

CHAPTER XII.

THE THEOLOGY OF THE SAMARITANS.¹

§ I. INTRODUCTORY.

It is proposed in the present Chapter to give a digest of the Samaritan theology. Such a presentation is exposed to the scientific criticism that it avoids the historical processes of the development of doctrines. But the writer would meet this criticism by his intention to note carefully the more important changes in the theology, while withal he submits that to do full chronological justice to the subject a whole volume based upon many exhaustive investigations would be required. However, he has reached the opinion that Samaritanism had practically attained its ripeness by the IVth Century A. C., when, in the teachings of its great theologian Marka, all the elements of its doctrine are found at hand. Karaitism may subsequently have influenced practice, and Islam has largely affected theological expression, while it cast the doctrine of God into a more Deistic mould and affected especially the eschatology. But in general we are not doing violence to historic method in regarding Samaritan theology from its first literary monuments in the

¹For the literature, besides the works of the earlier scholars, as Reland and Cellarius (consult Bibliography), see especially Gesenius, *De Samaritanorum theologia*; de Sacy in the introduction to his edition of the Epistles in *N. et E.*; Petermann, *Reisen im Orient*, i, 269; *RE* ed. I, s. v. *Samaritaner*; Kautzsch in the 2d and 3d editions of the same; Heidenheim, in introductions to his *Bibliotheca Samaritana*, and numerous articles in *DVJ*; Nutt, *Samaritan Targum*; Hamburger, in *REJud.* ii, s. v. *Samaritaner*; Cowley, *Some Remarks on Samaritan Literature and Religion*, *JQR* viii, 562.

IVth Century down to our own time as a whole which may be systematically digested.

Also we can, from external if not sure internal evidence, trace Samaritan doctrine farther back than the IVth Century. The Jewish notices of the sect, which have been studied in the three preceding Chapters, throw invaluable light upon its theology. So far as we can learn from these extraneous sources the general outlines of Samaritanism were already fixed in the Ist and IId Centuries. Therefore while we possess, apart from the Pentateuch and some few Hellenistic fragments, no literature that can be surely assigned to an earlier date than Marka, we must infer that the greater part of the theology as we have it is the precipitate of the age at or before the beginning of the Christian era. The chief exception would lie in eschatology. And if the contention, now generally accepted even by Jewish scholars be correct, that the Samaritans are but a Jewish sect, then we must hold that their theology has developed in a straight and consistent course ever since the schism from Judaism. This development has gone along on the whole *pari passu* with the theology of the latter religion. No intellectual independence is to be found in our sect; it was content to draw its teachings and stimulus from the Jews, even long after the rupture was final. Nevertheless, it possessed a certain patriotic hardiness which enabled it to preserve its own characteristic, and in many cases to maintain the elder and more conservative position as against progressive Pharisaism. And that Samaritanism is a witness to earlier phases of Jewish thought than later Jewish orthodoxy is evident in several points, but most of all in the eschatology. While the doctrine of this department is voiced in liturgical pieces which may all or in large part date from the Islamic period, nevertheless in great part it represents the fluctuating eschatological notions which were in the air in the centuries just before and after the begin-

ning of our era. Our subject therefore takes us back to the original womb of Judaism from which the sect sprang.

To make a rough historic division of Samaritan theology, we may divide it into the age before Marka (the IVth Century), and that subsequent to him. The latter again may be subdivided by the point where Islamic influences begin to evince themselves; this epoch may be dated about the end of the Ist Millennium.² With Marka and his age, celebrated in the traditions concerning Baba Rabba, we have evidence of a positive intellectual development of theology. There is the sudden appearance of extensive Haggadic literature, while a certain manifestation of Rabbinism comes to the front, testified to by Baba Rabba's appointment of lay doctors to the despise of the priests. This development is the reflex of the processes in Judaism which were finding immortal expression in Talmud and Haggada. The influence of Islam does not, as already observed, contribute much materially to Samaritan theology, but nevertheless it gives a turning-point which is valuable at least for purposes of chronology.

In the following exposition I have made use chiefly of the Samaritan Epistles to European scholars, and of the Liturgy. In any sect it is the prayers and hymns which most truly represent its actual religion. The later works, the theological treatises and commentaries, do not add much to the general knowledge of our subject. With reference to the subsequent development of theology, it may be said that the bloom of Haggadic thought which is most exuberant in Marka does not maintain its hold on the sect. The Samaritans fell back into the prosaic type characteristic of them, so that their theology has become a hard and dry product with little imagination and spiritual afflatus. I trust the full apparatus of references will give credence to my statements and also that they may be of use to scholarly readers.

² See Chapter XIV on the literature of the Samaritans.

§ 2. THE SAMARITAN CREED.

WE SAY: MY FAITH IS IN THEE, YHWH; AND IN MOSES SON OF AMRAM, THY SERVANT; AND IN THE HOLY LAW; AND IN MOUNT GERIZIM BETH-EL; AND IN THE DAY OF VENGEANCE AND RECOMPENSE.³

Such is the Samaritan confession of faith, constantly appearing in the literature. It takes its place alongside of the Christian Creed, and of Islam's confession, "There is no God but God, and Mohammed is his prophet." The statement is parallel to the latter religion's six articles of faith, which consist in belief in God, in his angels, his scriptures, his prophets, the resurrection and Day of Judgment, and in God's absolute decree.⁴ The first three points of the Samaritan creed are identical with the cardinal beliefs of Judaism, while the fourth is the cause of schism between the two communities. These first four points sometimes appear by themselves,⁵ the fifth article concerning the Latter Things being a later addition to the Samaritan theology. In the discussion of our theme we cannot do better than follow the formal scheme of this creed.

§ 3. THE BELIEF IN GOD; ANGELS, CREATION, ETC.

(I.) THE ONE GOD.

The doctrine of the oneness, the uniqueness, and the spirituality of God is the supreme theme of Samaritan theology, and he is the sole object of all worship. The character of the Samaritan notion of God may be appreciated from the following passage of a hymn:⁶

³ *Ep. to the Brethren in England*, 1672, *N. et E.* 173 (tr. 181); *1 Ep. to Ludolf*, Ludolf, *Ep. Sam.* 8; *Epistle of Mashalma*, *DVJ* i, 100; *BS* ii, No. xxiv.

⁴ Sale, *Koran*, *Prelim. Disc.* § 4.

⁵ *BS* ii, No. xl; *N. et E.* 179, 223.

⁶ Gesenius, *CS* 100.

There is nothing like him or as he is;
 There is neither likeness nor body.
 None knows who he is but he himself,
 None is his creator or his fellow.
 He fills the whole world,
 Yet there is no chancing upon him.
 He appears from every side and quarter,
 But no place contains him.
 Hidden yet withal manifest, he sees
 And knows everything hidden.
 Hidden nor appearing to sight,
 Nothing is before him and after him nothing.

The doctrine of the unity of God is based upon the formula of the Shema, "Hear, O Israel, YHWH thy God is one YHWH,"⁷ but it is generally expressed in the terms of Islam, "There is no God but God." This is the beginning and end, the constant refrain of all piety. The doctrine appears aggressively in the polemic against the Christian belief in distinctions within the Godhead, and Gnostic ideas of emanation. The polemic is constantly expressed in such language as the following: "O Being of unity, who hast no fellow, no second, nor colleague." The last term, *shateph* corresponds to the Arabic *sharik*, which with its collateral forms is frequently used in the Koran in the prohibitions against "associating" anything with God.⁸ In another hymn the opening stanzas evidently antagonize Christian Trinitarianism:⁹ "God is the one without plurality, the first before all that was made in plurality, the Head so that naught arose from plurality. He is found for what he is, another comes not in the count. There is no place sufficient

⁷ There is evidence of the use of the Shema, *BS* ii, 191, bott.

⁸ *CS* No. ii, 10. *Shateph* is used in Talmudic literature in like way. The Arabic equivalent appears in *Lib. Jos.*

⁹ *BS* ii, No. xxiii.

for him that plurality may be comprehended therein. He is YHWH, and is not to be inwardly distinguished (מִדָּד). . . . There is known no second who has wrought with him. . . . He has no instruments and no hands, no equal and hypostatization (מִדָּה)."

The latter term is evidently the hypostatized Midda, or Attribute, of Jewish Gnosticism. The Samaritan literature is fairly free of such Gnostic notions; however Marka made extensive excursions in that direction, while there are later echoes of his language. Thus Marka represents God's Grace and Goodness as standing at the right and left of Moses.¹⁰ The idea of the Glory, Kabod, of God, does appear constantly as a hypostatization, especially in connection with the theophany on Sinai. It is identified by Marka with the Angel which was to lead Israel through the desert.¹¹ This notion of the Kabod comes from primitive Judaism, appearing first in Ezekiel.¹² There is also constant reference to the Shekina, or manifest Residing of God over Gerizim; this has been withdrawn from mortal eye during the Age of Disfavor.¹³ The Word of YHWH appears a few times in the Samaritan Pentateuch after the example of the Jewish Targum, e. g. *Num.* 22, 20; 23, 4, 5, 16; but the hypostatized Memra appears scantily or never in the literature. God is said to have spoken and created by his Word, but it is especially taught that this Word has no existence by itself. There is no development of a Logos-doctrine. An echo of Jewish Wisdom literature is found when it is said that "God created the heavens by his wisdom,"¹⁴ but no further development of this notion appears.

¹⁰ *Marka*, 15a.

¹¹ *BS* iii, 101.

¹² *Eze.* i, seq.; Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*, 161.

¹³ *BS* ii, 124, bott.; *N. et E.* 212.

¹⁴ *BS* ii, No. xiv, Beth. Cf. *Prov.* 3, 19.

The Spirit of God receives scant attention, the references to it being based almost entirely on *Num.* 11, 28ff.¹⁵

We thus find some interesting points of connection with early Jewish Gnosticism, but withal little positive development in the way of hypostatization; Marka's trend, doubtless dependent upon incipient Kabbalism, was not pursued by the unimaginative Samaritan mind, which was influenced much more by the hard Deism of Islam. Despite the traditions and opinions concerning Simon Magus, there is little to show that Samaritanism was ever Gnostically minded.¹⁶ Later theology, as we have noticed, denied all hypostatization, while even such Scriptural passages as suggested this notion were often emended. Thus the four places in the Pentateuch where *Elohim*, God, is construed with a plural verb are corrected in the Samaritan to the singular number: *Gen.* 20, 13; 31, 53; 35, 7; *Ex.* 22, 9. The rendering of "the Sons of God" in the Targum of *Gen.* 6, 4 follows the Targum Onkelos in offering "sons of rulers." In *Gen.* 48, 16 of the Samaritan Hebrew, *Mal'ak*, the Angel, is turned into Melek, the King, so as to give all glory to God.

God's essence is pure spirit. Contrary to much Old Testament phraseology, and especially to apocalyptic Judaism, which located God in the highest,—the third or seventh heaven,—the Samaritan generally can find no local place for him. This spiritual notion receives noble expression in a verse published by Gesenius:¹⁷ "The abode which I shall have is the place of thy power; no ocean is there, nor sea [cf. *Rev.* 21, 1], nor the very heavens themselves." In his relation to creation, God "fills the world."¹⁸ Most particularly does the Samaritan theology dwell upon the

¹⁵ E.g. *BS* ii, 116; No. xcvi, stanzas, ii, iii. In *Marka*, 38a, the Holy Spirit is classed with the Cloud and Fire, but in 73a the Glory takes its place.

¹⁶ See Chap. XIII, § 2.

¹⁷ *CS* iii, 13.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* iv, 5. But according to a hymn, quoted by Heidenheim, *DVJ* iv, 549, God built his temple in the highest heaven.

incorporeality and impassibility of God, surpassing Judaism in this respect. The earliest evidence of this tendency is the Samaritan Pentateuch with its Targum, which latter exceeds even the Jewish Targumists in the avoidance of original anthropomorphisms. A comparison of the Samaritan Targum with both Onkelos and the Greek in the *locus classicus*, *Ex.* 24, 10f, shows how far the former went in this direction. In v. 10 by a slight textual change the seeing of God becomes "they feared God," and in v. 11 the having the vision of God becomes "they were assembled with God." This quite outdoes Onkelos, who has it that "they saw God's glory," and the Greek, "they saw the place where God was." This anti-anthropomorphic tendency is carried to a still greater extreme in Abu Said's Arabic translation, in which some 600 cases of such revision are found.¹⁹

But in the extra-Biblical literature this trend of doctrine becomes absolute. It is continuously taught that God perceives and acts without the aid of parts or senses. "He sees with the eye of wisdom, but he sees not with eyes; seeing what is in the world, seeing but he sees not."²⁰ And so he hears without ears,²¹ he made and sustains the world without a hand.²² He speaks without mouth or voice, and there is no more body to the utterance than in the line of writing which may be rubbed off a tablet.²³ Even the mystic "Be" of creation is uttered without a word. He suffered no toil in his work of creation, for "he worked without fatigue and rested without weariness."²⁴ This has reference to the divine Sabbath, and is of course good Jewish doctrine since Philo. Finally "he never grows old for

¹⁹ Gesenius, *De Pentateuchi Samaritani origine*, 59. Further for the Targumic use, see Kohn, *Zur Sprache*, etc., 179.

²⁰ *BS* ii, No. xvii, st. 1.

²¹ *Ibid.* No. xxii, st. 2.

²² *CS* ii, 9.

²³ *Ibid.* ii, 5; 7.

²⁴ Petermann, *Gramm. Sam. App.* 23; *CS* i, 6.

he has no want.²⁵ The one standing exception to this rule is the constant reference to the writing of the Tables of the Law by the finger of God; here the effective anthropomorphism of Scripture and the reverence for the Law are too strong for the otherwise spiritualizing Samaritan theology.

In respect to God's moral nature, he is absolutely holy and pure and righteous; the latter quality is especially taught in connection with the doctrine of the Day of Judgment, which shall be a time of awful apprehensions on the part of saints as well as of sinners. But the quality that receives the crowning emphasis is that of God's love to his people; he appears pre-eminently as the Gracious and Merciful God, in terms taken from *Ex.* 34, 6ff, and after the fashion of the standing title in the opening of the Suras of the Koran. To give one example of this characterization of God, he is "the treasury of love."²⁶ It is pathetic to observe how in its litanies and hymns the petty, persecuted sect has cherished its faith in the mercy of God, a love which seemed the more intense because of its limitation to that small community; it is marvellous how that wretched people has clung so passionately to this faith, which history has but little confirmed.

On the other hand, quite in line with the severe avoidance of everything approaching anthropomorphism, the doctrine of the Fatherhood of God, which was first developed in Judaism and later made the cornerstone of religion by Jesus, is ignored and even contradicted by the Samaritan faith. God appears as Father only in the few passages of the Pentateuch where his paternity for Israel is asserted,

²⁵ *BS* ii, No. xxii, st. 2. *Per contra*, "the Ancient of Days," *Dan.* 7, 13, and the current Kabbalistic terms, "the Ancient," "the Most Hoary"; see Hamburger, *REJud.* ii. s. v. *Kabbala*. The expression, "the Ancient," however, appears in a XIVth Century Midrash, *DVJ* iv, 209.

²⁶ *BS* ii, 174, v. 5.

e.g., *Ex.* 4, 22. In this matter Samaritanism adheres to the elder Sadducean theology, a stage which was overcome by the more intense personal religion of the Pharisees. Under the influence of Islam this tendency went still farther to the extreme. Abu Said paraphrases all such Biblical passages; for example in the one just cited he translates "my first-born son" as "my own people."²⁷

As for the divine names, God is generally expressed by El, Ela, the Biblical Elohim appearing more rarely, as a rule for the sake of rhyme,—either through Islamic influence or from caution against its plural significance. But the great name of revelation, $\Upsilon\eta\omega\eta$, appears constantly throughout the literature, without any trace of that fear at even the writing of it which characterizes Judaism. The pronunciation of the name has come to be avoided by uttering in its stead שֵׁמָּה (pronounced Shémma), "the Name," corresponding to the Jewish use of שֵׁמָּה , e. g., *Lev.* 24, 11.²⁸ Yet the pronunciation itself has survived in Samaritanism, whereas long lost in the Jewish Church.²⁹ It appears from the Liturgy that the name was still used in the priestly blessing till a late date.³⁰ As is well known, Theodoret, of the Vth Century, gives the Samaritan pronunciation as $\Upsilon\alpha\beta\epsilon$, or $\Upsilon\alpha\beta\alpha$.³¹ In another place I have shown that the tradition of the right pronunciation has survived amongst the Samaritans to our own day, namely as Yahwa.³²

As for the Jews so also for the Samaritans, $\Upsilon\eta\omega\eta$ is the grand mystery of revelation, and the revelation of mys-

²⁷ See Gesenius, *Pent. Sam.* 59, n. 202.

²⁸ This fact gave rise to Aben Ezra's statement (Introduction to *Commentary on Esther*) that the Samaritans taught that Ashima (2 *Ki.* 17, 30) made the world.

²⁹ According to tradition, since the days of the highpriest Simon the Just, *Yoma*, 39b.

³⁰ *BS* ii, 117, v. 26.

³¹ *Quaest. in Exodum*, xv (ed. Migne, lxxx, 244): $\Upsilon\alpha\beta\epsilon$; *Hæreticarum fabularum compendium*, v, 3 (Migne, lxxxiii, 460): $\Upsilon\alpha\beta\alpha$.

³² *Notes from the Samaritan*, *JBL* 1906, p. 49.

tery, the clue to all the secrets of God. It is the great, the glorious, the hidden Name,³³ and there has been no day like that on which it was revealed to Moses.³⁴ It becomes then the duty of the illuminated to penetrate the mystery of the Name, which is accordingly subjected to processes of Gematria.³⁵ However, there is no attempt to make any magical use of the formula, such as appears in certain phases of Judaism.³⁶

Of the other Biblical names, Adonai and Shaddai are in frequent use. But especially favorite is the employment of the "I am that I am," or simply, "I am." With this may be compared the use of the same phrases in the Kabbala; however, the Samaritans do not appear to have indulged in the developed Gnostic and metaphysical interpretations found in the Kabbalistic literature.

The frigid monotheism of the Samaritan theology is relieved and enriched by an exceedingly large vocabulary of epithets describing the uniqueness of God. In his nature he is the absolutely Existent, the First, and the Endless, and the Unlimited, the One before the world and the creatures. He is the infinite God, and Tohu-wa-Bohu (*Gen.* 1, 2), i. e., the original essence or source of all things, by which idea the Samaritan doctrine overcame the notion, latent in the Scriptural verse, of the independent existence of matter; elsewhere he is also called the Creator of Tohu-wa-Bohu. He is frequently termed the Root, as the origin of all. He is Creator, King, King of kings, King of the worlds; God of gods, and Lord of lords; King of our spirits, God of the spirits. He is Might, the Mighty One—an exceedingly frequent epithet; he is Great, Strong, Able, Enduring; Victor, Redeemer, the Rock and Stone of Israel, the Living One and the Wise. But the epithets manipulated by Sa-

³³ *E.g.* *BS* ii, p. 57, v. 4; No. xvi, Beth; p. 117 v. 26.

³⁴ *BS* ii, No. xvii, st. I.

³⁵ *E.g.* *ibid.*

³⁶ See Dalman, *Der Gottesname Adonai*, 49.

maritan piety would be more than tiresome in their full enumeration; it may suffice to refer the curious to two Hymns published by Heidenheim, each consisting of twenty-two verses, in alphabetic acrostic, and each verse containing four epithets beginning with the cue-letter of the verse.³⁷

The Existent One, קְיִמָּה, a most constant epithet. Heidenheim, *BS* ii, p. xxxvii, would find in this expression the influence of Simon Magus, who called himself *ἑστῶς*, the Standing One, which equals the Hebrew word, a participle of קוּם. But the term appears of God in Philo, e. g. *De nom. mut.* 1052, and rather bears witness to the influence of Hellenism upon the Samaritan theology. The same adjective is also used of the finite creation as that which "is."—The First, קְמָאִי; Endless, בְּלֵא סוּף; Limitless, דְּלֵא לֹו הַחֹום. — Before the world, the creatures, קְמָאִי בְרִיּוֹת, קְמָאִי בְרִיּוֹת. — The Infinite God, אֵל אֵפֶס, *BS* ii, p. 208, v. 15, = *ἄπεραντος*. Cf. the Kabbalistic אֵין אֵין, non-existence, the Greek *τὸ ἄμ* *εὔ*. But the Samaritans did not go as far as the Kabbala in attempting to express the Absolute One, and confined themselves to Scriptural language.—Tohu wa-Bohu, *BS* ii, p. 21, v. 22. Creator of Tohu wa-Bohu, *Marka*, 23b.—The Root, עֵיִקֵר, אֵקֵר, e. g. *BS* ii, 208, v. 15; *Marka*, 6b, to which see Heidenheim's note. The Simonians spoke of God as *ῥιζωμα τῶν ὄλων*. — God of Gods, Lord of Lords, *Lib. Jos.* xxix; cf. *1 Tim.* 6, 15; *Rev.* 17, 14. Also Judge of Gods, *CS* v, 4; cf. *Ps.* 82.—King, God of the Spirits, *CS* iv, 13; *BS* ii, p. 212, v. 12; cf. *Nu.* 16, 22; *Enoch*, 39, 12.—The Might, חֵיִלָּה; cf. *Mk.* 14, 62; *Vita Adami*, 28; *Acts*, 8, 10, where Simon Magus uses it of himself. Cf. Bousset, *Religion des Judenthums*, 310.—The Mighty One, etc., חֵיִלָּה, גְּבוּרָה, גְּבוּרָה. —Victor, נְצִיעָה, Redeemer, גְּאָל. —God also appears, in agreement with Rabbinic use, as אֵלָה מְעוֹנָה, *BS* ii, No. lxx, 11; cf. מעוֹן־הַקֹּדֶשׁ, *ibid.* No. xcvi, part 5, l. 3.

(2.) THE ANGELS.

Reland, the great archæologist of the XVIIth Century, vigorously maintained the thesis that the Samaritans possessed no belief in angels.³⁸ Some external references and

³⁷ *BS* ii, Nos. ci, cii.

³⁸ Reland, *De Samaritanis*, 7, 9; cf. Hottinger, *Smegma orientale*, 1658, p. 491; *Enneas dissertationum philol. theol.* 1662, p. 18. See on the other side, Juynboll, *Lib. Jos.* 122.

the denial of the doctrine by the party of the Sadducees (e.g., *Acts*, 23, 8), supported this contention. But the far wider range of literature at the command of modern scholarship has effectually disposed of this thesis, except so far as it may hold for earlier Samaritanism,³⁹ and an account of Samaritan angelology might make a considerable chapter.

In the Samaritan Hebrew literature the prevailing name for the angels is the Pentateuchal term Mal'akim, as an equivalent for which Sheliach, "deputy," is found. There is frequent use of "Host," or "Hosts"; the "Spirits" are rarely mentioned. In the Aramaic literature the most common term is "Powers," which also appear as "Potencies," "Exalted Ones," and "the Celestial Folk," or "the Church Above"; also as "Foundations," and the "Plenitude of Deity." These beings are numberless.

שליח, deputy, *BS* ii, p. 164, v. 19 (also Rabbinic).— השמוים, צוה (= צבא) הַשְׁמַיִם, *ibid.* p. 77, He 5.—רוחות, spirits, in "God of the Spirits," *ibid.* p. 212, v. 12; cf. *Enoch*, 15, 4ff, and Greek to *Num.* 16, 22; so *Heb.* I, 14.—Cherubim, *BS* ii, p. 66, v. 21.—Powers, חילין, as in *Dan.* 4, 32, גבורין, = δυνάμεις, e. g. *Eph.* I, 21.—Potencies, חיל שמיא.—The two Cherubim, i. e. of the Ark, *BS* ii, p. 66, Lamed, v. 21.—Exalted Ones, גבאי, *ibid.* p. 191, v. 23.—Celestial Folk, עם עלאי, *ibid.* 191, v. 11; cf. *Berak.* 16b, פמליה של מעלה. Cf. *Koran*, 37, 8; 38, 69.—The Church Above, בנשה דקעם לעל, *BS* ii, p. 138, st. 7. Cf. *Heb.* 12, 22f.—Foundations, יסדיה, *BS* ii, p. 138, st. 10.—"Plenitude," עתרה דאלותך, *CS* iii, 8; see Gesenius's note comparing the Mandaic use of אותרה for angels.—Angels without number, *CS* iii, 8; so the Jewish doctrine, Weber, *op. cit.* 169.

The Angels or Powers hold an intermediate place between God and man. With reference to their relation to Deity, the figure of the Angel in the Pentateuch offered a theological difficulty, yet also a means of escape from the anthropomorphic dilemma. We have seen above, that to avoid the former obstacle, Mal'ak was changed to Melek.⁴⁰

³⁹ Epiphanius witnesses to the denial of the belief, *Hæres.* ix, 13.

⁴⁰ P. 210. In *Marka*, 29a, 33b, "the Ruler," or "the Glory" is substituted.

On the other hand "angels" is used in place of the Biblical *Elohim*, where it has a polytheistic flavor. Thus in the Targum to *Gen.* 3, 5, the Serpent says, "Ye shall be like angels," a paraphrase like that in *Targum Onkelos*, and probably in this sense the expression "God of gods and Lord of lords" was used. In the hymns the exchange is sometimes deliberately made, as in the phrase, "a sweet-smelling savor to יהוה," where in place of "God" "Spirits" is substituted.⁴¹

In regard to the origin of the heavenly spirits, our literature is in general indefinite. In reply to de Sacy's question whether the Samaritans believed in angels, the curt reply was: "We believe in the holy angels who are in the heavens."⁴² Indeed the modern Samaritans appear to have fallen into indifference towards this theologumenon. From a frequently recurring phrase, "Powers and creatures,"⁴³ it might appear that the former were regarded as uncreated; de Sacy is inclined to think that the Samaritans regarded them as emanations of Deity.⁴⁴ This is indeed a view which appeared in early Christianity, and in general it is to be observed that except in formal theology the question of the origin of the angels is naturally ignored. However, a passage in a hymn shows that the angels were regarded as created beings. The reference reads as follows:⁴⁵ "O God, our God, who wast before every creature, who made and began and finished the world by himself; in Bereshit [i. e., at the very beginning] mighty creatures he created; in wisdom they grew up, in perfection and with no defect." Further, in a passage already cited,⁴⁶ "creatures" is doubtless used of one kind of celestial beings, as the extract tells

⁴¹ *BS* ii, 116, v. 27.

⁴² *N. et E.* 106 (121).

⁴³ E.g. *CS* iv, 8; *BS* ii, 138, st. 10.

⁴⁴ *Sam. Theol.* 21.

⁴⁵ *BS* ii, 181, v. 1ff.

⁴⁶ *BS* ii, 138, v. 10.

how they and the "Foundations" came down upon Mount Sinai. St. Paul also uses *κτίσις* in the same way, of spiritual beings, *Rom.* 8, 39. From the passage quoted above, it would appear that angels were created on the first,⁴⁷ not the second day, as the Rabbinic theology came to teach, while of the later Jewish doctrine that the angels were an emanation from the fire under the throne of God there is scarcely a trace.⁴⁸

As in the earlier Jewish theology, the angels are conceived of as closely related to or identified with the stars; so in the expression, "the heavens and their powers."⁴⁹ Thus at the revelation on Sinai, along with the angels appear "the winds and the waters and the fires and the material elements," as spiritual existences.⁵⁰

There are a few references to a hierarchy amongst the angels. These are represented as sitting in ranks at the theophany upon Sinai,⁵¹ and Heidenheim has published a hymn in which the angels who wait upon God in his heavenly temple are divided into classes, some of whom attend to the morning and evening oblations, while others of higher rank perform the divine commissions in the universe, receiving their orders through an angelic porter.⁵² Four

⁴⁷ So *Marka*, 148b.

⁴⁸ *Bereshit Rabba*, c. 78, Weber, *op. cit.* § 34, Bousset, *op. cit.* 316. According to Heidenheim (*BS* iii, pp. xviii, xxv) the doctrine of emanation appears in *Marka*, 105, 106,—a passage which he has not published. The earlier Jewish doctrine taught that the angels were created on the first day; see *Jubilees*, ii, 2. Judaism subsequently transferred their creation to the second day so as to avoid the idea that they assisted God in his work. But Samaritanism retained the elder notion.

⁴⁹ *BS* ii, 19, st. 11. It is not clear whether in the description of the stars of the seventh heaven, *ibid.* No. xiv, Beth, they are regarded as animate.

⁵⁰ The identification of the angels with the stars, as in the interpretation of "the Lord of Hosts," is very ancient in Israel. The elemental spirits, belonging to the four elements, and even to every kind of creature, appear constantly from the *Benedicite* and the *Book of Enoch* down; cf. *Enoch*, 60, 11ff; *Jub.* 2, 2; *Gal.* 4, 3, 9; *Col.* 2, 8, 20. See Bousset, *op. cit.* 317.

⁵¹ *BS* ii, No. xix, He.

⁵² *DVJ* iv, 551.

angels are given names and special functions, to wit, those who attended the ark of the child Moses, Kabbala, Penuel, Anusa and Zilpa, the first two also appearing as "Helpers" of Moses.⁵³ With the exception of the historical references to the Serpent in Eden,⁵⁴ there are but few allusions to evil spirits in the literature.⁵⁵ But Petermann learned orally that the Samaritans considered as devils Azazel, Belial, Jasara (the hornet, *Ex.* 23, 28), and also ranked in the same class the Cainites and the Nephilim.⁵⁶ We thus observe that Samaritanism by no means followed the extreme Jewish development of angelology and diabolology, and has been able to withstand the doctrines of Islam in this field.

Kabbala, כַּבְּלָע is represented as God's minister, in the ninth heaven, *BS* ii, p. 26, v. 20f. This being has some mystical connection with Deity: "K is the secret of his Name," p. 85, v. 13. (According to Heidenheim, *BS* iii, p. xxv, he appears in *Marka*, vi, 260b [unpublished] as identical with God.) His function seems to be like that of the Rabbinic Metatron; see Weber, *op. cit.* § 37. The etymology of the word is entirely obscure. May it be a personification of Qabbala, the secret doctrine of God? Such a theory supposes a confusion between initial Kaph and Qoph, which is possible if the word were borrowed orally.—Penuel, פְּנוּאֵל (cf. *Gen.* 32, 30), is the Angel of the Presence, *Jub.* i, 27, 29; *Test. Levi*, 3, 18; *T. Juda*, 25 (*Is.* 63, 9). His place is generally taken in Judaism by Gabriel, *Lu.* i, 19.—Anusa, אֲנוּסָה, appears in the Kabbalistic literature as a form of Enoch (Enosh), who was the Demiurge, the Prince of the Presence, and even identified with God himself.—Zilpa, זִלְפָּה, I cannot trace further.—According to Petermann, *l. c.*, the priest gave him as the names of the four great angels, Fanuel, Anusa, Kabbala, Nasi, whom the priest assumed to find in *Gen.* 32, 31, *Ex.* 14, 25, *Nu.* 4, 20, and *Ex.* 17, 15, respectively.

⁵³ *BS* ii, 29, v. 6; p. 205, v. 18.

⁵⁴ *E.g. ibid.* 112, Samek, v. 21.

⁵⁵ Cf. *Lib. Jos.* c. xxiii, according to which the reading of the Law has a magical effect against the spirits.

⁵⁶ *Reisen*, i, 283. Also Cowley notes, without further reference, that "there is a destroying angel Mehablah, who corresponds somewhat to Satan"; *JQR* viii, 571.

As for the functions of the angels, they are such as usually appear in Jewish and Christian theology. In general they are spoken of as "the Hidden Powers,"⁵⁷ but their manifestation has been vouchsafed to the Patriarchs and at the great moments of revelation. The principle is laid down that "they are present only at the times of temptation."⁵⁸ But the supreme moment of the revelation of the heavenly powers was the awful scene on Mount Sinai. According to almost every one of the Midrashic hymns which repeat the story of that momentous event, all spiritual essences appear as summoned to witness and add dignity to the scene, all Powers and Creatures, the spirits of all the elements, the lightnings and thunders, the stars and their constellations; in serried ranks this Church Above assembles, while below gather the tribes of Israel, the angels themselves glorying in the giving of the Law.

The passage summarized is found in *BS* ii, No. xix, p. 77, He. Cf. p. 45, Mem, Samek; p. 111, Nun; No. xxxiv; *CS* iii, 8; iv, 8; etc. This Midrashic treatment, based on *Dt.* 33, 2, is parallel to that of the Jewish literature (see Weber, *op. cit.* § 57; cf. *Heb.* 12, 18ff), with some original details. Moses appears more exalted than in the Jewish Midrash, for here the angels do him reverence. The Samaritan doctrine also holds an independent position in one important point; it does not allow that the angels had anything to do with the mediation of the law to Moses. "God spoke with all Israel, speaking without an interpreter (repeater)," *גתני* (*BS* ii, 139, st. 16). Samaritanism insists on the immediate gift of the Law written by God's finger to Moses, in contrast to the Jewish dogma that angels were the mediators, *Jub.* i, 27-c. 2; Philo, *De Somniis*, 642 M; Josephus, *AJ* xv, 5, 3; *Gal.* 3, 19; etc.

This revelation of the Hidden Powers is unique, but nevertheless the heavenly spirits still have communion with the Faithful on earth, and will take their part in the deter-

⁵⁷ *E.g.* *CS* iv, 11.

⁵⁸ *BS* ii, 7, No. v. *Marka*, 2a, has a like phrase, but uses it in a different sense. The former passage proceeds to enumerate their appearances to the saints down to the giving of the Law.

mination of the future fate of men. Like the saints, they will possess at the Last Day some intercessory power with God, but the wicked need expect no favor from them.⁵⁹ Gerizim is "the tabernacle of God's angels,"⁶⁰ where they "taste and kiss" the sacrifices,⁶¹ and at the Passover the two Cherubim and the angels are present, hovering about.⁶² The Hosts attend the priestly blessing, and they attend the faithful in their prayers.⁶³ At the Day of Judgment when the scales are set, they shall appear as assessors, and acquit each one of the righteous, as they ask concerning every event of the latter's lives.⁶⁴ In all these notions of the angels we find concepts that are rooted in the Old Testament and which flowered richly in Judaism and Christianity. But on the whole the Samaritan conception has remained simpler and soberer; in this the earlier Sadduceism is evident. There is no trace of a belief in guardian angels.

(3.) CREATION.

According to Samaritan dogma God has revealed himself in two grand acts, namely the creation of the universe and the giving of the Law. Hence most of the Midrashic hymns begin with an extensive description of the creation, based upon the narrative in *Gen.* 1.⁶⁵ The Samaritan doctrine teaches strictly that God was the creator of all things. This absolute theology represents an earlier stage of Jewish doctrine, before oriental dualism and the Greek distinction

⁵⁹ *BS* ii, 191, v. 12. Cf. *Job*, 33, 23.

⁶⁰ *N. et E.* 63 (77).

⁶¹ *BS* ii, 116, v. 27.

⁶² *Ibid.* 66, Lamed. Cf. the Christian idea in connection with the Eucharist.

⁶³ *Ibid.* 117, v. 27; no. lii.

⁶⁴ *BS* ii, 94. The idea of the Scales is taken from Islam; *e. g.* *Koran*, xxi, 48; see Tisdall, *The Sources of the Qur'an*, 198.

⁶⁵ Comparison may be made with the great ancient Eucharistic Prayer, which relates the drama of human redemption, beginning with creation.

between matter and spirit had rendered possible even in Jewish monotheism the notion that anything could have independent existence apart from God. It is in contradiction to such dubious theology that the Samaritan doctrines hold that God created the Tohu-wa-Bohu, and even that he is Tohu-wa-Bohu.⁶⁶

A frequent expression is that God created "from that which is not," e. g. *BS* ii, 164, v. 3; *CS* i, 4; *Sam. Theol.* 19. (Gesenius renders the phrase, *ex eo ubi nihil*, but אֵין is the pronoun "that.") For the earlier Jewish doctrine of absolute creation see *2 Mac.* 7, 28; for the later notion of independence of things in origin and condition, see Weber, *op. cit.* § 43, and for like philosophy, *Wisdom*, 11, 17.

Marka almost alone, as we have seen, enters into Gnostic speculations; according to him the angels were emanations from the Glory. The same theologian teaches that "the Law came forth from the fire" of God, and that the two Tables "were separated from the lamp (face?) of his knowledge."⁶⁷ One might find in this theologian almost a pantheistic conception; he describes God as one "from whom all is and to whom all returns;"⁶⁸ also a Hymn speaks of God "making all things go forth from himself."⁶⁹ But we may not push such a criticism too far; Paul also taught that "of him and through him and unto him are all things," *Rom.* 11, 36, while the return of all to Deity is a common doctrine of the Koran. Samaritan theology in general draws the sharpest line between God and his creatures.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ See above, p. 215.

⁶⁷ *Marka*, 68b; cf. Weber, *op. cit.* § 42. Also Moses' staff and the four Caves were created in the Six Days, 5b, 77b; cf. *Pirke Abot*, v, 9, and Taylor, *ad loc.* Cf. above, note 48.

⁶⁸ 144a.

⁶⁹ *CS* iii, 16.

⁷⁰ There is no notion of the opposition to his purposes on the part of the angels as held by some Rabbinic literature; see Weber, *op. cit.* § 43.

The mystic means of creation was the command, "Be," which is the object of adoring wonder to the devout Samaritan. In dependence upon Jewish exegesis, ten creative words were spoken, the first of which was found in *Gen.* 1, 1, when Tohu-wa-Bohu and the angels were created.⁷¹ Marka also holds the later Jewish notion of the "renewal" of the worlds, i. e., of several creations (Toledot) before the present world was made.⁷² The universe is divided, as in the simpler Jewish conception, into two worlds, the upper and the lower, or, more frequently, into the Things Concealed and the Things Manifested.

As for the heavenly regions, references are found to both seven heavens and to nine. In a passage giving the former number, the sun is assigned to the highest heaven.⁷³ In the passage describing the nine heavens, each of the first eight possesses its own firmament and stars, while in the ninth is "the Holy Abode, and Kabbala its minister."⁷⁴ This number, which approximates the ten heavens of Kabbalism, appears also in the *Acts of St. Thomas*, where Paradise is placed in the eighth.⁷⁵ The hymns give lengthy descriptions of the heavenly bodies, in long discourses compounded of pseudo-science and mysticism; of course, astronomical observations played a large part in ecclesiastical thought because of their importance in regulating the ecclesiastical calendar, being created indeed "for omens and seasons" (*Gen.* 1, 14).⁷⁶ The day of creation was the first Nisan.⁷⁷ The knowledge of the elements of matter went no further than the four principles of fire, wind, water, and earth.⁷⁸

⁷¹ *Pirke Abot*, v, 1; see pp. 218, 274.

⁷² *Marka*, 151b; cf. Weber, *l. c.*

⁷³ *BS* ii, No. xviii, Waw; *DVJ* iv, 552.

⁷⁴ *BS* ii, No. xiv, Beth.

⁷⁵ Thilo, *Acta S. Thomæ*, 27; 47 (cited by Heidenheim). For ten heavens, cf. also *JE* i, 591.

⁷⁶ For the calendar, see Chap. XIV, § 12.

⁷⁷ *Marka*, 30a. The Jewish doctors disagreed as between Nisan and Tishri.

⁷⁸ E.g. *Marka*, 43b.

Great interest is displayed in Adam, who in his original estate appears as the ideal man. He was made out of the dust of Gerizim, differing from the beasts by walking upright. Marka tells how he was formed of fire and water, or fire and dust, by God's own hand, being also compounded of the Holy Spirit and soul. A fine passage tells how he came to adore the one creator of all things. He was placed in the Garden of Eden, where he remained a year in felicity. After his fall, he went off by himself for a hundred years, in which time "he begat children without form or shape," i. e., the demons or Jinn of the corresponding Jewish and Islamic legends. But then he repented and God took him back into favor, so that he came to rank as one of the heroes of the true religion, being, along with Abel, Enosh, Enoch and Noah, one of the original worshippers of God on Gerizim. There is, however, an entire absence of all Kabbalistic lore concerning Adam Kadmon. Comparatively little is made of the fall of Adam in the hymns, somewhat more in Marka. The Biblical text is closely adhered to, and there is no development of diabolology in connection with the Serpent.

See especially the opening stanzas of *BS* ii, Nos. xxi, c. For Marka, see 58b, 68b.—For the antediluvian patriarchs as true worshippers, *ibid.* 69b, 70b, 180b.—Almost no legendary lore appears concerning Enoch, except a reference to the flight of his sons, which is drawn from the legend of the Wars of Enoch, *ibid.* 157a, and cf. Heidenheim's note.—For Enosh, compare the reference above to the angel Anusa, p. 219. An extensive apocryphal literature ascribed to the patriarchs seems to have been known to the Samaritans,—e. g. a *Book of Adam*, or *Book of Signs*, a *Book of Wars*, but there is no reference to the *Book of Enoch*, although Enoch legends are found; see Heidenheim, *DVJ* iv, 213, 350, 189.—The absence of expansion of doctrine concerning the Fall represents the earlier Jewish position; cf. Baldensperger, *Die messian.apokalyptischen Hoffnungen d. Judenthums*, i, 220.—Gesenius quotes a verse alluding to man as the Microcosm, *CS* 100.

§ 4. MOSES; THE PATRIARCHS, PRIESTS, PROPHETS.

The Samaritan Bible is the Pentateuch; this means to Samaritan belief that Moses was the sole medium of God's revelation. Accordingly the absoluteness of the Law and the Lawgiver is never tempered as it is with the Jews, who range alongside of the Tora, although on an inferior plane, the Prophets and Hagiographa. It was impossible for the Samaritan to look forward with a Jeremia to a time when a new Law should be written in men's hearts, or with a Joel to an outpouring of the Spirit which should discount the revelation of the past. In the Samaritan sect Moses takes a place parallel to that enjoyed by Mohammed in Islam: "Moses is the Prophet of God," and there is none other like him. But the Samaritan doctrine even surpasses Islam in reverence for its prophet. For while Muslim orthodoxy thinks of the Arabian prophet with rational soberness, the Samaritan advances the great Lawgiver to a position where he becomes an object of faith. He is rather like the Christ of Christianity, one whose origin is often held to be mysterious, who now lives to make intercession for his brethren, who will appear effectually for the saints at the last day; the Messiah himself will be but an inferior replica of that absolute Prophet.

It would take well-nigh as long to enumerate the epithets accumulated in Moses' honor as those applied to Deity. As it is true that almost every hymn begins with the praise of the Creator, so it is likewise true that the hero of the second act of the Midrashic drama is always and at great length Moses. He is, according to Biblical terms, the Confidant of God, the Son of his House, with whom God talked face to face; he is also the end, the limit of all revelation, a very ocean of divine utterance.⁷⁹ In language which has

⁷⁹ See Gesenius's discussion of these epithets, *Sam. Theol.* 24. "The son of his house," properly "slave," is used honorably, and seems to antagonize such an argument as appears in *Heb.* 3.

doubtless been affected by Christianity, he is God's Evangelist,⁸⁰ the Pure One, the Light on earth,⁸¹ the Light of the world,⁸² and all others are liars.⁸³ As in Christian dogma he undid the work of the Devil,⁸⁴ and the saint dies in the faith of Moses.⁸⁵ His name alone may be associated with that of God; "We begin our discourse," says an Epistle, "with the name of God and conclude with the mention of Moses."⁸⁶ No prophet has ever arisen like Moses, or ever will arise.⁸⁷ He is the absolute prophet, for all things hidden and revealed were shown him on the holy mount, so that other prophets are superfluous.⁸⁸ On his account the world was made,⁸⁹ prayer is offered through the merits of Moses,⁹⁰ his prayers for the faithful will be granted by God in the Day of Judgment.⁹¹

The Midrashic treatment of the history of Moses is very extensive, particularly with regard to his experiences beginning at the Burning Bush. For his earlier life there is not as much of amplification of the story as appears in the Jewish Haggada, which glorifies Moses as the greatest and most learned among the Egyptians.⁹² There is given

⁸⁰ *BS* ii, 93, v. 37.

⁸¹ *Marka*, 75b, *seq.*

⁸² *BS* ii, No. xiv, Dalet; Kaph.

⁸³ *Ibid.* No. xiv, Lamed.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* No. lxix, v. 17. The same notion appears in Judaism; see Weber, *op. cit.* 273.

⁸⁵ *BS* ii, No. cxxi, v. 17.

⁸⁶ *N. et E.* 52 (64).

⁸⁷ This despite *Dt.* 18, 18ff, but the doctrine is based on the Samaritan reading, Hebrew and Targum, of *Dt.* 34, 8: "no prophet shall arise"; cf. *SC* vii, 1; *Marka*, 143a.

⁸⁸ *E. g.* *BS* ii, No. xv, Samek; *Marka*, 143b: "He knows Bereshit and the Day of Vengeance," *i. e.* the beginning and end of things.

⁸⁹ *Marka*, 67b; a like notion exists in Judaism.

⁹⁰ See below, p. 231.

⁹¹ *CS* vii, 30.

⁹² His birth on the 7th day of the 7th month is asserted in correspondence with Jewish legend, *BS* ii, No. xv, He. His staff was handed him out of the fire of God, *Marka*, 5b; cf. the Jewish legend, *Pirke Abot*, v, 9. For his wisdom (cf. *Acts*, 7, 22) an ampler treatment is found in the *Legends of Moses*, published by Leitner in *DVJ* iv, 184.

a pretty infancy legend which speaks of the four guardian angels in charge of the child Moses, when he lay in the ark.⁹³ But the Samaritan imagination follows the Jewish lead in letting itself out in the glorification of the experiences of Moses upon the holy mount. Not satisfied with the Biblical accounts of the visions vouchsafed to him, there is grandiose enlargement upon the prophet's fellowship with the angels. He entered into heaven itself, and there sat on a great white throne, while he wrote the Scriptures; by the glory of the angels was he nourished, of their food he ate, at their table he sat, with their bread he satisfied his hunger, in their bath he bathed, and in their tent he dwelt.⁹⁴ In heaven he figures as greater than the angels, for these all sing the praises of the Lawgiver, as they call upon him to read the Law: "O Priest, begin and read! . . . Each says to the other: See and hear, O comrade! What is this but the voice of the Glory? Opened to him is heaven's door. And every constellation and its stars listen, and the two stars [sun and moon] are in vision to Moses, while each says to him, O Lord and Master!"⁹⁵ One Scriptural passage referring to God is even applied to Moses: "He (Moses) ascended into the firmament of Levi, and appeared, and came forth from Sinai, and lightened from Seir, whose appearance was like sapphire-enamel."⁹⁶ There is constant reference to the transfiguration of Moses' face, after *Ex.* 34, and especially to the horn of light with which he was clad, v. 29; this is the same exegesis as appears in Aquila and the Vulgate (*cornuta*).⁹⁷ But the most interesting development of dogma concerning Moses is found in the doctrine of his pre-existence.

⁹³ *BS* ii, No. xiv, Chet; see above, p. 219.

⁹⁴ *Marka*, 156b.

⁹⁵ *BS* ii, No. xix, He.

⁹⁶ *BS* ii, 205, v. 15; cf. *Dt.* 33, 2; *Ex.* 24, 10.

⁹⁷ Horn of Light, *BS* ii, No. xi, 14; No. c, v. 15; etc. It appeared in Egypt, *ibid.* p. 107, v. 27.

This theologumenon, which however is infrequent, appears in the various phases common to such conceptions. At times the pre-existence is only ideal or deterministic;⁹⁸ Moses was the end of creation, therefore he possessed an ideal being before his historical manifestation: "We had been expecting his advent since the ages that are past."⁹⁹ His prophethood had ideal pre-existence, and in the fulness of time clothed him like a garment; so in a stanza quoted by Gesenius:¹⁰⁰ "Prophecy was his, a crown from the days of creation; the prophethood of Moses, which was worthy of him, clothed him." Moreover the doctrine approaches that of a real pre-existence; he is "the man in whom the Spirit of God was established since creation; the eyes of God were upon him with the generations of the days and years."¹⁰¹ Further, the connection between the pre-existent state and that in the flesh was mediated by a species of metempsychosis, the sacred germ of divine light being transmitted through his forbears until it fully incarnated itself in the prophet. "He walked in the knowledge of ΥHWH ; from the day of the creation of Adam his spirituality was in this child, and his grandeur was in the world. And he set him as a drop of light, passing from generation to generation [distillation to distillation], and then he descended into Jochebed's womb, and was placed within her."¹⁰² This doctrine is nothing else than a replica of the Islamic legend of "the Light of Mohammed."¹⁰³ It is in accordance with this notion that Moses is called, in Christian terms, "Light from Light."¹⁰⁴ His pre-existence is more definitely stated in the epithet used of him, "the Star of Creation whom God created from the Six

⁹⁸ Cf. Baldensperger, *op. cit.* 86.

⁹⁹ *BS* ii, No. xv, Yod; this is a reminiscence, or parallel, of *Mi.* 5, 1.

¹⁰⁰ *Sam. Theol.* 27.

¹⁰¹ *BS* ii, No. xcvi, st. ii.

¹⁰² *BS* ii, No. xv, He; cf. *DVJ* iv, 547.

¹⁰³ Tisdall, *op. cit.* 246.

¹⁰⁴ *DVJ* ii, 99.

Days." However despite this divine emanation of the germ of Moses, he appears as a created being, and is frequently spoken of as "the quintessence of creation."¹⁰⁵ In one passage, as read by Heidenheim,¹⁰⁶ Moses is thus addressed: "Art thou not, O Moses, Prince of the (divine) Form, Tabernacle of the Shekina of God?" Here Moses appears in the form of the Prince of the Presence, and the embodiment of God's glory, much like the Jewish Metatron. But this is most exceptional, while the text is uncertain; in general even Moses' pre-existence originated in the Days of Creation. A lengthy Midrash describes the death of Moses, but his decease is a natural one, although attended by glorious circumstances; there is no doctrine of the assumption of Moses.¹⁰⁷

Logically therefore Samaritanism has no room for other prophets than Moses; the fortunate canonization of the Prophets allowed Judaism to cherish Moses as the first of a long line of successors, but to the Samaritans he was also the end of prophecy. Frequent reference is made to prophets, but the thought seems to be confined to the incident in *Num.* 11, where Eldad, Medad and the Seventy Elders are seized with the Spirit of God; these inspired men are much honored by the Samaritans, who profess to have their tombs. Also in one passage the author of a hymn asserts that he himself is "a scion of the prophets and cannot lie,"¹⁰⁸ but this assumption of inspiration is unique, at least in the literature.

Aaron also takes a very subordinate position. He is only the moon to Moses' sun, while the latter is Priest as well

¹⁰⁵ *E. g.* *BS* ii, No. xv, Chet, v. 10. So, in connection with the Biblical דְּמוּעָה , Gesenius, *CS* 68, understands דְּמוּעָה , a word often used of Moses and Israel. I would suggest that it may mean "first fruits," like the Talmudic *dema'*; cf. *Jer.* 2, 3; *Ja.* 1, 18.

¹⁰⁶ *DVJ* ii, 88; *Zur Logoslehre der Samaritaner*, *ibid.* iv. 126.

¹⁰⁷ See Munk, *Des Samaritaners Marqah Erzählung über den Tod Moses'*, and his remarks, p. 3.

¹⁰⁸ *BS* ii, No. xx, Chet.

as Prophet.¹⁰⁹ Aaron appears at length in the Midrashic treatment of the first chapters of Exodus, but he fades away in the light of Moses' glory upon the mount. His successors, Eleazar and Phineas, receive frequent notice, the latter especially, because of the Biblical statement concerning his inheritance in the land of Samaria, *Jos.* 24, 33. These three priests are counted among the Meritorious Ones. Extreme care was taken with the preservation of the priestly line, and the chronicles are arranged under the successive highpriests whose line is given from the beginning.¹¹⁰ Their sacerdotal rights were fully preserved, and only when the highpriestly line failed in the XVIIth Century, did others of the tribe of Levi dare to assume their functions. In general the control of the community has lain in the hands of the priesthood, has not been usurped by lay doctors. Despite this fact, Moses has triumphed over Aaron, probably because of the enforced spiritualization of the Samaritan religion during its long sufferings of persecution since the days of John Hyrcanus. The Samaritan theology is not interested in the treatment of the sacrificial laws of the Pentateuch, as Judaism has been, which expounded those ordinances long after they were obsolete. To the contrary, we find in Samaritanism a greater stress laid upon the moral side of the Law, which is treated more after the way of Haggada than of Halaka. Hence a certain tone of spirituality, however ethically genuine it may be, marks Samaritan theology, so that it appears in a way as one of those numerous developments of Old Testament religion which were forerunners of the spiritual worship of synagogue and of Christianity. This stage may have been reached earlier than in Judaism, for the glory of Gerizim fell two centuries before that of Jerusalem.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.* No. xix, He.

¹¹⁰ But the frequently incomplete and often contradictory genealogies allow us no dependence upon the authenticity of the lists for earlier times, at least before the age of Baba Rabba.

It is in consequence of this rigor of doctrine concerning Moses that the other great hero of revelation, Abraham, enjoys no such elevation as is given him in Jewish Haggada. In this literature that patriarch becomes a close second to Moses, so that like the latter, "for his sake the world was created," while the spiritual superiority assigned to Abraham by Paul as the type of true believers had its close anticipations in the Jewish apocryphal literature.¹¹¹ There are traces of the Jewish legends of Nimrod's enmity towards Abraham;¹¹² Marka enlarges upon the sacrifice of Isaac, which according to Samaritan tradition occurred on Gerizim. We have already in the preceding Section touched upon the antediluvian patriarchs, whose histories are also all connected with Gerizim.

The patriarchs and other early saints play a considerable part in Samaritanism through the doctrine of their merits. They are the Guiltless Ones, or with reference to the notion of *zekut*, the Meritorious Ones.¹¹³ These are primarily Abraham, Isaac and Jacob.¹¹⁴ This number is also enlarged so as to obtain the mystical seven, but the list varies. Sometimes it includes with those three Joseph, Aaron, Eleazar and Phineas, to whom Moses may also be added.¹¹⁵ This doctrine of the merits of the Fathers takes the same place in Samaritan doctrines as the corresponding teachings in Judaism, and the later extravagant development of the merits of the saints in Christianity. Thus a hymn for Kippur reads:¹¹⁶ "Let us stand in prayer be-

¹¹¹ *Bereshit R.* c. 2; cf. cc. 48, 12. See in general, Weber, *op. cit.* § 56; Bousset, *op. cit.* 178.

¹¹² *E.g.* *BS* ii, 191, v. 17; *Marka*, 47b. According to *BS* ii, No. xcvi, st. i, "Abraham's merits gained for him Paradise." The *Legends of Moses*, cited above, contains a mass of patriarchal traditions.

¹¹³ See Rappoport, *Liturgie samaritaine*, 20.

¹¹⁴ *E.g.* *BS* ii, No. ii: "our Fathers."

¹¹⁵ *BS* ii, No. xcvi, st. vi, p. 190, middle. Judaism likewise singled out three or seven saints,—the three patriarchs, with Moses, Aaron Miriam, Benjamin; see Hamburger, *REJud* i, 38.

¹¹⁶ *BS* ii, No. xvi, p. 52, st. 16. Cf. *N. et E.* 181. Here and generally