

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

fore YHWH the Giver, and pray and say: O Lord YHWH, turn from thy hot anger, and be appeased for the sake of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, and for the merit of thy servant Moses." This notion is also connected with the Scriptural passages referring to Abraham's and Moses' intercessory powers with God; the prayers they offered still have virtue for Israel. They are also present intercessors; thus it is prayed that the son of Terah "may intercede for us,"¹¹⁷ and Moses' prayers will be efficacious at the Day of Judgment.¹¹⁸

There may also be noticed here the doctrine of the Seven Covenants, frequently referred to in the Epistles. These are respectively: the covenant with Noah in the bow; with Abraham in circumcision; with Moses in the Sabbath; the Tables; the Passover; the Covenant of Salt, based on *Num.* 18, 19; and the Covenant of Priesthood with Phineas, *Num.* 25, 12f.¹¹⁹

§ 5. THE LAW.

We have already observed the absolute uniqueness which Samaritanism ascribes to the Tora. On the whole the doctrine in details goes *pari passu* with that of Judaism.

In general it is taught that the Law came forth from the very essence of God, was detached from the fire of deity. Here, if anywhere, we come upon a clear notion of emanation; no origin is too divine for the Law. "The Tables had lain hidden in the midst of the fire"; "they shone like gleaming lightning"; "they were inscribed with a finger of devouring fire."¹²⁰ "They are a fragment of the hidden world, increasing wisdom for all genera-

¹¹⁷ *amal*, opus, equals the Jewish *zekut*, "merit." Also *segila* is used of the "treasury" of merits, e.g. *BS* ii, No. xv, Waw. For the Jewish doctrine, see Weber, *op. cit.* § 63.

¹¹⁸ *BS* ii, p. 98, top.

¹¹⁹ *CS* vii, 30.

¹²⁰ *N. et E.* 119; cf. p. 74. On p. 159 only six are named.

¹²¹ *Sam. Theol.* 28.

tions;"¹²¹ "the Law is a spark from God's vesture."¹²² And thus Marka:¹²³ "The Law came out of the fire;" "the Tables were sundered from the divine essence." The Tables are not however from eternity, for "they contain the will of God which he decreed in those Six Days."¹²⁴ That is, they were separated from the divine glory in the creative week, and remained hidden in the divine fire until the day of revelation. The same was widespread Jewish doctrine, according to which the Tables were of divinely mystical substance, fiery and translucent.¹²⁵ Only it is to be observed that there is none of the indefinitely long and so practically eternal pre-existence claimed for the Law which is found in some Jewish teaching; nor is there any of the personification of the Law which early developed in connection with the Jewish ideas of Wisdom and the Word.¹²⁶

Samaritanism does not halt at anthropomorphism in its description of the giving of the Tables, and here it has the authority of the Scriptures. God himself wrote the Tables and gave them to Moses with his own hand; ¹²⁷ in this may be contained a protest against the Jewish doctrine of the mediation of the Law by the hands of angels.¹²⁸ The scene of the divine legislation is depicted with all the solemnities and terrors which appear in the Jewish Midrashim. All things seen' and unseen were present; all angels in their ranks, the stars and the constellations, even

¹²¹ *CS* iv, 17.

¹²² *CS* iii, 4.

¹²³ 68b.

¹²⁴ *CS* iv, 18.

¹²⁵ E.g. *Pseudo-Jonathan and Targum Jer. to Ex.* 19, 16ff; 20, 2ff; Rashi to *Dt.* 33, 3. Cf. Gesenius, *Sam. Theol.* 28; *CS* 80.

¹²⁶ See Weber, *op. cit.* § 4.

¹²⁷ E.g. *BS* ii, 112, v. 23, at top; p. 138, v. 1; No. xxxii, v. 4: "thy autograph."

¹²⁸ See above, p. 220.

the dead with the living; the whole universe trembled before this divine revelation.

In another place is given a description of the sanctity the Samaritans ascribe to the rolls of Scripture, and especially to the archetypal copy of Abishua;¹²⁹ no wonder then that they prostrate themselves at its exhibition and sing a Gloria.¹³⁰ By the Samaritans the Law has been found to be "the Book of Life," or even "Life" itself,¹³¹ even as the Old Testament has been to the Jews and both Testaments to Christendom.¹³²

§ 6. GERIZIM.

The fourth article of faith of the Samaritans, the one which differentiated them *toto cælo* from the Jews, is based upon what must be acknowledged to be the root falsehood of the Samaritan religion. It is true that for neither sect did the common authority of the Pentateuch offer any determination of God's sanctuary in the Promised Land. The Samaritans had the advantage in the fact that the early centres of Israel's religion were in the Highlands of Ephraim, at Bethel or Shilo, while *Dt.* 27 provided for a solemn covenant to be enacted on the two mountains of Shechem. But Shechem seems to have early lost its prestige, and Bethel became the chief sanctuary of the Northern Kingdom. Yet in the matter of true ritual succession the South had the advantage in at last securing the Ark of the Covenant and in consecrating therewith the new high-place at Jerusalem. And, if our understanding of the history be correct, after the Exile the remnant of Northern Israel

¹²⁹ See Chap. XIV, § 6.

¹³⁰ *BS* ii, p. xxxvi, *seq.*; see above, p. 41.

¹³¹ *BS* ii, No. xxx; No. xxxvi, v. 7.

¹³² According to *Lib. Jos.* xxiii, the reading of the Law possesses a magical influence against evil spirits, the evil-eye, incantations, etc. But in general Samaritanism is remarkably free from such superstitious notions.

largely gave in its adherence to the sanctity of Zion. It was the northern schism after the Exile which again turned the mind of the Samaritans to the choice of a local sanctuary, and they chose Gerizim for reasons which have already been specified in the IVth Chapter. But this was in the nature of an afterthought; the succession of sanctity had for centuries been broken. And the Samaritans in their choice of Gerizim confessed the weakness of their position by taking recourse to the natural weapon of the weaker party, namely the lie. They felt themselves compelled to falsify the Biblical text. This theological emendation was simply made by changing the "Ebal" of *Dt.* 27, 4, to "Gerizim"; it was then on Gerizim that the first altar of God for the Twelve Tribes was built.¹³³

The Samaritans having thus invented Mosaic authority for the sanctity of Gerizim, proceeded to dignify the mountain with every epithet of honor, and to identify it with every possible transaction of sacred history. For them Gerizim is the Blessed Mount, the Eternal Hill.¹³⁴ It is

¹³³ The great critic Kennicott was among the defenders of the Samaritan reading, in his *Second Dissertation*. But Verschuir, *Dissertationes philol-exegeticae*, No. iii (1773), demonstrated at length the falsity of the Samaritan position. The points of the argument would include: (1) the unanimous witness of the versions to the Massoretic text; (2) the point of the great ceremony is the curse, the altar therefore should be connected with the place of cursing; (3) the Jews would have no reason to alter the text, as Ebal and Gerizim are indifferent to them, and they allowed that the latter was the mount of blessing. As against Lightfoot, who argues that the absence of Talmudic reference to this corruption proves the late origin of the change, Gesenius rightly holds that the details of textual comparison were of little concern to the Jews, *Pent. Sam.* 61. The modern Samaritans deny the report that they offer sacrifices on Ebal, *N. et E.* 122. In this connection the Samaritans also make the following changes in the text. At the end of *Dt.* 11, 30, "before Shechem" is added; this against an early view which attempted to find a Gerizim and Ebal near the Jordanic Gilgal, although the Jewish disputant in *Sota*, 33b admitted that by "the oaks of More" Shechem was meant. And then to make self-assurance doubly sure, the Samaritan adds after *Ex.* 20, 17, and *Dt.* 5, 21, a long pericope, consisting substantially of *Dt.* 27, 2-8, and 11, 30.

¹³⁴ *Tur berik*; e. g. *Lib. Jos.* xxi,—with reference to *Dt.* 27, 12. The

"the House of God (Beth-el), the Mount of Inheritance and of the Abode (Shekina), the great and chosen Place;"¹³⁵ "the House of the powerful God, the Tabernacle of his angels, the Place of the presence of his majesty, the Place destined for sacrifices."¹³⁶ Like Jerusalem for the ancient Jew and Mecca for the Muslim, Gerizim is the Kibla of the Samaritan, the place toward which he prays.¹³⁷

The standing name of the holy mount is "Gerizim-Bethel-Luza." The first epithet is used in the sense that Gerizim is the veritable Bethel of patriarchal history. Hence we find no reference to the historical Bethel. According to Samaritan tradition, upon the schism under Eli the renegades set up their worship at Shilo,¹³⁸ and the calf-cult of Jeroboam, also an apostate from the true Israel, was located at Samaria.¹³⁹ While the geography of this identification is sadly in error, nevertheless the use of *beth-el* is the retention of a primitive term for a sanctuary, used by the Jews also of Jerusalem. A corroboration for this identification was the existence of a town upon Gerizim named Luza, which accounts for the second epithet above, and was naturally identified with the Luz-Bethel of *Gen.* 28, 19.¹⁴⁰

Eternal Hill, *e. g.* *N. et E.* 165 (177); *BS* ii, 66, top; based on the Samaritan reading of the singular in *Dt.* 33, 15. But Mills, who gives a list of thirteen epithets for Gerizim taken down from the highpriest with their interpretations (*Nablus*, 268), gives as the present explanation of the term, "mountain of the world" (*har 'olam*). This is an interesting survival of a very ancient idea, appearing in connection with the Babylonian temples and also in Biblical ideas concerning Jerusalem, *e. g.* *Is.* 2, 1ff.

¹³⁵ *N. et E.* 212 (217); cf. *BS* ii, No. xxiv.

¹³⁶ *N. et E.* 63 (77).

¹³⁷ *Ibid.* 164 (176); see Chap. III.

¹³⁸ *Lib. Jos.* xliii.

¹³⁹ *Abu'l Fath*, 53.

¹⁴⁰ Where the Samaritan Hebrew reads "Luza." This place Luza is testified to by Jerome in his *Onomasticon* (Migne, xiii, 954). For the ruins of Luza, see Guérin, *Samarie*, i, 433; Conder, *Tent Work in Palestine*, 63, identifying the place with the present spot of sacrifice. But in *PEFQS* 1876, p. 191, Conder is by no means certain as to the

But the connection of the Patriarchs with Gerizim was not confined to the history of Jacob. As the Jews identified the Mount Moria of the sacrifice of Isaac with Zion, so the Samaritan tradition connected it with Gerizim through the etymological correspondence of Moria with More in the neighborhood of Shechem; this identification is then corroborated by making Melchizedek king of the Salem which is to the east of Shechem. The Samaritans still point out the place where Isaac was offered.¹⁴¹

At the end of the 3d Section we referred to the traditions connecting the worship of the antediluvian Patriarchs with Gerizim. But further, it was the sanctuary of God from the beginning; it is the holy place which God "chose" at the very first.¹⁴² Hence it is given the name Har Qadim, the First Mount, by which Marka understands its appearance, along with the Garden of Eden, before the rest of the dry ground, although in another place it implies for him Gerizim's pre-existence before the rest of creation.¹⁴³ Here Adam was made, "created out of the dust of Mount Safra."¹⁴⁴ The latter name for Gerizim is very common,¹⁴⁵ and Gesenius is right in connecting the tradi-

identification. Dean Stanley held that this locality was the Luz of *Ju.* i, 26.

¹⁴¹ This identification for Moria appears in the Samaritan Hebrew of *Gen.* 22, 2, where מֹרְיָה stands for הַמִּזְבֵּיחַ. The place Salem, to the east of Shechem, is also the Samaritan interpretation of שֶׁלֶם in *Gen.* 33, 18 (cf. Septuagint, Syriac, Vulgate), and this was further identified with Melchizedek's city, so that yet another notable episode of Abraham's life was located in the neighborhood of Gerizim; see *VJD* iv, 187. Stanley (*Sinai and Palestine*, note to chap. vi.) accepted the Samaritan identification of Moria, but he has not been generally followed by other scholars. However, there has been recently a revival of Stanley's position; see Wellhausen, *Comp. d. Hex.* 3, 19; v. Gall, *Altisr. Kultusstätten*, 111; E. Meyer, *Die Israeliten*, 260.

¹⁴² *BS* ii, No. xcix, st. vi; *Marka*, 72b. The Sam.-Hebrew reads the perfect *bachar*, "chose," for the imperfect in *Dt.* 12, 14.

¹⁴³ *Marka*, 68a; 71b. He also associates it with *miqqedem*, "on the east," *Gen.* 12, 8, where Abraham built an altar.

¹⁴⁴ *CS* xii, 18.

¹⁴⁵ *E.g.* *BS* ii, No. xxiii, Chet: "the congregation of S."

tion with the similar one of Islam concerning Mount ʿaḡfra in the neighborhood of Mecca. But here again their peculiar geographical exegesis comes to the help of the Samaritans. The Har Qadim (or Qedem) is "the mount of the east," Har Haqqedem, which is named Sephar in *Gen.* x, 30.¹⁴⁶ Thus the Muslim legend is adapted to Samaritan geography — unless we may hold that the reverse process has actually taken place.

It also appears that the Samaritans made Gerizim, as the Mount of the World, the site of the Garden of Eden, an identification which has its roots in the antique idea set forth in *Eze.* 28, 13ff, where the Mount of God and Eden are identical. There is a legend in the *Book of Joshua*, xxi, s. fin., of a river descending out of Gerizim in the Age of Grace, while Marka speaks of "the concealed river Euphrates."¹⁴⁷ This notion of a mystical river connected with the sanctuary mount has also its antique parallel in the Old Testament, in regard to Jerusalem, *Eze.* 47; *Zech.* 14; *Ps.* 46. The river is "concealed" against the future, when it and the Garden of Eden will be restored to view. Here again local geography comes to the aid of exegesis. The Wady Fara descends east from Gerizim, and this name in its original form was probably identical with the Biblical word for Euphrates, Perat.¹⁴⁸ Also, as is instanced by a Jewish Midrashic passage, the Samaritans held that Gerizim was not overflowed by the waters of the flood.¹⁴⁹ Again in the latter days it is to be the site of Paradise; when all other things shall have been destroyed, "the Eternal Hill shall be left in the midst of the Garden."¹⁵⁰ But even in the present unhappy age the Presence of God

¹⁴⁶ Cf. Mills, *op. cit.* 270.

¹⁴⁷ Marka, 76a.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. the probable confusion of a local stream Perat with the Euphrates in the exegesis of *Jer.* 13; see Giesebrecht, *ad loc.*

¹⁴⁹ *Bereshit R. c.* xxxii.

¹⁵⁰ BS ii, 93, v. 21.

and the angels still dwell upon Gerizim, although unseen. The holy Tabernacle has disappeared, but it is only "exalted,"¹⁵¹ existing in some mystical fashion above the mount; but it will return with the Ark and all the sacred paraphernalia of worship to perfect the ritual of the saints in the Age of Grace.¹⁵² A somewhat different form of the legend, and one which has its Jewish counterpart, is that the Ark is preserved in a cave on Mount Gerizim;¹⁵³ this doctrine can be traced back to the 1st Century, for Josephus records the enthusiast who led the Samaritans up the mountain, promising to reveal to them the holy vessels.¹⁵⁴

§ 7. ESCHATOLOGY.¹⁵⁵

It has been observed above in connection with the Samaritan Creed that the eschatological tenets of the faith are of later and secondary origin. The elder Samaritans doubtless held to the primitive notion, exhibited almost throughout the Jewish Scriptures, that the dead went to Sheol, herein agreeing with Sadducean doctrine as against Pharisaism. However the dogma of the resurrection appears already in full bloom in Marka in the IVth Century. Also in the development of Messianism the Samaritans lagged behind and largely imitated Judaism, nor did their

¹⁵¹ *N. et E.* 114 (126): "we weep over the tabernacle and its exaltation."

¹⁵² *E. g.* BS ii, No. xxiii Pe seqq.

¹⁵³ Marka, 77b. For the Jewish legend, see 2 *Mac.* 2. According to Marka there were four graves or caves preserved since the third day of creation: those of Machpela, Gerizim, Hor and Nebo. (Cf. *Pirke Abot*, v, 9.) The sacred cave on Gerizim has been referred to above, p. 36.

¹⁵⁴ *AJ* xviii, 4, 1-2. The tombs of many of the patriarchal worthies are to be found, according to Samaritan tradition, on or near Gerizim.

¹⁵⁵ In addition to the bibliography given at the beginning of the Chapter, see Friedrich, *De Christologia Samaritanorum*, 1821; Cowley, *The Samaritan Doctrine of the Messiah*, in *Expositor*, 1895, p. 161. The present Section was practically completed before the author saw the last-named article, which has, however, given him some important suggestions.

Messianic ideas ever play the same capital part as in the other faith. The references to this doctrine are comparatively few and generally vague, and it comes ultimately to be more a pious belief than a positive dogma. In general, Samaritan eschatology represents the primitive stages of Jewish doctrine.

The first development in the doctrine of the Latter Things sprang out of the ancient Israelitish theologumenon of the Day of Yahwe, which appears as early as Amos. The like and even sadder experiences of the Samaritan sect required that they should develop, after the pattern of Judaism, the doctrine of an ultimate theodicy, when at last the sufferings of the church should be compensated. Hence the Samaritans look forward with eager hopes to what they generally term the Day of Vengeance, or the Day of Vengeance and Recompense, *יום נקם ושלם*. It is also called the Last Day, and the Great Day.¹⁵⁶ This doctrine was anterior to that of the resurrection; the community was to be vindicated, not the individual, according to earlier thought. As for the home of the future justified and glorious community, this is universally found on Gerizim, a belief parallel to the early Jewish notions, which made Jerusalem the centre of all eschatological expectations. When subsequently the doctrine of the resurrection was added to this more ancient dogma, the notion of the earthly Paradise does not seem to have been much disturbed. The resurrection would restore the blessed dead to transfigured Gerizim; hence it is the pious belief that burial on Gerizim is especially efficacious for an easy transit into the new condition. The Samaritans appear not to have advanced as a body to notions of a Paradise in some mystical portion of the earth or in a celestial region, as in the apocalyptic developments of Jewish thought. Here

¹⁵⁶ The Last Day, *BS* ii, 65, *Kaph*, v. 3; the Great Day, *BS* ii, 92, v. 30. Cf. *Joel*, 2, 31; *Mal.* 4, 5.

again we find them retaining the position held by earlier Judaism.

The Day of Vengeance and Recompense is the grand objective of the Samaritan philosophy of history which lies at the base of all the chronicles. According to this interpretation of human events, the world's whole history is divided into four ages. Preceding these æons there was the age of Adam's perfection, when all things were good as God had made them. But with Adam's fall began the rotation of certain cycles of God's providence. First there came the days of Panuta, an Age of Disfavor, which lasted till the revelation on Mount Sinai. With Moses the world was regenerated, so far at least as the holy people were concerned, and the Age of Grace, the days of Ridhwan, was ushered in. This continued for 260 years, during which time the theocracy was duly and rightly governed by God's vice-gerents, the kings and priests, the two classes working harmoniously together. But this happy age was terminated by the evil priest Eli, Samson being the last king of the old order. Then originated the schism of the Jews, while the working of the evil continued in the further schism of Jeroboam, whom with his cult the Samaritans disown. God's presence was no longer visible on Gerizim, the holy vessels were hidden away, the enemies of Israel interrupted the sacred cult, and the calamities began under which the church has ever since suffered. This is the second Age of Disfavor, the present Panuta, in which God has *turned away* his face from his people. However communion with God is still maintained through the succession of the true highpriesthood and the sacrifices on Gerizim, and the people's hope looks forward to the early return of God's favor. Then at last the second and great Ridhwan is to come, and in it God's Israel shall enjoy perpetual peace and felicity, while their enemies are suppressed. This happy age will be introduced

by the advent of the Messiah upon the 6000th year from creation, beginning the last day of the divine week of human history. The fortunes to be expected in that last millennium will be treated below in connection with the doctrine of the Messiah. But we may observe here that the dates which appear in the Samaritan chronicles possess more than mundane significance; they are the figures of the divine chronology, and the faithful can calculate thereby the days to the end. But the irony of millennial belief has befallen the Samaritans even as it has pursued every eschatological speculation since the Book of *Daniel*. In the XVIth Century the Samaritans confessed in the 1st Epistle to Scaliger that God alone knows the day of Messiah. In the year 1808 the Samaritan correspondents of the Europeans dated their letter with the year of creation 6246. With the Samaritans then as with Jew and Christian, millenarian doctrine has had its bloom; only the words of the old faith are kept, ghosts of what once was really believed in.

For the above philosophy of history, see *Lib. Jos.* and *Abu'l Fath.* For the Ages and their calculation, see especially Vilmar, *Abu'l Fathi annales*, p. xxx, and the chronological table, p. lxxxiv. The Messiah's reign is to last 110 years from A. M. 6000, so that the date of the second Panuta, which is 3050, is midway between creation and the end of Messiah's kingdom. The epochs of Alexander's death and of the Hegira also have cardinal places in this scheme, the former being placed 1050 years after the date of Panuta, the latter just 2000 years from the same period. The three days of Panuta are those, respectively, of schism and strife, of the Greek dominion, and of Islam (*op. cit.* p. lii).—"The Age of Grace": the day of *רחוקה*, refreshment, or *רצון*, favor; in Arabic: the days of *ridhâ*, or *ridhwân*, favor.—"The Age of Disfavor": *panuta*, from the Hebrew root *pana*, means the turning away of God's face, inclusive probably of the thought of Israel's defection. See Juynboll, *Lib. Jos.* 126; Vilmar, *l. c.*; Kohn, *Zur Sprache*, 47ff; Cowley, *op. cit.* 169. Also "the Days of Wrath and Error."—For the Jewish doctrine of 6000 years before Messiah's advent, see Bousset, *op. cit.* 234; Schürer, *GJV* ii, 530. The Samaritan division of the period is different from the Jewish, which follows the fortunes of the

temple.—Up to a late period the millennial hope appears to have assigned exact dates for the Messianic advent. According to Petermann, *Reisen*, i, 283, the year 1858 had been fixed upon.

While doubtless the Samaritan notion of the Messiah is a borrowed accretion of faith, nevertheless we can trace it back to a fairly early period. For the II^d Century A. C. Justin Martyr bears witness to it.¹⁵⁷ For the 1st Century we have as probable testimony the anecdote of the enthusiast who asserted the power to discover the hidden vessels, perhaps a Messianic claimant himself; also possibly the story of Simon Magus (*Acts* 8), who claimed to be "the Great Power of God," although this assumption outbids all we know of Samaritan Messianism. But most instructive for this century is the remark of the Samaritan woman to Jesus: "I know that Messiah is coming; when he comes he will tell us all things" (*Jn.* 4, 25). This whole narrative is, to the present writer's mind, a witness to the acquaintance of the Fourth Gospel with Palestinian conditions. The Samaritan notion, as it appears in the literature, makes of the Messiah only a second Moses, one whose function it will be to reveal what is hidden; he is primarily the prophet that shall come like Moses (*Dt.* 18), and so we can understand the comparatively ready acceptance of Jesus by the woman's coreligionists, because he appeared to them as a "prophet" (v. 19).¹⁵⁸

With this Samaritan Messiah it is natural to attempt to find some connection in the enigmatic Messiah-ben-Joseph, or M.-ben-Ephraim, who appears in later Jewish literature. His function was to be that of precursor of the Messiah-ben-David, and his particular duty to collect and lead home the scattered Ten Tribes. He will captain the hosts of Israel against the forces of Gog and Magog in their onslaught upon the Holy Land, and will fall in battle against

¹⁵⁷ *I. Apol.* 53.

¹⁵⁸ See also for the same position, Cowley, *op. cit.* 171.

them; then will appear the victorious Messiah of David's seed.¹⁵⁹ Bousset is inclined to hold that this doctrine is an adaptation by Judaism of the Samaritan Messiah. But certainly this could not have been done of intention; to the contrary the latter would have been ranked in the category of Anti-Christ. Rather, with Dalman and Schürer, this Jewish figure must be regarded as an artifice of exegesis to explain such passages as *Dt.* 33, 17; *Zech.* 12, 17, and in general to meet the Christian doctrine of the suffering Messiah. On the other hand, as we shall see, the Samaritan Messiah dies, but by natural death, in accordance with the primary stage of Jewish Messianism.¹⁶⁰

The Samaritan doctrine of the Messiah was doubtless stimulated by the Jewish theology at an early period, being subsequently corroborated to the mind of the sect by its adaptable exegesis of the Pentateuch and its interpretation of the history of the age of the Judges. Hence we find Joshua given the title of "the King" in the Book of *Joshua*, *passim*, while the Judges are also all kings.¹⁶¹ Accordingly the regal function of the Messiah has its prototype in that earlier royal succession. Proof texts for this kingly line may have been found in *Dt.* 33, 17 and especially v. 5: "There was a king in Jeshurun." However these Pentateuchal allusions to the regency of the House of Joseph, from which indeed the Messiah was to descend, are too scanty and indefinite to have provided a sufficient foothold for an original notion of the Messiah on Samaritan soil; the kingly quality of their Christ was but a faint reflection of the Jewish expectations of the glories of the Son of David. A prophet after the manner of Moses (*Dt.* 18) was what the Samaritans desired in

¹⁵⁹ See Hamburger, *REJud* ii, s. v. *Messias Sohn Joseph*; Dalman, *Der leidende und sterbende Messias der Synagoge*, I; Schürer, *GV* ii, 535, note (with extensive bibliography); Bousset, *op. cit.* 211, 218.

¹⁶⁰ E. g. *Jer.* 33, 17; *Ps.* 45.

¹⁶¹ *Lib. Jos.* xxxix.

their Messiah; this notion accordingly limited the Samaritan ideas. He was to be a Revealer of hidden or lost truths like the one the Samaritan woman had in mind, and inasmuch as there could be no greater prophet than Moses nor one equal to him, the Messiah is an entirely inferior personage.¹⁶² Accordingly, in contrast with the developed Jewish doctrine of the Messiah, such as was abroad since the Danielic prophecy of the Son of Man,¹⁶³ the Samaritan Messiah never attains the character of a divine personality. He always remains human and the thought concerning him moves in a prosaic plane.

Inquiry concerning the Messiah has been one of the chief points of the European correspondence with the Samaritans. The Epistles show that the word Messiah was known; thus the IIId Epistle to Ludolf says: "The Messiah has not yet arisen." In the Epistle to the Brethren in England, 1675, the correspondents content themselves with the remark: "the first name of that prophet will be M." Also in another passage of the Epistle it is said: "We know his name in accord with what the rabbis say."¹⁶⁴

But the Samaritans, while acquainted with "Messiah," have their own peculiar term for that personage, and herein

¹⁶² Cowley, *op. cit.* 165, rightly corrects the theory held by Juynboll, Merx, Hilgenfeld (the one which I had adopted), that one form of the Messianic expectation looked for the re-incarnation of Moses (Merx: of Moses or Joshua). But there is no proof for this theory. Only the bishop Eulogius (in Photius, *Bibliotheca*, Geneva, 1591, col. 883) states that some of the Samaritans expected the Messiah to be Joshua son of Nun. But it may be questioned if the bishop was not mistaken in understanding the likeness of the Messiah to King Joshua as an identity. The Samaritan name for the Messiah, the Restorer (see below), might, after the analogy of Elija who appears in the same role in *Malachi*, have suggested the return of the great prophet, a fairly common notion in Judaism. Still no evidence of this notion appears in Samaritanism.

¹⁶³ E. g. *Jn.* 7, 27.

¹⁶⁴ *N. ct E.* 115 (127). A Samaritan guide told Robinson that the Messiah was known by the Arabic title el-Muhdi, i. e. the Mahdi, *BR* iii, 100.

exhibit an independence of Judaism, or at least the survival of a more primitive strain of thought. His proper title is Ta'eb, used with or without the article *ha-*. Nothing in Samaritan literature has produced a greater variety of explanations than this same term. Cellarius says: "There is need of an Œdipus for the interpretation of this name," and he has been justified by the labors scholars have spent thereupon. For the history of its interpretation, which includes suggestions of Arabic and Persian origin, reference may be made to a note by Gesenius.¹⁶⁵ It is this scholar who is now generally credited with having reached the proper solution, which is as follows:¹⁶⁶

The word is the participle of the root תֹּב, the Samaritan Aramaic equivalent of the Hebrew שׁוּב, "return," "do again," "restore," the latter form also appearing rarely in the Epistles as שֶׁב. Through the Samaritan indifference in the use of gutturals, the participle also appears spelt תֵּב but without influencing the pronunciation.¹⁶⁷ The root is used, as in the Hebrew religious language, of the change of heart, or repentance, of man or God;¹⁶⁸ hence Taeb has been interpreted by some as the Penitent One, who vicariously meets God's demand. But, with Gesenius, it is to be understood in the active voice, as in the Biblical שׁוּב שְׁבוּת, "make restoration," so that the Samaritan Messiah is the Restorer. And this is in fact the interpretation that is given by the Samaritans themselves, as thus in one of their most recent Epistles, that to Kautzsch:¹⁶⁹ "This word תֵּב means the one who con-

¹⁶⁵ *Sam Theol.* 43, n. 105.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.* 44; adopted by de Sacy, *N. et E.* 29; Cowley, *op. cit.* 164; etc.

¹⁶⁷ Cf. Petermann, *Gramm. Sam.* 44. It appears that the word is vulgarly pronounced ha-Tab, or ha-Shab.

¹⁶⁸ E.g. *BS* ii, No. xiv, Taw; *CS* iii, 22 (here correct Gesenius's interpretation according to de Sacy, *N. et E.* 29).

¹⁶⁹ *ZDPV* viii, 152f. The highpriest defined the word to Bargès as "le Restaurateur"; *Les Samaritains de Naplouse*, 91.

verts the people." Heidenheim connects the connotation of the term with the Panuta: the Restorer is to counteract the turning away of God's favor.¹⁷⁰ But a more historical and substantial suggestion has been made by Bousset,¹⁷¹ who aligns the term with an early Jewish notion of the Messiah, which makes of him the Restorer. This idea appears, at least verbally, concerning Elija in *Mal.* 4,5f, according to which passage this Messianic personage is to "turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers," i.e. restore the perverted relations of society. With this may also be compared the Messianic "times of restoration," *Acts*, 3, 21.¹⁷² In this idea of a Restorer we have a characteristic mark of Samaritanism, whose genius harked back to the past far more than that of Judaism, for the larger hope of the Canon of the Prophets led the way for the Jewish belief that the future could be more glorious and even of another character than the past. Doubtless the term Taeb also included the connotations of the divine and human repentance.¹⁷³

As the Samaritans were shut up to the Pentateuch, they were forced to find therein their Messianic proof-texts. A Samaritan Epistle¹⁷⁴ gives a collection of such texts, namely: *Gen.* 15, 17: "a smoking and a burning lamp"; *Gen.* 40, 10: "to him shall the people submit themselves" (with appropriation of Juda's blessing!); *Num.* 24, 17: "He shall destroy all the children of Seth"; *Dt.* 18, 17: "Thy God shall raise up to thee a prophet like unto me,

¹⁷⁰ *BS* iii, p. xxviii.

¹⁷¹ *Op. cit.* 219.

¹⁷² Bousset also adduces *Testament Levi*, 18. The notion is very ancient; cf. *Is.* 11, 1ff.

¹⁷³ In *BS* ii, 89, v. 33, *Nu.* 24, 5, is rendered: "How goodly are thy tents, O Taeb" (for "Jacob"). This is evidently a play upon the root of "Jacob."

¹⁷⁴ Of year 1675; *N. et E.* No. xxi. Compare Cowley, *op. cit.* 167, for a larger list of proofs from a hymn of the XVth Century.

unto him shall ye hearken." To these references may be added, besides *Num.* 24, 5, already cited, *ibid.* v. 7: "His king shall be higher than Gog" (following a Rabbinic interpretation), while "the star out of Jacob," v. 17, is also adduced as a Messianic symbol.¹⁷⁵

As for the identity of the Taeb, he was to come of the house of Joseph, the first "king" of Israel, and inherit that leader's royal qualities.¹⁷⁶ For the doctrine of the manifestation and work of the Taeb we may refer to the lengthy Midrash on the subject appearing in a hymn published at length by Heidenheim.¹⁷⁷ The outline of the passage is as follows:

The advent of Taeb shall be in peace and his star shall shine in the heavens. When he has reached adult life, $\Upsilon\eta\omega\eta$ will call him, teach him his laws, give him a scripture, and invest him with prophecy. He shall dwell upon the Holy Hill. Then shall be revealed the Tabernacle with all its furnishings, and the ancient ritual will be restored in the full ministrations of the priesthood. Israel shall dwell in safety and security, and perform its solemn feasts in peace,¹⁷⁸ and the Taeb shall have a perpetual kingdom until the latter day. Confession of his

¹⁷⁵ See *BS* ii, 89, No. xx, vv. 33, 35. For the star (also "star of thy prophet," and "star of grace"), *ibid.* p. 88, He, v. 10; p. 92, v. 17; p. 96, v. 32; p. 72, v. 24. Cf. *Mt.* 2, 2; *Test. Levi*, 18. Moses is called the Star of Creation, *BS* ii, 104, v. 18. It may be observed that the Samaritans have an original exegesis of "Shilo" in *Gen.* 49, 10, interpreting it *in malo sensu* of Solomon; so also Abu Said's Arabic version.

¹⁷⁶ For Eulogius's statement that Messiah is to be Joshua himself, see above, note 162. It would appear from *Marka*, 195a, that Taeb would not be greater than Joseph: "There is no king like Joseph, even as there is no prophet like Moses."

¹⁷⁷ *BS* ii, No. xx, He, *seq.* The passage was published and treated, with ignorance of Heidenheim, by Merx in the Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Orientalists, of the year 1889, i, 2, p. 119, and by Hilgenfeld, in the *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, xxxvii, 233. A partial translation, based upon an amended text, is given by Cowley, *op. cit.* 162.

¹⁷⁸ Cf. *Jer.* 23, 6; *Nah.* 1, 15.

majesty shall be made, after the fashion and in the language of Balaam, by a representative of the heathen. No worldwide dominion is predicated of the Taeb, his function is solely for Israel. The hymn then (stanza Zayin) briefly refers to his death in peace, when he shall come to his tomb and be gathered to his fathers. (According to Petermann¹⁷⁹ he shall reign 110 years, i.e. the age of Joshua (*Jos.* 34, 29), and less than that of Moses; according to an Epistle¹⁸⁰ he will be buried alongside of Joseph.) But "the star of Taeb" will shine perpetually over his tomb as the continued sign of the divine grace. Israel shall continue to increase most marvellously, and the saints shall enjoy all prosperity.

It is thus the chief function of the Taeb to introduce the Millennium, which, as our Midrash proceeds to relate, is to be disturbed by the grand final conflict between God and the forces of evil. Here we have the replica of the Jewish and Christian notions of Gog and Magog and of Antichrist. The happy condition above described shall last for many days. But at last God's wrath will wax hot against the Gentiles, for the earth will again corrupt itself, as in the days of the Flood. Then will come the Day of Vengeance, the Great Day, accompanied with cosmic cataclysms. "The light of the sun shall grow pale at the beginning of every month, and the moon and the stars shall not give their light. Every high place shall be overthrown, and the valleys and hills, with quaking at the Day of Vengeance, its glory and its majesty."¹⁸¹ The earth and all its natural features will be overturned. All things will be wiped out (stanza Chet), man and beast, rivers and mountains, and only the Eternal Hill will be left in the midst of the Garden, i.e. Paradise, for the residence of the saints.

¹⁷⁹ *Reisen*, i, 284.

¹⁸⁰ The Arabic Epistle to the English Brethren, 1675; *N. et E.* 209.

¹⁸¹ I follow Cowley's translation. Cf. *Is.* 2, 7ff; *Joel*, 3. Cowley calls attention to the likeness to *Mt.* 24, 29, 37, 39.

It appears that all die from fear of the righteous God. Then comes the resurrection and the judgment. Among the risen ones appears Moses who acts as an intercessor for his people. God then holds the session of his court, in which the angels act as inquisitors of good and evil, and the merits of the respective souls are weighed in the Scales.¹⁸² Israel will be divided into two classes, the good and the bad, the former passing into the Garden of Eden, the latter into the Fire.—Such is the outline of a formal presentation of the events of the Latter Days. As with all eschatology, so in Samaritanism there were doubtless many various views of the end of the world. Thus Marka makes the advent of the Messiah a time of woe to the Gentiles, and regards his coming as contemporaneous with the resurrection.¹⁸³ We also note in correspondence with the assertion of *Jn.* 4, 42 concerning the Samaritan expectation of the Taeb as the Saviour of the world, that an Epistle teaches that all peoples will make submission to the Prophet of the Last Days and believe in him.¹⁸⁴

We have already touched upon the Samaritan attitude towards the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead; as we have seen above, the sect originally held to the old-fashioned Sadducæan position, and on this score were considered heretics by Rabbinic Judaism. The Church Fathers find frequent occasion to notice this heresy.¹⁸⁵ But such information is only partially exact for the IVth Century and afterwards, being due to tradition or else to the survival of the elder view among some of the Samaritans,¹⁸⁶ for in Marka the doctrine of the resurrection appears in full

¹⁸² See above, note 64.

¹⁸³ *Marka*, 65a.

¹⁸⁴ *N. et E.* 205.

¹⁸⁵ E.g. Origen, *Comm. in Mt* xxii, 23 (Migne, xiii, 1564); *Hom.* xxv, *ad Num.* (M. xii, 763); Epiphanius, *Hæres.* ix, 1; Philastrius, *Hæres.* vii; etc.

¹⁸⁶ A Dosithean sect denied the resurrection; see Chapter XIII, § 1.

force, and we may hold that from his age at least this became an orthodox tenet. In self-defence against the attractive eschatologies of Judaism and Christianity, Samaritanism had to formulate some theology concerning the future; subsequently Islam gave further strength to the dogma. In course of time the idea of the individual resurrection has taken the place of the notion of the resurrection of the community, and on the whole this belief is phrased in just such terms as are used in other religions. Truly ethical notions are connected with the fears and hopes of the life after death; not the Israelite as such but only the good Israelites can attain felicity, and the thought of death is often made the theme of solemn admonition.¹⁸⁷ We also find at times the elder notion adhered to, once common in Judaism and Christianity, that only the good shall experience the resurrection.¹⁸⁸ As we have observed, Paradise is conceived of as earthly, being located on Gerizim, although no further sensuous ideas are connected with it, as in Islam. In one passage at least appears a more spiritual and mystical faith: "My future abode is the seat of thy dominion, where is neither sea nor ocean nor heaven itself."¹⁸⁹ In general Samaritanism is sober in its conceptions of the after life and rarely shares in the exuberant imaginings on the subject which mark Judaism and Christianity; herein we see the ancient Sadducæan strain surviving. This antique heritage is also preserved in the name given to the cemetery by the Samaritans; it is called the House of the Dead, not, as with the Jews, the House of the Living,—a significant contrast.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁷ E.g. *BS* ii, No. cxx, a hymn on death and repentance; No. cxxi, a requiem hymn. Prayers for the dead appear in the latter, v. 20 seq.

¹⁸⁸ *CS* vii, 10.

¹⁸⁹ *CS* iii, 13.

¹⁹⁰ Mills, *op. cit.* 206.