

A CRITICAL EDITION OF THE  
TEXT OF THE SAMARITAN YOM HA-KIPPUR  
LITURGY, WITH TRANSLATION THEREOF  
AND COMPARISON WITH THE CORRESPOND-  
ING JEWISH LITURGIES.

A Thesis  
Presented to the  
University of Leeds

by

John Macdonald

for

the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

March, 1958

This dissertation has never been  
submitted to this or any other  
University.



**IMAGING SERVICES NORTH**

Boston Spa, Wetherby  
West Yorkshire, LS23 7BQ  
[www.bl.uk](http://www.bl.uk)

**BEST COPY AVAILABLE.**

**TEXT IN ORIGINAL IS  
CLOSE TO THE EDGE OF  
THE PAGE**

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>page</u>
Foreword	i
Preliminary Notes	vii
I. Introduction	1
II. Translation of the Text of the Yom Ha-Kippur Liturgy (Eve Part), with notes following.	239
III. Translation of the Text of the Yom Ha-Kippur Liturgy (Morning Part), with notes following.	349
IV. Translation of the Text of the 'Atonement Hymnal', with notes following.	495
V. Appendices.	576
VI. Glossary.	724
VII. Bibliography.	748

---

## FOREWORD

A.E.Cowley's magnificent two-volume publication, 'The Samaritan Liturgy' appeared in 1909 and was the first major contribution to the field of Samaritan liturgical studies. Separate articles had appeared before that date (see Bibliography), and translations of parts of the Samaritan Liturgy were published in various journals. Cowley's chief contribution was the publication of texts previously kept in University libraries and museums and practically unknown to the scholastic world. Translations of Cowley's texts have been and are being made in Leeds University's Department of Semitic Languages and Literatures. For the liturgies already translated into English, see the Bibliography under Baguley, Boys, Brown, Green and Lerner. These works, complete in themselves as this one is, represent a part of a whole, for it is the aim of the Department, under the general editorship of Dr. John Bowman, who was solely responsible for the acquiring of Samaritan texts in microfilm and photostat copies of the manuscripts, to publish a translation of the complete Samaritan Liturgy.

The Yom Ha-Kippur Liturgy is herein presented in English translation with full critical, textual and explanatory notes. Manuscripts have been used in addition to those consulted by Cowley, as a result of which a clearer insight is gained into the development of that liturgy than is possible from the study of Cowley's text alone. It is also possible to have a greater measure of appreciation of the ordered and balanced form of the liturgy and to discover how the various scribes used the material available to them.

The notes are detailed, especially in the Appendices, in order that orthographic and other variations may illustrate affinities between the manuscripts. The development of the Day of Atonement Service is discussed in the Introduction, and major problems, such as the question whether there is one service or two, are studied. The Atonement, doctrinal outlook of the Samaritans is dealt with within the general doctrinal scheme. The large question of the 'Atonement Hymnal' (of which the Hymns in Cowley, pages 494-640, form a part) is also discussed in the Introduction, while those Hymns which seem to have been commonly said on the Day of Atonement are translated in Part IV of this work.

The Appendices present texts hitherto unavailable,

some of prayers and hymns not known to Cowley and some of prayers and hymns already published by him from other manuscripts. Unfortunately he did not publish the texts of the Qaṭafs (scriptural pieces connected by a common theme) which were available to him, so that one of the most unique practices of the Samaritans does not appear in his work. The Appendices herein contain those texts, supplemented by notes from texts not available to him.

In order that a reader may easily find the text of any part of the translation, references to Cowley's text are given in the left margin, while a detailed order of the contents of the Yom Ha-Kippur Service, according to the manuscripts consulted, is given in the Appendices. The reader may then turn from the translation page to the Appendix (I), find the Cowley page number and at a glance see which folio of any particular manuscript contains the text in question.

Cowley published a valuable introduction to his two volumes, which was, in itself, a vital contribution to the field of Samaritan studies, and he added a useful glossary of Aramaic words used in unusual ways or confined to Samaritan usage. The glossary at the end of this work adds to his list, in that examples are given, in some cases for the first time, and new words added.

Although this work will form a part of the whole Liturgy to be translated into English and published, it is an independent edition and translation. It is confined to the Day of Atonement, but the Day of Atonement cannot be completely isolated from the rest of the Liturgy, and in particular from the other Seventh Month liturgies. The comparison made with other liturgies for the Day of Atonement, the Rabbinate and Qaraite Jewish, and with the Islamic Ramaḍān Fast, illustrates and illuminates the unique features of the Samaritan Festival. Although no new light is shed on the origin of Yom Ha-Kippur, certain interesting questions are raised which will, it is hoped, form the basis of further research. Similarly, the new texts made available do not alter the nature or structure of the liturgy as published by Cowley, but some of them contain useful material for future study.

It remains for me to express most grateful thanks to Dr. John Bowman for his unfailing and ever ready advice, for he is perhaps the most informed scholar in the field of Samaritan studies. His published articles and personal advice have been invaluable in stimulating interest and encouraging research when the labour of translating (too often tentatively because of the grammatical and literary obscurities) and studying many manu-

scripts seemed considerable. A further tribute to him is the work already done by students of his Department and made available for consultation.

The Samaritans as a people survive to this day and their liturgy continues to develop. It is hoped that this small contribution to the study of their age-long religious beliefs and practices will be of some help in unfolding their religious history and giving them their rightful place in the religious history of the world.

The University of Leeds

John Macdonald

March, 1958.

## PRELIMINARY NOTES

	<u>page</u>
1. List of Abbreviations.	vii
2. List of Transliterations.	ix
3. The Manuscripts, descriptions and inter-relationships.	xiii

---

## PRELIMINARY NOTES

1. List of Abbreviations.

The following abbreviations are employed throughout in addition to those in common use in scholarly studies.

Names of biblical books receive the traditional abbreviation.

- add.            add, adds, addition.
- A.H.            In the Year of the Hijra.
- APP.            Appendix (to this work)
- b.                (ben/ibn), son of.
- BDB             Brown, Driver and Briggs. Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament - see Bibliography.
- C.                A.E.Cowley, or A.E.Cowley's The Samaritan Liturgy - see Bibliography.
- cent.            century.
- cents.           centuries.
- cont.            continued.
- f., fs.           folio, folios.
- ff.               following.
- Intro.           Introduction (to this work, or to C.'s; in the latter case the form is C.Intro.).
- MT               Massoretic Text as in Kittel - see Bibliography.
- om.               omit, omits, omitted.
- RSV              Revised Standard Version of the Holy Bible - see Bibliography.

- Sam. Samaritan (noun or adjective)
- S.P. Samaritan Pentateuch as in Walton - see Bibliography.
- Tr. Translation. E.g., Tr.p.61 = Translation (in this work), page 61.

Note:- (a) etc. in the Tr. renders the frequent Arabic terms *وتامة*, *فتامة*, and C.'s "גג". In the texts herein presented, as in C., "גג = גומר".

(b) Other abbreviations, of less general use, are explained in Section 3 below.

(c) Special abbreviations are used in the APPs. (q.v.).

---

## 2. Transliterations.

The following are technical terms used by the Sams., and retained in this work. Names of biblical personages receive the spelling employed in the RSV. Other names (even if identical with biblical names) are reproduced according to their Hebrew, Arabic or Aramaic spellings in the texts.

DEFTER	Sam. 'Prayer-Book', 4th cent.A.D.
DEKHÖR	Type of piece - see Intro.E.
DURRĀN	Collection of liturgical compositions by 'Amram Darah - see Intro.A & D.
EQR'Ū	Type of piece - see Intro.E.
ḤAFTĀWĪ	Second-priest in the Damascus community.
KĪMĒ	Type of piece - see Intro.E.
MALĪFŪṬ	Type of piece - see <u>ibid.</u>
MANĀṬ	Type of piece, a collect - see <u>ibid.</u>
MARĀN	Type of piece - see <u>ibid.</u>
MIDRĀSH	Type of piece - see <u>ibid.</u>
MUṢAF	Add. verse for special occasions, not to be confused with the Jewish Mūṣaf, which is an add. service.
QATAF	String of scriptural verses or parts of verses joined together to form a continuous theme. See Intro.D.
SEGUDDAH	(plural SEGUDDAS). Expression of worship consisting of prostration and repetition of biblical verses; usually a Service ends with a threefold SEGUDDAH (or three SEGUDDAS).

SHABBEHŪ	Type of piece - see Intro.E.
SHABHŪ'A	Type of piece - see <u>ibid.</u>
SŪRAH	Section from the Torah; e.g. the Surah of the Manaṭ, a particular reading associated with a special occasion and always said on that occasion. It is usually inserted in its proper position in the QATAF for the day or Service, and is given in full.
TADKĪR	Statement by priest conducting a Service, reminding the congregation of the Service or Festival next due. It is usually given at the end of a Service.
TAHEB	The Sam. 'Messiah', but not to be confused with the Jewish Messiah. See more fully in Intro.A.
YISHTABBAḤ	Type of piece - see Intro.E.
YITHHALLAL	Type of piece - see <u>ibid.</u>

.....

Add.note:- the following terms are translated as follows:

امام	priest	شیخ	elder
كاهن	priest	& ٲٲ	elder.
כהן	priest		
عم	kinsman	(exact relationship uncertain)	

---

Transliteration of Hebrew and Arabic  
consonants and vowels.

Aleph/Alif	not represented at beginning of words, but as ' in the middle of a word and when it represents Hamza.
Beth/Ba	b
Beth soft	bh
Gimel/Jim	g & j respectively
Gimel soft	gh
Daleth/Dal	d
Daleth soft and Dhal	dh
He/Ha	h (also when final)
Waw	w (when consonantal)
Zain/Zai	z
Ḥeth/Ḥa	ḥ
Ṭeth/Ṭa	ṭ
Yodh/Ya	y (when consonantal)
Kaph/Kaf	k
Kaph soft	kh
Lamedh/Lam	l
Mem/Mim	m
Nun	n
Samekh/Sad	s
'Ayin	'

Pe/Fa	p & f respectively.		
Pe soft	ph		<u>Arabic only</u>
Çadhe/Ça	z	ح	kh
Qoph/Qaf	q	ق	ḡ
Resh/Ra	r	ع	gh
Sin	s		
Shin	sh		
Taw	t		
Taw soft /Tha	th		

## VOWELS

Shewa	e		
Pathah/Fatha	a	Qameç/Alif Tawīla	ā
Seghol	e	Ḥireq/Kasra	i
Çere	ē	<u>do.</u> with vowel- consonant	ī
Qameç Ḥatuf	o	Qibbuç/Damma	u
Ḥolem, with or without vowel-consonant	ō	Shureq/Damma with vowel-consonant	ū

---

N.B. Traditional spelling of names of letters of the Alphabet are retained throughout. Biblical names for non-biblical persons receive the usual Anglicized form where they are familiar, e.g. Isaac, but less common names like Phinehas, if Sam., are transliterated.

### 3. The MANUSCRIPTS.

#### (a) Descriptions of the MSS consulted for this work.

##### 1. Defter MSS consulted by C. and present editor.

There is no need to reproduce C.'s descriptions of these MSS, given in C.pp.ix-xviii. The list is now set out with a mention of the scribe's family name, as this helps to determine the type of text occurring in the Yom Ha-Kippur MSS where there is considerable variation in the Defter pieces.

B.2 (Berlin Royal Library). The scribe is a Danfi (see C.p.xlvii for genealogical table). The MS is 18th cent. and is similar to Cr.11, described below, in both script and content.

Cr.11 (Crawford collection in John Rylands Library, Manchester). The scribe is a Marḥibi (see C.p.xlviii for genealogical table). The MS is 18th cent.

Cr.18 is very close to Cr.11 in orthography. The scribe is Levitical (see C.p.xlvi for genealogical table) and the MS is 18th cent.

H.2 (British Museum). The scribe is not known and

the date is uncertain. It is often close to Cr.11, 18 in the spelling of forms, and is similarly close to the later A.1,2 (described below) in the use of Aramaic spellings where V.3 (see below) has Hebrew spellings. Where Cr.11,18, A.1,2 deviate from V.3 (which is older), H.2 usually agrees with them. C.(p.xii) does not observe that this MS contained many Defter pieces, and it should be noted that only a few of the Defter pieces used on the Day of Atonement are to be found in H.2. This MS is best described as a collection of 'occasional prayers' without setting out complete collections or service orders.

K.4 (Keble College Library, Oxford). The scribe is not known and the MS appears to be composite. Only a small part of the Defter is contained in it and usually the MS agrees in grammatical forms with Cr.11,18 and the later MSS for the Day of Atonement, which probably depended on Cr.11,18 for the Defter pieces. C. points out (p. xiii) correctly that the older part of K.4 is close to V.3, while the later part shows alteration to the recension of Cr.11, but the pieces used for Yom Ha-Kippur are only from the later part.

P.8 (Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale). The scribe of most of this MS is unknown and the date it is impossible to discover owing to the composite nature of the MS. Only three Defter pieces used for Yom Ha-Kippur are to be

found in this MS; these are אַתִּי בַשְּׁלֵמָה (see APP.II, no.23), אֵל רַחוּם וְחַנוּן (see APP.III, no.6) and יַם הַרְחֵמִים (APP.III, no.20). It is to be noted that P.8 often agrees with O.5, L.17 and BK (for all of which see below) in variant readings, a fact which suggests that P.8 has a post-17th cent. recension of these Defter pieces.

V.3 (Vatican Library, Rome) contains the Defter in an early recension, a claim (by C. in his p.xviii) which receives support from the fact that most of the later MSS employed in this work agree in differing, often substantially, from it. The scribe is not known and the date is in doubt, but C. is probably right in ascribing it to the 14th cent. (C.op.cit.). C. made this MS the basis of his edition of the Defter (C.pp.1-92), although at times it would appear that he inserted in his texts readings from other (unnamed!) MSS and occasionally gave footnotes to the V.3 text.

---

ii. Other MSS consulted by C. and the present editor which do not contain the Service for Yom Ha-Kippur.

These MSS are consulted because they contain one or more piece used for Yom Ha-Kippur.

H.1 (British Museum) represents the liturgical order of part of the Defter and some occasional pieces

and services as used among the Damascus congregation. It is composite and lacks the scribe's name. The only Defter piece it contains and which is used in the Service for Yom Ha-Kippur is Ḥasan as-Ṣūrī's אלה רב (see APP.II, no.3). It agrees with the later MSS against the earlier in variant texts, but contains a few independent readings and omissions.

L.8 (British Museum) is an 18th cent. MS, written by a scribe of the Levitical family. It contains the service-orders for Zimmūth Succōth, Mo'ēd Ḥōdesh Ha-Shebḥī'ī and the Sabbath of the Ten Days of Penitence which precede the Day of Atonement; the only Defter piece (אני בשלח by Marqah) found in it occurs in the Service for Yom Ha-Kippur. It agrees with the other 18th cent. MSS against the older V.3.

L.13 is an 18th cent. MS, written by a scribe of the Danfī family and containing the orders for the Ten Days of Penitence and also the Seven Days of Succōth. It is consulted because it contains the Hymn אלה כלה (see APP.II, no.7) which occurs in the Day of Atonement Service. It is the text printed by C. (his pp. 746 ff.) and differs in a considerable number of places from A.1. It agrees substantially with BK (19th cent.) and this agreement with BK consists of minor details of spelling, so that L.13 is likely to be late 19th cent.

L.14 is an early 19th cent. MS by a scribe of the Danfi family (the scribe of B.2). This incomplete MS contains services for the Sabbath of Zimmūth Succōth and the First Day of the Month. Like L.8 it contains the Defter piece, above referred to, by Marqah. Like L.8, too, it has only up to verse Heth of the piece and is usually to be found in agreement with L.8 and the other, later MSS against the earlier V.3 text used by C.

iii. MSS consulted by C. and the editor of this edition for the Day of Atonement Service.

L.16 was used, along with L.18 (described below), by C. as his basic text. C.'s description is in C.p. xv, where he observes, hardly fairly, that it is inaccurate and different from the other copies (used by him) in arrangement. The scribe is of the Levitical family and his copy is closely similar in arrangement and content to two other MSS by scribes of the Levitical family, namely L.17 and BK (q.v. below). It is dated 1781 A.D.

The folios are beautifully spaced for the most part and other signs of the scribe's care are observed in the cases of verse inversion, which are nearly everywhere corrected in the margin, and in the fact that the scribe prefixes to the copy the phrase שרן החלק השמיני, the only other scribe to have done this being the careful and

studious scribe of L.18. This copy often agrees, however, with BK in detail against L.18, which is not by a Levitical scribe. The reverent attitude of the L.16 scribe, as of the L.18 scribe, is indicated in the closing folio, containing a tailpiece acknowledging the help of Allah in the writing of the work.

Two features of the script are (a) the sparing use of vowel signs, and (b) the rare use of the heavy overline (as, e.g., above Waw consonantal) as compared with L.18. C. did not note that in f.126 there is a different hand, with thicker strokes and a more cursive Mem, shorter Daleth, more curved downstroke in the Beth, and even fewer vowel signs.

There is a slight variation between the pagination employed by C. and that employed in this work. C. numbered the fs. according to content, while the present editor has numbered them according to the p.no. of the MS (in Sam. numerals).

L.17 was the last MS to come to the hand of the writer. Much of this MS was written in the 19th cent. by 'Amram the Priest, of the Levitical family, but there are obvious changes in handwriting in fs.6b and 44b. The copy is for the most part a palimpsest, the writing beneath being quite legible in places. A distinctive feature of the MS is the fact that the copy begins and

ends with a long Hymn; the Hymn beginning the copy is that in C.pp.712 ff., and that completing the work is referred to in APP.V (A) no.9.

In connection with the problem whether there is one Service or two (see Intro.C) this MS has the end of the Eve Part crowded in f.49<sup>b</sup>, while the beginning of the Morning Part starts at the top of a fresh f., a fact which may have significance.

The orthography is the traditional cursive, but Aleph is written with a tick on the right side of the lower left leg - thus *AY*.

L.18 is the MS which provided C. with the bulk of his text. It is dated 1770 A.D. He describes it (C.p. xv) as a good copy and this is a fair assessment. The greatest single feature of significance is the inclusion of a long series of Hymns, nearly all long in themselves. The only other MS containing such a 'Hymnal' is A.1, described below. L.18 is more than twice as long as, e.g., L.17 as a result. C.(op.cit.) noted the fact that 'It includes the long hymns composed by the scribe's brother Abraham b. Jacob'. Only four out of the fourteen Hymns involved are in fact by this writer. See APP. V (A) for the list.

The work was begun in 1180 A.H. and completed in 1184 A.H; it contains only the Eve Part of the Service,

an indication that the Service was in fact divided (for convenience) into two parts. It is unfortunate that C. used this MS alone for the Eve part, as the 'Hymnal' interrupts the Service and obscures the regular pattern of the Liturgy. It has value, on the other hand, in that it gives full responses for the Antiphons where the other MSS omit, and in that it contains more vowel signs than any other. This MS should be studied again, especially in connection with these vowels which may provide a useful clue to 18th cent. Sam. pronunciation, the more so if compared carefully with the vowels as indicated in 17th and 19th-20th cent. MSS.

In the spelling L.18 is often alone against the evidence of several MSS of about the same time, which may mean that the scribe, reverent and careful though he was, did not have an exact knowledge of orthography. This possibility may be supported by the extensive use of the heavy overline, which is usually omitted by scribes whose orthographic knowledge is less limited. C.'s pagination is again at fault for the reason above-mentioned in the description of L.16. A peculiar feature of this cursive writing is the joining of Yodh to a Beth in the form of a small curl to the Beth's flourish.

0.5. Only part of this 19th cent. MS from the Bodleian Library, Oxford, is concerned with Yom Ha-Kippur.

Fs.2-18 give the Service for the Sabbath of Zimmūth Succōth, fs.19-23 for Mō'ed Hōdesh ha-Shebhī'ī (Eve), fs.24-53a for the same (Morning), fs.53b-62b for the Sabbath of the Ten Days of Penitence, fs.63-65b for the Eve of the Going-Out of the Sabbath, and fs.66-109 (end of MS) contain the Order for Yom Ha-Kippur.

This MS is considerably different from L.16,17,18 in that it omits (it seems through carelessness) large sections of the Liturgy and does not include, as do the later A.1,2,3, several pieces of one literary type in one block. Several basic liturgical units, such as the KI BESHEM (discussed in Intro.E), are omitted with the effect of spoiling the liturgical pattern. The MS is on the whole well written and fairly accurate, but cannot be treated with the respect given to L.16,17,18 or BK.

This is, furthermore, the only MS available by a scribe of the Marḥibi family (see C.p.xlviii for the genealogical table), apart from the Defter MS Cr.11. C. did not print the scribe's full name, which is

Joshua b. Joseph b. Joshua b. Marḥib ha-Marḥibi. His spelling is on the whole careful; few vowel signs are used. The script is rather squarer and more angular than the usual cursive, possibly because the Marḥibi family produced fewer scribes than the Levitical or Danfi, who would be, as it were, within a scribal tradit-

ion for copying. This is mere guesswork, but it may not be insignificant that O.5 is often alone in content and spelling, at the same time being the only Day of Atonement MS written by a Marhibi.

The tail of the Beth is remarkably long, at times being the length of three lines of script! The format leaves much to be desired; lines tend to straggle and margins often become small at one end and large at the other.

Note (1): B.12,13 (MSS Petermann 6,7 from the Royal Library, Berlin) appear in C.'s list of MSS consulted (C.p.x), but there is no evidence that he used these in the preparation of his text, nor were they available to the present editor in any form. In the middle of his p. ix he states that most of the Berlin MSS were not collated throughout. For this study B.12,13 may thus be disregarded.

Note (2): There are references in this work to MSS not described herein; they are given the C. identification and his list of MSS should be consulted. These are MSS which contain one or more compositions also used in the Service for Yom Ha-Kippur.

iv. MSS consulted by the present editor and not available to C.

BK (Bowman Kippur) was made available in photostat form by Dr. J. Bowman, who gained permission from 'Amram b. Isaac, Priest, the Secretary of the Sam. community in Nablus in 1950 to photograph in Jerusalem a copy of the Day of Atonement Service (along with others) in their possession. Dr. Bowman describes the MS as being in good condition, bound in tooled leather, with oriental flap.

This MS was the first not known to C. to come into the present editor's hands, and it has proved immensely useful in checking the texts used by C. There are 93 fs. written in a clear, typically cursive hand of the 19th cent. The date given in f.91b is 1270 A.H. (1853/4), and the scribe's name is 'Amram b. Solomon b. Ghazāl, Priest. He was the father of the scribe of L.7; he died in 1291 A.H. and was responsible for the copying of part of L.17, so that some relationship may be expected between BK and L.17, as indeed there is. It appears from the texts in the APPs. that no two MSS are so close in agreeing on detail as BK and L.17. There is a change of hand from f.68b onwards, but no indication is given as to scribe or date.

In many respects this is the most accurate of the MSS for Yom Ha-Kippur; not only so, but it is consistent in repeating its orthographic and spelling idiosyncrasies, which cannot be said of any other MS. The hard overline

is little used and there are less vowel signs than in L.18, though more than in L.16. In points of detail the BK text agrees with L.16 much more than with L.18, possibly because BK and L.16 are from the hands of Levitical scribes. Like L.16 cases of verse inversion are almost always corrected by marginal notes in Arabic.

It is to be regretted that there are many ink blots in this MS; these evidently are of the same ink as that used by the scribe. In places several half-lines are obliterated. In content BK matches C.'s MSS, but several times it omits YITHHALLALS and tends not to have two MALĪFŪṬs or YISHTABBAḤs where one will suffice. In other words, the BK scribe endeavoured to present a single, unadulterated text, leaving aside Hymns and other compositions which were merely alternatives or favourites of the day.

A.1. This is by far the longest of the MSS consulted, mainly because it includes twenty-five long Hymns in three blocks, interrupting, as in the case of L.18, the liturgical sequence. Unfortunately, this MS from the Gaster Collection in the John Rylands Library, Manchester, (JR(G) 1193), contains no author's name or date. However, the dating is no serious problem because of the late date of several of the Hymns and other pieces. It must be late 19th cent. The MS was only available for study in

microfilm and it is clear from this that the MS has been seriously damaged in many fs. by damp. Unfortunately, most of the red rubrics and refrains are illegible, as well as many verses (sometimes whole stanzas) being obscured.

It is a palimpsest and is difficult to read in parts, particularly in microfilm, since some of the Service is as faint as the writing erased below! However, the great bulk of this MS of 393 fs. is readable, and is valuable for the new material it provides. The Arabic pagination is faulty and several corrections have been made by the latest copyist. F.27 shows a change of hand in the middle of a Hymn; f.30 shows another change of hand, while f.39 to the end of the Hymn referred to reveals a third hand. F.305 is missing.

This is a beautifully and regularly written MS, containing full texts of many pieces merely referred to in most of the other MSS. One great advantage is that it contains full texts of most of the Defter pieces, allowing comparison to be made with C.'s text of the Defter (C.pp.1-92). The Arabic writing is clearer than in any of the other MSS, and, as regards spelling, it often agrees with BK in accuracy. Vowel signs are very rare and the heavy overline is scarcely used.

In cases of variant texts, especially in the Defter

compositions, this MS normally agrees closely with A.2,3 described immediately below. Although A.2,3 are dated and the name of the scribe is known in each case, no certain light is thrown on the origins of A.1, for A.2, 3 are from scribes of different families and there is nearly a generation between them in dates.

On the other hand, A.1 and A.2 are closely similar in content, while A.3 often has pieces not contained in either. The close similarity between A.1 and A.2, over and over again, in points of fine detail is so striking that one is obliged to conclude that A.1 owes its origin to A.2, and may well, like A.2, be from a Levitical scribe. In support of this is the fact that the A.1 Hymns not in other MSS are almost all from writers of the Levitical family.

A.2 (JR(G)1114) contains 116 fs. and was available in microfilm only. It was written in 1237 A.H. (A.D. 1822) by Ghazāl b. Khidr. Now Cr.18 in its Marqah and Durran Defter pieces is strikingly similar to A.2, and since the scribe of Cr.18 is named simply Ghazāl, it is likely that both MSS are from the same scribe. Cr.18 was, however, written in 1766, so that if the A.2 scribe is the same he must have been an old man when he wrote A.2. Other MSS written by Ghazāl in the same period are L.11 (C.p.xiv) and L.22 (C.p.xv), but there is doubt

as to whether the Ghazāl of B.5,7,12,13 is the same. It is equally possible that Cr.18, L.11,22, B.5,7,12,13 were written by an elder brother of the A.2 scribe, a fact which would account for the similarity between A.2 and Cr.18.

A.2 does not agree closely with the MSS used by C. as regards content, or with the other Levitical MSS, although it falls in time between L.16,17 on the one hand and BK on the other. Like A.1 it contains full texts of the Durran and Marqah compositions in the Defter and includes several YISHTABBAḤs and MALĪFŪṬs not found in the other Levitical MSS. Owing to its associations (as to content and date of compositions) with A.1, the two must be classed as MSS of the modern period in the Levitical stream.

Fs.114b-115b are in a different hand, with Beth shorter and Lamedh less tall, while Daleth has no downward stroke at the bottom. In the MS otherwise there is frequent confusion (as in Cr.18) between Lamedh, Resh and Nun; a common example of Lamedh and Nun being confused occurs in קלומה for קנומה. Kaph and Gimel are likewise confused (e.g. וכד for בגד in C.p.701). These confusions appear to indicate that the scribe copied from sound-memory or from dictation, and not from another MS.

Regarding the Defter pieces given in full, a strange fact is that in the case of A.2 full texts are given only for the Morning part of the Service.

Rubrics are clear and simple, though detailed. Vocalization is sparse. The cursive script is beautifully written and spaced throughout. Beth has a very long tail, Lamedh a long top stroke, and Daleth is somewhat elongated. Aleph and Taw are clearly distinguished. The legs of He barely touch the horizontal stroke. Teth has a curving upward flourish at the top, while the top curving stroke of Nun meets the lower half in the middle of its 'back' (thus  $\int$ ). Another characteristic is the omission of lines, often two at a time. This is certainly due to carelessness, since the scribe added up (according to custom) at the end of each composition, and often his total agrees with what the total should be.

A.3 (JR(G)848), containing 74 fs. in a small cursive hand, was also available only in microfilm. This small script is often cramped and faint, containing few flourishes. It is heavily vocalized and the Arabic Tha and Dhal are always correctly dotted - an unusual phenomenon in Sam. Arabic writing! A peculiarity is the placing of the Arabic *وتمامة* within brackets. There is considerable confusion of the gutturals, especially Aleph and He,

and there is frequent omission of letters.

Fs.25b-26a are blank and f.44 is missing. Words are often not separated and there are some peculiar loops and flourishes. Nun appears as  $\text{ن}$ , Zain as  $\text{ز}$ , Shin as  $\text{ש}$ , while Daleth has a long bottom downstroke -  $\text{ד}$ . An interesting deviation from the normal is the regular spelling of  $\text{מליצות}$  as  $\text{מליצו}$  (which may have some bearing on the meaning of the term).

This is not a valuable MS from the point of view of accuracy or even of content. It gives only some of the Defter pieces in full, showing little consistency. Yet it is older than the other John Rylands Library MSS for Yom ha-Kippur consulted. Written by Kāmil b. Ismā'īl ar-Rāwī ad-Danfī as-Sāmīrī, it is dated in f.1 to the 17th Muḥarram, 1212 A.H. (A.D. 1796/7). It conveniently provides evidence that in the scribe's day at least the Samaritans (or at any rate the Danfi family) regarded the Day of Atonement Service as divisible into two parts, but this will be considered more fully in Intro.C below.

A.4. This British Museum MS (BM(G) Or.MS 850), available only in microfilm, contains only 14 fs., in cursive script. Fs.1b-2a and 8a are blank; fs.8b-14 contain the Hymn by Abīsha' b. Phineḥas given in C.pp.494 ff. Therefore only the first seven fs. provide liturg-

ical texts. Fs.1a-2b are in a poor hand, with Kaph written for Gimel several times. The script has a childish appearance and the words tend to run into one another. Fs.3-14 are in a different hand, much more mature and precise. The script is clear, but unique. Nun is written  $\beta$ , Teth pointed at the bottom -  $\Psi$ , Lamedh is smaller than usual, while Daleth is large. Resh is short and Qoph appears like an English z. The Atonement Qataf, beginning in f.1a, is incomplete. A distinctive feature of this MS is the employment of Hebrew script (Sam.) for several common Arabic words, e.g.  $\text{סו}$  for  $\text{ثم}$  and  $\text{סאבא}$  for  $\text{جوابه}$ .

No scribe's name or date appears, but there is an interesting note in Arabic on f.3a (i.e. between the two hands) to the effect that the Words of Forgiveness are said in the middle of the day of the Great Fast, and that the Imām (Priest) of the times was 'Imrān ('Amram). Mention is made next of three opening verses composed by 'Abdullah b. Solomon (14th cent.) the Levite, the Priest. No real guidance is conveyed by these words, since many compositions by 'Abdullah are found in the Day of Atonement MSS.

The MS covers only the liturgical units up to the Malīfūt before Gen.xxix is reached, and thus A.4 is of little value in the determining of content.

(b) Interrelationships of the MSS consulted.

In the descriptions of the MSS given above it was made clear that in some cases at least MSS were similar to each other probably because they came from scribes of the same family. It is not the concern of this work to present a study of the Defter MSS. This work is concerned solely with the MSS available for the text of the Day of Atonement Liturgy. If we are to relate these MSS to one another on grounds of family relationships, we produce a table like this:-

<u>Levitical</u>	<u>Danfi</u>	<u>Marhibi</u>
<u>L.17</u> (1st part) dated 1766/7	<u>L.18</u> dated 1770 <u>A.3</u> dated 1796/7	0.5 dated 1844-46
<u>L.16</u> dated 1781		
<u>L.17</u> (2nd part) dated 1850		
<u>A.2</u> dated 1822		
<u>BK</u> dated 1853/4		
<u>A.1</u> late 19th cent.(?)		

The only MS containing<sup>no</sup> information as to authorship or date which shows little or no relationship to or dependence on any other MSS is A.4.

If there is any truth in the thesis that family scribal relationships affect the text, the above table should reveal it, in conjunction with affinities of textual content, grammatical form and details of orthography.

As will be seen in other connections there is no clear picture of MSS agreeing according to family relationship in the matter of what pieces are omitted or added, but some general observations may safely be made. It is at once evident from the APPs, particularly II and III, that A.1,2 have a definite tendency to present the text of YISHTABBAHs not found elsewhere. For the Morning part of the Service these MSS present five new texts, A.1 all five and A.2 four of them, while BK adds only one of them.

In the case of MALĪFŪTs, A.1 adds six, A.2 five, but A.3 (Danfi MS) has four of them. This brings to one's notice the fact that although A.1,2 have almost certainly a family relationship, A.3 is the only other MS to offer similar additions. Since A.3 is older than the other two, it may well be that from the time of A.3 these additional MALĪFŪTs gained favour. This truth (if such it be) will be seen to apply to other MSS combinations, so that one is forced to consider the question of the age of MSS in conjunction with their family relationships. It has to be remembered also

that the Sam. community dwindled rapidly from the Middle Ages, and the Egyptian and Damascene congregations seem to have disappeared by the beginning of the 19th cent. If the Samaritans were more or less confined to the Nablus area from that time on, it is reasonable to suppose that liturgical combinations of pieces from writers of the various families would tend to become equally acceptable, apart from the question of their intrinsic merit. If a Hymn or YISHTABBAḤ appealed to the now restricted community, it would become increasingly unimportant whether its writer was a Danfi, a Levite or a Marḥibi. Furthermore, in the struggle to preserve their distinctive religious and social identity the Samaritans must have been forced to break down any family barriers with regard to marriage, if any existed. When they were a numerous people (up to the Middle Ages certainly), such barriers might well have existed, particularly between the Levitical and other families.

On the other hand, one observes that the full texts of Antiphons (complete with responses) come only from L.18 and A.3, which are both Danfi MSS. Whether this implies that certain family, scribal traditions existed and continued into modern times it is difficult to say in view of the confusion which exists in the various MSS. There is no absolute agreement on any one question of

language or content, but if allowance be made for age and fashion, some general trends may be noted. The additional, liturgical pieces from A.1,2 and to a lesser extent from A.3 merely indicate that from the time of the earliest of these MSS (A.3) the additional pieces had acquired popularity. Yet these compositions do not figure in other, later MSS which, it might be said, had a more traditional content, since the additional pieces, e.g. in BK, are much fewer, although BK was written after A.3 and A.2.

Often L.18 and A.3 agree in minor points of spelling against the evidence of the other MSS, but at the same time their scribes, though similarly trained in spelling and copying their texts only 26 years apart, might have had their different preferences (as can be illustrated) for rubric form or for choice of Hymns. A.3's scribe was usually content to refer simply to 'a Hymn by Abīsha'', but the scribe of L.18 always provided a full text. The preference, nevertheless, could have been governed by the need of the day. If a Hymn by Abīsha' was to be found only in a few old and decaying MSS a scribe might well decide to write the full text. L.18's text for certain Hymns not in A.3 could have sufficed, as L.18 was in existence and presumably still in good condition, so that a mere reference to the Hymn by A.3's scribe was sufficient.

In content 0.5 very often agrees with BK, L.17 (two Levitical MSS) in omitting a small liturgical unit such as a YITHHALLAL, and sometimes the 0.5 scribe and that of L.17 would agree against BK's scribe in omitting a note or direction; but 0.5 several times omits large compositions such as KĪMĒs, while the other two contain them. From this observation it is likely that the 0.5 scribe was copying from one of the others or both as far as detail is concerned, but did not see any need to copy larger pieces already existing in other MSS. That 0.5 was copied, at least in part, from an older MS is indicated by the fact that the scribe omits a complete liturgical group (after the Reading Gen.xxix-xxxix); since that group occupies in most MSS one complete folio, the scribe must have turned two folios instead of one at that point.

Again, L.16 and L.18 (from different families) seem to be in close agreement, the only major difference between them being that L.18 includes the 'Hymnal' and only gives the Eve part of the Service. Although not so close as L.17 and BK in detail, they are sufficiently similar to give the impression of being interdependent. This can only be attributed to their similar date, so that by the end of the 18th cent. any distinctive, scribal family tradition had given way to a common scribal tradition. BK and L.17 are so close in detail that we

are bound to expect the same family tradition and a similar date, and indeed they are both Levitical and only three years separated their writing (ignoring L.17's early part which does not apply here). Yet, over and over again, L.17, BK and O.5 agree in detail. It seems more than likely that by the middle of the 19th cent. there was little or no family tradition remaining, unless in individual peculiarities such as the writing out of full Antiphon texts, or the copying of Hymns which were recently composed and had become popular in worship.

The Danfi A.3, as has been noted above, seems to have served partly as a basis for A.1,2, in that new pieces were copied; thus A.3, though not among the best of MSS in accuracy, may be said to be the first MS to contain Atonement compositions (especially MALĪFŪṬs) found in the latest MS available - A.1. As L.17 agrees with BK in details of spelling and in variant texts, and as L.16 and L.18 show similar agreement, so A.1,2,3 go together very frequently against L.16-18, BK and O.5. It would thus appear that A.3 served as a basis for A.1,2 also in respect of variant readings and often in spelling.

The earlier part of L.17, fifteen years earlier than L.16, is often closely in agreement with L.16, while

the later part is close to BK. Again the date factor seems to explain the similarity, with the possible additional point that all three are Levitical MSS - a fact which, as has been noted above, cannot be overstressed for the period beginning with the 19th cent.

Reference is made from time to time in the textual notes following the translations to verbal similarities and agreement of certain MS groups. The Tables in APP.I and V serve to show how the MSS compare in content. It is sufficient to observe in conclusion that it is not easy to find classifications of the MSS consulted on the ground of grammatical or orthographic peculiarities alone, or even on the ground of content alone; nor is it worthwhile to classify by scribal family relationships alone. Account must be taken of the date of the MS, as this factor affects the question why, e.g., a Levitical scribe copied a particular piece, while another of the same family omitted it.

If this thesis had been primarily concerned with presenting a new text of the Liturgy for Yom Ha-Kippur rather than with a translation of a text already published, it would have been necessary often to use the interrogative sign, since no definite scheme of classification proves satisfactory. The Samaritans of today think little of Danfi or Marhibi differences of tradition - indeed

they probably know nothing of this - but they do care vitally about the question of worship and order, and it is with the presentation of that order of worship that we must confine ourselves and be content.

---

I.

**INTRODUCTION**

## INTRODUCTION

List of Contents

	<u>page</u>
A. THE SAMARITANS: (a) their history	4
(b) their literature	13
(c) their doctrine, with a special note on points of contact with that of the Qumran sect.	48
(d) the language of the MSS.	71
B. THE DAY OF ATONEMENT:	
(a) description of the bibli- 82 ical Yom Ha-Kippur and discussion of the bibli- ical sources.	
(b) origin of Yom Ha-Kippur.	90
(c) its place in the relig- 96 ious calendar.	
(d) Mishnaic and Talmudic 99 ceremonies and amplifications.	
C. THE SAMARITAN DAY OF ATONEMENT SERVICE: 104	
its structure and devel- opment: its relationship to the Sabbath Morn- ing Service.	

D.	THE BIBLE and the DEFTER:	132
	(a) The Readings	132
	(b) The QATAFs	138
	(c) The DEFTER	142
E.	LITERARY TYPES: QATAF, pieces within the Liturgical Unit, special Verses, Hymn, KĪMĒ, EQR'Ū, SHABHŪ'A, MARĀN, Great BAREKHŪ, NEBH-ARĒKH, SHABBEHŪ, MIDRĀSH, MANĀT.	148
F.	THE ATONEMENT 'HYMNAL':	194
	C.'s edition: occurrence of Hymns: chronology.	
G.	THE DAY OF ATONEMENT: Samaritan beliefs about its nature, purpose and efficacy.	197
H.	COMPARISON WITH JEWISH FESTIVAL, and observations on points of similarity with the Islamic Ramaḍān:	209
	(a) Rabbanite	209
	(b) Qaraite	221
	(c) Ramaḍān	228
I.	CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS:	236
	(a) appraisal of Samaritan Day of Atonement Liturgy.	

(b) estimate of C.'s  
work.

(c) suggestions for  
future research.

---

## A. THE SAMARITANS

### (a) The History of the Samaritans.

The work of Montgomery, Gaster and Cowley<sup>1</sup> in modern times has set in reasonable order and perspective the history of the Sam. people, has revealed something of the origin and development of their beliefs and customs, and has given to this ancient people their proper place within the history and development of Near Eastern religion and their true relationship to Judaism. Until the beginning of the 20th cent. little was known with any certainty. Although they still inhabit the ancient territory of their forefathers, the biblical Patriarchs, it was not realized that these were indeed true descendants of the stock of ancient Israel. Their history had been written by non-Samaritans, and western scholars were acquainted only with the biblical, rabbinic and patristic references to them. Unfortunately the great bulk of Sam. literature, their chronicles in particular, had been lost or destroyed throughout their chequered history, and under the conquests of Romans, Persians, Turks and Arabs their literature had become so whittled down that until the advent of Sam. scholarly activity, to be discussed in

<sup>1</sup>See Bibliography: section on Sam. History & Literature.

the next section of this chapter, they did not themselves have any clear idea of their history.

Yet their religious beliefs and customs were retained and their own Aramaic dialect and the Hebrew of the Bible continued in use for liturgical composition. During the period of Muslim domination, up to the present day, they spoke and thought in Arabic, but in their worship the ancient tongues were carefully preserved. Throughout the ages they were conscious of one enemy in particular, the Jews - whom they regarded and regard as being not the true Israel - and their early history must be written in terms of Jewish antagonism.

The Bible provides the chief source of information for the Sam. emergence as a people distinct from the Jews. Prior to the year 722 B.C., when Northern Israel's capital Samaria fell, the Samaritans, it would seem, did not exist as a separate people. For the beginnings of a non-Hebrew and non-Jewish group in the originally Northern Kingdom of Israel we must turn to the statement of II Kings xvii.29 (RSV):-

But every nation still made gods of its own,  
and put them in the shrines of the high  
places which the Samaritans had made ....

According to that chapter the cities of Samaria were resettled with foreigners by the triumphant King of Assyria; these, of mixed race and religion, then

inhabited the area of the Northern Kingdom. There is no suggestion that any of the original inhabitants were left subsequent to the deportations ordered by the King of Assyria. However, it is unlikely that he would have depopulated the territory completely. Only the most important people, from a military and political point of view, would have been carried off. Thus the future inhabitants of Samaria must have consisted of Northern Israelites of the lower strata along with people of various races and faiths.

During the period from the Fall of Samaria until the time of Zerubbabel there seems to have been no hostility between the 'Samaritans' and the Jews. It was only when the Samaritans (if we may now use this term to describe the post-exilic northern inhabitants of Palestine) offered to aid the returning Jewish exiles in the rebuilding of the Temple at Jerusalem that there appeared openly to be hostility on the part of the Jews. There was nothing to suggest a religious schism, and the story of the refusal by the Jews to allow the Samaritans to help them may really imply political (based on social?) differences. Perhaps the returning exiles felt a sense of inferiority because they were newcomers; perhaps, if we knew the whole story, the inhabitants of the land resented the newcomers. Albeit, there was friction which resulted in hostility of a religious nature, a

hostility which may have helped to drive the post-exilic Jews further into the self-spun web of legalistic, religious practice.

As C. wrote<sup>1</sup>:- "Samaria became the natural and conveniently placed refuge for all who were dissatisfied with the stringent reforms taking place in Jerusalem". The reforms initiated by Nehemiah and Ezra were so out of keeping with the laxer and more liberal attitude of those who had continued their religious practice under the Assyrian domination that the gulf which began with political hostility or suspicion widened into a wholesale gap across which no bridge has been built ever since.

Little or nothing is known of the exact pattern the schism between the two groups took. In 332 B.C., according to Josephus<sup>2</sup>, a temple was built on Mount Gerizim as a rival to that now rebuilt in Jerusalem. It is probably at this point that the distinctive Sam. forms of worship and religious practices had their beginning. The gap between the Sam. and Judaist was further widened by the fact that the Bible of each was not the same, for the Samaritans never received or adopted the Prophets or the Writings which came into prominence with the exilic and post-exilic studies of the Jews. They relied solely on the Law (Torah) for

---

<sup>1</sup> A.E.Cowley: "The Samaritans under Persian Rule": Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol.10, p.671.

<sup>2</sup> Josephus: Antiquities 11.8.

their religious authority, and it is likely that they would make use of Hymns (as they do today) such as the Song of Moses, and prayers contained in the Bible. There is no evidence to suggest that they evolved any distinctive forms of worship during the period before the destruction of the Gerizim Temple by John Hyrcanus in 129 B.C.

That blow was the first serious attack on their way of life, and from then till now they have not experienced complete freedom. It seems probable that the loss of their annals and early prayer books (if any) began with this first destructive persecution. We have no information about early Sam. liturgical works before the 4th cent. A.D. Between the time of Hyrcanus and the 4th cent. A.D. both Jews and Samaritans suffered grievous persecution at the hands of their Roman overlords. The latter are hardly likely to have distinguished between the Samaritans and Jews as separate religious bodies, although they must have been aware of their mutual hostility. To the Romans both groups were contentious and troublesome, especially over the question of paying homage and worship to Caesar. Laws affecting worship and practice would have been more or less equally unacceptable to Jew and Sam., since both relied on Pentateuchal injunctions for their basic, social custom and practice. Indeed the Sam. Chronicles mention Roman

emperors who enacted laws against them, and one phylactery in the possession of the University of Leeds contains a curse on Hadrian<sup>1</sup>. It was under Hadrian that the most serious destruction took place, for in 130 A.D. the Sam. place of worship and their library in Shechem perished. Jewish life and custom could continue because the Jews were widely scattered, but the Samaritans confined themselves to ancestral territory (apart from communities in Damascus and Egypt), and when they were thus persecuted the blow struck the whole group at once, so that gradual decay began, a decay which has continued until modern times.

Before the advent of Islam, under which system the Samaritans have lived for more than 1,000 years, there was persecution of both Jews and Samaritans under the Byzantine emperors. Just as the Hellenizing regime of Antiochus Epiphanes wrought savage persecution and brought about dissention and sectarianism amongst the Jews and Samaritans, so the Greek influence of the Byzantine rulers continued to wreak social and religious havoc. When Christianity became the official religion of the Byzantine Empire the Samaritans were faced with intolerance. The local garrisons of the Emperor of the day were subjected to guerilla warfare when the Sam. young men seized

---

<sup>1</sup>Identification by Dr. John Bowman who acquired it for the University.

on every opportunity to strike the foreigner. It was under the 4th cent. (A.D.) Baba Rabba, venerated to this day by the Samaritans, that they had an opportunity to bring order and solidarity to their people. In the end Baba Rabba brought about freedom from enemy occupation in Samaria. According to the Sam. Chronicles he restored the system of worship and reorganized his people. The land which had been taken from the enemy he reapportioned and a system of administration within the community was created. The 4th cent. was perhaps the greatest period in the history of the Sam. people, for along with the militant and benign Baba flourished their two greatest liturgists, 'Amram Darah and Marqah, who laid the foundation of the systematic and developed liturgy in use today. It appears also from the Chronicles that under the leadership of Baba Rabba ancient documents were recovered and collected and carefully preserved. It is only as a result of his labours that any old fragments of Sam. writings are extant at this time.

Although the Sam. community cannot be said to have enjoyed complete freedom under the Muslims, at least they were capable of several periods of revival of a literary and liturgical nature. That there was hostility between the Muslims and Samaritans in the matter of belief is made clear from scribal marginal notes in later

MSS where the Prophet of Islam is cursed and where the Muslims are referred to as liars.

Yet, in a period when Islamic and Arabic literature generally was flourishing, Sam. liturgical writers were also flourishing. The 11th cent. brought a series of Hymns and poems which found their way into the Liturgy. Details of this and other periods will be considered in the section immediately below, but the impression gained is that the Samaritans, though not politically and socially free, were in sufficient peace to enable their writers to produce some of the best literature. That literature was not born of persecution, judging from its content; yet it reveals a longing, as so much of medieval Jewish literature does, for the days of the divine favour when Jacob and Joseph walked through the fields and villages of Samaria.

In the 14th cent., when Islamic literature was flourishing, Sam. writers were producing religious poems modelled on the 4th cent. Marqah and 'Amram Darah. Hebrew was revived, although the old Aramaic medium was not eclipsed. Again there was sufficient laxity in the Muslim rule to allow of studious labours. Under Phinehas b. Joseph many worthy compositions were added to the Liturgy. The Sam. community by that time had become a homogeneous unit within the world of Islam, and it

possessed nothing but its own heritage. So it was that the old Defter writers held the highest place in the esteem of their descendants of a thousand years later, and the 14th cent. revival and renovation were based on their models.

No revival of any significance has taken place since the 14th cent., although the writings of later authors won a place in the modern liturgy, and perhaps this is largely true of Islam. The purpose of the above sketch of Sam. history in outline is to show something of the road the Sam. community has travelled since the days of its greatness. Today the community is tiny and the highest estimate of its numbers is five hundred. The present writer visited Nablus in 1954 and was able to observe the poverty and, at the same time, the intense religious pride of the Samaritans. They have a right to feel proud, for it is their profound belief that they alone of all peoples of the world are the chosen race, the true Israel.

---

(b) The Literature of the Samaritans

(with special reference to compositions for Yom Ha-Kippur).

It is deemed advisable to consider in outline the literary output of the Samaritans, so far as it is known, and to place within the development of that output the compositions which have found a place in the Liturgy for Yom Ha-Kippur as represented by the modern order. Reference has been made to the chief periods of Sam. literary activity, and these periods, with additional notes on the literary works of lesser periods, provide the basis for the following notes.

It is more than probable that the first distinctively Sam. literature emerged with the labours of the 4th cent. Baba Rabba, but already the Samaritans possessed a Pentateuch and Targum of their own. These were not identical with the equivalent Jewish forms, as any student of the O.T. and Targums knows. There has been considerable discussion of the question of the antiquity and merit of the S.P. Largely through the labours of Professor Paul Kahle of ~~the University of~~ Oxford, Professor Edward Robertson of the University of Manchester and Dr. John Bowman of the University of Leeds a greater respect for the Sam. Bible has come into being. This is not to ignore

the scholarly efforts of A.E.Cowley and his predecessors, who laid the foundation for modern Sam. studies. The tendency today is to regard the Sam.Bible in a different light, possibly because of M.Gaster's excellent study of the Samaritans<sup>1</sup>, which revealed a new attitude towards the question of Sam. origins and history. On the other hand, there are those like Ch.Heller<sup>2</sup> who have argued that the S.P. was a later revision or adaptation of the MT. Evidence of an early Sam. version has been provided by discoveries of fragments amongst the Qumran sectarian literature.<sup>3</sup> Most scholars were still under the influence of Gesenius who in 1815 argued against the antiquity of the Sam. version, although many of them kept an open mind on the question because of the 1,900 points of agreement with the LXX (out of a total of 6,000 differences from the MT). The script of the new fragments is palaeo-Hebrew and their content agrees with the Sam. version.<sup>3</sup> Thus as early as the 2nd cent.B.C. (though many scholars would argue for a later date) a Sam. text existed, but it is still necessary to exercise caution over the question of the antiquity of the S.P. until all the Qumran fragments have been carefully examined and compared. There are Qumran fragments which agree in points of detail with the LXX against both S.P. and MT, just as there are some

<sup>1</sup>Especially his Schweich Lectures (1923): see Bibliography.

<sup>2</sup>Ch.Heller: The Samaritan Pentateuch: An Adaptation of the Massoretic Text.

<sup>3</sup> Journal of Biblical Literature 74 (1955), pp. 182-87.

supporting the MT against the LXX and S.P.

What may safely be said at present is that there was a separate Sam. Pentateuchal textual tradition, possibly as early as the 2nd cent. B.C. Since the Sam. community had its separate existence already in the 5th cent. B.C. when differences with the Jews of the time of Nehemiah and Ezra came into the open, it is not unlikely that between the 5th and 2nd cents. B.C. differences of a theological (emerging originally from a socio-political) and textual nature evolved. No details are known of this process and it is necessary to be content at this stage with the fact of the Sam. text being established so early.

The second distinctively Sam. work to be noted is the Sam. Targum, which is a literal rendering of the S.P. As Gaster has noted<sup>1</sup>, this version is thought by some to resemble the Jewish Targum Onkelos which is Babylonian. He claims<sup>2</sup> that

there is not the slightest doubt that the Targum is much older than Markah (sic.), and it is a most important monument of the Samaritan language.

The Samaritans themselves state that until about two centuries ago the Targum was read along with the original Hebrew during services of worship - and even today in the Marriage Service. The Targum was read by the Haftawi, whom C. called<sup>3</sup> 'the second priest usually at Damascus'.

---

<sup>1</sup> M. Gaster: op.cit., p.144.

<sup>2</sup> ibid., p.145.

<sup>3</sup> op.cit., pp. lv and lvi.

Gaster<sup>1</sup> calls it 'a different translation (from the Jewish) and represents the Samaritan recension only'. The text of Leviticus in part has been published by Nutt<sup>2</sup> with an introduction.

It might be said that the Targum, because of its essential purpose and form, was the link between the Bible and later Aramaic compositions, for some freedom of rendering, as far as choice of language is concerned, came into being at the time when the Samaritans had become, under Muslim rule, Arabic speakers. Gaster states<sup>3</sup> that Arabic words replaced Aramaic when the latter medium ceased to be understood by the community at large. Indeed Arabic as a linguistic medium was to take an important place throughout the cents. in the transmission of the Bible to the people. Arabic translations of the Bible were made, e.g. by Abū Saïd of the 13th cent., and much of the liturgy is to be found complete with Arabic rendering, especially where a highly esteemed compilation such as Yam Ha-Reḥamīm (C.'s text in C.p.64 ff.) was used in many services; BK contains such a rendering in fs.86b-88a. Translations into Arabic were made from the 12th cent. and thereafter of the Chronicles, beginning with the famous Book of Joshua. However, long

---

<sup>1</sup>op.cit., p.146.

<sup>2</sup>Samaritan Targum - see Bibliography.

<sup>3</sup>op.cit., p.145.

before Arabic came to be spoken, much less written, by the Sam. community, the standard form of the modern liturgy was established, at a time when Aramaic was still in use amongst the learned priests and scribes.

The third step in the formation of the Sam. literature took place in the 4th cent., in the time of the celebrated Baba Rabba. There is no need to repeat here what has been said of him in the preceding section. The 4th cent. may be described as the greatest and most reformatory period. We learn from the Chronicle Tolidah, which derived from the important Shelshelah (chain) and is concerned with genealogies, that 'Houses of Instruction' were opened.<sup>1</sup> It is certain that a new and organized form of worship and religious life generally was instituted by Baba, and it is in his age that literary forms were revived and new liturgical forms instituted. The Defter, to be discussed in Intro.D., is contained in C. pp.1-92, forms the foundation of the Sam.Liturgy of today, is largely in Aramaic (often Hebraized in type), and is the work for the most part of 4th cent. writers. No exact form is known of the original Defter, since the earliest MSS, K.4<sup>2</sup> and V.3<sup>3</sup> cannot be earlier than the 13th cent., and indeed nearly all the extant Defter MSS

---

<sup>1</sup>The Sam.Chronicle Tolidah has been recently published by Dr.John Bowman in an internal University of Leeds publication. The reference is f.16.

<sup>2</sup>See C.pp.xii-xiii.

<sup>3</sup>ibid., p.xviii.

vary in content as well as in textual detail. Two figures arise from the time of Baba Rabba who earn the title of the Samaritans' greatest writers. These are Marqah and 'Amram Darah.

Marqah is mentioned in the three ancient Chronicles El-Tolidah (above cited), Abu 'l-Fath and one edited by E.N.Adler and M.Seligsohn in the *Revue des Études Juives*, vols.44-46, referred to by C.(C.p.xix). Since he lived in the time of Baba's reformation it is likely that his compositions were written for the liturgy created (or reformed?) at the time. Baba Rabba's dates are given in Adler's Chronicle as 308-362, but there is no information regarding Marqah's period. A considerable part of the Defter is concerned with Marqah's compositions. In Intro. D below the question of the place and use of the Defter in the Day of Atonement Liturgy is discussed. The compositions of Marqah are in the Aramaic of the Sam. Targum, and the texts of his writings are found in C.pp.16-27. They were used in the Sabbath services as well as in the Festival services, and are mostly alphabetic Hymns of acknowledgement and in praise of God.

There is doubt about the relationship between Marqah and that other great contributor to the Defter, 'Amram Darah. It may well be that the latter was the father of the former, for Marqah's father was 'Amram b. Sered

according to Abū 'l-Fath. 'Amram was known also as תיטוס, which with Marqah may give the Roman names Titus and Marcus respectively, an indication that these lived in Roman times. There is confusion also between 'Amram Darah and a later 'Amram who was a High Priest (see C. p.xxv), because the rubrics do not always give full names. Most of the compositions of 'Amram Darah in the Defter go under the title of the Durrān (Arabic for 'a string of pearls'), and the Durran in time came to be regarded as a basic part of the Defter from which pieces were extracted for use on particular days. Several pieces by him, not from the Durran, are used in the Day of Atonement Liturgy as in other liturgies, and must have achieved great renown throughout the cents. The texts of his compilations are contained in C.pp.27-34 (pieces for various Sabbaths and other occasions) and C.pp.38-48, consisting of MANĀṬs for each day of the week, morning and evening, with alternatives in some cases also by 'Amram Darah; the Festival Durran begins in C.p.46, the only piece written specially for the Day of Atonement being that in p.47 (bottom). The method of using the Durran, the 'Amram Darah prayers other than the Durran, and the Marqah prayers is discussed in Intro. D below, and tables showing the order of each in the Service for Yom Ha-Kippur are set out in APP.VI (A).

One other 4th cent. writer to be mentioned in connection with the period and the Defter is the son of Marqah, Nanah b. Marqah. Nutt claimed<sup>1</sup> that he and his two predecessors above-mentioned lived sometime in the period before Christ, but there is no evidence in support of this. Nanah is not a noteworthy contributor to the Liturgy; his only contribution is found in C.pp.15-16. No doubt his father's name gave prominence to his work, but there is less merit in that work (as extant) than in his father's. There is extant a Midrash by him (C.pp. 689 ff.) which is used for the Day of Atonement, and it is likely that the later Midrashes (some of them of greater merit) were modelled on Nanah's piece.

For the next six or seven cents. no records exist for compositions relating to the Liturgy. There is no evidence whatsoever that during that period any development or revival took place in the liturgy and we have no knowledge of any additions having been made. It may be, as suggested in the preceding section, that it was the influence of the Islamic literary activity that brought about further revival in Sam. literature. Until the coming of the 11th cent. Sam. literature consisted of Pentateuch, Targum, Commentaries and Translations, the Defter and a few works whose dates are uncertain.

---

<sup>1</sup>Nutt: Samaritan Targum, p.80.

In the 11th cent. (according to C.p.xxii) the work entitled ēd-Dustān may have appeared, but there is uncertainty as to the meaning of the term. Since the pieces are found in V.3 they must be pre-14th (or pre-13th) cent. They are not found in the Day of Atonement literature.

Ḥasan aṣ-Ṣūrī (i.e. of Tyre) was the composer of the long piece אלה רב (C.pp.70-72) occurring near the end of the Defter, but whether in the original Defter it is impossible to discover. The Aramaic form of the name occurs in Cr.11 f.169 as אב חסיה. It is possible that in the 14th cent. revival the Defter was enlarged, so that pieces by the 10th (?) cent. Ṭabhya b. Daratha, Abū 'l-Ḥasan, the High Priest 'Amram, Joseph ha-Rabbān, Phineḥas b. Joseph and Eleazar b. Phineḥas were included. Thus the Defter, as found in V.3, would have been a 14th cent. edition of a more ancient work limited to the compositions mainly of Marqah and 'Amram Darah, but of this there is no certain evidence.

Abū 'l-Ḥasan (Ab Ḥisdah) of Tyre was, according to H.3 f.83, called Imām, i.e. of priestly family, and he must have flourished before the 13th cent. since a Hymn of his occurs in the British Museum MS or.5034, a photostat copy of which is in the possession of the University of Leeds. As C. (C.p.xxiv) pointed out, Nutt, Montgomery

and Juynboll place him earlier, the first two in the 11th cent., the last in the 10th. C. himself accepts an 11th cent. date.

No other 11th cent. writers figure in the Service for Yom Ha-Kippur and there is none from the 12th or 13th cents. With the 14th cent., a time of great revival if we are to judge from the amount of liturgical material produced, we meet no less than eight prominent writers who contributed to the Service for Yom Ha-Kippur. All were responsible for compilations used elsewhere; their Atonement compositions are considered now, taking their names in alphabetic order.

(i) Aaron b. Manīr wrote long Hymns, mostly beginning with an acrostic of his own name, the stanzas following being in alphabetic order. These Hymns are difficult to translate because of the obscure allusions and references. It could be said that his compositions were deliberately obscure and that he intended his mysterious allusions only for the enlightened. Indeed much play on the idea of enlightenment and the enlightened is to be found in his work, probably because of his own family name Manīr which forms part of the acrostic. The Hymns extant are of different types. That in C.pp.644 ff. and those mentioned in APP.V (B) seem to have been the regular Hymn type, while that in C.pp.678 ff. is an EQR'Ū. For

the distinctive features and differentia of these literary types see Intro.E below. One noteworthy feature is found in the use of the phrase 'a Section from the composition of Aaron b. Manir', which occurs in the headings for the Hymns in C.pp.676 ff. and 679 ff. respectively. It may mean that there was a longer work, possibly a collection of his Hymns now lost, from which these were selected. It is fortunate that two Hymns of his which were not known to C. have appeared in A.1 (see APP.V (B)). These, along with works by other authors, will, it is hoped, form the basis of further research in Leeds University's School of Samaritan Studies, under the supervision and general editorship of Dr.J.Bowman.

(ii) 'Abdullah b. Solomon, the most prolific of the Sam. writers as far as liturgy is concerned, contributed the greatest variety of compositions. He wrote several long Hymns (C.pp.519 ff., 746 ff. for Yom Ha-Kippur) of the standard Hymn type, but not so obscure as those by Aaron b. Manir, though more interesting in their references to biblical personages (e.g. the Hymn on the Birth of Moses - C.pp.746 ff.). The most important piece, Helgat Ha-Sadeh (C.pp.641 ff.), which is so distinctively Sam. and contains historical allusions, was written by him specially for the Day of Atonement. His compositions were not, however, all of great length; he was a

liturgist in the real sense. MALĪFŪTs, possibly a 14th cent. innovation, were included by him and not only for Yom Ha-Kippur. EQR'Ūs and SHABHŪ'As came from his pen and won a place in the revised (14th cent.) liturgy, and a fine KĪMĒ (C.pp.782 ff.) was produced for the Festival of the Eighth Day of Tabernacles. He composed a clever piece in the celebrated saj' metre of the Arabs, which was a style much favoured by the Samaritans. A DEKHŌR by him occurs in C.pp.775 ff., but none is found in the Day of Atonement Service. Much of the order for Marriage and Circumcision is due to him (C.pp.818 ff.).

In stateliness and grandeur of language 'Abdullah b. Solomon stands supreme amongst the 14th cent. Sam. liturgists. Under the leadership of Phinehas b. Joseph (1308-63) men like 'Abdullah were inspired to revive in Hebrew the former glories of Sam. Aramaic literature. The 4th cent. was time of Aramaic usage, the 10th-11th cents. a time of Aramaic revived but mixed with Hebrew, but the 14th cent. revival was a Hebrew revival, though the compositions contained many mixed forms of Aramaic origin. The fact of Aramaisms in the 14th cent. Hebrew is not surprising, as the Defter remained supreme 1,000 years after its initial form was composed. The Hebrew now used was very largely pure, biblical Hebrew, but of necessity a multitude of later forms was employed. This

was due to the expansion and increasing abstractness of Sam. theology, built around the ancient doctrine as expressed in the Defter and originated in the Pentateuch.

(iii) Abīsha' b. Phinehas b. Joseph. That this great author's Hymns were esteemed is seen in the fact that the first three Hymns in the 'Atonement Hymnal' are his. Although some twenty-five such Hymns are to be found in the MSS these three were the most used in the 18th cent. and up to the present day. His Hymns are difficult to translate because of their obscure allusions and he was prone to employ abbreviations which would be intelligible only to the initiated. Although a good many of his compositions were not for the Day of Atonement, those which are found in the Service for that Festival were clearly written exclusively for it. A short piece beginning on a triumphant note ('Azaz'el has fled: our sins are removed) is placed at the beginning of the Day of Atonement Service after the opening QATAF; yet in so many of the other services Defter pieces occupy the early positions. This piece (C.pp.488-89) is soon followed by a long Hymn of his and that Hymn is honoured by having the first place in the 'Hymnal'. He was a writer of KĪMĒs also, and there is an excellent one by him in C.pp.699 ff. A reference in the heading of the Hymn in C.p.696 is made to the fact that in older times a KĪMĒ-type Hymn by

Abīsha' was said. His work was still venerated even when one of his compositions was left out, due to increasing lack of time caused by the expansion of the Service.

He and his brother Eleazar (High Priest 1363-87) were liturgical authors; C. reckons (C.p.xxviii) that there are seventeen pieces by the former and seven others possibly by him. C.(loc.cit.) makes mention of the confusion caused by the attributing to Abīsha' in headings of the title 'High Priest', but declares that he could not have been such. When he died in 1376 he left a son, who also became prominent as a liturgical author, namely Phinehas b. Abīsha' who died in 1442 and was High Priest in succession to Eleazar; the latter reared him when he was orphaned in his minority. 'Abdullah b. Solomon was his guardian.

(iv) Eleazar, though not so famous as an author as his brother, wrote several pieces found in the modern Day of Atonement Liturgy. His MALĪFŪṬ (C.p.489) is typical 14th century Hebrew and merits no special mention. His YISH-TABBAH (C.p.667) is one of the few with author's name attached; it follows (after a few Defter collects) his father's MALĪFŪṬ which is the commencement of the Morning part of the Service. A KĪMĒ by him in the Service for the Third Sabbath of the Month (C.p.304) follows a

composition by 'Abdullah b. Solomon. Another KĪMĒ in his name (C.p.292) occupies the important place of first non-Defter piece in the order for the First of the Seven Sabbaths. Several other pieces by him indicate that he himself, as a High Priest or as a relation of Abīsha' and close associate of 'Abdullah b. Solomon, was highly esteemed.

(v) There is a little uncertainty about the identity of the next 14th cent. contributor to the Atonement Liturgy. Hibbat-allah ha-Mizri (i.e. the Egyptian) may or may not have been identical with Nethanel b. 'Obadiah. According to pieces ascribed to 'the Egyptian' he was called Mattanah or Hibbat-allah or both. An acrostic (C.pp.632-39) gives his full name as Nethanel b. 'Obadiah b. Ab-Zehuta. C. (p.xxix) observes that Hibbat-allah is merely the Arabic form of Nethanel and this is certainly likely.

C.(loc.cit.) considers that he is likely to have been of the 14th cent. because of his style. The only piece by him in the Day of Atonement Service is that in C.pp.632-39, i.e. part of the 'Hymnal', so that little need be said here of his place in the list of important writers. There is a short Hymn of his in the Passover Service (C.p.200); in the Sabbath Service of the Ḥag Ha-Mazzōth Liturgy (C.p.225 & pp.226-27) pieces are ascribed to him, but it should be noted that there is

some discrepancy in the spelling of his Arabic name; in the Passover Hymn the heading is هيبت, while in the Mazzōth it is هبت. The Samaritans were certainly not careful in their spelling at times, but there is no evidence in the MSS consulted by the present writer that an Arabic misspelling of this kind is found. His language is the typical 14th cent. Hebrew with Aramaic forms and syntactical peculiarities. There is no clear evidence as to his date.

(vi) Jacob Ha-Rabbān was not a noted contributor to the Atonement literature, nor in fact to any other liturgical order. He probably died in 1348, but this depends on whether he is to be identified with Jacob Ha-Kohen and whether either or both of these is the same as the Jacob who composed El-Tolidah. There is no place for a discussion on the point here; it is sufficient to note that he contributed to the Hebrew works of the Atonement Liturgy, especially his long, pedantic poem in C.pp.674-76, which makes much play on words, gutturals in particular, thus causing the translator much hardship, since no translator of Sam. Hebrew is ever free of the unending problem of Sam. guttural confusion!

(vii) Phinehas b. Joseph, High Priest from 1308 to 1363, seems to have been the instigator of the 14th cent. revival in Hebrew literature. According to Abu 'l-Fath

(p.35) it was Phinehas who rediscovered the renowned Abīsha' Scroll of the Pentateuch, which has created much interested amongst scholars in the west. The important Abu 'l-Faḥḥ Chronicle, written in 1355 (during the High-Priesthood of Phinehas), was due to the eagerness of the same, who appears also to have brought about renovation of the liturgy then in being. A Hymn by this writer found a place in the Defter (C.pp.34-35), immediately preceding a Hymn for the Sabbath by his son, Eleazar. Phinehas' Hymn is in Aramaic, the Aramaic of the Defter, but two important Defter pieces by him for special occasions (C.pp.81-83, alphabetic, and p.83) are in the Hebrew of the 14th cent. The latter is used constantly in the Festival liturgies and reveals the hand of the true liturgist. His work is not full of the obscurities one associates with so much of the 14th cent. Hymn literature, but in pure, straightforward liturgical style acknowledges the supremacy and mercy of God. For the Day of Atonement itself one MALĪFŪṬ, more noted than any other because of its position, is to be found in his name. This MALĪFŪṬ (C.p.667) occupies the key position of first piece in the Morning part of the Service. Although the Day of Atonement Service is one service and is so regarded today by the Samaritans, there is clear evidence (see Intro.C) that for convenience it was divided into two parts. That

the first piece, strangely enough a MALĪFŪṬ, should have been composed by the founder of the 14th cent. revival may indicate that the division into two parts was instituted or recognized officially during that revival and reconstitution.

(viii) Sa'dallah b. Zedeqah al-Kethārī (or Sa'd ed-Dīn) was the principal author of the Marriage Service. It is interesting to observe that in the case of one liturgical piece at least (C.pp.837 ff.) scribal opinion differed as to whether the piece was by Sa'd or 'Abdullah b. Solomon, that other great contributor to the Marriage Service. Both authors wrote extensively for the Liturgy and both were producers of many literary types. There is a Hymn by Sa'd in the 'Hymnal' (C.pp.533-43) of the standard 14th cent. type, i.e. full of doctrinal and historical (or quasi-historical) allusions. An unusual piece, unfortunately om. by C., though referred to by him in C.p.688, is the Mēmar Bekhūt which, we learn from the rubric in that p., was once said during the Day of Atonement Service, <sup>but</sup> <sub>^</sub> was discontinued. Fortunately a text is now available from BK, A.1, given in full in APP.III, no.7. A MALĪFŪṬ in his name is printed in C.p.648 and it is possible that this literary type was introduced into the Liturgy during the 14th cent. revival. None is dated before the 14th cent. and it is a regular part of

the liturgical pattern formed around the basis of the Reading.

Of Sa'd's other compositions extant we have four KĪMĒs, a long acrostic Hymn, a DEKHŌR with acrostic, a MARĀN with acrostic, several important Opening Prayers (فاتحات) at the beginning of services (C.p.726, p.781) and many special versions for different occasions.

.....

From the early 15th cent. we have compositions by two writers bearing the personal name Phinehas.

(i) Phinehas b. Abīsha', like his namesake, was born in the late 14th cent. and flourished early in the 15th. He was High Priest from 1387 to 1442 and was the son of Abīsha' b. Phinehas mentioned above. Only one piece in the Day of Atonement Service clearly refers to him and that is the Hymn by 'Abdullah b. Solomon which bears an acrostic of Phinehas' name, adding the title Imam, which can hardly suffice to describe the title High Priest. This may well be due to the fact that his uncle Eleazar, referred to above as High Priest, was responsible for his upbringing and the High Priesthood did not fall to Phinehas until Eleazar's death in 1387. The first verse of a piece 'by his father' (C.p.105) was in fact by himself.

The frequent use of the name Phinehas without the family name being added by the scribes often causes con-

fusion (e.g. the first piece in C.p.136), so that one cannot always be sure which Phinehas is intended. When a composition is attributed to Phinehas, Phinehas b. Ithamar or Phinehas b. Eleazar or Phinehas b. Joseph or Phinehas b. Abisha<sup>c</sup> may be meant. Such pieces of doubtful authorship occur in C.pp.136, 138, 271, 276, 291, 659, 660, 725, 734, 779, 801, of which those for the Day of Atonement are C.pp.659, 660. These two are certainly by the same Phinehas as indicated in the wording in the rubric for the latter, and the first is in the style of Marqah. It was common 14th cent. revival practice to emulate Marqah (not 'Amram Darah) and to reproduce his style, but in Hebrew.

(ii) Phinehas b. Ithamar was High Priest in the Damascus community from 1390 to 1430, but there is some doubt as to whether he should be identified with the liturgist of the same name. C.(pp.xxix-xxx) discusses the probabilities. It is fitting to place him here, as he certainly belonged to the 15th or 16th cents. Of his liturgical compositions only one appears in the Day of Atonement Service. It occurs in C.p.676, but the text of this EQR'Ū and SHABHŪ'A by him is printed in C.p.368 (for the Service of the Night of the Miqrātha). The same pieces occur in the Service for the Ten Days of Penitence preceding the Day of Atonement.

The 16th cent. introduces four writers of lesser importance, whose extant works bear the marks of a somewhat decadent dependence on the 14th cent. revivalists.

(i) Abraham b. Joseph Ha-Qabāzi is by far the best of the four and his liturgical works are considerable. Although his facility with Sam. liturgical Hebrew cannot merit the claim of originality, it is yet of an excellent order in that it possesses a facile quality. It will be observed from the list of literary types used by him that he appears, in a sense, to have been a revivalist. After all, nearly two centuries had passed since the great 14th cent. revival and there may well have been felt a need for new forms on the older models.

In three of his extant compositions (C.pp.466, 552, 812) Abraham speaks of himself; it appears that he belonged to the Damascus community and that along with the High Priest Phinehas and his son Eleazar and others he went to Nablus (Shechem) in 1538.

The list now given reveals the surprising variety of this author's liturgical compositions; the C. page numbers underlined indicate Atonement pieces.

YISHTABBAḤs for special occasions: 145, 151, 254, 477.  
 Hymns: 188, 190, 262, 372, 419, 543, 806.  
 MALĪFŪṬs: 362, 369, 647, 651, 668, 688, 689.  
 SHABBEHŪs: 243, 348, 707, 795.

MARĀNs: 259, 260, 465, 811.

SHABHŪ<sup>c</sup>As: 463, 678.

KĪMĒs: 231, 726.

MIQRĀ of MIDRĀSH type: 215.

Other pieces for special occasions: 293 (Sabbath verse) and 806 (Hymn).

Although only four of these literary types, eight pieces in all, figure in the Day of Atonement Liturgy, this author is strikingly prominent in both quality and quantity, and variety of composition; and, if we make allowance for his period (the Sam. Silver Age?) the quality is good.

(ii) Ismā'īl b. Badr ar-Ramihī was a pupil of Abraham and modelled himself on his teacher. He is by no means important in the development of Sam. liturgy, but several pieces of his are worthy of commendation, especially his long Hymn (C.pp.553-66) containing fine phrases on the theme of penitence before the Lord. He wrote a MARĀN (C.pp.173-75) beginning with an acrostic of his own name. C.(p.xcvii) wrongly ascribes the YISHTABBAḤ in C.p.253 to Ismā'īl, no doubt having confused it with the YISHTABBAḤ of the same beginning in C.p.442 used in the Service for the Sabbath of Zimmūth Ha-Succōth. A KĪMĒ (C.p.230), a SHABBEHŪ (C.pp.414-19) of great length having each full line ending in Resh throughout, and a concluding verse for the Day of Atonement (C.p.698) conclude his extant works.

(iii) Joseph Ha-Rabbān. Little is known with certainty of this writer except that he is often identified with Joseph the Ḥaftāwī of Damascus. His literary period is not known, but from the style of his work he belonged to the 16th cent. There is variety in the rubrics; the following six KĪMĒs are attributed to Joseph the Ḥaftāwī:- C.pp.299, 302, 313, 316, 332 respectively. No other works by him are found in the texts available. That he should be identified with Joseph Ha-Rabbān (or ar-Ra'īs) is probable on grounds of language and literary preference, for of the six pieces attributed by C. to Joseph the Rabbān three are true KĪMĒs and the other three are special Hymns of the KĪMĒ type suited to the occasion. It is reasonable to suppose that Joseph the Rabbān was thus the 16th Joseph, second-priest at Damascus.

(iv) Ma'yan b. Zedeqah was probably a contemporary of Joseph in Damascus. He too was a Ḥaftāwī. Mention is made of him here because he was the author of the MALĪFŪṬ 'Know, O Israel' (C.p.696) on Deut.xvi.18.

.....

Only one 17th cent. writer contributed to the modern Liturgy and he was of the family of Marḥib, the Arabic equivalent Mufarrij being used often in rubrics. Nothing is known of any earlier member of this family. In 1623 came the end of the High-priestly line and from that time

priestly titles in the headings and rubrics change from 'the High Priest' (הכהן הגדול) to 'the Levite Priest' (כהן הלוי). As was shown in the discussion of scribal family relationships, there were three families, the Levitical, the Danfi and the Marhibi in the period of the later MSS, i.e. 18th and 19th cents. This applies also in the case of the liturgists of the same cents. From now on in this chapter the authors named belong to one of these families. Mufarrij b. Jacob was the grandfather of the scribe of L.2, Marhib b. Joshua Marhibi (C.p.xiii and p.xlviii). Practically nothing is known of him but his extant compositions. Most of his pieces are Hymns, and for the Day of Atonement Liturgy he is relatively unimportant, in that he provided only a YISHTABBAḤ (C.p.660) and a MALĪFŪṬ (C.p.689). Two Blessings come from his pen, one of them (C.p.838) on children of a Sam. marriage. In C.p.333 there is a special verse by him appended to a KĪMĒ by Joseph the Haftāwī.

.....

In the 18th cent. several important writers, important from the point of view of both quantity and variety, contributed to the Liturgy and particularly the Day of Atonement Liturgy.

(i) Abraham b. Jacob Ha-Danfi, who flourished in the middle of the cent., was a voluminous liturgist of merit.

C.(p.xxxiii) discusses the difficulty of identifying the various liturgists of the Danfi family and his note 3 to that page refers to older opinions as to Abraham Ha-Danfi, here discussed, who is said to have been the composer of an Arabic Commentary to the Pentateuch and a scribe. The full name of Abraham is given in O.2 (see C.p.xvi) as Abraham b. Jacob b. Ab-Şakhwa Ha-Danfi. The following table sets out the literary types employed by him and where they are found in C. Again the p. nos. referring to the Day of Atonement Service are underlined.

Hymns: 163 (The Morning Hymn, probably based on the anonymous Hymn of the same type in C.p.649), 578, 595, 609, 623 (these four in the 'Hymnal').

Special YISHTABBAHs: 151, 152, 206-210.

MARĀNs: 141, 663, 665.

DEKHĒRs: 172, 661.

EQR'Ūs & SHABHŪ'As: 176, 681, 683-65, 687.

SHABBEHŪ: 796.

MIDRĀSH: 692.

MALĪFŪT: 647.

KĪMES: 155, 177, 268, 326 (the last two are add. verses), 704, 706, 715 (last piece of C.'s text), 786, 788, 792.

The prodigious labours of Abraham would appear to point to an 18th cent. revival, when new compositions were modelled on a wide variety of older types. It is just possible to claim with justice that the Hebrew of this period is better than anything during the 15th-17th cents.

There is a majesty and solemnity about it which is matched by the repetitiousness and the archaisms. This Hebrew lacks the freshness and originality of the 14th cent. material, but the community was reduced in numbers and sunk in poverty, in both cases extremely, and was struggling in itself to preserve its decaying pride and heredity. There is a pathos about the literature now, a sense of hopelessness, and one cannot fail to observe that the tone of the compositions is reflected in the linguistic idiom. We do not know if there was a serious attempt to invigorate the worship by introducing new compositions, but <sup>it</sup> is certain that the 18th cent. Samaritans (as the 19th cent. Samaritans) had no sense of doom, of complete obliteration by rapid decay; they knew the race was lessening in every way, but they did not regard the process as beyond redemption.

(ii) Murjān b. Abraham Ha-Danfi, who flourished about 1727, was also known as Ab-Sakhwah, and he is probably the writer intended by scribes who ascribed pieces simply to Murjān Ha-Danfi. There is, however, no certainty about this identification on the ground of family history. It remains to be seen how the compositions and language of the two (if two) compare. Murjān b. Abraham was the grandfather of the scribe of O.1 (C.p.xvi & p.xlvii), Jacob b. Isaac b. Murjān, who was living before the middle of the 18th cent. He was also the grandfather of

the scribe of L.1, L.9 and L.18.

Under the name Murjān b. Abraham Ha-Danfi are two YISHTABBAḤs (C.pp.129, 660), three KĪMĒs or appendices to KĪMĒs (C.pp.333, 783, 784). In connection with that in C.p.333 the Arabic rubric states that it is by Mufarrij b. Jacob, but that there are some who assert that it is by Murjān b. Ibrāhīm ad-Danfi. One SHABBEḤŪ (C.p.731) is by Murjān b. Abraham.

It is noteworthy that under the simplified title Murjān ad-Danfi there are two YISHTABBAḤs (C.pp.462, 483), three KĪMĒs or appendices to KĪMĒs (C.pp.446, 448, 767) and one SHABBEḤŪ add. (C.p.243) - by coincidence precisely the same number for the respective types in each case. However, under the name of the latter there are also three Hymns (C.pp.197, 460, 806) and two SHABḤŪ'As (C.pp.680, 681), the former with an EQR'Ū, plus several verses for the Marriage Service (C.pp.834-36).

In view of the similarity of literary type adopted it would seem that the above names refer to the same person. A comparison of the style and language of, e.g., the YISHTABBAḤs in C.pp.129 and 462 will give further credence to the view that the two names refer to the same 18th cent. liturgist.

(iii) Muslim b. Murjān Ha-Danfi, known also as Meshalmah b. Murjān (or Ab-Sakhwah) ad-Danfi, is as important as the

last two Danfis for the quantity and variety of compositions attributed to him. There is, unfortunately, some doubt again about the equation of his name with the simpler description Muslim, a title which appears much more often in the MSS than the full name.

Muslim b. Murjān was the uncle of the scribe of L.1, L.9 and L.18. C. (p.xcviii sub. Muslim) has been inaccurate in the pieces he sets out according to his p.nos. The correct arrangement should be:- under the full name are the pieces in C.pp.85, 298, 311, 359, 451, 484, 566, 661, 759, and under the simple title are those in C.pp. 88, 199, 295, 298, 303, 311, 312, 317, 396, 690. A comparison of the pieces ascribed to the two names reveals little of help. Under Muslim are five YISHTABBAḤs, one Hymn, one MIDRĀSH, one KĪMĒ, one special piece and the special prayer at the end of the Defter. Under the full title are one KĪMĒ, three Hymns, one YISHTABBAḤ and one SHABBEḤŪ. Certainly the vocabulary and style are, it seems for the most part, the same, and it is more than likely that the same liturgist is meant by both forms of the name.

(iv) Ghazāl is as perplexing a name in the MS rubrics as Phineḥas or Muslim, because it may refer to one or more persons. The name is the Arabic equivalent of the Aramaic Tabhya, though C. transliterates Tabiah everywhere.

There are three Ṭabhyas who were liturgists; Ṭabhya b. Abraham who flourished about 1727, Ṭabhya b. Darah of the 10th cent., and Ṭabhya b. Isaac, Priest, who died in 1787 and was the author of many pieces. A fourth Ṭabhya who figures in the A.1 'Hymnal' (i.e. that part of the 'Hymnal' not in C.) is Ṭabhya b. Ab-Zehūta. According to C.(p.xcviii sub. Ṭabiah b. Isaac) the only one of these to be called Ghazāl was Ṭabhya b. Isaac, and it will be convenient in this study to refer to him as Ghazāl in order to differentiate him from the others. Ghazāl's relations are noted in C.p.xxxiii. He was the nephew of the scribe of L.1, L.9 and L.18.

In order to illustrate scribal references to authors the C.p.no. containing pieces by Ghazāl are given with the literary type and descriptions, as follows:-

C.p,103	SHABBEHŪ	Ṭabhya
132	SHABBEHŪ	Ṭabhya b. Isaac, Priest
<u>712</u>	SHABBEHŪ	The Priest the Levite Ṭabhya b. Isaac the Priest
770	SHABBEHŪ	Ṭabhya b. Isaac, Priest
136	Hymn	Ghazāl b. Isaac, Priest
198	Hymn	Ghazāl b. Isaac, Priest
(there are four Hymns not contained in C., to be found in A.1 - see APP.B (B) for list)		
143	MARĀN	Ghazāl b. Isaac, Priest, the Levite
814	MARĀN	The Priest Ghazāl b. the Priest Isaac the Levite
145	YISHTABBAH	(three in this p.) Ghazāl b. Isaac the Priest, the Levite

147	YISHTABBAḤ	Ghazāl the Priest
154	YISHTABBAḤ	The Priest Ghazāl b. Isaac
463	YISHTABBAḤ	(as 145)
146	KĪMĒ	Ṭabhya b. Isaac, Priest
148	KĪMĒ	Ghazāl b. Isaac, Priest
167	KĪMĒ	Ghazāl b. the Priest Isaac the Levite
168	KĪMĒ	(as 167)
280	KĪMĒ add.	Ghazāl the Imām, the Priest (the usual Kohen), the Levite
<u>661</u>	DEKHÖR	The Priest Ghazāl b. Isaac
<u>693</u>	MIDRĀSH	The Priest Ghazāl
815	SHABHŪ'A	The Priest Ghazāl b. the Priest Isaac the Levite.

That Ghazāl was an important contributor to the Liturgy is clear; his contributions to the Day of Atonement Liturgy amount only to one SHABBEḤŪ, one DEKHÖR and one MIDRĀSH. His style is clear, his rhymes are not fanciful or forced and he has the distinction of being one of the few Sam. writers to dedicate his composition in the acrostic form 'Thy servant, Ṭabhya the Priest' (e.g. C.p.712).

Ṭabhya b. Abraham and Ṭabhya b. Darah are of little account, for our knowledge of them is negligible and their extant works are few.

Ṭabhya b. Ab-Zehūta does not appear in C.'s edition; he was the 18th cent. composer of Hymn no.26 in the 'Hymnal' - see APP.V (B). It is, however, possible that Ab-Zehūta (also named Abū Sarūr) b. Zedeqah is to be identified with Isaac b. Zedeqah (see C.p.xlvi), in which case

Ṭabhya b. Ab-Zehuta may be another name for Ṭabhya b. Isaac who died in 1787 and whose works are listed above. There is no evidence from the linguistic point of view until the full 'Atonement Hymnal' can be studied and edited - and the A.1 rubrics made legible.

.....

It is perhaps a little surprising to find that in the 19th cent., when the Sam. community must have already declined to a few hundred people, there was still liturgical composition of merit going on. The following names conclude the list of Sam. liturgists from the 14th cent. on: (i) Phineḥas b. Isaac: (ii) Ṭabhya b. Solomon: (iii) three forms of 'Amram (or 'Imrān), namely 'Amram, 'Amram the Priest and 'Amram b. Solomon.

(i) Phineḥas b. Isaac, of the Levitical family, died in 1898. He is not of great importance in the development of liturgy, but he is one of the last of the liturgists whose works found a place in the modern Liturgy. Nothing by him is found in C.'s edition of the Day of Atonement Service, but add. texts are now available; A.1,2 contain a MIDRĀSH by him on the model of the earlier form (APP. III, no.10), and A.1 includes in its 'Hymnal' three Hymns of his (see APP.V (B)), one of them (no.28) having the title 'The Hymn on the Righteous'.

19th and 20th cent. scribes developed a practice rarely found before the 19th cent., that of selecting pieces by relatives, teachers and friends, sometimes to the exclusion of older compositions and sometimes in add. to the already vast corpus of compositions. Evidence of this is found in connection with Phinehas; the unnamed scribe of O.2 (C.p.xvi) was the son of Phinehas and he inserted a DEKHÖR (Cp.109) by his late father. The same scribe added a SHABBEHÜ (C.p.120) by him. The scribe of L.7 (Cp.xiv) was the only scribe for the Service of the First Sabbath of the First Month to include in his copy a YISHTABBAH (C.p.150) by Phinehas, who was his cousin. Phinehas contributed four YISHTABBAHs in all, and he is interesting as the developer of a new type of piece called TEPHILLAH (prayer) of the DEKHÖR type. One of the two extant (C.p.218) begins with an acrostic reading 'I am Phinehas the Priest'.

(ii) Tabhya b. Solomon does not appear in C.'s work. He contributed a YISHTABBAH only found in A.1,2 (text in APP. II, no.20), and in the rubric he is entitled Priest. He may well have been a son of Solomon b. 'Amram (C.p.xlvi, Table), but there is no evidence of this. The scribe of A.2 (Levitical too) was Ghazāl b. Khidr and may have been a cousin of Solomon's son.

(iii) Under the name 'Amram several 19th cent. pieces

are found. C.(p.xcvii) mentions only 'Amram b. Solomon, Priest, and attributes the title 'Amram the Priest' to him. 'Amram b. Solomon (Levitical) died in 1874; he may have been the grandfather of Ṭabhya b. Solomon. He does not appear among the contributors to C.'s text of the Day of Atonement Service, but there is a piece by him in BK f.2 and in L.7 f.88. He was in fact the BK scribe and the father of the L.7 scribe, hence the inclusion of the piece (APP.II, no.24). Of the other compositions by him in C.'s edition the MSS involved are L.7 (written by Solomon b. 'Amram), L.8 (by Ṭabhya), L.9 (f.2 by himself), L.11 (by Ṭabhya), L.13 (by the scribe of fs.1-3), L.21 (by Solomon b. Ṭabhya), Cr.20 (by himself) and B.9 (by Ibrāhīm b. Ismā'il Mufarriji). Of these only B.9 seems to have been written by a non-relative and it was written in 1825-6, a date which seems too early, but the heading (f.51) gives only the title 'Amram the Priest, who may or may not have been 'Amram b. Solomon. This 'Amram's uncle of the same name is not called Priest in any of the Sam. records. If C.'s assessment of B.9 is correct and he has not failed to observe any later hand in the MS, the only conclusion must be that the B.9 scribe was in old age at the time of writing, while 'Amram was yet young. There is no material available to confirm this.

Four pieces, not in C., are attributed simply to 'Amram, Priest. These all occur in the Morning part of the Day of Atonement Service and are undoubtedly in the latest Hebrew style, with much repetitiousness and copying of older styles. The first (APP.III, no.5) is a YISHTABBAH occurring only in A.1,2. The second (ibid., no. 11) is a YISHTABBAH in the BK margin and in A.1,2. The third (ibid., no.23) is a MALIFUT in A.1,2,3, while the fourth (ibid., no.22) is a SHABBEHÜ attached to the end of BK and ascribed to the scribe's grandfather. The BK scribe was 'Amram b. Solomon (b.Ghazāl), Priest, father of the L.7 scribe. If, as the BK f.92 rubric asserts, 'Amram the Priest was the scribe's grandfather, then either Isaac or Solomon, sons of 'Amram b. Solomon, must have had a son by the name 'Amram, perhaps the son mentioned at the foot of C.'s table (C.p.xlvi)<sup>1</sup>. The A.2 scribe would have been (C.op.cit.) a distant relative of 'Amram. No information is available as to the name of the A.1 scribe, but in view of the remarkable agreements of textual detail we may take it that the scribes of A.1 and A.2 were either known to each other or were dependent the one (of A.1) on the other. Since A.3 contains a piece attributed to the same name and A.3 was written by a Danfi in 1796-7, there can be no certainty as to the particular 'Amram intended. Yet, C.'s table

<sup>1</sup>The Priest before the present was called 'Amram.

(op.cit.) was carefully worked out from the Chronicles and lists available. It is possible that the scribes were not always sure of the author's name and indeed there is evidence in many places of such uncertainty and confusion. The identification of 'Amram must meantime remain an unsolved problem awaiting further evidence.

Unfortunately, it is very difficult to discover particular stylistic traits for the period after the beginning of the 19th cent., owing to the extensive borrowing of style and phraseology by the later authors. Further research into the latest compositions of all the liturgies will be necessary before any exact knowledge can be acquired of the differentiating factors, if any, that decide, e.g., which 'Amram was responsible for a particular YISHTABBAH.

---

(c) The Doctrine of the Samaritans.

The doctrinal beliefs associated with the Day of Atonement and its efficacy are studied below in Intro.G. A general outline of the chief tenets of Samaritanism will serve here as a background to all Sam. liturgical composition and as a basis for comparison with the doctrine of the Day of Atonement.

It is usual to take the Sam. Creed, which is continually set out in the liturgies, as the sum total of Sam. doctrinal belief, other beliefs being usually later and secondary. Beliefs expressed in the later liturgical literature which have no place in the earliest (Defter) material must be regarded as of use only in a study of the development of Sam. theology and doctrine in itself. For this work the chief tenets are those found in the early Middle Ages and referred to by early Jewish and Christian writers.

The Sam. Creed comprises five main tenets, as follows:-

- The Oneness of God
- The Prophethood of Moses
- The Law, the only Divine Authority
- Mount Gerizim, the sacred Mountain
- The Day of Judgment and Recompense.

A sixth, closely associated with the fifth, is

- The Coming of the Taheb.

The Oneness of God is expressed throughout the whole Liturgy in the form 'There is only one God' (or, as commonly rendered, 'There is no God but one'). In the full form of the YITHHALLAL (APP.II, no.I) this phrase is repeated with a slight variation in the word for 'there is not' ( לֹא or אֵין ). Judaism and Samaritanism have in common a strict, unyielding and uncompromising monotheism. Christianity and Islam, those other 'daughters of the Book', likewise maintain this doctrine without deviation, but it is with those two faiths solely derived from the Hebrew Bible (in whole or part) that we are here concerned.

As in Judaism, there is much less stress on the love of God than on the holiness, righteousness and truth. Much of the liturgical literature is concerned with the power of God in nature and with the complete dependence of his creatures on him. Almighty creator though he is, he is not beyond the reach of the sincere and penitent worshipper. Transcendent and immanent, he is the conqueror of nations and the saviour of his own people, the true Israel, as well as hearer of every prayer. Great emphasis is placed on the fact that there are many mysteries known only to him; in the long Hymns this is a common and oft-repeated theme. Faced as they were with decay and persecution, cut off so often from the exact ancestral spots and

sacred sites, the Samaritans came to believe profoundly that the almighty Power had his own supreme plan, that he would yet vindicate his people, the 'keepers' (hence, in the Sam. view, the Samaritans) of his Law. A people possessed of such a long heritage and suffering such torment as a community had no place for a multitude of gods. When Islam came to cast its shadow over them they found that they could agree with the Muslims on the theme of God's oneness and unity. From this one source came not only all created things, but all light. Spiritual enlightenment from God alone could break through the darkness; from him and him alone was the source of all truth. The creator of spirits (or souls) was himself spirit; he could be approached only in the right spirit, in truth.

Adoration of the one God is best expressed in the typical manner:- 'mightiest of the mighty, greatest of the great, most awesome of the awesome, who created in his wisdom all creatures'. This format, with variations of superlatives, is to be found in well-nigh every service in the Liturgy. There are other descriptions of God which, though derived ultimately from the Pentateuch, are distinctively Sam. These occur in isolated places throughout Jewish religious literature, but in the Sam. they are commonplace. A typical example, emphasizing the theme of



every generation, providing out of his treasure-house relief from trouble, healing from sickness, forgiveness of sins, and so on.

No anthropomorphism mars the main body of the liturgical writings, apart from the implication (it is rarely more than that) that God himself wrote the tablets which he gave to Moses and, if the language is not merely figurative, that God and Moses spoke to one another. He created 'without hand': 'he sees without eye, hears without ear'. Though he descended onto the Mount and spoke 'face to face' (a much loved phrase) with Moses, the whole narrative of the Law-giving is couched in awe-inspiring terms, angels and powers (hosts) themselves ~~th~~rembling violently throughout the great event. It is beyond doubt certain that the Sam. authors deliberately avoided anything that savoured of anthropomorphism. The one God is wholly other, but ever ready to receive his penitent people. To finish the sketch of the idea of God is an extract from Brown's translation of Ab-Gelugah's prayer (probably 12th cent; C.p.75, Brown, p.305):-

I AM THAT I AM, O Thou who art to be found,  
 who answereth all cries, and, O only One  
 from old, without second, and O Eternal One  
 who art enduring, growing neither old nor  
 changing, before Thee I spread my hands and  
 to Thy hands I raise my face, accept my re-  
 quest and answer my cry, for the abundance  
 of Thy lovingkindness can never be numbered.

The Prophethood of Moses. A considerable amount has been written by Samaritans about Moses, containing epithets and descriptions that do not seem to owe their origin to the Jewish writers of any age. We are not concerned here with legends and descriptions of Moses himself, but rather with his relationship to God and his function in the life of the community.

There is hardly a composition of substance that does not refer to Moses, the Apostle of God. Many of the YISHTABBAḤs refer to him as 'the one whom God sent', by whose hand God appointed (or designated) the Law. In almost every sense Moses, from the time of his birth, was the intermediary between God and his people. From the time of Sinai in particular, Moses was the anointed and consecrated 'man' of God. Even today, Moses is held to be the people's intermediary, God's emissary.

Perhaps the great reverence for and elevation of Moses by the Samaritans is due solely to the fact that they have no other prophets like the Jews; they have only the Torah (Moses' Book). It is not surprising that he is described so often in terms suggesting that he was divine. Yet the Sam. writers did not become extreme in their veneration, when it came to placing Moses in a list of names; in connection with the common liturgical phrase 'by the merit of' (others translate *לְבַרְכָּתוֹ* 'for the

sake of'), Abraham, Isaac and Jacob usually precede, then Joseph followed by Moses. . In that order the Samaritans pray for the people, but Moses is in no way inferior in merit to the Patriarchs. Only a sense of proper order causes the name of Moses to take its chronological place.

Probably as a result of the emphasis on the commission given by God to Moses, which is his prophethood, stories of his birth acquired a supernormal form as well as a physical. When he was born a light (or 'a drop of light'), so great in brilliance that the sun itself was dimmed, was formed. His birth, in the eyes of the Samaritans, especially from the 14th cent. on, brought an era of glory into being. Since he was held to have been born in the seventh month and on the seventh day, the Seventh Month Liturgy contains a very great number of references to the divine (?) origin and commission of the prophet. As a result of his commission he was vested with supreme authority. He who was and is 'the choicest of all living' induced in all creatures, by virtue of the mere fact of his existence, great joy. So far did the process of elevating Moses go that we read often such statements as 'the sun and moon are obedient to his command'. Having been 'face to face' with God, Moses belonged to the company of the heavenly hosts. Moses too is thus transcendent and immanent. Men prayed by the merit and prophethood

of this exalted being.

It is difficult to say whether the Samaritans of any period regarded Moses as divine in the sense that God is divine. Certainly they came to think of him as 'him who is next to the Compassionate God'. Although the veneration of Moses is, strictly speaking, a 14th cent. phenomenon, and although very much less mention is made of Moses in the Defter than in the later liturgical works, yet the Creed contains the mention of Moses in the Defter as the object of faith and belief. For example, in the Defter acknowledgement (C.p.3) we read:-

O I AM THAT I AM, we worship only thee, and we have no faith (other than that) in thee, and in Moses thy prophet and in thy true scriptures, and in the place of the worship of thee, Mount Gerizim, Bethel.

.....

The Law. Not only was the Law (Torah), the sacred and eternal commandments of God, given 'by the hand of Moses' and 'at his direction'; Moses himself was the embodiment of the revelation contained in that Law. It is fitting that faith in the Law should be the doctrine immediately following that concerning Moses. The veneration of Moses and the veneration of the Law go hand-in-hand, but of course, historically speaking, the giving of the Law cannot be said to be the result of the 'divinity' of Moses as far as the Pentateuch is concerned.

Rather is it the giving of the Law that caused Moses to receive the characteristic of the divine, or even the prerogative of the divine, in Sam. eyes.

Like the Jews, the Samaritans base their way of life, both religious and secular, on the injunctions and commandments contained in their Bible. For the latter that Bible consists of the Pentateuch alone. Practically identical with the Jewish text, the Sam. Pentateuch has some readings at variance with the corresponding Massoretic ones. In particular the Sam. version at Deut.xxvii.4 contains a variant reading which affects their whole existence as claimants for the title The House of Israel. In that version Moses is commanded to build an altar on Mount Gerizim, not, as in the MT, on Mount Ebal. No one knows which version is correct; both Jews and Samaritans would gain equal advantage, broadly speaking, in adjusting an ancient text to suit their own claims. The S.P. thus ordains (not only in the above-cited passage) that Mount Gerizim is the place of the divine sanctuary. As to the whole Law of the Samaritans, it was God-given through Moses and as such is an object of faith. Through it and the vindication of its promises and prophecies and blessings God's purposes for his people are proved to be right. There can be no criticism of the Law, for it is derived from God alone.

His will is written there; his commands to his people are there in a final unchangeable form. Throughout all eternity his Law will stand. There can be no adding to it or taking from it - favourite liturgical theme. The Jews, and in particular Ezra, falsified, say the Samaritans, the Law and their Law is therefore invalid.

In the longer didactic Hymns (as in the 'Hymnal') it is taught that a careful study and understanding of the eternal words will bring freedom from those things that bring God's disfavour; rebellion against God is the chief of these things. The Law contains mighty mysteries, the solving of which give power to the man of understanding.

The carrying out of the Law gives to the Samaritans the rightful claim, they assert, to be the 'true keepers (Shōmerim) of the Law; perhaps it was easier for them to observe the Law so scrupulously, more scrupulously than the Jews, for the Jews had, as well as the Prophets and Hagiographa, an oral law which in time became binding. The Samaritans had only the Torah and it is due to that fact, more than to anything else, that they were so meticulous and punctilious in observing its minutest precepts.

.....

Mount Gerizim has been mentioned in connection with the reading of the name of the mountain in Deut.xxvii.4. For the Samaritans the Mountain is mentioned here (and in Ex.xx in the add. commandment of the Sam. version, referring to the choice of it as the place of God's altar, as well as in Deut.v.21, where the command from ibid. xxvii.4 is repeated) and that is enough! It is the divinely appointed place for worship. There and there alone will God meet his people Israel. In the first days of the Christian era the Samaritans were conscious, as they have always been, of the fact that the Jews have one place, Jerusalem, and they have another, Gerizim. It was at Gerizim that they were instructed to offer sacrifice; any other place, such as Mount Zion, was false. As God punished his people for the defection of Eli's sons at Shiloh, so would he punish the Jews for their blasphemous claims and practices.

Lying close to the ancestral site of Shechem, Mount Gerizim, the mount of blessing, the blessed mountain, was for the Samaritans symbolical of Israel's history. It was in this very area that the real history of the Hebrews was made - how could Jerusalem be the centre of the Hebrews' history? The bones of Joseph, the Crown, the King, the Saviour, were buried nearby. So much for the evidence of history, but Mount Gerizim more often

than not is accompanied in liturgical compositions by the word Beth-El, i.e. the house of God. The Samaritans believe that this was indeed Bethel and that Bethel was veritably the Garden of Eden. So it has been usual to think, but the Garden of Eden for many of the later writers meant more than a place in this world; to them it represented a state of bliss and freedom. Certainly the lost (or rather hidden) Tabernacle was to be restored to Bethel, Mount Gerizim, but when God promised the Garden or men asked him to open the gate(s) of the Garden of Eden (as we so often read in the Liturgy), something more than a literal, physical thing was meant. Mount Gerizim, it might better be said, was to the thinking Sam. the outward symbol on earth of a true state hereafter for the redeemed in heaven. The question, perhaps not previously studied, of the relationship of Gerizim to the Garden of Eden in the symbolical sense, relates closely to the next tenet of the Creed, which deals with beliefs about the hereafter. The present writer, having read the whole of the Liturgy in text or translation (except for small services of lesser importance), is of the belief that the Samaritans could not have desired deeply any continuance of life in this world. They had suffered as a people too greatly and for too long; they wanted freedom and peace and a return to the joyous state of old. Some authors probably adopted a literal approach

to the matter of the Garden of Eden and Gerizim, but in the more obscure, yet somehow mature Hymns of the 14th cent. (see, e.g. the three translated in Part IV of this work) pious men had come to perceive that there are two worlds, the non-physical of God's promised heaven being the home of his people, past, present and future, who adopted his way and obeyed his commands. The Creed states it in literal fashion:- 'faith in .... the place of Thy worship, Mount Gerizim, the house of God', but the Samaritans developed their belief beyond the 4th cent. stage, and something of their attitude towards the hereafter will now be considered.

.....

The Day of Judgment and Recompense. The final article of the Creed is no doubt based on Deut.xxxii. 35-36:-

Vengeance is mine, and recompense,  
for the time when their foot shall slip;  
for the day of their calamity is at hand,  
and their doom comes swiftly.

For the Lord will vindicate his people  
and have compassion on his servants,  
when he sees that their power is gone,  
and there is none remaining, bond or free.

In the great Song of Moses, so much loved by the Samaritans, the reference to future activity on the part of God is clear. While the Jews and Christians did not build a doctrine on this, the Samaritans appear to have

taken it at its face value, as a promise of punishment for the enemies of God's people and of vindication of his servants. As will be seen in the short section following dealing with the Taheb, the Samaritans looked to a day when God would manifest himself in their favour.

For the Sam. the days from the setting up of the sanctuary at Shiloh were days of divine disfavour (Fanūta, i.e. turning-away), while the days of God's favour (Raḥūta) would only return when the true worship at Gerizim was restored by the Taheb. When that time came those who had prevented God's people from the course of true worship and service of God would be destroyed from the earth and an era of theocracy would be initiated. Although there are many clear references to a future life, even as early as Marqah, the Samaritans believed in a resurrection (after the work of the Taheb was completed) which would be the signal of the great restoration to divine Raḥūta. There is some difficulty over the question of the 'whereabouts' of vengeance and recompense. The liturgists did not maintain any distinct level of consistency in this, for, on the one hand, the community clearly believed that the vengeance and recompense would mean a destruction of the enemy on earth and a vindication and restoration of the Samaritans on earth, while, on the other, there is a resurrection and a future life. The

entry into the Garden, as has been suggested above, could have been in some eyes a physical return to the peaceful, joyful worship on Mount Gerizim, but in other, more mature (and less conservative?) eyes it meant the taking up of a place in God's heaven reserved for all who obeyed the divine commands and lived according to the (Samaritan) Law - which included the worship on the true mountain of God.

The renowned *Memar* by Marqah, containing the Sam. theological system of the 4th cent., has still to be edited and translated in full. It is doubtful if the contents can be placed on exactly the same level as the liturgical material, but this may be a matter of opinion. Much Sam. teaching remains to be examined; it is hoped that before long the Leeds School of Sam. studies will produce such an edition and translation, thereby providing a complete unit within the development of Sam. ideas on the tenets of the Creed.

It seems to the present writer inconceivable that no individualistic interpretation of the tenet involved is to be found. A study of Hymn no.3 in Part IV below reveals the authority held by some Samaritans through the ages. Marqah may have held such authority and his system may have been largely individualistic, but in his case the system became basic to all future systems.

On the other hand, the bulk of the liturgists' hopes appertain to the people and nation rather than to the individual. We do not know how far traditionalism was a limiting factor in, e.g., the long didactic Hymns. Whence came the Sam. version of the birth of Moses? it is not in the Defter. However, the thoughtful Hymn writers of the 14th cent. (and possibly the 18th) make it clear that those who sought diligently to understand the ways of God and his mysteries would receive light and enlightenment, but was their reward to be no greater than that received by the rest of the community simply because the vindication to come would be of a communal kind? The point is that the thoughtful, obedient Sam. would have a greater chance of reward than a non-Sam., for the Day of Judgment and Recompense was to involve all mankind. The crux of the matter appears to be whether the non-thoughtful, less obedient Sam. would have that same chance simply because he was a Sam.

Originally, no doubt, the great day of vindication was thought of in terms of the persecuted community, but through time and the evolution of thought (even in a restricted mode of life) men came to perceive a higher era of promise where the good individual (to the Sam. thinker this could hardly be other than a Sam., possessed as he was of the necessary means of grace) would receive his proper reward.

Throughout the whole of the Liturgy there are scores of references to God opening the gates of the Garden (or his treasure) to those who are penitent. So common is this theme from the Defter period up till the latest stratum of the Liturgy that it is necessary to conclude that both national and individual repentance was a prerequisite of the receipt of divine favour. This is precisely where the Day of Atonement comes in:-

Baguley (dissertation p.xlii) quotes thus:-

One of the authors, Murjan ad Danfi (sic.), 19th century A.D., speaks of the faithful Samaritans thus:- "In this world they are honoured and in the next they pass to the Garden of Eden".

He adds (loc.cit.):- He (Murjan) also speaks of Moses as "standing over the secrets of ... the day of vengeance".

The Murjan reference above makes it clear that by the 19th cent. at least one liturgical writer had reached the full conception of two worlds and two rewards.

.....

The basic doctrines of the Samaritans have been discussed broadly in the above outline, but there are other doctrines which would have to be considered in a study devoted solely to Sam. doctrine or theology. There is one doctrine, however, though later than the Creed in origin and secondary to it, that should be mentioned briefly at this stage, before concluding this chapter

on Sam. doctrine with a note on some points of similarity between the Sam. beliefs and those of the Qumran sect.

The Taheb (literally 'the returner', but more often thought of as 'the restorer' because of his primary function) has been referred to above. Dr. J. Bowman has stated in conversation that he believes the Sam. Creed to be older than the received Pentateuch and that is, he thinks, why the conception of the Taheb is not mentioned in the Creed. This may well be, but there is no evidence. In any case, already in the 14th cent. references to the Taheb are clearly stated and there is one important Hymn in the 'Hymnal' by the 14th cent. Abīsha' b. Phinehas b. Joseph which devotes a whole stanza to the subject. Such eschatological literature as there is largely revolves round the person of the Taheb. Dr. Bowman has published the text of 'A Samaritan Allegory of the Taheb by Pinhas (sic.)' with an introduction<sup>1</sup>, in which he shows that the idea of this Sam. 'Messiah' is derived from Deut.xviii.18:-

I will raise up for them a prophet  
like you among their brethren; and  
I will put my words in his mouth, and  
he shall speak to them all that I  
command him.

The figure of Moses came thus to be regarded as the equivalent of a Messiah of a sort, but not one of some

<sup>1</sup> University of Leeds multilithed study, 1955.

particular stock. His unheralded coming would mean the restoration of the divine Raḥuta. The Temple vessels, long concealed, would be discovered by him. The 19th cent. Phineḥas b. Isaac, not to be confused with the 14th cent. Phineḥas b. Abīsha' who also wrote on the Taheb, was responsible for the text reproduced by Dr. Bowman. According to this work repentance will bring in the day of the Taheb, and it is possible to derive the name Taheb from the Aramaic root tūbh (Hebrew shūbh), meaning 'to repent'. In Phineḥas' work the allegory of the Taheb is connected with the Flood and the Ark (Tēbhah); thus the divine purpose for the future is derived by means of metathesis. Play on the root KPR (kopher, pitch; kipper, to atone) introduces the concept of atonement by repentance. Noah was the type of the Taheb and by substituting Taheb for Noah and Repentance for Ark, the story of the Flood becomes an allegory. The Ark would thus be Repentance and the deliverer the Taheb, not Noah. As Dr. Bowman points out (ibid., p.iii) 'the interesting thing is that the Taheb is modelled here on Noah, not on Moses'.

It appears that the idea of the Taheb was not the product of any one cent; indeed there is more than one tradition of him. The Defter has no real place for him, while the 14th cent. introduces him as the promised

prophet (Moses returned) of Deut.xviii.18, and the 19th cent. pictures him as an allegorical figure of no real substance, of no true historical background. It is best to think of the Taheb as a constructive and substantial figure in the belief of the Sam., derived, as all true Sam. beliefs are, from the Law and the promises of God to his people.

No conclusions are reached as to the origin and development of the idea of the Taheb in this work. Much study of unpublished Sam. material must precede any definite pronouncements.

---

#### The Samaritans and the Qumran Sect.

The purpose of this concluding note to a section on doctrine is to point out, no more or less here, certain common factors of belief that are held by both Samaritans and the Qumran sectaries.<sup>1</sup>

Both sects regarded themselves as the True Israel, the small remnant which had remained faithful to God's covenant. Both taught that the covenant had been preserved through the ages by pious men. At the end of the period of divine disfavour a new era of covenant would be created, in which the faithful would rejoice.

<sup>1</sup> E.g., of Th. G. The Scriptures of the Dead Sea Sect, Secker & Warburg, London, 1957, passim.

When God had triumphed over his enemies (the Qumran Belial), the day of vengeance would begin. The period of divine favour would replace the period of divine wrath. The Qumran sect believed that then God would renew all things. Now the idea of renewal by God of all things is common throughout Sam. compositions from earliest times. This concept embraced the renewal not only of God's people, but of all inanimate things. Knowledge of God and the essence of God was, in both philosophies, regarded as being contained in all God's creations.

At the end of the era of divine disfavour a new prophet (according to the Qumran sect) would usher in the new age. This accords well with the Sam. view of the Taheb's mission.

In both systems the idea of light is prominent as a synonym of truth. In the Law is light, i.e. truth. Purity is another predominant theme in both, being an essential factor in the approach to God and in the performance of the Law. Both sects were more meticulous in this than even the Jews. Along with purity went humility, so often expressed in both sets of writing in terms of 'the poor'. It is, however, likely that in the case of the Qumran sect 'poor' was almost equivalent to 'ascetic', while there is little likelihood of a similar equation being justifiable in Sam. writings. For cents.

the Sam. community has been poor, but probably only by circumstance, not by desire!

In the use of the Law there is a similar hermeneutical approach, whereby doctrine was derived from the Bible. Deut.xviii.18 was for both a proof-text in connection with the coming of the Messiah or Taheb. Another point of contact, an important one, is that each sect placed supreme authority in all matters in the hands of the priests. This authority was shared, in a secondary way, by the Levites. In Samaritanism the priest is the authority in all matters religious and secular. When the High-priesthood died out in the 17th cent., priestly authority was continued by the Levites.

There were 'Qumran' (Essene?) groups in cities as well as in the wilderness; Josephus (War II,viii.4) mentions this of the Essenes and the Zadokite Document has express provision for a city-dwelling community as well as for a community dwelling in the country. Whether this is a point of comparison with the Samaritans or not depends on whether the Medinah Services preserved in the modern Liturgy were for small Sam. groups living in cities and towns, or whether they represent merely adapted services for times when the community at Nablus were unable to visit their sacred sites at Shechem.

The above-noted details of common ground between

the two communities does not in any way prove that one has developed out of the other, or that one is an offshoot of the other. There are many differences, some of them decisive proofs that the groups are not the same. All that can be said on the basis of the points of agreement is that both were influenced by, dependent on or in the same stream of religious tradition as some earlier body, concerning which no facts, indeed no helpful clues, are known. There is room for much research into the whole question of both Qumran and Sam. affinities and relationships with other bodies.

---

(d) The Language of the Manuscripts.

Since the advent of Islam in Palestine the Samaritans have been Arabic-speaking, and much of their literature in commentary and translation has been written in Arabic. In the earliest period, at least up to the 4th cent.A.D., Aramaic was their liturgical medium, and the Hebrew of the Bible was their sacred language. In the period between the 4th and 14th cents. Hebrew evolved among them, a form of Hebrew suited to the needs of liturgical expression, wherein biblical forms came to have an equal place with later abstract forms of the Aramaic ūth type. Indeed the great majority of these forms are to be found in any good dictionary of Hebrew and Aramaic, such as Jastrow (see Bibliography). There are some, however, that are readily understood, but which do not appear in such dictionaries, and these are mostly of the type 'invented' in the later Syriac literature.

In the 14th cent., in almost all the extant compositions, the older Aramaic forms mingle freely with the biblical and later Hebrew forms to produce, e.g., such a line as:-

ולית לעורן בה כלום: אין כיהוה אלהינו:  
 כמו קם וישא וישם לך שלום: דעל פניו עבר  
 ויקרא יהוה אל רחום:

(from stanza Kaph, C.p.499, of Abīsha' b. Phinehas b. Joseph's Hymn). It is evident from the above that the liturgical Aramaic of the 14th cent. did not suffer obliteration as a result of the revival of Hebrew. In these lines are biblical Hebrew forms and Aramaic forms. In 'Abdullah b. Solomon's "Ḥelqath Ha-Sadheh" (C.pp.641 ff.) we find considerable employment of Aramaic verbal forms, almost to the exclusion of Hebrew verbal forms, indicating the archaizing process of the 14th cent. - particularly where the theme is concerned with past glories! The following extract is from verse 7:-

חלקת השדה חימר ולא חנשי שם הזידון  
 יקרי על ראשי:  
 ואחרחק מני משה ואין יש לאל ידי:

After 638 A.D. when Syria came under Muslim domination Aramaic as a living language, or even as a written language, began to decline amongst the Samaritans, but it is clear from the above 14th cent. extract that an attempt was made to preserve the old medium. What may be termed the native Palestinian Aramaic, with eastern (Syriac-type) dialectal forms, has never completely died out, for it is preserved even as late as in the 19th cent. alongside normal Hebrew forms. Here is an extract from a YISHTABBAḤ (C.p.209) by the 19th cent. Khidr b. Isaac:-

בגדלו ברא המאורוח ביום הרביעי  
וברקיע שומיה לון אקיס:

Arabic became widely used in the MSS for two purposes: (a) to give translations in the language understood by all the community of pieces in Aramaic and Hebrew; (b) for the rubrics and directions dealing with notes on authors and compositions and for musical directions. The translations are often written alongside the pieces and they are nearly always fairly literal (somewhat harshly so) renderings, word for word. A source of great confusion for the beginner to Sam. MSS is the scribal practice in the 18th-20th cents. of writing Hebrew words in Arabic script and vice versa. For example, one finds  for ישתבח and  for אִיטָא. A further difficulty is created by the fact that the Arabic is Palestinian colloquial set out in an attempted literary style! A good example of this frequently met with problem is found in such a rubric (C.p.312 bottom) as:-

٢٦ آله وتماه عليه ايضاً يشتبخ اذا اتفق فيه  
قدم ولد ذكر من تاليف العم المذكور

It will be noted that there are the following orthographic peculiarities: Ha without dots for Ta Marbuṭa; no dot over the Dhal in one case and in the other the Dhal is properly written. A vast number of such inadequacies could be compiled.

Orthographic Variations in the MSS,  
with notes on variations in spelling & grammar.

Rather than reproduce C.'s notes on the consonants and grammatical forms (C.pp.xxxv-xli), the present writer thought it might be useful to compare MS variations in connection with some particular composition. To this end the textual notes to a Hymn contained in C.'s edition are used; these are in APP.II, no.7 and the Hymn is in C.pp.746ff. Some of the peculiarities referred to above are found in the rubric at the head of the notes.

(i) Confusion of gutturals. A.1 has אורה for יורה often.<sup>1</sup> All the MSS confuse such words as קיאם and קעים.<sup>2</sup> A.1 has הלל for הלל: הפעות for הפאות: BK אל for על. There is no consistency in the MSS over the spelling of הוּא and ה'יא, which as often occur without the Aleph. This detail is so frequent that it is not noted in the textual notes. הן and הן are frequently confused. He and 'Ayin are fairly commonly confused, as in BK's להורים for לעורים.<sup>1</sup> Another common confusion, unless it be a permissible variant, is the spelling אנא in L.13 for the more frequent Sam. (and O.T.) form אנה.

(ii) Confusion of non-gutturals. There is much less confusion of this kind, but one notes A.1, L.13's נת for נן,

<sup>1</sup>C.p.xxxv.      <sup>2</sup>ibid., p.lxviii.

Resh and Lamedh as in A.1's  $\text{לט}$  for  $\text{טר}$ . The MSS vary considerably in the spelling of consonantal Waw; some MSS use Waw with an overline, while others simply employ Beth and some of the latest have Waw without overline. In A.3 Gimel and Kaph are almost interchangeable, and A.1 once reads  $\text{בוג}$  for  $\text{בוך}$ .

(iii) Omission of consonants. The most typical case of this is the omission of vowel-consonants. One MS will have scriptio-plena for one word and will lack it in another word in the same line! Omission of Waw Conjunctive and to a lesser extent Waw Consecutive is frequent and no one MS is more guilty of this than another. Even in the QATAFs (APP.IV) this fault is found. The most common omission of non-vowel consonants seems to be accidental; e.g. A.1's  $\text{רר}$  for  $\text{רר}$ , and  $\text{וצאות}$  for  $\text{וצאות}$ .

(iv) Grammatical misspellings are only too common.

A grammatical inaccuracy is, fortunately, not usually perpetuated in all the MSS; e.g.  $\text{יכו}$  in L.13 is found correct ( $\text{יכו}$ ) in the later BK, A.1, while the common writing of the Article between a preposition and word is sometimes corrected in the later MSS; e.g.  $\text{בעולם}$  in L.13, BK, but corrected to  $\text{בעולם}$  in A.1. The idea that the later MSS tend to correct older MSS must be qualified, as the process may be reversed, in that a grammatical inaccuracy may come into being only in a late MS, as is the case in

A.1's impossible פקוד for L.13, BK's פקד.

(v) Mixed forms. Some MSS contain phrases of, say, two words, one Hebrew and one Aramaic, while a late MS 'corrects', so that both words are Hebrew or both Aramaic. This happens in the Hymn which serves as our illustration; e.g. תנין בהאומה in L.13, L.9 and BK occurs in the later A.1 as שני באומה - a double correction!

(vi) Metathesis. A case of this is sometimes perpetuated for a long time before being corrected. A typical example occurs in L.9 (C. does not inform his readers that he is using this MS here) where the word אתכבש occurs; in L.13, BK and A.1 the correct order is given, A.1 adding a Tav - so אתכשב (A.1 אתכשבת). L.9's מכבש gives way to A.1, BK and L.13's מכשב. The common אהן for האן is probably not a case of metathesis, but a genuine dialectal variant. Such a case as A.1's תטעיל for תטיעל may be attributed to scribal error.

(vii) Inverted order is a common phenomenon. In the Hymn referred to there is a typical example; A.1 has סנה המים for המים מנה; L.13's ומנה רו (BK ומן רו) became in A.1 ורו מנה.

(viii) Uncertain tradition underlying phrases is not uncommon. For L.13's בגלל זה the later BK has בגל<sup>ל</sup> ל<sup>ז</sup>ה, while the still later A.1 reads בגלוג זה. L.13's וממנה occurs in BK as וממנה (correct grammatically) and in A.1 as מנה.

It is often clear that scribes were uncertain of the correct orthography; L.13's scribe spelled וּוּרְאָתוּ, while BK's spelled וּוּרְאִיתוּ and A.1's וּוּרְאָתוּ.

(ix) Language change. A.1 used וְמָה for וּכְדָ (cf. Syriac ܘܡܐ for ܘܚܕܐ). That MS in several places produced the 'Hebrew' equivalent of an Aramaic form, as דְּוִהַרִין for דְּוִהַרִין, where, however, a mixed form was produced. The Aramaic in ending frequently appears for the Hebrew im. A clear example of an Aramaic equivalent of a Hebrew word being found in a late MS occurs where A.1 uses וְאִשְׁתִּין in place of the Hebrew וְאִשְׁתִּים occurring in L.13, BK, but on the other hand A.1's scribe used the Hebrew סוּדִים for the mixed סוּדִים. The Aramaic לֵה עֲלֵי becomes לוֹ עֲלֵה in A.1, another mixed form, and הַמְתִּילָד in A.1 represents the Hebrew הַיְלִיד of L.13, BK. A.1 Hebraizes יוֹמָה דְּלִבְשׁ (L.13, BK) into יוֹם לְבֶשׁ.

(x) Synonyms probably occur so frequently because of scribal forgetfulness. In L.13 and BK we have וּפְרָט, while A.1 has נִדְרָשׁ: their וְצוּה becomes פְּקָד (om. o.). Similarly A.1 presents מִן עוֹלְמִיָּה for L.13, BK's מִן עוֹלְמִיָּה. BK, L.13 בְּגִלְלוֹ becomes in A.1 בְּדִילָו, while their רַחֲמוֹתוֹ is rendered אֶהְבְּתוֹ.

There are many other types of grammatical and orthographic idiosyncrasies, such as the use of Alif Tawīla (a Hebrew or Aramaic Aleph written), the varying forms

of min and the spelling of final He (Yodh) verbs and nouns with either He or Yodh; e.g. מַשְׁתֵּה and מַשְׁתֵּי :  
הַמַּכְסִי and הַמַּכְסִי .

This last point raises the question of the metre and rhythm employed by the Sam. writers. Little can be added to what C. (C.p.xli) has already written. The present writer observes that nearly all the poetic literature in the liturgies has a metre not unlike that contained in the Hebrew Bible, except that there is much more regularity in the former. The system is simply that of stress on the accented syllable, the second syllable of a two-syllable word being stressed, not the first as in Massoretic pronunciation. Thus:-

אֶסֶף דְּבַר חֲשַׁבְוֹן יִתֵּר      לִמֵּן יָדַע נִסְתָּר וְנִגְלָא :  
וְלֹא יִפְלֵא מִנֶּה דְבַר      וְהוּ שׁוּפֵט אַחֲרֵיהּ וְחַחֲלָה :

Waw Conjunctive and all short vowels, even if accented grammatically, are ignored. It is not unreasonable to suppose that this is the reason for so very many scribal omissions of Waw and sometimes the consonant of a short (shut) syllable.

In the long poems (Hymns, EQR'Ūs, etc.) each stanza usually has each of its full lines ending with the same consonant and similar vowel preceding it, while in some cases (particularly 14th-16th cent. compositions) each half-line rhymes in the same way with the equivalent

half-line in the next line. In the latest compositions (e.g. Ghazāl's Hymn - C.pp.661 ff.) there is a tendency to be more elaborate in the matter of the rhyme. In C. p.662 the lines end thus:-

- |     |   |   |   |   |
|-----|---|---|---|---|
| (1) | m | m | ' | m |
| (2) | ō | m | r | m |
| (3) | e | m | m | m |
| (4) | m | m | r | m |
| (5) | m | m | ō | m |
| (6) | ā | m | t | m |

This late practice may have developed side by side with the more elaborate cantillation. The later MSS contain more detailed notes on the speed and intonation of the liturgical pieces; no doubt this is a sign of decay, just as the Massorettes' labours signified the decline in the knowledge of Hebrew pronunciation.

There is uncertainty in many cases of the exact meaning of Arabic words having reference to the cantillation. In this work new renderings have been used for the most common of all, namely *نفيف* and *ثقیل*. The School of Sam. Studies in the University of Leeds has adopted till now the translations 'in a light tone' and 'in a solemn chant' or near equivalents of these. Professor H.G.Farmer of the University of Glasgow, after reading a paper to the Glasgow University Oriental Society in the spring of 1957 (to be published in the Transactions of

the Society for that year) informed the present writer on his enquiry that these terms he took to mean 'quick' and 'slow' respectively. The reasons in detail for his rendering, hereinafter adopted, are given in his paper.<sup>1</sup> For the translation adopted in this work for other such terms, see the Glossary.

### Vowel Signs

C. (p.xxxvi) has already set out the vowel signs found in the MSS consulted by him and there is little to be added. There are different pronunciations according to the variations found in the MSS. In those consulted only by the present writer there is a definite confusion in the case of ˆ (ē) and ˆ (a); for the former many instances exist where the vocalic Yodh is written (i.e. plene), and some of these instances are noted in the textual notes following the translations, where there is some possibility that the Yodh indicates the plural (at the end of a word). In the MSS generally there is often no distinction between ˆ and ˆ, although the same scribe often uses both. It is possible that in many cases the scribe chose the one which, from the aesthetic point of view, was preferable.

The scribes appear not to have confused ˆ (ū,ō) with

---

<sup>1</sup>entitled "The Oldest Arabic Encyclopaedia: the Mafātih al-‘Ulūm".

any other sign, but Waw is often found instead. As C. states (loc.cit.) the signs ' and ' are confused, but this is not a frequent error.

As mentioned in the description of the MSS above, the scribes differ from one another in the quantity of vowel signs written.

---

## B. THE DAY OF ATONEMENT

### (a) Description of the Biblical Day of Atonement and Discussion of the Biblical Sources.

On the tenth day of this seventh month is the day of atonement; it shall be for you a time of holy convocation, and you shall afflict yourselves and present an offering by fire to the Lord. (Lev.xxiii.26)

This passage contains the divine injunction to observe the tenth day of the seventh month (Tishri) as a day of atonement; it is the chief passage quoted by Jews, both Rabbanites and Qaraites, and Samaritans alike in their liturgies for that Festival. As will be seen below this Festival was the greatest in the religious calendar for all three religious bodies. It is a festival that arose out of a need and, in the case of Jews, developed an elaborate ritual.

The name of the Festival is often found in the form Yom Kippur, short for Yom Ha-Kippurim which is the correct term. The ceremonies decreed in the Torah are laid out in Lev.xvi; the sacrifices ordained are in Num.xxix.7-11. The distinctive character of the day is marked by the command to refrain from work and to afflict oneself (by abstaining from food and drink). The solemnity of the

occasion is clearly stated in Lev.xxiii. The beginnings of the ritual that evolved in post-exilic times were made in the sacrificial system. Giving of one's worldly goods, as well as giving of oneself through personal discipline, were part of the essential sacrifice. In the days of the Second Temple this sacrifice was expressed in the solemn ritual of offering undertaken and administered by the priests, when the people of Israel were represented by a large gathering constituting 'a solemn convocation'. It is proposed in this chapter to take note of the biblical injunctions, their source, their probable development from the pre-exilic sacrificial system, and to discuss the question of the origin of Yom Ha-Kippur, its place in the calendar, and then to note how the Festival became more ritualistic in post-Old Testament times up to the present day; it will be shown what constituted the efficacy and significance of that great day. The Sam. celebration, based solely on the Torah, will be related to the biblical decrees and, finally, to the other seventh month liturgies.

For the description of the earliest (biblical) Day of Atonement we must turn to Lev.xvi. Aaron was commanded to enter the sanctuary with a bullock provided by himself for a sin offering, and a ram, also provided by himself, for a burnt offering. He should have removed his daily

priestly robes, bathed and donned a linen coat over linen breeches, a linen girdle and a linen turban. The choice of linen undoubtedly expressed simplicity and humility, and the bathing purity. From the offerings provided by the people of Israel he was to select two male goats for a sin offering and a ram for a burnt offering. Having offered the bull as a sin offering for himself (presumably before he was fit to offer on behalf of others) and his own house (the priests), he was to take the two male goats to the entrance of the sanctuary, cast lots upon them, one for the Lord and one for Azazel (see below). On whichever goat the lot fell he was to offer it in the sanctuary as a sin offering; the other goat was not to be offered, but to be sent into the wilderness for Azazel.

When this was done, Aaron was to make confession to the Lord over his own bull, both for himself and for his house. The animal slain, its blood was received in a sacrificial vessel. From the altar for the burnt offering he was to take a censer full of live coals, along with two handfuls of sweet incense, into the Holy of Holies. Placing the incense on the coals, he caused the mercy-seat to be enveloped by a cloud of incense. The cloud was to prevent him from mortal danger. Having returned for the bullock's blood, he should sprinkle it with his finger on the front of the mercy-seat seven times.

Now he had to kill the goat of the sin offering for the people, taking its blood into the Holy of Holies and sprinkling it just as on the previous occasion. By this act the holy place was cleansed of all impurity brought about by national uncleanness through sin.

The sacred act was performed by the High Priest alone, no other person being present. As a result of these acts the atonement for the High Priest and the priestly house and for all the nation was complete. The next step was to purify the altar of incense, by applying some of the bull's blood along with some of the goat's to the horns of the altar, sprinkling with his finger seven times as before.

Aaron is next commanded to lay both hands on the people's goat which, by lot, was intended for Azazel. His hands on its head, he should make confession of all the people's iniquities, thus (symbolically) putting them on the head of the goat. The goat he is commanded to send out into the wilderness under the guidance of one ready for that task. Sin is thereby removed from the people into the wilderness.

Aaron's task is almost finished; entering the Tent of Meeting he removes the linen clothes, leaving them there. After bathing himself and donning his own garments, he offers his own and the people's burnt

offering, burning the fat of the sin offering on the altar. Final regulations for the disposal of the unused parts of the animals and the cleansing of the clothes and body of him who burned them are set out.

That is the procedure as set out in Lev.xvi. Details from other Pentateuchal passages add to it; e.g. Ex.xxx.10 gives the information that the blood of the sin offering was to be placed on the golden altar of incense. Lev.xxiii.26-32 gives the commandment about assembling for the Day of Atonement, treating it as if it were (as on occasion it would be) a Sabbath. The day itself, during which all fasted, began in the evening and lasted until the following evening, i.e. from the evening of the 9th of Tishri to the evening of the 10th.

A further passage, Num.xxix.7-11, lists the special offerings for the day, in add. to the usual daily burnt offering, meal offering and drink offering. These add. sacrifices consisted of a young bull, a ram, seven male lambs of one year old, as burnt offerings; the appropriate meal offerings were three-tenths of an ephah for the bull, two-tenths for the ram and seven-tenths for the seven lambs; for a sin offering one male goat was prescribed apart from that set apart for the atonement sin offering.

The sources above-mentioned belong to that stratum of the Pentateuch known as the Priestly Source (P). There is no absolute agreement among scholars as to the dating of that source, owing to the probability recognized by most that it is composite. It is thought by some that Lev.xvi.6 and 11a are duplicate verses indicative of compositeness. No certain analysis of the chapter has been accepted by all and indeed the analysis worked out as long ago as 1889 by Benzinger<sup>1</sup> has been little improved upon. He classified the injunctions in three groups according to the likely sequence, starting with the simple facts and ending with the more elaborate; thus (leaving aside glosses):-

verses 1-4: 12-13: 34b deal with the manner of entering the Holy of Holies.

verses 29b-34a (like Lev.xxiii.26-32) prescribe the Festival and the cleansing, no more.

verses 5: 7-10: 14-28 present the more elaborate ceremonial.

According to Benzinger each group is later than the one preceding, and he notes that the third connects with Ex. xxx.10.

It is perhaps likely that the injunctions do not all belong to one period, but that they were added as

---

<sup>1</sup>Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, 1889, pp.65-88.

the celebration took on a more momentous significance in the Temple and in the legal aspect of the national life. More will be said on this later in connection with the origin of the Festival. Whatever may be the exact analysis of the chapter it is clear that it deals with three separate matters: (a) Aaron is warned not to enter the Holy of Holies rashly and is told what rites he must perform whenever he has to; (b) A solemn assembly is then described with reference to the tabernacle and the worshippers; (c) The institution of an annual fast.

The present writer takes the view that there were separate injunctions moulded together and that what some call glosses are merely the links. The analysis of the chapter is not of great account for this work, but the above outline serves as an introduction to the question of the Festival's origin. Suffice it to say that there is no reference to the Festival or its ritual in the older strata of the Pentateuch, J, E and D. All the biblical information belongs to the post-exilic P, and this fact accords well with the probability that there was no pre-exilic Festival resembling the Day of Atonement. That the sacrifices ordained in the Pentateuch, as described above, relate to the pre-exilic sacrificial system will be noted below.

Before turning to the matter of the origin of the Festival, something must be said about Azazel. Several attempts have been made to give the derivation of this intriguing word; it has been connected with the root 'zl (to go away), so that Azazel is the one who went away (into the wilderness). The Sam. description of Azazel as 'the flier' may presuppose such a derivation. Cheyne<sup>1</sup> suggested that the word was originally לְחַיִּי, meaning 'God strengthens' and was changed to לְחַיִּיִּי for reverential reasons. Judging from the casting of lots for the Lord and for Azazel, the latter was regarded as a personal being, rather than the traditional scapegoat. Oesterley and Robinson (op.cit., loc.cit.) suggest that Azazel was originally a god of the flocks in the wilderness and that the appearance of Azazel in the narrative is a vestige of an Azazel-ritual involving in ancient times an offering (probably for protection) to a god of the wilderness. Through the course of cents. of religious development that ritual would become degraded, so that Azazel in time became no more than a demon. That he was thought of as evil seems clear from the Book of Enoch (vi.7) which condemns Azazel as having taught unrighteousness on earth.

H.Wheeler Robinson wrote<sup>2</sup>:

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Oesterley & Robinson: Hebrew Religion: Its Origin & Development, pp.113-14.

<sup>2</sup> Religious Ideas of the Old Testament, p.146,

Those who appeal to the case of the scape-goat, sent away for Azazel into the wilderness . . . . ., overlook the fact that this was not a sacrifice at all; the companion goat that was retained formed the sacrifice, whilst it is the non-sacrificial goat that bears away the iniquities of Israel into a solitary land.

There is considerable uncertainty about both suggestions and the matter of the origin of the name must remain problematical. It is interesting to observe that the Samaritans in the Atonement Festival have extremely little to say of Azazel; indeed they add nothing to what is in the Pentateuch, although they have an angelology and demonology of their own, albeit undeveloped.

(b) The Origin of the Day of Atonement.

Unlike the other great Festivals, Tabernacles and Passover, no historical origin can be found for the Day of Atonement, unless it be an indirect one. As early as Proto-Zechariah (vii.1-5) there were days of fasting appointed, commemorating national calamities of which some record exists, but no regular fast apart from those known to him.

One feels that he would have certainly made some mention of it in a context condemning outward forms of religion, a condemnation supported by the indifference of the old prophets to such forms. In Ezra's time, a cent.

later, no fast on the tenth of the seventh month was known; there was one on the 24th (Neh.ix.1), but it scarcely resembled that prescribed for in Lev.xvi. It is in Ezekiel that one finds the first probable reference to what might have been a day of atonement in embryo or even the Day of Atonement itself. Ezek.xlv.18-20 (LXX) refers to the first day of the seventh month, and xlv.25 (MT) refers to the 15th day of that month and the seven succeeding days to a cleansing of the sanctuary by means of offerings, constituting atonement for the Temple. According to the latter passage the same provisions are made as for Passover (verses 21-24). This chapter belongs to that section of the Book of Ezekiel (xl-xlviii) most questioned by scholars. Many have taken the section to belong to a period after the Exile, when the final order and programme for the new, ecclesiastical establishment had not yet taken place. The arguments for the priority of the section over P cannot be entered into here, and it is sufficient to observe that many scholars place P later; thus Ezek.xlv.18-20 & 25 belong to a time when the organization of the worship and sacrifice of the Second Temple had not reached finality. Possibly, then, we have in the passages concerned a reference to what later became the Day of Atonement. As far as the MT is concerned only the second passage (ibid.25) was received into the legislation

of the Pentateuch, but the date for the Day of Atonement became the tenth of the seventh month. Ezekiel's first prescription, referring to a cleansing of the sanctuary on the first of the seventh month (so LXX), came to refer to New Year's Day. The rites laid down by the prophet were simpler than those laid down in the later Lev.xvi and undoubtedly there was a long period of ceremonial evolution between the two. At least a generation must have passed.

It is strange that Neh.viii-x, which describes the seventh month and notes the events of that month, has no reference to the annual fast of the tenth day, unless the formal institution of the Day of Atonement took place some time after Nehemiah.

The above discussion does not involve the question of the ultimate origin of the idea of the Day of Atonement. If that discussion, brief though it is, is right in attributing the Festival's origin as a sacrificial day and a fast to Ezek.xlv, the earliest passage referring to anything like the Day of Atonement, then we must think in terms of the post-exilic period for the origin of the Festival. The Day of Atonement is usually thought of as the only post-exilic major Festival and that assumption appears to be true.

After the Exile and the Return one reads much of

sacrifice and ritual cleansing. The legalizing process of Judaism was under way. The Exile had brought a new type of study of the Law and new reflection upon the relationship between God and Israel. Something of that study and reflection finds expression in the Talmud, which itself seeks to expand the legalistic processes contained in the Mishnah. Reference will be made below to amplifications to the Day of Atonement ritual found in the Mishnah and Talmud; here the concern is with the change in the life and outlook of Israel wrought by the destruction of the national life during the Exile. Having so little knowledge of the pre-exilic cult, we have to be wary of dogmatic assumptions in this connection. What may be said here is that the post-exilic Israel differed from the pre-exilic, as far as the biblical records show, in that the former adopted a different attitude to their relationship to God. Having had time, as it were, to reflect much on the history of Israel leading up to the Exile and on what the prophets had said, studious men came to the realization that the whole community was involved in the cause of the Exile, namely the faithlessness and apostasy of the people. The prophets, now re-read, had warned of these things and their warnings had gone unheeded. Alliances had been made with godless nations instead of with the God of their fathers, and the

result was a violation of the covenant between God and his people. The sacrificial system (having been under Babylonian influence?) had now to be remoulded and geared to the needs of the whole community. Atonement for sin, long achieved by the sacrificial system, now took on a community aspect. Individual and family acts of atonement were replaced by a community act, and a solemn assembly for that purpose had to take place. The form that it took depended of course on the religious system of the post-exilic day, and that system was legalistic. Thus a system of sacrifices that would be effective and efficacious had to be found. In most religions conservatism makes it necessary that changes and re-emphases should develop out of existing institutions. So it was that the old sacrificial system was remodelled and expanded to meet the needs of the new age. It was Israel that had sinned against God, not some king or ruling group. It was therefore Israel for which atonement had to be made. The broken relationship with God could be restored only if the whole people was pure. The old sacrifices were endowed with a new significance. That the Israelite saw a clear connection between propitiation for the sin and the altar rite seems clear from the experience of Isaiah (vi). So Micah's reference (vi.7) to rivers of oil and thousands of rams and the offering of the first-

born indicates that the people whom he addressed believed that these things had efficacy, that these ritualistic necessities brought them atonement for their sins. If in the times of the great prophets Israel held to this conviction of sacrificial efficacy how much more did the post-exilic nation believe that it was precisely in that respect that the nation had failed God. They had carried on the cult of their forefathers, believing that it pleased God, but it was a temple cult, not a national one. The ordinary people were little involved in or concerned with the sacrifices of Jerusalem. The weakening effect of the Exile and dispersion of the people meant that if Judaism were to survive and the people remain covenanted with God, the people must be bonded together as a unit. Thus the Day of Atonement had to be on a national scale, had to be a solemn assembly at which the whole people would be represented. The offerings of the people had to take their place on the altar of God along with the offerings of the Temple staff.

That it was an annual event rather than a weekly or monthly one was probably due either to the fact of the injunctions in Ezek. xlv, or to the fact that the other national festivals were from ancient times annual events. If the Day of Atonement had developed into a weekly or monthly event, perhaps the actual form of the sacrificial

ritual would have been different; indeed it is not unlikely that it would have been closely related to the pre-exilic daily offerings system. As it was, the offerings for atonement took on a different character. Atonement for sins against God is not unlike the idea of compensation for injury. In the latter connection asham (guilt offering) and hattath (sin offering), both of pre-exilic origin, were made applicable, for the first time, it seems, to animal victims slain on the altar. Only in exilic and post-exilic literature is this principle in evidence, another sign that the Day of Atonement as such was of post-exilic origin.

The matter of sacrificial offering has little or no bearing on the form of the modern Jewish (Rabbanite or Qaraite) and Sam. services for the Festival. In these prayer, as will be noted in the comparison with the former, took the place of sacrifice.

(c) The Place of the Festival in the Religious Calendar.

The implication of Lev.xxv.9 and Ezek.xl.1 is that in the earliest, post-exilic period the New Year began on the tenth of the seventh month. It is possible that in Exek.xlv we have some confusion arising out of the change in calendar adopted by the Jews from the Babylonians during the Exile. Reference has been made to the

first passage in Ezek.xlv as having a variant LXX reading. The LXX reading must refer to the more recently adopted civil year, the MT to the older, ecclesiastical year, for the adoption of the Babylonian year meant that New Year's Day began on the first of the seventh month, instead of on the first of the first month. To this day the Jews retain the names of the Babylonian year, so that the Jewish Day of Atonement falls always on the tenth of Tishri. The confusion that might have ensued, following the change-over in calendar, simply became resolved into an adoption of the new for the civil year and retention of the old for the religious. Throughout the Diaspora the old has remained and today the Festival is celebrated throughout the world of Jewry on the tenth of the seventh month. Before leaving this subject, however, it must be observed that the fixing of the New Year (the first day of the seventh month in the ecclesiastical calendar) determines the dates of the other festivals. To ensure the effectiveness of the ecclesiastical calendar (which remained no matter what political regime or what calendar was in force) it used to be reckoned twice yearly according to the new moons of Nisan and Tishri. On a different basis the Samaritans too have a bi-annual calculation; in their case it is the conjunction of moon and sun by monthly calculation that determines the actual dates.

They pay particular attention to the summer and winter solstices; their High Priest promulgates the bi-annual reckoning sixty days before the beginning of Nisan and again sixty days before the first of Tishri. As a result of this system the Sam. New Year began somewhat earlier than that of the Jews and thus there is a difference between their two reckonings in all the festivals and fasts. According to the literature of the two sects respectively, the calculation of the calendar was no simple matter. The mystical character of the Jewish lay in the secret of declaring the new moon; this (and the declaring of the intercalary months) was one of the privileges of the Sanhedrin, a privilege enjoyed thereafter by the Patriarch, until a fixed calendar came into being through political circumstances. In the case of the Sam., God gave to Adam the secret of calculating the new moon and the secret was handed down from generation to generation, finally from Moses to Phinehas who was the first to calculate the Sam. calendar according to the meridian of the sacred mountain, Mount Gerizim. The Samaritans of course adopt the Muslim year for their secular business, but true to their ancient tradition the calendrical system of Phinehas holds to this day, and the Zimmūth (conjunction) determines the date of all their festivals.

Between the New Year and the Day of Atonement there are ten days, and in both Jewish and Sam. calendars these ten days are the Ten Days of Penitence, during which preparation is made for the tenth of the month. For the days of Selihōth both have special services; the Sam. services are contained in C.pp.468-82.

(d) Mishnaic and Talmudic Ceremonies and Amplifications.

In Mishnah Yoma several details of ceremonial are found which have no biblical basis. The most interesting of these add. details is (Yoma vii.1) that the High Priest, prior to removing his linen garments for the first time, read to the assembled people portions from the Law pertaining to the Day of Atonement. This is interesting because in the Sam. Service a QATAF for Atonement is read before the ordinary Pentateuchal readings are begun. That QATAF, the text of which is in APP.IV, covers the whole Pentateuch in including all references to Atonement and the celebration of the Day of Atonement.

A second, also important, amplification is that whenever the High Priest pronounced the divine name YHWH the congregation prostrated themselves and said

Blessed be the name of the glory of his kingdom  
for ever and ever,

a frequent refrain in the modern Jewish order for the Service.

Fuller detail is worked out in the Mishnah (Yoma i. 1-7) for the purification of the High Priest for the week preceding Yom Ha-Kippur. We learn (op.cit.vii.4) that there was great fear on the part of the multitude lest through pollution the High Priest, while in the inner sanctuary, should suffer danger; so great was that fear that when the officiation was over his friends and kin congratulated him and escorted him home for an evening celebration in his house. According to Mishnah Ta'anith iv.8 there was great rejoicing, young people indulging in dancing in the vineyards.

Evidence that as time went on the post-exilic community in Jerusalem the Jews strove hard to carry through a perfect celebration of the Festival is provided by other passages in Yoma, describing the actual washing of the High Priest. This goes hand in hand with the equal minuteness of care in the same period (until 70 A.D.) in avoiding anything that would cause stain or blemish. The Day of Atonement came to be recognized as bringing atonement for all sins committed during the year; the less sins there were, the more chance there was that the Festival would bring about full atonement.

As far as the Sam. Day of Atonement is concerned, these are matters of little consequence, but it must be noted that there are scores of passages in the Liturgy

where purity and innocence (i.e. freedom from blemish) are mentioned as prerequisites of repentance, so much so that one must conclude that although the Samaritans had none of the above-mentioned additions and amplifications they were no less punctilious in avoiding impurity and insincerity. Indeed it will be shown in a dissertation shortly to be presented in the University of Leeds by Dorreya Muhammad Abdel-Al (see Bibliography) that the Samaritans 'out-judaize Judaism' in respect of laws of purity and regulations for cleanliness. After 70 A.D., when sacrifices were no longer possible in the central sanctuary of the Jews in Jerusalem, acts of a personal kind, and not sacrifices in the traditional sense, had to become the basis for atonement. As we shall see in considering the points of similarity between the Sam., Jewish Rabbanite and Qaraite, and Muslim forms of worship, purity of soul, not prescribed sacrifices, determined whether the Great Fast (as all these denominations called it) was to be efficacious.

Numerous amplifications of another kind came into being in post-mishnaic times. In Rabbinic Judaism (according to the article on 'the Day of Atonement' in the Jewish Encyclopedia, quoting Maimonides, Shulhan Arukh, Talmud Rosh Ha-Shanah) prayerful humiliation (cf. also the Sam. emphasis) was more potent during Yom

Ha-Kippur than at any ordinary time. The custom was to rise early in the morning on New Year's Day or a few days before and to take part in the prayers and services. Before the usual morning service special litanies and petitions were performed. These petitions were specially entitled Selihōth, as in the Sam. liturgies, and were interwoven on the actual Festival. New Year's Day is yōm ha-dīn (the Day of Judgment) when all creatures pass before the Almighty for examination. According to the Targum on Job i.6 the day of the heavenly session was the first of the year; then the divine Judge received the report of Satan, the heavenly prosecutor, while the other angels acted for the defence of the accused. In heaven there is a book containing a record of all men's actions; it is the Book of Remembrance. According to the Talmud (op.cit.16b) three books are opened on the first of the year, one for the very wicked, one for the very pious and one for those in between. The first and second groups are judged there and then, but the last group do not receive judgment until the Day of Atonement. According to Maimonides (Yad: Teshubhah, iii.3) a man's judgment depends on whether his merits outweigh his demerits. The worthy are entered in the Book of Life; even today, on the eve of New Year, Jews have a greeting, "May you be inscribed (in the Book of Life) for a happy

year". This custom well illustrates the view that atonement efficacy lasted only until the next Day of Atonement, when the sins of a year were judged.

It will be observed that there is a direct connection between the New Year and the Day of Atonement; this bond receives expression also in the Sam. liturgies for the New Year (C.pp.443-67). In late Judaism features originally peculiar to the New Year were transferred to the Day of Atonement. This happens also in the case of the Sam. worship and is probably due to the fact that between the two come the Ten Days of Penitence. On New Year's Day, since medieval times at least, men began thinking about the Day of Atonement with the result that the relief (as the Samaritans so often express it) of that day is already prepared for ten days before.

The efficacy of Yom Ha-Kippur will be considered below when considering the Jewish and Sam. attitude to it.

---

C. THE SAMARITAN DAY OF ATONEMENT SERVICE.

Proper attention cannot be paid to the Sam. Day of Atonement Service (hereinafter 'the Service') until the problem is settled whether there is in fact one service or two. C.'s text (C.pp.488-715) presents a continuous order of service without a single break. Dr.Bowman, during a visit to Israel in July, 1957, asked the Samaritans in Jaffa about this problem. They claimed that there is one service only. Certainly the structure of the Service is such that it cannot be regarded as anything but one service. However, in the MSS not available to C., but available to the present editor, it is clear that the Service has two parts (not two services or orders), and they suggest that there was a break of some sort between the parts. In order to indicate the twofold nature of the Service, the following points are tabulated:-

(i) A.2 f.54 concludes the Eve part of the Service with a note that a MALĪFŪṬ is said in the Morning part, then 'they begin the prayers as follows'; f.54b is blank and f.55 begins the Morning order. Here is the text for the beginning of f.55:-

בשם יהוה רחמנה:

צלוח יום הכפֹּור צפרה: שריו הצלות יימר الامام او  
 وادمن مشايخ الجماعة ملىفوس من ميمر ...

(ii) A.3 f.27 is short, ends with a note to the effect that a MALĪFŪṬ is said after the Three Proclamations. The next half-folio begins with the prayers stated clearly as in A.2 to be for the Morning.

(iii) L.18 (C.'s main MS) ends with the MALĪFŪṬ referred to above after the Three Proclamations and contains no text for what we term the Morning part of the Service. C. did not print or refer to an Arabic rubric at the very end of the MS:-

وبعدہ يقول شيخ الصلاة بالملوحه كان ياتي ذكره اول الانج

The reason for stopping at the Three Proclamations is then given by the scribe, to the effect that because of the abundance of Hymns written by him he contented himself with giving only the bare collection preceding, as he put it. To the present editor it seems likely that the Samaritans of the time of the MSS regarded the Service as having two parts. No information is given in the MSS as to whether they slept between the parts or continued with the Service, but the former appears to be likely.

(iv) Towards the end of the Eve part the regular cycle of Readings is interrupted to include typically end-of-Service pieces; likewise the Morning part does not continue the Readings immediately, but contains several liturgical compositions and, what is more, Gen.i. is repeated! It is inconceivable that these things should happen if

all the material in a Day of Atonement MS represented one unbroken service.

(v) There are signs that the Morning part constituted the more important part of the Service and, in this connection, it is in keeping that it should take up the Readings (after the repeat of Gen.i) at the beginning of the most important Book of the Law for this Service - Leviticus.

There are other, smaller, points, such as the crowding of the end of the Eve part in L.17 referred to in p.xix above, but sufficient has been said. Having established that the Samaritans, certainly at times, viewed their Service as divisible in that way, the translator judged it fitting that he should set out the translation of the Service in two parts, for Eve and Morning, with textual and explanatory notes appended to each.

---

(a) Structure of the Service and its relationship to the Sabbath Morning Order.

C. did not present orders for the Festival Liturgy, but only for the Sabbath Services contained in the Defter MSS. Once, after much searching, the structure of the Day of Atonement Service had been determined, its relationship to some other, basic Service was sought. After exam-

ining the structure of the other Festival services and the Weekday and Sabbath services, it became quite clear that the Service of our study was related only to the Sabbath Morning order. Similarities of order and content with other orders proved to be slight; with the Sabbath Morning order it was certainly related to the extent of being developed from it. It cannot be proved as yet whether the Service grew directly out of the Sabbath Morning Service, but this is likely in view of the fact that throughout the Service there are many references to the Day of Atonement having the character of the Sabbath and possessing also something of the significance of the Sabbath.

The Sabbath Morning order is mostly based on the collects of the Defter, apart of course from the Readings. These collects seem to have been selected in much the same way as an Anglican liturgist might gather collects and other old prayers from a book of prayer or common order. The prayers chosen would refer to and have bearing on the Sabbath. The Readings for the week (and the Pentateuch was read in whole during the week in cento form) would be repeated with inserted references to the Sabbath. Similarly, in the Festival liturgies those passages relating to the particular Festival would be inserted in the Service order.

It is not proposed here to deal with the question of the origin of the Sabbath Morning Service, except where a possible origin and development have bearing on the Service studied in this chapter. Prior to the 4th cent. when much reorganization of the worship took place, worship probably consisted of the reading of small sections of the Law (the Qazīm), with accompanied exclamations of praise. The preparatory Service for the Eve of the Sabbath is still of that kind. Dr. Bowman has often drawn attention to Neh.viii.8 where, we read, Ezra read the Law to the people mephōrash, and he raises the question whether the term meant that the Law was divided into small parashōth (i.e. pethūhōth), for indeed the qazīm of the modern Sam. Eve of Sabbath Service agree remarkably with the corresponding pethūhōth of the MT. He asks (in conversation) whether the Sam. services sprang from the Tabernacle Readings from the Law in Ezra's time, and adds that the frequent agreement between pethūhōth and qazīm points to an arrangement of the text of the Law for synagogal reading prior to the Sam. Schism.

In view of the striking similarity of order between the Service herein studied and the Sabbath Morning, the following full outline and subsequent synopsis of the latter are given immediately below.

Order of Sabbath Morning Service.

Opening Defter collects (C.pp.3-4)

Scripture - Gen.i.

Durran (C.p.43)

'Amram Darah (C.p.31)

Genesis QATAF

Durran (C.p.45)

'Amram Darah (C.p.27 bottom)

YISHTABBAH

Exodus QATAF

Durran (C.p.45, first paragraph)

'Amram Darah (C.p.28 bottom)

YISHTABBAH

Leviticus QATAF

Durran (C.p.45, 2nd paragraph)

'Amram Darah (C.p.30)

YISHTABBAH

Numbers QATAF (A)

Prayer by Phinehas (C.p.81)

YISHTABBAH

Numbers QATAF (B)

Durran (C.p.46, 2nd paragraph)

'Amram Darah (C.p.29 bottom)

YISHTABBAH (C.p.475 bottom)

Deuteronomy QATAF

Defter piece (C.p.4)

Joshua's Prayer (C.p.4)

QATAFs (C.p.7 bottom)

Song of Moses (Ex.xv)

"We exalt the Scripture" (C.p.49)

Prayer of the Angels (C.p.9)  
 Qaddīshah (C.p.11)  
 "Laud, magnify" (C.p.288)  
 Durran for Sabbath (C.p.44)  
 Prayer by Eleazar (C.p.35)  
 YISHTABBAḤ  
 Prayer of Moses (C.p.48)  
QATAF of the Righteous  
 Durran (C.p.39)  
 Marqah (C.p.12)  
 "Thou art He who created" (C.p.48)  
 The Prostrations (C.p.66)  
 The Tadkīr (C.pp.276, 466, 478)  
 Concluding Prayers (C.pp.83 ff.)

Synopsis of Above Order

1. Defter collects.
2. Readings, with liturgical pieces, from the Law.
3. Defter pieces.
4. QATAF (always said at major services) with liturgical pieces.
5. Prostrations.
6. Tadkīr
7. Concluding Defter Prayers.

The significant feature of this order is section 2, i.e. the Readings, followed by liturgical pieces in a certain order. All the Sabbath Morning Service contents, apart from the Readings, are from the Defter, discounting the

YISHTABBAH after Numbers (B) - this literary type is usually undated anyway - the "Laud, Magnify" and the Tadkīr, which are probably of the Defter period.

Turning to the Day of Atonement Service it is at once obvious that the same basic structure is used. Here is the basic form for that Service; the development of it will be considered in stages below.

- I. Opening collects and Atonement QATAF.
- II. Readings with their liturgical units - Part 1.
- III. Defter collects and Antiphons.
- IV. Last Reading from Exodus.
- V. Congregational QATAF for Atonement.
- VI. First Reading from Leviticus.
- VII. Other QATAFs, Defter collects, etc.
- VIII. Prostrations and MARĀN.
- IX. MANĀT for Day of Atonement.  
(Morning part)
- X. Opening MALĪFŪT, Defter collects.
- XI. Readings with their liturgical units - Part 2.
- XII. (after 2nd last Reading from Deuteronomy) Defter collects, Removal of Scrolls, Antiphons, etc.
- XIII. Congregational QATAF.
- XIV. Last Reading from Deuteronomy, ff. by Defter collects, Antiphons and Readings.
- XV. Closing of Scrolls.

- XVI. The Prostrations.  
 XVII. The Tadkīr.  
 XVIII. Blessing on Moses.

Looking at the Service from another point of view, we produce the following:-

EVE

Introductory collects & Atonement QATAF.  
5 Gen. Readings with liturgical unit for each, plus 14th cent. Hymns associated with 4 of the Readings.  
5 Ex. Readings with liturgical unit for each, with no special add. compositions.  
1 Lev. Reading after Congregational QATAF and collects with Antiphons.  
Close of Eve part of Service, with QATAFs, Prostrations, special 18th cent. Hymns, the MANĀT and the Three Proclamations.

MORNING

Introductory 14th cent. MALĪFŪT, Defter collects and 4th cent. Hymn.  
4 Lev. Readings, with liturgical unit for each, ff. by 14th cent. EQR'Ūs & SHABHŪ'As.  
4 Num. Readings with liturgical unit for each, ff. by 14th-18th cent. EQR'Ūs & SHABHŪ'As & MIDRĀSHes.  
2 Deut. Readings with late KĪMĒs, Defter collects: the Removal of the Scrolls: Antiphons and special late Hymns.  
Close of Morning part of Service as for EVE part: Congregational QATAF and last Deut. Reading: Defter collects: Closing of Scrolls: Prostrations, Tadkīr, Blessing on Moses.

In this latter arrangement reference is made to 14th-18th cent. compositions, no doubt an expansion of a simpler form of Service. The similarity between the opening and closing of both parts of the Service and the repeating in the Morning part's opening of Defter pieces already used in the opening of the Eve part, show that it is intended that the Service should contain two parts, each, in a way, independent, but so arranged that there could never be a separation of the parts so that two distinct services would result.

Reference has been made in the above arrangements to 'liturgical units'. By this is meant that group of liturgical pieces which normally follow each Reading. The group's content is as follows:-

(after the Reading)	<u>source</u>
Durran	Defter
Marqah	Defter
YISHTABBAḤ	pre-14th cent.
Rabh Elah	unknown
KI BESHEM	unknown
YITHRABBĒ	Defter
MALĪFŪṬ	14th-18th cents.

A glance at the detailed orders of the Service in APP.I will reveal the fact that there are many variations in the Liturgical Unit, but the above may be termed the standard type of the 14th cent. ff. up till the present time.

Literary types are discussed in Intro.E; here it is sufficient to note their dates (according to century) for the purpose of discovering, where possible, the development of the Service. We do it in the following stages:-

STAGE I - Pre-4th cent. A.D.

If we remove all 4th cent. and post-4th cent. material from the Service, we are left with little. The sum total remaining would be (presumably)

The Readings  
 The QATAFs  
 Opening & Closing of Scrolls  
 Prostrations ?  
 Tadkīr ?  
 Blessing on Moses ?

It is likely that the first three in the list would be found in pre-Defter times; as for the last three, we have no information. The picture we draw from Neh.viii. 6 is that worship then consisted of

Blessing of the Lord  
 Readings from Scripture  
 Prostrations.

Up till about 335-30 B.C. when Alexander gave permission for a temple to be built on Mount Gerizim, the Sam. worship must have been of some such simple type in a building of the early synagogue type. It is feasible to suggest that some primitive form of liturgy developed as

the earliest Sam. community settled down to its distinctive form of life and worship in the new temple. The Pentateuch would have been sufficient and would have been read probably in daily parashōth, giving a complete cycle in the week as in the early Jewish worship. Forms of ascription of praise (predecessor of the YISHTABBAḤ?) may have followed the Readings and possibly responses (antiphonal later) after the fashion of the Temple Psalms.

No exact information has been handed down, but by the 4th cent. A.D. a developed and well planned form of worship had come into being. Perhaps this was caused by the advent of Christianity in Palestine, drawing Sam. attention even more to themselves than before, when only the Jews represented a religious challenge to them.

It is noteworthy that the Liturgical Unit is largely composed of pieces having to do with the Reading of the Law, particularly the YISHTABBAḤ and MALĪFŪṬ. KĪ BESHĒM is based on Deut.xxxii.3 and gives the authority for reading Scripture. The MALĪFŪṬ appears to be a post-4th cent. form and in its regularity of purpose and occurrence properly belongs to the 14th cent. expansion.

It must be concluded, for want of further information, that the pre-4th cent. worship was based almost wholly on the Readings and expressions of praise.

STAGE II - 4th cent. A.D.

A dissertation has already been presented on the Defter worship (see Brown) and it will suffice here to place the 4th cent. expansion and revival in the context of the development of the Day of Atonement Service.

The Liturgical Unit contains pieces from the Defter and in its present form is mostly of the 4th cent. The place of the Durran and Marqah compositions will be discussed in the next chapter; it is not known that these compositions and other Defter pieces were inserted in a new liturgical service in the 4th cent. It may have happened at any time, theoretically, between the 4th and 14th cents., for there is no text of the Liturgy or even of the Defter dated before the 13th/14th cent. For convenience we may think of the second stage as being the Defter stage, when various new literary types came into being (unless modelled on older forms lost to us) and special compositions made for particular Sabbaths and for the festivals. Prayers for rain and other particular petitions were appended to the Defter, but there is no evidence as to their date. As a result of the expansion of the earliest services and their content, the Penta-teuchal Readings may have been affected. One of the unique features of the Sam. Liturgy is the QATAF, to be

discussed in Intro.D; this may have been the outcome of necessary abbreviation of the Readings. To read the whole Law in a one-day service seems impossible; yet the modern Samaritans claim to do just this! Dr. Bowman, on his recent visit to Jaffa, heard them say that the whole Law was read on the Day of Atonement. The present writer cannot accept this at face value, because he believes it to be physically impossible. What did happen almost certainly is that by the QATAF method the Samaritans were able to cover the whole Law and still have time for their new prayers and expressions of worship.

Thus the special feature of the 4th cent. is the introduction of the QATAF, as a result of introducing prayers and praises.

### STAGE III - The 14th cent.

In endeavouring to estimate the probable development of the Service, one is faced with the fact that there is no way of knowing if older material was left out to make way for new. The only hope is that older MSS have survived and will be discovered somewhere. That some leaving out of older material took place is demonstrable from the MSS themselves, where on occasion we are informed in a scribal note that 'in olden times

they used to say ....' Perhaps, on the other hand, this scribal practice provides a clue that when they did omit older compositions the Samaritans always, out of respect, noted the practice.

Between the 4th and 14th cents. little found its way into the Service that has remained till the present day. If we are to judge from the 18th cent. MSS available, only the following was added:-

Ḥasan aṣ-Ṣūrī's Elah Rabh (C.p.70), which earned a place in the Defter (14th cent. edition?) and is found in the 13th/14th cent. V.3. Thus the 10th-13th cents. did not provide much material that has survived till modern times. This is true not only of the Service under discussion, but also of all the other services.

It is with the 14th cent. that we find substantial enlargements. Working through the Service we perceive at what points the new compositions were added and we discover that there was method in the practice. APP.I should be consulted in order to follow the order.

#### Section I (Preliminary)

possibly the "May you celebrate again" after the Atonement QATAF belongs to the 14th cent. two MALĪFŪṬs of an introductory type.

#### Section II (1st Reading)

two undated MALĪFŪṬs

Section III (2nd Reading)

one Hymn containing the Creed and mentioning the Covenant; generally suited to the occasion.  
one undated MALĪFŪṬ.

Section IV (3rd Reading)

the 'Hymnal' (as in L.18) comes here; it is likely that at least one, two, or three of these 14th cent. Hymns was said here.  
two undated MALĪFŪṬs  
two Hymns suited to the occasion.

Section V (4th Reading)

two Hymns suited to the occasion  
two undated MALĪFŪṬs

Section VI (5th Reading)

one Hymn suited to the occasion  
one undated MALĪFŪṬ  
one 14th cent. MALĪFŪṬ.

Section VII (6th Reading)

two undated MALĪFŪṬs

Section VIII (7th Reading)

one undated Hymn on Ex.xx.

Section IX (8th Reading)

A.3 mentions one Hymn  
one undated MALĪFŪṬ.

Section X (9th Reading)

A.3 mentions one Hymn  
one undated MALĪFŪṬ  
one 14th cent. MALĪFŪṬ.

Section XI (10th Reading) - Lev. approaching.  
expansion of Defter pieces

one SHABBEHŪ.

Section XII (Congregational QATAF)

expansion of Defter pieces.

Section XIII (11th Reading)- Lev. begins.

(expansion only in 15th-19th cents.)

Section XIV (Conclusion of Eve part)

regular QATAFs, if not 4th cent.

(expansion only in 15th-18th cents.)

Section XV (Preliminary - Morning part)

one 14th cent. MALĪFŪṬ

repetition of Defter collects from Eve part.

Section XVI (Introductory Reading)

Gen.i repeated from Eve part.

one YISHTABBAḤ

one 14th cent. MALĪFŪṬ.

Section XVII (12th Reading)

one 14th cent. Hymn

one 14th cent. MALĪFŪṬ.

Section XVIII (13th Reading)

one 14th cent. MARĀN & EQR'Ū

one ~~undated~~ MALĪFŪṬ

two 14th cent. SHABHŪAs

Section XIX (14th Reading)

one undated MALĪFŪṬ.

Section XX (15th Reading)

one 14th cent. Hymn

one 14th cent. EQR'Ū

one 14th cent. SHABHŪ'A

Section XXI (16th Reading)

three 14th cent. Hymns  
 one 14th cent. EQR'Ū  
 one undated MALĪFŪT.

Section XXII (17th Reading)

one 14th cent. Defter piece  
 one 14th cent. special Hymn (dropped in  
 latest MSS)  
 one 14th cent. EQR'Ū.

Section XXIII (18th Reading)

two undated MALĪFŪTs.

Section XXIV (19th Reading) - end of Lev.

two undated MALĪFŪTs.

Section XXV (20th Reading)

(only 16th-19th cent. adds.)

Section XXVI (21st Reading) - Deut.xxxi-xxxii

approaching

two 14th cent. KĪMĒs  
 one KĪMĒ-type piece.

Section XXVII (22nd Reading) - Conclusion of Service

(Congregational QATAF may be later than the  
 Atonement QATAF)

one 14th cent. Defter piece.

.....

It is possible, if not probable, that the undated MALĪFŪTs belong to the 14th cent. There is no record of this literary type having been composed by a pre-14th cent. author. Other undated literary types are noted

in STAGE IV below.

The most significant element in the expansion process is the introduction of several literary types, particularly Hymns, into the Liturgical Unit, so as to disturb its order. One illustration will suffice. In Section XXII, set out now to illustrate the process, we have a clear example:-

<u>Other adds.</u>	<u>Liturgical Unit</u>	<u>14th cent.adds.</u>
	Reading	
YITHHALLAL		Defter collect
YITHHALLAL		Special Hymn
Two Hymns	Durrān Marqah YISHTABBAḤ Rabḥ Elah KĪ BESHĒM YITHRABBE	
Three MALĪFŪṬs		

It is certain that the Liturgical Unit has been left untouched in most sections, but in some MSS many fs. containing late compositions may intervene, so that the Liturgical Unit is hard to find. Yet, throughout all the expansion of the 14th cent. and later, the Unit has remained more or less complete. Even the introduct-

ion of Defter pieces, 4th-14th cents., has not destroyed the essentially primitive liturgy, beginning with the Reading, accompanied by suitable expressions of praise and petitions for forgiveness. The form of the Liturgical Unit seems to have been achieved finally in the 14th cent. with the add. of one or more MALĪFŪṬs having direct reference to the Reading at the head of the Unit.

The 14th cent. expansion of the Service may be tabulated thus:-

- EVE            A. MALĪFŪṬs (probably), one or two to each Reading.  
                   Hymns, usually with special reference to Atonement and probably written exclusively for the Service, since almost all are found only here.  
                   N.B. Sections I-X, i.e. Gen.-Ex., received only these forms.
- B. Considerable extension of Defter pieces. Introduction of QATAFs used in Sabbath Morning order.  
                   N.B. Sections XI-XIV, i.e. referring to Lev., received only these forms.
- MORNING        C. MALĪFŪṬs & Hymns for the occasion.  
                   New types appear - MARĀN, EQR'Ū & SHABHŪ'A in Lev. Section.  
                   N.B. Sections XV-XXIV, i.e. Lev. Readings, received only these new types.

D. (Considerable 15th-19th cent. expansion).  
Introduction of the KĪMĒ.

N.B. Sections XXV-XXVII, i.e. Deut.  
Readings, received only this form, along  
with a few add. Defter pieces whose funct-  
ion it is impossible to discover.

In the next stage it will appear that considerable expansion took place at precisely those parts in the order where the 14th cent. expansion occurred, as if implying that in the latest stage the liturgists felt unable or unwilling to 'tamper with' the work of their esteemed and learned ancestors.

#### STAGE IV - After the 14th cent.

Most of the post-14th cent. expansion took place in the 18th cent., but several prominent 15th, 16th, 17th and 19th cent. liturgists contributed fine compositions. For convenience we may regard this stage as an 18th cent. one, treating the 19th cent. pieces as largely due to pious scribes who considered the works of their uncles, teachers or fathers as worthy of inclusion. This was the point of view adopted by the present writer when describing the latest MSS.

#### Section I (Preliminary to Eve part)

No adds. made.

Section II (1st Reading)

no adds. made.

Section III (2nd Reading)

no adds. made.

Section IV (3rd Reading)

Hymns in 'Hymnal' add. to 14th cent. Hymns -  
see APP.V for complete Table.

Section V (4th Reading)

one undated YISHTABBAH which may be earlier.  
two 16th cent. MALĪFŪTs.

Section VI (5th Reading)

no adds. made.

Section VII (6th Reading)

no adds. made.

Section VIII (7th Reading)

one undated Hymn on Ex.xx.

Section IX (8th Reading)

one 16th cent. MALĪFŪT.

Section X (9th Reading)

no adds. made.

Section XI (10th Reading) - Lev. approaching.

two 16th cent. (?) KĪMĒs.

the 16th cent. (?) composition in C.p.243)

five Antiphons undated (modelled on Defter  
Antiphon in C.p.58?).

Section XII (Congregational QATAF)

two undated Antiphons as above.

Section XIII (11th Reading) - Lev.begins.

one Marqah-style 15th cent. verse.

one 15th cent. YISHTABBAḤ  
 one 17th cent. YISHTABBAḤ  
 three 18th cent. YISHTABBAḤs  
 one (possibly two) 19th cent. YISHTABBAḤs.

Section XIV (Conclusion of Eve part)

15th cent. introduction to QATAFs occurring  
 in Sabbath Morning order.  
 one 18th cent. DEKHÖR  
 two 18th cent. MARĀNs.  
 one undated MANĀT.

Section XV (Preliminary to Morning part)

no adds. made.

Section XVI (Introductory Reading)

one 16th cent. MALĪFŪT.

Section XVII (12th Reading)

one 18th cent. MALĪFŪT.

Section XVIII (13th Reading)

one 18th cent. MALĪFŪT.

Section XIX (14th Reading)

no adds. made.

Section XX (15th Reading)

two 16th cent. MALĪFŪTs.

Section XXI (16th Reading)

one 15th cent. EQR'Ū  
 one 15th cent. SHABHŪ'A  
 one 16th cent. SHABHŪ'A  
 four 18th cent. EQR'Ūs  
 three 18th cent. SHABHŪ'As  
 one 18th cent. Sabbath verse.

two 18th cent. Hymns  
 an undated YISHTABBAH  
 one 19th cent. YISHTABBAH.

Section XXII (17th Reading)

two 18th cent. Hymns  
 two 16th cent. MALIFŪTs  
 one 17th cent. MALIFŪT.

Section XXIII (18th Reading)

three 18th cent. MIDRĀSHes  
 one 19th cent. MIDRĀSH  
 one 19th cent. YISHTABBAH.

Section XXIV (19th Reading) - End of Lev.

no adds. made.

Section XXV (20th Reading)

one 16th cent. MALIFŪT  
 one 19th cent. MALIFŪT.

Section XXVI (21st Reading) - Deut.xxxi-xxxii  
 approaching.

two KĪMĒ-type verses of 18th cent.  
 one 16th cent. KĪMĒ concluding verse  
 three 18th cent. KĪMĒs  
 one 19th cent. KĪMĒ  
 one 18th cent. KĪMĒ concluding verse  
 one 16th cent. Hymn  
 one 16th cent. SHABBEHŪ  
 six undated MANĀTs  
 one 18th cent. SHABBEHŪ.

Section XXVII (22nd Reading) Conclusion of Service.

three undated Antiphons  
 one 18th cent. KĪMĒ

one 18th or 19th cent. Hymm (scribal add.)

---

Section XIII best serves to illustrate what must have been the process of expansion in the 18th-19th cents. There we have, in order of occurrence:-

one 15th cent. verse on the Defter model  
 (a 14th cent. practice)  
 one 15th cent. YISHTABBAH  
 one 17th cent. YISHTABBAH  
 three 18th cent. YISHTABBAHs  
 one or two 19th cent. YISHTABBAHs.

This practice of placing compositions in chronological order is typically Sam. A scrutiny of the Tables in APP. V and APP.VII will reveal that the scribes mostly set out their pieces chronologically, though at times an earlier piece is inserted - usually because of similarity of theme.

The EQR'Ūs and SHABHŪ'As are grouped after the 16th Reading (Num.i-viii) and the KĪMĒs after the 21st (Deut. xvi.18-xxxi.30). Around Lev. many pieces were composed. With the end of Ex. and the approach of Lev. (the Book for Atonement) the 14th cent. liturgists inserted add. Defter pieces; the 18th cent. liturgists seem to have added to the work of their predecessors by inserting two KĪMĒs and possibly the Antiphons. The appearance of the

Antiphon, already in the Defter, in expanded form in the 18th cent. (at least post-14th) no doubt indicates a new emphasis on the litany. This was due in all likelihood to the dwindling of the community in both quantity and knowledge; the Levitical priests and scribes expressed their deep concern by bringing the congregation more into the worship. Another suggestion may be made at this point, that the ritual, such as it was and is, for bringing in and taking out the Scrolls was elaborated by the introduction of several pieces said by the congregation, extolling the Scriptures. This has caused the present editor much difficulty in the identifying with any degree of certainty of the piece which begins אָנוּ כְּתוּבָה, which has a form in L.18 differing slightly from the text in C.p.56, but cf. C.pp.49 & 55 also for longer forms.

To summarize the post-14th cent. expansions of the Service we set out the following table arranged chronologically:-

15th cent.

EVE	1st Lev. Reading Conclusion	one YISHTABBAH an introduction to the regular QATAFs.
MORNING	16th Reading	one EQR'Ū one SHABHŪ'A

16th cent.

EVE	4th Reading 8th Reading	two MALĪFŪṬs one MALĪFŪṬ
-----	----------------------------	-----------------------------

	11th Reading	two KĪMĒs (?)
MORNING	Introductory Reading	one MALĪFŪṬ
	15th Reading	two MALĪFŪṬs
	16th Reading	one SHABHŪ'A
	17th Reading	two MALĪFŪṬs
	20th Reading	one MALĪFŪṬ
	21st Reading	one KĪMĒ verse one Hymn one SHABBEHŪ

17th cent.

EVE	11th Reading	one YISHTABBAḤ
MORNING	17th Reading	one MALĪFŪṬ

18th cent.

EVE	11th Reading	three YISHTABBAḤs
	Conclusion	one DEKHÖR two MARĀNs
MORNING	12th Reading	one MALĪFŪṬ
	13th Reading	one MALĪFŪṬ
	16th Reading	four EQR'Ūs three SHABHŪ'As one Sabbath verse two Hymns
	17th Reading	two Hymns
	18th Reading	three MIDRĀSHes
	21st Reading	two KĪMĒ verses three KĪMĒs one KĪMĒ end-verse one SHABBEHŪ

22nd Reading	one KĪMĒ
	one Hymm (?)

19th cent.

EVE	11th Reading	one or two YISHTABBAḤs
MORNING	16th Reading	one or two YISHTABBAḤs
	18th Reading	one MIDRĀSH
		one YISHTABBAḤ
	20th Reading	one MALĪFŪṬ
	21st Reading	one KĪMĒ
	22nd Reading	one Hymm (?)

It is obvious that the 17th-19th cents. introduced new compositions founded on 15th-16th cent. models.

EQR'Ūs & SHABHŪ'As appear in the 15th, many new MALĪFŪṬs with KĪMĒs and a SHABBEHŪ in the 16th, DEKHŌRs & MARĀNs in the 18th cents.

---

D. THE BIBLE AND THE DEFTER.

Having determined the probable course of the Service's development from earliest times to modern times, consideration may now be given to the place of the Law and its use in the Service, noting also how the Defter was put to use. These notes will serve as a useful introduction to section E below, where the literary types are described.

(a) The Readings

Examination of the complete Service order reveals that the whole Pentateuch was covered, although not necessarily in the full sense. Indeed, as will be seen below, there is every likelihood that excerpts only were read, but in such a way as to cover the full range (but not detail) of the Pentateuch. The complete Readings, with Atonement QATAF and secondary biblical excerpts, are listed now:-

<u>Reading</u>	<u>Service Section</u>
1. Atonement QATAF	1
2. Gen.i	2
3. Lev.xxiii.26-32 <sup>1</sup>	2

---

<sup>1</sup> The text of this from A.1,2,BK is in APP.II, no.5.

4.	Gen.ii-xvi	3
5.	<u>ib.</u> xvii-xxviii	4
6.	<u>ib.</u> xxix-xxxix	5
7.	<u>ib.</u> xl-1	6
8.	Ex. i-xi	7
9.	<u>ib.</u> xii-xiv	8
10.	<u>ib.</u> xv-xix	8
11.	<u>ib.</u> xx-xxv.1	9
12.	<u>ib.</u> xxv.2 - xxxi.17	10
13.	<u>ib.</u> xxxi.18 - xl	11
14.	The Great BAREKHŪ <sup>1</sup>	11
15.	The NEBHARĒKH with MŪṢAF <sup>2</sup>	11
16.	Atonement QATĀF (Congregat- ional)	12
17.	Lev.xvi.29-34	13
18.	QATĀF of Ten Words	14
19.	QATĀF of Righteous	14
20.	Gen.i repeated	16
21.	Lev.i-ix.21	17
22.	<u>ib.</u> ix.22 - xv	18
23.	<u>ib.</u> xvi - xxiii.1	19
24.	<u>ib.</u> xxiii.2 - xxvii	20
25.	Num.i-vii	21
26.	<u>ib.</u> viii - xv	22
27.	<u>ib.</u> xvi-xxv.10	23
28.	<u>ib.</u> xxv.11 - xxxvi	24
29.	Deut.i-xvi.17	25
30.	<u>ib.</u> xvi.18 - xxxi.29	26

MORNING

<sup>1</sup> Text in APP.II, no.8, being a compendium of verses relating to Atonement, but much shorter than the Atonement QATĀF.

<sup>2</sup> Text in APP.II, no.9, similar to the BAREKHŪ.

31.	The Great BAREKHŪ & NEBHARĒKH, as above, time permitting.	26
32.	Atonement QATĀF (Congregational)	27
33.	Deut.xxxii.30 (or 44 according to some MSS) - xxxiv.10.	27
34.	Lev.xxiii.26-32 (as above)	27

---

From the point of view of the Readings, the Morning part of the Service is the more important, although each part contains eleven Readings. Lev., the source of Laws relating to the Festival, starts the second part of the Service, preceded by Gen.i repeated from the Eve part. It is probable that Gen.i served as a suitable introduction to the (14th cent. revised?) second half, because it appealed to the Sam. liturgists' sense of order, the chapter itself being the most ordered in the Bible.

It appears that the regular cycle of Readings was interrupted here and there to allow certain other pieces to be said or read. We cannot be surprised to find Lev. xvi.29-34, which contains the injunction for the great Festival convocation, and ib. xxiii.26-32 (in both parts) which has the similar injunction, but making more specific reference to the Sabbath idea in the Day of Atonement. Many are the pieces composed on the theme of these two biblical extracts.

Another source of interruption of the cycle is the

QATAFs, which will receive attention in the next part of this chapter. A third consists of the Great BAREKHŪ, the NEBHAREKH and its MŪṢAF. It is not easy to discover the true nature of these biblical pieces, for they are arranged differently from the Lev. excerpts referred to above. C. did not print a text of the Great BAREKHŪ for the Day of Atonement, but was content to refer to it (C.p.654). The text is given for the first time in APP. II, no.8. The first half contains very brief snippets from the Law having reference to Creation, Sabbath, the creation of man, God's dealing with Adam, the chief doings of Noah, Abraham, Jacob, Moses and Aaron. The second half consists of the briefest possible references to Atonement and the Festival. There is some doubt about how much of each verse was said, as the MSS vary in the amount set out. The impression gained from a close study of the piece is that the liturgist desired to present in brief compass an outline of every chief matter of religion from Creation to the first Day of Atonement.

The NEBHAREKH (APP.II, no.9) is slightly shorter and is of the same type, although set out in a different arrangement in the MSS. It is a Defter piece (C.p.7) and is used in the Festival liturgies with the add. of passages referring specifically to the particular Festival.

Thus the Day of Atonement NEBHARĒKH is similar to that given by C., but has an 'atonement flavour'. From C.'s bracket (C.p.8, 1.4) APP.II, no.9 reads differently and has to do only with Atonement. C.'s order includes about half of the Atonement references (ibid., 11.17 ff. passim), but interspersed with non-Atonement references. The Atonement ones were printed by C. only because his MS (V.3) happened to include them, as it includes also an older form of the Atonement QATĀF.

The most likely reason for the existence of two so similar compendiums is that they were constructed at different times, only one of them finding a place in the Defter. Sufficient importance was attached by the liturgists to these for them to be included in both parts of the Service (time permitting though in the case of the second). They occupy the same position relative to the Congregational QATĀF and the last Reading in the cycle. It is best to regard them as liturgical compositions or compilations which aim at placing the Festival on a high pedestal .

Only one other interruption occurs in the Reading cycle. This is the presence at the end of the Morning part of two QATĀFs, and these will be considered in the next section. Before leaving the subject of the Readings however, some attention may be paid here to the place of

the QATAFs for Atonement within the Reading cycle. The first, the Atonement QATAF, takes its rightful place at the beginning of the Service, for it represents as nothing else can the biblical authority for the Festival, possessing well nigh every biblical reference to the subject. Before the last Reading of the Eve part of the Service comes the same QATAF under the title QATAF HA-TABA'AT, the Congregational QATAF, i.e. said by the Congregation, whereas the Atonement QATAF was said by the priest conducting the Service.

The Eve part is completed by two QATAFs which occur in all the Festivals and represent the biblical authority for (a) the Ten Commandments, and (b) the Covenant with the forefathers. They probably occupy their position as a suitable and fitting introduction to the first Lev. Reading at the beginning of the Morning part. When the Service first became divided as a result of expansion, there must have been a fear in the minds of the leaders of the community that it could easily become two services; perhaps such a fear made them complete the Eve part with something of first importance, hence these QATAFs. It is difficult to say whether they serve as a stop-gap between Eve and Morning in view of the re-reading of Gen.i which surely does serve as a junction. The question is puzzling. Why use Gen.i, giving the impression of a new beginning,

when the two parts of the Service were inseparable? It may be that, liturgically speaking, Gen.i was the first Reading in all gatherings for worship, even where the gathering was a re-gathering to continue a service already begun.

Howbeit, no other Sam. service so faithfully and so majestically, one feels, continues the Reading cycle - through thick and thin as a result of 14th-19th cent. expansion!

The section now following will contain some discussion of the question how the Law was read.

(b) The QATAFs.

It has already been stated that the Samaritans of today claim to read the whole Law during the Day of Atonement and that the present writer cannot believe this on grounds of physical impossibility. The Samaritans, on the other hand, when making that claim, may quite well have meant that they 'covered' the whole Law during the Festival. That this is true has been demonstrated in the preceding section. If they thus cover the whole Pentateuch in one day along with a very great amount of prayers and praises, it can only be in QATAF form.

A QATAF for each Book of the Law exists in many MSS, and Boys' dissertation, e.g., gives a complete

translation of them. Brown (Dissertation, p.xx) points out that in the modern custom the Torah is paraphrased in an abbreviated form, the same paraphrase being read on every occasion of the week. He notes also that in the older MSS, V.3 and the 13th cent. British Museum MS 5034, the Torah was divided into QATAFs, read in a weekly cycle, a different section each evening and morning.

This raises the question of the nature of the QATAF. The present writer perceives three different kinds from his own observations. The QATAF for each Book serves to allow the whole Law to be read in one day. C.(p.xxii) asserted that the QATAF "is a string of phrases from the Law, connected by a common idea", but Brown (loc.cit.) disagrees, except that he would allow of the QATAF of the Righteous being so described. The present writer agrees with C. that such a QATAF exists, but goes a stage further in claiming the existence of a second and third type.

Type 1 is an abbreviation of the Law, so arranged that the brief extracts form, as it were, a continuous narrative. Here is an illustration:-<sup>1</sup>

And every meal offering of thine shalt thou season with salt, neither shalt thou suffer the salt of the covenant of thy God to be lacking from thy meal offering; with all thine offerings thou shalt offer salt (Lev.

---

<sup>1</sup>From Brown, op.cit., p.90.

ii.13). All the fat is Yahwe's. It shall be a perpetual statute throughout your generations in all your dwellings, that ye shall eat neither fat nor blood (iii.16.17). Command Aaron and his sons saying:- This is the Law of the burnt offering: it is that which goeth up on its firewood upon the altar all night into the morning (vi.2). He shall not leave any of it till the morning (vii.15). And he made it smoke upon the altar, besides the burnt offering of the morning (ix.17). And Aaron lifted up his hands towards the people and blessed them, and he came down from offering the sin offering, and the burnt offering and the peace offerings. And Moses and Aaron went into the tent of meeting and came out and blessed the people; and the glory of Yahwe appeared unto all the people (ix.22.23).

By this means the whole Pentateuch could well be read (at speed) in a weekly cycle or even in a full day's worship.

Type 2 is the type of the Atonement QATAF, and it is best illustrated by an extract; this will show the great difference between the two types. It is from the Atonement QATAF as translated in this work. It is chosen because it continues where the above excerpt left off.

and has been given to you that you may bear the iniquity of the congregation, to make atonement for them (Lev.x.17): and the priest shall make atonement for her and she shall be clean (xii.7): and the priest shall make atonement for her and she shall be clean (xii.8): and the priest shall make atonement for him before the Lord (xiv.18): and the priest shall make atonement for him who is to be cleansed (xiv.19): then the priest shall

make atonement for him and he shall be clean (xiv.20b): to make atonement for him (xiv.21): to make atonement for him (xiv.29): and he shall make atonement for him who is to be cleansed (xiv.30) ..... and so on in the same style.

This passage typifies Type 2; the purpose of such a QATAF is to set out verbally before the Congregation the full injunctions of the Law for the Festival.

Type 3 is similar to Type 2, but is not nearly so full, nor has it quite the same aim. Type 2 aims at setting out the full injunctions, while Type 3 seeks to tabulate the chief references. An illustration from the QATAF of the Righteous, translated from the text given in APP.IV:-

but God will visit you, and bring you up out of this land to the land which he swore to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob (Gen.1.24): And God heard their groaning, and God remembered his covenant with Abraham, with Isaac, and with Jacob (Ex.ii.24): And he said, "I am the God of your father, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob" (Ex.iii.6): The Lord, the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, has sent me to you (Ex.iii.15).

Such a QATAF is found at the beginning of the Qaraite Service for Yom Ha-Kippur, as will be observed when comparison is made between the Sam. and Qaraite below (Intro.H (b)). Perhaps the best term to describe Type 3 would be 'Compiled Proof-Texts'. The QATAF of the

Ten Words differs only in that it consists of direct quotations from the Bible already tabulated (Ex.xx.).

The QATAF, then, is basic to the Service; by means of it the whole Law is read and by means of it all the passages dealing with Atonement are presented to the Congregation; also by its means 'Proof-Texts' of the Covenant are set forth for the edification and comfort of the Congregation.

---

(c) The Defter.

Enough has been said about the nature and place of the Defter in Sam. liturgical literature. It remains to observe how it was used specifically for the Service, but first let us see how the Defter is constituted.

- I. Opening Prayers
- II. Ordinary Sabbath Prayers
- III. Weekday Prayers
- IV. Prayers accompanying Scripture Readings
- V. Festival Prayers
- VI. Prayers for special Festival Occasions  
and for the Scrolls
- VII. Special Sabbath Prayers
- VIII. Prayers by famous 4th-14th cent. writers
- IX. Prayers for infrequent occasions by the  
18th cent. Muslim b. Murjān; these  
are probably a late add. and are not  
well attested in the Defter MSS.

Table A in APP.VI sets out the occurrences of Defter compositions in the Service. Section I is almost completely ignored: section II is almost wholly employed: section III is entirely found: section IV is almost all used: section V is all in evidence: section VI has about half of its pieces in the Service, while section VII only contains one piece used for the Service: section VIII provides only one composition and section IX has no place in the Service at all.

A study of the pieces chosen in relation to their sections indicates that great care was taken in the selection. There was no arbitrary choosing, and in fact all the selections really suited to the occasion were picked. The compositions chosen for their obvious suitability were these:-

- (II) Sabbath morning collects  
Esteemed ancient collects & adorations  
Pieces said on every Sabbath
- (III) MANĀTs for the whole week
- (IV) MANĀTs for the Books of the Bible
- (V) Festival compositions
- (VI) Expressions of worship for the bringing  
and removal of the Scrolls
- (VII) Piece for conclusion of all prayers  
An Atonement Prayer

(VIII) An adoration by Phinehas, a notable contributor to the Day of Atonement Service.

The compositions omitted are:- pieces for the beginning of every prayer (Atonement has its own peculiar form of contrition): Joshua's Prayer (little relevance): two QADDĪSHAS (these are for particular occasions): prayer for the Going Out of Sabbath (not applicable): prayers for particular Sabbaths: an alternative MANĀṬ for Exodus: prayers used for Festivals other than Yom Ha-Kippur: prayers by well known liturgists (presumably omitted because there were sufficient compositions already in the Service by the same writers): prayers for odd occasions (e.g. for when there was no rain).

Of particular interest is the way Durran and Marqah pieces were used. It will be remembered that these two figure regularly in the Liturgical Unit for the Day of Atonement. APP.VI (B) tables the occurrences of Durran and Marqah pieces, showing the relationship to the Defter order. It will therefore suffice here to draw conclusions from these tables.

#### DURRAN

Durran pieces are by 'Amram Darah (4th cent.A.D.). In the Service they are regularly followed by Marqah compositions, but unlike these the Durran compositions do

not occur in their Defter order. It is difficult to understand why Marqah pieces should fall into their Defter order, while the Durran do not. It may be that during, say, the 14th cent. revival Marqah pieces were set out in order because Marqah was highly venerated at the time, when for some unknown reason 'Amram Darah was not. It is true that the Marqah pieces were as a whole better suited to the requirements of Yom Ha-Kippur, but that does not explain the regularity of order; the only explanation the present writer can offer is that so many of Marqah's Defter compositions were about the Sabbath (ordinary) that, since the Day of Atonement was regarded as a Sabbath, they were taken in their order. There was no need to alter the order.

Another point to be noted is that not all 'Amram Darah's compositions were included in the Durran; other pieces by him are to be found in C.pp.491 and 670. However, all the compositions by 'Amram that could be used were used. It is interesting too that the Durran pieces, twenty two of them used, were divided equally between the Eve and Morning parts of the Service.

#### MARQAH

Likewise the twenty two Marqah pieces were divided equally between the two parts. When one recalls that the

Scripture Readings too were twenty two in number, eleven for the Eve and eleven for the Morning parts of the Service, one marvels at the precision and care taken in the compilation of a service which must have taken centuries to develop.

Marqah and Durran pieces are in the Aramaic dialect of the Samaritans, of the Sam. Targum, but the Marqah compositions are always alphabetic in arrangement. 'Amram Darah's writings give the impression of originality, whereas Marqah's at times have a flavour of artificiality. This fault may be caused by the necessity to start each line with a word having as its first radical that required for the alphabetic order. Yet it was on Marqah, more than on any other writer, that the later liturgists modelled their style, never on 'Amram Darah. The present writer feels that the love of order, so deep-rooted in the later strata of the Liturgy, was the only cause of the preference. Marqah's works were ordered, even if of less merit than 'Amram's, and that was enough!

Towards the end of the Eve part of the Service three Marqah pieces (if the ascriptions are correct; some MSS ascribe to 'Amram Darah) are specially used, i.e. not within the Liturgical Unit. In each case they represent different aspects of the Service, the Sabbath, the removal

of the Scrolls and Atonement itself. Presumably it was not easy to match Durran and Marqah compositions solely within the Liturgical Unit; thus those pieces from either that served a useful purpose were 'fitted into' the appropriate parts of the Service. The greater importance of the Morning part receives further illustration from the fact that full texts of the Durran and Marqah compositions appear in the MSS only for the Morning part, as if to say that the Eve part was taken rather for granted. This vindicates the argument that the Morning part was thought of in terms of the Sabbath Morning Service, while there is no relationship of note between the Eve of Atonement and the Eve of any Sabbath.

.....

The structure of the Service, its development and the use of its principal parts have been discussed. The next chapter deals with the nature of individual literary types from the literary standpoint.

---

### E. LITERARY TYPES

The expression 'literary types' has been in common use among the research students of the School of Sam. Studies in Leeds for some years, and by it is meant those distinctive pieces composed by Sam. writers, such as the SHABBEḤŪ, MARĀN, etc. The purpose of this chapter is to set out in brief the function of each type, its format and place in the liturgical order. For the sake of completeness Readings and QATAFs are again noted, as are the Defter pieces, since these all relate to one another and to the literary types considered below.

As has been suggested above, the Reading is the basis of the Service; various literary types pertain to the Readings and to nothing else. If one is to make a fair estimate of the purpose and form of, e.g. the YISH-TABBAḤ and MALĪFŪṬ, it is necessary to bear in mind that these, part of the Liturgical Unit, have no independent existence, but in fact were where they are in the order because they arose out of a desire to reinforce, liturgically, aesthetically and didactically, the Pentateuchal Readings.

The nature and structure of the QATAF was discussed in the previous chapter. Here it is considered as a literary phenomenon. It will be remembered that there

are three types:- (1) the abbreviation of the Law: (2) the connecting of all passages pertaining to a particular theme: (3) the 'stringing-together' of some selected passages or verses on a theme, e.g. on the Covenants with the Patriarchs, in order to present the foundations of the faith. The term QATAF may well be derived from Deut.xxiii.25, where the root qṭf means 'pluck'. The derived sense 'selected', 'chosen' has served to express the significant motif of the QATAF and to describe Moses as the 'choicest' or 'most select' of all mankind. The snippets that make up type 2 or the verses and paragraphs that make up type 3 are qetāphim, i.e. 'selections'. The term florilegium has been used by Gaster<sup>1</sup> and Montgomery<sup>2</sup>. Another preference might be catena. These terms, meaning patterns or chains of verses, could well apply to some Hymns where the mosaic principle has been at work. The simple expression 'selected verses' seems adequate.

In the Festival liturgies there is the QATAF (type 2) referring to a special theme. Under the title 'Atonement QATAF' come the selected verses, or parts of verses, pertaining to the Festival of the Day of Atonement, but the rubrics sometimes contain a reference to other special

---

<sup>1</sup>op.cit., p.75.

<sup>2</sup>op.cit., p.298.

themes in add. to Atonement. A scribe might include the terms 'seventh' or 'Sabbath' or 'trumpet-blowing', after mentioning the QATAF, and this is a feature common to the other Festival services. The Sabbath QATAF is the Atonement QATAF with add. verses referring to the injunctions for Sabbath observance; these adds. are inserted. In the text for the Atonement QATAF (APP.IV, no.1) these adds. are indicated by brackets, while the Sabbath Atonement QATAF text, which follows there, is listed, so that the adds. may at once be applied to the brackets.

The term 'seventh' (shebhī'ī) is also included with shabbāth, as the Day of Atonement was not only held by the Samaritans to be a Sabbath, but was in the seventh month. Thus the full Day of Atonement QATAF includes references to the Festival, to atonement and atoning, and also to Sabbath and Seventh.

It will be seen in APP.IV that the scribes often concluded a part of a verse with the words כלל or ואולי. There has been doubt in the minds of the Leeds researchers as to what exactly was meant by the latter term. Since scribes used both, the latter is not likely to have meant 'and the rest' in the sense of 'all the rest' of the verse. How much of a verse did a scribe mean should be said? It is seen too that the exact amount of a verse varies in

different MSS, but no solution is found by a study of them. The inference must be, in the opinion of the present writer, that the Sam. community were sufficiently well-versed in the QATAF form of Scripture to know how much was said, and the scribes took it for granted, nearly always, that the Reader (al-Qāri') would know. When the former term is used, it is obvious that the whole verse was said.

The Atonement QATAF is said before any other Reading is given, no doubt being so placed in the order to set the tone, as it were, of what was to follow. The whole Service is thus 'geared' to the theme of the day. There is another Atonement QATAF, identical with that just mentioned, but differently described by the scribes. It is the QATAF HA-TABA'AT, said near the end of the two parts of the Service. There has been much speculation among the researchers as to the precise signification of this. The word ṭaba'at (or ṭaba'it) means in Arabic and Hebrew 'circle' or 'nature'; on the basis of the former one might translate 'congregation' because the Sam. congregation sat in a circle. On the basis of the latter one could well render 'cycle', so that this QATAF is the QATAF for a particular Festival within the festival-cycle. The present writer was responsible for the latter interpretation, but is now of the opinion that the former

is correct, but incorrectly interpreted. When it became obvious that the Atonement QATAF and the QATAF HA-ṬABA'AT were identical, some other interpretation was demanded. That interpretation is adopted in this work and is 'The Congregational QATAF', i.e. the one said by the Congregation. The Sam. Festival Liturgy developed (if not in earliest times) a series of Antiphons and responses between priest and people. It seems likely that the QATAF under discussion was that to be said by the people near the end of each part of the Service - near where the main Antiphons are placed.

The matter cannot yet be closed, however, because the term QATAF HA-ṬABA'AT occurs in other liturgies as well and it is not there the Atonement QATAF! The inference now must be that any Festival QATAF has its Congregational counterpart, so that the Congregational QATAF, e.g. for a Succōth Service, will be the QATAF for that Service, but said (later) by the Congregation and not by the Qāri'; e.g. see C.p.741 in the Service for the Sabbath of Succōth, 11.7 & 15. As well as taba'at the spelling taba'it is frequently found in the MSS.

#### THE LITERARY TYPES IN THE LITURGICAL UNIT

Apart from the Readings and QATAFs, the literary

types within the Liturgical Unit still to be considered are:- Durran, Marqah, YISHTABBAḤ, Rabh Elah, KĪ BESHĒM, YITHRABBĒ and MALĪFŪṬ.

Durran compositions have been noted above, and their place and use in the Service are tabulated in APP.VI (B). A few add. notes will suffice here. These Aramaic compositions by 'Amram Darah must not be confused with other pieces by him. These are a collection (made no one knows when) of compositions for particular occasions. There is, for instance, a Durran piece for Atonement (translated by Brown, op.cit., p.54); it is in praise of God for decreeing such a wonderful day, and most of his pieces begin thus. After the declaration of praise, the features of the Festival are praised and its efficacy declared; the piece concludes with the credal statement 'There is only one God'. Similarly, 'Amram's piece on Sabbath (C.p.44, Brown, ibid., p.40) begins with an expression of wonderment at the glory of the Sabbath, goes on to praise its creator, continues with a catalogue of the features peculiar to Sabbath and a declaration of its efficacy, ending with the credal statement as above.

Marqah compositions have also been noted above, and their place and use in the Service are tabulated in APP. VI (C). They are described as 'the Prayers of Marqah' (C.p.16) and have to do with Sabbaths in the main. It is

obvious that the Durran pieces, being for many different occasions, could be used in any order (see APP.VI (B)); it is equally obvious that if Marqah's Prayers pertained to a particular occasion (or type of occasion) they were more likely to be used in their Defter order (C.pp.16-27). This is what happens in the Service herein studied. In the Service for Sabbath Afternoon (Brown, op.cit., p.xxxii) the Marqah pieces in C.pp.16-18 are used on the occasion of the First Sabbath of the month, those in C.pp.19-21 for the Second Sabbath, those in C.pp.22-24 for the Third and those in C.pp.25-26 for the Fourth. The Durran could never be used like this.

The Marqah compositions are all alphabetic and are largely praises and hardly prayers. They have much to say about God and his creation, his dealings with the Patriarchs, and his victorious campaigns against Israel's enemies. It would seem more in keeping with their nature to describe them as Acknowledgements. Like the Durran pieces they end with the credal statement 'There is only one God'. They lack the variety of the Durran because they are all on one theme of praise and adoration and thanksgiving in the form of acknowledgements of God, and indeed they make tiresome reading.

Before considering the next piece in the Liturgical Unit, it is interesting to observe that Durran and Marqah

pieces are singularly free of direct allusions to Scripture. Unlike so many of the later literary types, they show an independence of style and that is one reason why it is both necessary and interesting that further research into the origin and form of the Deftor is to be undertaken in the School of Sam. Studies in the University of Leeds.

The YISHTABBAH is found in nineteen sections of the Service and in those sections almost always follows the Durran-Marqah pieces. There are nine for the Eve part of the Service and ten for the Morning, apart from secondary (or add.) pieces of late date. Of the nine in the Eve part only the last is dated in the MSS; the last comprises seven different YISHTABBAHs (i.e. section XIII) of which only one is undated! The dates are 15th-19th cents. and are placed chronologically. Of the ten in the Morning part only the 1st, 6th (secondary) and 8th (also secondary) are dated, the 1st to the 14th cent. and the other two to the 19th. Thus the earliest YISHTABBAH for the Service available is 14th cent. There are twenty seven altogether in the MSS consulted, twenty two of them in C.'s edition; the other five are in the APPs (II, nos. 19-21, III, nos. 5, 11).

The word yishtabbah (ישתבח: ) means 'let him be praised' or 'he is to be praised', everywhere

referring to God, and is treated as a noun in the rubrics. In view of the regularity of the YISHTABBAḤ's appearance in the Liturgical Unit, it must fulfil some specific function. Strangely enough this function is not that suggested by the title of the piece. The YISHTABBAḤ has the function of declaration (often didactic) and exhortation. The usual beginning is 'O Power (or 'God') who designated' (or 'decreed' or a synonym), followed by an observation on or statement of something God did or decreed, and then a reference to the Festival. These points occupy three full lines; four short lines follow, headed often (L.6 in particular) by the term mapōq, showing them to be a concluding verse. This last is almost certainly a congregational response, as it is in the first person plural and in the form 'let us...'

The undated and 14th cent. examples are mostly as described above, but those composed later, particularly in the 18th and 19th cents., are longer. A typical example is that in C.p.661 (top) of the 18th cent., containing eleven lines in the main body and five in the Mapōq. That in C.p.660 (bottom) has 9 and 6 lines respectively; it is also 18th cent.

The 19th cent. YISHTABBAḤ in APP.II, no.20, goes even further, possessing eleven (long) lines in the main body and seven in the Mapōq. It is thus surprising to

to find that the YISHTABBAḤ in APP.III, no.11, ascribed to 'Amram, possesses four and four respectively. There is doubt as to the identity of 'Amram, but despite the fact of its form the present writer would ascribe it on grounds of language, style and its position in the MSS, to the 19th cent.

In conclusion, there are the following points to be noted:

i. There was a tendency after the 14th cent. for this literary type to become longer.

ii. When a scribe copied, as in one case (the Unit following the Reading up to Lev.xvi), several YISHTABBAḤs, he set them out chronologically. This coincides with the practice in copying other literary types occurring in quantity in one place within the Service.

iii. In the 19th cent. there may have been a tendency to return to older models, while the 15th-18th cent. tendency continued.

---

Rabh Elah (רַבֵּי אֵלָה) is an appendage to a YISHTABBAḤ and occurs only as such, so that it may be regarded as belonging to it. In the MSS available only the two words are written, usually in the middle beneath the last line of the YISHTABBAḤ. Its fuller form, if any, is unknown and no date can be placed against it. It can hardly be

regarded as a literary type in its present form, but rather as a brief congregational response.

KĪ BESHEM (כִּי בִשְׁמֵ), in places treated as a noun, like Rabh Elah is written by the scribes in this simple form, but it appears to be a liturgical piece from its appearance in the rubrics. The derivation is probably Deut. xxxii.3 and the full form is probably that in C.p.654, l. 24. It no doubt received its place in the Liturgical Unit because it expresses priestly authority. The Antiphon for it in C.pp.654-55 shows that only the priests said it, while the people made response in expressions of praise of God, in whose Name their priests spoke. YITHRABBĒ (יִתְרַבֵּי) is from the Defter (C.p.48), from the piece entitled 'Moses' which is a prayer or petition, beginning with an acknowledgement of God's sovereignty and oneness, hence the meaning of the term 'He is to be exalted' or 'let him be exalted'.

It is not to be confused with the 14th cent. Marriage piece by 'Abdullah b. Solomon (C.p.839) or his composition for the Sabbath of Zimmūth Ha-Succōth (C.p.432) or his piece for the Service of the Seventh Month Festival (Morning) - C.p.445.

---

MALĪFŪT, the last of the Liturgical Unit, is the most specific in function, having direct reference always to

the Reading at the head of the Unit. Like the YISHTABBAḤ this literary type has had a long history of development, from the 14th to the 19th cent. at least. In the Day of Atonement MSS there are no less than thirty-eight different MALĪFŪṬs, thirty-two of them in C.'s edition. In that edition there are sixteen in each part of the Service, a fact which reminds one of the following:-

Eleven Readings in each part of the Service  
 Eleven Durran pieces in each part of the Service  
 Eleven Marqah pieces in each part of the Service

and now an equal number of MALĪFŪṬs in each. It is most unlikely that the equivalence is coincidental, especially when one considers that the MALĪFŪṬ is always written on the theme of a biblical reading.

The word itself is of unknown derivation. C. (p.lx) refers his readers to the Greek lyrical poem called *μελοποιήτης*, and to the New Hebrew poem-title *פיוט*. It is hoped that some research will soon be conducted along the lines of comparison of the Sam. poems with the medieval Hebrew *piyyūṭim*. An interesting form occurs frequently in A.3, where the word is divided in two - *פיוט מלי* - leading one to the observation that the first is the Hebrew/Aramaic for 'words of', but *pūṭ* or *pōṭ* is not easily explained. The present writer considers the word to be *pōṭ* or *phōṭ* (after the vowel of *melē*?) from the Greek *phōta*, 'lights', and so 'words of illumination'. It is

difficult to explain from either melopoiētē or piyyūt, as there is no evidence that the Samaritans failed to pronounce or write consonantal Yodh. That the writer's claim is probably right is supported to some extent by the considerable amount of reference to illumination in the writings of the 14th cent. Hymn writers - e.g. Aaron b. Manīr - and by the non-existence of a dated pre-14th cent. MALĪFŪṬ. Of the dated MALĪFŪṬs extant in the Day of Atonement MSS no less than six are 14th cent., an indication of the popularity of the literary type. To the Samaritans the Law has always meant everything, so that a literary type solely devoted to the extolling of and instructing from the Law inevitably appealed.

This last piece in the Liturgical Unit is always directly related to the Reading at the beginning of the section. The very first MALĪFŪṬ (C.p.488), of the 14th cent., has no direct allusion to a biblical passage, since no Reading precedes it, but even then it follows the statement (in BK) 'the priest conceals the Scriptures' (prior to opening), and refers to the Lev. passage about the offering to Azazel and ends with the statement:-

It is good for us that we speak as with one mouth,  
And exalt him in our Reading.

The twofold function of didactic and illumination is illustrated in the MALĪFŪṬ by the 16th cent. Abraham

Ha-Qabāzī (C.p.668):-

Therein abide wisdom and understanding from my  
 holy book,  
 So that I open and read, "And he called to Moses",  
 and so on.

Only two passages have three MALĪFŪTs (in some MSS) on them. (a) Gen.xxxix.1 dealing with Joseph going down to Egypt, and (b) Num.i.1 which contains a reference to the coming out of Egypt. This is likely to be sheer coincidence, but it illustrates the kind of context which was fitting for the MALĪFŪT. The theme is always important to the Samaritans.

The length of the MALĪFŪT, which is nearly always in Hebrew, varies from six to ten lines, with one exception (that which occurs in the preliminary section of the Eve part of the Service): of the pieces dated, the 14th cent. range was 7-10, the 16th 6-9, the 18th-19th six lines only. There is only one example of the 17th cent. (9 lines). The trend thus is from a varied practice in the 14th cent., the probable cent. of origin, to the short, regular modern form.

Before considering literary types of more or less independent origin, a few notes are given to draw attention to four forms which occur with some frequency.

(a) From C.p.4 (Defter) several extracts are used on more than one occasion, particularly at the beginning of

both parts of the Service. The first two paragraphs of that page, according to C.'s edition (based on Cr.11,18, V.3), appear at first sight to represent two separate compositions. In actual fact both are divisible and the separate parts or verses find a place in the Service. Although it is not the purpose of this work to reexamine the Defter, it is worthwhile observing how the liturgists built up the preliminary part of the Service. The first three words in l.2 of C.'s p. are said as a response to the opening MALĪFŪṬ in both Morning and Eve parts; the priest conducting the worship then says the Berikh Elohēnu which appears to consist of the rest of the first paragraph. The priest continues with the second paragraph, possibly without any break, although in C.'s edition the second is a response from the congregation. This seems to imply that the Defter could be employed with some freedom. The congregational response in the Service approximates line 7 of the p. (from YHWH on, but the extent is not stated), which may mean that the priest only said the first four words of the second paragraph.

According to L.16, A.1,2 the first words of paragraph 2 are repeated enthusiastically, which probably means by the congregation. After this the following pieces from the same p. are said, but no statement is given as to who said them:-

paragraph 2 4th l. to 5th (ehad)

then 5th l. ('al) probably up  
to 8th l., 2nd word.

There is no certainty yet as to the manner of using the Defter, but it is clear from the above that C.p.4 comprises a number of responses. It seems likely that the contents of that p. represent the proper beginning of services, but it is not known when the practice was established. What can be said is that the paragraphs do not occur in V.3 and that by the 18th cent. (Cr.11,18) the practice above described had come into being. Another point of interest is that not all the services begin thus. The Passover series starts with the Berikh Elohenu said by the priest, followed by YHWH ELAH (the 'little one' - C.p.93) and then (only Cr.27, a 17th cent. MS) 'al .... rehamekha as C.p.4. It may well be, of course, that by use and wont different services developed different beginnings. It is to be hoped that research will soon be conducted into the detailed use of the Defter for all occasions.

(b) A second type is the Sabbath Verse, which is usually an add. one following a major composition. By 'Sabbath' in this case is meant a verse that is said only when the Festival happens to fall on a Sabbath. This is a well-known Jewish liturgical practice as well. A typical

example is that in C.p.681. The purpose of the verse, in this case as always following the style and rhythm of the piece preceding, is merely to link the idea and injunctions of Sabbath with those of the Festival. Similar verses are found in all the festival liturgies.

(c) A third type is the Marqah-style verse. This could justifiably be classed with the independent type of compositions described below, but in view of what has been said above of Marqah's compositions it is well to place it here. The example in C.p.659 serves to illustrate what is meant. The rubric (ibid., 1.5) states:-

(and they say this) Marqah-verse composed by  
our master Phinehas .....

In what sense is the piece Marqah-style when it is a 14th cent. composition? In the first place it is alphabetic as are all Marqah's (Aramaic) compositions. In the second it is completed by the credal statement 'There is only one God', as are the Marqah pieces. Beyond these two points of similarity there is no comparison in terms of literary idiom or content. The term must simply refer to the format.

(d) The last is the YITHHALLAL ('let him be praised' or (he is to be praised'), a term used as a noun, as are YISHTABBAḤ and YITHRABBĒ. There is no connection with the YISHTABBAḤ, a synonymous expression. APP.II, no.1,

sets out the five forms as found in the available MSS. Mostly the scribe wrote simply 'Yithhallal' with no reference to the particular form intended. The second one set out in that APP. is the only variable one, as the expression 'There is only one God' in Aramaic may be said more than once. Nos.4 & 5 are in Hebrew, no.3 both Aramaic and Hebrew, and no.2 is in Aramaic. There is no evidence as to the date of this type, but again the 14th cent., reviving and increasing the use of Hebrew while retaining Aramaic, may be the most likely period of origin.

## INDEPENDENT LITERARY COMPOSITIONS

### A. Literary works.

These literary types are divided into 'literary works' and 'liturgical works', a division of convenience, for the second group are not compositions represented by different examples and different authors. The order of literary types now considered is taken according to frequency and, accordingly, popularity.

The Hymn developed considerably from the 14th cent. and is still employed. The technical term is shīrah and the Defter contains several similar types of composition under the headings Du'ā (petition) and Tephillah (prayer).

The term shirān (C.p.69) has no connection with shīrah from the literary standpoint, but is a special Defter piece, a type not found in the Service for Yom Ha-Kippur.

The Hymn may be described as a 14th cent. type, although it is possible that the Samaritans possessed the type for non-liturgical purposes long before that cent. There are no short Hymns known for the Service; indeed the Hymn is by far the longest type of all. The Hymns occurring in the 'Atonement Hymnal' are noted in the chapter below devoted to that subject. A glance over the order of Service in APP.I reveals that the Hymn, according to some scribes, could be inserted at any of several points. This variety of usage applies also to the 'Atonement Hymnal', whose Hymns do not all occur at the same point in the Service in all the MSS concerned. A.3 seems to be the MS most guilty of stating that 'A Hymn by ... is said here', no text being given more often than not.

As a literary type it stands alone; there is no liturgical flavour. It is, we might claim, the didactic composition, where the Sam. theology and speculation are at their most extravagant. A mistake that can easily be made is to determine the nature of Sam. doctrine for any particular period solely by studying the Hymns. Admittedly they have the most to say, but the purely liturgical

compositions, because they are liturgical, are more conservative. It is not improbable that individual writers of Hymns were teachers who revealed the essence of their doctrine in these compositions. The best example for Yom Ha-Kippur is Hymn no.3 translated in Part IV of this work. A common feature of the Hymns is the personal note expressed from the beginning by means of an acrostic of the author's name, each letter of it heading a stanza. The remaining stanzas follow in alphabetic order from Bēth. After verse Kaph there usually occurs the phrase *אמרנו, תלמדה ונאמר ותלמדה*, but in shorter Hymns (e.g. C.pp.632-640) the phrase occurs half-way. In the Hymn just quoted there are twelve stanzas in the first half and eleven in the second, the first spelling out acrostically Nethan'el ben 'Obadiah, the second 'ubhen Ḥab Zehūta. Throughout the Hymn the author speaks of himself in the first person.

Like so many of the Hymns of the period (14th cent.) considerable emphasis is placed on illumination and wisdom. Usually the early part of the Hymn is concerned with the mystery of creation, followed by a stanza or two about the wonder of Moses' birth; then often his function of Taheb (Restorer) followed by a stanza or two on the Day of Vengeance and Recompense. The last part of the Hymn normally deals with the mystery of reckoning the times of Festivals.

In the Hymn in C.pp.633 ff., in stanza Nun (2nd) the movement of the heavenly bodies and their phases and orbits are discussed; these movements and conjunctions have influence on the wise. The total period, in exact terms, of lunar and solar months is related to the Festivals and to the purpose of the deity. Then follows a long section on the decrees of God in mathematical terms, and there is much discussion of the mysteries of the numbers four and seven.

In another 14th cent. Hymn, by Phinehas b. Joseph (C.pp.494-504), there is an acrostic of the author's name in the first stanza as usual, and the remaining stanzas complete the full alphabetic sequence, the phrase occurring after stanza Kaph. This obscure Hymn (no.1 in Part IV below) deals with another aspect of the mysteries of God, namely Creation, in which portions of scriptural verses are quoted and enlarged from the author's teaching. Knowledge is discussed in stanza Daleth and related to the Tree of Knowledge in the Garden of Eden. An interesting reference occurs at the beginning of stanza He:-

The beginning and the end of all wisdom is the  
fear of him who founded the world (cf.Prov.i.7a).

Further research into the development of the Hymn in Sam. literature may well reveal the presence of proverbs and other sayings common to other parts of the Near East.

Normally the Hymn has a specific object, e.g. the Day of Atonement, towards which it leads, but there are Hymns extant which may be used on several occasions. The best example in C. is that in C.pp.746-53, containing short stanzas alphabetically arranged, with the break after stanza Kaph. This 14th cent. Hymn by 'Abdullah b. Solomon occurs in the Service of our study, but the translation is given in Green's dissertation (pagination not yet finalized). The Hymn, its first stanza being an acrostic of the author's name, has a specific title, which most Hymns do not; it is 'The Hymn on the Birth of Moses', and contains what may safely be termed legendary material pertaining thereto. It is not the purpose of our study to collate such material or to enter into the development of the ideas contained in Hymns. It was with this thought in mind that the writer decided, in reviewing Sam. doctrines, to keep to the general liturgical expressions of belief and leave alone those contained in later compositions. It is, however, of interest to observe that such a Hymn, available for use on several occasions, has no specific reference to any festival, but refers to some fundamental aspect of theology or belief, or both, with the add. of material, haggadic and halakhic, which did not find a place in the purely liturgical compositions.

The only Hymns translated in this work are from the 14th cent; reference may be made to other dissertations where Hymns from a later period are translated.

A Large Section (usually فصل ١٦٦٢) is an uncertain phrase. It occurs several times in the MS rubrics to denote that a certain piece or part of a piece is next to be said. In places the phrase lacks 'large' (e.g. C.p. 674) and it can only be supposed that what is written by the scribe is an excerpt, usually of great length, from a larger composition. The piece by the Rabban Jacob (ibid.), of the 14th cent., lacks in its beginning any reference in the first person and there is no acrostic; the conclusion (C.p.676) contains the first-person reference 'The conclusion of my composition'.

On the other hand, the 'large section' from 'Abdullah b.Solomon (C.pp.668-69) has all the features of a full Hymn, having at the start an acrostic of the author's name, and at the finish a typical ending; in this case there is probably some part of the original omitted within the piece. If there was no larger original it might be that this was a complete piece of no specific designation, selected from a corpus of works by 'Abdullah of which we have no copy.

A survey of such pieces throughout the Festival

liturgies reveals the fact that the selections, i.e. 'large sections from the composition by', are always apposite and must have been chosen because of their content.

Throughout the liturgies there are 'special Hymns' of no particular sort, having what appears to be a well-known title. The only example for Yom Ha-Kippur is 'The Morning Hymn' following the Ex.xv-xix Reading (see C.pp. 649-50). It is largely a metrical paraphrase of the story of Moses on the mountain speaking with God. There is little direct allusion to any one passage, and the word 'morning' in the title seems to come from ib.xix.16. The reason for the inclusion and composition of such a Hymn is clearly that the story of Moses on the mountain was one of the most important in Sam. doctrine, because therein lay the ultimate authority of Moses - he had actually spoken to God. From the Hymn the following extract (C.p.649, bottom) is significant:-

זו הנביא אשר קטם מלל יהוה:  
לא בליל כי אם בזרח יומה:  
ושש מאות אלף עדים במה אחעשה:  
הן יהוה ומשה לא בינם שלישי:

These words truly connote a basic belief and express the reason for both its composition and inclusion in an Exodus Reading section.

The KĪMĒ receives its title from Deut.xi.21:- "as long as the heavens are above the earth". Almost all the KĪMĒs begin thus, but there are some pieces entitled KĪMĒ which begin differently. Usually, however, these are appendages to KĪMĒs with the proper beginning. A study of the list in APP.VII (B) shows that only two of the fourteen pieces have the title; of the remaining twelve four begin with the word 'Abraham' and these are independent compositions, concerning which remarks are made below. Of the remaining eight two are end-pieces, i.e. benedictions in the form 'May you celebrate ... again for a hundred years'. The others six are miscellaneous and are included by liturgists (or scribes?) because they are homogeneous with the KĪMĒ or KĪMĒs preceding.

The KĪMĒs congregate towards the end of the Morning part of the Service in the Reading section Deut.xvi.18 - xxxi.29 and date from the 14th, 16 th and 18th cents., one being also from the 19th.

This type is distinguished by the practice of referring to God as 'the God of Abraham, of Isaac ...', in each case the phrase introducing an optative expression:- e.g. 'The God of Joseph the king, the redeemer, who bore all and under whose rule was everything, build the tabernacle ....'

In other words, the KĪMĒ is a piece with a dominant optative note and arranged in a chronological sequence with the divine Name attached to the name of some biblical character. Of the list of Patriarchs and others mentioned we have Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Moses, Aaron, Eleazar, Ithamar and Phinehas in the KĪMĒ by the 14th cent. Abīsha' in C.p.699. The so-called KĪMĒ in C.p.699, ll.12ff. is not a separate KĪMĒ, but the continuation of that just quoted above. Having completed the list of biblical personages, the author goes on to refer to the Creation and, in typically Sam. way, the physical creation is followed by the creation (or better 'designation') of festivals, Sabbaths, etc., but everything in order until the priest and the atoning and the fasting have been mentioned.

Leaving 14th cent. KĪMĒs aside, one finds an even more precise order in the 18th cent. form. One discovers also a new practice; a long series of verses begins, each verse, with (e.g.) 'God mighty, unerring, God redeemer from all error, God great, who is to be glorified, God who ....' The format is stereotyped and artificial, and the content merely a catalogue of the names and virtues of God. The best example in the Day of Atonement MSS is the KĪMĒ in C.pp.702 (bottom) - 704 of the 18th cent. In the 18th cent. piece by Abraham b. Jacob Ha-Danfi (C.

pp.704-06) the chronologically arranged references to biblical characters are to 'the father of mankind' (Adam), Noah, Abraham ... Joseph; the priests and the sacred sites of the Samaritans conclude the list.

An add. point about the format is that after the opening biblical references the phrase 'Amen, I AM THAT I AM' occurs; this heralds the major part of the composition, which consists in the main of petitions on the theme of the particular Festival. The language is the Hebrew of the Hymns, more strictly biblical in the 14th cent. compositions; the 18th cent. pieces employ many non-biblical words of late origin, along with many Ethpe'al forms from biblical roots which do not occur in the Aramaic dialects. Yet the linguistic style and idiom are almost everywhere reflections of the 14th cent. works. One difference from the format of the Hymn is that the KĪMĒ is set out in rhymed couplets, the halves of the first being also rhymed; thus - from C.p.705, ll.1-6:-

שְׁמַשׁ קֹדֶשׁ הַקְּדוּשִׁים:	אֱלֹהֵי הַכְּהֻנִּים הַקְּדוּשִׁים
לְמַסְכִּינּוֹת דָּן עִמָּה:	אֶרְחֵי וְשִׁים נְפֹוֹשִׁים
סֵל הִרְחוּ בֶן פֶּרֶץ:	אֱלֹהֵי אֲחֹרֵי הָאָרֶץ
וּפְלִיטָן מִן סַמָּאָה:	וְעַם הַשׁוֹבָה לָן קִבֵּץ
וְהֵךְ דִּי אֲמִנּוֹתְךָ קִבֵּל:	וְעֵנִי וּפְשֵׁר וּגְאֹל
אֲשֶׁר פָּדִיתָ יִהְיֶה:	וּכְפָר לְעַמְךָ יִשְׂרָאֵל

The chapter on the Sam. Day of Atonement doctrine below will have reference to the dominant theme of patriarchal merit. The KĪMĒ is eminently suited to that theme.

Although it is not known why this particular type came into being, it is certain that the idea of the heavenly and earthly generations appealed to the Samaritans, pre-occupied as they have been throughout the ages with the question of the divine favour and disfavour.

The EQR'Ū must now be considered. Like the KĪMĒ it acquired popularity and, as seen from the lengthy list in APP.VII (A), a number of EQR'Ūs would be lumped together in the MSS of the later period. Those extant for Yom Ha-Kippur come from the 14th-19th cents., again the century of origin appearing to be the 14th. C.'s edition contains only 14th-18th cent. examples, one of the 14th, one of the 15th and two of the 18th cents.

The Reading section affected by the EQR'Ūs is Lev. ix.22 to the end of Num.xv only, but in C.'s edition only Num.i.1 to the end of xv. There appears to be the following standard form for the beginning of the EQR'Ū:-

דקרא לו משה משה	שלום יהוה על משה
ונתן לו שני קרשי:	ודרס לגו אשה

"משה.....וגו"

The first stanza is the same for all EQR'Ūs. The standard end-stanza is as follows:-

חנים יומה בחדי רגור...  
 (או) חנים יומה לשש רגור...

The SHABHŪ'A, considered next below, has a similar last stanza, but the form is more regular. It is sufficient to state that the final stanza of the EQR'Ū is usually of the form 'May you celebrate the day again joyfully', where synonyms are used for 'joyfully'. After the end of the piece there is what appears to be a refrain in the form

ומד אנן ידעין <sup>وتفامة</sup>

which may be an abbreviation for the full (C.p.676)

ומד אנן ידעין דו אלה רחמן  
 נודי לה ננציר לה נכפה לה ונשחעבד לגדלה  
 ונימר עבד אן יחמר לה:

with the congregational response

ישחכח אלהים:

The first stanza gives the clue to the title of the piece, which is at once a commemoration of and a blessing upon Moses, for it emphasizes Moses as the one to whom God gave the two tablets of stone. The EQR'Ū has a strict rhyme; here is an example from C.p.684, the letters below representing the last letter of each half-line:-

sh	sh	sh	sh
nu	nu	nu	ēh
m	m	m	ī

The vowels for the consonants here unvowelled are variable.

ah	ah	ah	eh
z	z	z	eh
m	m	m	ī

There is considerable variation in the length of the piece; e.g. that in C.pp.683-84 has twenty stanzas: that in C.p.687 has only six. The theme is always on Moses and there is always reference to him as light, illumination, while in the long EQR'Ūs that light and illumination is taken back to the Creation.

The EQR'Ū is immediately followed by the SHABHŪ'A and it is not unlikely that the EQR'Ū and SHABHŪ'A came to be regarded as one piece, but not always so. There are more of the latter than of the former and they are from the same period, 14th-19th cents.

The SHABHŪ'A, like the EQR'Ū, appears in quantity in the Morning part of the Service only, and in connection with the same Readings. In almost every case it follows an EQR'Ū by the same author; the 16th cent. SHABHŪ'A in C.p.678, however, follows an EQR'Ū by a 14th cent. composer.

C.'s text contains only one 15th cent., one 16th, and three 18th cent. SHABHŪ'As, but APP.VII (A) shows that some MSS contain numbers of them (and similar pieces without a title). The piece continues, as it were, the theme of the EQR'Ū, but more particularly. It brings the

worshipper to the matter of the Festival in hand; in the case of that in C.p.678 the reference is to joy that the great day itself has come, while in the case of that in C.p.684 the reference is to cleanliness and purity of soul for the Festival. We may best describe the type as the complement of the EQR'Ū, developed from the 14th cent. on, having the same stanza structure and the same rhyme, with one qualification; the four (not three as in the EQR'Ū) half-lines of each stanza have the same final consonant and similar vowel. One other point of close similarity is the final stanza which begins with the words 'May you celebrate again' either 'this day' or 'this occasion' according to the author's choice.

The term EQR'Ū appears to mean 'Read' or 'Proclaim', probably the latter; in that case the proclamation would be an expression of belief and acknowledgement. The term SHABHŪ'A (الشَّبوع / شَبوع) means 'period of seven days' and is not to be confused with the similar word meaning 'oath'. It is intended to be a piece used on seventh days. What has been said in previous paragraphs had reference to Yom Ha-Kippur which is the subject of this study, but a reference to another Seventh Month Festival and to the seventh day of it reveals the presence of SHABHŪ'As without preceding EQR'Ūs, an indication that

the SHABHŪ'A, no matter how closely tied to the EQR'Ū, is used as an independent composition. The best example of the independent form in the Service for the Pilgrimage (seventh day) of Tabernacles is given in C.p.764. It is 14th cent. and the rhyme is different.

It is the opinion of the writer that future study of Sam. literary method and its development will reveal two types of SHABHŪ'A, one modelled on or belonging to the EQR'Ū, one independent of, but possibly modelled on the EQR'Ū.

The MARĀN ('our Lord') occurs in the last section of each part of the Service and its purpose primarily is the asking of God to receive the people's prayers. It is a natural and fitting conclusion to any service. C.p.276 contains the text of what seems to be the actual piece said at the end of the various services. The first three lines and each half-line end in Nūn (kōn), the next five in Nun and He respectively, while the last (C.'s l.11) ends, each half, in Taw. The concluding lines in C.'s paragraph appear to be variable, and the whole is completed with Yithhallal Elohim. etc. For the Morning part of the Service only O.5 om. the MARĀN, and for the Eve part only L.18. That used in the latter is not the one from C.p.276, but an 18th cent. composition by

Abraham b. Jacob Ha-Danfi, as is also the Great MARĀN (C.p.663). It would seem that an isolated 18th cent. author created a literary type based on the title of the undated MARĀN in C.p.276, which by its Aramaic form must have been composed much earlier (pre-14th cent.?).

Abraham's MARĀN is a long piece, the first four stanzas providing an acrostic of his whole name. It is, judging from the content, a piece specially composed for the end of the Service. That the author modelled his piece on an older form is not at all certain, since no earlier piece is like it. Only the title links it with the MARĀN in C.p.276 and used at the end of the Morning part of the Service.

The same author, Abraham, composed another MARĀN found at the end of the Eve part. The first five stanzas provide an acrostic of his personal name. The language is the same 18th cent. Hebrew as for the MARĀN by him which follows it. According to C.'s rubric (C.p.663, 11.13-14) the Great MARĀN, which is said during the fifty days, on the Sabbaths, is said before the Abraham MARĀN. This is the MARĀN of C.p.276; thus we may differentiate between the Great MARĀN said during the Festival of the MAZZĪŌTH Pilgrimage and the 18th cent. MARĀNs composed by Abraham b. Jacob Ha-Danfi. There is no clear connection between the two.

Before leaving the MARĀN it must be noted that the term MARĀN is applied in A.1 f.318 and A.2 f.63 to a piece by the 14th cent. Aaron b. Manīr - see APP.VII (A). This piece is not in C., but is contained in these MSS along with a large number of others which cannot be regarded as essential parts of the Service; they are rather collections of pieces which may once have been used (but this is unlikely) or which served as a compendium from which selection could be made. It may transpire, as a result of research into the forms of Sam. literature, that there is a connection between the name Manīr and the title MARĀN, a practice in evidence all through the Sam. liturgies.

Reference was made in pp.135-36 above to the Great BAREKHŪ and the NEBHAREKH with its MŪṢAF. These must now be studied as literary phenomena.

The Great BAREKHŪ is a single piece composed of excerpts from the Pentateuch. The title ('Bless ye') is a strange one in view of the subject matter. The only MS which gives a start to the piece in keeping with the title is BK; the rubric from this MS (f.46) containing the reference to it is as follows:-

ואذا كان الوقت كبير يقال بרכו الكبيره וברוך והמוסף על זמנו היתוב:

The piece occurs in the section of the tenth Reading,

along with several short Defter pieces. That it was not essential to the Service Morning part is clear from the rubric. C.pp.7-8 contain this piece with variations, and it is certain that it was a group of biblical verses chosen according to the festival, so that Passover and Tabernacles have a slightly different form. Only the version printed by C. explains the title, for the Day of Atonement MSS om. the last half-line (= congregational response?) in each verse; the half-line consists of an expression of adoration or acknowledgement, e.g. 'Holy is thy Name', or 'Majesty is thine'. None of these appears in the MSS available for Yom Ha-Kippur. It must be assumed, then, that the title refers to the practice of appending to certain scriptural verses a few words (usually two) of praise.

Here are the scriptural verses which constitute the Day of Atonement BAREKHŪ (the text is in APP.II, no.8):-

BK (loc.cit.) begins with the opening words of the NEBHARĒKH (see below) - נְבִיךְ וְנִהְלֵל וְנִגְדֵל וְנִשְׁאָאָה

The other MSS begin with the expression (source unknown) יִשְׁתַּבַּח בְּאֵרֶיךָ יְיָ (praised be the Creator who thus.... etc.):

Gen. i.6, i.9, i.14, i.20, i.24, ii.3, ii.7b, iii.9, viii.20, xxii.1, xxii.7, xxviii.16.

Ex. iii.6, xxx.10, xxxii.30, xxxiv.6, xxxiv.9.

Lev. ix.7b<sup>a</sup>, ix.7b<sup>b</sup>, xvi.6 (or 11 or 24), xvi.29, xvi.34,

xxiii.2, xxiii.27, xxiii.32, xxv.9.

Then follows בְּרוּךְ מִן דְּאִמְרַת אֱבֹתַי, which is a reference to Lev.xxvi.2.

Num. vi.24.

Deut. iii.24, iv.1, iv.30, vi.20 (or 24 or 25), xxi.8, xxviii.12.

The BAREKHŪ, thus set out, may well have been said antiphonally. L.18 f.169 has the following marginal

note (bottom):-  
 ויבן : هذه المزيادات واحدة يقال عليها سلام  
 לעמך : וואחדע יקאל עליה כפר לעמך : מח

For the Morning part of the Service, in the section containing the twenty-first Reading, the Great BAREKHŪ is also found, followed by the NEBHARĒKH and appropriate MŪṢAF, and accompanied by several Defter pieces. It seems likely that the piece is an early Defter composition high-lighting, as it were, the theme of a festival. It is hardly a 'literary type', but deserves mention as a type of composition or compilation, albeit almost wholly biblical.

The NEBHARĒKH follows the BAREKHŪ in each part of the Service and is similarly arranged in the MSS. The text for the Day of Atonement version is set out in APP. II, no.9; again, it differs, for the same reason as above-stated, from the text printed by C. (C.p.7). It is to be observed that the MSS available do not confirm C.'s

arrangement of the text. He has the NEBHAREKH consisting, seemingly, of his 11.22-26, and then without a title, a continuation which is substantially the BAREKHŪ of the MSS. According to him (C.p.7, 1.5) there is a different piece after the NEBHAREKH. It is better to regard the latter as an alternative to the BAREKHŪ, or a congregational response to the priest's reciting of the BAREKHŪ. This may be confirmed by the close similarity of the two in the MSS. The difficulty is caused by the fact that the MSS do not differentiate between them, and the reader must surmise that the one follows the other in the Service.

It is to be noted also that the piece in C.p.9 (11.15-20) follows the NEBHAREKH in the MSS too.

The MŪṢAF for the NEBHAREKH simply means that portion of the piece which is used for a particular festival. C. p.8 contains such a MŪṢAF (11.4-16). It seems to the writer that C., collating several MSS. did not realize that the substantial differences in his MSS were due to the fact that he had before him MŪṢAFs for different services, if not for different festivals. Thus his text for both BAREKHŪ and NEBHAREKH (& its MŪṢAF) is confused in order. The texts for the two in APP.II are agreed upon by all the MSS which contain them.

The SHABBEHŪ as a literary type is represented in the MSS by two forms, a 16th and an 18th cent. The 16th cent. SHABBEHŪ (= 'Praise ye') is by Abraham b. Joseph Ha-Qabāzī and is in C.pp.707-12. The 18th cent. form is by Tabhya b. Isaac and is in C.pp.712-14.

Both occur in the Morning part of the Service in the section beginning with the twenty-first Reading. The first is attested only in L.16, BK & A.3, the second in all the MSS for this part of the Service.

From that fact that the 16th cent. one is contained in only three of the MSS we may reckon that it was dropping out of use or had never attained popularity, while the 18th cent. form was fully accepted and popular in that cent. They are similar in many ways, each having some at least of its stanzas separated by refrains. Both have the last stanza beginning with the traditional 'May you celebrate again', and each has in its first stanza an acrostic of the author's name.

Both contain first-person references and emphasize the theme of penitence. A point of interest in both is the fact that they contain MANĀṬs (see below), but C.'s MSS do not make reference to the term here. It is clear from BK that MANĀṬs for certain days are contained in the SHABBEHŪs. See also APP.III, nos.17-19, for add. BK MANĀṬs not in the other MSS. E.g. in C.p.709, last

three paragraphs, we have three MANĀṬs according to BK. These are MANĀṬs for Yom Ha-Kippur, but whether they are also integral parts of the composition by Abraham is not certain. It may be that in the time of the BK scribe portions of this SHABBEHŪ were used as MANĀṬs because of the suitability of their points of reference.

The three MANĀṬs in APP.III (from BK) are for the Eighth Day and it seems reasonable to suppose that they, originally part of the SHABBEHŪ, had come to be used, like the others for Yom Ha-Kippur, for the day after the Festival of Succōth, although the SHABBEHŪ would remain an individual and indivisible composition in its own right - as witnessed by the MSS other than BK.

There is considerable difference, however, between the two SHABBEHŪs as well, the first being in parts a biblical mosaic, the other almost wholly devoted to the matter of forgiveness of sins. The present writer considers that Tabhya's composition was modelled on Abraham's as far as the stanza and refrain arrangement is concerned, and also with regard to the form of the acrostic. The language of the latter is very similar to, but more archaistic than that of the former.

Although SHABBEHŪs from other festival services are not the concern of this work, it is necessary to consult them in order to be able to describe the regular pattern.

Two are not enough for this purpose. The standard type is as follows:- first an introductory eulogy of God, usually based on the acrostic. Then there follows a fourfold sequence, the central part of the whole: (1) a number of epithets applied to God, each introduced by the formula 'The LORD, He is God': (2) an exhortation 'Lift up your hands', which C. did not print in full, but Leeds MS 6 (used by Lerner, Dissertation, q.v.) has the fixed form 'Lift up your hands and say, "Blessed be God: There is only one God: He endures for ever, the Creator of heaven and earth"'; this is followed by the fixed refrain:

To the Great one who endures in his divinity,  
 To the Might, like which there is none;  
 To the Good one, who is good in his faithfulness,  
 To the Good one, who does good for ever.

To the Hearer of all cries,  
 To the Acceptor of all supplications;  
 To the Doer of signs and wonders,  
 To the One who knows hidden and revealed things.

To the Merciful one, whose mercy is without end!

(3) Variable epithets now follow, introduced by l'elah and then again (4) the refrain, 'Lift up your hands'.

This central sequence is regularly followed by a series of paragraphs praising God and identifying him as God of several biblical personages. The first of these paragraphs is usually concluded by the refrain, 'In his righteousness, etc.' The term SHABBEḤŪ well describes the content.

The metre is irregular, the lines of varying length, but the rhyming is regular, each half-line rhyming with the half-line immediately below.

The MIDRĀSH ('supplication') is not connected with the Jewish term, but is a literary type. Five MIDRĀSHes are found in the MSS for Yom Ha-Kippur, four of them in C.'s edition. For this type we have a 4th cent. example attributed to Nanah b. Marqah. It is not in the Defter; C.'s text is in C.pp.689-90. This type is distinguished by a first verse beginning with the words selah lanu ah ....., which may be said to set the tone for the piece. The only examples are from the Morning part of the Service and all occur in the section starting with the eighteenth Reading (Num.xxv.11 - xxxvi); the title may have been derived from xxvii.21 where the root sh'l occurs. All the examples have the same theme of personal and/or national repentance and the desire for God's forgiveness. They are all in biblical Hebrew, containing a few words of later Hebrew. The lines rhyme, but the half-lines do not. It is interesting that the 18th-19th cent. examples are so closely modelled on the 4th cent. prototype. The last verse begins with the familiar and often used phrase, 'May you celebrate the day again' and the piece is concluded by the repetition of the first verse.

C.'s text (L.16) and most of the other texts available list the MIDRĀSHes occurring in them as 'first MIDRĀSH', 'second MIDRĀSH', etc., which seems to imply that by the late 18th cent. the four printed by C. were all in use, though O.5, BK & L.17 contain only one. (Nanah's). L.16, A.1,2 have all four, while A.1,2 add a fifth, of the 19th cent., the text of which is in APP.III, no.10.

The strict regularity of language, phraseology, rhyme and format makes this type unique. The reason for this strict regularity is not known, unless it be that the model was created by the son of the celebrated Marqah.

The MANĀT appears to be a collect, liturgical, usually short, setting out the biblical decree for the Festival. Those for the Great Fast (Yom Ha-Kippur) have two verses, each of two lines, usually rhymed, and are in Aramaic; e.g. C.pp.666 & 709. Those for the Eighth Day (BK only - the texts are in APP.III, nos.17-19) tend to be longer, are also rhymed and in Aramaic. The MANĀTs are not dated.

The MANĀTs for the great Festivals were probably composed specially, but for regular Sabbaths and Weekdays and the days of the longer Festivals selections were made from suitable Defter pieces. E.g. the MANĀTs, or Collects of the Day, for the Ten Days of Penitence, were selected

from a composition in the Defter ascribed to Marqah (C.p. 67). Each day so many lines would be used; C.p.473 sets out the arrangement.

The origin of the term MANĀT has not been discovered; what can be noted with certainty is that it is an Arabic word as the Samaritans use it, rarely written in Hebrew characters. Presumably C.'s rendering 'appendage' (C.p. lxi) is based on the Arabic root nwt, which means 'hang' or 'suspend', but this is uncertain.

The final literary type to be considered is the DEKHÖR ('remember'!). This has no real significance in a study of the Service for Yom Ha-Kippur, the only one occurring at the end of the Eve part, before the MARĀN. This is an 18th cent. piece by Abraham b. Jacob Ha-Danfi (C.pp.661-63), mostly in biblical Hebrew with a few archaistic Aramaisms, each verse rhymed, but not the half-lines.

The rubric (C.p.661) informs the reader that the piece was in fact composed by Ṭabhya b. Isaac, Priest, and not by Abraham as usually ascribed. The piece only occurs in L.16, A.1,2,3.

It describes the Day of Atonement as the Fast Day, catalogues its virtues, sets out a few biblical verses pertaining to the Festival, and pleads for Israel's for-

givenness. There is no obvious connection with the term dekhōr, unless the piece be regarded as a 'commemoration' originally, or a reappraisal for the benefit of the congregation.

### SOME LITURGICAL PRACTICES

There are three liturgical practices which cannot be classed as literary types.

(1) The Antiphons. It is difficult to assess the purpose or form of the Antiphons from the meagre information presented in the rubrics, but fortunately A.3 f.13 contains the Antiphon for אָמֵן (APP.II, no.12) and L.18 that for אָמֵן (ibid., no.16). C.p.58 also offers the text for the latter.

The term of course implies that both priest and congregation took part, alternatively. The Arabic يلبوا (in Hebrew אָמֵן) is the term used by the scribes to describe this procedure. The Arabic root lby is used in Arabic literature of 'answering a call' and is most familiarly used in the common labbaik 'here I am'. Here is the arrangement for אָמֵן.

The priests say the biblical phrase to be rendered antiphonally; the congregation respond 'We cry unto the Lord'. Then the Reader says 'And God saw the Israelites and God knew' (Ex.ii.25), to which the people make the

response as above. Then the priest says 'And I will remember my covenant ... land' (Lev.xxvi.42); this time the response is 'what God is there in heaven', etc. (Deut. iii.24). Next there is said 'And I will remember for them .... the Lord' (Lev.xxvi.45); then the response as preceding. This is followed by Num.x.9-10 and then the response 'What God .... heaven'. Deut.viii.18 is said and the same response given; Deut.iv.29a, followed by the response 'For what great nations ....' (ibid. iv.7-8), is succeeded by the saying of ibid.iv.29-30 and the response 'For what great nation ....'. The final passage read by the priests is ibid.iv.31 and the same response is given. The Antiphon ends with YITHHALLAL.

The other Antiphons follow a similar pattern.

(2) The SEGUDDAHs. The Three Prostrations (expressions of worship) occur in the last section of each part of the Service. The term שׁוּבָה or السجدة seems to mean some action in worship such as prostration. There are three at one time and each is accompanied by a verse from Scripture applicable to the Festival. In the Service of our concern there are two, differing only in the verse said. These occur in C.pp.663 and 715 respectively, and are as follows:-

Eve: Lev.xvi.34a is said three times with prostrat-

ions, and during the third prostration ibid.xvi.34b is said.

Morning: Part of Lev.xvi.31 is said three times.

These are the only examples in the Service, but there is one exception to the rule that SEGUDDAHs are threefold; in the Service for the Festival of the Pilgrimage of Mazẓōth (Sabbath) the SEGUDDAHs number seven (C.p.259).

(3) The Three Proclamations (כרזות שלשה) appear in the last section of the Eve part. C.(p.667 top) obtained no text from his MSS. L.18 ends with the reference to the Three Proclamations. It is possible that what is referred to is the few lines from the Defter, in the Marqah composition for the first Sabbath of the month; they are C.p.84, ll.13 (from first כארזין) - 16 (to האלהים). The first two examples of כארזין ואמרין (proclaiming and saying) would count as one, as they are identical, so that the four examples in all from these C. ll. will constitute the Three Proclamations. It is obvious from their content that they are statements of belief. Why this liturgical type, only from the 4th cent., occurs at the end of the Eve part of the Service and not the Morning is not clear.

---

F. THE ATONEMENT HYMNAL

Throughout the Service several Hymns occur which are attested in all or most of the available MSS. These appear to have become integral parts of the Service. Apart from these, however, there is what the present writer has termed 'the Atonement Hymnal', consisting of a large number of mostly very long Hymns of the 14th-19th cents. These are found in L.18 (hence C.'s pp.494-640) and A.1. A full list is given in APP.V.

C. did not observe from his MSS that these Hymns were not an integral part of the Service, nor did he state that they interrupted the Service violently in the midst of a Liturgical Unit. Even if one confines oneself to those Hymns printed by C., it is clear from the rubrics, especially from that in C.p.640, that the scribe did not himself regard the Hymns copied by him as being said in their entirety during the course of the day's worship. That rubric, to mention but one, makes it clear that the block of Hymns is a collection.

The collection on examination turns out to be chronologically arranged, a fact which may support the argument that these Hymns represent a collection and nothing more. From the other MSS which contain the first three it is apparent that individual Hymns could be

chosen for use. Apart from L.18 and A.1 no Hymn, after no.1, is found in more than four MSS. The figures are as follows (see APP.V (A) for list of Hymns printed by C.):-

no.1 occurs in 7 MSS

.. 2 .. .. 4 MSS

.. 3 .. .. 4 MSS (not the same four)

.. 4 .. .. 2 MSS

.. 5 .. .. 2 MSS (not the same two)

.. 6 .. .. 2 MSS (same two)

nos.7-8 occur in 2 MSS (ditto)

no.9 occurs in 3 MSS (including these two)

nos.10,12-14 occur in 1 MS (one of these two)

no.11 occurs in 2 MSS (as for no.9)

Nos.15-29 (APP.V (B)) occur only in A.1. It is clear from the above list that the Hymnal was not a standardized collection. Nor was the exact point within the Service where the Hymns occurred settled. A glance at APP.I (A) under Section 5 of the Service reveals that two of the Hymns (C.pp.494ff. & 504ff.) were placed there by only two of the nine MSS. Similarly, under Section 6, the Hymn in C.pp.746ff., which was used for various occasions, is placed there by only three MSS. In add., A.3 is different from the other MSS in placing Hymns by 'Abdullah b. Solomon immediately after the Reading in Sections 9 & 10, but presenting no text. It appears from

the facts just stated that the scribes, even of the same period, were not in agreement over the question of the exact location of Hymns from the Hymnal.

These Hymns are, nevertheless, valuable source material for literary and doctrinal study. It is anticipated in the School of Sam. Studies of the University of Leeds that the individual Hymns will be re-edited and translated in monograph form by the multilith process in the near future. It is beyond the scope of this work to translate Hymns which probably were never part, integrally, of the Service. To do so would be like translating the Prayer Book of the Church of England along with "Hymns Ancient and Modern". Yet there are three Hymns, nos.1-3 in the list, which are attested in at least four different MSS. In order to include them as being probably part of the regular Service of the present time and in order to make available in translation at least some Hymns of the type of the Hymnal, a translation of nos.1-3, with textual and explanatory notes following, is given in this work in Part IV.

---

G. THE DAY OF ATONEMENT: Samaritan Beliefs  
about its Nature, Purpose and Efficacy.

It is at once apparent, after a reading of the festival liturgies, that the Samaritans made extensive use of hyperbole. Each Festival is held to be the Festival par excellence, and each receives numerous attributes which give the impression of supremacy. If one were to base a doctrinal system on the Hymnal of any Christian denomination, one would be faced with, e.g., the problem of the nature of the life beyond this, a world, apparently, inhabited by winged angels who do nothing else but minister at the divine throne, and also by the people of earth who, after their demise, apparently did nothing but rest. To form a doctrine of the hereafter on such a basis would raise formidable difficulties in view of New Testament teaching. Likewise, to base any doctrine of Samaritanism on the compositions contained in any one service could easily create difficulties of magnitude. It is thus, in the opinion of the writer, dangerous to formulate Sam. beliefs about Yom Ha-Kippur, unless they are well attested within the entire Festival Service. There are passages, not in keeping with the general statement of belief, but possibly valid for a particular period, that could mistakenly be used for such a purpose.

Hence, in this chapter only those beliefs which seem typical and are expressed in several different types of composition over a long period are considered.

It is abundantly evident that Yom Ha-Kippur is a day of penitence, whereon petition for God's forgiveness is made and confession on both an individual and a national scale is expressed. The intensity of the petition and the degree of confession vary according to the nature, presumably, of the authors and, possibly, to the extent of misery experienced by the Samaritans under various regimes. An outstanding contribution of Samaritanism is to be found in the way the writers follow expressions of contrition with references to the mercifulness of God. This happens so often throughout the Service that one cannot but take note of it. The compassion of the deity is stressed to a degree not found in neighbouring Islam or even in the religious writings of Judaism as a whole. Ex.xxxiv.6 is repeated very many times and is associated in the majority of cases with expressions of personal and national sorrow.

To a degree greater than in Judaism the Samaritans emphasize the merits of their forefathers. The term למנא is used frequently in connection with the name of one or other of the Patriarchs, Moses and Joseph. 'By the merit of the Three' is a typical form, and another is 'by the

righteousness (or 'meritoriousness') of the Pure Chain'.

'Abdullah b. Solomon uses the expression (C.p.491) 'Unite us with Moses and the Pure Chain and make not Thy covenant void from us, but do Thou remember the prayers of Moses'.

This thought of an intermediary or intermediaries is contained in the standard type of KĪMĒ (e.g. C.p.652):-

'By the merit of Abraham the Hebrew ... of Isaac ... Jacob Israel ... Joseph the king ... our lord Moses the star ... Aaron and his sons, the anointed priests ... by their merit forgive us all our iniquities'. A less common list is provided by Abraham b. Jacob (C.p.665):- 'By the merit of Adam and Noah ... (Abraham) ... Isaac ... (Jacob) ... (Joseph) ... Moses ... the priests ... (Phinehas)'. The brackets indicate that the name is not stated, but an attribute given. In places it is the commemoration of the faithful forefathers that brings merit to the worshipper. 'O I AM THAT I AM, by the commemoration of our fathers be gracious ... and forgive our sins' (C.p.671).

The covenant that God made with the forefathers is found throughout the Liturgy as a source of forgiveness, 'Remember, O compassionate God, the covenant with our fathers, "and forgive our iniquities and our sins ..."' (C.p.493). 'My Lord, do not annul Thy covenant with those who preceded us' (C.p.669, Lamedh). That the Samaritans thought in terms of the nation rather than the individual

is proved by such a statement as 'The descent of the congregation of the Book is from the hand of Jacob's sons to that of a leprous people' (C.p.645, Heth), just as much as by reference to the covenant with the forefathers.

Before leaving the subject of patriarchal merit, a few passages should be noted where Moses' great position is underlined in terms of his (the supreme) meritoriousness.

We supplicate Thee by the merit of Ben Jochebed, that Thou deliver the PIECE OF LAND (C.p.643, Shin).

The peace of the Lord was upon him and his pure fathers who kept the way of the Lord ... By them make supplication on this Day of Atonement, that all our sins be atoned for (C.p. 650).

And redeem them ... by the prophethood of Thy servant Moses Ben 'Amram who fasted (C.p.658).

O Lord, accept our repentances ... by the merit of him who received the two stone tablets (C.p.660).

And renew for you the covenant of peace by the merit of the great prophet (C.p.681).

The behaviour of the repentant worshippers is described in many passages. Purity of heart and mouth is a first essential. Fasting is absolutely necessary, for it brings blessing (as shown in many of the concluding optative passages). The fasting of Moses is the standard for attainment:-

Moses ... fasted forty days and nights ...  
 Moses, there is none like him in the world  
 (C.p.368).

The need for fasting is expressed by Abraham b. Jacob  
 in these words:-

Let those who hunger fast; from this hunger  
 is their food! (C.p.664).

The acts of purity and fasting and, of course, belief  
 are but factors within a greater aim, that of reconcil-  
 iation to God and the reconciliation of God to Israel  
 by means of atonement.

Flee from your sin to the refuge of the fear of  
 Him, and thence seek the Lord ... and find Him  
 (C.p.493).

Flee to Him, for before you is the way to salvat-  
 ion, and you will find Him (ibid.).

In a MALĪFŪṬ by Eleazar (C.p.489) we read

Let Him rend the garment of our iniquities and  
 be reconciled to us, through Moses ... (ibid.).

Petition by the Day of Atonement for reconciliation is  
 expressed in

By it we petition Thee, our Lord, by Thy loving-  
 kindness to return to us and forgive ... (C.p.657).

In the quest for that reconciliation the immanence of  
 God finds emphasis:-

Nearest of the near, drive us not away from the  
 greatness of Thee ...  
 Make near our farness and forgive our iniquities  
 ... (C.p.672, Qoph).

The urgency of this quest is expressed in a SHABHŪ'A:-

My Lord, return to me before I die and clothe me in the garment of repentance toward Thee (C.p. 685).

Not only the living are atoned for by the means so far described:-

Be merciful to our dead and forgive Thy people Israel (C.p.654).

Welcome, O Fast Day, possessed of all forgivenesses! It contains a seed which is not in idolatry, but links slain and living (C.p.666).

... so that they are prepared for repentance and those who sleep are awakened (C.p,668).

Before considering some outstanding and distinctively Sam. (for the most part) features of Yom Ha-Kippur, some further notes on the nature and function of the Festival, and in particular its joyfulness, are given.

Every hour of the day brings pardon to those who fast sincerely and fear God. It is a prerequisite of forgiveness to be pure and to wear clean garments. These facts might give the impression of great solemnity and the depth of contrition as expressed in many of the poems might suggest great sorrow, but this would be an incomplete picture. Throughout the Service stress is continually laid on the joyfulness of the occasion. In Abraham al-Qabāzi's SHABHŪ'A (C.p.678) the whole theme is the joyousness of the Festival. Murjān ad-Danfi's SHABHŪ'A (C.p. 681) contains the opening sentiment:-

O blessed and sanctified day! Happy is he who is

sanctified therein and wears the garments  
of pious fear and love.

In the following Sabbath verse this theme and another  
common thought are found:-

The one brings relaxation for our bodies, the  
other affliction for our souls.  
There is great joy for those who fast and great  
shame for those who slack.

The idea that Yom Ha-Kippur is a Sabbath (even if it be  
not on a Sabbath) may spring from the biblical statement  
'A Sabbath of solemn rest is yours', which is often  
quoted in the Service. When the Service falls on a  
Sabbath many pieces are inserted containing the theme of  
Sabbath rest and Atonement affliction. So often these  
two are conjoined to make one verse. In the Marqah piece  
'Welcome, day of the Fast' (C.p.62), the day is treated  
as a Sabbath.

The Sabbath day brings the servant rest, a day of  
forgivenesses for Israel,  
In which those who supplicate their Lord shall  
fast with repentance.

A YISHTABBAH (C.p.489) sets out the conjunction of rest  
and affliction:-

In the one is refreshment for your bodies and in  
the other affliction for your souls.

No doubt the Samaritans realized that true self-afflict-  
ion was best expressed when the Festival fell on a Sabbath  
and fasting without work was a severe discipline.

If the Day of Atonement was treated as if it was a

Sabbath (as on occasion it could be), it was also regarded as having similarity to the Day of Vengeance. The connecting link is undoubtedly repentance and purity.

O you who seek the Garden of Eden, this is the day!  
It is for you, for it is like the Day of Vengeance!  
Blessed are you if you change your raiment and say,  
'O Lord, accept our fasts' (C.p.660).

Another passage referring to the similarity is:-

And the other (Yom Ha-Kippur) in which is afflicting of the soul - no drinking and no eating -  
And to which there is no like among days,  
except the Day of Vengeance which resembles it.  
(C.p.661).

Describing features of the Festival, the following passage states:-

A day which has no like, except the Day of Vengeance which resembles it,  
With neither eating nor drinking, on which the soul is satisfied with preparation for atonements and forgivenesses of our sins (C.p.668).

Closely connected with that resemblance is the relationship of the Festival to the Garden of Eden. The former is the 'gate of repentance which takes us through' (C.p. 669), and the worshipper on that day flees to 'the gate of Thy mercies'. A typical response from the congregation is:-

We will open the gate of penitence and pass through  
(C.p.648).

As indicated in an above-quoted passage, it is the day for those who seek the Garden of Eden. That the true

Sam. will go there is seen in

(This day is) like the Garden of Eden, in its  
midst life, to which those who keep its ways  
will go (C.p.649).

Another passage shows the supremacy of Yom Ha-Kippur  
in the Sam. religious years-

The door of repentance is open and the gate of  
the Garden of Eden  
For those who pass on in the covenant of the Lord  
... (C.p.666, Yodh).

So the aim of the sincere worshipper on Yom Ha-Kippur  
is that God will

Forgive me and be gracious and grant Thy goodness  
and bring me to the Garden of Eden (C.p.691).

The idea of the gate of repentance is found in the Muslim  
Ramadān Fast, and this similarity will be noted in the  
next section.

It is obvious that there is considerable difference  
between the biblical and mishnaic Day of Atonement and  
the Sam. (and modern Jewish). The principle difference  
is in the matter of sacrifice. Sam., Rabbanite and  
Qaraite services alike make mention of the fact that  
sacrifice is no longer possible as in biblical times,  
but all urge the efficacy of prayers and praises; these  
are substitute for the sacrifices. Sam. liturgists make  
frequent reference to this. Often allusions are made to  
the horn being blown, but that horn is no physical one.

In the morning, perchance at the beginning we  
 may find acceptance, and also  
 The horn of freedom from sin and guilt be blown  
 (C.p.490, 2nd Yodh).

The triumphant note is expressed similarly in the following YISHTABBAH:-

O Power who made the clarion-sounds of atonements,  
 Let them blow the trumpet on this day (C.p.694).

The altar is but a substitute for the real altar of the former Temple, long since destroyed.

The offering of my prayers and supplications has  
 no fire kindled in it,  
 But only the fire of my heart is kindled therein  
 (C.p.668).

Yet the priestly offering is efficacious:-

Who is for us besides Thee, O Lord our God?  
 Accept on this Day of Atonement the atonements  
 of our priests (C.p.659, Mem).

Perhaps the most surprising thing about the Sam. Service is the paucity of reference to Azazel. Like the altar offerings and the trumpet-blowing and the priests, the function of Azazel lost its original meaning, and the Samaritans seem to have been content to refer to him as 'the fleer'.

The fleer has fled, by whom our enemy is confounded,  
 And has gone up to the wilderness, that his offering  
 might be accepted (C.p.488).

The efficacy of the day, the one day in the year, is comprised not only of the entry into the Garden and the forgiveness of sins; there are physical and material benefits too. In the DEKHÖR (C.p.662), dealing with this

topic, we have the following list of benefits to be derived from the proper observance of the Festival.

To those who fast this day, who do well in action and speech,  
He has given ten gifts which deliver from all vengeance:-

Atonement and forgiveness and mercies, and affliction of soul,  
And fasting and the two kinds of prayer which go far toward Him who is concealed;  
And goodly repentance ... and the allotted offering, that provision may not turn aside;  
And the priestly blessing ...

There is spiritual or psychological benefit:-

This day comes and forgives his iniquity and the Israelite goes forth therefrom a new man -  
He lifts his head and his eye! (C.p.669).

This is matched, on the other hand, by the promise of freedom from servitude and disease:-

Our Lord accept your supplications ... and hate your enemies and recompense you for every plague,  
So that you behold the tabernacle set up on Mount Gerizim beside the Oak of Moreh (C.p.676).

In almost all pertinent passages the benefits are of a national kind.

Bring down the clouds of Thy mercies upon us,  
And, in remembering the fathers, have compassion on the children (C.p.646).

As has been observed above, the dead are included in the (non-material) benefits. A reading from O.5, which occurs at the asterisk in C.p.713, 1.26, states the national and material efficacy of Yom Ha-Kippur:-

And may they flourish after the(ir) paucity,

they, Israel and their sons;  
And may He relieve them of all their distress  
and subdue their enemy before them.

All the passages cited above are typical expressions of Sam. thoughts on the Festival's efficacy. There are many, especially in the long Hymns, of a less typical sort which cannot yet be regarded as belonging to the mainstream of belief about the Festival. Despite the allusions to material blessings, it must be admitted that on the whole the Samaritans have spiritualized this greatest day of their religious year.

---

H. COMPARISON WITH THE JEWISH FESTIVAL OF THE DAY OF ATONEMENT. and observations on points of similarity with the Islamic Ramadān.

(a) The Rabbanite

The other contributors to the School of Sam. Studies in the University of Leeds have not succeeded in discovering any clear relationship of close similarity or interdependence between the Sam. and Jewish Festival. It is to be expected that both will have the following points in common, since they derive their authority from the same source.

1. Same scriptural verses quoted (Torah)
2. Similarity of language (biblical Hebrew)
3. Similar expression of contrition and petition
4. Similar basic beliefs about Atonement.

Before considering the general nature of the Jewish (Rabbanite) Festival, it would be well to note that whereas the Sam. Festival consists of one Service, the Rabbanite Festival consists of the following:-

1. Afternoon Service
2. Evening Service
3. Morning Service
4. Additional Service
5. Afternoon Service
6. Concluding Service
7. Evening Service on Termination of

the Day of Atonement.

The single Service of the Samaritans is thus represented in the Rabbanite Festival by no less than seven Services, two for the Eve and five for the Morning, though the prayers are continuous from Eve to Morning. In the case of the former, the Afternoon Service is a preparatory one, and in that of the latter, the short Additional Service, known as the Mūsaf Service, was the continuation of the theme of the preceding Service, while the Afternoon Service for the Reading of the Law relates to the Day of Atonement Sacrifices; the Concluding Service is called Ne'ila (closing) and during it confident expression of God's forgiveness is given. The whole cycle of Services for the Day itself is completed by the Evening Service on the Termination of the Festival, which may be termed the Shōfar Service, for the blast of the trumpet gives the signal that the Festival is ended.

Perhaps the most striking difference between the Sam. and Rabbanite Festivals is the fact that there is an excellently devised pattern of Services in the case of the latter, each in itself having little liturgical order, and in the case of the former there is a wonderful liturgical order within one Service in two parts. As a result of this difference in ordered plan, liturgical order has been sacrificed by the Rabbanites, while it has been

greatly emphasized by the Samaritans.

No single one of the Rabbanite Services can be called closely similar to any part of the Sam. Service. The Rabbanite is a collection of collects, psalms, Readings, petitions, responses and Hymns, with certain literary types not found in the Sam. Service, such as the Amīdah and the Mourner's Qaddīsh. There is no equivalent of the Sam. Liturgical Unit. A comparative study of the Rabbanite Services reveals that some prayers and some special pieces were said often during the whole 24-hour period. This repetition, equally common in the Qaraite order, is lacking in the Sam., where the only repetition of the same pieces occurs at the beginning and end of each part of the Service. Whether the repetitiousness in the Rabbanite is due to the fact that the longer poems by eminent authors attained such a position of esteem that few later compositions could find a place, with the result that, whereas the Sam. liturgists kept introducing new material every few cents., the Rabbanite liturgists were content to have regular confessions said at each Service by the congregation after the Amīdah, it is difficult to say.

When consideration is given to the dating of those parts of the Rabbanite Services which can be dated, it is found that, as in the Sam., they are from different cents., suggesting, as in the case of the Sam., that there were

periods of great revival or expansion or both. Of the writers who contributed poems and other pieces to the Rabbanite Services, the following are noteworthy:-

Rabbi Jose b. Jose	8th cent.
Simeon b. Isaac b. Amun of Mainz	10th ..
Kalonymos of Lucca	10th ..
Meshullam b. Kalonymos	10th ..
Joseph b. Isaac b. Stans Abitur	10th ..
Eleazar Kalir	8th-10th cents.?
Gershom bar Judah	10th cent.
Solomon b. Gabirol	11th ..
Elijah b. Gabirol	11th ..
Solomon b. Judah of Babylon	11th ..
Shephatiah	11th ..
Amittai b. Shephetiah	11th ..
Rabbi Yom Tobh of York	12th ..
Solomon b. Abun of France	12th ..
Ephraim b. Isaac	12th ..
Barukh b. Samuel	12th-13th cents.
Solomon b. Samuel	13th cent.
Mordecai b. Sabbattai	13th ..
Ephraim b. Yakar	13th ..
Daniel b. Judah	13th ..
Rabbi Meir of Rothenburg	13th ..
Solomon Ephraim b. Aaron Lent- schütz	16th-17th cents.

It is generally correct to assert that the Rabbanite Festival is almost wholly pre-14th cent., while the Sam. is composed of material from the 4th, 14th and 18th cents. in the main. By the 14th cent. the Rabbanite was practic-

ally at the end of its development, whereas the 14th cent. manifested a great Sam. revival and development still to be added to substantially as late as the 19th cent.

It is to be remembered that the Jews were scattered throughout the world, while the Samaritans were centred in medieval times in Palestine, Egypt and Syria only, and in later times only in Palestine. Internal adjustments such as expansion or modification of the religious services would have been much easier of accomplishment within a community centred in one spot, or at most three spots, than amongst an internationally scattered community. In the case of the latter, bound together by conservatism in the struggle to preserve their identity, dispersed so widely, the religious compositions of highly esteemed Jews would tend to receive an authority in many parts of the world. The Samaritans were in a better position to seek new forms; there were fewer of them: being a much smaller community, any outstanding leader (e.g. the 14th cent. 'Abdullah b. Solomon) would have authority and recognition even in his own day, but in the next generation another leader could achieve almost equal fame. The difference of environment is undoubtedly manifested in the Festival compositions. Similarly, while the Sam. mourned the loss of his ancestral sites (only

at times), the Jew, although he naturally longed for Jerusalem, mourned the loss of his people's identity. The Sam. liturgist thought more in terms of immediate persecution and the question of divine disfavour, because he had no real need to mourn his people's identity; his people were not scattered to any extent, though seriously diminished. He and they actually inhabited the area where, they believed, their Temple had stood, while the Jewish liturgist was conscious of two Temples in a far-off land. It is inevitable that these differences of outlook are reflected in the emphases laid in the Day of Atonement (as other) compositions. Yet both groups had much in common and both longed for the day of the Lord's vindication of them and their claims.

In both Festivals the Day of Atonement is the climax to the Ten Days of Penitence, and for both the Day was the most important in the religious calendar. Both are far from joyless, despite many compositions which bemoan the sufferings and sins of the people. The promise of divine forgiveness is for both a matter of great joy and hope; this joy finds almost equal expression in both. The stress on fasting, in the Rabbanite, is brought about by the belief that physical and material pleasure (money-making particularly) are responsible for much of the sin to be atoned for. The Samaritans stressed fasting even

more, but only because the Bible commanded it. This brings to note the striking fact that the Sam. thought strictly in terms of the Bible; non-biblical (never un-biblical) ideas and beliefs were always derived somehow from it, and these were expressed, for the most part, only in Hymns which could, as has been observed above, be selected according to choice. The Jewish Bible was larger and there was also the Mishnah. Hence the stress on the Torah is much less pronounced than it is in the Sam. order.

It seems likely that the greater variety of ideas in the Sam. order - despite the strict liturgical forms - was an outcome of the fact that the source, the Torah, was much more restricted than the sources available to the Jews. All through the Rabbanite Services the Psalms predominate. The Samaritans had no biblical Psalms and were obliged to create their own. One reads much more in the Sam. Service about the Samaritans and the views of individual writers than one reads in the Rabbanite about the Jews and their writers. The Sam. repeats many times his source (mainly Lev. for this Festival), for it is not great in quantity; the Rabbanite makes much more quotation from his Bible and repeats biblical passages much less frequently. On the other hand, the latter uses the same confessions, etc., many times, while the former composed

different prayers.

Many are the points of similarity which are based on the Torah, but there are some other points too, such as the emphasis on purity represented by outward symbol. While the Sam. wore clean clothes, the Jew wore a white Kittel. Both, of course, removed their shoes according to ancient Semitic custom.

Underlying several great Rabbanite prayers is history to a greater extent than in the Sam. The magnificent Kol Nidre prayer (6th cent.A.D.) is a good example of this, for it reflects the sadness rising out of persecution. Vainstein writes<sup>1</sup>:-

Kol Nidre, indeed, sounds the heart cry of a two thousand year Galut. In its strain are the echoes of the Crusades, of the cruel Inquisition, and of countless other calamities that have overtaken our people in their long and chequered history.

It would be false to claim that the Samaritans do not reflect history in their writings. It is a question of degree; here and there throughout the Sam. Liturgy one reads of the effects of persecution on the community, but no period, no persecutor is ever mentioned directly. As for the Jews, to this day they say prayers which are born out of persecution in particular localities. In support of this Vainstein<sup>2</sup> quotes two Rabhs (9th and 10th cents. respectively) as relating that in Babylon Kol Nidre was

<sup>1</sup>The Cycle of the Jewish Year, p.86.

<sup>2</sup>ibid.

not recited, because conditions there were peaceful. Those Sam. Hymns and prayers which reflect persecution are naturally said, because there is only one centre of worship. It is noteworthy that the great Kol Nidre is in Aramaic and there are, in the modern orders, many Aramaic pieces, ~~such as excerpts from Pirke Abhoth~~. As in the Sam. Service, there are few Aramaic compositions after the 6th cent., though there are many Aramaisms. The Rabbanite Services contain alphabetic poems, as does the Sam. Service, no doubt as an aid to memory.

We know nothing of individual Day of Atonement prayer among the Samaritans, but there are many prayers in the Services said privately by pious Jews. There is a point of emphasis involved here; the vast bulk of Sam. compositions was written for the people as a whole. Many of the Rabbanite prayers of confession are readily applicable to the individual, though two of the greatest in the Kol Nidre Service (  $\text{לְכָל־עַמּוּךְ}$  and  $\text{לְכָל־בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל}$  ) are written in the plural. Apart from these two, the Rabbanite prayers have a personal flavour, reminiscent of the Psalmist on whom much of the Rabbanite compositions relied, while the Sam. prayers are nearly all rather impersonal, unless the emphasis on the national sin be regarded as personal to an extent.

There is little real similarity between Sam. and Rabbanite prayers, besides the scriptural allusions and

quotations. The emphases, as above noted, preclude that. The Sam. sense of order was not restricted to liturgical forms; one finds the theme of the Festival ever present. In the Rabbanite Services several themes are to be found which are not obviously connected with the Festival. E.g., the subject of forbidden marriage in the reading during Minḥah occurs, though probably to remind the worshipper of purity on this Day of Atonement. The Sam. liturgist would have found the point of reference too remote and, in any case, he had the freedom to create new forms. As for choosing the Readings, the Samaritans were restricted to the Torah-cycle (in QATAF) to be read in full during the Service.

Similarly, the Rabbanite Kol Nidre was concerned with oaths made (cf. Deut. xxiii. 24), a matter, in the Sam. view, hardly within the immediate range of Yom Ha-Kippur.

Talmudic teaching<sup>1</sup> about merit and demerit and the Book of Life finds a real place in the Rabbanite Services. This theme is not a typically Sam. one; again the Sam. writers speculated much less than the Rabbanite (except in the long, didactic Hymns) and certainly because they had no second law.

There is a point of agreement (apparently) in connection with the days of the week and the Sabbath and the

---

<sup>1</sup>See, e.g., the article in the Jewish Encyclopedia on 'Atonement'.

Festival. Where the Samaritans devised a MANĀT for these occasions, the Rabbanites made use of Psalms from the Bible. For the Sabbath Psalm xcii is used and for the Day of Atonement Psalm xxxii. The Samaritans could not use these, but their compositions (especially confessions) are certainly for a similar purpose. The opening of Psalm xxxii is:-

Blessed is he whose transgression is forgiven,  
Whose sin is covered.

Not all the Psalms used by the Rabbanites for the Morning Service are so eminently suited to the theme of the Festival. In that Service no less than twenty six Psalms are used, most of them in a block. This raises an interesting point. Considering only the Rabbanite Morning Service, the most important, one finds a tendency found in the Sam. order. Early in the Service twenty two of the Psalms used are to be found, mostly without intervening material. After several directions pertaining to the opening and closing of the ark containing the Scrolls, several Scripture Readings, statements of faith and acknowledgements of God's sovereignty, we find a lengthy number of compositions of the 10th cent., ff. by a few of the 12th-13th cents. Then there follow several directions about the ark with responses (a little like the Sam. Antiphons) in connection with passages from the Law and Prophets. The lengthy group just mentioned are approximately on the theme of forgiveness. Although it has been stated

that the Rabbanite Services do not manifest anything resembling the Sam. sense of liturgical order, it is possible that compositions on the same theme tended to mount up at a certain point in a service. It is hard to believe that all the pieces in the lengthy group were said during the Service in question, and it may well be that we have here something resembling the Sam. 'Atonement Hymnal' from which selection was made.

An interesting emphasis in the Rabbanite Services is that on the memorial of the departed. The Mourner's Qaddish occurs in the Eve of the Day of Atonement Service (a short service) three times and once in the preceding (Afternoon) Service. One of the three occurrences in that Eve Service is right at the end; similarly at the end of the Evening Service of Termination. At the end of the Morning Service there is a memorial for the departed. It has been mentioned above that the Samaritans remembered their dead and, furthermore, believed that Yom Ha-Kippur was efficacious for them too. Whether this remembrance is an aspect of the stress on national forgiveness, or a separate belief, is not certain, but it is interesting to find in the Rabbanite Services a prominent position given to the efficacy of the Festival for the deceased, for there is no clear-cut biblical injunction to this effect. The reference in Deut.xiv.1 seems to preclude much emphas-

is on memorial for the dead in any outward form at least.

The fact that there is so little evidence of parallel developments between Sam. and Rabbanite Liturgies need not surprise us. Indeed, it would be surprising if there were close parallel or evidence of interdependence. The Samaritans kept to themselves and were, for the most part, oblivious to the world of Jewry outside their sheltered, ancestral terrain. As has been indicated, they restricted their binding authority to the only sacred source they possessed and let themselves go in the composing of suitable poems and liturgical collects which were remarkably well arranged, so that the western reader marvels a little.

#### (b) The Qaraite

The only edition of the Qaraite Liturgy available has been the Eupatoria<sup>1</sup>. In the notes which follow, based entirely on observations from that edition, matters of Jewish, as distinct from Sam., emphasis, are not repeated from the preceding section. Although little real comparison could be made between the Rabbanite Jewish and Sam., one finds many points of contact between the latter and the Qaraite Jewish (hereinafter Qaraite). There are so many obvious points of similarity that considerable research will have to be made into the subject;

---

<sup>1</sup>See Bibliography. The copy is poorly printed and the pagination unreliable.

this is one of the projects contemplated by the Department of Semitic Languages and Literatures of the University of Leeds. This work is not the place to delve fully into questions of interdependence between Jewish and Sam. festival liturgy; only pointers can be suggested here, in order to emphasize and categorize the Sam. features. Thus the notes now following are in the nature of a tabulation.

There are three Services in the Qaraite Day of Atonement Liturgy:- (p. references are to the Eupatoria edition)

- pp.1b-21b Prayers for the Eve of the Day of Atonement
- pp.22-105 Prayers for the Morning of the Day of Atonement
- pp.105b ff. Supplications for the Day of Atonement.

The Eve Service is much shorter than the Morning one, as is the case in the Sam. Liturgy (where for 'Service' substitute 'part'). The Supplications after the Morning Service are short and consist of responses and prostrations.

It will be easy in a work on the Qaraite Liturgy to diagnose literary types (e.g. the Taḥanūn, Selīḥah, Piyyūṭ, Halīkhah, etc.) and classify them for comparison with Sam. forms.

The QATAF Type 3 (i.e. 'proof-texts') is well repres-

ented in the first two Services. The first occurs right at the beginning of the Eve Service and consists of a list of scriptural verses having the keyword 'blessed is/are' (אשרי). This QATAF is composed of Psalms xxxii. 1-2, xli.1, i.1, xl.1, xciv.12, cxii.1, cxix.1, cxix.2, xxxiii.12, lxxxix.15. The noteworthy point of contrast is that the Sam. would have made his selections follow in biblical order. Another of the same sort occurs in the same Service where למן is the keyword. In p.69 of the Eupatoria Edition there is a number of verses, possibly of QATAF Type 2, where references to atonement and atoning are strung together. There is, however, nothing in the Rabbanite or Qaraite Liturgies resembling QATAF Type 1. Presumably the Bible of the Jewish groups was too large for that kind of practice.

The Sections of Creation (called סדרי הבריאה) are found at approximately the same point in the Eve Service as in the Sam. Eve part. The arrangement in the former is that the portions of Gen.i.1 are said as follows:- 1-5: 6-8: 9-13: 14-19: 20-23: 24-31, exactly corresponding with the Massoretic pethūhōth.

The credal statement 'There is but one God' and the Shema<sup>r</sup> are used liturgically as in the Sam. order. Likewise hallelū yāh is added after prayers in a way similar to the Sam. YITHHALLAL.

There is a point of resemblance in the matter of the Liturgical Unit, but no exact parallel to the Sam. practice of using that Unit throughout the whole Service; there is the following sequence of pieces in pp.20-21 of the Eupatoria Edition:-

Prayer of Acknowledgement  
Prayer of Supplication  
Response 'Blessed art Thou'

Prayer of Acknowledgement  
Response 'Blessed art Thou'

Prayer of Acknowledgement  
Prayer of Supplication  
Response 'Blessed art Thou'.

There are traces of such liturgical sequences throughout the Services.

The optative prayer said by the priest conducting the Services (described in the directions as הוֹדוּ), not to be confused with the priestly blessing, reminds one of the common Sam. תְּנִים יְרוּסָה מֵאֵל שֵׁנָה. There is a similar response by the congregation. The priestly blessing occurs, as is to be expected, at the end of the Services. Also near the end of the Services comes a statement in praise of Moses similar to the blessing of Moses in the Sam. Liturgy.

Of pieces which may be termed 'literary types' there are several, and it will be well worthwhile making comparative study of these in the future. (a) There is a type called בְּקִשָּׁה הַגְּדוּלָה, consisting of petitions for

forgiveness and biblical refrains: (b) The Selḥah resembles the Sam. MIDRĀSH. It is followed by a response, often מערב מערב, said by the congregation. (c) There is a Zekhōr containing a series of eleven stichoi, each hemistich beginning with that word (= 'remember'). The stress on the covenant relationship established between God and the Patriarchs is found nearly as much in the Qaraite as in the Sam. Liturgy. There are several prayers beginning with the theme 'Forget not'. (d) An interesting literary type (liturgical) is called פסוקי תשובה (sections of Penitence). It consists of statements of confession with considerable repetition, occupying two full pp. in the Eupatoria Edition; this is ff. by a half-page containing short stichoi dealing with the relationship between God and Israel (servants - Lord: sons - Father, etc.). Then there is antiphonal Reading from the Bible, ff. by all bowing to the ground (a Sam. practice) and saying (e.g.) 'And Moses hastened to bow to the ground'. Then they rise and say the Sections of Penitence as above.

Like the Samaritans the Qaraite liturgists made provision not only for the Festival falling on a Sabbath (as, of course, did the Rabbanites), but also for shortage of time, when curtailment could be made. Unlike the Sam. practice, the headings and rubrics are all addressed to the person conducting the Service, but as only one

edition is available this difference may prove to have no substance. There is no equivalent of the Sam. insertion of 'Sabbath' verses in a QATAF, but we read passim, e.g. 'If the Day of Atonement falls on a Sabbath, you say

Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy, etc.'. There are also special verses for the Sabbath, as in both Sam. and Rabbanite Services. However, in providing suitable Readings for the different days on which the Festival may fall, the Qaraites adopted the practice also found in the Rabbanite Services of using a Psalm for each day.

Two biblical pieces that figure in Sam., Rabbanite and Qaraite Services alike are אִזְיִשְׂרָאֵל (Ex.xv) and אֶן בְּעִשׂוֹר (Lev.xxiii.26-32).

There are few piyyūṭim, but the distinctive theme in the few that exist reminds one forcibly of the same theme of wisdom and illumination in the Sam. 14th cent. Hymns. The language of these, as of the bulk of the liturgical material, is the post-biblical Hebrew of the Rabbanites. There is, however, some Aramaic, but mostly biblical (being in quotations from Daniel and Ezra). A number of pieces end with Aramaic expressions of thanksgiving, but as the Eupatoria Edition mentions only authors' first names (and rarely) it cannot yet be determined whether these pieces are very old.

In conclusion, there are three major themes which receive emphasis in the Services, comparing fairly closely with the Sam. rather than with the Rabbanite ones.

Moses receives an exalted position as intercessor. In the Eve Service there is a poem in acknowledgement of his (biblical) supplication for Israel. Another piece occurring early in the Morning Service is composed largely of expressions of trust in YHWH and MOSES. Moses himself is greatly praised near the end of that Service in terms reminiscent of Sam. phraseology. The same stress is not to be observed in the Rabbanite Liturgy.

Like the Samaritans the Qaraites in their prayers express deep sorrow for the days that have gone; they cry bitterly for past glories and bewail the present miseries. There are pieces wherein the past and present are contrasted, which are indeed similar to Sam. 18th cent. compositions. It is of course obvious that the Qaraites, in their bitter opposition to the Rabbanites, were thrown back upon themselves, as it were, in a way not unlike the Samaritans who, too, were in opposition to orthodox Judaism. The note of sorrow for the past seems to the present writer perceptively stronger in the case of the Sam. and Qaraite writers.

Arising from the above is another theme, but this time held in common by all three parties under discussion.

The theme of prayers for sacrifices is well and cleverly expressed by a Qaraite writer when he refers to  $\eta\psi$  for  $\eta\psi$ ! In a series of five-stich stanzas (op.cit., p.98) the writer urges the efficacy of the prayers and praise in lieu of sacrifices. Several times the glories of the Temple worship and atonement sacrifices are recalled wistfully. The emphasis in the Sam. compositions on this theme is rather on the sites on Mount Gerizim and little direct reference is made to any form of Temple worship, but they too reflect sorrowfully on the sacrifices their ancestors offered in the days of divine favour. The thought of divine favour and disfavour is to be found passim in the Qaraite Services, more pronouncedly than in the Rabbanite.

In drawing the present outline to a close the writer expresses the hope that before long careful, comparative study will be made of the religious beliefs of Samaritans, Qaraites and Dead Sea Sectaries, as he believes them to possess common ground, ground little traversed by the Rabbanite liturgists.

### (c) The Muslim Fast

The Islamic Ramadān, unlike the Day of Atonement, is a month's fast. There are no services for comparison,

but only the spirit and content of the prayers said during that month.

The quotations in this section are, except where otherwise stated, from Professor Kenneth Cragg's translation of the first ninety pp. of a small Shī'a manual of Ramaḍān Prayers, published in Lebanon in 1930, bearing the title Mukhtaṣar Ad'iyat Ramaḍān. His translation was published in the Muslim World, Vol. XLVII, no.3 (July, 1957), pp.210-23.

Before considering some features of the prayers which are similar to prayers for Yom Ha-Kippur, it is well to note that the Taṣlīyah (Blessings on Muḥammad) is the most common prayer in Islam. Throughout the Ramaḍān prayers it is to be found. Although the Sam. blessing on the great prophet of Samaritanism, Moses, occurs only at the end of the Service, there are scores of references to the praise and merit of the same. Islam and Samaritanism hold in common the exalted place of their prophet, though the former finds little place for the intermediary role of the prophet. Similarly, both faiths find room for emphasis on the major function of their prophet, as bringer of the sacred Scripture. How often the Sam. YISHTABBAḤ recalls just that role of Moses! In the Ramaḍān Daytime Prayers there is said,

O God, this is the month of Ramaḍān in which  
Thou hast sent down the Qur'an as a guid-  
ance to men.

This reminds one forcibly of the YISHTABBAḤ (C.p.648)  
containing the following:-

O Power (also an Islamic term for God) who sent  
Moses our prophet with the Law ...  
This is the Day of Atonement.

In a SHABBEḤŪ (C.p.657) we read:-

Unto God who chose Israel ... who designated  
festivals ...

Unto God who chose them on this day!

In both faiths the Great Fast is blessed. The blessing  
for both consists, in the main, of a glorious future  
beyond this life. In both the accent is ever on the  
promised reward following the good life. Islam has no  
doctrine of atonement and has no place for the idea of  
the merit of others being efficacious to atone for sin.  
Yet, righteous acts on the part of the believer have  
atoning value, and <sup>the</sup> root كَفَر (= כפר), in the intensive  
form, implies a covering over of sin. A meritorious act  
conceals sin; in this sense atonement is found in Islam,  
but there is no allusion anywhere to a national atonement  
effected by certain priestly and lay acts of expiation  
or sacrifice.

The Taṣlīyah itself has that kind of atoning value,  
because it is considered primarily as an act of worship.

Whether the Sam. Blessing on Moses was regarded as efficacious in itself for atonement is not yet clear.

A significant common ground is clearly demonstrated in the matter of the prayer-rite. Constance E. Padwick of Istanbul has pointed out<sup>1</sup> a ḥadīth, quoting from al-Ghazālī's Iḥyā', where the Prophet is reported to have asserted,

So the five prayer-rites remove sins as  
water removes dirt.

It has been observed that Sam., Rabbanite and Qaraite alike looked upon the petitions as substitute for sacrifices. Islam never had ceremonial sacrifices in connection with the annual fast, so that it is interesting to see that several faiths with similar background, but little directly dependent on one another, should regard the prayers or prayer-rite as thus efficacious.

The picture of the fasting worshipper presented in the Ramaḍān prayers is closely similar to that presented by 14th cent. (and to a lesser extent 4th cent.) Sam. liturgists.

O my God, the petitioners stand before Thy gate ... Jacob ha-Danfi's MARĀN (C.p.663) gives a typical picture in its opening verse:-

Stand at the gate of the Glorious One, sincerely ...  
Similarly we have in the 14th cent. (C.p.490)

<sup>1</sup>Muslim World, Vol.XLVII, no.3 (July, 1957), p.202.

Be reconciled, O Lord, to Thy servants who  
stand before Thee during the Fast,  
Standing at the gate of Thy mercies ...

The relationship between the worshipper and God is expressed so many times in both Festivals that it scarcely seems worthwhile to set out parallel quotations. Both have it that the petitioner seeks refuge with God, that the petitioner's return is to God, and both Sam. and Muslim petitioners desire that God should return to them (or 'be reconciled to them'). Both confess that it is their disobedience in particular that has to be forgiven, and the same root (عصى / عصا) is used. As prerequisites of forgiveness fasting and repentance are the chief. Sam. and Muslim alike stress these. The same roots swm/zwm and shwb/twb occur very frequently in both in the same sense. The chief reward for the faithful pertains to the hereafter. In the case of the Muslim, Paradise (the Garden) with its sensual elements is the only goal; in that of the Sam. the Garden of Eden (the Garden) with its rest and freedom is the only goal. It is possible to argue here that the Sam. goes further in looking beyond personal reward in the hereafter and has the higher concept of union with God, or at least reconciliation with him.

It is to be noted that the Muslim prayers too take account of the dead, in the opening words of the Ramaḍān

Prayer for Daytime said after the Prayer of the Prophet:-

O God, bring happiness to those in the tombs.

This heads a list of needy people for whom prayer must always be said. There is, perhaps, greater emphasis on intercession in Islam than in Samaritanism, if that intercession is of the living, but this will only be verified by deeper study in the future.

On the other hand, both faiths equally stress the physical and material rewards to be prayed for and earned. Not only a happy hereafter, but a prosperous life here and now is urgently prayed for. In this respect both faiths, having a similar physical environment, are essentially practical. One cannot find the same emphasis in the Jewish rites for Yom Ha-Kippur.

Two matters of considerable interest for future comparative study are (a) terms used to describe Muḥammad and Moses, and (b) attributes used of God.

In the great Night Prayer of Ramaḍān there is the following:-

O Lord, send down blessing upon Muḥammad, Thy  
 Servant, Thy Messenger,  
 Thy faithful, chosen and beloved one, the choicest  
 of Thy creation ...

The reference to 'the choicest of Thy creation' could hardly be closer to the Sam. description of Moses as the 'choicest of all creatures'.

With regard to attributes of God, these two monotheistic faiths have much in common. The credal 'There is none but Thou' is, of course, typically Jewish too. The emphasis is greater in Sam. than in Jewish prayers, and in this the Muslim has been dependent on the Sam., or vice versa (almost certainly the former, because of the Defter emphasis). In elaborating the oneness of God both are clearly interdependent. Here are some attributive expressions from the Ramaḍān Prayers which are identical with Sam. attributes.

God, most merciful of the merciful  
 God the Hearer (or prayer)  
 God the unpartnered, having no peer, no  
     helper to aid him  
 Creation reveals him  
 He slays and makes alive  
 He is the Living One.

'In the Name of the Compassionate and Merciful God' is as common in Islam as in Samaritanism, and with a note on this thought we conclude this section in the hope (again) that future research will reveal the form any interdependence has taken.

Attributes of God's mercy and the praise due to him often come together in both faiths. The concluding quotation from the Ramaḍān Prayers, so typically Sam. of the 14th cent. in particular, forms a fitting conclusion to a study of the Great Fast.

O God, I begin my adoration with the praise  
of Thee...  
I am truly persuaded that Thou art the most  
merciful in all  
That relates to pardon and forgiveness.

---

## I. CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

This work does not contain all that could be written on the subject of the Sam. Day of Atonement Liturgy. Limits had to be imposed, but it is hoped that sufficient has been written to do justice to an historical people whose worship and beliefs have been unknown for too long in the West. Textual variations in the MSS consulted were of enormous quantity, but only those having bearing on the meaning of the text or illustrating interesting manuscriptural idiosyncrasies have been incorporated. The great Atonement Hymnal remains to be translated in full and re-edited in view of the existence of the A.1 MS, and more MSS may yet become available. The APPs include all the liturgical texts which C. did not publish, but there are blocks of, e.g., EQR'Ūs and SHABHŪ'As which remain to be translated, whose text has not been taken from the MSS. This work will be done within the general scheme, under the editorship of Dr. John Bowman of the University of Leeds, for the complete translation, with new texts consulted, of the entire Sam. Liturgy.

As for the work of C., no praise is high enough. It is true that he included material that does not properly belong to the Service, that he was guilty (not in great measure) of conflating texts without indicating

this in his footnotes, that he did not publish the text of the important QATAFs and that he restricted his excellent Glossary to the Defter material. Yet, his task was tremendous and he found a clear path through vast quantities of material. He was also the first to attempt such a gigantic task; as a result of his two-volume edition of the text, the School of Sam. Studies in Leeds came into being. Dr. Bowman and his research team feel that the work planned will be a tribute to a great scholar who did not turn aside when his task became formidable. It is a unique distinction to be so rewarded after a scholar's death, and Dr. Cowley deserved it to the full.

Future plans have been indicated above. It falls to the translator of the Liturgy for Yom Ha-Kippur to suggest various lines of research yet to be undertaken. The literature and doctrine of the Samaritans have been well treated by Gaster in various works, but many individual works and doctrines must become the subject of close study. With the great body of material now available in MS, these should be valuable studies. On the linguistic side there is much to be done. It has been beyond the range of this work to investigate the development of Sam. Hebrew, Aramaic and Arabic with thoroughness. The glossary at the end of this work can only be a small contribution toward that end.

An important task for the future is the relating of each Festival to the others and this, it is hoped, may come within the scope of the comprehensive introduction planned by Dr. Bowman for the translation of the whole Liturgy. There is still work to be done on the Sam. Readings. What has been said above by the present writer represents only personal findings. The QATAF Type 1 must be related in its structure to the Qaz̄in of the MT. Introductory work has been done by Dr. Bowman, but all the QATAFs of this type have to be interrelated for this purpose.

The discovery of more MSS will help in the exact definition of the many literary types; comparison with the literary types of the Jewish liturgies may prove rewarding. The proposed re-edition and translation of the Hymnal will contain close comparative study of the Jewish Piyyūṭīm.

From the present writer's interest the greatest single task for future research will be the study of Islamic-Sam. relationships. Living under Islamic domination for over a millennium, the Samaritans may have assimilated many customs and idioms; on the other hand, Samaritanism may have contributed more to the growth of Islam than has hitherto been thought possible. This task the writer hopes to make his own in the immediate future.

---

II.

TRANSLATION OF THE TEXT OF  
THE YOM HA-KIPPUR LITURGY (EVE  
PART), WITH NOTES FOLLOWING.

N.B. (a) Rubrics and directions  
are underlined.

(b) In view of their abundance  
biblical references are not given  
except where they are uncommon,  
or help to elucidate the meaning  
of a passage.

488<sup>1</sup>IN THE NAME OF THE LORD WE BEGIN<sup>2</sup>

Prayers for the<sup>3</sup> holy Day of Atonement.<sup>4</sup> All the congregation gather at the gate of the synagogue half<sup>5</sup> an hour before the evening, and the priests bring out<sup>6</sup> the holy scroll<sup>7</sup>; and along with it another scroll. The elders<sup>8</sup> begin the prayers<sup>9</sup> on the following arrangement:<sup>10</sup>-

"GOD BE PRAISED! THERE IS BUT ONE GOD. THERE IS ONLY ONE GOD."

Then 'For in the Name', etc.

O I AM THAT I AM, remember Thy servants Abraham, Isaac and Jacob.

O LORD, by the merit of them and by the merit of Thy servant Moses,

Turn not toward our stubbornness, our wickedness and our sins.

We are wicked and sinful in the face of Thy greatness, But Thou art the LORD, a God who art compassionate and gracious for our good ... etc.<sup>12</sup>

GOD BE PRAISED! THERE IS BUT ONE GOD. THE LORD OUR GOD IS ONE LORD.

<sup>13</sup>Now if the Day of Atonement falls on a Sabbath, the beginning of the Service is according to the Sabbath order, in which case 'Sabbath'<sup>14</sup> is added to the QATAF, and the beginning of the QATAF

will be 'And God blessed the seventh day', etc.  
God knows!'<sup>13</sup>

<sup>15</sup>'And the ark rested in the seventh month', etc.

(C. did not print the text of the QATAFs: the text for this one is in APP.IV. I (A). This QATAF has not previously been translated; a translation is given here, because the QATAF is an essential part of the Service).

And in the seventh month ... the ark came to rest (Gen. viii.4): For he thought, "I may appease him" (xxxii.20): The Lord will fight for you and you have only to be still (Ex.xiv.14): my strength and my song, and he has become my salvation; this is my God, and I will praise him, my father's God, and I will exalt him. The Lord is a man of war; the Lord is his name (xv.2-3):

BLESSED IS HIS NAME

I will put none of the diseases upon you which I put upon the Egyptians (xv.26): If a ransom is laid on him (xxi. 30): You shall serve the Lord your God, and I will bless your bread and your water; and I will take sickness away from the midst of you (xxiii.25): and will throw into confusion all the people against whom you shall come, and I will make all your enemies turn their backs to you (xxiii. 27): Aaron shall make atonement upon its horns once a year; with the blood of the sin offering of atonement

he shall make atonement for it once in the year (xxx.10): with which atonement was made (xxix.33): and every day you shall offer a bull as a sin offering for atonement. Also you shall offer a sin offering for the altar, when you make atonement for it (xxix.36): Seven days you shall make atonement for the altar (xxix.37): then each shall give a ransom for himself to the Lord (xxx.11): to make atonement for yourselves (xxx.15): And you shall take the atonement money (xxx.16): so as to make atonement for yourselves (xxx.16): (O Lord YHWH) Turn from thy fierce wrath, and repent of this evil against thy people. Remember Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, thy servants, to whom thou didst swear by thine own self (xxxii.12-13): And now I will go up to the Lord; perhaps I can make atonement for your sin (xxxii.30): and I will be gracious to whom I will be gracious, and will show mercy on whom I will show mercy (xxxiii.19): And the Lord descended in the cloud and stood with him there, and proclaimed the name of the Lord. The Lord passed before him, and proclaimed, "The Lord, the Lord, a God merciful and gracious, slow to anger, and abounding in steadfast love and faithfulness (xxxiv.5-6): And Moses made haste to bow his head toward the earth, and worshipped (xxxiv.8): and pardon our iniquity and our sin, and take us for thy inheritance (xxxiv.9): and it shall be accepted for him

to make atonement for him (Lev.i.4): and the priest shall make atonement for them, and they shall be forgiven (iv. 20): so the priest shall make atonement for him for his sin, and he shall be forgiven (iv.26): and the priest shall make atonement for him, and he shall be forgiven (iv.31): and the priest shall make atonement for him for the sin which he has committed, and he shall be forgiven (iv.36): and the priest shall make atonement for him for his sin (v.6): and the priest shall make atonement for him for the sin which he has committed, and he shall be forgiven (v.10): Thus the priest shall make atonement for him for the sin which he has committed in any one of these things, and he shall be forgiven (v.13): and the priest shall make atonement for him with the ram of the guilt offering, and he shall be forgiven (v.16): and the priest shall make atonement for him for the error which he committed unwittingly, and he shall be forgiven (v.18): and the priest shall make atonement for him before the Lord, and he shall be forgiven (vi.7): to make atonement in the holy place (vi.30): there is one law for them; the priest who makes atonement (vii.7): and consecrated it, to make atonement for it (viii.15): As has been done today, the Lord has commanded to be done to make atonement for you (viii.34): and make atonement for yourself

and for the people (ix.7): and make atonement for them (ix.7): Then Aaron lifted up his hands toward the people and blessed them; and he came down from offering the sin offering and the burnt offering and the peace offerings. And Moses and Aaron went into the tent of meeting; and when they came out they blessed the people, and the glory of the Lord appeared to all the people (ix.22-23): and has been given to you that you may bear the iniquity of the congregation, to make atonement for them (x.17): and (the priest shall) make atonement for her; then she shall be clean (xii.7): and the priest shall make atonement for her, and she shall be clean (xii.8): Then the priest shall make atonement for him before the Lord (xiv.18): (and the priest shall) make atonement for him who is to be cleansed (xiv.19): Thus the priest shall make atonement for him, and he shall be clean (xiv.20): to make atonement for him (xiv.21): to make atonement for him (xiv.29): and (the priest) shall make atonement for him who is being cleansed (xiv.31): so he shall make atonement for the house, and it shall be clean (xiv.53): and (the priest) shall make atonement for him (xv.15): and (the priest) shall make atonement for her (xv.30): and shall make atonement for himself and for his house (xvi.6): to make atonement over it (xvi.10): and shall make atonement for himself and for his house (xvi.11): thus

he shall make atonement for the holy place (xvi.16):  
to make atonement in the holy place (xvi.17): and has  
made atonement for himself and for his house and for all  
the assembly of Israel (xvi.17): Then he shall go out to  
the altar which is before the Lord and make atonement for  
it (xvi.18): And when he has made an end of atoning for  
the holy place (xvi.20): to make atonement for himself  
and for the people (xvi.24): to make atonement in the holy  
place (xvi.27): in the seventh month, on the tenth day of  
the month, you shall afflict yourselves (xvi.29): for on  
this day shall atonement be made (xvi.30): a statute for  
ever (xvi.31): he shall make atonement (xvi.33): and he  
shall make atonement for the sanctuary (xvi.33): and he  
shall make atonement for the priests and for all the  
people of the assembly (xvi.33): and this shall be an  
everlasting statute for you, that atonement may be made  
for the people of Israel (xvi.34): and I have given it  
for you upon the altar to make atonement for your souls;  
for it is the blood that makes atonement, by reason of  
the life (xvii.11): but you shall love your neighbour as  
yourself. I am the Lord (xix.18): And the priest shall  
make atonement for him with the ram of the guilt offering  
before the Lord for his sin which he has committed ...  
shall be forgiven him (xix.22): So you shall keep my com-  
mandments (xxii.31): The appointed feasts of the Lord (xxiii.

2): In the seventh month (xxiii.24): On the tenth of this seventh month is the day of atonement (xxiii.27): for it is a day of atonement, to make atonement for you before the Lord your God (xxiii.28): and you shall afflict yourselves; on the ninth day of the month beginning at evening, from evening to evening shall you keep your sabbath (xxiii.32): On the fifteenth day of this seventh month (xxiii.34): These are the appointed feasts of the Lord (xxiii.37): On the fifteenth day of the seventh month (xxiii.39): in the seventh month (xxiii.41): Thus Moses declared to the people of Israel the appointed feasts of the Lord (xxiii.44): Then you shall send abroad the loud trumpet ... of the seventh month (xxv.9): on the day of atonement you shall send abroad the trumpet throughout<sup>all</sup> the land (xxv.9): And I will have regard for you and make you fruitful and multiply you, and will confirm my covenant with you (xxvi.9): and I have broken the bars of your yoke and made you walk erect (xxvi.13): then I will remember my covenant with Jacob, and I will remember my covenant with Isaac and my covenant with Abraham (xxvi.42): but I will for their sake remember the covenant with their forefathers (xxvi.45): These are the statutes and ordinances and laws which the Lord made between him and the people of Israel on Mount Sinai by Moses (xxvi.46):

The Lord's peace be upon the righteous, perfect,  
clean, faithful prophet Moses!

in addition to the ram of atonement with which atonement is made (Num.v.8): and make atonement for him, because he sinned (vi.11): you shall say to them, "The Lord bless you and keep you: The Lord make his face to shine upon you, and be gracious to you: The Lord lift up his countenance upon you, and give you peace". So shall they put my name upon the people of Israel, and I will bless them (vi.23-27): to make atonement for the Levites (viii.12): and to make atonement for the people of Israel (viii.19): and (Aaron) made atonement for them (viii.21): that you may be remembered before the Lord your God, and you shall be saved from your enemies. On the day of your gladness also, and at your appointed feasts ... they shall serve you for remembrance before your God: I am the Lord your God (x.9-10): And the priest shall make atonement for all the congregation of the people of Israel, and they shall be forgiven (xv.25): And the priest shall make atonement before the Lord for the person who commits an error, when he sins unwittingly (xv.28): to make atonement for him; and he shall be forgiven (xv.28): and lay incense (xvi.46): and make atonement for them (xvi.46): and he put on the incense, and made atonement for the people (xvi.47): and made atonement for the people of Israel (xxv.13): also one male goat for a sin offering, to make atonement for you (xxviii.22): besides the burnt

offering of the morning (xxviii.23): with one male goat, to make atonement for you (xxviii.30): Besides the continual burnt offering (xxviii.31): On .. the seventh month (xxix.1): with one male goat for a sin offering, to make atonement for you (xxix.5): besides the burnt offering of the new moon (xxix.6): on the tenth day of this seventh month (xxix.7): also one male goat for a sin offering, besides the sin offering of atonement (xxix.11): On the fifteenth day of the seventh month (xxix.12): These you shall offer to the Lord at your appointed feasts (xxix.39): to make atonement for ourselves (xxxii.50): May the Lord, the God of your fathers, make you a thousand times as many as you are, and bless you, as he has promised you (Deut.i.11):

LET GOD BE PRAISED! THERE IS BUT ONE GOD.

Hear, O Israel: The Lord our God is one Lord (vi.4): and you shall teach them diligently (vi.7): and you shall bind (vi.8): and you shall write (vi.9): And (the Lord) commanded us, etc. (vi.24): you shall set the blessing on Mount Gerizim (xi.29): and you shall rejoice (xii.7): And you shall rejoice (xii.12): and you shall rejoice (xii.18):

HE IS TO BE PRAISED

every man shall give as he is able, according to the bless-

ing of the Lord your God which he has given you (xvi.17):

HE IS TO BE PRAISED

The Lord, a God merciful and gracious, slow to anger, and abounding in steadfast love and faithfulness (from Ex.xxxiv.6).

(End of the QATAF)

OUR GOD BE PRAISED, etc.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>17</sup>The priest addresses the congregation, "May you celebrate<sup>18</sup> this day again for a hundred years". Then the priest begins the 'God is Great', which is by the Elder Abū 'l-Ḥasan as-Sūrī - God be pleased, etc.<sup>17</sup> <sup>19</sup>

(L.18 marginal note states that at the beginning of verse Samekh the congregation (L.17 'the priests') enter the synagogue)

(According to BK, L.17 the congregation respond to 'May you celebrate', etc., with the words "May He grant a hundred years throughout your days". Then L.17 add. "and all of them cleanse the heart')

<sup>20</sup>GOD IS GREAT! THERE IS NONE LIKE HIM, etc.  
(Aleph - Samekh: Shin, Taw)

(C. quotes L.18 marginal note: according to a marginal note in L.16 'At the beginning of GOD IS GREAT all the congregation kiss the Scrolls - the Lord increase them. Amen! BK,L.17.A.1.2.3 add. here YITHALLAL)<sup>21</sup>

After that the Elder leading the prayers says the MALĪFŪṬ composed by our lord the Priest Abīsha<sup>c</sup> - God be pleased, etc.

(BK precedes the rubric here with a full YITH-HALLAL:- Our God be praised! The Lord is a compassionate and merciful God, slow to anger and abundant in mercy and truth, ff. by the rubric:- The priest conceals the Scrolls, and the elder ... goodly MALĪFŪṬ ... According to BK.L.17 the elder of the Service then says this MALĪFŪṬ on (the theme/tune of) בְּרִיךְ אֱלֹהֵינוּ.

Toward the gate of heaven let us face and set our stance.

In the place of the angels and the gate of our supplication,

Who wait upon the mighty Name, by which our image came into being.

The flier<sup>22</sup> has fled, by whom our enemy is confounded,

And has gone up to the wilderness,<sup>23</sup> that his offering might be accepted.

489 The holy Kebala<sup>24</sup> preserves us by his glory.

The prayer has its beginning in 'Blessed is our God',<sup>25</sup>

And the conclusion is this goodly 'Let Him be blessed'.

And mercies are spread out over us.

O I AM THAT I AM, God be blessed! By His Name He will bless us.

The compassionate power will accept<sup>26</sup> us in His mercies.

By His great and holy Name He will look down  
upon us from His dwelling.

It is good for us that we speak as with one mouth  
And exalt (Him) in our reading.

<sup>27</sup>The response to it from the congregation is 'He who is for ever is in the beginning and the end'. After it comes 'Blessed is our God' in a familiar slow tune.<sup>27</sup> The elders who say it know.<sup>28</sup> The response to it is 'Blessed is our God' from the congregation all together,<sup>28</sup> then 'The Lord is a God',<sup>29</sup> then 'Proclaiming and Saying', and 'At the gate of Thy mercies'<sup>30</sup> on a slow tune, as far as 'And in Thy Name we will begin and in Thy Name we will end: we dread Thy Name and revere Thy Name and fear Thy Name; and we say, "Blessed is this Reading"<sup>31</sup>. Then there is said a MALĪFŪT on 'For in the Name' by our lord the Priest Eleazar - the favour of the Lord, etc.

(In connection with 'Blessed is our God' and its tune, BK gives the note:- In olden times they used to say 'Blessed is our God' on a different tune, and it was slow, but in our time this has been stopped - God have mercy on those who know! This implies that the tune was not in fact slow, but L.18 states that it was)

Then began he to cry out 'In the Name of our God,  
The mighty and awesome, ruler of all our spirits'.  
Let Him deliver us from all evil and pardon our sins.  
Let Him rend the garment of our iniquities and be reconciled to us,

Through him whose light dawned, Moses our prophet,  
 Bringer of the Law, the Book of our God.

Happy are we if we read therein and say in our re-  
 citations,

'For in the Name of the Lord I call'<sup>32</sup> and 'Ascribe  
 greatness to our God'.

The priest<sup>33</sup> says it to a slow tune. Then there is  
 said The Sections of Creation.<sup>34</sup> If it falls on a  
 Sabbath day<sup>35</sup> there is said at 'And He planted'  
 Durran's 'Lo, I glory much' and then Marqah's 'O  
 Creator of the world, who can estimate Thy majesty?'  
 followed by a YISHTABBAH.

It is He who sanctified this Day and put two holy things  
 in it for you,

The Sabbath and the perfect Fast, and the two are closely  
 observed<sup>36</sup> by you.

In the one is refreshment for your bodies and in the  
 other affliction for your souls.

In the one is a Sabbath when one is refreshed, and in  
 the other is affliction for every soul.

For this purpose He declared 'In the seventh month, on  
 the tenth of the month you shall afflict yourselves'.

GOD IS GREAT, etc.

Then there is said YITHHALLAL. And now a MALĪFŪT.<sup>37</sup>  
 (A.2 states that the MALĪFŪT was composed by Ben  
 Manīr - 14th cent.)

The dawn of forgiveness makes every luminary shine.

The gate of repentance is opened. None closes it.

He who repents of his sins - Paradise is his - into it  
 will pass,

If he begins the prayer and reaches the end of it.

Let him who fears take care that he prays in the Fast Day and that his heart is pure,

Both in his nights and his days, and that he speaks no evil.

O Israel, pray to Him who looks on you, whose Name is round about you as a shield and fence.

'And the LORD said to Moses, "But on the tenth"<sup>38</sup>.

(According to L.18.A.3 this last line is a congregational response)

They read the customary Surah to a slow tune, while they all stand. After it comes GOD BE PRAISED<sup>39</sup> on a slow tune. Then there is said a MALIFUT<sup>40</sup> on 'And the Lord God planted'.

(A.2 states that the author is unknown. According to O.5. A.1.2,3 the Surah is akh be'asor, the text of which is in APP.II. no.5)

Mighty, great is the LORD God,

Creator of every body, ruler of all spirits,

490 Who planted in the Garden of Eden trees containing<sup>41</sup>

Everything good, and He established them to give glory<sup>42</sup> to all nations.

But of the tree which bestows wisdom - with destruction to all living<sup>43</sup>-

'Adam, you shall not eat! (If you do) you shall abide with those who tremble.

These are the statutes of the God of gods.

<sup>44</sup> AND THE LORD GOD PLANTED, etc.

(According to A.3,4 the last line is a congregational response, while A.2 add. 'from the established reading')

Then they read up to 'When Abram was'. There is said YITHHALLAL, etc. to a slow tune. There follows 'The Words of Forgiveness' composed by 'Amram Darah - the favour of his LORD be upon him, Amen!'<sup>45</sup> There is said at this point the opening of these three verses that follow, composed by the late, most learned and pious 'Abdullah b. Solomon - God Most High forgive him in His mercy and favour! Now this was on the tongue of our lord the High Priest Phinehas, son of our lord Abisha' the composer, on the death of his kinsman, our lord Eleazar - God be pleased with him! The period between our lord, the above-mentioned Phinehas, at the time of the passing of his father'<sup>46</sup> - a perfect year - and the time of the passing of his above-mentioned kinsman'<sup>47</sup> was eleven years. Let the fame into which the above-mentioned pious one entered burst forth, so that it proclaims him and his grandfather, who was skilled in all branches of knowledge. Then he began reciting these verses and what we found composed before us is this - and God Most High knows!

IN THE GREAT NAME OF THE LORD <sup>48</sup>

(The Hymn is by 'Abdullah b. Solomon, 14th cent., with acrostic of the name Phinehas b. Abisha', Imam. 14th cent. High Priest)

Pe The opening of every utterance we begin is 'In the exalted Name of God'.

Yodh His great Name be sanctified, praised and exalted!

Nun We tremble with great dread at both back and front.

Heth His life is unending and His kingship unceasing.

Samekh True witness we bear of Him - and zealously -

Beth In praises and hymns, every night and day.

Nun We open the gate of supplication and on the sole  
of the foot we take our stand.

Aleph The starting-point of what we utter is this hymn.  
We rise up early

Beth In the morning, perchance at the beginning we may  
find acceptance, and also

Yodh The horn of freedom from sin and guilt be blown.

Shin Be reconciled, O LORD, to Thy servants who stand  
before Thee during the Fast,

'Ayin Standing at the gate of Thy mercies, saying also

Aleph Sing to the LORD and say in a loud voice,

<sup>41</sup> "The LORD is a compassionate and gracious God".

Mem Before we read in the scroll of the prophet Moses,

Aleph Let me recall before my congregation what is  
fitting to recall,

Mem What is suitable - it is secreted within my mind!

Whom do your ministers need when they have as their head  
my ancestor

Phinehas, and after him comes my father's shame?

Whose outward appearance I never saw, who never beheld me,

Who did not teach me his doctrine; yet there is no end  
to my writings!

After him there is left only my dear friend

Eleazar, by whom I was sustained and my heart strengthened.

But I turned from them forsaken; my flame would not have  
remained constant

Were it not for this star who instructed and saved me.

The LORD recompense his merit with good  
And command for him the blessing.

Here we ascribe great praises and exaltations to God,  
who brought

His greatness on to Mount Sinai and said, 'Lo, I come  
to you in a cloud'.

THE LORD IS A COMPASSIONATE AND GRACIOUS GOD <sup>50</sup>

Let us circumcise our hearts as we break forth into the  
hymn,<sup>51</sup>

The words of the ancients, and let us have love for the  
Speaker

And for all the congregation of Israel, from row<sup>52</sup> to row.

Let us say, 'Forgive Thy people Israel and out of the  
sustenance of Thy mercies supply (our needs)'.

O LORD YHWH, forgive their iniquity and uncover not<sup>53</sup>  
their head,

So that they will not hear a word about my faith<sup>54</sup> in  
Thee, O LORD, and in Moses and the Law

And in Mount Gerizim, Beth El, near the Oak of Moreh,

And in the Day of Vengeance and Recompense, and in the  
hour at which flees

The spirit from this body, from this world to the next.

My LORD, give us rest thereon and forgive our sins.

My LORD, unite us with Moses and the pure Chain<sup>54</sup>

And make not Thy covenant void from us, but do Thou  
remember the prayers of Moses,

Before whom Thou in Thy goodness passed by, while he  
proclaimed,

THE LORD IS A COMPASSIONATE AND GRACIOUS GOD  
on a slow tune.

After that he says the Hymn and it is this:-

(A.3 describes the Hymn. which L.17 states is by 'Amram Darah, as 'The Words of Penitence')

Let us open our mouth and circumcise our hearts,  
Purify our thoughts and sanctify our spirits.

Let us give praise and magnify and extol our God,  
The God of gods and LORD of lords,  
The great God, both mighty and awesome.

Let us say in a loud voice, "There is none like the  
LORD our God".

O I AM, who was and will be,

Thou wast, neither from any time or now, and wilt be,  
And Thine is the power; Thou slayest and makest alive.

Thou livest by Thyself alone, O I AM THAT I AM.

All gods - Thou art their god!

All lords - Thou art their LORD!

All kings - their kingship is Thine!

God of heaven and earth, the sea and all they contain,  
Thou art with the generations and their successions.

They do not change Thee, but Thou changest them.

Not from any time, not from but before them art Thou,  
And for uncountable (eternity) shalt Thou be after them.

Who out of all who see can see Thee,

When Thou hidest Thyself and revealest Thyself away  
from their vision?

At one time Thou seest all their hidden doings,  
 And at another time Thou hearest their every cry.  
 At one time Thou knowest their covert thoughts,  
 And at another Thou grantest their requests.  
 Thou renewest them and their return is to Thee,  
 And from Thee comes their life, and in Thy hand are  
 their spirits.

All wise men, with all their wisdom,  
 All men of understanding, with all their understanding,  
 Dost Thou not teach them their wisdom and understanding  
 As to how Thou hast without a hand made the heavens and  
 their host?

492 Or how Thou didst create with a word all their host,  
 Or how Thou upholdest all of them without labour,  
 Or by what means Thou upliftest the earth in the midst  
 of them?

From the works that Thou hast made, those who have know-  
 ledge know that Thou art their God.

Thou art hidden, but nothing that is hidden is unseen  
 by Thee;

And there is no end to Thy greatness, just as Thou hast  
 no beginning.

In Thy greatness Thou art hidden from those who see,  
 But in deeds done Thou art revealed to minds.

Thou art head of all and there is no limit or end to  
 Thee.

Blessed and happy is he who finds delight in Thy ways,  
 Who cleaves to Thee - who can oppress him,

When Thou, God Most High, art Creator of heaven and earth?

<sup>56</sup> In Thy loving-kindness, O our LORD, Thy hand established it

A mountain of rest, wherein <sup>57</sup> is a sure <sup>58</sup> dwelling,

For rest is good for the people <sup>59</sup> who stand therein, reciting before Thee, <sup>57</sup>

O Thou who hearest, them, 'My strength and my song, <sup>60</sup> and He has become my 'salvation'. <sup>56</sup>

<sup>62</sup> (He has) no beginning and no end, nor is He like any other form,

Indeed He is not like anything, nor is anything like Him.

As it is written we say, "This is my God and I will praise Him,

God of my father, and I will extol Him".

Let us praise the LORD our God, as our fathers did, <sup>63</sup> whom the sea inundated,

And let us say as they said and extol 'the LORD, mighty in war: the LORD is His Name'.

How awesome are Thy great works, and how abundant is Thy greatness!

Thou makest to die and to live every soul;

In the Red Sea Thou slewest our enemies with uplifted hand.

We give thanks unto Thee and say, "Who is like Thee among the gods, O LORD?"

Thou hast created everything and Thou dost possess <sup>64</sup> everything;

And unto Thee is the response of all dumb and deaf.

Who is like Thee among the gods, who givest life to every soul?

O LORD, who is like Thee, glorious in holiness?

All creatures give great praise to the LORD,

For He is great and powerful and glorious.

Concerning the sea Moses the prophet said, "With glory the LORD established it".

Thy hand, O LORD, rules for ever and ever; the heavens and also all creatures recount (that)

The LORD is glorious and His works awe-inspiring.

They tell us in mysteries and revelations that the LORD is greater than all gods.

We are evil and sinful, provoking to anger; but Thy mercies are over all.

Our iniquities are excessive; (but) the LORD is a compassionate and gracious God,

Slow to anger and abundant in loving-kindness and faithfulness.

He has preserved loving-kindness for thousands.

He beholds those who see, but Him they cannot see.

And He knows minds, but they do not know what He is.

Woe to every heart that provokes Him, for the LORD's Name is jealous; a jealous God is He!

Who can do the like of Thy great deeds which Thou hast done?

Yet Thou hast none as helper other (than Thyself)!

God mighty and awesome, God righteous and upright,

God, God of the spirits of all flesh.

Who can give praise to Thee as befits Thine exaltation?

And who can exalt Thee as befits Thine awesomeness?

And who can recount the awesomeness<sup>66</sup> of Thy wisdom?

And who can do the like of Thy works and mighty acts?

493 Our God is near to those who supplicate Him.

Blessed and happy the man who turns from his sin!

Flee from your sin to the refuge of the fear of Him

And thence seek the LORD your God and you will find Him.

The LORD our God is compassionate and gracious, slow to anger;

Preserving loving-kindness for those who walk in His<sup>67</sup> ways.

Flee to Him, for before you is the way to salvation,  
and you will find Him,

For the LORD your God is a compassionate God.

Who can estimate His goodness? Or who can reckon His loving-kindness?

And who knows what He is or can stand before Him?

There is none we worship<sup>68</sup> but Him alone, for<sup>69</sup> the LORD -  
He is God<sup>69</sup> - there is none besides Him!<sup>70</sup>

Thou wert before all forefathers and Thou wilt be after all descendants.

Most compassionate of the compassionate and most gracious of the gracious,

God of gods and LORD of lords.

Let us praise the LORD, the LORD of might!

Let us keep<sup>71</sup> His statutes and do no evil before Him.

And let us be fearful of His greatness and afraid always,

For He is the great, mighty and awesome God.

I AM THAT I AM, King of kings, God of gods,

Most compassionate of the compassionate, most honoured of the honoured and mightiest of the mighty,

Who lookest down from Thy holy habitation, from heaven.

Let us magnify the LORD, doer of wondrous things.

Let us ascribe to Him hymns and praises and exaltations.

And let us say, as the most righteous<sup>72</sup> of all generations said,

"To the LORD our God belong things hidden and revealed".

Let us extol the God who remembered His covenant.

Let us praise His greatness on every mountain and in every region.

Unto Israel He bestowed grace and loving-kindness and goodly recompense.

The LORD alone<sup>73</sup> bestows on us grace,<sup>73</sup> and there is with Him no strange god.

God is no man that He lies, nor a son of man that He seeks comfort.<sup>74</sup>

Let us praise His greatness at all times and on every occasion.

O I AM, in Thy loving-kindness turn from Thy fierce anger and have pity,

For the LORD judges His people and shows pity on His servants.

Who can deliver himself from Thy hands,<sup>75</sup>

When Thou Thyself hast said, "And none shall deliver from my hand"?

And on the Day of Vengeance Thy greatness, O EL-SHADDAI, will say,

"See you now that I, I am HE, and there is no god with me".

Thou art greater and higher than all great things and exalted above all exalted things,

And ever living for eternity, by Thyself, O eternal God.

<sup>76</sup>And Thou Thyself<sup>76</sup> hast said, "I live for ever".

Give praise, O nations, His people;<sup>77</sup> no second is there  
with Him!

Woe to the wicked!<sup>78</sup> In the Day of Vengeance they will  
be recompensed.

But blessed are the righteous who hold fast by His Name;  
(And) on His adversaries will He bring back vengeance,  
"And He will make atonement for the land of His people".

<sup>79</sup> WE SAID, etc. and LET US SAY, etc.<sup>79</sup>

They are said to a slow tune (as follows):-

Most gracious of the gracious, hear our voices and raise  
the face of Thy mercies

And Thy loving-kindnesses upon us.

(According to A.4 the congregational response  
to this and every verse is, on a slow tune.  
'Forgive Thy people Israel, O LORD YHWH')<sup>80</sup>

On the day when our feet are moved deliver us from the  
evils of our deeds.

Recompense us with Thy goodness for the evils in our  
deeds.

Bring not back unto us the evils in our deeds.

Dependent on Thy mercies (are we);

Turn not back our palms, nor send us away with our  
palms from Thy mercies.

To Thy loving-kindness we flee, O our God, from Thine  
anger,

For our life comes from Thee and in Thy hand are our  
spirits.

And before Thee we are terrified, because of the abund-  
ance of our sins.

In Thine abundant mercies forgive our transgressions.

Remember, O compassionate God, the covenant with our fathers,

"And forgive our iniquities and our sins; and inherit us".

<sup>81</sup> To whom besides Thee can we raise our hands?

494 In the abundance of Thy loving-kindness receive our supplications.<sup>81 82</sup>

Cleanse our thoughts before Thy greatness.

In Thy mercies answer all our supplications.<sup>83</sup>

We are afraid because of the sin which we have committed before Thee.

Recompense us not according to the evils of our deeds.

We all of us give thanks to Thee, all the days of our life,

And petition Thee to forgive all our guilt.<sup>84</sup>

Praises we will render Thee, O Ruler of our spirits.<sup>85</sup>

THERE IS NONE LIKE THE LORD, OUR GOD<sup>86</sup>

Then there is said Durran: 'Since there is but one God'. and Marqah: 'Creator of the world. God is to be worshipped'.<sup>87</sup> on a slow changing tune. Then there is said<sup>87</sup> (this) YISHTABBAH.

(A.4 add. 'Praised for ever be the one great LORD; the LORD our God is one LORD')<sup>88</sup>

O Power who ordained for Israel seven important festivals, the holiness of which is lofty;

Of them this is the Day of Atonement, in which atonement is given for all sin and guilt,

And in which all the congregation stand from eve to eve,  
Praying, reciting in the reading from the law of the  
LORD.

Blessed are you who guard your soul and heart  
And stand before your LORD and stretch forth your palm,  
And say, "Turn from Thy fierce anger, O LORD YHWH".

<sup>87</sup> GOD IS GREAT, etc. on a slow tune, and FOR IN  
THE NAME and the whole of HE IS TO BE EXALTED  
on a slow tune, and then the MALĪFŪT.

The son of Terah be exalted, forefather of the faithful,  
To whom the LORD, the Ruler of all the exalted, said,  
"I am EL-SHADDAI to rich and poor; walk before me and  
flee from violent men and be perfect,  
And (thus) in you shall all the generations be blessed;  
And from your loins shall go forth posterity innumerable.  
My covenants between me and you shall be enduring".

AND ABRAM WAS NINETY-NINE YEARS OLD, etc.

Now begins the Reading up to 'And Jacob went  
his way' (Gen.xxix.1).

(In C.'s edition the 'Atonement Hymnal' comes  
here. between a Reading and Durran)

640 <sup>90</sup> Then there is said Durran: 'From Him to whom  
everything (is subject)', and Marqah: 'Thou  
art our God' on a slow changing tune. Then  
there is said (the following) YISHTABBAH:-

O Power who distinguished Moses ben 'Amram our prophet  
from the whole human race,

And gave to us a perfect book by his hand,  
 And taught us therein the times of our festivals;  
 Of these this is the Day of the Fast, in which we afflict  
 ourselves.

Conclusion:<sup>92</sup>- And let us stand before our LORD with  
 hearts that fear, from eve to eve,

Praying, reciting, saying, "O great one, Thee we supplic-  
 ate

That Thou wilt pardon our sins".

641 The response to it:- GREAT IS GOD. etc. Then  
there is said after it FOR IN THE NAME and HE  
IS TO BE EXALTED. all of it.<sup>13</sup> and GOD IS TO BE  
PRAISED on a slow tune. Then there is said<sup>13</sup> a  
MALĪFŪT on it:-

From Beersheba came forth the righteous one, whose deeds  
 were good,

Who put his trust in the King, to whom were his petitions,  
 After 'Blessed are the fathers', who redeemed him from  
 the enemy

And met (him) in his place, who came to him in the evening,  
 And he dreamed and beheld a ladder rising at his feet,  
 And the mighty radiance, the LORD, was seated thereon.

Response to it:- AND JACOB WENT HIS WAY

Here is another MALĪFŪT on it:-

The habitation of Jacob Israel was strengthened before  
 he left Beersheba, when his father abode in it.

'And he came to a certain place', a mountain to the east,  
 And he dreamed and saw in the dream, and behold there was  
 a ladder set up,

Rising at his feet, and he said with a perfect heart,  
 "This is none other than the house of God, and this is  
 the gate of heaven".

The response to it:- AND JACOB WENT HIS WAY AND  
 CAME TO THE LAND OF THE EASTERNERS <sup>14</sup>

Now in former times they used to stand at AND  
 JACOB WENT HIS WAY and say instead of the Hymn  
 a section of THE PIECE OF LAND, which was com-  
 posed by 'Abdullah b. Solomon - the favour of  
 the LORD be upon him, Amen! And it was this:-

At the beginning of every speech let us give thanks to  
 our Creator, who is to be thanked,

Who redeems for us in His loving-kindness THE PIECE OF  
 LAND.

Awake and open the eye! Hear the word of the humble one  
 And weep with the tears of the eye for THE PIECE OF LAND.

O PIECE OF LAND, you say, "Here righteous Jacob built  
 me;

He took me with violence and the god of my hands <sup>15</sup> exists  
 not".

O PIECE OF LAND, you say with the mouth, "My pure altar  
 is unclean

And the unclean abides in me, and the god of my hands  
 exists not". <sup>15</sup>

O PIECE OF LAND, you say, "Today I am without the wicked, <sup>15a</sup>  
 The sons of the sojourner, and the god of my hands exists  
 not".

O PIECE OF LAND, you say as with the word of the wicked,  
 "The praises and prayer have deserted me, and the god of  
 my hands exists not". <sup>15</sup>

O PIECE OF LAND, you say and will not forget, "The name of the violent is called over my head,

And the name of Moses is removed far from me, and the god of my hands exists not".<sup>95</sup>

O PIECE OF LAND, you say according to him himself, "Great is my forgotten<sup>96</sup> iniquity;

The holy law is removed far from me, and the god of my hands exists not".<sup>95</sup>

O PIECE OF LAND, you raise the voice, "My altar is perished this day;

It has no High Priest, and the god of my hands exists not".<sup>95</sup>

642 O PIECE OF LAND, you weep and say, "As for me, all who see me weep, and the god of my hands exists not".<sup>95</sup>

O PIECE OF LAND, you say, "Remember the days which have passed,

When you used to assemble in me, in my festival days.

The LORD is my God and your God. He will judge between you and me.

You have caused Him to remove from me the name of your father, who bought THE PIECE OF LAND.

Because of our many sins<sup>97</sup> I have gone out from our possession,

And the brightness of your lights (now lost), O PIECE OF LAND.

We know that we are smitten after you and wander like a flock in house and field.

O PIECE OF LAND, you say words! "Weep for me, O second-priest

In the assembly of the congregation, officers of the PIECE OF LAND.

I weep for you and lift up my voice, that I may please in my speaking;

And this (comes) upon me with force, O PIECE OF LAND;  
 Because of iniquities the violent have lorded it over me  
 And have seized with stern countenance the PIECE OF LAND.  
 Our enemies have taken the chief of our sanctuaries and  
 the meeting-place  
 Of our congregations along with the name<sup>98</sup> of the PIECE OF  
 LAND.

The second dwelling which our father purchased with a vow -  
 Has no prayer in it, either eve or morning, lo! on the  
 PIECE OF LAND.

The altar of Jacob our father was destroyed in our own  
 days -

All this because of the multitude of our sins, lo! on  
 the PIECE OF LAND.

Lo! Divine disfavour is upon us. We have no rejoicing.  
 Sons and fathers are weeping for the PIECE OF LAND.

After WE BLESS and PRAISE YE they proclaim the name of  
 the violent,

But they reject the name of Moses, which should be com-  
 memorated on the PIECE OF LAND.

There is commemoration by hymns from a book, instead of  
 in the circle, and the law comes not forth.

Let them read therein at the PIECE OF LAND!<sup>99</sup>

He They have closed the gate which belonged to the assembly  
 and the elders have turned away from it.

They are broken away from our proud strength, because of  
 the lack of the PIECE OF LAND.

Waw And now, O Israel, it is good that you weep day and  
 night

For the altar of Jacob Israel, the name of which is the  
 PIECE OF LAND.

Zain As for the commemoration of the speech of the Swearers,<sup>100</sup>  
the Gentiles have destroyed it,

And Sabbath for those who destroyed you, O PIECE OF LAND,  
is their rest.

Heth They have made an end of its wisdom and its stones have  
fallen down,

And because of the multitude of our sins wicked men rule  
over the PIECE OF LAND.

Teth It is good for us to weep with tears of blood contin-  
ually, at all times,

For the days of the favour and the mercies which once  
were in the PIECE OF LAND.

643 Yodh: O Israel, return to God and make supplication of<sup>100a</sup>  
the hidden and revealed one.<sup>100a</sup>

Cry out, "O wondrous God, redeem the PIECE OF LAND".

Kaph For we, both fathers and children, serve Thee. Remember  
the covenant

Of loving-kindnesses, and deliver the PIECE OF LAND.

Lamedh We have done no good deeds and said no good things,  
and we

Are mortally slain because of the PIECE OF LAND.

Mem Our habitations are concealed<sup>100b</sup> and our enemies magnify  
themselves against us,

And our lives are bitter because of the PIECE OF LAND.

Nun Let us all weep and cry out for the days of our security,

And petition<sup>101</sup> the Ruler of our spirits that He help the  
PIECE OF LAND.

Samekh Rebellious, wretched, poor and needy, prisoners of  
iniquity

(Are we) since (the days of) the PIECE OF LAND.

'Ayin Our deeds are evil, whether done in secret or openly,

And we have no knowledge after the PIECE OF LAND.

Pe Our countenance is fallen because of the evil of (our) doings.

O merciful God, we beseech Thee, deliver the PIECE OF LAND!

Qadhe We have no righteousness, no intelligence and no understanding,

And there has been evil in our midst ever since the PIECE OF LAND.

Qoph We wait, O LORD, for Thy favour, that Thou mayest turn from Thine anger

And reveal to us Thy dwelling-place, and thus do Thou redeem the PIECE OF LAND.

Resh Deliverance is hidden from us and divine disfavour is spread out,

And our souls are consumed with our jealousy for the PIECE OF LAND.

Shin Keep the covenant and loving-kindness, O Thou who hast made all by Thyself.

We supplicate (Thee)<sup>102</sup> by the merit of Ben Jochebed, that Thou deliver the PIECE OF LAND.

Taw We give thanks to Thee continually for Thy loving-kindness,

And we<sup>103</sup> lay out our iniquities before Thee, petitioning Thee by the merit of Moses, Thy servant,

That Thou redeem the PIECE OF LAND.

According to the night and the service it used to be said<sup>104</sup> with majesty,

On the Day of the Fast with glory for the PIECE OF LAND.

At the altar of Jacob we stand and weep the whole night and day,

For the enemy, the oppressor, has conquered it, yea the PIECE OF LAND.

May you celebrate the day in peace, O you who stand here!  
 May you increase and multiply and be uplifted!  
 And may you observe the Fast for a hundred years!

They conclude with the response to it - AMEN.

(It should be noted that only L.18 and hence C. place the above Hymn here. L.16, BK place it earlier, while A.1,2,3,4, O.5, L.17 om. it altogether. The same observation applies to the Hymn now following, composed by Ben Manīr)

644 And there is said at this point a Hymn composed by Aaron b. Manīr - may the Eternal pardon him!

Aleph I AM THAT I AM, the One - without number!

He The first, the before - nothing has been made by a number!

Resh The first - and nothing has been established from a number!

Nun We find it according to what He is - ONE - not entering into any reckoning.

Mem He has no place, so that they might seize upon a number.

Nun <sup>105a</sup> Can we enter into anything <sup>105a</sup> before it is made known by reckoning?

Yodh The LORD! No name is His measure as in the case of a number!

Resh His Name is great, for its lot cannot be interpreted in a book.

Aleph I AM THAT I AM is exalted above every number!

### Stanza Beth

By His perfect works His majesty is made known.

ONE in what He has done, and ONE - as for this <sup>106</sup>no one  
knows!

For there is no second beside Him.

What He has made is known, (but) no wise, no understanding  
man is informed what He has made.

Perfect works <sup>107</sup>are witness that He is ONE in knowing.

That which exists in the centre <sup>108</sup>teaches <sup>109</sup>

That His works are perfect. No mind <sup>110</sup>is revealed.

His power is great - no hand is calculated.

He brought into being the creations.

The(ir) foundation is not upon anything.

Likewise His words are not based on any source -

No instrument

~~Nothing whatsoever~~ - no hands, no measure and no rule!

### Stanza Gimel

The LORD reveals great things to all minds and eyes;

And there is an abundance in what is hidden for wise  
and understanding men.

Therefore the Eternal is to be blessed by all tongues.

He who chose Israel and made them priests, and brought  
them close to Him and designated them sons,

Sent to them Moses, the choicest of the faithful, with  
the perfect law and the two tablets;

And taught them the way that they might be upright,

Commanded them to practise long observance of the two,

And made them take possession of the land of Canaan, the  
holiest of gifts,

For the sake of Mount Gerizim and the sites thereon, and  
because of the PIECE OF LAND,

The supreme place for reading and prayer and fire for offerings,

I AM THAT I AM, the LORD of lords.

### Stanza Daleth

How blessed, O Israel, are your ways, wherein you were taught!

And how blessed are you if you keep (them)!

But all that Moses taught you you have forgotten,

And have done and practised that which was right in your own eyes.

You have walked after your self-desire and your own mind, unashamedly and disgracefully!

But in view of all your rebellious behaviour - therefore accompanied by every kind of distress -

O our father,<sup>111</sup> you were smitten; and you are in abundance of afflictions<sup>112</sup> and calamities.

Now two ways are before you and you have lorded it over them both,

So that you rule yourself, doing what you choose.

### Stanza He

645 The first tabernacle was covered over by your own doing,

<sup>112a</sup> And the like of it was put together as an additional one for your congregation.<sup>112a</sup>

The PIECE OF LAND, which was your crown, the possession of your father Jacob, I raised for your sake.

He built it<sup>113</sup> in your name and his name is inherited by you.

You have caused it to leave your possession by your great doing,

<sup>114</sup> And have rebelled against the LORD in your <sup>going in</sup> ~~coming~~ and your ~~going~~ singing praises.

You have forsaken His ways and walk in the way of your own inclination.

Therefore are you in this condition, fallen by your profaning.

### Stanza Waw

And now, O Israel, observe the plague in which we are,

And the great reproach and the siege against us.

Now this is the (divine) anger and the distress round about

And the affliction which is the (divine) anger;

And the baneful sicknesses<sup>15</sup> incurable and the multitude of our plagues,<sup>16</sup>

The result of the taking away, the taking away of

The city of Shechem which was removed from us!

Our hearts and emotions burn with fire for it, the eyes are clouded with tears of reproach,

On account of the altar of Jacob,<sup>17</sup> whose fire once shone.<sup>17</sup>

### Stanza Zain

The memorial of our sites melts<sup>18</sup> one's powers and brings again to hearts all kinds of diseases,

Because of what went forth from our grasp into the grasp of the Gentiles

By means of robbery and violence, so that rest is ended for our hearts.

Furthermore, the name used by Moses, which was GOD

Has been changed into the name of the violent one who lies against the word of God,

Also the living Sabbaths, the prayers and readings, NEBHAREKH, SHABBEHU, the Hymns, the SHABHU'As,

And the listening to all wisdom from those who know, during the days of Sabbaths and festivals performed.

Woe to us! How greatly we miss places for complete observance!

Stanza Heth

Our life at this time is hard and bitter, having no strength or power, for we can find no help.

The enemy increases every day while we diminish.

The staff of Jacob is put to shame and the staff of Ishmael is rent.

The homeborn returns as a sojourner, while the sojourner returns as a native.

The power of Israel is reduced, while that of the sojourner is extended,

So that places of uncleanness are built, while those of purity are destroyed.

We have no place of sanctuary to go to; we flee from the enemy's hand

And have no works that would be a curtain to protect us; hardship in the land lies before us,

For we can find no escape,<sup>119</sup> only abundance of afflictions.

The descent of the congregation of the Book<sup>120</sup> is from the hand of Jacob's sons to that of a leprous people.

Stanza Teth

Foes persist and magnify themselves against us; they seize our sanctuary and embitter our life.

They drive us out, so that we cannot pass again; its gate in our presence

With stern countenance they lock; its place, house and enclosure, are removed.

Instead of the prayer on Mount Gerizim and its fire,

What they commemorate is at the LORD's place.

Instead of Moses'<sup>121</sup> name they speak lies against the LORD.

In place of the verses of NEBHARĒKH they say verses of  
curses,

And instead of WE ALL OF<sup>US</sup> TAKE OUR STAND<sup>122</sup> they all turn  
away.

In place of the words of the SHABBEḤŪ they speak evil  
words,

And instead of the AMĪDŌTH of the priests who teach  
Israel,

The wayward - who cannot illumine - stand!

And in place of the cry during the reading of Scripture  
and the particular Book of it

And the commemoration of Moses' name - how good the re-  
membrance of it!

646 They commemorate with the name of the violent and make  
much of the interpretation of it,

At the pillar which they built at the end of their wall.

Eyes behold here, but do not shed tears of blood.

Because of this no man here eats his meat<sup>123</sup>, but seeks the  
LORD God in His revelation and mystery.

### Stanza Yodh

O Jacob, forsake not the PIECE OF LAND, your house,

Which you purchased from the sons of Hamor, the father  
of Shechem.

It is inherited ~~from~~<sup>to</sup> you, to the descendants of your house-  
hold,

But your memorial has ceased therefrom.

It is your pillars<sup>124</sup> and it is your place and the place of  
your prayers.

Rise up, O our father, and make your fathers to rise!

Supplicate the LORD that He restore your inheritance to your sons, who have attained to your generations.

Stanza Kaph

At this time we all spread out our hands before the LORD God,

And stand and cry out with loud voice to the LORD of servants,

I AM THAT I AM, most glorious of the glorious,

The well-spring of goodness and fountain of loving-kindness,

Bring down the clouds of Thy mercies upon us

And, in remembering the fathers, have compassion on the children.

WE SAID and LET US SAY, etc.

Stanza Lamedh

Thee, O God of all, we praise and thank.

We petition Thee to deliver for us the PIECE OF LAND.

Stanza Mem

O King of kings, for the sake of Thy kingship,

Deliver for us in Thy loving-kindness the PIECE OF LAND.

Stanza Nun

We weep tears before Thee, O EL-SHADDAI.

Deliver for us in Thy loving-kindness the PIECE OF LAND.

Stanza Samekh

Forgive Thy people, O Thou who sayest, "And none can deliver from my hand".

And we petition Thee to deliver for us the PIECE OF LAND.

Stanza 'Ayin

On this day Thy people cry out, standing petitioning  
That Thou wilt deliver for them the PIECE OF LAND.

Stanza Pe

Open the door of Thy mercies to Thy people during all  
the festivals,  
And we petition Thee to deliver for us the PIECE OF LAND.

Stanza Qadhe

Most righteous of the righteous, redeem us from all  
oppression,  
And deliver for us in Thy loving-kindness the PIECE OF  
LAND.

Stanza Qoph

When Thou dost proclaim in Thy greatness, all are in  
dread of Thee!  
Receive our prayer and deliver for us the PIECE OF LAND.

Stanza Resh

Compassionate One is Thy Name and we are Thy servants,  
O Compassionate One, and deliver for us the PIECE OF LAND.

Stanza Shin

Thou hast set for us holy things, foundations for the  
festivals;  
Do Thou deliver for us in Thy loving-kindness the PIECE  
of LAND.

Stanza Taw

We ascribe praises unto Thee with wholly joyful heart,  
And petition Thee, <sup>125</sup> by the merit of Thy prophet, <sup>125</sup> to deliv-  
er for us the PIECE OF LAND.

## THERE IS NONE LIKE THE LORD OUR GOD

126

Then they read from 'And Jacob went his way' to  
'And Joseph was brought down' (ibid.xxxix.1).<sup>127</sup>

Then is said Durran: 'O Good One, who hast well  
made', and Margah: 'Thou art our God' to a slow  
changing tune, as precedes first.<sup>128</sup> Next is said  
on it:-

In His greatness He made Moses ben 'Amram a prophet,  
And sent him with the law, and set out<sup>129</sup> the festivals  
by means of him.

647 Holy convocations were named. Of these this is the great  
Day of Atonement,

In which souls are delivered<sup>130</sup> from every sin.

Conclusion:-<sup>131</sup> As when he said to you,<sup>132</sup> "For on this day  
atonement shall be made

For you from all your sins; before the LORD you shall  
be clean".<sup>132</sup>

GREAT IS GOD, etc.

Then is said FOR IN THE NAME, and after it the  
whole of HE IS TO BE EXALTED to a slow tune,<sup>133</sup> or  
only part of it.<sup>133</sup> Next there follows (this) MALI-  
FUT:-

Commemorate well Ben Porath,<sup>134</sup> who fled from wickedness  
And turned not away from purity, nor shed blood;  
And in his purity received twofold<sup>135</sup> with rejoicing,  
His status strengthened, increased and exalted.

Response to it:- AND JOSEPH WAS BROUGHT DOWN TO  
EGYPT.

136

On it there is another MALĪFŪT, composed  
by the late kinsman, the Elder (the par-  
doned) Ibrahim al-Qabaṣi - God Most High  
be wholly pleased with him!

Glorious is honoured Joseph and perfect his deeds!

A marvel like him was never created and we will never  
again hear of the like of him -

Leaving his garments in the hand of his mistress, not  
hearkening to her,

But fleeing to the hand of his LORD, being troubled.

He did not pollute himself or break the form of purity,  
or draw near to wickedness.<sup>137</sup>

God stretched out loving-kindness to him and exalted  
his status,

So that he became king after being servant - and his  
kingship was perfect!

His majesty was glorious and his words were heard in  
every mouth;<sup>138</sup>

And he was established with honour, splendour and joy  
in the house of his father.<sup>139</sup>

Response to it:- AND JOSEPH WAS BROUGHT DOWN TO EGYPT

(A.1 add. here a third MALĪFŪT, not in any other  
of the MSS: the text is given in APP.II, no.6)

Here also is a MALĪFŪT,<sup>140</sup> arranged by the esteemed  
brother, the excellent Elder Ibrahim العبد<sup>141</sup>, most  
highly extolled - God prolong his existence, Amen!

Commemorate well the highly chosen one who broke from  
wickedness and drew not near to uncleanness.

By reason of this blow the trumpet of freedom for him  
as a reward!

'And he planted a tamarisk tree' of atonement - and  
knew not aught of it -

And a well<sup>143</sup> - who humbled himself to the dust and was<sup>144</sup>  
not of the life of the world,

So that he could cease to hold of any account the good-  
ness and living mercies

Which he gained (as a result of) his ministrations of  
atonement.

When he took from his mistress his name, while she was  
supplicating him

Evening and morning for the strength of his soul,

He rejected her and did not sell it for bringing-forth  
and shame.<sup>145</sup>

The LORD took witness of him and revealed the testimony  
in the Book -

AND JOSEPH WAS BROUGHT DOWN TO EGYPT, AND POTIPHAR  
BOUGHT HIM, and so on.

648

Then they read up to 'And these are the names'  
(Ex.i.1).<sup>146</sup> There is said Durran: 'Mighty is the  
strong Power who dwells',<sup>147</sup> and Margah: 'Let us  
give praise',<sup>148</sup> to a slow tune.<sup>149</sup> Then a YISHTABBAH:-

O Power who sent Moses our prophet with the law and  
the commandment,

And taught us therein the times of our festivals, the  
number of which is seven every year.

<sup>149</sup>Of the sum total of them this is the Day of Atonement,<sup>149</sup>

In which we flee from our iniquities and return repent-  
antly without backsliding.

The conclusion:-<sup>150</sup> And we will open the door of penitence  
and pass through, all of us sincerely therein;

We will say, "My LORD, deliver us from every lying word and save us from every abomination".

GREAT IS GOD, etc.

Then there is said FOR IN THE NAME, followed by the whole of HE IS TO BE EXALTED. There is then said a MALĪFŪT:-

Commemorate well Moses the most select of all living,  
Whom God sent with redeeming laws, whose name <sup>151</sup> He magnified and made mightier than all names;

And by his hand the covenants with the Righteous were exalted,

And the tribes 'who were designated by names' were fortified.

<sup>152</sup> AND THESE ARE THE NAMES

Here also a MALĪFŪT, <sup>153</sup> composed by the late kinsman, the Elder Sa'd ad-Dīn al-Kitārī - may He be pleased with him, Amen!

Mighty wonders belong to Jacob Israel,

Who walked like his fathers in the path of righteousness and perfection,

And whose supporters were at Penuel;

And according to the command of the God of exaltations <sup>154</sup> went up to Egypt

With seventy 'designated with names', and left it with mighty greatness.

Things were revealed - wonders in accord with the interpretation of dreams by Ben Porath, Ben Rachel,

And by him who was born the highest of all living, Ben 'Amram, the select;

And his covenants were exalted! Moses came delivering  
his people<sup>155</sup> with wonders

And in battles<sup>155</sup> from the hand of the foolish wicked.

AND THESE ARE THE NAMES OF THE ISRAELITES

Then they read up to 'And to Aaron' (ibid.xii.1).

There is said Durran: 'Blessed is<sup>156</sup> the house of  
Jacob', and Margah: 'We ought to give praise'.

Then is said this YISHTABBAH:-

O Power who blessed this great<sup>157</sup> Day of Atonement and dis-  
tinguished it above all other days

And by it chose His people Israel, sanctifying them  
above all peoples,

Through the select prophet, His servant, His faithful  
one and His man.<sup>158</sup>

Conclusion:-<sup>159</sup> He is your prophet Moses, the exalted,

Who expounded in holiness your Book (thus) - "And you  
shall afflict yourselves", "And you shall do no work".

649

GREAT IS GOD, etc.

There is said FOR IN THE NAME, followed by HE  
IS TO BE EXALTED,<sup>160</sup> either the whole or part of  
it.<sup>160</sup> Then there is said a MALĪFŪT:-

Aaron and Moses, whose LORD glorified them and whom He  
sent to redeem Israel from Egypt -

Their assembly celebrated the Passover joyfully after  
(witnessing) the signs

By which He strengthened them in Egypt through the sons<sup>161</sup>  
of 'Amram, the chosen ones of Yeshurun,

One the prophet of God, the other the minister of the  
tabernacle and ark.

AND THE LORD SAID TO MOSES AND AARON

162  
There is another MALIFŪT on it:-

God chose the two sons of 'Amram and sent them to  
 deliver His congregation Israel

By wonders and signs, eleven in number.

They celebrated the Passover with rejoicing and glory.

Let these prophets, whom their LORD glorified, be  
 exalted!

AND THE LORD SAID TO MOSES AND AARON

They then read up to 'Then ... sang' (ibid.xv.1),  
and they play an accompaniment<sup>163</sup> to it on a slow  
tune, according to the current custom, section  
by section, above and below, according to the  
division.<sup>164</sup> Then begins the Reading up to the Ten  
Words (ibid.xx). There is said MORNING<sup>165</sup> - we do  
not know the author of it - the LORD have mercy  
on him. Amen!

(According to BK,A.1 some say it is by Ben Manīr)<sup>166</sup>

O blessed morning, the morning of this day,

The firmament of lights, the dawning of the light of  
 the world;

Of which every hour brings pardons for the month<sup>167</sup>

To those who fast sincerely and those who fear God.

Like the Garden of Eden, in its midst life, to which  
 those who keep its ways will go.

How mighty a day and how mighty a place!

There is none like it among all the days of the year.

Three mornings there are on which Israel were led from  
 one thing to another by great<sup>168</sup> declaration,

The morning when they went out from Egypt with mighty  
power

(Led) by Ben Jochebed, the prophet of all the world,

And the morning of Mount Sinai, and the morning of  
that day

On which Israel went up out of the bondage of guilt.

Let the Name of God be exalted and the name of the  
prophet of Him be extolled,

Who gives and takes away the life He made.

How great the hour at which God descended on to the  
top of Mount Sinai with mighty greatness!

On the third day, at the coming of the morning, when all  
the world feared, every mountain and plain,

When three voices were brought together in glory,

The voice of the LORD, the voice of Moses and the sound  
of the very loud trumpet.

There were four mountainous masses around the mountain,

Darkness, cloud, deep gloom and fire, surrounding them;

God and Moses were standing in the midst of them,

And outside them all were <sup>170</sup> smoke and flames!

The voice of the LORD would come to Moses loftily,

And Moses would speak with Him whenever the LORD address-  
ed him.

This is the prophet who is the true Speaker for the <sup>171</sup>  
LORD - not by night, but at the rising of the day.

Six hundred thousand testify to what was done!

That no third person was between the LORD and Moses.

650 For they heard the voice of the LORD and the voice of  
Moses,

As though it were a man speaking with his companion,  
but without using tongue and mouth!

The voice of the mighty God, the voice of the living God,  
The voice of the LORD, merciful God, calling, "I am the  
LORD".

The voice came in the wind, the voice which continues  
yet among living creatures;

The voice of the LORD, gracious, slow (to anger), calling,  
" I am the LORD".

The voice containing the spirit of the great ones,

The voice containing the benediction of the departed,

The voice of the LORD, slow to anger, calling, "I am the  
LORD".

The voice which created (all) creatures, the voice by  
which everything is directed,

The voice of the LORD, abundant in loving-kindness,  
calling, "I am the LORD".

The voice by which the world was established, the voice  
which brings deliverance to souls,

The voice of Him who is abundant in loving-kindness and  
faithfulness, calling, "I am the LORD".

The voice by which the Spirit<sup>172</sup> hovered<sup>173</sup>, the voice in  
which is loving-kindness for the departed,

The voice which preserves loving-kindness for thousands,  
calling, " I am the LORD".

The voice from the six corners, the voice by which  
Israel were forgiven,

The voice which forgave iniquity and transgression,  
calling, "I am the LORD".

This prophet Moses hastened to bow to the ground,  
And said, "Thy servant find favour in Thine eyes".

He stood in fear and worship and faith,

While He put into his hand the two tablets of the covenant.<sup>174</sup>

He turned and came down from the mountain with great glory,

As one shining in his fulness and receiving his reward.

Merciful words were in his mouth, and the Image was clothed with light,

And the form of the tabernacle was in his heart, and he was as wise as the sign<sup>175</sup> of the world.

The peace of the LORD was upon him and his pure fathers,

Who kept the way of the LORD, all of them ruling gloriously.

By them be made supplication on this Day of Atonement, that all our sins be atoned for.

O assembly of the LORD, who begin with prayers, rise upon your feet and speak fine words!

The response to it:- AND GOD SPOKE ALL THESE WORDS, SAYING<sup>177</sup>

<sup>178</sup>They they read up to 'That they take for me an offering' (ibid.xxv.2). There is said Durran: 'Thou art Glorious', and Margah: 'Thou art compassionate'. Then there is said this YISHTABBAH:-

<sup>179</sup>The most upright of the upright in His greatness<sup>179</sup>  
Delivered our fathers from Egypt with glorious wonders,<sup>130</sup>  
By Moses ben 'Amram, the choicest of scribes,

<sup>131</sup>And bestowed on us a holy Book, designating for us seven festivals,

Of which this is the holiest festival, called the Day of Atonement.

GREAT IS GOD, etc.

(In L.16.A.1.2 the expected FOR IN THE NAME  
is said here)

Then is said some of HE IS TO BE PRAISED: <sup>182</sup>THE  
LORD IS A COMPASSIONATE AND GRACIOUS GOD. <sup>182</sup>

Then a MALĪFŪṬ:-

(According to A.1 the author is unknown) <sup>193</sup>

Lift up your hand to the holy habitation

651 And pray to your LORD that <sup>184</sup>you may have <sup>184</sup>restoration.

Keep the Ten Words and commemorate His place on Mount  
Sinai,

Both by sprinkling blood and seeing in the tabernacle  
the pattern of everything.

THAT THEY TAKE FOR ME AN OFFERING

There is also a MALĪFŪṬ <sup>185</sup>on it, composed by the  
late kinsman, the Elder Ibrāhīm al-Qabāṣī - God  
Most High be pleased with him, Amen!

Awake and arise! Drive away sleep with the lance of  
commemoration and remembrance of the LORD!

Lift up your voices! Rend, uplift your heart - you  
will find your abundance!

Abide in every place; let them not seize a place in  
which nothing abides and than which nothing is weaker!

This is the well-spring of praises, O chosen one.

If you would seek to know this, hearken to His voice

And walk in His ways and offer in commemoration of Him -  
an offering!

<sup>186</sup> THAT THEY TAKE FOR ME AN OFFERING

<sup>187</sup>  
Then they read up to 'And He gave to Moses'  
(ibid.xxxi.18). There is said Durran: 'O  
make abundantly glorious', and Marqah: 'Thou  
art the Creator of the world and our good'.  
Then a YISHTABBAH:-

<sup>188</sup>  
Now if (the Day of) Atonement should fall on  
a Sabbath day, 'We arise from our sleep' is  
said instead of 'O make abundantly glorious',  
because 'O make abundantly glorious' is said  
at 'And He planted' - and God knows best! <sup>188</sup>

In His greatness He established this Day of Atonement  
 As a gate <sup>189</sup> for the repentant who turn back from all sin,  
 And have sincere hearts and offer praises on the altar  
 of the prayers, that the distressed <sup>190</sup> may become glad.  
 They say praises to their LORD sincerely, their mouths  
 being clean

During the reading of the most exalted of Scriptures.

GREAT IS GOD, etc.

Then there is said <sup>191</sup> FOR IN THE NAME and a sect-  
ion <sup>191</sup> of HE IS TO BE EXALTED: THE LORD IS A COM-  
PASSIONATE AND GRACIOUS GOD. followed by a  
MALĪFŪT:-

(According to A.1 the author is unknown) <sup>192</sup>

<sup>193</sup>  
 Let Him be glorified who created His creatures by His  
 law and completed them very well!

He established them in order by His wisdom

And made two tablets for the words of His covenant

<sup>194</sup> And gave them to Moses, a boon to all His assembly. <sup>194</sup>

AND HE GAVE TO MOSES, WHEN HE HAD MADE AN END

<sup>195</sup> Then begins the Reading up to 'And ... called to Moses' (Lev.i.1). There is said YITHHALLAL etc. on a slow tune; and BLESSED IS OUR GOD and THE LORD IS A GOD on a slow tune. verse by verse. <sup>196</sup> Then there is said the lovely, splendid KĪMĒ composed by our master, the Rabban Joseph - may God increase favour upon him by the merit of the righteous Joseph, Amen!

(According to A.1 the Reading goes up to 'And ... erected the court' (Ex.xl.33), which is described as being the end of the Second Book. Regarding the KĪMĒ, O.5 states that it is said if the time is still early; then add. 'but it is not necessary for us to write it here'!)

<sup>197</sup> As (long as) the days of the heavens above the earth  
 Thou art to be thanked and blessed!  
 Even as long as the days of fathers and sons  
 We will praise and sing of Thee!  
 All the days of the generations and their successions  
 Will we magnify Thee by Thy word!  
 Yet will we continue to praise Thee  
 And extol Thy glory, for Thou art our God;  
 Thou didst designate for us Thy Book;  
 And Thou art the God of our fathers who kept Thy decree.  
 Always will we be saying, "O our LORD,  
 Ever art Thou to be blessed!"

652

198  
Another Composition  
 198

O God of Abraham the Hebrew, whose glories are exalted,  
 By his merit, O our LORD, forgive us all (our) sins  
 And have compassion on the weakness of Thy people and  
 release (them) from all oppressions.

<sup>199</sup> Pardon Thy people Israel, whom Thou didst redeem, O LORD.

O God of Isaac, who sought that a burnt offering should  
 be burnt at every holy place,

(If it be) a place of sanctity;

We will supplicate Thee, O our LORD, at all times,  
 Pardon, etc.<sup>200</sup>

O God of Jacob Israel, lord of vows, by his merit,

O LORD, release us from all oppressions and accept the  
 supplication of Thy people.<sup>201</sup>

On this Day of Atonement, pardon, etc.

O God of Joseph the king, the ruler who sold grain to  
 all the people of the land

And whose dominion was lasting, by his merit we supplic-  
 ate Thee,

O great one, glorious one, pardon, etc.

O God of our lord Moses, the righteous, the star,

The like of whom has never been among prophets, who gave  
 us an exalted Scripture;

We petition Thee, O our LORD, that Thou destroy every  
 foe and enemy,

Pardon, etc.

O God of Aaron and his sons, the anointed priests,

By their merit, O our LORD, forgive us all (our) iniquit-  
 ies

And look to the weakness of Thy people, for they are destitute.

Pardon, etc.

O God of this Day of Atonement, the like of which exists not amongst days,

Which is the choicest of days, whereon all the people rest.

Happy are we if we fast in it and say, "O Thou everlasting in Thy deity,

Pardon Thy people Israel, whom Thou didst redeem, O LORD".

AMEN! I AM THAT I AM

<sup>202</sup>The following KĪMĒ is on the style of SHINE  
FORTH<sup>203</sup> on the day of the four 'ansara.<sup>204</sup>

(BK states that it is also by the Rabban Joseph)

<sup>205</sup>

Aleph

O God, ELOHIM YHWH, God, the God of all the world,  
God, the LORD below and on high; GOD, One without a likeness.

Beth

O God alone, God unique, God Creator, God abiding, God<sup>206</sup> encompassing,

By His wisdom,<sup>206</sup> God who returns in His favour.

Gimel

O God lofty, whom none can divide, God mighty, with whom no lord is joined,

God great, His is the glory; God great, whom we celebrate.

Daleth

O God judge, God glorious, God helper, who is to be worshipped,<sup>207</sup>

God most choice, who sustains,<sup>207</sup> God who made without a hand.

He

O God, I AM THAT I AM, God who was and is, God who kills and makes alive,

God to whom everything belongs.

- Waw O God - and there is no name like His Name! God - there is none found like Him!
- God - and eternal in His existence! God - and how mighty He!
- Zain O God righteous, who is not temporal, God who sustains, who is not weak,
- God who is found in every mystery, God who remembers this covenant.
- 653 Heth O God, mighty, who is to be found, God living, who bestows, not takes,
- God wise without opening the eyes, God the power which takes all.
- Teth O God pure, who judges, God good, not perverting justice, God - how good a refuge is He to us! God of the before, who lets slip not.
- Yodh O God powerful, God Creator, God who inherits unpartnered, God self-belonging, without a second, God who calls, <sup>208</sup>"I, I".
- Kaph O God glorious, who is enduring, God whose power sustains all,
- God of Kebala<sup>r</sup>, who does not decay, God who walks as (if) He has vigour.<sup>209</sup>
- Lamedh O God who forgives creatures, God who neither comes nor goes,
- God whose goodness we petition, God who receives our request.
- Mem O God, establisher<sup>210</sup> of every covenant, God the renewer of the world,
- God praised and exalted, God of the after and the before.
- Nun O God who bestows, God who supplies, God honoured, God gracious,

God, 'we pray',<sup>211</sup> eternal LORD, God NISSAI, God of Yeshurun.

Samekh O God the sustainer, God the shelterer, God the protector,  
God who drops the dew,

God surrounding and never vanishing away, God lofty,<sup>212</sup>  
God pardoning.

'Ayin O God Most High, God most choice, God the doer of every  
miracle,

God now hear us! God by whom the world stands.

Pe O God unique<sup>213</sup> and unending, God who turned His face watch-  
fully,

God hidden and hovering, God commanding 'Thou shalt not  
commit adultery'.

Qadhe O God righteous, without end, God Creator when nothing  
was sprouting,

God hidden, impenetrable, God Creator of heaven and  
earth.

Qoph O God near, who draws not far away, God who accepts  
everyone who cleaves (to Him),

God jealous<sup>214</sup> - He is strong! God holy and righteous.

Resh O God first and last, God high, dwelling not (as man),

God who sees, God who keeps, God abundant in loving-  
kindness, who pardons,

Shin O God whose Name is great and holy,<sup>215</sup> God SHADDAI, God  
who inherits, God who judges,

And withdraws not,<sup>215</sup> God who hears every petitioner.

Taw O God, the beginning and the end, God eternal, inviolable,

God mighty and never descending, God enduring and never  
diminishing.

O I/AM THAT I AM

654 There is also a verse<sup>216</sup> on it, on the same poetic

style by him - God be pleased with him, Amen!

God, God of gods and LORD of lords; God, God of the virtuous, the faithful righteous.

God, God of Joseph whose glories are magnificent.

God, God of our lord Moses, the choicest of the faithful.

God, God of Aaron and his sons, the anointed priests.

God, God of Joshua and Caleb and the seventy elders.

God, God of the law and Mount Gerizim, the holiest of places.

God, God of all living - and Thy testimony is enduring.

O I AM THAT I AM

There is on it also a verse in rhyming prose style.

(BK.A.2 state that it is also by the Rabban Joseph)

May the Fast be blessed over you, O assembly of our congregations

Arrayed here and in all our places; the LORD God, our God, keep you!

Blessed are you, blessed are you if you bow down on this day and say,<sup>217</sup>

"O our LORD, accept our fasts and forgive our sins;

Receive our repentances and have mercy on and be gracious to us.

Be merciful to our dead and forgive Thy people Israel, who worship at our holy mountains".

Now we shall conclude this speech and say with our lips,<sup>218</sup>

"Blessed art Thou in Thy loving-kindness...."<sup>219</sup>

<sup>220</sup> Then is said GOD BE BLESSED and THERE IS NONE LIKE HIM, etc. to a slow tune.<sup>220</sup> If the time is early, the speaker says the Great BAREKHŪ followed by NEBHARĒKH, plus the MŪSAF for it.<sup>221</sup> Then is said O GOD OF ABRAHAM, THEE WE BLESS to a slow tune, and all<sup>222</sup> of THEN ... SANG to a slow tune.

Then they descend to the Circle<sup>223</sup> with the holy Scroll in their hand, and with it three (other) Scrolls.<sup>223</sup> Then there is said LET US GO,<sup>224</sup> and they say antiphonally FOR IN THE NAME<sup>225</sup> and TURN FROM THY FIERCE ANGER to a slow tune.<sup>226</sup> Now this is the arrangement for the Sūrah of the Antiphon - the congregation say at the uncovering of the illustrious Books,

"This is the exalted Book ... preservation for our life"

Then is said GOD BE PRAISED to a slow tune. Now this is the arrangement for the Antiphon of FOR IN THE NAME<sup>221</sup> (and the priests, when they feel it is time, go up at the beginning of each section of FOR IN THE NAME and complete it to a quick tune).<sup>227</sup>

The priests say FOR IN THE NAME OF THE LORD I CALL and ASCRIBE YE GREATNESS TO OUR GOD. The response from the congregation is GREATNESS AND VICTORY ARE HIS! MAJESTY BELONGS TO HIM! Then the priests say THE ROCK, HIS WORK IS PERFECT, FOR ALL HIS WAYS ARE JUST; FAITHFUL GOD, WITHOUT INIQUITY, RIGHTEOUS AND UPRIGHT IS HE. The response from the congregation is UPRIGHTNESS IS

FROM GOD and BLESSED IS OUR GOD FOR EVER and  
 THY FASTS ARE GOOD and BLESSED IS HIS NAME FOR  
 EVER: GOD BE PRAISED!

Now this is the arrangement for the Antiphon  
 of TURN FROM THY FIERCE ANGER:- with rhythm  
 the priests say to a slow tune TURN FROM TH..  
 FIERCE ... TO THEM IN THEE. The response from  
 the congregation is THE LORD IS A COMPASSIONATE  
 AND GRACIOUS GOD. The priests - FORGIVE NOW  
<sup>228</sup>(and so on to PARDON THY PEOPLE ISRAEL with the  
 same response).<sup>228</sup>

And after this the priests say SCRIPTURES WRIT-  
 TEN. The response to them is HOLY, TRUE ARE  
 THESE WORDS SAID: GOD BE BLESSED and THERE IS  
 NONE LIKE HIM: MAJESTY BELONGS TO HIM: BLESSED  
 IS OUR GOD FOR EVER and BLESSED IS HIS NAME FOR  
 EVER: GOD BE PRAISED!

Next the Antiphon for FOR IN THE NAME is repeat-  
 ed, exactly as in the preceding occurrence of it.

Then after it they say HEAR, O ISRAEL antiphon-  
 ally; and this is the arrangement for it:- first  
 the priests say inwardly HEAR, O ISRAEL .....ONE.<sup>229</sup>  
and they ascend when they feel (it is time) at  
 AND THOU SHALT LOVE ... AND WITH ALL THY STRENGTH:  
<sup>221</sup>(and the remainder of the section the priests say  
 inwardly, whether it is at HEAR, O ISRAEL or at  
 FOR IN THE NAME).<sup>229</sup>

The response from the congregation is THE LORD  
 OUR GOD IS ONE LORD.

The priests:- AND THESE WORDS SHALL BE ... ON  
 THY HEART.

The response:- THE LORD OUR GOD, etc.

The priests :- AND YOU SHALL SHARPEN ...  
AND IN YOUR RISING

The response:- THE LORD, etc.

The priests :- AND YOU SHALL BIND ... YOUR EYES

The response:- THE LORD, etc.

The priests :- AND YOU SHALL WRITE ... AND IN  
YOUR GATES

The response:- WRITTEN HOLY SCRIPTURES, etc.

Then after that is said IN THE EARS OF <sup>230</sup> in the  
style of LOOK ATTENTIVELY UPON US. O OUR LORD. <sup>231</sup>  
and this is the arrangement of it:- AND MOSES  
SPOKE IN THE EARS OF ALL THE CONGREGATION ...  
to the end of it. <sup>232</sup> FOR THE LORD WILL JUDGE HIS  
PEOPLE AND HAVE MERCY ON HIS SERVANTS.

Then after that is said LOOK ATTENTIVELY UPON  
US. <sup>233</sup> (Then) <sup>234</sup> OUR GOD IS TO BE PRAISED! THE LORD  
IS A COMPASSIONATE AND GRACIOUS GOD, SLOW TO  
ANGER AND ABUNDANT IN LOVING-KINDNESS AND FAITH-  
FULNESS. <sup>234</sup>

(L.17 add: 'And O MY LORD. BY THE MERIT OF THE  
THREE PERFECT ONES, above and below)

656

Then after that they <sup>235</sup> say antiphonally <sup>236</sup> AND THE  
ISRAELITES RESTED <sup>237</sup> to a slow tune, on this arran-  
gement:- first the priests say AND THE ISRAEL-  
ITES RESTED FROM THE TOIL AND CRIED OUT; re-  
sponse from the congregation:- IF WE CRY UNTO  
THE LORD OF OUR FATHERS, THE LORD WILL HEAR OUR  
VOICE AND SEE OUR AFFLICTION AND OUR TOIL AND  
OPPRESSION <sup>238</sup> (and so on antiphonally). <sup>238</sup> HE IS TO  
BE PRAISED! <sup>237</sup>

And after it there is said a SHABBEHŪ, composed<sup>239</sup>  
by the Rabban Jacob - the favour of the Lord be  
upon him, Amen!

(O.5 states:<sup>240</sup> 'We do not know the author of it ..  
but some say that it was composed by the Rabban  
Jacob'. According to BK.A.3 this composition has  
'Secrets of Forgiveness' and at the hour of its  
recital the congregation and their prayers are  
accepted)

Praise, O people,<sup>241</sup> with all kinds of praises on this  
 Fast Day

The LORD of all power, the One with no like in His great  
 majesty,

And alone in exaltation, hearer of every supplication,  
 lofty, exalted,

King of every kingdom, Him will we praise with loud voice  
 on every weekday,

Festival and Sabbath, and every night and day, at all  
 times,

For His Name is YHWH and there is none like Him.<sup>242</sup>

<sup>243</sup> MAJESTY BELONGS TO HIM!<sup>243</sup>

Ascribe exaltations to God, O assembly, openly and  
 inwardly,

Always in sincerity at the end and at the beginning!

Of His Name you will sing every day and night!

And hasten with repentance, O holy and chosen people;

<sup>244</sup> Keep His commandments, and at this hour before God be  
 cleansed,

That He may forgive your sins and that the clouds of for-  
 giveness may pass over you<sup>245</sup>

And He despatch the iniquities which proceed from you.  
 For He is LORD of power and there is none like Him!

<sup>246</sup> MAJESTY BELONGS TO HIM! <sup>246</sup>

Ascribe praises at all times to the God of gods,  
 Who Himself is not tied to time, but causes time to pass!  
 Who is abundant in loving-kindness and faithfulness in  
 both worlds;

And His greatness is neither more nor less!

Maker of (all) things made, who neither ascends nor de-  
 scends,

Highest of the high, the living immortal one, unto whom  
 belongs the existence<sup>247</sup> of the living.

And blessed is He, inviolable at all times!

Blessed is the person who has forsaken his iniquity on  
 this day of forgivenesses,

Who at the beginning and at the end has been cleansed by  
 the elders

Before Him who is timeless and has no likeness.

<sup>248</sup> MAJESTY BELONGS TO HIM! <sup>248</sup>

The LORD is the God who is King of<sup>249</sup> your spirits.

The LORD is the God who sent Moses,<sup>250</sup> your exalted prophet.

The LORD is the God who sent down your holy Book through  
 him.

The LORD is the God who sanctified this month out of  
 your months.

The LORD is the God who commanded, "But on the tenth of  
 it you shall afflict yourselves".

The LORD is the God who said, "On the ninth of the month,  
 On the eve, from eve to eve, you shall celebrate your  
 Sabbath".

MAJESTY BELONGS TO HIM! <sup>251</sup>

657

Also this:-

The LORD is the God who is glorious in holiness.

The LORD is the God who called Israel, select and holy.

The LORD is the God who designated for them this festival  
(to be) a holy convocation.

The LORD is the God who made <sup>252</sup> today a Fast for every person.

<sup>253</sup> RAISE YOUR HANDS, etc. <sup>253</sup>

(L.17 add. 'Response to it:- God is to be praised.  
There is only one God. He lives for ever. Creator  
of heaven and earth' ) <sup>254</sup>

AND SAY, etc. <sup>259</sup>

O You who seek the Garden of Eden, open up the way of  
repentance

And pass therein, (all of you) from the young lad to the  
grey-haired old man.

And pray by the righteous one, joyfully and lovingly.

The God of Adam and Noah, who went forth from the ark,

And the God of Abraham, lord of goodly old age,

And the God of Isaac, who departed from Beersheba,

And the God of Jacob, who set up a pillar in Bethel,

And the God of Joseph, who said, "Slay, slay!",

And the God of the exalted prophet Moses, lord of the  
day of Horeb,

And the God of Aaron and his sons, who sprinkled the blood  
of every sacrifice. <sup>260</sup>

Let Him remove you far from abominable practices

And establish the blessing on this assembly,

Both in going out and coming in, making the congregation  
of Jacob to possess, both male and female;

May He hear the sounds of your supplicating voices

And may you become <sup>261</sup> thousands of myriads!

BY HIS RIGHTEOUSNESS GOD IS COMPASSIONATE  
AND PITIFUL

I AM THAT I AM, there is no other with Thee!

Of every good thing grant abundance to Thy people,

That they may be neither weary nor diminished;

And pity them here now and on the Day of Vengeance <sup>262</sup> (when  
they are) before Thee,

And make efficacious the prayers of Moses, who besought  
of Thee,

"O LORD YHWH, turn from Thy fierce anger and have com-  
passion for the evil of Thy people".

AMEN, I AM THAT I AM

I AM THAT I AM, Thou hast selected us and sanctified

And set us apart in Thy holy <sup>263</sup> festivals, commanding us  
to observe this great day.

In it we petition Thee, our LORD, by Thy loving-kindness

To return to us and forgive our iniquities, our sins,  
and inherit us.

(BK add. in Arabic 'O God, forgive our sins') <sup>264</sup>

May I AM THAT I AM glorify you, O congregation, by His  
goodness

And cause you to obtain the various things you hope for.

May He be gracious to you and sustain you and make you  
abundantly glorious;

And have compassion on you with the clouds of forgivenesses this day,

And establish for you the blessing which is written in your Book.

The LORD bless you, Amen! And may He keep you!

May I AM THAT I AM increase your numbers, O goodly congregation,

And enable you to obtain your design;

On this day may He forgive you all your sin and iniquity

And strengthen you against what you fear,

And make you dwell securely and establish this blessing everlastingly for you and your son -

'The LORD make His face to shine upon you and be gracious unto you'.

May I AM THAT I AM, the LORD, compassionate God, have mercy on you

In His loving-kindness every night and day!

May He receive your prayers and your supplication on this day!

May this blessing abide with you everlastingly -

'The LORD lift up His countenance upon you and give you peace'.

658 May I AM THAT I AM, gloriously holy, sanctify you, O congregation with every kind of holiness,

And disperse over you this day the clouds<sup>265</sup> of forgivenesses,

And make efficacious<sup>266</sup> the prayers of Moses, who drew near to the deep darkness;

And may Moses pray to the LORD that you may find pity!<sup>267</sup> <sup>268</sup>

I AM THAT I AM, there is none besides Thee!

Remember for us the prayers of Moses, Thy faithful servant,

Who said in the presence of Thy greatness and the abundance of Thy loving-kindness,

'Forgive, I pray, the iniquity of this people according to the greatness of Thy loving-kindness'.

O God, compassionate and gracious art Thou, giver of understanding;

By Thy mercies and abundant loving-kindness cleanse Thine assembly of iniquity,

By the prophet who stood before Thee and said,

'Pardon, I pray, according as Thou hast forgiven this people from Egypt until now'.

O God, compassionate and gracious art Thou, one in Thy deity,

We petition Thee to extend over Thy people Thy pity

And deliver them from all evil with Thine abundant salvation,

And magnify them and sustain them, so that they may keep<sup>269</sup> Thy laws,

And that Thou mayest establish<sup>270</sup> for them the prayers of Moses Thy servant and the son of Thy house.

O LORD YHWH, destroy not Thy people and Thine inheritance.

O God, compassionate and gracious art Thou, of highest exaltation,

Forgive Thy people Israel for every sin and guilt

And redeem them by Thy loving-kindness from all affliction and oppression;

By the prophethood of Thy servant Moses ben 'Amram, who fasted.

And pardon Thy people Israel whom Thou didst redeem, O  
LORD.<sup>271</sup>

By His holy Name I AM THAT I AM you will be blessed

And kept in every place, and you shall obtain what you  
hope for.

May He hear your prayer and accept your vow and prosper  
your deeds and uplift your ways!

By His goodness and mercies He will be your protecting  
shield,

And your enemies will be reduced before you, and you  
will tread on their high place.

May you celebrate this day for a hundred years!

I say to you all, O assembled gathering, "The LORD keep  
your life every year,

You in wellbeing and loving-kindness, you and your sons!"

O goodly congregation, the LORD prolong<sup>272</sup> your days!

O goodly congregation, the LORD accept your prayers!<sup>273</sup>

O goodly congregation, the LORD accept<sup>274</sup> your supplications!

O goodly congregation, the LORD accept your petitions!

O goodly congregation, the LORD accept your fasts!<sup>275</sup>

O goodly congregation, the LORD accept your repentances!

<sup>276</sup>O goodly congregation, the LORD<sup>277</sup> magnify Himself against  
those who magnify themselves against you!

May He make it a Fast which blesses<sup>278</sup> you and all your con-  
gregations,

And so may He keep all your lives and those of your  
supporting leaders!

May you perform this Fast and your festival days for a  
hundred<sup>279</sup> years,

By the merit of the Three<sup>280</sup> and the King<sup>281</sup> and Ben 'Amram  
your prophet,

And by the merit of Aaron and his sons, your anointed priests!

The conclusion of my composition is 'May He thus have pity on your life!'

Response to it:- AND THE LORD PASSED BY, etc.

Then there is said Durran: 'Great is the Power', and after it FOR IN THE NAME<sup>282</sup> and all of HE IS TO BE EXALTED;<sup>282</sup> then the Congregational QATAF with ATONEMENT. SEVENTH and SABBATH.<sup>283</sup>

Then they go up from the Circle during IN SERVING,<sup>284</sup> etc. There is said all of THOU ART A MIGHTY BOOK<sup>285</sup> and the whole of WE ALL OF US TAKE OUR STAND<sup>286</sup> and the whole of IN SINCERITY<sup>287</sup> - they all stand.

659

(According to L.17 there is used from WE ALL .... STAND whatever MANĀT is required - see C.pp.9-10)

After these pieces O ILLUMINING BOOK<sup>288</sup> (verses) Aleph to Zain;<sup>288</sup> thereafter they say antiphonally RECEIVE YE.<sup>289</sup> three sections loudly.<sup>290</sup> After it FOR IN THE NAME and HEAR, O ISRAEL - as the above in the first place; following that the priest reads at the Scriptures FOR IN THE NAME and IN THE SEVENTH MONTH.<sup>291</sup> and then HE SPOKE TO AARON. Following that they prostrate themselves and say the following Marqah-style verse composed by our master Phinehas - the LORD's favour be upon him, Amen!<sup>292</sup>

Aleph <sup>293</sup> 'But on the tenth of this seventh month is a day of atonement for us; in it we afflict ourselves.'<sup>294</sup>

Beth In the seventh month, on the tenth of the month, we afflict ourselves to the LORD our God.

Gimel O mightiest of the mighty, pardon our iniquities on this Day of Atonement, O most upright of the upright.

- Daleth O greatest Judge of judges, forgive our iniquities and remember for us the covenant with the ancestors.
- He O God YHWH, I AM THAT I AM, in Thy mercies be reconciled to us and receive our repentances.
- Waw And have compassion for our evildoing and forgive our sins<sup>295</sup> and accept our fasts and pardon our guilt.<sup>295</sup>
- Zain Remember, O compassionate God, the covenant with our fathers Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and Joseph<sup>296</sup> and our lord Moses, our prophet.
- Heth Wise to know mysteries and revelations art Thou!<sup>297</sup>  
Remove the disfavour from us, (O Thou who art) near, Amen!
- Teth Blessed are we if we are clean before Thee on this great day,  
This Day of Atonement, as Thou hast commanded us.
- Yodh O LORD, our God, establish for us what Thou hast said  
Through Moses, our lord, our prophet.
- Kaph 'For on this day shall atonement be made for you to cleanse you from all your sins'.
- Lamedh 'Before the LORD you shall be clean': 'A Sabbath of solemn rest is yours': 'And you shall afflict yourselves before the LORD your God'.
- Mem Who is for us besides Thee, O LORD our God?<sup>298</sup> Accept on this Day of Atonement the atonements of our priests.<sup>298</sup>
- Nun We supplicate Thy mercies, O LORD our God, that Thou wilt accept our fasts, our prayers and our readings.
- Samekh Forgive us in Thy loving-kindness, O LORD our God, and forgive our iniquities and sins, and inherit us.
- 'Ayin 'An everlasting statute': 'the priest who is anointed and consecrated as priest in place of his father shall make atonement'.
- Pe 'Before the LORD ... this priest shall make atonement for himself and for his house and for all the assembly of Israel'.

- Qadhe He shall go out to the altar which is before the LORD  
And make atonement for it, and the LORD will accept of it.
- Qoph O Creator of heaven and earth, before Thee we stand this  
day,  
Proclaiming, praying, fasting; in Thy mercies receive us.
- Resh Have compassion on us, O <sup>299</sup>compassionate one, in Thy mercies  
this day.  
Compassionate and gracious art Thou in this world and the  
next.
- Shin Turn from Thy fierce anger and have compassion for the  
evil of Thy people,  
And look down from Thy holy habitation and make our future  
good.
- Taw Receive our penitences and forgive us by Thy consolations,  
As Thou didst say to Moses, "I forgave according to thy  
words".

<sup>300</sup>THERE IS ONLY ONE GOD <sup>300</sup>

660 There is said a YISHTABBAH on it, also by him -  
the LORD's favour be upon him!

The mighty one is great who magnified <sup>301</sup>this <sup>302</sup>Day of Atonement,

And by His forgiveness has selected you, O Israel.

Blessed are you if you afflict yourselves!

For it is a day of atonement to make atonement for you  
before the LORD your God,

It is a statute for ever throughout your generations in  
all your dwellings.

It shall be to you a Sabbath of solemm rest, and you shall  
afflict yourselves,

<sup>303</sup>As the LORD has commanded you through Moses our master,  
our prophet

In His holy Scripture, by His holy word, 'In the seventh month, on the tenth of the month, you shall afflict yourselves'.

GREAT IS GOD, etc.

On it too there is a YISHTABBAH composed by  
the late kinsman, the Elder Mufarrij al-  
Mufarriji (b. Jacob)<sup>304</sup> - the mercy of God Most  
High be upon him, Amen!

<sup>305</sup>

The great and mighty one, ruler of your spirits,  
In His greatness designated this Day of Atonement  
And in His holiness selected you.

Blessed are you if you fast therein and afflict your-  
selves

And repent of all sin and have sincere hearts.

O sinners, repent before God, that He may in His loving-  
kindness have compassion for you.

O you who seek the Garden of Eden, this is the day for  
you!

For it is like the Day of Vengeance!

Blessed are you if you change your raiment and say, 'O  
my LORD, accept our fasts',

Perchance He may hear your prayers.

O my LORD, accept our repentances and their mighty power;  
turn aside the disfavour,

By the merit of him who<sup>307</sup> received the two stone tablets  
written on both sides.<sup>308</sup>

He is Moses, to whom his Lord drew near,

Who expounded for us in his Book, written by his hand,

<sup>306</sup>

'On the ninth day of the month, beginning at evening,  
from evening to evening, you shall keep your Sabbath'.

GREAT IS GOD, etc.

On it too there is a YISHTABBAH<sup>309</sup> composed by my  
late master, the Elder Murjān, my father's fath-  
er - God forgive them in His mercy and favour,  
and make them to dwell in Paradise, loveliest  
of gardens. Amen!

He whose Name is faithful God, eternal in His existence,

In His greatness set a seventh in the month;

Four times were designated, a solemn Sabbath, commemorat-  
ion,

Blowing of the trumpet, and a holy convocation.

In it let the people of Israel approach with an offering,

Prayers and praises, and be sanctified against all unclean-  
ness,

<sup>310</sup> And come forward on this great day, wearing the garments  
of religious fear,

And forsake sins,<sup>311</sup> afflicting themselves and not departing  
from their ministration.

<sup>312</sup> O blessed is he who repents and is constant therein

And serves in the purity of his heart and soul!

O blessed the people who fast therein sincerely and drive  
away iniquities!

It was designated through the select prophet, His servant  
and faithful one and His man.

Conclusion:<sup>313</sup>- He is Moses, your most exalted prophet,

Who drew near to the deep darkness, who expounded in  
your holy Book,

'In the seventh month, on the tenth<sup>314</sup> of the month, you shall afflict yourselves and you shall do no work'.

661

GREAT IS GOD, etc.

On it there is also a YISHTABBAH<sup>315</sup> which is said when the holy (Day of) Atonement falls on the Sabbath day: it is composed by the late kinsman, an elder of Israel in his generation, the Elder Muslim, brother of my father - God's mercy be upon them both!

O Rock, whose work is perfect, the Judge, faithful God,  
The One who in His greatness blessed and sanctified this day out of the days of the year,

And sanctified the Sabbath day, distinguishing it above all,<sup>316</sup>

And made its status very high, bringing together both<sup>317</sup> at this time by His power.

He made us to know this by exact reckoning,

Sanctified a holy people for His congregation and made supreme the holy things of both -

The one in which He rested and delivered Israel<sup>318</sup> by His own doing

And made it a relief from all affliction;

And the other in which is self-affliction - no drinking or eating -

And of which there is no like among days,

Except the Day of Vengeance which resembles it!

O you who seek the Garden, this is the day on which you make petition.

Increase thereon of every prayer and supplicating,

Perchance He may hear<sup>319</sup> your every petition -

He who will not pluck away the petition of the poor -  
 That the prayers of him who spoke with Him face to face  
 may be made efficacious for you,

Who prayed and said, "Forgive, I pray".

Conclusion:- <sup>320</sup>By his prayers He will forgive your sins,  
 Amen!

He will render your fasts and prayers acceptable,  
 And the array of your deeds will be prospered, and your  
 Sabbaths be good from God!

May you continue to celebrate this day for a hundred  
 years!

GREAT IS GOD, etc. <sup>321</sup>

Then there is said FOR IN THE NAME and the cus-  
tomary QATAF OF THE TEN WORDS; <sup>322 323</sup> then ONE IS THE  
GLORIOUS LORD as is customary. <sup>323</sup> and the QATAF OF  
RIGHTEOUS <sup>324</sup> as is usual - <sup>325</sup> till they reach IF MEN  
SEE ... ISAAC AND JACOB. PRAISED BE OUR LORD.  
THE FIRST! THE MERCIFUL ONE UNCEASING IS TO BE  
PRAISED. PRAISED BE GOD! THERE IS ONLY ONE GOD!  
HEAR, O ISRAEL. etc.

After it AND IT SHALL COME TO PASS WHEN HE BRINGS  
YOU, <sup>325</sup> as is customary. <sup>326</sup> then TORAH and WE WILL  
BLESS HIM and THERE IS NONE LIKE HIM, etc. Then  
is said HE IS TO BE PRAISED! - the lesser - to a  
slow tune. There is said THOU ART HE WHO ART  
MOST BLESSED IN THE WHOLE WORLD.

<sup>327</sup> Then there is said a DEKHÖR composed by the kins-  
man, the Elder Abraham b. Joseph Ha-Danfi - the  
LORD establish him who is like him, Amen, Amen,  
Amen!

Now this DEKHÖR is the one genuinely composed  
by the kinsman, the Priest Ghazal - may He  
take care of His scribe! He is son of the  
late Isaac - God prolong the length of his  
life. Amen! - and establish those who are  
like him. Amen! Now this was in the year 1194  
of Arab dominion.

This Day of Atonement is waved and exalted above all  
days;

It is sanctified and magnified:<sup>328</sup> there is no day like it!  
It is called the Fast,

Twenty-four<sup>329</sup> hours of the days<sup>330</sup> of the year which have the  
precedence!

In ten (days) of the month are forgivenesses each day.

O blessed is he who repents, who is earnest in his repentance!

662 Concerning the secret of Atonement - may he render his  
doings well in peace

And depart from all transgression<sup>331</sup> and stop doing evil!

Let him take from it his portion, wearing the garment of  
the Image in glory,

As at his birth, with repentance, with inward good.

The peace of the LORD be upon Moses, the choicest of  
the sons of Adam,

Who said, "But from there you will seek the LORD God  
for ever, and you will find him".<sup>332</sup>

For He is a compassionate God, an exalted gracious God.

Nothing is hidden<sup>333</sup> from Him, since He is the Creator of  
the world,

Who accepts the repentance of the penitent.

He is exalted above all His creatures and opens<sup>334</sup> the eye

Of understanding in those whose way is evil.<sup>334</sup>

The prayers of Moses are efficacious and mercies are<sup>335</sup>  
as (wide as) the sea,

Searching out in this world and the next and even further!<sup>335</sup>

To those who fast this day, who do well in action and  
speech

He has given ten gifts which deliver from all vengeance -

Atonement and forgivenesses and mercies, affliction of<sup>336</sup>  
soul,

Fasting and the two kinds of prayer which go far toward  
Him who is hidden;

And goodly repentance<sup>337</sup> - when God accepts those who repent  
He supplies<sup>338</sup> them -

And the allotted offering, that provision may not turn  
aside;

And the priestly blessing: 'and he made atonement'<sup>339</sup>  
'and burnt incense on the altar'<sup>340</sup>, and the blood.

So that innocent blood be not shed, 'for the life of the<sup>341</sup>  
flesh is in the blood'.

<sup>342</sup> O you who fast sincerely, O seed of the perfect Jacob,

O progeny of Levi and Joseph the interpreter of every  
dream,<sup>342</sup>

<sup>343</sup> The fear of God be upon your face, as in the case of  
the lords of the covenant,

Abraham and his son Isaac who was bound on the wood.<sup>343</sup>

<sup>344</sup> May He redeem them! May He establish blessings for them!

May the root arise for those of them

In whom we renew repentance and say with pure mouth,<sup>344</sup>

"Turn from Thy fierce anger<sup>345</sup> and have compassion for Thy  
people Israel",

The holiest of all people; forgive, we pray, the iniquity  
of this people

And pardon them for every sin and guilt.<sup>345</sup>

Destroy not Thy people and Thine inheritance, whom Thou  
didst redeem<sup>346</sup>

From all oppression,<sup>347</sup> by the abundant greatness of Thy  
loving-kindness,<sup>347</sup>

But let Thy pity be in all their days.

Say, "I AM THAT I AM,<sup>348</sup> O Thou who endurest for ever,

Accept our repentances before (Thee), when we go forward  
into Thy presence".<sup>348</sup>

O I AM THAT I AM, Thou before whom the tongue is silent,

Pardon Thy people Israel<sup>349</sup> and deliver them from all viol-  
ence.<sup>349</sup>

May He make the Fast a blessing<sup>350</sup> for you, deliverance and  
peace,

Joy and release to those here assembled in prayers!<sup>350</sup>

663<sup>351</sup> And may every year return for you, you being exalted in  
glories,

And may you be fruitful and multiply, Amen!<sup>351</sup>

352 May the ground not be desolate!

Thus may He keep all your lives, O chosen out of all  
peoples,

And cut off those who magnify themselves against you,

That the blood of His servants be avenged!<sup>352</sup>

May you find grace<sup>353</sup> in the eyes of the LORD,<sup>353</sup> and be under-  
standing and wise,

Sage in the statutes of the law - in understanding  
everything,<sup>354</sup>

And the grace of Moses be upon you for ever!

Conclude your prayers and say with pure mouths, all of you as with one mouth,

"And this shall be for you an everlasting statute".

And the three SEGUDDAHs are these:- "And it shall be for you ... once a year". It is repeated three times, and at the third SEGUDDAH there is said (C. now returns to L.18):- "And he did as the LORD commanded Moses".

Then there is said THE LORD IS A COMPASSIONATE AND GRACIOUS GOD to a slow tune; then the priest says the Great MARĀN, which is said during the fifty days on the Sabbaths. Then the priest gives the blessing, and there is said the MARĀN composed by the elder of Israel ... Ibrahīm, son of the late kinsman Jacob ad-Danfi - God Most High prolong the extent of his life and establish the like of him. Amen!

Aleph Stand at the gate of the glorious One with sincere mouth,  
 And wear the garment of repentance; bow down, and serve,  
 And hasten in penitence and stand sincerely,  
 Causing forgivenesses, consolations and also pity to be supplied,  
 By sanctifying the soul, (Beth), with pure heart and weeping eyes,  
 And chasten the soul, casting away evils,  
 That in repentance it may be gladdened.  
 Behold, it is delivered therein; also it delivers itself over!

It is fully bound upon faithfulness, which is the root. <sup>367</sup>

Resh First I shall render prayer, crowning it with the Name  
of the LORD;

And by His mercies it is received; by His greatness I  
prostrate myself,

And say, "My LORD, <sup>368</sup> I pray, set not my iniquity against me,

For behold, I am Thy servant; poor am I, poor, seeking  
Thy mercies and Thy pity.

(C. now uses L.16)

He The compassionate and gracious, slow (etc.) leads him in  
a good way,

To the blessed place of repentance.

Thy poor servant needs that Thou behold in Thy loving-  
kindness; <sup>369</sup>

Forgive the sin and in Thy goodness give refuge,

And let us dwell confidently, securely,

O forgiver of iniquity and transgression and sin.

Thou also art He whom we will seek. <sup>370</sup>

Mem O our LORD, as Thou art just in the time of acceptance

And dost cleave to and deliver Israel, <sup>371</sup>

And art attached to them and hast sanctified them by Thy  
covenant; <sup>372</sup>

And hast arisen to give protection

And to bless and minister therein, and hast taught true  
reckoning,

Arise, O LORD, with a holy people!

664 For they keep Thy commands and guard Thy covenant;

They teach Thy judgments to those who are not apostate,

But they cleave, the faithful, righteous ones, the stars  
of the righteous pure,

Who rob not nor love either soothsaying or divination.

Thanks be to Thee for Thy loving-kindness,

In that Thou hast inherited Thy servants.

Receive us into Thy presence and redeem us by Thy hands,

And let the dawn of forgivenesses shine forth

And flow abundantly from the holy habitation.

May He heal with repentance and healing,

That the affliction may be stayed, which is caused by  
and is bound up with sin.

Peace upon the Book of the law, containing no evil

But dwelling upon sweet odours - prayer and fasting -  
and arising from their he-goat;

And myriad holy arise in glory, till He receives them

And descends with them and commands His people therein

BUT ON THE TENTH OF THE MONTH.

This is a day of atonement for the pure people of Israel.

In it they are not associated with the rebellious of the  
heathen nations,

But with the sons of those who worship at Mount Gerizim,

Who pass (their life) in the truth and are keepers of<sup>313</sup>  
the secrets,

In which the recounting of atonements is brought forth.

O you who seek repentance this day, every moment in the  
day is fixed,

Every hour in the month established, its essence being  
one great gathering.

Blessed are you, O upright people, if you repent as the  
highest of mortals, Moses, commanded,

Who with you constitutes the chain of truth, and who  
expounded,

Repented of his sin - for He dealt with him in pity -

For this is the day of His turning (from anger)! Blessed  
is he whom He pities!

The day whose secrets He commemorates - He who is jealous,  
not delivering up (His people),

Nor violating His covenant, but it is His to acknowledge,  
this holy day!

Sanctified is its lot and it delivers to the bottom of  
it whomsoever wears not its crown - he is not of its  
covenant.

Let those who hunger fast - from this hunger is their  
food!

Let those who witness arise, for the LORD judges His  
people

And has pity on those who are humble.

O goodly congregation, repent with sincerity!

The Scribe has supplied for us out of gladness,

For on this day he makes atonement for those designated  
in his prayers.

Do not violate the prayers! Nor profane the Fast on  
account of his faithfulness -

Then you will not die as an ensnared people.

'On the ninth of the month', said he in his holy Book,

'You shall afflict' the soul, so that on the eve of the  
tenth it is prepared.

'Perhaps' and 'you will anoint with oil' - the atoning  
factors of this day.

Then you will go forth to the Tabernacle.

Turn the way that leads to the Garden of Eden, in which  
tomorrow you will be assembled,

During the prayers of the Rabbi, our master Moses the  
prophet.

His star descended from Levi, like him there is no prophet,

Lord of the Fast and the 'AMIDAH, through whom descended  
the truth from the day of foundation.

All who are apart from him through violence have been  
set apart in their violence!

There is none but God and Ben 'Amram and his exalted,  
holy Book

And the goodly mountain on which was the uplifted voice,

And the Day of Vengeance and Recompense, during which is  
gathered

He who receives His congregation and gathers them into  
the Garden of Eden through Moses and the hearing of  
his voice;

God receives all those of them who minister to His decrees.

O LORD, be reconciled to us and look upon us with Thy  
merciful eye,

665 And restore our repentance and make efficacious for us  
the prayers of our master Moses, our prophet;

Forgive our iniquities and our sins, and inherit us,

Clothing us in the garment of repentance.

Thee we supplicate much, that Thou vindicate with restor-  
ation the goodly congregation

And increase them thousands of myriads, both young and  
grey-haired, both male and female;

And destroy before them the foe throughout the length and  
breadth of the land;

Make them abundantly bountiful!

O my LORD, restore and be compassionate as is Thy wont,  
 And have pity on Thy servant Abraham,<sup>374</sup> the holy sum of  
 all Thy people,

And show pity on the Danfi,<sup>375</sup> making the lamp of his repent-  
 ance to shine,

That it may not be dim in the world,

That on the Day of Vengeance it may be seen!

Cover the light of the sun from his face!

May the Fast be blessed upon you and upon your son;

May He help you to the like of it, both you and all your  
 assembly;

May the festivals which follow it pass over you safely  
 and likewise help you.

May none of you turn aside, but may you be assembled  
 together on the days of divine favour!

May our LORD accept the prayers and answer the supplicat-  
 ions

And hear the sound of the cries and renew rejoicings for  
 you!

May He make your future happy and may the trumpets be  
 blown by you;

May you be(come) a beauteous kingdom, having no more  
 enemies - may they be driven from you!

By the merit of Adam and Noah and him who said to him  
 "Be perfect that I may give",<sup>376</sup>

And Isaac the offering and him who went forth to go to  
 Haran,<sup>377</sup>

And him who said to him, "Lift up, I pray",<sup>378</sup>

And by Moses, the light of whose face shone,

And by the priests, the ministers of the Tabernacle,

And by him <sup>379</sup> who was zealous for God, for whom He set out  
the covenant of peace,

And by the holiness of him <sup>380</sup> who said, "And you shall  
afflict yourselves on the ninth of the month".

GOD BE PRAISED, etc.

On it too there is a MARĀN <sup>381</sup> composed by him -  
God Most High lengthen the span of his life  
and establish the like of it over again in  
his life, Amen!

(This MARĀN occurs only in L.16. but C. did  
not indicate that it is lacking in his other  
MSS; the first half is an acrostic of the  
author's name)

Aleph Look upon the truth, that it may look upon you, O sincere  
ones.

Beth With true testimony we look upon the Samaritans,

Resh Who love what is good and kind, who (themselves) are kept! <sup>382</sup>

He The glorious, mighty Scripture Moses, the most select of  
scribes, undertook,

Mem Expounded the law in five Books.

Beth <sup>383</sup> For there dwell a people - who are you, O chosen ones -

Nun The LORD's inheritance and people; for who are a great  
nation thus called

Yodh YESHURUN - having their God with them - who by the blowing  
of the King's trumpet are freed?

'Avin Bound to keep the statutes, the ordinances,

Qoph The congregation of Jacob in the festivals, chained to  
faithfulness;

Beth In every year come five and two.

666 He Welcome, come as reckoned, O two lights,

Daleth The choicest of the seven days is this Day of Atonement,

Nun A holy habitation for him who fasts, for he finds freedom therein.

Pe He commanded the making atonement for you - is it not for the pure?

Yoḏh The LORD loves you, to make you glad, in all generations.

For on this day shall atonement be made for you, to cleanse you,

Both the mighty and the least; from all your sins before the LORD you shall be clean!

The door of repentance is opened and the gate of the Garden of Eden

For those who pass in the covenant of the LORD - come!

Not as the presumptuous, for whom the gates are (those of) confusion and darkness.

These words are the truth! Therefore the truth restrains them,

For you have heard them say that our reason is stopped and our festivals are strange,

And the fasting of the young is brought to nought;

Mortally wounded is the head of the rulers!

But the LORD is a shield to help them, so that for ever the peaceful are aided,

But those who envy and betray - they are deprived of the truth.

Let them wait for your faith in the law of Moses,

The choicest of the pure, whose fasting sanctifies the whole law,

While the hopeful provide us with goodly expectation,  
Bound with the provision with which they are provided.  
O our brethren, a goodly congregation who abide in the  
truth,

May there be a hundred years in your days, O you who are  
here arrayed!

May the Lord keep your life and all that is pure to you,  
And make the Fast to bring blessing upon you and still  
more blessing!

Our LORD will accept your prayers and hear the cries of  
your supplication and answer what is said,

If you commemorate Abraham; you commemorate well when  
you make commemoration by Moses,

Who prayed and fasted under the shade of His r(oof) and  
His glorious w(ings),<sup>384</sup>

And made command in the holy Books to his upright assembly,

BUT ON THE TENTH OF THE SEVENTH MONTH IS THIS  
DAY OF ATONEMENT.

(C. now returns to L.18. although L.16 and L.18  
agree on the remainder of the Eve part of the  
Service)

Now after it there is said GOD BE PRAISED and  
all of WELCOME<sup>385</sup> - it is by the Priest, our master  
Marqah, with whom God be pleased!

Welcome, day of the Fast, etc. (Aleph to Teth).

The Sabbath day brings the servant rest, a day of forgive-  
nesses for Israel,

In which those who supplicate their LORD shall fast with  
repentance.

All peoples have their fasts - but none like our poor  
(peoples' fasts) -

Everything in them is as night, but these are for Israel  
as daylight.

The MANĀT for the Day of the Great Fast

Welcome, O Fast day, possessed of all forgivenesses!

Sowing that which is not in idolatry, but links slain  
and living!

May those who fast celebrate the day again!

Raise your faces to the Tabernacle and say, "Forgive Thy  
people, Israel, whom Thou didst redeem, O LORD".

667 Then there is said antiphonally IN THE NINTH OF  
THE MONTH. etc.<sup>386</sup> and the THREE PROCLAMATIONS above  
and below.<sup>386</sup>

397



Addendum to p.301 above: to be inserted at note 254;

TO THE GREAT, etc.

Unto God who chose Israel, the holiest people;

Unto God who designated<sup>255</sup> festivals - festivals the holiness  
of which is elevated;<sup>256</sup>

Unto God who selected them on this Fast day;

Unto God who made it an atonement for every sin and guilt;

Unto the Conqueror<sup>257</sup> in all battles<sup>258</sup> who endures for ever.<sup>258</sup>

RAISE YOUR HANDS  
(end of addendum.)

TEXTUAL & EXPLANATORY  
NOTES TO TEXT OF EVE  
PART OF SERVICE.

Notes to Eve Part of Service

- 1 A.1 f.1: A.2 f.2: A.3 f.2: A.4 f.1: BK f.4: L.16 f.3: L.17 f.4: L.18 f.2: O.5 f.66.
- 2 L.16, A.3,4 add. ועליו נתרחץ ובו נזבק. A.3 הגדול for נשרי A.2 בשם י"רחמנה טבה L.18 בשם י"הגדול נשרי ונסלח
- 3 A.3 add. שריו הטלק השמיני אמנות <sup>צלות</sup> and precedes<sub>א</sub> with לילת
- 4 L.18 add. מן מימר כהנים וזקנים : להם רצון יהוה וכבודו : אמן אמן
- 5 BK,L.17 om. בחצי and O.5 om. בשעה.
- 6 A.2 "ויצאו ב" : A.4,L.16,18 ויביאו
- 7 A.3 add. במכתבים הקדושים אל פני הקהל A.2 : המכתבים
- 8 BK,L.17 om. הזקנים : A.4 הזקן
- 9 A.3 add. בראשו " יעשו עקד אלניה הגדלה ואמת יחסלו אתה ישרו הצלות על זה היתוב
- 10 L.16 : على هذا الترتيب اوليبدأ الامام BK : על זה היתוב קדם ייערו כהנים A.2  
ويبدأ الامام
- 11-11 According to C. the whole Creed is given twice and so L.16,18,A.3,BK. In L.16,17 is given לית--- אחד twice, once in A.3,BK. A.2 has יתהלל-- אין-- אחז once, and gives the interesting variant direction: - يجابو بوسم الجماعة -  
אין אלה אלא אחז יתהלל ff.by the full Creed. For אין  
O.5,L.16 read לית . O.5 om. אחד -- לית . A.4 shortens to לית אלה, تمام
- 12 A.3 כלها : A.1,2,4,L.16,18 give the full piece. See APP.II, no.2 for text.
- 13-13 There are many variants. Some MSS are in Arabic and others in Hebrew for this and most other rubrics. The variants are not important.
- 14 BK gives after the end of the Service a 'Sabbath' Atonement QATAF; see APP.IV, 3 for the Sabbath adds.
- 15 The BK text of this QATAF is given in full in APP. IV, 1.



- 25 This is from the Defter (C.p.4).
- 26 BK,L.17 ירחמנו .
- 27-27 BK,L.17 om. up to בריך אלהינו and then BK has بنعم ותמאם بنعم (بنعم تقيل L.17) تقيل يعرفو הזקנים . The following note re former practice then comes: - كانوا في مدة السلف يقولو - :  
ברוך אלהינו غير هذا النعم وسع تقيل وفي زماننا هذا انقطع من يعرف رهمم الله
- A.2,L.18 om. من הקהל (so. A.3,L.16) and read ثم يقول זקן  
זכותה בריך אלהינו بنعم تقيل معروف .
- L.16,18,A.2,3,4 give the full text - see APP.II, no.4.
- According to O.5 the response to בריך אלהינו from the congregation is אוי עלך בט"ש . This, according to A.2, seems to pertain rather to על פתח as below.
- 28-28 L.16,17,BK,A.3,4 om.
- 29 BK,L.17 have the longer ויה"א אלה רחמן ורת"יה" מלך ועלמה  
סהד ותמאם לשמה נשבח וברבי ותמאם .
- 30 Om. in L.16,BK,0.5,A.1,3,4. The 'collect' is from the Defter (C.p.4,1.11).
- 31 A.1,2 add. the information: - יתמר אתה הכהן ושיי מן قول -- .
- 32 A.2 gives the add. information: - וכי בשם יقولها الامام على نعم ليلت -  
הפסה
- 33 BK,L.17 الحفتاوي , possibly reflecting a Damascus usage.
- 34 i.e.Gen.i. A.2 add. فوق وتحت (meaning unknown, unless 'antiphonally'). A.3 gives the following direction for קצי הבריה -  
يقراها الامام برهم عظيم يدخل .. ثم بعدد קצי הבריה
- 35 According to L.16,18,A.2,3 the Durran piece is to be קעמן מן שנתן , הא איקר רב , but BK,L.17,0.5 give it as קעמן מן שנתן (C.p.43,no.13). However, BK in the right margin of f.7 add: - صح انه يقال הא איקר , i.e. a correction for קעמין .
- 36 or 'cleaved to'.
- 37 A.2 add: - מן מימר בן מניר .

- 38 L.18,A.3 precede with **جوابه**, making it a congregational response. For the text of **אך בעשור** see APP. II, no.5. It is Lev.xxiii.26-32.
- 39 L.17 supplies the unusual information:- **וימרו כלם --- יתהלל**
- 40 On Gen.ii.8. A.2 add:- **למ נעלמ מالفها رمة الله عليه**.
- 41 Lit. 'full'. L.16,A.3,4:- **מלואים**.
- 42 Observe the following spellings as illustrations:-  
L.16,18 **וכפנון** : A.2 **וגוניס** : 0.5 **וכפנון**!
- 43 L.16 **מוחיס** : A.2 **מנוחיס**.
- 44 A.3,4 **جوابه** . A.2 add: **מקרתה** .
- 45 BK add: **בעמל משה הנאמן אמן** (and see end of following rubric).

A.2 add. the following notice:-

ועליו שלטה כתיים מן מימר הזקן הסב **العلامة التقه عبد الله ابن سلامه**  
**רצון וגו' :** אמר אתם על לטן אדונן הרבן פינחס בן  
**אבישע** ביום הן הֹה ילמד אתו **وجده ماهر العلوم من غير معلم**  
**והֹה כל ימי חייו :** וביום מה אביו אדונן אבישע אחד עשר  
**חדש הֹה ימי חייו עשר שנים ואחד עשר חדש :** ובחר כן  
**הלך מעמו יחמר בזאת הבתיים הטובים על לשנו ויאמר בהם על**  
**מה אחא עליו :** בימי חייו רצון יהוה עליהם כלם אמן בעמל  
**משה הנאמן אמן אמן :**

According to 0.5,L.16,18 it is the **قائه** of the three verses that is said. BK describes Phinehas as High-Priest and Abisha<sup>6</sup> his father as **المعنف** (the author). For **وجده ماهر العلوم** BK has **وجده -- العلوم**. The remainder of BK is almost identical with C.'s text.

- 46 i.e. 1376 A.D.
- 47 i.e. 1387 A.D.
- 48 BK: **בשם יהוה רחמנה L.18 : בשם יה" רח" בשם יה" הגדול : בשם יהוה הגד :**  
L.16 om. **יהוה הגד**.
- 49 A.2 precedes with **جوابه بنغم معروف** and add. **تقيل** at end of line. A.4 **جوابه تقيل بعد كل بيت** L.16 om. the line.



שקיה אחה תמיד : בכל המשרואה :  
 נסור דלא דמיך : ומגיב הבעוה :  
 נחרץ בחילך : ונצעק אה שמועה :  
 עזי וזמרחי : ויהי לי לישועה :

- 63 L.16 for מיים : מיים לנו A.2 .
- 64 or 'inherit'.
- 65 קנא is a name of God in the Sam. phylacteries and in the Shem Ha-Mitpharesh.
- 66 מעשות L.17, 0.5.
- 67 L.16,18 לאשר (C. did not point this out).
- 68 נשתחבי 0.5 : תשתחוי L.17.
- 69-69 A.2 יהוה קנא שמו .
- 70-70 A.2 אל קנא הוא .
- 71 L.17, 0.5, A.2, 3, 4 ווטמר .
- 72 i.e. Moses.
- 73-73 i.e. יחננו : so C. from 0.5, but BK, L.16, 17, 18, A.1, 2, 3, 4 יחננו (gives us rest).
- 74 L.16 וינחם .
- 75 or 'by himself'.
- 76-76 A.2, 3, 4 כאשר .
- 77 or 'see!' = חמו .
- 78 L.16, 17, BK לרעים .
- 79-79 A.2, 3, 4 in full (see end of note). L.16, 17, BK om. جوابه יהוה אל רחם וחנן יقول תפיל ותאמה in each case. A.4 has אמרנו מד as in the following full form.  
 Here is the A.3 text (ثم يقول precedes):-  
 אמרנו מדברי הרחמים  
 אדני הרחמים  
 יהוה ירחם עלינו : (A.4 om.line)  
 جوابه = גואבאה (A.4) : جوابه אמן :

ונאמר עוד מצדדי הכפרות (A.4 precedes with יִקוֹל)  
 (הסלחות A.4) לֵאדְנִי הַסְּלִיחוֹת יִסְלַח  
 לַחֲטָאֵינוּ:

جوابه آمن :  
 סלח לעך ----- אדני יה

then begins חנין החנונים, which A.4 precedes with

יִקוֹל בְּלֵב פֶּאֱלֵי וְכַפּוּף  
 بِسُوكَا سَالِبٍ مِنْ اللّٰهِ الْغَفْرَانَ  
 وَالْجَمَاعَةَ اَيْضًا كَذَلِكَ

- 80 A.4 add: جوابه بعد כל בית:  
 תְּקִיל סֵלַח לְעַמְךָ יִשְׂרָאֵל : אֵה אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה :
- 81-81 L.16 om. whole verse.
- 82 O.5, A.3 שׁוֹבְתָנוּ (our repentance).
- 83 L.17, O.5 שִׁיאֲלֵינוּ (our requests). A.2,3,4 om. לְכָל and  
 read לְשִׁיאֲלֵינוּ
- 84 BK פִּשְׁעֵינוּ (our transgressions).
- 85 A.3 add: ثم يقول القايل.
- 86 A.2 add: תְּקִיל.
- 87-87 L.16,17, BK, O.5, A.1,2,3,4 om. Before A.3 וְיִשְׁתַּבַּח A.3 has  
 בְּעֵדָה יִקָּאֵל יִשְׁתַּבַּח וּבְעֵדָה יִתְרַבֵּי וּמִלִּפְּוֹט
- 88 A.4 add: , יִשְׁתַּבַּח לְעֵלְמָה יְהוִה גְּדוֹל הָאֵחָד: יְהוִה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְהוִה אֶחָד
- 89 A.4 prefix .جوابه .
- 90 In L.16 f.21, BK f.17, A.1 f.44, following אֵה יְהוִה אֵטֵר  
 אֵה יְהוִה אֵטֵר (C.p.644).
- 91 BK = עֲבָד יְהוִה. (L.16 add. = עֲבָד יְהוִה בֶּן שְׁלֹמֹה --  
 C. אין כאל ישרון with על שריו כל מעלל , عبد الله  
 pp.494 ff.). See APP.I (A) for order of MSS here.
- 92 Only in L.18 (uncials).
- 93-93 BK om.
- 94 L.16 now has the Hymn אין כאל ישרון (C.pp.494 ff.). BK  
 has the Hymn immediately after the next Reading.  
 See APP.I (A) for MSS order.
- 95 i.e. 'of my possession'. Or 'the power of my hands exists not'.  
 95a Or 'in the sorrow of'.

- 96 or 'forgiven'.
- 97 BK,L.16 חובינן.
- 98 BK,L.16 ושמה.
- 99 BK has the following add. verse in the margin:-  
גלות ספרי התורה : וכל כימי ושירה :  
ומימריה מניירה : זהות בחלקת השדה :
- The beginning with Gimel suits the alphabetic sequence.
- 100 i.e. the Patriarchs. The vows made by them are  
the subject of considerable Sam. emphasis.  
100a-100a or 'secretly and openly'. 100b or 'destroyed'.
- 101 BK,L.16 ונשאלך.
- 102 L.16 נדרשך.
- 103 BK ונדרש.
- 104 L.16 הקת.
- 105 or 'safely' and so always.  
105a-105a or 'He is exalted over everything'.
- 106 BK לזע! There are many possible signs that the Samaritans used 'Ayin for the 'e' vowel, as here.
- 107 C.'s תמימות from L.16. BK,L.18 תמימותך.
- 108 BK במצת.
- 109 BK: יועזע! cf.note 106 above.
- 110 BK and L.16 מיוע!
- 111 BK אביון.
- 112 BK המצרות.  
112a-112a or 'and it is' like the rearguard (of an army) for the gathering in of thy host.
- 113 BK יתה, an Aramaism.
- 114 BK has the following add.line:- וברבות חטאך: ועונך ומעלך.
- 115 L.18 והמדים.
- 116 BK מגיפותיון.

- 117 BK, A.1 אורו אופע : L.16 אורו מופע .
- 118 L.16 י'מיס .
- 119 BK עזרה (help).
- 120 cf. the Islamic (Qur'anic) اهل الكتاب .
- 121 BK י'הוה .
- 122 i.e. The Song of the Angels from the Defter (C.p.9).
- 123 i.e. he fasts.
- 124 cf. Gen. xxviii.18,22.
- 125-125 om. in BK, L.16.
- 126 The L.18 'Hymnal' ends here. L.16, BK now continue with Durran: מענה זכלה (C.p.39) which occurs in other MSS as follows:- A.1 f.44, A.2 f.22, L.17 f.28, O.5 f.80, L.18 f.153. BK in f.17 and L.16 in f.21. After Durran, Marqah, YISHTABBAH BK, L.16 have the Hymns at C.pp.494 & 504. After these all the MSS agree at Durran: טובה ומיטב .
- 127 L.17 now gives the text of the Abisha<sup>c</sup> Hymn אל פתח רחמיך נגש (C.p.511).
- 128-128 L.18 only.
- 129 A.1 add. לן .
- 130 BK, L.16,17,0.5 יתפסרו (masculine).
- 131 L.17,18 only add. מ'פוק (L.18 nearly always so).
- 132-132 i.e. Lev. xvi.30, om. לטהר אתכם .
- 133-133 So L.18. BK, L.16,17 only כלה / כללה .
- 134 cf. Gen. xlix.22.
- 135 A.1 ואנוכ .
- 136 L.17,0.5,A.3 om. this piece.
- 137 BK has the correct אל זמח : A.1,2 לזמח .

- 138 BK ורבינו (cf. ורבינו above), A.1,2,L.16 ורבינו (cf. ורבינו above). C.'s main MS (L.18) is not consistent in the use of 'Alif Tawīla', but C. rarely changes an L.18 spelling; nearly always preferring L.18 to L.16 or O.5. Hereinafter cases of Alif Tawīla are not noted because of their abundance. In the APPs such cases are noted where they reflect possible MSS interrelationships.
- 139 L.16,A.2 הוּעוּץ.
- 140 Only in L.18 (margin) and so C.
- 141 An unknown term which may be an abbreviated benediction.
- 142 Gen.xxi.33.
- 143 Reference to ברא in ibid.
- 144 C.(C.p.647 footnote 6) suggests עפר here = חפר (a well?), which would give further allusion to (באר שבוע) in ibid.
- 145 עפר = חפר here.
- 146 BK f.33 (A.1 f.85) now has the Hymn על פתח כל ממלל used for various occasions and given in C.pp.746-48. According to A.3 a Hymn by Abīsha<sup>c</sup> is said, but no text is given. The BK & A.1 Hymn is by 'Abdullah b. Solomon and is called 'The Hymn on the Birth of Moses' (see rubric in C.p.746).
- 147 זער = זאר from דור.
- 148-148 Om. in L.16,17,BK.
- 149-149 A.1 מנון.
- 150 L.18 only.
- 151 L.16 add. למטה after לשמה: BK only למטה.
- 152 A.1 add. جرابه.
- 153 This piece om. by L.17,O.5,BK,A.3.
- 154 A.1 הרוחות.
- 155-155 A.1 om.

- 156 BK,L.17,A.3 מורכו, with enclitic added.
- 157 O.5,L.17 om. Add. above line in BK,L.16.
- 158 L.16 om. A.2 אישו.
- 159 So L.18.
- 160-160 A.1,0.5,L.17 כלְהָ / כְּלָהּ ; L.16 אוּ פֶּעַל מִנְהָ ; BK חֶזַר  
מִנְהָ הַגִּדּוּל כְּלָהּ .
- 161 L.16,A.2 בֵּן (wrong in view of בחורי following).
- 162 O.5,A.3 om. this piece.
- 163 L.17 יִטְרִקוּהָ , an unusual transliteration.
- 164 BK הַזְּמַן ; الوقت will refer to the qazān.
- 165 L.18 סֵפֶר .
- 166 BK,A.1 add. (BK מִיּוֹם ) מִן יִקְוֹל אֵל מִן תַּלְפִּי (לְבֵן מִיּוֹם )  
אֵל יִרַח .  
אֵל יִרַח : A.2
- 167 L.16,17,BK
- 168 BK add. between these verses (שְׁלוֹם יְהוּהָ עָלֶיךָ ) שְׁלוֹם יְהוּהָ עָלֶיךָ ,  
referring to יוֹם .
- 169 C. misprint for גִּדּוּל .
- 170 BK,L.16,17 עֵשֶׂן .
- 171 BK,L.17,0.5 אֶמְלֵל .
- 172 L.16,18 om. (C. from O.5).
- 173 Next complete folio missing in BK.
- 174 A.1 עַל .
- 175 L.18 זֶאת .
- 176 So L.18.
- 177-177 A.1 " יִתְגַּלְּג קְרִיאָה וּתְמַמָּה A.2 : יִתְגַּלְּג קְרִיאָה זְקָרָה עִסְרָה " מְלִיָּה
- 178 L.17,A.1 precede with (A.1 add. (قَرَأَهُ تَمَامًا
- 179-179 A.1,2,L.16,17,0.5 set out יִשְׂרָאֵל as title and  
begin YISHTABBAH at בְּגִדּוּל , which is usual.

- 180 0.5,L.17,A.1 **בסימנים**.
- 181 L.18 add. **מפיק** (as usually)
- 182-182 L.18 only **فصل**, L.16 (יתרבי) **وفصل**, L.17 **من**. The piece is in C.p.48, 2nd half.
- 183 A.1 add. **לא נודע בעלה ירה" וגו"**.
- 184-184 L.16 **יהיה כל**, 0.5,L.17 **יהי לך**, BK **יהוה לך**.
- 185 0.5,L.17,A.3 om. this piece.
- 186 A.1 add. **جوابه**. A.2 om. whole line.
- 187 BK resumes at f.43 after the missing one.
- 188-188 So L.16,18 only.
- 189 L.16,A.2 **מקלט** (refuge).
- 190 C. footnote: ? **צעומים** (i.e. the fasters, but all the MSS have **צעורים**).
- 191-191 BK,L.17 om. with A.1,3,0.5.
- 192 A.1 add. **לא נודע בעלו...**
- 193 A.2 **יתרבי**.
- 194-194 BK om. whole line.
- 195-195 A.1 **ותשרי מקראתה אלה ויקם את החצר אל חתמת ספר השני (א.א.)**
- 196 C.5 add. **وبعدہ اذ كان الوقت يكبر يقال كيما... يوسف ولا لزم نكتبها هاهنا... وبعدہ يقال بورد وهاموسف به كل הכפר ויקטף سور الخليله وאלهه اب".**
- 197 BK has the dedication **בשם יהוה**.
- 198 Or 'a different version'? L.17 om.
- 199 The refrain in A.1 is inset in red ink.
- 200 The abbreviation in each case is C.'s.
- 201 C. from 0.5 **לן כל**, L.16 **כל**, BK,L.18 **מכל**, L.17 **לן כל**.
- 202 BK begins **له ايضا**, meaning that this piece is by the same author as the preceding. A.2 has no

rubric. L.16 simply *والكيمي الاتية في اول الصفحة علي نغم ارفع*

203 A.1 gives the fuller *اوقف نهر موفع* (not in C.). L.17  
*اوقف نهر موفع*.

204 *العنصره*, meaning unknown.

205 In the MSS other than L.16, 17, 18, BK & A.2 each letter in every stanza which is the same as the letter after *אל* is underlined. C. uses capitals to indicate this. No doubt the practice was intended either to draw attention to the composer's skill, or to aid the memory in reciting.

206-206 or 'who in his wisdom is all round'.

207 These words inverted in L.16, 17, BK.

208 BK, L.17, A.1 *יאמר*.

209 BK, L.17 *כלה* ('everything', a more typical expression).

210 L.16 *מקום* (place).

211 i.e. allusion to supplication, or 'who restrains' from (O.T.) Heb. *נוגד*.

212 L.16 *סמך* (sustainer).

213 A.2 *פקד* (commands).

214 L.16 *קנא*.

215-215 A.1 reverses these two lines.

216 BK add. *מן תולה*, A.2 *לה אישًا*. L.17 om. the whole line.

217 BK *תתחננו*.

218 L.18, A.1 add. *ונאמר*.

219 BK, L.17 add. *ותמאם*. L.18 add. *ברחמיך עלי שיאלינו: ברוך שמך בפיאנו: ובפי כל קהלינו: ובספרך הגדול נלמד: כל ימי חיינו:*

(C.p.7, ll.13-13 give a somewhat different version).

220-220 BK, L.17 om.

- 221 BK add. על זה היתוב and gives the full version. L.18 add. ועדה תרטיבה על הת. om. reference to the MUSAF. In L.18 bottom margin there is: - עדה המזادات ואעדה יקאל עליה סלח לעמך : וואעדה יקאל עליה כפר לעמך :
- BK's rubric is divided in two by the text of נברך; the 2nd part of the rubric begins at the top of f.47. C. indicates by a downstroke where the piece falls, noting only that 'The headings are given in L.16 ,17,18' - as BK (for text see APP.II, no.9). A.1 has the headings alternately in red and black ink.
- 222 So L.18. ביית וביית אויבעלע עלי קדרושת L.16; BK طرفة ff. by המוקדים תביל. The piece is Ex.xv.
- 223-223 A.2 בשלשה המכתובים. The reference to 'in their hand' is only in L.18.
- 224 BK ניזל ולך תביל L.17 : ולך נביע L.16 : ניזל ולך נביע ביית וביית BK 49.
- 225 L.17 reverses the order of the first two Antiphons (כי בשם follows שוב מ"ח), or om. the first כי בשם and follows שוב מ"ח with the כי בשם said in the other MSS to be repeated.
- 226 From here to ויב"ל BK only באזני (governed still by וילבו). A.2 only יבא הכהן באזני. The other MSS are very similar to BK, om. the full details of the Antiphons.
- 227-227 C.'s brackets, because L.18 has these words in a margin.
- 228 C.'s brackets.
- 229 Deut.vi.4. The remainder of the responses is from ibid.6-9.
- 230 C. does not give the text. See APP.II, no.10.
- 231 by Marqah (C.p.12).
- 232 i.e. to אדמת עמו and וכפר אדמת עמו. After each section the response כי יידין --- יתנחם is said.

- 233 See APP.II, no.11 for text.
- 234-234 L.17 add. ומי בעמל תלתי שלמיה *فوق وتحت*.
- 235 A.1,3 הכהנים.
- 236 For the text of this Antiphon see APP.II, no.12.
- 237-237 BK, A.3 om. A.1 בתרה יתמר שבחו *بنغم تقيل على رنנות شوب مחרון افخ בתרה יתמר שבחו*
- 238-238 So C. footnote (C.p.656, n.1).
- 239 Before giving the author's name BK has the heading *فيها اسرار من الاستغفار*. A.3, after the benediction on the name of Jacob, has *ובו רזה המכסרה ובז"ה שעה קבול נעיה*.  
0.5 *ومنهم من يقول انها من قول الربيع يعقوب*
- 240 cf. C.'s footnote (op.cit.n.2)
- 241 L.16,17, A.1,2 אה עמה ליהיה for *אה עמה*.
- 242 A.3, L.17 כדמותו. BK om. the last half-line.
- 243-243 Om. after each stanza in L.16,17, 0.5.
- 244 A.3 קברו, BK עברו (from next line).
- 245 A.2 עיני (times of).
- 246-246 In this case om. by A.1,2,3 also.
- 247 קוממית cannot here = the occurrence in C.p.37<sup>u</sup>, but rather = קוממיות (C.Glossary, q.v.).
- 248-248 Om. in A.1,2,3 again.
- 249 L.16, A.3 add. כל, L.17 כר (by assimilation).
- 250 A.3 add. איוון.
- 251 L.16,17 add. מפיך. A.3 ותמאם. After the refrain A.1,2 *مناف ان يوافق مكفور السبت* (A.2 add. *هكذا*).
- 252 0.5 add. להם זה (היום).
- 253-253 A.3 om. L.17, A.2 ואמרו before *ותמאם*. L.17 then add. *جوابه* ישתבח אלהים לית אלה אלא אחד: קיעם הו עד לעלם וקני שומיה  
וארעה:

- 254 A stanza has been accidentally om. in the tr.  
The tr. has been add. to p. 325 above (q.v.).
- 255 BK add. לין, L.16 לן.
- 256 A.3 עזומה .
- 257 L.18 לנציחו, A.2,3,L.17 לנצעי (A.3 ff. by *وتمامه*).  
A.1 om. the whole line.
- 258-258 Only L.17,18 (& so C.), A.2,0.5.
- 259 BK om. A.2 add. ישתבח אלהים לית א"א"ג: קיעט עד לעלב קני שומיה וארעה.  
L.17 add. جوابه ישתבח אלהים (*sic*) *بمقامه* .
- 260 BK מזבח .
- 261 L.16,17,A.1,2,3 ותהונו, the correct form.
- 262 L.16,0.5 יקום .
- 263 A.1,3 הקדושה (Arabic influence or rhyming?).
- 264 BK add. اللهم اغفر ذنوبنا .
- 265 L.18 יעני .
- 266 L.16,17 ויקים, L.18 ויקום .
- 267 BK,0.5 ותסקח (correct guttural).
- 268 BK,L.7 האש, 0.5 אחש .
- 269 L.16,17,A.2,3 על משמר, A.1 משמרת .
- 270 L.16 ותיקים, A.1 ותקום .
- 271 L.17 add. between stanzas *امن ابيه اشر ابيه* (אמן אהיה אשר א").
- 272 Only L.18 (so C.) יריך for יאריך as in other MSS.
- 273 A.1,3 ציאמיכון (your fasts).
- 274 From here on A.1,3 have יהוה יקבל in alternate lines.
- 275 A.1,3 צלותיכון (your prayers).
- 276 L.17 om. whole line.



- 293 This piece is set out in two different ways.  
Taking the quarter-stichs as A,B,C,D in each stanza, C.'s lay-out for two lines is A-B-C-D  
E-F-G-H  
and so BK (but set out in two lines of two quarter-stichs each, per stanza. However, A.1,2,3,L.16,17,18,0.5 have
- |    |              |    |
|----|--------------|----|
| EA |              | BA |
| FB | against BK's | DC |
| GC |              | FE |
| HD |              | HG |
- 294 A.3 add. כי.
- 295-295 A.2 reverses these quarter-stichs. For אשמינו A.3 פשעינו.
- 296 L.17 om. ויוסף : 0.5 (so C.),L.16,17,A.2 add. ואויבן which L.18 om.(and L.16,17 have above line).
- 297 0.5 לנו.
- 298-298 A.2 "ומלחת לעונינו ולחטאות" A.3 פשעינו for כהנינו.
- 299 A.3 add. אלה אל.
- 300-300 A.3 אמן אהיה אשר אהיה in majuscules.
- 301 0.5 גלא (revealed).
- 302 A.1,3 om. זה.
- 303 A.2 om. whole line.
- 304 C.'s brackets, but L.17 gives ابن المرعوم العم الشيخ يعقوب .
- 305 BK add. בשם יהוה (a feature of BK).
- 306 0.5 מעליכם for ונברותם.
- 307 L.16,A.2,3 מי.
- 308 cf.Ex.xxxii.15 for this expression.
- 309 0.5,L.17 om. this piece.
- 310 A.2 om. this line.
- 311 BK עונים.

- 312 A.2 om. this line.
- 313 So L.18 (and C.).
- 314 A.3 באחד (first!).
- 315 BK,L.17,0.5 om. this piece.
- 316 A.2 om. ועל הכל.
- 317 A.1,3 ואזימאן (Ithpa<sup>e</sup>el).
- 318 A.2 om. A.3 places ישראל after שבת.
- 319 A.3 has מכל (for מכס) before ישמע and reads אחד for כל.
- 320 So L.18.
- 321 A.1,2 add. another YISHTABBAH (by Tabhya b. Solomon); for the text see APP:II, nō.20. After it A.1 add. another YISHTABBAH (rubric illegible); for the text see APP.II, nō.21.
- 322 BK add. "ויתרגל קרא וקרא עשר" על. ויתרבי זה השם הגד. Then follows a full QATAF direction: - ישרי אלקטף מן בראשית אל ולא ק(ם) עוד קטף כפר ושביעי ובר" ויסקף על שבל הרית ולמא יخلصو القطف يقال تורה ונברך יתה ויתהלל.
- 323-323 BK om. and add. marginal note *מא יקאל קטף סוא קטף עזכא ים*; i.e. only the QATAF of the Righteous is said.
- 324 For this QATAF see the text in APP.IV, 5.
- 325-325 BK has these words contained within the text of the QATAFs.
- 326 L.16 add. شويه (little).
- 327 From here to the Three SEGUDDAHs, BK,L.17,18,0.5, A.1 om. and in add. A.2,3 om. the rubric re the author being Ghazāl b. Ishāq. L.16,A.1,2,3 have the DEKHÖR.
- 328 C. now uses L.16.
- 329 A.2,3 שנים עשר (twelve); thus half-Service?
- 330 A.2,3 ריש (beginning).

- 331 A.2,3 חטא .
- 332 Similar to Deut.iv.29a.
- 333 or 'too wonderful for'.
- 334-334 A.2,3 יצליך פניך הדרך והבטול יתכנס : (who prospers the way before you, so that the destroyer is doomed).  
Then A.2,3 add. the following verse: - על מלת קשטה ומשפט התורה יתקומם : ומן הרע דרכיו עין מדעו יהי שתם ;  
(Against the true word and the ordinance of the law he exalts himself and his ways are of evil; let his understanding eye be unclosed!).
- 335-335 A.2,3 - : (רחמים) ורחו הושם : אנה ושם ננשים . ואולם הגם הלם : (and pity are established here, but the Name, even it, we make to rest).
- 336 A.2,3 ויונות .
- 337 A.2,3 רבה .
- 338 A.2,3 om. סלא .
- 339 A.2,3 השם .
- 340 A.2,3 om. המזבח .
- 341 A.2,3 om. נפש .
- 342-342 A.2,3 substitute the following verse: - יהוה אלה"ה אחד : צעום זה לא צלם : רק שבטי יעקוב משה ואהרן והקיאם ;  
(The LORD God is one LORD. The faster is not (in) the Image, but the tribes of Jacob, Moses and Aaron and the covenant). A very obscure and probably corrupt text.
- 343-343 cf.Gen.xxii.9. A.2,3 have the following verse instead of it: - יראת אלהים ירשה בשלשה תתעצם: אבר" ויצחק ויע" ופתור החלם  
(The fear of God inherits; it is grounded in the Three, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and the interpreter of the dream).
- 344-344 A.2,3 substitute the following verse: - פדיון לתהבים אנה מן אתקד על הקצים : נחודש בו סובר ונאמר וגו" .  
(May He redeem them, those who here repent! (As for) him who was bound to the wood, let hope be renewed in him, and let us say, etc.).

- 345-345 A.2,3 read: - וכפר לנו כל עון ואשם: בעלמה ואחרית וגם הגם אלם ,  
ff. by " --- הזה (asc) ממצרים ועד אנה יתקומם: מימר אל תשחית וגו"  
(and forgive us every sin and guilt in this world  
and even in the next! Forgive ... this people from  
Egypt up till the present. Let the word be estab-  
lished, "Destroy not", etc.).
- 346 A.2 add. ונ" אשר (Aramaism) and om.
- 347-347 A.2,3 om.
- 348-348 A.2,3 om.
- 349-349 A.2,3 בכל לילה ויומם.
- 350-350 A.2,3 substitute: - וברכאתו ושלם: על משה מיהוה קדוש בני עמרם  
(and His blessing and peace be upon Moses from the  
LORD, the holiest of 'Amram's sons).
- 351-351 A.2,3 om.
- 352-352 A.2,3 substitute the following: - כי כמוך העם הנועשה  
בגלוגאתך תתריאם: וישוב עליכון שנים רבים והאדמה לא תשם:  
(for who is like you, O delivered people, in your  
exalted glory? May He restore to you two great  
things and may the land not be desolate!).
- 353-353 A.2,3 מן אלה.
- 354 See BDB on ריה (Deut.xxix.18).
- 355 BK additional), ff. by الاولى.
- 356-356 BK,L.16,17,18,A.2 fuller: - (Lev.xvi.34a)  
והיתה זאת לכם לחקת עולם לכפר על בני ישראל מכל חטאות" אחת בשנה :
- 357 According to A.2 the same is repeated on the third  
occasion and then, after (ויעש) --- משה add. וتمامם.
- 358 C.p.276 with variations. L.17 makes no mention of  
it.
- 359-359 Only L.16 (C.). A.3 وفي اخره يذكر ويشتم اهلنا هذه الموعود ويشتمو יהוה  
0.5 add. after : --- : انما سين :  
(ويقال اتي بسلام من قول - مرقه (BK only)).
- 360 The L.16 rubric continues: - العلم الاكرم الملاذ الافخم زكن ישראל  
פרזו המכרם אברהים ---

- 361 A.3 נעמד.
- 362 A.3 ונלבש.
- 363 A.3 ואקד (return to imperative).
- 364 A.3 ונקום (return to Imperfect).
- 365-365 A.3 וגם לה אתיטר (and also it is chastened).
- 366-366 A.3 om. The reference may be to submission in the sense of 'Islam'.
- 367 A.3 שרש.
- 368 A.3 add. יהיה.
- 369-369 A.3 om.
- 370-370 A.3 מן מרון כן נבקש (of our LORD thus we make petition).
- 371 A.3 add. עמך.
- 372-372 A.3 ינירו ובנאירות (they shine, and in light).
- 373 A popular Sam. reference to their own name, 'the (true) keepers' (of the law).
- 374 First name of the author of the piece.
- 375 Family name of the author of the piece.
- 376 i.e. Abraham (Gen.xvii.1b-2a).
- 377 i.e. Jacob (ibid. xxviii.10).
- 378 Jacob (ibid. xxxi.12a).
- 379 i.e. Phinehas (Num.xxv.11b).
- 380 i.e. Moses (Lev.xxiii.32a - b ).
- 381 Only in L.16 (so C.).
- 382 Again a play on the Sam. name for themselves - השומרים. They are השמירים through the covenant.
- 383 Reading בטגם with LXX  $\delta\alpha\delta$  (τὸ εἶναι αὐτοὺς ἀσάρκας) in Gen.vi. 3. So RSV.

- 384-384 Meaning dubious. There is no indication in the MSS as to whether כ.ק. have numerical significance (= 120), or are abbreviations of biblical phrases. בצל קִנְיָתִי occurs in Gen.xix.8, בצל קִנְיָתִי in Psalm xvii.8, but there is no evidence that the Samaritans possessed the Psalms.
- 385 C.(L.18) gives this Margah piece in full in C.pp. 62 ff. It is also given in full in L.16, BK, O.5, (and A.1?), 2,3. See APP.II, no.23 for notes to C.'s text.
- 386-386 BK om. A.2 "ויתמר קרזנה תלת וזנה תבל בחש"-. ובענה קרז' ובגור כן יקאל יתה אל' ותא' 2 ff. by the MALIFÜT for the Morning part of the Service.
- 387 According to A.3 the Morning part of the Service begins with the MALIFÜT following the Three Proclamations. There is no indication in the MSS used by C. or in BK that there was any break between any parts of the Service. L.18 ends with the word ותחת, and C. then goes on with L.16. The fact that L.13 does end where it does speaks for itself! Evidences that a division of the Service took place here has been given above in pp.104 ff.

