוונתם לחצי האי האיברי, כגון: ״אפילו ספינות הנוסעות מגליא לאספמיא אינן מתברכות אלא בשביל ישראל״ (יבמות סג ע״א), או ״יצחק ריש גלותא בר אחתיה דרב ביבי הוה קאזיל מקורטבא לאספמיא ושכיב״, כלומר: יצחק ראש גולה בן אחותו של רב ביבי היה הולך מקורדובה לאספמיא ומת (שם קטו ע״ב).[4]

נא אמון נתפסה בתור אלכסנדריה. את הפסוק מירמיהו (מו, כה) ״אל אמון מנא״ תרגם יונתן בן עוזיאל אלכסנדריה. וכך גם פסוק מנחום (ג, ח) ״התיטבי מנא אמון״. כך הוא מתרגם גם את ״כהן און״ בבראשית (מא, מה).

בעקבות חורבן הבית השני עבר השם עשיו-אדום העתקה בספרות חז״ל: ממלכות בבל הרשעה — שהחריבה את הבית הראשון, לקיסרות הרומית — המלכות שהחריבה את הבית השני.

אדום נעשה כינויה של רומא. כך קיבל הצורר החדש את שמו ואת גורלו של הצורר הישן. גרם לכך, ככל הנראה, דימויה של אדום בנבואה כמהרסת הגדולה, האשמה בחורבן ישראל. משעה שהאימפריה הרומית נעשתה אימפריה נוצרית, והנצרות ירשה את האלילות כדתה של רומא, נתגלגל השם אדום על הנוצרים. בעקבות החורבן התחולל שינוי מפליג במשמעות המושגים עשיו-אדום. בעיניים יהודיות חדלה המריבה בין יעקב לעשיו להיות סיפור על סכסוך טריטוריאלי בין שכנים, והפכה לעימות בעל ממדים משיחיים בין יהודה לרומא. משעה שאדום היה לשם נרדף לרומא, הוסטו בבת אחת כל נבואות הנקמה לעתיד לבוא מאדום לרומא, מתוך ציפייה למפלתה ולאובדנה באחרית הימים. הדרמה המקראית שבין יעקב לעשיו, על סמליה הטעונים, התפרשה כמשל וכנבואה לעימות הנמשך בין יהודה לרומא האלילית. לפי תפיסה זו אין שלום בין שתי האומות: ״אם מלאה זו — חרבה זו״ (מגילה ו ע״א). החל מהמאה הרביעית, לאחר שהמלכות היתה למינות, היו מי שכינו בשם אדום את הכנסייה הנוצרית, ואילו אחרים ראו בשם זה כינוי לאימפריה הביזנטית. אדום הפך לאויב המיתולוגי האחרון של ישראל עד אחרית הימים — מחליף זהות, שם זמן ומקום, אך תמיד מכונה בכינוי הקמאי והמאיים: אדום.[5] עשיו/אדום נעשה שם קוד לישו ולנוצרים. עשיו מתואר בספרות חז״ל כרשע — כסמל לצורר בן דורם של חז״ל — טיטוס, כובש ירושלים ומחריבה, והשלטון הרומי.

פרשנות ימי הביניים בארצות האסלאם

סדר עולם זוטא, חיבור אנונימי על אישים מתקופת המקרא ועד ראשית תקופת הגאונים, נחתם בשנת 760 בבבל, ונסדר בשנת 1120, ובו נאמר: ״בא אספסיינוס והחריב הבית והגלה את ישראל ובתים הרבה מבית דוד ויהודה לאספמיא היא ספרד״.[6] הנחה מעניינת היא שהיוונים קראו לכל הארצות שממערב לארצם, בעיקר איטליה ואספמיה בשם הֶסְפֶּרִיָּה, ולתושביהן בשם הֶסְפֶּרִיִּים.

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[3] יוסף בן מתתיהו, קדמוניות היהודים, מהדורת אברהם שליט, מוסד ביאליק, ירושלים תשנ״ח, עמ׳ 7, 15, 38—39.

[4] ש׳ בהט, ״ספרד, צרפת ואשכנז — מיהן?״, לשוננו לעם, מג, ד (תשנ״ב), עמ׳ 143—146 (להלן: בהט), שם, עמ׳ 143.

[5] י״י יובל, שני גויים בבטנך: יהודים ונוצרים — דימויים הדדיים (תל־אביב: עלמא/עם עובד, 2000), עמ׳ 25—27.

[6] מהדורת א׳ נויבאואר (ירושלים, תשכ״ז), ב, עמ׳ 71.

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22

שמות מקראיים־עבריים ליישובים, ארצות, וקבוצות אתניות בימי הביניים

אלינער ברקת

במסמכים וכתבים יהודיים מימי הביניים (מאות 10–15), הן בארצות האסלאם (מצרים, ארץ ישראל, עיראק, המגרב, ספרד) והן בארצות הנצרות המערבית (צרפת, גרמניה), נמצא שלא אחת כינו היהודים את מקומות מושבם לא בשמם המקובל אלא בשמות עבריים הלקוחים מהמקרא.

תופעה רחבת היקף זו כבר עוררה עניין אצל כמה מהחוקרים שניסו לתת תשובה לשאלות הרבות העולות ממנה. מורנו ורבנו נורמן גולב עסק בקושיות אלה בכמה ממאמריו, בכתב ובעל פה. למזלי זכיתי לשמוע אותו וגם לקרוא את דבריו, שהיו לי למקור השראה.[1] חשבתי גם אני ללכת בעקבותיו ולנסות לאתר את הסיבות שהביאו את היהודים בימי הביניים לקרוא למקומות גיאוגרפיים, ליישובים או לקבוצות אתניות בשמות מקראיים שלמעשה אין ביניהם קשר, ולו הקל ביותר. אין אני מתיימרת להביא תמונה מלאה או מכלול שלם של סיבות. יש בדברי משום אוסף מקרי של שמות מקומות, יישובים או קיבוצים אתניים שנתקלתי בהם במהלך מחקרי בתחום גניזת קהיר, ומקריאת מקורות עבריים מארצות הנוצרים, והסיבות שאני מביאה מבוססות בעיקר על השערות.

פירושים פנים־מקראיים

התנ"ך שלנו הוא מקור בלתי נדלה לשמות של אנשים, עמים, מקומות וקבוצות. יש בו קבוצות של שמות שזכו לתשומת לב רבה ביותר לאורך הדורות וכל דור נתן לו פירושים מתאימים. קבוצה בולטת כזאת היא לוח העמים, בראשית י. השמות המוזכרים בפסוקים אלה הפכו ברבות הימים לשמות עמים וארצות: "וְאֵלֶּה תּוֹלְדֹת בְּנֵי נֹחַ שֵׁם חָם וָיֶפֶת וַיִּוָּלְדוּ לָהֶם בָּנִים אַחַר הַמַּבּוּל: בְּנֵי יֶפֶת גֹּמֶר וּמָגוֹג וּמָדַי וְיָוָן וְתֻבָל וּמֶשֶׁךְ וְתִירָס" (בר' י, א–ב). גומר הוא הנכד הראשון שמוזכר. בפסוק אחריו נזכרים בניו: אשכנז, ריפת ותוגרמה. יחזקאל הנביא דיבר על עם ששמו גומר, ועל עם אחר ששמו תּוֹגַרְמָה, (שהיה בנו של גומר). הוא תיאר אותם כעמים ששוכנים בירכתי צפון: "גומר וכל אגפיה, בית תוגרמה ירכתי צפון" (יחז' לח, ו). לדברי יחזקאל, גם מגוג היה עם ששכן בצפון (שם לט, ו–ט).

לוח העמים מזכיר את "ובני חם כּוּשׁ ומצריים ופוּט וכנען" (בר' י ו). בני חם התמקמו בעיקר בדרום מערב אסיה ובאפריקה. פרשנות פנים־מקראית מתייחסת לאפריקה כאל "ארץ חם" (תהל' קה, כג, כז; קו, כב). פוט מזוהה עם לוב. בלוב זרם הנהר פוט. בספר דניאל (לפי ההשקפה המחקרית ניתן למצוא בספר רמיזות לאלכסנדר מוקדון ולאנטיוכוס הרביעי אפיפאנס, לפיכך משערים שנכתב בתקופת מרד החשמונאים ושזורות בו אגדות קדומות יותר) כבר נעשה שימוש בשם לוב (דני' יא, מג). בנו של יפת, מָדַי ובנו של שם, עֵילָם, הם אבות האומה הפרסית. מאז ימי כורש המַדים מוזכרים תמיד (פרט למקרה אחד) לצד הפרסים. הם הפכו לעם אחד בעל חוקה אחת, כפי שמעיד הביטוי "כדת מדי ופרס" (ראה שם ו, ט, יג, טז). במשך השנים הפכו השניים לעם הפרסי. יחזקאל מזכיר את תובל (בנו של יפת) לצד גוג ומֶשֶׁך (יחז' לט, א). תִּגְלַת פִּלְאֶסֶר הראשון, שמלך באשור בשנת 1100 לפני הספירה בערך, הזכיר את צאצאי תובל.

השם "צרפת" מופיע לראשונה בספר מלכים, כשנאמר לאליהו: "קום לך צרפתה אשר לצידון (מל"א יז, ט). במקרה זה פירשו הפרשנים שהכוונה לעיר צידונית. השם מופיע פעם נוספת, בכוונה לארץ, בספר עובדיה: "וגלות החל זה לבני ישראל אשר כנענים עד צרפת ... (עובד' כ). ספרד בלשון המקרא ממלכה באסיה הקטנה, מזוהה כיום עם סרדיס שבמערב אסיה. "וגלות ירושלים אשר בספרד יירשו את ערי הנגב" (עובד' א, כ). השם המקורי במקרא כאשר נחתם בסוף המאה הראשונה לספירת הנוצרים היה ספרד, שמה הלידי של בירת ממלכת לידיה שבמערב אסיה הקטנה (כיום במערב טורקיה), ששמה היווני היה סרדיס ושמה הפרסי היה ספרדה.

בסיפורי התורה הופך סיפורם של יעקב ועשו לסיפור ישראל ואדום, ובהמשך — בפרשנות פנים־מקראית, בכל נבואת עובדיה, מלאכי (א, ב–ג) ובתהלים (קלז, ז–ח) — לסיפור היחסים בין ישראל לבבל מחורבן הבית הראשון. המקרא לא הותיר ספק בקשר ליחס של עשיו לעם ישראל.[2]

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[1] N. Golb, "The Topography of the Jews of Medieval Egypt," *JNES* 24 (1965), 251–270; 33 (1974), 116–149. ראה בעיקר עמ' 270 על הנילוס, עמ' 117 על אלכסנדריה, 126 על דמיאט, 127 על פיום, 128 על פסטאט, 143 על תניס.

[2] H. Hunt, with R. Grigg, "The Sixteen Grandsons of Noah," *Creation Ex Nihilo* 20/4 (1998): 22–25 (להלן: האנט).

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מלמד ע״צ מלמד, ״תרגום משלי״, בר־אילן ט (ספר חיים משה שפירא, א) (תשל״ב), עמ׳ 18–91.

מקרא מפורש *The Oxford Annotated Bible*. Edited by H. G. May and B. M. Metzger. New York, 1962.

מרפי R. E. Murphy. *World Biblical Commentary*. Vol. 22, *Proverbs*. Nashville, TN, 1998.

סטרומזה ש׳ סטרומזה, ״דגם ספרותי כמסמך היסטורי: על הקדמותיו של רס״ג לפירושיו למקרא״, דָּבָר דָּבוּר על אופניו, בעריכת מ׳ בר־אשר, ס׳ הופקינס, ש׳ סטרומזה, וב׳ קיאזה, ירושלים תשס״ז, עמ׳ 193–204.

סימון א׳ סימון, ארבע גישות לספר תהילים, רמת־גן תשמ״ב.

סקוט R. B. Y. Scott. *The Anchor Bible: Proverbs*. New York, 1965.

ערוך השלם נתן בן יחיאל מרומי, ערוך השלם, מהדורת ח״י קאהוט, ו, וינה תרפ״ו.

פוליאק מ׳ פוליאק, ״תפיסת רב סעדיה גאון את תרגום התורה בהשוואה לתפיסת הקראים״, מסורת ושינוי בתרבות הערבית־היהודית של ימי הביניים, בעריכת י׳ בלאו וד׳ דורון, רמת־גן תש״ס, עמ׳ 191–201.

פירוש חדש *The New Interpreter's Bible*. Vol. 5. Nashville, TN, 1997.

פריי E. Fry. "Translating 'Numerical Proverbs': Proverbs 6.16–19; 30.15–33." *The Bible Translator* 50/4 (1999): 427–432.

צוקר, בראשית מ׳ צוקר, פירושי רב סעדיה גאון לבראשית, ניו יורק תדש״ם.

צוקר, תרגום מ׳ צוקר, על תרגום רס״ג לתורה, ניו יורק תשי״ט.

קאפח, משלי משלי עם תרגום ופירוש הגאון רבנו סעדיה בן יוסף פיומי זצ״ל (כְּתַאבּ טַלַבּ אלְחִכְמַה), מהדורת י׳ קאפח, ירושלים תשל״ו.

קאפח, על התורה פירושי רבינו סעדיה גאון על התורה, מהדורת י׳ קאפח, ירושלים תשכ״ג.

קדרי מ״צ קדרי, מילון העברית המקראית, רמת־גן תשס״ו.

קולר י׳ קולר, ״מקבילים במשלי ל׳–ל״א״, בית מקרא כא (תשל״ו), עמ׳ 551–556.

קיל ספר משלי, מפורש בידי י׳ קיל (פרקים יז–לא, מבוא ונספחות), סדרת דעת מקרא, ירושלים תשמ״ד.

קליפורד R. J. Clifford, *Proverbs: A Commentary*, Louisville, KY, 1999.

רבין ורדי ח׳ רבין וצ׳ רדי, אוצר המלים, ב, ירושלים תשל״ו.

רוזנטל E. I. J. Rosenthal. "Saadya Gaon: An Appreciation of his Biblical Exegesis." *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 27/1 (1942): 168–178 (reprinted in: *Judaism, Philosophy, Culture: Selected Studies by E. I. J. Rosenthal*, with an Introduction by Oliver Leaman, 86–96. Richmond, Surrey, 2001).

ריבלין י״י ריבלין, ״הקדמות רס״ג כמבוא לכתבי הקודש״, רב סעדיה גאון — קובץ תורני־מדעי, בעריכת י״ל פישמן, ירושלים תש״ג, עמ׳ שפב–שצח.

רישר M. Richard. "Les fragments d'Origène *sur Prov. XXX, 15–31*." *Epektasis: mélanges patristiques offerts au Cardinal Jean Daniélou*, publiés par J. Fontaine et C. Kannengiesser. Paris, 1972.

רצהבי, אוצר י׳ רצהבי, אוצר הלשון הערבית בתפסיר רב סעדיה גאון, רמת־גן תשמ״ו.

רצהבי, שמות י׳ רצהבי, פירושי רב סעדיה גאון לספר שמות, ירושלים תשנ״ח.

רצהבי, ״תפסיר״ י׳ רצהבי, ״על תפסיר רס״ג למקרא״, ספר קורנגרין, בעריכת א׳ וייזר וב״צ לוריא, תל־אביב 1964, עמ׳ 237–250.

שטיינמן A. E. Steinmann. "Three Things ... Four Things ... Seven Things: The Coherence of Proverbs 30:11–33 and the Unity of Proverbs 30." *Hebrew Studies* 42 (2001): 59–66.

שיר השירים, דונסקי מדרש רבה שיר השירים, מהדורת ש׳ דונסקי, ירושלים ותל־אביב תש״ם.

שלוסברג, ״אדב״ א׳ שלוסברג, ״השפעת ספרות ה׳אדב׳ על רב סעדיה גאון: עיון על פי פירושו לספר משלי״, בקורת ופרשנות 33 (תשנ״ח), עמ׳ 33–48.

שלוסברג, ״גאון״ א׳ שלוסברג, ״רס״ג — רב סעדיה גאון פרשן המקרא״, מחניים 3 (תשנ״ג), עמ׳ 76–91.

שלוסברג, ״דניאל״ א׳ שלוסברג, ״אופיו ומגמתו הפרשנית של פירוש רב סעדיה גאון לספר דניאל״, *PAAJR* 56 (1990), עמ׳ 5–17 (בחלק העברי).

שלוסברג, ״נדבך״ א׳ שלוסברג, ״נדבך נוסף בחקר פרשנות הגאון רב סעדיה״, סיני קכג–קכד (תש״ס), עמ׳ תקפא–תקצג.

שלוסברג, ״תרומה״ א׳ שלוסברג, ״תרומתו של הרב יוסף קאפח ע״ה לחקר פרשנותו של רב סעדיה גאון למקרא״, ספר זכרון לרב יוסף בן דוד קאפח, בעריכת ז׳ עמר וח׳ סרי, רמת־גן תשס״א, עמ׳ 132–146.

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קיצורים ביבליוגרפיים

אלפסי	כתאב ג׳אמע אלאלפאט׳ או אלאגרון, תאליף דוד בן אברהם אלפאסי, מהדורת ס"ל סקוס, ב, פילדלפיה תרצ"ו–תש"ה.
א"מ	אנציקלופדיה מקראית, ו, ירושלים תשל"ב.
אמו"ד	הנבחר באמונות ובדעות לרבינו סעדיה בן יוסף פיומי [...], מהדורת י׳ קאפח, ירושלים תש"ל.
אפנשטיין	ש׳ אפנשטיין, עיון וחקר, ירושלים תשל"ו.
בד"ב	F. Brown, S. R. Driver, C. A. Briggs, W. Gesenius. *The New Brown, Driver, Briggs, Gesenius Hebrew and English Lexicon*. 7th ed. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2003.
ביילי	A. Bailly. *Dictionnaire grec-français*. Paris, 1950.
בלאו, מילון	י׳ בלאו, מילון לטקסטים ערביים־יהודיים מימי הביניים, ירושלים תשס"ו.
בלאו, "תרגום"	י׳ בלאו, "על תרגום התורה של רב סעדיה גאון", ספר היובל לרב מרדכי ברויאר, בעריכת מ׳ ארנד ואחרים, ב, ירושלים תשנ"ב, עמ׳ 633–638.
בלאו והופקינס	י׳ בלאו וס׳ הופקינס, "תרגומי מקרא קדומים לערבית־היהודית", פעמים 83 (תש"ס), עמ׳ 4–14.
בן־יהודה	א׳ בן־יהודה, מלון הלשון העברית הישנה והחדשה, ט, ירושלים תש"ט.
בן־שמאי, "הספרות"	ח׳ בן־שמאי, "הספרות המדרשית־רבנית בפירושי רס"ג — המשך וחידוש", מסורת ושינוי בתרבות הערבית־היהודית של ימי הביניים, י׳ בלאו וד׳ דורון (עורכים), רמת־גן תש"ס, עמ׳ 33–69.
בן־שמאי, "חדשים"	ח׳ בן־שמאי, "חדשים גם ישנים: ׳ההקדמה הגדולה׳ ו׳ההקדמה הקטנה׳ לתרגום רס"ג לתורה", תרביץ סט (תש"ס), עמ׳ 199–210.
בן־שמאי, "ישעיה"	ח׳ בן־שמאי, "הקדמת ר׳ סעדיה גאון לישעיה — מבוא לספרי הנביאים", תרביץ ס (תשנ"א), עמ׳ 371–404.
בן־שמאי, "מדרש"	ח׳ בן־שמאי, "מדרש פרוגנוסטי בכתבי רס"ג: פתיחת פירושו לשירת דויד (שמ"ב כב) כדוגמה מייצגת", מאה שערים — עיונים בעולמם הרוחני של ישראל בימי הביניים לזכר יצחק טברסקי, בעריכת ע׳ פליישר, י׳ בלידשטיין, כ׳ הורוביץ, וד׳ ספטימוס, ירושלים תשס"א, עמ׳ 1–19.
בן־שמאי, "מנהיג"	ח׳ בן־שמאי, "יצירתו הפרשנית וההגותית של רס"ג: מפעלו של מנהיג", פעמים 54 (תשנ"ג), עמ׳ 63–81.
בן־שמאי, "מתח"	Ḥ. Ben-Shammai. "The Tension between Literal Interpretation and Exegetical Freedom: Comparative Observations on Saadia's Method." In *With Reverence for the Word*, edited by J. D. McAuliffe, B. D. Walfish, and J. W. Goering, 33–50. Oxford, 2003.
בן־שמאי, "רוח קדים"	ח׳ בן־שמאי, "׳רוח קדים׳ מן הדרום: המציאות הסביבתית כשיקול בתרגומי רס"ג ובפירושיו", וזאת ליהודה — מחקרים בתולדות ארץ־ישראל וייישובה, מוגשים ליהודה בן־פורת, בעריכת י׳ בן־אריה וא׳ ריינר, ירושלים תשס"ג, עמ׳ 288–307.
בן־שמאי, "שיקולים"	Ḥ. Ben-Shammai. "Extra-textual Considerations in Medieval Judaeo-Arabic Bible Translations: The case of Saadya Gaon," *Materia giudaica* 8/1 (2003): 53–59.
בן־שמאי וקייזה	ח׳ בן־שמאי וב׳ קייזה, "קטעים מפירוש רס"ג למגילת איכה", גנזי קדם ג (תשס"ז), עמ׳ 29–87.
ברודי	י׳ ברודי, רב סעדיה גאון, ירושלים תשס"ז.
גרינץ, מבוא	י"מ גרינץ, ספר משלי: פרקי מבוא, ירושלים תשכ"ח.
גרינץ, "עלוקה"	י"מ גרינץ, "משלי עלוקה", תרביץ כח (תשי"ט), עמ׳ 135–137.
הירשברג	ח"ז הירשברג, "לחקר רב סעדיה גאון ותקופתו", תרביץ לא (תשכ"ב), עמ׳ 414–422.
הלר	B. Heller. "La version arabe et le commentaire des proverbs du Gaon Saadia." *Revue des études juives* 37 (1898): 72–85, 226–251.
וולטקה	B. K. Waltke. *The Book of Proverbs (Chapters 15–31)*. Grand Rapids, MI, 2004.
טוי	C. H. Toy. A *Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Proverbs*. Edinburgh, 1988.
כנעני	י׳ כנעני, אוצר הלשון העברית, יג, ירושלים ורמת־גן תשל"ג.
מאנדלקרן	ש׳ מאנדלקרן, היכל הקדש/קונקורדנציה לתנ"ך, מהדורה שנייה, ברלין תרצ"ז.
מדרש תהלים	מדרש תהלים, מהדורת ש׳ בובר, ווילנא תרנ"א (ד"צ ירושלים תשל"ז).

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נספח: פירוש רס"ג למשלי — מבנה ההקדמה

	ד"ה בערבית	ד"ה בעברית	עמ'	הנושא
1	צדר מעברה	הקדים מפרשו	ח	פתיחה
2	אמא בעד, פאן אלנאטקין	ואחר הפתיחה	ח	השכל מייחד את האדם
3	ולמא כאן אלאנסאן	ולפי שהאדם משותף	ט	השכל ולא הטבע צריך לכונן את מעשי האדם
4	ונקול אן ג̇מיע מא ינפר	ואומר כי כל מה שהטבע	י	הטבע מושפע מעצלות ומתאווה
5	ומן שרוח אלאמרין	ומפירושי שני הדברים	יא	דוגמאות לעצלות ולתאווה
6	ת̇ם אן אלעאמה̇	ועוד שההמון	יג	תועלת המשלים לקרב לטבע את החלטות השכל
7	ואנא אקדם ההנא טרפא	והנני מקדים לך כאן	יד	דוגמאות מכל סוג
8	פאקול ההנא	ואומר כאן	יד	העיסוק בחכמה קשה מעיסוק בטבע
9	ואעלם אסעדך אללה	ודע יאשרך ה׳	יד	ידיעת השכל רחבה מידיעת הטבע
10	וקד יעתבר עואם אלנאס	ויש שגם המוני בני אדם	טו	לקחים מאירועים קשים
11	וכמאל אלעלם בפנון	ושלמות המדע בארבעה	טז	ארבעת מאפייני הידיעה וביאורם: הקיבולת, הזכירה, המחשבה וההבחנה
12	ואלעלם באסרה	והמדע בכללותו	יח	הידיעה מושתתת על חמשת החושים
13	ווג̇דנא ענד אלרצד	ומצאנו עם ההתחקות	יט	12 ענייני החכמה ב"משלי"
	אלבאב אלאול אמר כביר	השער הראשון צווי גדול	יט,25	ציוויים עקרוניים
	ואלת̇אני אכ̇באר	והשני ההודעה	יט,32	שכר ועונש
	ואלת̇אלת̇ אקאמה̇ שי	והשלישי הצבת דבר	כ,5	דימויי שכל כנגד דימויי טבע
	ואלראבע חכאיה̇ אמר	והרביעי ספור דבר	כ,8	סיפורים מהמציאות
	ואלכ̇אמס קול יכ̇רג̇ה	והחמישי דבר שאמרו	כ,15	לשונות כלליים שתוקפם מוגבל
	ואלסאדס קול הו חתם	והששי דבר שהוא בהחלט	כ,21	אמירות גורפות
	ואלסאבע קול יט̇ן	והשביעי דבור שאפשר	כ,26	לשון סיפור שהוא ציווי
	ואלת̇אמן תמת̇יל אלשי	והשמיני דמוי דבר	כ,32	דימוי הנעלה למשהו נחות ממנו
	ואלתאסע אצ̇אפה̇ שי	והתשיעי צירוף דבר	כ,35	חידוש אגב דבר ידוע
	ואלעשר קול יט̇ן סאמעה	והעשירי דבר שיחשוב	כא,5	היגד הנראה גורף אך אינו כזה
	ואלחאדי עשר איתאן	והאחד עשר שני פסוקים	כא,10	זיקה הקשרית
	ואלת̇אני עשר תעריף	והשנים עשר ההודעה	כא,19	כיצד לדרוש את החכמה
14	ולד̇לך לקבת הד̇א	ולפיכך קראתי	כב	משלי — ספר דרישת החכמה
15	ואקול יחתאג̇ טאלב	ואומר, זקוק דורש	כב	חמשת תנאי החכמה: כישרון, אהבת החכמה, חונך, פרנסה, זמן

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״אל תראני שאני שחרחורת״ (שה״ש א, ו) — רבי סימון פתח: ״אל תלשן עבד אל אדוניו״. נקראו ישראל עבדים שנאמר ״כי לי בני ישראל עבדים״ (ויקרא כה, נה), ונקראו הנביאים עבדים שנאמר ״כי אם גלה סודו אל עבדיו הנביאים״ (עמוס ג, ז) [...][50]

הרעיון שהנביאים נקראו עבדים אינו חידוש של רס״ג אלא מובע כבר במדרש. אולם העוקץ טמון כמדומה בהסתמכות על המדרש דווקא, שהוא הגילום המובהק של המסורת! רס״ג הוסיף אפוא נדבך דרשני על מדרש שהיה לנגד עיניו כשהסב את הלשון ״עבד״ לא על הנביאים אלא על המביאים מסורות אמתיות מפי הנביאים.[51]

בסעיף החמישי הראה רס״ג כיצד התוצאות השונות של העיקשות מובעות בפס׳ י–יז ואף לסִדרן הפנימי יש משמעות.

בין פירוש לפולמוס

רס״ג ראה במשלי ספר הדרכה שיטתי ומקיף שנועד לכוון את האדם המבקש חכמה והרוצה לכונן את חייו על אדני השכל. ברוח זו תרגם את הספר ופירשו. מגמה זו ניכרת היטב בפירושו לפרק ל׳, שהוא פרק מסובך ומאתגר מבחינה לשונית, תכנית ומבנית. כפי שהצעתי לעיל חילק רס״ג את הפרק לשתי חטיבות גדולות הנחלקות בתוכן לחלוקת משנה מסועפת. מבלי שאמר זאת במפורש, הוא הציב את קבוצת הפסוקים שבמרכז הפרק (י–יז) כקורה הנושאת את הפרק כולו. בעיון ראשון קשה להבחין במאפיינים הלשוניים והתכניים המגבשים פסוקים אלה ליחידה ספרותית, ונדמה שהם מהווים יחידה עצמאית רק על פי הגבולות הברורים של יחידות המשנה שלפניהם ושלאחריהם. רס״ג ניצל את העמימות הלשונית והסגנונית שבפסוקים הללו ועשאם לכתב פולמוס מתוחכם ומשוכלל. בשאלה המרכזית שליבנתי כאן — תרגום המלה ׳עלוקה׳ ופירושה — דומה שדווקא אפשר היה להציע פירוש פשטי, המזהה ׳עלוקה׳ עם טפיל, כמקובל במחקר; כפי שהעיר וולטקה, הבנה זו מתועדת כבר בתרגום הסורי ובתרגום השבעים.[52]

פעמים הרבה אין המתפלמס נוקט בשם יריבו, ואף רס״ג נהג כך כאן. אלם אין קושי לזהות את היריב: היריב הוא מי שדוחה את המסורת האמתית מתוך עיקשות ובדרך שאינה מתחשבת בשיקולים הגיוניים. כך רצה רס״ג לסרטט את תווי הפנים של הקראים בני זמנו.[53]

האומנם כל מה שתלה רס״ג בלשון הכתוב אכן נובע ממנו בהכרח? האם קרא רס״ג את פרק ל׳ במשלי קריאה פשטית? דומני שהתשובה על כך צריכה להיות מסויגת. במקומות הרבה בפירושו למשלי ניכר כי רס״ג חתר לברר את פשוטם של המקראות. קשה לייחס עמדה כזו לפירושו לפרק ל׳. דומה שרס״ג ניצל את הקושי הלשוני והסגנוני של הפרק כדי להעמיד כתב פולמוס נוקב עם הקראים. בעצם, רס״ג ״דרש״ את הטקסט ובזה המשיך מסורת רבנית שהתקיימה במשך מאות שנים קודם לזמנו. הדרשה מושתתת על הנחת יסוד שהביע כבר בהקדמתו למשלי ולפיה הספר הוא חיבור שיטתי רצוף המכוון למטרת־על מוצהרת: בקשת החכמה. ברוח זו קרא את הפרק קריאה ספרותית קפדנית, נתן דעתו לארגון הפנימי של הפרק ושל פסוקיו, דייק בלשון המקרא ודקדק בכל דימוי ומטבע לשון שיש בפרק. ועם זאת, הצגת פסוקים י–יז כמכוונים נגד העמדה הקראית היא סטייה מן המגמה הכוללת של הפרק, כפי שניכר מפירושו לפסוקים האחרונים, אשר אין להם כל זיקה לעמדות קראיות. בין פרשנות פשטית להגות יש מתח מהותי. פירושו של רס״ג לפסוקים י–יז במשלי ל׳ הוא דוגמה נאה לרווח האפשרי וגם למחיר הכרוך בהעדפת הקוטב ההגותי (ובמקרה זה — הפולמוסי) על פני הקוטב הפרשני. דברי רס״ג כאן מלמדים אפוא על השקפותיו יותר מאשר מסייעים להבנת פשוטו של מקרא.

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[50] שיר השירים רבה (מהד׳ וילנא) פרשה א ד״ה א [ו] אַל; וכן שיר השירים, דונסקי, עמ׳ לב.

[51] ראו בן־שמאי, ״הספרות״.

[52] ראו הערה 6 לעיל, בייחוד בדברי וולטקה.

[53] ברודי, עמ׳ 161–168.

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סותרים את דבר הנביאים לאחר שמסתבר[41] שהם מתאימים לו ויש ביניהם הרמוניה. כפי שאתה רואה את החולק על הציבור בא אל פסוק שאפשר שיתפרש באחד מאופני הפירוש שקיבלו במסורת ומתכחש לו ודוחהו, ואומר "איני חייב לקבלו".[42]

5. **[התוצאות הפנימיות של דחיית מסורת אמתית]**

החכם [אגור] מפחיד[43] אותו [את העיקש הדוחה את המסורת האמתית] אפוא בארבעה דברים: א) האנשים מגנים אותו, הוא אומרו "פֶּן יְקַלֶּלֶךָּ" (פס׳ י). ב) ה׳ מגנה אותו, הוא אומרו "וְאָשַׁמְתָּ" (שם), וכך הוא נעשה מקולל אצל הבריות ואשם אצל ה׳. ג) החכם מגנה אותו וייחס לו שלא התנקה מן הלכלוך הנתעב ביותר, היא הצואה, כאומרו "וּמִצֹּאָתוֹ לֹא יֵחָץ" (פס׳ יב), לא כל שכן הטומאות השמעיות שאין החוש חש בהן. ד) עונש מאת ה׳, ועשאו שני סוגים: מְכַלֶּה או מייסר. לגבי המכלה אמר "לַעֲלוּקָה שְׁתֵּי בָנוֹת" (פס׳ טו) וכל פרטי[44] האבדון שיכהו ה׳ בעוני כמו "אֶרֶץ לֹא שָׁבְעָה מַיִם" (פס׳ טז), או בעקרות כמו "וְעֹצֶר רָחַם" (שם), או במוות כמו "שְׁאוֹל" (שם), או באש הגיהנם כמו "אֵשׁ לֹא אָמְרָה הוֹן" (שם), אם ניצל בעולם הזה מאותם השלושה. על המייסר אמר "עַיִן תִּלְעַג לְאָב" וגו׳ (פס׳ יז). המדומה לניקור העורבים[45] הוא [מעשה] מייסר שאין בו תועלת, והנמשל לאכילת הנשרים[46] הוא [מעשה] מייסר שיש בו תועלת. כל אחד מארבעת מיני הכליה הללו או מסבי הייסורים ישיג את העיקש ההוא בהתאם למידת ההפרזה[47] שלו בעיקשותו.[48]

בסעיף הראשון קבע רס״ג שכפירה במסורת האמתית היא חטא חמור שהעונש עליו הוא אבדן וכליה. בסעיף השני הסביר מה מאפיין מסורת אמתית והתייחס לשלושה גורמים: א) המניע להתפתחות המסורת: אם אין ביסודה מזימה להפיץ שקר מכוון ואם אין חשד כזה הריהי נחשבת אמתית. ב) ההיגיון הפנימי שלה: היא מתקבלת על לבבות מבקשי האמת. ג) מעבירי המסורת הם אנשים אמינים. הגורם האחרון דומה למשתנה הקובע את איכות המסורת שבעל פה באסלאם: **האסנאד** (שושלת המסירה). דומני שאין זה מקרה שרס״ג הביא את המשתנה הזה אף שלא קרא בשמו. יש בדברי רס״ג כאן טענת "אדרבה", והיא חלק מדרכי הפולמוס שהיו מקובלות בימיו ובסביבתו: דומה שרס״ג ביקש לטעון כאן כי גם על פי אמות המידה הנקוטות בקרב מלומדים מוסלמים יש להתייחס אל המסורת הרבנית כאל מסורת אמינה.

הסעיף השלישי פותח בקביעה כי מי שדוחה את המסורת האמתית הוא עיקש. עיקשות היא תכונה מגונה בהיותה אטימות לנוכח דבר מוכח.[49] היא גורמת לתוצאות חמורות מבחינה לוגית ומבחינה מוסרית, ולטענת רס״ג ארבע התוצאות ההכרחיות מובעות בפסוקים יא–יד בסדר פנימי של משמעות, היינו כל אחת משתלשלת מקודמתה. האמור בפס׳ טו הוא אפוא תוצאה פנימית של העיקשות ולא עונש חיצוני מאת ה׳.

כבר הערתי לעיל שרס״ג ראה במשלי ספר המנחה את האדם כיצד לנהוג בחכמה ולהשליט את שכלו על טבעו. התכלית הזאת של הספר באה לידי ביטוי בפס׳ י׳ ובשיבוצו לפני שבעת הפסוקים הבאים. בסעיף הרביעי קבע רס״ג שפס׳ י׳ מציע לאדם הנבון עקרון מנחה שמימושו ימנע את דחיית המסורת האמתית ואת התוצאות החמורות הנובעות מן הדחייה. הפסוק מנוסח על דרך השלילה ("אַל תַּלְשֵׁן עֶבֶד אֶל אֲדֹנָיו") אך אפשר בהחלט לנסחו על דרך החיוב: כל עוד המסורת שבעל פה מתיישבת היטב עם התשתית המקראית אין סיבה לדחותה אלא יש לקבלה ולפעול מתוך מחויבות לה. לכאורה נדמה שרס״ג עקר כאן את המלה ׳עבד׳ מפשוטה, שכן הוא כינה בשם "עבד" כל מי שמוסר דבר אמת שמקורו בנביא. אולם לאמתו של דבר נקט רס״ג מהלך מתוחכם. בדבריו מהדהדים דברי המדרש:

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[41] קאפח תרגם "בעת שהם מתבארים על ידם", וראו בלאו, מילון, עמ׳ 148.

[42] מעין העמדה הזאת נקט גם הרלב״ג בפירושו על אתר, ואיני יודע האם ועד כמה נסמך על רס״ג. הנה תורף דבריו: "אל תלשן — והוסיף להזהיר שנית על דברי התורה שלא יחטא בעיונו בהם וישתבש ויתלה בזה בדברי תורה. ולפי שהתורה הוא כמו עבד לש״י לשרתו בה בהגעת השלימות בה לאדם, הזהיר שלא יתלה האדם בדעותיו המשובשות בדברי התורה, כי בזה כאלו הלשין העבד אל אדניו לומר לו שהטעה אותו עבדו ואמר שאם תעשה כן אולי יקללך אדניו והוא הש״י, ותהיה לשממה והפסד מפני היותך מיקל בתורתו. והמשיל ואמר כי זה הפועל המגונ׳[ה] מהבנת דברי התורה בזה האופן החס׳[ר] ידמה אל הדבור שמקלל הוריו אשר גדלוהו והביאוהו אל המציאות בצד מה, ולא יתן להם הכבוד הראוי, אך יקללם. וכן הענין בזה המעיין עם התורה, כי אלו היה נותן כבוד לדברי התורה היה מעמיק בהבנתם באופן ראוי וישמח בזה מהטעות בדבריה. אך הוא מקל בדברי התורה עם רוב הטובה שהיא משפעת לו במוסר ובדעות, עד שהיא תגדל נפשו ותזונה מהמזונות אשר תקנה בהם החיים הנצחיים".

[43] קאפח תרגם "הוכיחו", וראו בלאו, מילון, עמ׳ 246.

[44] קאפח תרגם "סוגי", אך ראו בלאו, מילון, עמ׳ 333.

[45] כוונתו ל"יְקָרוּהָ עֹרְבֵי נַחַל" (פס׳ יז).

[46] כוונתו ל"וְיֹאכְלוּהָ בְּנֵי נָשֶׁר" (שם).

[47] קאפח תרגם "השתקעותו", ודומני שלא דק. עוד ראו בלאו, מילון, עמ׳ 50–51.

[48] עמ׳ רנו, שו׳ 16–רנח, שו׳ 12.

[49] במקור: "מאאנד", וראו בלאו, מילון, עמ׳ 462.

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כלפי מה או מי מוסב הטיעון הנוקב הזה? לדעת רס״ג פס׳ טו הוא הנקודה הארכימדית של שמונת הפסוקים המרכיבים את יחידת המשנה הספרותית הנידונה כאן. עד כה הוא הסביר מדוע קדם פס׳ טו לפס׳ טז והציע הסבר למבנה הפנימי של פס׳ טו עצמו ולמקומו לאחר פס׳ יד. עתה בא רס״ג להסביר כיצד הפסוק מתייחס ליחידת המשנה הספרותית בשלמותה ובדרך זו לחשוף את היריב המסוכן אשר אינו מסתפק ביש וסופו להביא על עצמו אבדן ואבדון. מאחר שמדובר בקטע ארוך ומורכב חילקתי אותו לְפִסְקוֹת והוספתי להן כותרות. כך יקל על הקורא לחשוף את המבנה הפנימי של דברי רס״ג, לעמוד על ההיגיון שביסודו ולהתרשם מן המרכיבים הרטוריים שבאופן הרצאת הדברים.

1. **[הכופר במסורת האמתית ראוי לעונש החמור של אבדון]**

לפני שיבאר החכם [אגור] את ארבעת הדברים הללו הקדים לציין את המצב של מי שראוי ללכת אליה ואמר: ילך לעלוקה מי שכפר במסורת[33] האמתית.[34]

2. **[מאפייני המסורת האמתית]**

שכן השכל מחייב שהמסורת החפה משקר בזדון ומחשד בזה כאחת הריהי אמת בלא ספק. יש מסורת המתקבלת על לבבות מבקשי האמת, שהביאו אנשים שאינם משקרים בזדון בעניינה ואינם חשודים על כך.

3. **[המשמעות של דחיית המסורת האמתית ותוצאותיה]**

מי שדוחה אותם הוא עיקש[35] וראוי לעונש מאת ה׳, שכן יש ב(דחייה) ארבעה היבטים של גנאי: א. הוא מוציא דיבה על קודמיו בהתנגדו בעיקשות למה שהעבירו לו במסורת ועושה אותם שני חלקים: לדעתו הזכרים מביניהם עשו קנוניה[36] ולכן הוא התיר לקללם, כאומרו ״דּוֹר אָבִיו יְקַלֵּל״ (פס׳ יא); והנשים שבהן נפתות ללכת אחריהם ואין בכוונתן לשקר ולכן אינו מקלל אותן ולא מברך אותן, כאומרו ״וְאֶת אִמּוֹ לֹא יְבָרֵךְ״ (שם). ב. עוד נראה לו לפרוש משיטותיהם הזכות הואיל והוא סבור שהן טמאות כאומרו ״דּוֹר טָהוֹר בְּעֵינָיו״ (פס׳ יב). ג. עוד הוא נשען על דעת עצמו ומדמה שהיא במצב נעלה ואינו רואה דעה מעל דעתו, כאומרו ״דּוֹר מָה רָמוּ עֵינָיו״ (פס׳ יג). ד. עוד הוא מתיר את דמו ואת ממונו של כל מי שאינו הולך בשיטתו ועובר[37] גם על המושכלות, כאומרו ׳דּוֹר חַרְבוֹת שִׁנָּיו׳ (פס׳ יד). ההידרדרות הזאת ברע ממצב למצב אחר נמצאת כל הזמן אצל כל מי שאינו מאמת את המסורת. מאחר[38] שתיאר את המעשים הרעים האלה הודיע מה העונש עליהם ואמר ״לַעֲלוּקָה שְׁתֵּי בָנוֹת״ (פס׳ טו).

4. **[פס׳ י הוא הציווי שיכול למנוע את המהלך ההרסני המתואר בפס׳ יא–יד]**

לפני שהחכם מתאר את ארבעת המצבים הללו ואומר שהעושה אותם ישיג מן האבדון כך וכך, הקדים לפני כן והזהיר מלייחס שקר לאנשי האמת, מפני שבדירוג החכמה יש להקדים את מצוות העשה להבטחה [לגמול] ואת מצוות הלא תעשה לאיום [בעונש]. לפיכך אמר ״אַל תַּלְשֵׁן עֶבֶד אֶל אֲדֹנָיו״ (פס׳ י). ״עבד״ בפסוק הזה אינו עבד שפל אלא הוא עבד נעלה,[39] כאומרו ״משה עבד ה׳״ (דברים לד, ה ועוד), ״דוד עבדי״ (מל״א יא, יג ועוד). אגור אומר אל תלשין על החסיד[40] אל אדוניו, כלומר על מעבירי המסורת מפי הנביאים עליהם השלום, שכן הם נאמני ה׳ וקראם ״עבדי הנביאים״ (מל״ב יז, יג). כך אשר ראו אותם חסידים בעיניהם, כאומרם לשמואל ״התפלל בעד עבדיך אל ה׳ אלהיך ואל נמות״ (שמ״א יב, יט); ואמרו לאלישע ״הנה נא יש את עבדיך חמשים אנשים בני חיל״ (מל״ב ב, טז). ההלשנה עליהם לאדונם היא הטענה שדבריהם

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[33] במקור: ״מעאנדא״; ראו בלאו, מילון, עמ׳ 161.

[34] רס״ג נקט כאן ״צאדקה״ ולא ״חקיקיה״, בשונה מלשונו בפתיח ליחידה זו, שם כתב ״בצורה אלחק״ (עמ׳ רנד, שו׳ 17).

[35] בלאו, מילון, עמ׳ 462.

[36] במקור: ״תואטו״. קאפח תרגם ״הסכימו ביניהם על דבר שקר״, וראו בלאו, מילון, עמ׳ 770.

[37] בהוראת ״עבר על (מצווה, פקודה, איסור, הבטחה)״ — ראו בלאו, מילון, עמ׳ 103.

[38] קאפח תרגם ״וכאשר״, ודומני שמוטב לראות כאן תיאור סיבה ולא תיאור זמן.

[39] כלשונו הנכוחה של קאפח.

[40] במקור: ״לא תסע באלולי אלי מולאה״. המלה ״ולי״ קשה לתרגום בגלל שפע המשמעויות הגלום בה. מפי פרופ׳ דניאל י׳ לסקר למדתי כי ״ולי״ הוא גם מי שזוכה להשראה תת־נבואית, ופרופ׳ חגי בן־שמאי הסב את תשומת לבי לכך שאצל רס״ג נקראים לעתים הנביאים בשם ״ולי״. ״ולאיהֹ״ כתכונת ה״וַלִי״ משמעה ידידות, חסידות, נאמנות, מסירות מוחלטת לאל, ואף קִרבה אליו — ראו קָראן, סורת מרים (19), פסוק 5. אני מודה לפרופ׳ חגי בן־שמאי על שהביא אזכור זה לידיעתי. גם המלה ״מַוְלַי״ (היו״ד נחה!) היא רבת משמעויות בערבית, ומשמשת בין השאר כינוי לאל.

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בזה הייתה לבני האדם, הביא את שתי הדוגמות מן החי והצומח, שכן אין קיום לחי אלא באמצעות הצומח. לכן אמר שלאבדון החי יש שני אופנים: האחד — העקרוּת, והוא שהחי לא יהיה כלל; והאחר — המוות, שאחרי הלידה ימות, וזה אומרו "שְׁאוֹל וְעֹצֶר רָחַם" (פס׳ טז). גם לאבדון של הצומח יש שני אופנים: האחד — הבצורת, וזה שהארץ לא תְּרווה מים וכתוצאה מכך לא תניב, הוא אומרו 'אֶרֶץ לֹא שָׁבְעָה מַיִם' (שם); והכילָיון האחר הוא כילָיון הצומח הידוע באמצעות שריפת האש, הוא אומרו "וְאֵשׁ לֹא אָמְרָה הוֹן" (שם). אחת היא השריפה באש אשר בחי באמצעות האכילה[24] או השריפה באש הגלויה על הארץ. נעשו הכול ארבעה אופנים.[25]

הדברים הללו מסבירים כיצד פס׳ טז מבאר את פס׳ טו, אולם פסוק טו עצמו נותר סתום. עתה בא רס"ג לדון בתוכן ובמבנה של פסוק זה:

החכם קבע את מספרם שלושה סוגים: שניים באומרו "שתי בנות", שלישי באומרו "שָׁלוֹשׁ הֵנָּה" ורביעי באומרו "וארבע לא אמרו הון". הוא התכוון להזכיר תחילה את האבדון של בעלי החיים, שהרי הוא תיאר [אותם] רק כדי לקובעם עונש לבני אדם בהתאם למה שהם ראויים לו וּמְצָאָם שניים: הקבר והעקרוּת, שנאמר "שְׁאוֹל וְעֹצֶר רָחַם" (פס׳ טז). אחר כך ראה שיש כאן גורם שלישי שבגינו יֵעדרו והוא שהארץ לא תצמיח וּקְבָעָם שלושה. אחר כך ראה שיש פעמים[26] שהיא גם מצמיחה, והצומח הוא הסיבה לאבדון של בעלי החיים, כגון שהאש שורפת אותו. לכן הבדיל את העניין הרביעי הזה, כלומר את האש, מן השלושה, שכן אין היא לעצמה מחייבת את האבדון של בעלי החיים אלא כשהיא מצטרפת [למשהו נוסף], כלומר צומח ובעירה. פעולת שניהם ביחד היא בשני העניינים הראשונים, מפני שאינם בבעלי החיים עצמם אלא בזולתם. על [הגורם] הרביעי אמר "הב הב", היינו שהם אומרים 'תן תן', כאילו אינם שבעים, כאומרו לֹא "תִשְׂבַּעְנָה", וכאילו אינם אומרים "די", שנאמר "לֹא אָמְרוּ הוֹן". סדר [הגורמים בפסוק] הוא הפוך: מן האחרון אל הראשון. אומר: כאילו הם לא אמרו די, יתירה מכך, עם זאת הם אינם שבעים בעצמם, ולא עוד אלא שאומרים בדומה[27] לזה "הב הב", פעם אחר פעם.[28]

לשיטת רס"ג הפסוק מונה ארבעה גורמים או אופנים של אבדון, הממוינים בתוכם לשלוש קבוצות. הקבוצה הראשונה הם שני הגורמים הראשונים: אין הם חלק מהותי מבעלי החיים אלא רק מתייחסים אליהם וחלים עליהם. הגורם השלישי לכליה קשור לצומח ולחי כאחד והוא הצחיחות או הבצורת, כלומר אבדן התנאים המאפשרים לצומח לחיות, וממילא מביאים מוות על מי שתלוי בצומח, היינו בעלי החיים ובני האדם. הגורם הרביעי הוא גורם מותנה. אין בכוחו בלבד לחולל כליה, אך משמצטרף אליו גורם נוסף התוצאה יכולה להיות הרסנית. כללו של דבר: לָאבדון (ה"עלוקה") יש כמה מופעים בטבע, ולדעת רס"ג כולם נמנו בפסוק בסדר מחושב. החמור מופיע לפני הקל כדי להביע כבר בתחילה שמדובר במהלך הרסני. המבקש להתחקות על שלבי התהליך המביא לאבדן נדרש אפוא לקרוא את הפסוק מסופו לראשו.

בדרך כלל מקובל לחשוב שכל ההתפתחות התרבותית[29] היא תוצאה של אי הסתפקות ביש ובקיים, אך לפי רס"ג מתברר שלעתים יש באי ההסתפקות במה שכבר נמצא יסוד הרסני:

כך אתה רואה את ארבעת [הגורמים] הללו נושאים אל הקברים בני אדם רבים, גורמים לעקרה לאבד זרע רב, מפזרים בארץ החרבה[30] זרעים רבים, מזינים את האש בעצים רבים וכולם אינם שבעים. יתירה מכך:[31] כאילו הם אומרים למי שנותן להם "הוסף לי עוד".[32]

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[24] השוו "כִּי יִבְעֶר אִישׁ שָׂדֶה אוֹ כֶרֶם וְשִׁלַּח אֶת בְּעִירוֹ וּבִעֵר בִּשְׂדֵה אַחֵר" (שמות כב, ד).

[25] עמ׳ רנה, שו׳ 3–21. מעין הדברים הללו יש גם באמו"ד, המאמר העשירי, עמ׳ רצז, וראו הערה 96 שם.

[26] במקור: "רבמא", וקאפח לא תרגם את המלה; ראו בלאו, מילון, עמ׳ 234.

[27] במקור: "בחכם". קאפח תרגם "בתוקף" ודומני שלא דק, שכן "בחכם" בהוראת "בתוקף" בא כנסמך וכאן חסר הסומך. ראו בלאו, מילון, עמ׳ 139–140.

[28] עמ׳ רנה, שו׳ 21–רנו, שו׳ 11.

[29] בשני המשמעים של "תרבות": הציוויליזטורי והקולטורלי.

[30] קאפח תרגם "בבית השלהין".

[31] קאפח תרגם "אלא" ודומני שלא דק.

[32] עמ׳ רנו, שו׳ 11–16.

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1. פס׳ ז–ט: מה ראוי לאדם לבקש מאלוהיו
2. פס׳ י–יז: מסורת האמת שהאבות מנחילים לבניהם וראוי להם לדבוק בה
3. פס׳ יח–כ: הזהרה מפני הזנות והגנבה והגורמים להן
4. פס׳ כא–כג: כשבני אדם המוניים משיגים משרה ומעמד מעבר לראוי להם הדבר מעורר התנגדות
5. פס׳ כד–כח: סגולות בעלי החיים והלקחים שראוי לבני האדם להפיק מהן
6. פס׳ כט–לג: קבלת המרות של בעל השררה (כט–לא) ומעלת ההבלגה (לב) ואורך הרוח (לג)

תרגום רס״ג ופירושו למשלי ל, י–יז

כל יחידת משנה נחתמת בדברי קישור המשמשים הקדמה ליחידת המשנה הבאה. בסוף קטע ב1 כתב רס״ג: ״הענין השני הוא בהליכת הצאצאים בעקבות שיטת אבותיהם שמסרו להם במעמד[17] של אמת״.[18] כבר בדברים הללו יש יותר מהד של פולמוס, שכן אם בחר רס״ג להדגיש שיחידת המשנה הבאה (פס׳ י–יז) מתייחסת למסורת בעלת תוקף של אמת, משמע שיש מסורת שרק מתיימרת להיות כזו אך בעצם היא תלושה, שקרית, מופרכת או מדומה.

גבולות היחידה מתבררים מתוך זיהוי סוף היחידה הקודמת וראשית היחידה הבאה, אך זהו תיחום על פי אמות מידה חיצוניות ולא פנימיות. ובאמת, במבט ראשון קשה להבחין בכך ששמונת הפסוקים הנדונים הם יחידה ספרותית העומדת בפני עצמה וזו לשונה:

(י) אַל תַּלְשֵׁן עֶבֶד אֶל אֲדֹנָיו פֶּן יְקַלֶּלְךָ וְאָשַׁמְתָּ.
(יא) דּוֹר אָבִיו יְקַלֵּל וְאֶת אִמּוֹ לֹא יְבָרֵךְ.
(יב) דּוֹר טָהוֹר בְּעֵינָיו וּמִצֹּאָתוֹ לֹא רֻחָץ.
(יג) דּוֹר מָה רָמוּ עֵינָיו וְעַפְעַפָּיו יִנָּשֵׂאוּ.
(יד) דּוֹר חֲרָבוֹת שִׁנָּיו וּמַאֲכָלוֹת מְתַלְּעֹתָיו לֶאֱכֹל עֲנִיִּים מֵאֶרֶץ וְאֶבְיוֹנִים מֵאָדָם.
(טו) לַעֲלוּקָה שְׁתֵּי בָנוֹת הַב הַב שָׁלוֹשׁ הֵנָּה לֹא תִשְׂבַּעְנָה אַרְבַּע לֹא אָמְרוּ הוֹן.
(טז) שְׁאוֹל וְעֹצֶר רָחַם אֶרֶץ לֹא שָׂבְעָה מַּיִם וְאֵשׁ לֹא אָמְרָה הוֹן.
(יז) עַיִן תִּלְעַג לְאָב וְתָבוּז לִיקְהַת אֵם יִקְּרוּהָ עֹרְבֵי נַחַל וְיֹאכְלוּהָ בְּנֵי נָשֶׁר.

רס״ג תרגם את פס׳ טו כך: ״פאן ללעדם קסמין כאנהמא יקולאן מתלא האת האת, ולהמא תלת פליס ישבעאן, וראבע פליס יקולון בס״. בתרגום חוזר לעברית שיעור הדברים הוא: ״שכן[19] לאבדון[20] יש שני חלקים, כאילו הם אומרים לְמשל ׳הב הב׳, ולשניהם יש [חלק] שלישי שאינם שבעים [ממנו] ו[חלק] רביעי שאינם אומרים די״. רס״ג קשר אפוא את הפסוק לקודמו (או לקודמיו) והעמיד אותו כמשפט סיבה[21] לנאמר לפני כן.

במקומות רבים בפירושו העיר רס״ג תחילה על דרכי תרגום מיוחדות שנקט בתרגומו. אף כאן הוא פתח את הדיון בהערה על תרגומו לשלוש מלים ביחידה הספרותית הזאת, אשר תורגמו בצורה מפתיעה. תחילה הסביר מדוע תרגם ״אל תלשן״ (פס׳ י׳) כפי שתרגם, ואחר כך קבע ״לעלוקה — האבדון, והון — די; מלים יחידאיות״[22] (עמ׳ רנה, שו׳ 2–3).

מאחר שכבר בתרגום העמיד את פס׳ טו כמשפט סיבה פתח רס״ג את דיונו הספרותי והרעיוני בקביעה

אף שהחכם צירף [וערך] את שמונת הפסוקים הללו כפי שהם כתובים, המסתבר ביותר[23] מבחינת הפירוש הוא שנקדים את מקצתם אלה לאלה ונ׳אמר: אגור הודיענו שלאבדון יש שני אופנים — האחד שהדבר לא יהיה והאחר שֶׁיִּכְלֶה לאחר שיהיה. מאחר שכוונתו

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[17] במקור: ״צורה״; ראו בלאו, מילון, עמ׳ 379–380.

[18] במקור: ״ואלמעני אלתאני פי אתבאע אלנואשי מדהב אבאיהם פי מא נקלו אליה בצורה אלחק״ (עמ׳ רנד למטה).

[19] קאפח תרגם בתרגום החוזר לעברית ״כי״.

[20] כאן ובהמשך אפשר גם: אִיוּן, היעלמות או העדר.

[21] כך בתרגום, אולם בפירושו הציג את פס׳ טו כתוצאה של הנאמר בארבעת הפסוקים שלפניו. ראו להלן בסמוך.

[22] קאפח תרגם ״בודדות״, אך ראו בלאו, מילון, עמ׳ 496 למעלה. קרוב לשער שרס״ג לא הכיר את התרגום הסורי ואת תרגום השבעים (ראו וולטקה, הערה 6 לעיל).

[23] קאפח תרגם ״היותר קרוב לצורך הבאור״, אך ראו בלאו, מילון, עמ׳ 538.

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התרגום והפירוש של רס״ג למשלי

רס״ג עסק הרבה בתרגום המקרא ובפירושו. חיבוריו עוררו תשומת לב מחקרית כבר מסוף המאה התשע־עשרה. בדור האחרון מושקע מאמץ רב באיתור שרידי פירושיו, בזיהוֵם ובשיוכם, בהעמדת תשתית טקסטואלית קפדנית, בההדרת התרגום והפירושים, ובהוצאתם לאור.[10] ככל שהמחקר הולך ומתקדם כך מתברר מה ארוכה היא הדרך ועד כמה מורכבת המלאכה, וכן מה החשיבות והערך בראיית מפעל התרגום והפרשנות כמכלול. נדבך חיוני בהבנת הפירוש בהקשריו החינוכיים, הספרותיים, הפולמוסיים והתרבותיים הן ההקדמות שהקדים רס״ג לפירושיו.[11]

רס״ג כינה את פירושו למשלי ״כִּתַאב טַלַב אלְחִכְמַה״, כלומר ספר בקשת (או: דרישת) החכמה, וייחד לו הקדמה ארוכה.[12] בהקדמה יש ארבעה חלקים: (1) האדם מתייחד משאר בעלי החיים בשכלו. בין השכל לטבע (האינסטינקט) נטוש מאבק קיומי. המשימה העליונה של האדם היא להשליט את השכל על הטבע. (2) מאפייני תהליך הלמידה (= הידיעה). הידיעה מושתתת על חמשת החושים. (3) 12 אופנים שבהם מובעת החכמה בספר משלי. (4) משלי הוא ספר דרישת החכמה. כדי להשיגה נחוצים חמישה תנאים.[13]

החידוש הגדול של רס״ג רמוז כבר בהקדמה ובא לידי ביטוי ברור ונמרץ בפירושו למשלי: רס״ג קרא את משלי קריאה ספרותית מובהקת. לשיטתו אין מדובר בפתגמי חכמה בדידים, בהיגדים קצרים ושנונים שכל אחד מהם עומד בפני עצמו, אלא בטקסט רצוף המציע משנה סדורה. ספר משלי אליבא דרס״ג הוא חיבור שיטתי המכוון את המעיין לכונן את חייו על אדני השכל. בשונה מפרשנים אחרים אשר ראו במשלי חיבור בעל מאפיינים שיריים, ובראשם כפל לשונות להבעת רעיון אחד, סבר רס״ג שיש לקרוא את משלֵי קריאה דווקאית, ולפיה כמעט כל מלה וכל מטבע לשון יתרים על קודמיהם ובאים להוסיף דבר מה. כך נהג רס״ג בתרגומו ובפירושו ברוב המכריע של הכתובים. הקריאה החמורה הזאת מתרחשת בשלושה מעגלים: ראשיתה ביחידה הספרותית הגרעינית — הפסוק, שבו יש משמעות לכל מלה, ומשמעות יתרה יש לסדר המלים בפסוק. היחידה הספרותית הבאה הוא הפרק, וגם בו יש משמעות לארגון הפנימי של הפסוקים. ולבסוף הספר כמכלול: פרק א׳ הוא פרק המבוא, ולכן הוא הפותח את הספר, והוא הדין בשאר הפרקים, המשובצים כל אחד במקומו בכוונת מכוון.

דעת לנבון נקל, שנקיטת עמדה כזו יכולה לזרות אור נגוהות על הספר ולהעניק לו ממד של עומק הנובע לא רק מן התבונה המשתקפת בכל היגד, אלא גם ובעיקר ממבנה העומק המחושב ומן המשנה הסדורה שהוא מעמיד. בנקודת החוזק הזאת טמונה גם נקודת תורפה אפשרית. רס״ג נע בפירושו על הציר פרשנות — הגות, שבין קטביו יש מתח אימננטי. ככל שהוא צמוד לטקסט המקראי וחותר להציע פירוש פשטי כך רופף יותר הממד העיוני שהוא מנסה לחלץ ממנו. ולהפך, ככל שהוא מושפע מהנחות המוצא שלו ביחס לטקסט (כאמור, ספר בקשת החכמה) ומתפיסתו העקרונית ביחס למעמד השכל והחכמה כך הוא נאלץ להתרחק לעתים מפשוטם של המקראות. ועוד זאת: ככל שלשון הטקסט עמומה כך קל יותר לפרשן ״לגייס״ אותו לצרכיו ולדרוש אותו. אף שרס״ג חתר באופן מוצהר להעמיד פירוש פשטי הוא לא נמנע מלשלב דרשות עיוניות בפירושיו למקרא, כפי שכבר הראה חגי בן־שמאי.[14] בשורות הבאות אביא דוגמה נוספת למגמה הדרשנית של רס״ג, מפירושו למשלי.

המבנה הפנימי של משלי ל׳ לשיטת רס״ג

רס״ג חילק את הפרק לשני חלקים בלתי שווים באורכם, בתוכנם ובלקחם, ובהם שמונה קטעים:[15]

א. החלק הראשון

1. פס׳ א–ד: פתיח ובו נתוני רקע — הדובר (פס׳ א), מצב הדעת שלו לפני שלמד אצל איתיאל (ב), תחומי דעת שאינם ניתנים להשגה (ג–ד).
2. פס׳ ה–ו: המשך הפתיח — המצוות השכליות והשמעיות הן מדויקות והשכל מחייב אותן.

ב. בחלק השני נמנים שישה עניינים ובכל אחד מהם טמונים ארבעה לקחים.[16]

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[10] ראו, כמבחר בלבד: בלאו, ״תרגום״; בלאו והופקינס, בייחוד עמ׳ 4–5; בן־שמאי, ״הספרות״; בן־שמאי, ״מנהיג״, בייחוד עמ׳ 77 על שימושו של רס״ג בדרך הדרשנות; בן־שמאי, ״רוח קדים״; בן־שמאי וקייזה; סימון; פוליאק; קאפח, על התורה; צוקר, תרגום (ביקורת עליו: הירשברג); צוקר, בראשית; רצהבי, אוצר; רצהבי, ״תפסיר״; רצהבי, שמות; שלוסברג, ״דניאל״; שלוסברג, ״אדב״; שלוסברג, ״נדבך״; שלוסברג, ״גאון״; שלוסברג, ״תרומה״. אליעזר שלוסברג שוקד בשנים האחרונות על הכנת מהדורה ביקורתית של תרגום רס״ג לתורה.

[11] ראו: בן־שמאי, ״ישעיה״; בן־שמאי, ״חדשים״; סטרומזה; ריבלין.

[12] כל ההפניות הן למהדורת קאפח — ראו קאפח, משלי, עמ׳ ח–כב. התרגום הוא ממני.

[13] ניתוח סכמטי מפורט של מבנה ההקדמה בא בנספח למאמר.

[14] בן־שמאי, ״מדרש״; בן־שמאי, ״שיקולים״; בן־שמאי, ״מתח״.

[15] להלן אתייחס לקטעים השונים על פי סימונם כאן.

[16] וזה תרגום דבריו בסוף פירושו לפס׳ ו׳: ״ואחר שאמר אגור [...] הביא שישה עניינים שבכל אחד מהם יש ארבעה דברים, [כדי] שהלומד יפיק תועלת או תועלות מכל עניין״ (עמ׳ רנג).

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21

על "עֲלוּקָה" שהיא אבדון, ועל גיוסה לפולמוס עם הקראים: עיון בפירוש רס"ג למשלי ל, י–יז

נַחֵם אילן*

הקדמה

"עלוקה" היא מלה יחידאית במקרא והקשרה עמום. לשון הפסוק היא "לָעֲלוּקָה שְׁתֵּי בָנוֹת הַב הַב שָׁלוֹשׁ הֵנָּה לֹא תִשְׂבַּעְנָה אַרְבַּע לֹא אָמְרוּ הוֹן" (משלי ל, טו). על פי המסורה, הפסוק פותח פסקה חדשה, אשר מסתיימת בפס' יז. הפרק כתוב בלשון קשה, מבנהו קשה לפענוח,[1] והזיקה בין הנאמר בפסוק הנדון לנאמר לפניו ולאחריו אינה פשוטה. כל אלה מונעים מן המעיין להסיק בוודאות מן הטקסט מהי ההוראה הברורה של "עלוקה".[2] בספרות התנאית והאמוראית נתפרשה המלה ככינוי לגיהינום[3] או לשרץ.[4] שני הפירושים הללו רווחים הרבה גם בפרשנות המקרא היהודית מימי הביניים.[5] בספרות המחקר רווח באופן מובהק הפירוש כי מדובר בשרץ.[6] מעטים סברו ש"עלוקה" הוא שם פרטי והלמ"ד שבראשה היא למ"ד היחס, כעין "לאיתיאל" (משלי ל, א) ו'למואל' (שם לא, א).[7] אליעזר בן־יהודה הביא במילונו כאפשרות ראשונה "שם לבריה דמיונית ממין השדים (?)", והביא כאסמכתא את הפסוק הנדון כאן.[8]

על רקע המגמות הפרשניות הללו בולטים בזרותם ובייחודם הפירוש והתרגום של רב סעדיה גאון (רס"ג) ל"עלוקה".[9]

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* אני מודה לפרופ' שרה סטרומזה ולד"ר מרים גולדשטיין שהואילו לקרוא טיוטה של המאמר. הערותיהן סייעו בידי לשפרו ולזקקו. עוד אני מכיר טובה לקורא עלום השם על עצותיו המועילות.

[1] השוו למשל החלוקה שנקט רב סעדיה גאון (רס"ג) ואשר תידון להלן בפירוט, עם החלוקה שהציע קיל, עמ' רמז, רנד.

[2] בד"ב, עמ' 763, הציעו שלושה פירושים אפשריים, בסדר הבא: (א) טפיל הנקרא עלוקה (leech); (ב) שד דמוי עלוקה; (ג) שם של חכם, והמחברים לא הכריעו ביניהם, לבד מן הארגון הפנימי, המביע במשתמע את עמדתם.

[3] בבלי ע"ז יז ע"א. זו ההוראה הראשונה הרשומה אצל רבין ורדי, עמ' 740; וההוראה השנייה אצל כנעני, עמ' 4350.

[4] מדרש תהלים, עמ' 142; ערוך השלם, עמ' 210, 275; זו ההוראה הראשונה אצל כנעני (הערה 3 לעיל). גם אוריגינס סבר ש"עלוקה" היא שרץ — ראו: רישר, עמ' 385–394. אוריגינס השתמש במלה βδέλλη שהוראתה השרץ או הטפיל הידוע בשם "עלוקה"; עיינו: ביילי, עמ' 354. אני מודה לד"ר אילנה קלוטשטיין על שהאירה עיניי בסוגיה זו.

[5] ראו רש"י ורלב"ג בפירושיהם על אתר. הפרשנים חלוקים ביניהם האם הזיהוי "גיהינום" הוא פשוטו של המקרא או לא. בעלי התוספות (ע"ז יז ע"א, ד"ה עלוקה) סברו שזה הפשט. הרמב"ם ראה בו דימוי בלבד, וכלשונו: "וזה האבדון הוא שקורין אותו הנביאים דרך משל באר שחת ואבדון ותפתה ועלוקה וכל לשון כלייה והשחתה, קוראין לו לפי שהיא הכלייה שאין אחריה תקומה וההפסד שאינו חוזר לעולם" (משנה תורה, הלכות תשובה, פ"ח ה"ה).

[6] אלפאסי, עמ' 402, הפירוש הראשון; א"מ, טורים 229–230; קדרי, עמ' 802, ובסוגריים ציין (Hiradinea), אף שהכתיב הרווח יותר במילונים הוא Hirudinea; קולר, עמ' 554 והערה 5; מקרא מפורש, עמ' 802 ובהערה כתבו שהמובן של המלה אינו ודאי; פירוש חדש, עמ' 249; קליפורד, עמ' 263; פריי, עמ' 428; מרפי, עמ' lxxii; סקוט, עמ' 178; שטיינמן, עמ' 61; וולטקה, עמ' 486–487, ולדבריו כבר התרגום הסורי והשבעים פירשו שמדובר בטפיל. התרגום הסורי השפיע באופן מובהק על התרגום הארמי למשלי — ראו מלמד. נראה שגם מלמד סבר שהזיהוי עלוקה = שרץ הוא הפשט, ועל כן לא נדרש לתרגום המלה הזאת במאמרו, כפי שעשה ביחס לתרגומים שמצא בהם ייחוד.

[7] ראו: גרינץ, מבוא, עמ' ל, שם טען ש"עלוקה" הוא שם של חכם והפנה למקומה של קבוצת הפסוקים שבה מופיעה המלה בתרגום השבעים; גרינץ, "עלוקה"; מאנדלקרן, עמ' 891: "עלוקה — שרץ המים מוצץ דם, וכמוהו בסורית וערבית [...] ובדרז"ל (= ובדברי רבותינו זכרונם לברכה); וי"פ (= ויש פירשו) אותו כשעצ"פ (= כשם עצם פרטי), שם החכם בעל המשלים". בהערה האחרונה רמז לדברי רבנו תם בתוספות ע"ז יז ע"א, ד"ה "עלוקה". גם מרפי, עמ' 232–233, הערה a, הציע את האפשרות הזאת; קיל, עמ' רנד, כתב במפורש שזה פשוטו של מקרא, ובהתאם לכך מנה את הפירוש הזה בראש הערה 1 שם, ורק אחריו הביא את שני הפירושים האחרים — שם של תולעת טפילית (Hirudinea) וגיהינום (ועל הפירוש הזה כתב "וחז"ל **דרשו**" [ההדגשה שלי–נ"א]).

[8] בן־יהודה, עמ' 4510. דומה שאל אפשרות מעין זו כיוון אלפאסי, עמ' 402, בפירוש השני שהביא.

[9] ככל שבדקתי מצאתי שרק מעטים התייחסו לפירוש רס"ג, ואף זאת לרוב באזכור בלבד. ראו: אפנשטיין, עמ' 179–180, הערה 284, אך מדבריו ניכר בבירור שנחשף לעמדת רס"ג רק מתוך עיון בדברי רד"ק; בן־יהודה, בערך; הלר, עמ' 76, והביא תמצית של פירוש רס"ג מבלי לדון בו ולשבצו בהקשר ספרותי, פרשני, או פולמוסי; טוי, עמ' 528–529, מנה פירושים מסורתיים ובהם זה של רס"ג, וציין שלכולם אין בסיס. עוד ראו: רוזנטל; בן־שמאי, "הספרות", עמ' 42 הערה 40, ציין כי רוזנטל לא הבחין בין הרובד השני לשלישי בדברי רס"ג.

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החלק העברי

תוכן העניינים

21. נחם אילן	על "עֲלוּקָה" שהיא אבדון, ועל גיוסה לפולמוס עם הקראים: עיון בפירוש רס"ג למשלי ל, י–יז	*1
22. אלינער ברקת	שמות מקראיים־עבריים ליישובים, ארצות, וקבוצות אתניות בימי הביניים	*11
23. מיכאל וקסלר	עשרה קטעים חדשים מפירוש רס"ג למגילת אסתר: הטקסט הערבי־היהודי (עם נספח כולל קטע מפירוש יהודה אבן בלעם לַמגילה)	*17
24. אברהם ליפשיץ	מעשה בראשית אינסופי או מאורע חד־פעמי לפי השקפת רבי אברהם אבן עזרא	*41
25. יצחק קלימי	היסטוריה וכתיבה היסטורית בספר דברי הימים לאור המקרא ותרבויות המזרח הקדום, יון ורומא	*45

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פשר נחום

מקורות ומחקרים בתולדות היהודים וספרותם
מן העת העתיקה עד ימי־הביניים
מוגשים לנחום (נורמן) גולב

ערכו
יואל קרמר ומיכאל וקסלר

בהשתתפות
פרד דונר, יהושע חליו, ודניס פארדי

המכון המזרחני של אוניברסיטת שיקגו