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KITAB AL-KHILAF, THE BOOK OF THE HILLUFIM

PLATE V



Handwritten text in Hebrew script, likely a page from a manuscript. The text is arranged in several lines, with some words appearing to be in a different script or dialect. The ink is dark and the paper shows signs of age and wear.

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PLATE I

Handwritten text in Hebrew script, likely a page from a manuscript. The text is arranged in several lines, with some words appearing to be in a different script or dialect. The ink is dark and the paper shows signs of age and wear.

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PLATE II

LAZAR LIPSCHÜTZ  
KITAB AL-KHILAF, THE BOOK OF THE HILLUFIM



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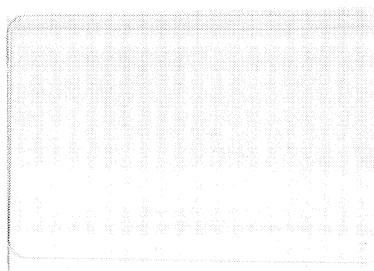
**PUBLICATIONS OF THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY BIBLE PROJECT**

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# KITĀB AL-KHILAF

Mishael Ben Uzziel's Treatise on the Differences  
Between Ben Asher and Ben Naphtali

CRITICALLY EDITED

*by*

LAZAR LIPSCHÜTZ

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KITĀB AL-KHILAF  
THE BOOK OF THE ḤILLUFIM

MISHAEL BEN UZZIEL'S TREATISE ON THE DIFFERENCES  
BETWEEN BEN ASHER AND BEN NAPHTALI

LAZAR LIPSCHÜTZ

I. INTRODUCTION\*

No reliable reports have been preserved on the personality of Mishael ben Uzziel, the author of *Kitāb al-Khilaf*, the famous treatise on the *ḥillufim* (differences) between the two leading Massoretes: Abu Sa'id, Aaron ben Moshe ben Asher (generally called: Ben Asher); and Abu Imrān, Moshe ben David ben Naphtali (generally called: Ben Naphtali).<sup>1</sup> But from the language of the treatise and from the fact that the author gives thorough consideration to the subdivision of the books of the Bible into *sedarim*,<sup>2</sup> we can conclude with certainty that he belonged to the Egyptian-Palestinian cultural sphere. We also know that he lived before Joseph ha-Qoṣṭandini, the author of the Massoretic compendium *Adath Deborim* (= *Ad.*), since a Hebrew translation of Mishael's work was taken over by the latter and incorporated in his compendium.<sup>3</sup> On the ground of two letters found in the Geniza, S. Poznanski,<sup>4</sup> and again J. Mann<sup>5</sup> place him in the 12th century. Against this P. Kahle<sup>6</sup> maintains that the *Kitāb al-Khilaf* must have been finished before 1050. In support of his opinion he quotes a passage of *Ad.* where a controversy is reported between Jonah Ibn Janāh (died 1050) and Moshe Ibn Jiqatilla (died 1080). As the eulogy formula follows after the name of the first and is absent after the name of the second, Kahle concludes that *Ad.* was composed between 1050 and 1080, and, accordingly, *Kitāb al-Khilaf* before 1050.<sup>7</sup> The name

\* A table of sigla and abbreviations is given on p. 29.

1 These are the full and correct names of the two Massoretes as preserved in our treatise and in the Geniza fragment T-S, K27, 36 in the University Library at Cambridge.

2 Cp. *Jew. Encyclop.* 11, 328; 12, 254 f.

3 The only known copy of *Ad.* dated 1207 and copied by a certain Yehuda ben Jacob is preserved in the Leningrad Public Library Firk. II, Arab.-Hebr. 161, cp. below, p. 26.

4 ZHB 4 (1900) 186.

5 *The Jews in Egypt and in Palestine under the Fatimid Caliphs*, 2 (1922) 322.

6 VT 1 (1951) 165; *id.*, *Der hebräische Bibeltext seit Fr. Delitzsch* (Stuttgart 1961) 15.

7 This conclusion is not very plausible since the lack of the eulogy formula by itself is not sufficient evidence to prove the age of a manuscript.



Mishael ben Uzziel appears also on a colophon<sup>8</sup> of an undated MS of the Pentateuch preserved in the Karaite Synagogue of Cairo. In my opinion, this Mishael most likely is identical with the author of our treatise.

*Kitāb al-Khilaf* is of great importance for the study of the Massoretic text of the Bible and for the classification of the Bible MSS. It is the oldest source preserved that contains the differences of BA and BN throughout the entire Bible. Among the Bible MSS found in the Geniza there are several of the 10th–12th century which occasionally carry marginal notes on the differences between certain Massorettes.<sup>9</sup> The names of BA and BN appear frequently in these notes. But except for *Kitāb al-Khilaf* no complete list has been preserved from this epoch. The numerous lists of *hillufim* which have survived in Bible MSS and in Massoretic codices are of a much later date.

The importance and superiority of *Kitāb al-Khilaf* furthermore is evidenced by the fact that it served as a basis also for the lists of differences which are included in the Massoretic compendium *מחברת התיגאן*<sup>10</sup>, for those in the *Muqaddima* of Samuel ha-Rophe<sup>11</sup>, and for several others.<sup>12</sup>

Mishael ben Uzziel must have had at his disposal very reliable sources on the readings of BA and BN, since in more than four hundred instances he also lists the cases in which the two agree, obviously against some other Massorettes. In many cases we can identify the opposing Massorettes.<sup>13</sup> Furthermore

8 Published by R. Gottheil, JQR 17 (1905) 632. It reads:

אני מישאל בן עזיאל בן יוסף בן הללי בדקתי זאת התורה של קדש (ב)חצר בן בכתויה ירחמיהו אל על יד מצליח הכהן יחיהו אלוה בן סהל המלמד הכהן גוח נפש.

In this colophon, written at the end of the text, Mishael ben Uzziel states that he corrected the codex at the instance of Maṣṣliah ha-Kohen ben Sahl. Another colophon of an earlier date on the fly-leaf states that the codex should be kept under the special care of Sahl ben צלח. This Sahl ben צלח obviously was the father of Maṣṣliah ben Sahl mentioned in the first colophon (cp. *Liq. Qadm.*, 106) and probably is identical with Sahl ben Maṣṣliah, a younger contemporary of the Karaite Bible exegete Yefet ben 'Ali (died ca. 1004). Accordingly Mishael ben Uzziel, the contemporary of Maṣṣliah ben Sahl, lived in the first half of the 11th century in Jerusalem. Hence Kahle's assumption regarding Mishael's time of activity cannot be rejected offhand. However the identity of Sahl ben צלח with Sahl ben Maṣṣliah has still to be proved.

9 Cp., e.g., Neubauer, *Catalogue* II, 2607; 2624.

10 Published by J. Dérenbourg under the title *Manuel du Lecteur*, JA Sér. 6, t. 16 (1870); cp. below p. 27.

11 Cp. below p. 27.

12 E.g., to the list in the Massoretic treatise preceding MS. Brit. Mus. Harley 1528, cp. below p. 27; further to D1, 58 and D1, 117 of the T-S Collection in Cambridge, cp. below p. 25.

13 The following examples may suffice here:

BA and BN	Opponents	References
Gen. 18:15 לא כי צחקת רפי	בעץ אלמעלמן ירגש לא	p. 1, line 21

he mentions in several places that both Massoretes occasionally established readings in their earlier years which they altered subsequently.<sup>14</sup>

Although Mishael reports fully on the differences and congruences of BA and BN, he does not mention anywhere whose reading deserves priority. Today we know positively that he was not the first to compile such a list of differences. Already the learned Karaite author Levi ben al-Ḥassan<sup>15</sup>, who flourished in the first quarter of the 11th century in Jerusalem, had drawn up a list of *hillufim*. However, only the heading of this list, and part of the colophon have been preserved.<sup>16</sup> Levi ben al-Ḥassan speaks very highly of both Massoretes (אלמעלמין אלפאצילין) and their versions of the Bible (נסחהמה) (אלמשהורה) but neither he drops a hint as to which of the two should be given preference.

At first, apparently only the Massoretic scholars, especially those among the Karaites, took interest in these differences. For some time BA and BN obviously enjoyed equal authority and reputation. Thus, an anonymous author, most probably of the 11th century,<sup>17</sup> in discussing the controversy between BA and BN on the placing of the *dagesh* in כפ"ת after the word ויהי concludes: "And the reader should conform to one of these two opinions." Another unidentified author of that time,<sup>18</sup> but beyond all doubt a Karaite, deals at some length with our two Massoretes in his commentary on Gen. 49:21 (נפתלי אילה שלחה). He states that Jews everywhere adopted the Bible codices of BA and BN, and that Massoretic scholars went from Tiberias to

	BA and BN	Opponents	References
Gen. 38:2	ושמו שוע	יש אומרים ושמו-שוע	<i>Liq. Qadm.</i> p. 30
Ex. 3:8	וארד להצילו	ר' חביב להצילו	<i>ib.</i>
Nu. 21:4	לסבב את רפי	מחזורה רבה לסבב דגש	Norzi <i>ad loc.</i>
Deut. 33:28	יערפו טל מארכה	יש אומרים יערפו-טל	B.M. MS. Or. 4445
1 Sam. 22:18	לפגע רפי	מחזורה רבה לפגע דגש	Norzi <i>ad Nu.</i> 21:4
Is. 40:18	תערכו לו מארכה	יש אומרים תערכו-לו	B.M. MS. Or. 4445
Jer. 34:1	ועל-כל-עריה	רבי פנחס המלמד ועל כל-ערי	<i>Diq.</i> p. 84
Cant. 5:13	מרקחים בקמץ	מחזורה רבא מרקחים	<i>Diq.</i> p. 84
Eccl. 3:19	כן מות זה	משה מוחה כן-מות זה	p. גד, line 8
Neh. 12:44	לאוצרנת	מקצת הסופרים הראשונים לאוצרות	<i>Diq.</i> , p. 23
14	Cp., e.g., p. יא, note 6; p. יב, lines 1 ff.; p. כא, line 26.		
15	He is known as the author of a ספר המצות (cp. <i>Liq. Qadm.</i> 87 f.). His father, al-Ḥassan ben Ali, is identical with the famous Karaite Bible exegete and Payyetan Yefet b. 'Ali, cp. J. Mann, <i>Texts and Studies in Jewish History and Literature</i> 2 (1935) 31 f.		
16	Cambridge T-S, K27, 36 (cp. plate IV).		
17	Firk, II, Arab.-Hebr. 2390, fol. 17a, cp. below p. 19; Kurt Levy, <i>Zur masoretischen Grammatik</i> , Bonner Orientalische Studien (1936) 40.		
18	Firk, II, Arab.-Hebr. 4633, cp. Mann, <i>op. cit.</i> 2, 69, 104 f.		

Babylon and other countries. These scholars produced many copies of the Bible which they circulated among the people.

But gradually the majority of Hebrew grammarians and scholars gave preference to the readings of BA, as we may conclude from a statement made by Maimonides in his *Code*.<sup>19</sup> Maimonides accepted as authoritative a copy of the Bible that had been vocalized, collated and provided with Massorah by BA. This is what he writes: "The copy on which we based ourselves in these matters is the one known in Egypt... everybody relied on it, for it was corrected by BA, who worked on it for many years and he corrected it many times." Maimonides made his statement with regard to the marking of the open and closed sections in the Torah. As this did not constitute a matter of dispute between our Massoretes, we should not be surprised that he does not mention the name of BN at all. But, as M.H. Goshen-Gottstein already pointed out, Maimonides' reliance on that MS raised the prestige of BA and not only in matters with which he had been directly concerned.<sup>20</sup> Simultaneously, it caused the decline of the BN tradition. As far as we know, David Qimḥi (died 1235), the eminent grammarian and Bible exegete, was the first who, in reporting on the differences between the two Massoretes, decided in favour of BA.<sup>21</sup> Now a widespread demand was felt to get acquainted with the readings of BA and with those of his opponent BN. More than thirty different lists of *hillufim* originating from the 14th and 15th century are known.<sup>22</sup> These lists have a very limited value. They differ from each other substantially, and the later a list the more *hillufim* it shows.<sup>23</sup> The Bible MSS that contain such lists are not in agreement either with the readings of BA or with those of BN quoted in their attached lists. Any variant in punctuation and accentuation that a MS showed, automatically was ascribed to BN because people were aware only of differences between BA and BN. Even the names of other Massoretic scholars were mostly forgotten. But today we know from Cairo Geniza fragments which are kept in British<sup>24</sup> and Russian<sup>25</sup> libraries that there lived a considerable number of Massoretes in Tiberias "who held different views on

19 *Hilkhot Sefer Torah* VIII, 4.

20 RTBT, 121; *id.*, *Textus* 1 (1960) 17 f.

21 Cp. below p. 10.

22 Cp. H.L. Strack, *Prolegomena Critica in Vetus Testamentum Hebr.* (1873) 29; *Diq.* XII, n. 13; *Introduction*, 270 f; *Massorah* IV, 412 ff.

23 *E.g.* the list attached to MS. Harley 1528 (Brit. Mus.) quotes two hundred and fifteen *hillufim* for the Pent. against one hundred and seventeen in Mishael's treatise.

24 British Mus. MS. Or. 5554 A., fols. 28–29; Bodleian Library MS. Hebr. e. 74, fols. 59–60; cp. J. Mann. *The Jews in Egypt and in Palestine under the Fatimid Caliphs* 1 (1920) 55–58; 2 (1922) 43–49.

25 Leningrad, Firk. II, Arab.–Hebr. 145 and 146 (beyond all doubt also from the Geniza)

many things with regard to *qamaṣ* and *pathah* and the two and the three dots (*šere, segol*) and the *šewa quiescens* and the *šewa mobile*". The roster of these Massoretes was last published by Kurt Levy<sup>26</sup> and thoroughly discussed by P. Kahle<sup>27</sup>. Besides Moshe Moḥa, who is mentioned also by Mishael, there are frequently noted in marginal notes of ancient Bible MSS, Pineḥas<sup>28</sup> the head of the Yeshiva and R. Ḥabib ben Pipim. There also occur Massoretic notes that report on differences between the *maḥsora rabba* (*rubba?*)<sup>29</sup> and several Tiberian Massoretes.<sup>30</sup> Furthermore we have found reports on *hillufim* between BA and "others". Thus, e.g., a marginal note in MS. Or. 4445 (Brit. Mus.) fol. 40b, records four instances of such a *hilluf*.<sup>31</sup> All these instances and many others on which sundry Massoretes differed, appear in the later lists as *hillufim* of BA and BN.

Our investigations showed that Mishael's treatise is positively superior to all hitherto known lists of *hillufim*. These findings were fully confirmed by the comparison of Mishael's statements with the codices linked with the names of the great Tiberian Massoretes. Since the text of BN was not yet discovered,<sup>32</sup> only those Bible MSS could be compared that are connected with the BA tradition. Four codices are especially suited for this purpose:

1. The Cairo Codex of the Prophets (= Cod. C) which, according to its colophon was written in Tiberias in the year 895 by Moshe ben Asher, the father of BA.

2. The British Museum MS. Or. 4445 (= Cod. B) of the Pentateuch (Gen. 39:20 to Deut. 1:33), undated, and supposedly of the 10th century. The name of BA is mentioned on its margin.<sup>33</sup>

3. The Leningrad Codex B 19a (= Cod. L) of the complete Bible. According to the colophon it was copied by Jacob ben Samuel in Old Cairo, in the year 1008, from several corrected codices which had been prepared by BA.<sup>34</sup>

26 *Op. cit.* (note 17) 8 f.

27 MdW 1, 36 ff; *The Cairo Geniza*<sup>2</sup> (1959) 75–78.

28 Cp. *Diq.* 14, 84; *Liq. Qadm.* 30 f; D.S. Loewinger, *Textus* 1 (1960) 77 ff.; see above note 13.

29 A model codex already consulted by BN, cf. p. 5.

30 Cp. *Liq. Qadm.* 29 ff; Neubauer, *Catalogue* II, 2755; Leningrad Bible MS. B 19a, *ad* Prov. 3:12; Norzi, *ad* Nu. 21:4; *Diq.* 84, see above note 13.

31 מערכו לו (Jud. 20:33); ממערי גבע (Deut. 33:28); יערפו טל (Gen. 49:20); מעדני מלך (Is. 40:18). *Hillufim* of this kind are indicated also in MS. Hebr. f 34c of the Bodleian Library in a note which begins: והדא אלכלף אלדי בין אלמעלם אבו סעיד בן אשר רחמה אללה ובין גירה.

32 On the Pseudo BN–MSS see below p. 7.

33 Cp. *Introduction* 249 f.

34 Harkavy–Strack, *Catalog der Kaiserlichen Öffentl. Bibliothek in St. Petersburg*, 263–274; P. Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza*<sup>2</sup> (1959) 91–97.

4. The Aleppo Codex of the complete Bible (= Cod. A). According to the colophon (not anymore preserved) it was pointed, and provided with Massorah by BA.<sup>35</sup>

The comparison of the first three codices mentioned with the readings of BA according to Mishael's lists led to most remarkable results. It showed that the codices L and B deviated in only four–six per cent of the passages compared from the readings of BA as given by Mishael.

Already H. Yalon<sup>36</sup> and F. Perez Castro<sup>37</sup> noticed that the close agreement of Cod. L with Mishael's list was achieved, to some extent, by erasures, additions and alterations. But this fact diminishes only the trustworthiness of Cod. L and does not curtail in any way the correctness of Mishael's list. As for Cod. B, I can add that, if we compare also the congruences of the two Massorettes with the readings in this codex, the proportion quoted above has to be slightly modified.<sup>38</sup>

Cod. C has been kept for many centuries in the old Karaite Synagogue of Cairo. Only in 1926 the first photographic copy of it was made for the Berlin Staatsbibliothek. I had the privilege of studying this copy some years later at the Bonn Oriental Seminar. The comparison of Cod. C with Mishael's list caused considerable surprise. It showed that it is much closer to BN than to BA. Thus, out of thirty four *hillufim* in the book of Isaiah, C agrees in twenty three instances with BN. A striking feature of this codex is the frequent placing of *ga'ya*. In several cases it has the reading of BA where the latter, in opposition to BN, places a *ga'ya*. In his introduction<sup>39</sup> Mishael points out as a peculiarity of BN the vocalization of the prefixes ך and ך with *hireq* followed by quiescent *jod*. The words *לישראל, בישראל* which occur approximately a hundred times in the books of the Prophets always show in Cod. C the vocalization of BN. The same goes for the diverse forms of the verb *אכל*.<sup>40</sup> Because of these phenomena several scholars denied the authenticity of Cod. C. While Kahle<sup>41</sup>, Cassuto<sup>42</sup> and Goshen-Gottstein<sup>43</sup> adhere to the tradition that Moshe ben Asher was the

35 Cod. A has been identified with the model codex to which Maimonides referred. Cp. Goshen-Gottstein, *Textus* 1 (1960) 28–58.

36 *Kirjath Sepher* 30 (1954–55) 257–263; 32 (1956–57) 97–111.

37 “Corregido y Correcto” *Sefarad* 15 (1955) 1–30. When I investigated this MS only a reduced copy of a photograph was at my disposal. I was therefore unable to detect all these alterations.

38 In some cases Cod. B follows a deviating version.

39 Cp. p. 7; below p. 18.

40 Cp. p. 1; below p. 17.

41 *The Cairo Geniza*<sup>2</sup> (1959) 91–97.

42 *Sample Edition of the Book of Jonah*, Preface (Hebrew University Press 1946).

43 RTBT, 106 f.



scribe of Cod. C, H. Yalon<sup>44</sup>, J.L. Teicher<sup>45</sup> and D.S. Loewinger<sup>46</sup> doubt its validity. We cannot accept the hypothesis of Kahle<sup>47</sup> that C represents the kind of text from which BA started. Neither do we admit that BN remained more faithful to the system to which Aaron's father adhered. Like Ben David<sup>48</sup> we maintain, on the contrary, that it was BA who was less concerned with systematic perfection but rather loyally followed the tradition he inherited,<sup>49</sup> while BN aimed at systematization and consistency. It is for this reason that we must doubt the authenticity of Cod. C. As against this, Goshen-Gottstein's comparison of the whole of Mishael's text with A, yielded only about two per cent of differences.<sup>50</sup> This indeed is a most remarkable result. The fact that the data given by Mishael so overwhelmingly agree with the readings of A, confirms the reliability of his traditions.

The few differences between A and Mishael's *hillufim* that there are, in my opinion can be explained by the following two reasons: 1. As we have already shown,<sup>51</sup> the two Massoretes sometimes established readings which they later altered; 2. It must be borne in mind that we do not possess the original *Kitāb al-Khilaf* but only fragments of various MSS that were copied by different people at different times.<sup>52</sup>

I discussed the results of the comparison of Mishael's lists with these ancient Bible MSS in the second part of my thesis *Ben Asher — Ben Naphtali*. These investigations could not be published at the time due to the circumstances which prevailed in Germany. But Kahle refers to them in several of his publications.<sup>53</sup>

At the same time I also examined the Bible Codex MS. Or. 1213 of the Berlin Staatsbibliothek as well as MS. Add. 21161 (Brit. Mus.) and some fragments which Kahle erroneously declared to be BN manuscripts. I then summarized the outcome of my investigation as follows: "Eine nähere Untersuchung dieser Handschriftengruppe an Hand der Listen Mishael ben Uzziels zeigte jedoch, dass sie nicht als die Rezension des BN bezeichnet werden kann."<sup>54</sup> These Pseudo-BN MSS were later termed by A. Sperber "pre-Massoretic"<sup>55</sup> and by

44 In the Hebrew daily *Haaretz* of April 16th, 1954.

45 JJS 2 (1950) 20 ff.

46 *Textus* 1 (1960) 93.

47 *Op. cit.* 118.

48 *Tarbiz* 26 (1956–57) 384–409.

49 Cp., e.g., p. 7, line 6: לאנח רחמה אללה דכר פי מאסרתה.

50 Cp. RTBT, 100.

51 Above p. 3 and note 14.

52 I wish to remark that only in one fragment (out of 15) *pathah* and *segol* are applied promiscuously, see below p. 23; RTBT, 100, note 74.

53 *Biblia Hebraica* (1937) *Prolegomena*, VII f.; VT 1 (1951) 165; *Der hebräische Bibeltext seit Fr. Delitzsch*, 14 f.; L. Goldschmidt — P. Kahle, *The Earliest Editions of the Hebr. Bible with a Treatise on the Oldest MSS of the Bible* (1950) 54 f.

54 Mukačevó proof sheets, 25; cp. RTBT, 108, note 103.

55 *Corpus Codicum Hebraicorum Medii Aevi* 2 (1956) p. xxi f.

S. Morag "post-Massoretic".<sup>56</sup> I. Yeivin calls them "non-Massoretic" texts<sup>57</sup> and M. Goshen-Gottstein terms them "Tiberian non-receptus" traditions.<sup>58</sup> It is worth mentioning that M. Gaster, dealing with some MSS of that kind, already suggested that they might be the transcript of a superlinear system into the Tiberian.<sup>59</sup> This idea was recently taken up by A. Diez-Macho.<sup>60</sup>

In order to establish the absolute reliability of the statements given by Mishael, I also compared them with the material included in the rhymed passages of the so called *Diqduqē ha-Te'amim* (= *Diq.*). Although BA's name appears only in later sources of this collection, it has been generally accepted that the rhymed texts, which summarise the rules of punctuation and accents, are an essential part of the BA tradition. They originate partly from a period much earlier than BA's. On the other hand the material given in prose includes portions of the Massorah written at different times and sometimes does not agree with BA. The collation of the rhymed texts in *Diq.* with our treatise showed that Mishael's statements on BA's reading of the forms of אכל and גרש (rules 2 and 3 of the introduction) are to be found in paragraphs 51 and 52 of *Diq.*; his rule 7 (on the vocalization of the prefixes ב and ל preceding *jod*) in paragraph 13; while rule 8 (ויהי בגדכפ"ח) occurs in paragraph 29. In explanation of the various rules *Diq.* quotes twenty three Biblical passages that are also mentioned by Mishael. These passages are without exception in agreement with BA according to Mishael's data.

Reference	<i>Diq.</i>	Reference	<i>Diq.</i>
<sup>61</sup> ימנה וישוה	Gen. 46:17 p. 21	אתה אל	Ps. 90: 2 p. 25
גאלת	Ex. 15:13 p. 29	כל פעלי	94: 4 p. 25
ויגנען	Josh. 8:15 p. 21	לך אזוכה	96:17 p. 26
איש-בשת	2 Sam. 4: 8 p. 22	ויבא רגו	Job 3:26 p. 25
קנ תהו	Is. 34:11 p. 29	ואתה דע לך	5:27 p. 25
<sup>62</sup> הלא כגעת	Ez. 17:10 p. 30	אנשי לבב	34:10 p. 27
<sup>63</sup> זן חשבו	Ps. 10: 2 p. 25	את אשר	Prov. 3:12 p. 39
השחיתו התעיבו	14: 1 p. 13	נגד היושבים	Ruth 4: 4 p. 23
<sup>64</sup> לכו-בנים	34:12 p. 26	לארצות	Neh. 12:44 p. 23
<sup>64</sup> לכו-חזו	46: 9 p. 9	ומיכאל וישפת	1 Chr. 8:16 p. 21
<sup>64</sup> בבווא-אליו	51: 2 p. 9	הפך ידך	2 Chr. 18:33 p. 21
כי בכ	47: 2 p. 24		

<sup>56</sup> JSS 4 (1959) 229, 237.

<sup>57</sup> *Tarbiz* 29 (1959-60) 345 f.

<sup>58</sup> RTBT, 108-113.

<sup>59</sup> *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 39 (1917) 172 f.

<sup>60</sup> *Estudios Biblicos* 15 (1956) 187 f.

<sup>61</sup> Cp. p. ט note a; Ben David, *Tarbiz* 26 (1956-57) 404.

<sup>62</sup> Cp. *Mikh.*, 81a.

<sup>63</sup> Cp. p. מו, note d.

<sup>64</sup> Cp. p. מה, note f.

<sup>65</sup> Cp. p. מה, note g.

<sup>66</sup> Cp. p. גב, note h.

## II. THE REPORTS OF THE MEDIAEVAL GRAMMARIANS ON THE ḤILLUFIM

Besides the lists preserved in the Massorah, also the mediaeval grammarians report on the differences between BA and BN. The following investigation will show that these reports must be treated with as much caution as the data in the lists. These authors lived at a temporal and geographical distance from the Massorettes. Moreover they occasionally quote BA and BN to strengthen their own theories, and sometimes even attribute their own ideas to these Massorettes. I gathered all the reports on the *ḥillufim* between BA and BN which are scattered in a voluminous literature, and checked them for their correctness and accuracy in the light of the lists of Mishael ben Uzziel.

Saadia Gaon (died 942) polemicised against BA in a Piyyut called **אשא משלי**.<sup>1</sup> Benjamin Klar has shown that the Arabic title should be read: **אלרד עלי בן אשר** = The polemic against Ben Asher, Hebrew. He further proved that Saadia's poem contains a sharp attack against several passages of the *Diḡduḡē ha-Te'amim* written by BA or his predecessors.<sup>2</sup> Also in his grammatical work Saadia deals with phenomena over which BA and BN differ but without mentioning their names.<sup>3</sup>

Hai Gaon (died 1040), in a responsum preserved in the Cairo Geniza,<sup>4</sup> reports on the differences between BA and BN in the vocalization of the proper name **יששכר**.<sup>5</sup>

Among the Hebrew grammarians in Spain, Ḥayyuj (at the end of the 10th century) is the first who quotes a reading of BA. The only report preserved of it is a marginal note in MS. Firk. II, 148 (= fragment B of our treatise). According to it Ḥayyuj in his book *Kitāb al-Nuṭaf* ascribes the reading **יששכר** to BA.<sup>6</sup>

Ibn Janāḥ (at the beginning of the 11th century) already quotes eight *ḥillufim* in his works *Kitāb al-Luma* and *Kitāb al-Uṣul*. In the first book he reports on the following five *ḥillufim*.

p. 1347	—	Ez. 19:9	:	<b>בסוגר</b>
p. 135	—	27:13	:	<b>חובל</b>

1 Published by M. Lewin (Jerusalem 1943).

2 Cp. *Tarbiz* 14 (1943–44) 156–173; 15 (1944–45), 36–49; cp. against it M. Zucker, *Tarbiz* 27 (1957–58) 61–62; but P. Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza*<sup>2</sup> (1959) 87 f.

3 Cp. W. Bacher, *ZDMG* 49 (1895) 46 f.

4 Published by J. Mann, *JQR* NS 11 (1920–21) 469 f.

5 Cp. below p. 16f.

6 Cp. p. 1, note 3.

7 Number of pages according to *Riq.*

p. 77, 298	—	31: 7	:	וייף
p. 172	—	35: 6	:	ירדפך
p. 77	—	Hos. 7:14	:	יילילך

Nos. 2, 3 and 5 are in accordance with Mishael's list, but No. 1 is included among the congruences of BA and BN, not their differences. No. 4 is not mentioned by Mishael, but according to a marginal note in Codex Ch.-K, pap. 1, R. Pinehas and Moshe Moḥa differed on that issue.<sup>8</sup> In *Kitāb al-Uṣūl* (ed. Neubauer 293) Ibn Janāh mentions BN's system of pointing the prefixes כ and ל with *hireq* with the following *jod* remaining unpronounced. He also quotes *hillufim* to Ps. 62:4 תרצחו (ib. 182) and Hos. 6:9 ירצחו (ib. 687) which are not mentioned by Mishael, but are quoted from אצול in a marginal note to B (p. מז, n.). According to Bodleian MS. Hebr. d. 33, fol. 7a, Pinehas the head of the Yeshiva and the Tiberians differed with the *Maḥsora rabba* in the punctuation of the *resh* in תרצחו.<sup>9</sup>

Abraham Ibn Ezra (first half of the 12th century) mentions the exact, painstaking work of the Tiberian Massoretes,<sup>10</sup> but he does not elaborate upon their differences. Only in the commentary to Lev. 19:12 does he remark that BN had the reading ביקרוחך (BA: ביקר'), and in *Sepher Ṣahot*<sup>11</sup> he quotes that in the word מישני (Dan. 12:2) the two Massoretes differed in the same way.

BA and BN are mentioned more frequently in the grammatical works of David Qimḥi (1160–1235) and in his commentary on the Bible. In the preface to *Sepher ha-Shorashim* and in his commentary on Ps. 62:4 he states, like Maimonides, ואנחנו סומכים על קריאת בן אשר.

In the subjoined table I collected all the reports on *hillufim* in his grammatical works *Mikhlol*, *Shorashim*, *Et Sopher* and in his commentary, and compared them with the data given by Mishael ben Uzziel.

		<i>Mikh.</i> <sup>12</sup>	<i>Shor. s.v.</i>	Commentary	Quoted Massoretes
יששכר	Gen. 30:18	72a	—	Jer. 37:13	BA
*ירעשת <sup>12a</sup>	Lev. 25:21	8a	—	—	BA, BN
*והצית	Nu. 31:27	5b	—	—	BA, BN
*ויתא	Deut. 33:21	86a	—	—	BA, BN

8 Cp. *Diq.* 84.

9 במחזורא רובא תרצחו רב פינחס ראש היש' וטבר' קר' תרצחו.

10 Commentary to Ex. 25:31.

11 Ed. Fürth (1864) 22a.

12 Number of pages according to ed. Lyck 1862. 12a The passages marked with asterisk are missing in Mishael's work.

	<i>Mikh. Shor. s.v.</i>			Commentary Quoted	
					Massorettes
*המרק	Jud.	6:19	—	—	<i>ad loc.</i> BA <sup>13</sup>
*הדרבן	1 Sam.	13:21	162b	דרבן	<i>ad loc.</i> BA, BN <sup>14</sup>
להרגך		24:11	32b	—	<i>ad loc.</i> BA, BN <sup>15</sup>
*בכתף פלשתים	Is.	11:14	149a	עוף	<i>ad loc.</i> BA <sup>16</sup>
ייליל	Is.	16: 7	93a	—	BA, BN <sup>17</sup>
יילילו	Hos.	7:14	93a	—	BA, BN
ויללת	Jer.	25:36	—	ילל	<i>ad loc.</i> BA, BN <sup>18</sup>
*אכתבנה		31:33	—	כתב	<i>ad loc.</i> BA, BN <sup>19</sup>
ותיפי	Ez.	16:13	124a	יפה	<i>ad loc.</i> BA, BN <sup>20</sup>
וקטרתי		16:18	—	קטר	<i>ad loc.</i> BA, BN <sup>21</sup>
כגעת		17:10	81a	—	BA, BN <sup>22</sup>
בסוגר		19: 9	125b	—	BN
וייף		31: 7	123b	יפה	<i>ad loc.</i> BA, BN <sup>23</sup>
*ירדפך		35: 6	17b	רדף	<i>ad loc.</i> BA, BN <sup>24</sup>
הארץ הלזו		36:35	—	לז	BA, BN
*מלא גת	Joel	4:13	79b	—	BN
*תדרך	Mic.	6:15	—	דרך	<i>ad loc.</i> BA, BN <sup>25</sup>
*ועשית	Zech.	6:11	5b	—	<i>ad loc.</i> BA, BN <sup>26</sup>
תדרש	Ps.	10:15	—	דרש	BA, BN
ביקרותיך		45:10	78b	יקר	BA, BN

- 13 In this note and in the following Qimhi's statements are quoted in full: ראיתי במחברת בן אשר שזוכר אותו בן הקמוצים
- 14 כולו קמץ לבן נפתלי, ולבן אשר הביית בפתח, והדלית לשניהם מעמדת בנעיה
- 15 לבא הריש מעמדת בנעיה (מכלול: הריש נקרא בקמץ רחב) והגמל בשוא ופתח ולבין הריש חטופה
- 16 והוא סמוך. וכתב בן אשר כי בא כן (בכתף) בעבור פא פלשתים לתקן הקריאה
- 17 ייליל ובכך יילילו לקריאת ב"א, לקריאת ב"ג היידי פ"א הפעל נחה ויידי איתן בצירי
- 18 בחירק הייז ונוח היידי לב"א, ולב"ג בשוא הייז וחירק היידי (?), ובמקצת הנוסחאות מצאתי ובהפך כמו שקוראים לב"ג ביקורתך
- 19 בקמץ חטף התייז לב"א, ולב"ג בשוא ופתח
- 20 בקריאת ב"א מלעל בשני פשטין, ובקריאת ב"ג מלרע בפשט אחד לבד (שרשים)
- 21 בקמץ חטף לקריאת ב"א כמשפט, ולקריאת ב"ג וקטרתי בפתח ובכל וקטרתי ושמני פליגי
- 22 כף וגימל פליגין עליה כמו הלא כגעת, אור נא כגבר. יש קוראים רפה והי קריאת ב"א ויש קוראים דגש והי קריאת ב"ג.
- 23 בחירק היידי הראשונה ונוח השניה בקריאת ב"ג, ובקריאת ב"א וייף בשוא הראשונה ובחירק השניה, ובמקצת ספרים מצאתי בחירק הראשונה ושוא השניה לב"א. וזו היא הקריאה הנכונה למשקל וישב
- 24 הדלית בחטף קמץ לב"א, ובשוא ופתח לב"ג
- 25 בחולם לקריאת ב"א ובחטף קמץ לקריאת ב"ג (Cp. *Diq.* 84).
- 26 לבן נפתלי מלרע השופר בתייז, לבן אשר מלעל השופר בסין, וכמוהו אנו קוראים



			<i>Mikh.</i>	<i>Shor. s.v.</i>	Commentary	Quoted Massorettes
*תרצחו	62: 4	—	רצח	<i>ad loc.</i>		BA, BN <sup>27</sup>
*יקבצנו	Prov. 28: 8	—	קבץ	—		BA, BN
*ארחתי	Job 13:27	—	ארך	—		BA, BN
*כגבר	38: 3	81a	—	—		BA, BN <sup>22</sup>
*עברות	40:11	—	עבר	—		BA, BN
ואתן נזם	Ez. 16:12	quoted in	' <i>Eṭ Sopher</i> , 31a			BA, BN <sup>28</sup>

This comparison shows that out of the thirty passages quoted by Qimḥi only fifteen are treated by Mishael. In these places both indicate the same differences. Only in Ez. 19:9 (בסוגר) does Qimḥi, in quoting the same *hilluf* as Ibn Janāh, disagree with Mishael.<sup>29</sup> It should be noted that of the fifteen instances not mentioned by Mishael some already appear as marginal notes in B and in MS. Harley 1528 of the British Museum.<sup>30</sup> It is most likely that no *hilluf* is indicated in Jud. 6:19 (המרק) where Qimḥi states במחברת בן אשר וראיתי, and in Is. 11:14 (בכתף פלשתים) where he quotes בן אשר וכתב.

Due to the efforts of the Tiberian Massorettes their system of punctuation had displaced all the others by the end of the 9th century. But by this no absolutely uniform text of the Bible was yet established. These Tiberian Massorettes among themselves continued to hold different views on many issues.<sup>31</sup> In this situation it became necessary to choose one of the numerous Massorettes who were teaching in Tiberias and to take his readings as authoritative.<sup>32</sup> About the beginning of the eleventh century the readings of many Massorettes, such as Moshe Moḥa, Pineḥas the head of the Yeshiva, Ḥabib ben Pipin and others were almost displaced. There were left mainly the systems of BA and BN. These two Massorettes agreed in many things, and the differences between them were only of minor significance. Both enjoyed great esteem and

27 בקמץ הרי"ש לבן אשר ... וב"נ תרצחו בפתח הרי"ש. ואנו סומכין על קריאת בן אשר.

28 Besides these passages he quotes in *Mikh.* (80) the following rule: במסורת כל כהוציאם, כשמעם ודומיהם סמוך לתלישה לבן אשר רפה ודגש לבן נפתלי *Mikh.* 140 and '*Et Sopher* 4b he quotes in the name of BA the rule mentioned in *Firk.* II 145 and *Man.* (372) on the pronunciation of שתי, שתיים (Cp. Kurt Levy, *Zur Masoretischen Grammatik*, 8 ff).

29 Cp. above p. 9.

30 אכתבנה (Jer. 31:33); ירדפך (Ez. 35:6); תדרך (Mic. 6:15).

31 Cp. Kurt Levy, *op. cit.* (note 28) 8 f, 15; Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza*<sup>2</sup> (1959) 75–78.

32 A similar development took place and was concluded about one hundred years earlier in the Arab world with regard to the text of the Koran; cp. Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Koran*<sup>2</sup> (1938) 247, 267; G. Weil, *Die Arabischen Grammatikschulen von Kufa u. Basra* (1949) 65–71.

held the same high reputation.<sup>33</sup> Although the readings of BN showed more system, in both vocalization and the rules of accentuation, BA in the end achieved greater recognition; perhaps because he was the last one in the chain of the leading Massoretes of the famous BA family. The final decision in favour of BA came only at the end of the 12th century.<sup>34</sup>

Since a great number of Bible MSS have been preserved from the succeeding centuries, we are in a position to trace the endeavour of displacement of the BN readings. This can be observed in the first place in Spain. We have reports that reliable and exact Bible MSS had been introduced into Spain from Jerusalem.<sup>35</sup> Then gradually follow the Italian and Ashkenazi (German) MSS and finally the Oriental codices. Thus British Museum Add. 14760, a MS of the Prophets written 1293 in Italy, has the reading *לְיִשְׂרָאֵל, בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל*, which is typical of BN.<sup>36</sup> British Mus. MS. Or. 1474, a Yemenite MS of the Prophets from the 16th or 17th century, in several places presents the readings of BN in the text and close to it in the margin the readings of BA.<sup>37</sup> Such phenomena probably misled Elijah Levita to assume that the oriental Jews (*אנשי מזרח*) follow the readings of BN.<sup>38</sup> But the displacement of the BN readings was not fully achieved either in the Bible published by Jacob ben Ḥayyim in 1524–25 or in the later editions of the Hebrew Bible.<sup>38a</sup>

At the end of the 16th century and in the beginning of the 17th century there lived two outstanding scholars, who devoted themselves to the study of the Massorah and to the purgation of the Bible text from the incorrect readings caused by the neglect of the copyists and by typographical errors. These two were Menahem di Lonzano and Jedidiah Solomon Norzi. Both undertook extended voyages in order to gain access to ancient famous Bible MSS from which they copied much valuable material not found in other sources. In the preface to his Massoretic work to the Pent. *Or Torah* (ed. Venice 1618, 3a) Menahem di Lonzano says: "I have made all these corrections on the basis of ten (Pent.) manuscripts..., some of which are more than five or six hundred years old, on the basis of several Massorah MSS, and of the *Massoret Seyag la-Torah* of R. Meir ben Todros ha-Levi (Abulafia), the *Qiryath Sepher* of ha-Meiri, *Et Sopher* of R. David Qimḥi... and various

33 Cp. above, p. 3.

34 Cp. above, p. 4.

35 Cp. Norzi, to Gen. 1:20.

36 Cp. *Introduction*, 578.

37 *E.g.*, fol. 89b has in the text: *בְּסוֹגֵר*, and in the margin the following note: *פִּילֵגוּ בִּיא קוּרָא מְלַרְע בְּסוֹגֵר וּבִּינ קוּרָא מְלַעַל בְּסוֹגֵר*

38 Cp. *Massoret ha-Massoret*, ed. Ginsburg, 113 f.

38a Not even in the Bible published in 1958 by N.H. Snaith.

others.” Lonzano regards the readings of BA as highly authoritative.<sup>39</sup> He also mentions that Maimonides relied exclusively on the Torah Scroll written by BA.<sup>40</sup> Lonzano mentions a few *hillufim* but these are not always in agreement with Mishael. He appreciates the readings of the Spanish MSS<sup>41</sup> but belittles the Ashkenazi (German) MSS<sup>42</sup> and is irritated by their excessive use of the *metheg*.<sup>43</sup>

Jedidiah Solomon Norzi finished his Massoretic commentary on the Bible *Minhath Shay* in the year 1626, eight years after Lonzano's *Or Torah* was published in Venice.<sup>44</sup> But *Minhath Shay* was printed only in 1742 in the Bible edition of Mantua. It was considered a standard work since Norzi's authority was accepted by everyone, Jews and non-Jews alike. Like Lonzano, also Norzi preferred Sephardi MSS of the Bible. He referred to the tradition that reliable Bible MSS had been introduced from Jerusalem into Spain.<sup>35</sup> Among the MSS consulted by him was that of Toledo from the year 1277 (now known as Codex de Rossi, No. 782). Norzi gives thorough consideration to the differences between BA and BN.<sup>45</sup> In *Minhath Shay* he quotes more than two hundred *hillufim*. He already knew of quite a number of lists and he makes a distinction between *hillufim* in manuscripts and in prints. In eighty five instances he quotes differences also given by Mishael. But since the proper yardstick to test these *hillufim*, a genuine BA manuscript, was not at his disposal, he was not always able to choose correctly among the numerous contradictory statements. Thus it is understandable that out of all *hillufim* mentioned by him only fifty agree completely with those registered by Mishael. It seems to him quite incredible that the printed editions should still present the readings of BN.<sup>46</sup> Therefore he always corrects the data of the lists when they are in contradiction to the unanimous readings of the printed books. Like Qimḥi he does not quote *hillufim* in the consonantal text. Where he finds one in the lists he declares it incorrect, referring to Elijah Levita, who also reports only on *hillufim* in the vocalization, accentuation and the placing of *dagesh*,<sup>47</sup>

39 *Ib.* 3b: ונהגו כל ישראל בגלילות האלה לסמוך על קריאת ב"א כאילו יצאה בת קול ואמרה בן אשר ובן נפתלי הלכל כב"א.

40 *Ib.* 14b: הוא לא סמך רק על ספר התורה מאד קדמון שהגיהו ב"א הנודע בשערים:

41 *Ib.* p. 3a: ס"ס היינו ספרי ספרד שהם המוגהים והנאמנים שראוי לסמוך עליהם:

42 *Ib.* p. 14b.

43 *Ib.* p. 4a: קצתי בחיי מפני רוב הגעיות... ששמו האשכנזים בספרים וקוראים אותם מתג, ואני קורא אותם מתג לחמור

44 For Norzi's relations with Lonzano cp. the Introduction to *Minhath Shay* ed. A. Jellinek (Wien, 1877) 13; De Rossi, *Variae Lectiones* 1, xi f.

45 Cp. *op. cit.* (n. 44), 14.

46 Cp. Norzi, to Gen. 2:6.

47 Cp. *op. cit.* (n. 38), 113.

To Gen. 19:17 he quotes the Massoretic note already mentioned by Qimḥi that כהוציאם. כשמעם and suchlike, following *telisha* are provided according to BA with *raphe*, and according to BN with *dagesh*.<sup>48</sup> This note contradicts rule eight in Mishael's introduction on the pronunciation of בגדכפ"ת following the word ויהי.<sup>49</sup> Thus he cannot understand why some MSS (BN) provide כשמעו (Gen. 39:15) with *dagesh* though it does not precede *telisha*. This is just one out of the seven cases which BN provides with *dagesh* against the rule of אורי"ה. In these seven instances ויהי is provided only three times with the accent *telisha*<sup>50</sup> while the rest have another *servus*.

There is no doubt that the work of Norzi must be regarded as a most valuable contribution to the exploration of the Massorah. But, as our investigation has shown, its importance has been over-rated by some modern scholars, such as Dérenbourg, Strack and Snaith.<sup>51</sup>

### III. STATEMENT OF CONTENTS

The substance of Mishael's work is the discussion of the *hillufim*. In addition to that he deals with the subdivision of the books of the Bible into *Sedarim* and gives the number of the verses with a corresponding catchword. On the whole the treatise employs literary language. However some vulgarity can be found.

48 Cp. above p. 12, note 28.

49 Cp. p. 7.

50 Gen. 19:17; Jud. 11:35; Esth. 5:2.

51 In modern times S. Baer and Chr.D. Ginsburg dealt with the problem of the *hillufim*. Ginsburg devoted to it a great section of his *Introduction* (241–286), and in his comprehensive work *The Massorah Compiled From Manuscripts* (3 vols., London 1880) he gathered much more material belonging to it. In vol. I ¶, pars. 589 ff. he published a list of the *hillufim*, which he compiled from several Bible MSS of the British Museum, and from the printed editions of Felix Pratensis (1517) and Jacob ben Ḥayyim (1525). Following this list he presents s.v. לישנא אחריונא the *hillufim* to the Pent. taken from *Manuel du Lecteur* (JA, Sér. 6, t. 16, 1870). In vol. III, 6–14 he printed the *hillufim* to the Pent. from *Muqaddima* of Samuel ha-Rophe and those to the Prophets and the Writings, from Josh. to Ps. 48:7, on the basis of MS. Harley 1528 of the Brit. Mus. Besides these he published (*ib.* 175 ff) an extensive list without giving any references. As I have already shown in *Ben Asher — Ben Naphtali* (p. 14) these lists represent an uncritical compilation of material which is of very little value.

In the same publication pp. 15–20 I also gave full particulars on the method by which the Massoretic compendium *Adath Deborim* was used by Baer to support the rules for the use of *metheg*, which he laid down in his *Methegsetzung*. Now that the lists of Mishael ben Uzziel are published, it is evident that the rules for the use of *metheg* laid down by Baer, and unfortunately taken over by many Hebrew Grammars, are entirely wrong.

### The *Hillufim*

The *hillufim* refer chiefly to the placing of the *ga'ya*,<sup>1</sup> and in some cases to the accentuation and vocalisation of the Bible text, and to the placing of *dagesh* and *raphe*. According to Mishael, BA and BN differed only in eight instances concerning the consonantal text.<sup>2</sup>

In the introduction to his work, Mishael enumerates eight general rules for the differences between the two Massorettes.<sup>3</sup>

Rule 1 refers to the reading of the proper name **יששכר** which occurs forty three times throughout the Bible. On this subject Mishael comments as follows: "Know, O Sir, may God strengthen you, that the master Abu Sa'id ben Asher, may God show mercy to him, used to punctuate the first **ש** of the word **יששכר** and to pronounce it as *sin*, and the second he left without any dot and did not pronounce it at all, viz. **יששכר**, and he treated them all in this way. BN would differ from him in this matter, since he provided both **ש** with dots. The first he pronounces as *shin* and the second as *sin*, thus **יששכר**. And he treated them all in this way. And Moshe Moḥa used to punctuate both, and pronounced them as two *sins*, thus **יששכר**. And that is their entire difference on this word."

As the following table shows, different and deviating reports on the readings of the two Massorettes have been preserved. Thus according to a responsum of R. Hai Gaon<sup>4</sup> (first half of the 11th century), BN read **יששכר** like R. Moshe Moḥa, as stated by Mishael.<sup>4a</sup>

1 Mishael uses only the term *ga'ya*. The name *metheg* never occurs. Cp. Ben David, *Tarbiz* 26 (1956–57) 384–409.

2 It concerns the following Biblical passages:

	BA	BN		BA	BN
Is. 54: 9	כימי	כימי	Job 6:21	הייתם לא	הייתם לו
Jer. 7:25	עד היום	ועד היום	Cant. 8: 6	שלהבתיה	שלהבתיה
" 11: 7	ועד היום	עד היום	Lam. 5:21	"	אדני
Ps. 48: 5	עלמות	עלמות	Dan. 9: 8	לשרינו	ולשרינו

3 Cp. p. 1 f.; Kahle, *M d W* 2, 62 ff.

4 The responsum found in the Geniza and published by J. Mann, *JQR* NS 11 (1920–21) 469 f., reads: יש : ואשר שאלתם מה טעם יכתב יששכר בשני שינין דעו כי שני פנים קוראין אותו. יש : ושקוראין יששכר אחד שין ואחד סמך. ויש שקוראין יששכר סמך בלבד. ואלה מנקדין אותו שני דר-כים. (יש שמ)נקדין את שניהם כתורת סמך כך יששכר (ואף) על פי שאין מוצאין בלשון אילא אחד וזה בן נפתלי וסיעתו. ויש (ש) שמנקדין על הראשון כתורת סמך (ק) וסימן הקמץ תחת הראשון (והשני) כאילו (אין) מנקדין אותו לא מלמ(עלה ולא) מלמטה וזהו מעשה בן אשר וסיעתו

4a The *Liqqute Qadmoniyoth* too, reports on a reading of Moshe Moḥa 98, 102; cp. A. Ben David, *Beth Mikra* 3 (1957–58), 14 f.



	BA	BN	Moshe Moḥa
Mishael ben Uzziel	ישְׁכַר	ישְׁכַר	ישְׁכַר
Hai Gaon <sup>5</sup>	ישְׁכַר	ישְׁכַר	
<i>Manuel du Lecteur</i>	»	»	
<i>Liq. Qadm.</i>	ישְׁכַר	ישְׁכַר	ישְׁכַר

Apart from these reports on the reading of ישְׁכַר, there is to be found in MS B of our treatise<sup>6</sup> a marginal note, according to which Ḥayuj (end of the 10th century) stated in his commentary *Kitāb al-Nutaf* to Josh. (not preserved) that BA read ישְׁכַר. In Cod. Petropol. of the year 916 and in MS. Arund. Orient. 2 (Brit. Mus.) of the year 1216 there is to be found the reading ישְׁכַר.

Rule 2 refers to the punctuation of the verb אכל<sup>7</sup>: “And in every form of אכל BA used to provide the *kaf* with *pathah*, when the *lam* had three dots (*segol*), e.g. לא תֹאכְלֶנָה (Deut. 12:24)<sup>7a</sup>. And in all similar instances he used to provide the *kaf* with *pathah*. But when the *lam* did not have three dots he did not provide it with *pathah*, e.g. לא תֹאכְלוּ כל נבלה (Deut. 14:21), לא יום אחד (Nu. 11:19). There is only one exception where he does not provide it with *pathah* although the *lam* has three dots, viz. רבו אֶכְלִיה (Eccl. 5:10)<sup>8</sup>. And in all these instances BN did not place the *pathah*.” Throughout the whole Bible there occur six forms of the verb אכל in this position, twenty four instances altogether.<sup>9</sup>

Rule 3 refers to the punctuation of the verb גרש<sup>10</sup>: “And in every form of גרש the master BA used to provide the *resh* with *pathah* when below the *shin* there were three dots, e.g. אֶגְרְשֶׁנוּ (Ex. 23:30) and others like it. And if the *shin* did not have three dots he did not provide the *resh* with *pathah*, e.g. ויִגְרְשוּ את יפתח (Jud. 11:2)... with the exception of one word, which he provided with *pathah* although there were no three dots, and this is the word ויִגְרְשֶׁהוּ<sup>11</sup> (Ps. 34:1). BN did not place the *pathah* in all these cases.” This form of the verb גרש occurs only in three places throughout the Bible.<sup>12</sup>

5 Hai Gaon does not mention Moshe Moḥa by name but apparently includes him among those who read ישְׁכַר ; cp. note 4.

6 Cp. p. 1, note 3.

7 Cp. *Diq.*, par. 51, p. 42; *Man.* 375, 417; Kurt Levy, *Zur Masoretischen Grammatik*, p. 27; Ben David, *Tarbiz* 26 (1956–57) 398 f.

7a According to T-S, K27, 36 BA provides the *kaf* with *pathah* when the *lam* has the accent (except רבו אכליה) cp. p. 28.

8 *Man.* adds נח הכף.

9 Gen. 3:17; Lev. 6:11, 19; 7:6; Nu. 18:10, 13; Deut. 12:15, 18, 22, 24, 25; 15:20, 22; 28:39; 2 Ki. 6:28, 29; Jer. 31:8; Ez. 4:9, 10, 10, 12; 7:15; Eccl. 6:2.

10 Cp. *Diq.* par 52; Gumpertz, *Mivta'e Sefatenu* 118 f.

11 Cp. against it Baer, *Diq.* 42, note b.

12 Ex. 23:29, 30; Nu. 22:6.

Rule 4 refers to the pronunciation of the *dagesh* in the word בְּתִים: “And concerning the word בְּתִים, whenever it has two accents BN inserts a *dagesh* (*viz. forte*) into it. I mean that he makes here an intensification more than is customary in other places,<sup>13</sup> e.g. עַל הַבְּתִים (Ex. 12:7), and the other instances of this word, which have two accents, he handles in the same way. As for BA he does not agree with him, except in two instances, *viz.* וּבְתִים (Deut. 6:11), וְאֵת בְּהִיר (1 Chr. 28:11). In all the others he does not apply this intensification,<sup>14</sup> since he, may God show mercy to him, mentions in his Massora: It occurs in scripture four times that the *dagesh* is intensified. And he mentions these two words, *viz.* וְאֵת בְּתִיר, וְאֵת בְּתִים, and the others are תִּלְעוּלָם (Josh. 8:28), תִּלְתִּיהוֹן (Dan. 3:23).”<sup>15</sup>

Rules 5 and 6 refer to the placing of *ga'ya* in certain words which are connected by a *maqeph*: “And to every שְׁעִיר־עֹזִים אֶחָד connected by *maqeph*, BN adds a *ga'ya* but BA does not provide it with *ga'ya*; and *vice versa*, to every הַשְּׂאִיר connected by *maqeph* BA adds a *ga'ya*, when the first syllable of the following word has the accent, e.g. הַשְּׂאִיר־לֶךְ (Deut. 3:3).”

Rule 7 refers to the difference in the vocalization of the prefixes ב and ל if there follows a *jod* vocalized with *hireq*: “And in every בִּישְׂרָאֵל לִישְׂרָאֵל *בישראל לישראל*<sup>16</sup> the master Abu Sa'id ben Asher vocalizes the *jod* in these words, and articulates it with the mouth. BN differs from him, for he does not vocalize the *jod* in this word and does not pronounce it, thus בִּישְׂרָאֵל.<sup>17</sup>

Rule 8 refers to the difference in inserting the *dagesh* in בְּגַד כִּפֹּת when the word וִיְהִי precedes and both words are connected by an accent: “And every וִיְהִי which precedes one of the six letters (*i.e.* בְּגַד כִּפֹּת), if it is connected with it, that means leans upon it by accent,<sup>17a</sup> the master Abu Sa'id ben Asher, may God show mercy to him, used to provide it with *raphe*, according to the rule for the אֲוִיָּה, so that he read וִיְהִי כְּשִׁמְעָה (Josh. 9:1), וִיְהִי כְּרָאוֹת (Esth. 5:2) and others like that, according to the explanation mentioned above.

13 He apparently reads this *dagesh* as *dagesh forte*, otherwise as *dagesh lene*.

14 There are three more instances where בְּתִים has two accents, Ex. 8:7; 12:7; 2 Chr. 34:11.

15 The same quotation also occurs in the Geniza fragment T-S Arabic 31, 8; cp. Frensdorff, *Massora Magna* 386, note 2; A. Ben David, *Beth Mikra* 3 (1957–58) 13.

16 *Ad. fol.* 43a has the following note: כָּל נִישְׂרָאֵל זֶה כָּל נִישְׂרָאֵל הֵיּהּ לְהֵם תְּנֵאֵי זֶה כָּל נִישְׂרָאֵל לִישְׂרָאֵל לֵא מְפִיק נִישְׂרָאֵל מְפִיק יוֹד וְכֻמוֹ כֵּן כָּל נִישְׂרָאֵל לִישְׂרָאֵל לֵא מְפִיק יוֹד וְכֻמוֹ כָּל נִישְׂרָאֵל לִישְׂרָאֵל לֵא מְפִיק יוֹד וְכֻמוֹ כָּל נִישְׂרָאֵל לִישְׂרָאֵל לֵא מְפִיק יוֹד.

This rule corresponds neither to BA nor to BN.

17 Cp. A. Ben David, *Tarbiz* 26 (1956–57) 404; C. Rabin, עֵבְרִית 9, 162 ff.; Gumpertz, *op. cit.* (note 10) 16 f, 78 ff.

17a Parallels to this rule are preserved in several Geniza fragments, e.g., in T-S, NS. 287, 4 and in T-S Arabic 31, 8.

And the master BN, may God show mercy to him, differs from him merely in seven words of this type and pointed them with *dagesh*, and thus acts against the rule of אוי"ה viz. ויהי כְּרֹאוֹת הַמֶּלֶךְ (Esth. 5:2); ויהי כְּרֹאוֹתוֹ אוֹתָהּ (Jud. 11:35); ויהי כְּשֹׁמֵעַ כָּל הַמְּלָכִים (Josh. 9:1)<sup>18</sup>; ויהי כְּשֹׁמֵעַ (Gen. 39:15); ויהי כְּאִשְׁרֵי חָמוֹ (Deut. 2:16); ויהי כְּהוֹצִיאֵם אוֹתָם (Gen. 19:17); ויהי כְּמִלְכוֹ (1 Ki. 15:29). In all except these seven instances he acts according to the rule of אוי"ה i.e. he provides it with *raphe*, e.g. ויהי כְּמִלְכֶם כְּשִׁבְחוֹ (1 Ki. 16:11), ויהי דֹד (1 Sam. 18:14) and many others like that."<sup>20</sup>

To these eight rules we can add another four which also apply to differences throughout the Bible. Mishael mentions them in various places of his compilation.

1. The rule on והי"ה (p. יג) "Every והי"ה which is provided with this accent, i.e. with *geresh*, is given the *ga'ya*. There is no disagreement on this point. And whichever is provided with the accent *telisha* remains without *ga'ya*, thus והי"ה. Also on that point there is no disagreement. And as for that which is provided with another accent i.e. with *azel we-athe*, BA reads

18 MS. Leningrad Firk. II. No. 2390 has ויהי כְּשֹׁמֵעַ אֲדוֹנָיו (Gen. 39:19), cp. note 20.

19 Saadiah in his work on *dagesh* and *raphe* (cp. ZDMG 49 [1895] 46) maintains that כְּשֹׁמֵעַ ויהי has always to be pointed with *dagesh*. On the *Massorah* to Gen. 19:17, quoted by Qimḥi and Norzi cp. above pp. 12, 15.

20 On this point I found an interesting parallel in the Leningrad MS. Firk. II, No. 2390, fol. 17a. It runs: וְיִהְיֶה אֵן בֶּן נִפְתָּלִי וְלַעֲל מִן תְּקִדְמָה קִד רֵאִי רֵאִיָּה פִידוּשׁ ז' כֹּאפֶאָת בַּעַד וְיִהְיֶה כְּשֹׁמֵעַ אֲד'. כְּשֹׁמֵעוּ. כְּרֹאוֹת. כְּרֹאוֹתוֹ. כְּהוֹצִיאֵם. כְּמִלְכוֹ. כְּאִשְׁרֵי. עֲנֵדָה אֵן כָּל וְיִהְיֶה פִי אֲלִמְקָרָא יְגִי בַעֲדָה אֲהַד הִדָּה אֲלוֹי' כֹּאפֶאָת אֲנָהָא תְּגִי כְּלֵהָא מְדוּשָׁה וְדִלִיד מַעְרוּף מִן מְצִאחְפָּה וְגִירָה יִרְפִּיָּהּ וּמָא עֲרַפְתָּ לֵאִי עֲלָהּ דְּגִשְׁהָ בֶּן נִפְתָּלִי לֵאָן מִן רַפֶּאָהָא מִשָּׂא עֲלֵי אֲלֵאצֵּל אֲלִמוּצִיעַ פִּי תֵאֲתִיר אוֹי"ה אֲלֵרְפִי לְחֲרוּף בְּגִדְכֶפֶת. פֶּאֲלִקָּר אֲדָן עֲלֵי אֲחַד אֲמֵרִין. אֲמָא אֵן יִקְרָא קִרָּאָה בֶּן נִפְתָּלִי פִילוּמָה אֵן יִקְרָא נְגִיעַ מָא יִקְרָאָה מִן מִסְתַּחֲסֵנָת וּמִסְתַּתְּקֵלָתָא. וְאֲמָא אֵן יִקְרָא קִרָּאָה בֶּן אֲשֵׁר וְדִלִק אִיצָא חֲכֵמָה. וְאֲמָא מִן קִרָּא מִסְתַּחֲסֵנָת הִדָּא וְהִדָּא פֶּאָנָה יִבְקָא בְּלֵא שְׂרֵט יִכְרֹג עֵן עֲלָהּ הִדָּא וְהִדָּא

"And know that BN, and perhaps someone who already preceded him and held his opinion, pointed with *dagesh* seven *kaf* following the word ויהי כְּשֹׁמֵעַ. כְּשֹׁמֵעוּ. ויהי כְּשֹׁמֵעַ. כְּרֹאוֹת, כְּרֹאוֹתוֹ, כְּהוֹצִיאֵם, כְּמִלְכוֹ, כְּאִשְׁרֵי. According to his opinion the facts are these: every ויהי in the Scripture, if one of these seven *kaf* follows, it will always be pointed with *dagesh*. And this is known from the codices. But others provide them with *raphe*. And I do not know the reason why BN pointed them with *dagesh*, since whoever provides them with *raphe* follows the rule that אוי"ה causes a *raphe* in the letters בְּגִדְכֶפֶת. And the reader should conform to one of these two opinions. If he follows the reading of BN, it obligates him to read all of them with *raphe* and *dagesh* as he, BN, does. If he, however, follows the reading of BA, then it is also correct. But whoever reads the letters pointed with *raphe* according to both, he remains without rule, since he deviates from the principle of the one and the other".

it with *ga'ya*, viz. וְהִיָּתָה צִיצִת (Is. 28:4) and others similar to it. And what concerns BN he differs from him in this point and does not read it with *ga'ya*.<sup>21</sup>

2. The rule on בן-נון (כד) “Know that BA provides every בן-נון with *raphe*. And BN inserts a *dagesh* into the *nun*”, בן-נון.<sup>22</sup>

3. The rule on הַמְרַגְלִים (*ib.*): “And every הַמְרַגְלִים BA provides the *mem* with *pathah*, but BN does not place *pathah*.”

4. The rule on וִידְעוּ (פ. לה): “According to BA every וִידְעוּ with the accent *geresh* gets the *ga'ya*; according to BN it remains without *ga'ya*.”

In the books אִמְרֹת (Job, Prov., Ps.) there is a considerable number of differences concerning the accents. Some additional rules for these books can be established.

1. If *silluq* is preceded by two *servi*, the word immediately preceding *silluq* is always accented *shofar* by BA and *merekha* by BN.<sup>23</sup> E.g.:

(א)	בְּמוֹתָוּן וְנֹתְשָׁבוּ;	שִׁפְטָהּ הִנָּה סֵלָה;	מְדַבֵּר צֶדֶק סֵלָה;	לְחַמִּים לִי מְרוֹם <sup>24</sup>
(ב)	וְנֹתְשָׁבוּ;	הִנָּה סֵלָה;	צֶדֶק סֵלָה;	לִי מְרוֹם

2. If there is only one *servus* before *silluq*, and that word is not accented on the first syllable, the accent with BA is normally *merekha*, with BN *shofar*. Words joined by *maqeph* are treated as one word. E.g.:

(א)	אַתָּה יָדַעְתָּ; וּבֵית אַבִּיךָ; וּבֵית חֲבֵר; וַיָּבֵא רִגְזֵךְ <sup>25</sup>
(ב)	אַתָּה יָדַעְתָּ; וּבֵית אַבִּיךָ; וּבֵית חֲבֵר; וַיָּבֵא רִגְזֵךְ

3. According to BA the particle כִּי is connected with the following word, accented with *merekha*, by means of *maqeph*, whereas BN accents it with *sinnorit*. Exceptions are Ps. 18:20; 22:9, E.g.:

(א)	כִּי־תָרַח; כִּי־אֵינְךָ; כִּי־בָא; כִּי־הָיָא; כִּי־חָסַר <sup>26</sup>
(ב)	כִּי חָרַח; כִּי אֵינְךָ; כִּי בָא; כִּי הָיָא; כִּי חָסַר

4. BA always joins אֲנִי to the following *dehi* by means of *maqeph*, while BN accents it with *shofar*.<sup>27</sup> E.g.:

(א)	אֲנִי־אָמַרְתִּי; אֲנִי־עֲבַדְךָ; אֲנִי־שָׁלוֹם; אֲנִי־חֲכָמָה
(ב)	אֲנִי אָמַרְתִּי; אֲנִי עֲבַדְךָ; אֲנִי שָׁלוֹם; אֲנִי חֲכָמָה

21 BN sought to prevent the close proximity of *ga'ya* to another accent; BA however tolerated such clashes; cp. Ben David, *op. cit.* (note 17), 389.

22 Cp. W. Bacher, ZDMG 49 (1895) 46–48; Ben David, *loc. cit.* 402.

23 Cp. *Diq.* 25; Ben David, *loc. cit.* 391.

24 Ps. 10:2; 50:6; 52:5; 56:3.

25 Ps. 40:10; 45:11; Prov. 21:9; Job 3:26.

26 Ps. 18:8; 20:12; 71:11; 102:14; Prov. 4:13; 28:22.

27 Cp. *Diq.* 17.

28 Ps. 41:5; 82:6; 116:16; 120:7; Prov. 8:12.

5. According to BA, the first *servus* before *pazer*, if the accent is on the second syllable, is normally *azla*; according to BN it is *merekha*. E.g.:

(א) וישמחו כל-חורסי בך; עד-אנה אשית עצות; לא-בנה ולא שקץ<sup>29</sup>  
 וישמחו עד-אנה לא-בנה

The introduction is followed by the enumeration of the *hillufim* and congruences in the twenty four Books of the Bible. In the Pentateuch the congruences follow the *hillufim* to each *parasha* whereas to the Prophets and Hagiographa they are recorded at the end of each book.

Gen. — The fragments A and B exhibit thirty nine *hillufim* (D, F and Ad. have forty). All the fragments register thirty one congruences.

Ex. — The MSS uniformly exhibit twenty *hillufim* and twenty eight congruences.

Lev. — Fifteen (*Muq.* sixteen) *hillufim* and thirteen congruences.

Num. — Twenty four (*Man.* twenty one) *hillufim* and sixteen congruences.

Deut. — Nineteen (*Man.* eighteen) *hillufim* and twenty four congruences.

To the five Books of the Pentateuch altogether there are recorded one hundred and seventeen *hillufim* and one hundred and twelve congruences.

Josh. — Twenty three *hillufim* and ten congruences.

Jud. — Nineteen *hillufim* and sixteen congruences.

Sam. — Forty nine *hillufim* and thirty six congruences.

Ki. — Fifty seven *hillufim* and thirty nine congruences.

Is. — The fragments B and C record thirty four (*Ad.* and H thirty five) *hillufim* and fourteen congruences.

Jer. — Fifty four (*Ad.* fifty one) *hillufim* and fifteen congruences.

Ez. — Forty five *hillufim* and eighteen congruences.

Min. Proph. — Thirty two *hillufim* and fourteen congruences.

For all the books of the Prophets there are recorded three hundred and eleven *hillufim* and one hundred and sixty two congruences.

Chr. — Fragment A records seventy six (C seventy three, *Ad.* seventy five) *hillufim* and twenty seven congruences.

Ps. — One hundred and seventy eight *hillufim* and forty four congruences.

Job — Fifty six *hillufim* and ten congruences.

Prov. — MSS A and B record forty four (C forty three) *hillufim* and six congruences.

Ruth — Three *hillufim* and five congruences.

Cant. — Two *hillufim* and seven congruences.

Eccl. — Thirteen *hillufim* and seven congruences.

29 Ps. 5:12; 13:3; 22:25.

- Lam. — Three *hillufim* and three congruences.  
 Esth. — Twelve *hillufim* and four congruences.  
 Dan. — Eighteen (C seventeen) *hillufim* and eleven congruences.  
 Ezra-Neh. — Twenty seven *hillufim* and ten (C nine) congruences.

For all the books of the Hagiographa there are recorded four hundred and thirty two *hillufim* and one hundred and thirty congruences.

Further to the instances already included in the eight general rules of the introduction, Mishael enumerates altogether eight hundred and sixty *hillufim* and four hundred and four congruences.

#### IV. DESCRIPTION OF THE MSS

Until recently altogether eight MSS were known which positively belong to the *Kitāb al-Khilaf* of Mishael ben Uzziel. Except for one fragment in the possession of the Library of the Alliance Israélite in Paris, all the others belong to the II. Firk. Collection of the Public Library in Leningrad. A. Harkavy discovered them there and reports on them in *Ḥadashim gam Yeshanim* I, 2 (1886) 10 f. Kahle discusses them thoroughly in his *M d W* (II, 62 ff.). I designate these seven fragments here by the letters A–G. The eighth fragment was discovered by Kurt Levy in the Library of the Alliance Israélite in Paris. I mark it P.

A (= Firk. II. Arab. Hebr. 147), a fragment consisting of fourteen leaves written on both sides, size 18 × 13 cm, square writing. Each folio has twenty four lines. Fols. 1–7 contain the complete introduction and the differences from Gen. 1 to Lev. 13; fols. 8–14: the differences in the Minor Prophets (beginning with Ob.), Chr. and Ps. chap. 1–56. The character of the difference between BA and BN is not defined in this fragment.

B (= Firk. II Arab. Hebr. 148), a fragment of twenty three leaves, size 21 × 15 cm. Each folio has seventeen lines in square writing. On fol. 1a there is the following owner-notation: פי נובה עבד אלפקיר אלי אללה תעלי יצחק הלוי המלמד בן שמואל הלוי החזן מתקפא. The treatise begins on folio 1b. Fols. 1–6 contain the introduction, and the differences from Gen. 1 to 36; fols. 7–11 those from Ex. 10 to Lev. 8; fol. 12: 2 Ki., beginning with 18:25; fol. 13: Is. 1–24:12; fols. 14–16: Minor Prophets beginning with Am.; fols. 17–21: Ps. 1–89; fols. 22–23: Job and Prov. 1–25:14. The Biblical passages are provided with vowel-points and accents. The MS shows a number of marginal notes from a later hand.

C (= Firk. II, 149), the most extensive fragment, consists of twenty eight leaves, 17 × 12 cm. in size, cursive writing. Each folio has eighteen lines. Fol. 1 contains differences in Deut. (beginning with chap. 32); fol. 2: 2 Sam. 13:

25 ff.; fol. 3: 2 Ki. 18:25 ff.; fols. 4–11: Is., Jer., Ez., Hos., Joel, Am.; fols. 12–19: Zach. 12: 10 ff., Mal., Chr., Ps. 1–72; fols. 20–28: Ps. 107–150, Hi., Prov., Five Megilloth, Dan., Ezra-Neh.; Fol. 28 concludes with the following note: תם אלכלף לארבעה ועשרין עלי אלשרה אלמקדם דכרה בעון אללה תע' ממה וללה אלחמד אעני בגמעה מישאל בן עויאל (.....). The Biblical passages are provided with vowel-points, accents and *raphe* marks. On the punctuation in this MS see below.

D (= Firk. II, 150), a fragment consisting of eight leaves, size 20 × 14 cm., in square writing. Each folio has twenty lines. The Biblical passages are provided with vowel-points, accents and *raphe* marks. Fols. 1–4 contain differences in Gen. chap. 6 ff.; fol. 5: Lev. 20:17 ff.; fols. 6–8: Deut.

E (= Firk. II, 151), a fragment consisting of thirteen leaves, 17 × 13 cm. in size, oriental cursive writing. Each folio has twenty two lines. In the margin the number of words and letters of each *parasha* of the Pent. are given. The Biblical passages are provided with accents, but only the letters in which differences occur are vocalized. Fol. 1 contains the conclusion of the introduction and the differences in the *parasha* בראשית; fols. 2–9: differences in the Pent. to the end of Nu.; fols. 10–13: Prov. (beginning with 14:35), the Five Megilloth, Dan. and Ezra-Neh. On fol. 13b there are two lists of accents with the titles: אסמא אלטעמים אלטבראניה אסמא אלטעמים אלשאמיה.

F (= Firk. II, 152), a fragment of seven leaves, 21 × 14.5 cm., in cursive writing. Each page has seventeen to eighteen lines. Fols. 1–3 contain differences in Gen. 1–46; fols. 4–6: Ex., Lev. and Nu. 1–7. On fol. 7 there begins an Arabic treatise on the accent *zarqa*.

G (= Firk. II, 153) consists only of one leaf written on both sides, size 16.8 × 12.5 cm., in cursive writing. It contains the differences in the *parashiyot* בא. בשלה in Ex.

P (= Alliance Isr. Paris, MS IX A3), consists of the two halves of what was originally one leaf; sizes 17 × 14 and 8 × 10; cursive writing. It contains the second part of Mishael's introduction.

### *The Orthography*

In the different MSS the diacritical dots are not applied uniformly. It is a peculiarity of E to put a dot in the final ך, e.g. דלך. In general *teshdid* is not marked at all. Only with *jod* is it often indicated by double writing.

C shows considerable deviations from the Massoretic punctuation. *Pathah* and *segol* are applied promiscuously. *Pathah* more often stands for Massoretic *segol* than *vice versa*. In the same way *hateph pathah* very often stands for *hateph segol*. In the beginning of the word the gutturals often have simple

*shewa* instead of *hateph pathah*, mostly in the column, which show the reading of BN.

I retained the rather inconsequent arabic orthography, but the diacritic dots are regularly indicated:

ה̣ corresponds to Arabic ث, ה̣ to ج, ז̣ to ז, ד̣ to ד, ו̣ to و, ח̣ to ח, and ה̣ to ע. In the Biblical passages I provided with vowel points only those letters in which the *hilluf* appears.

In order to obtain a text as uniform and characteristic as possible, I took for basis those fragments out of the eight which offered continuous portions. These turned out to be the MSS. A, C and E, which fortunately always complement one another, so that where the continuous text ends in one its continuation can be found in another. I also collated the variants of the other fragments in the apparatus.

#### APPENDIX

Besides the eight above listed MSS I found in the Taylor-Shechter Collection of the University Library in Cambridge the following fragments belonging to Mishael's *Kitāb al-Khilaf*:

1. T-S, D1, 60 – a fragment of two leaves, paper, written on both sides, size 10×9 cm. Each folio has twelve lines. It contains: 1a–1b part of the introduction = *Kitāb al-Khilaf* p. ג, line 19 אחד האכלון to p. ד, line 2 על הבתים; 2a–2b: *hillufim* in Prov. from 27:1 to the end of the book and the congruences to 23:7 = *Kitāb al-Khilaf* p. ב, 2. col., line 9 to the bottom of the page. The *hillufim* are indicated and the Biblical passages provided with accents but in most cases the vowel points are absent (cp. plate I and II).

2. T-S, D1, 49 – a fragment of two leaves, paper, written on both sides, size 17×12 cm. Each folio has twenty lines. It contains: 1a–1b: *hillufim* in Gen. to the beginning of פרשת וירא = *Kitāb al-Khilaf*, p. ה line 14 to p. ו, line 17 לכל המקום; 2a–2b: *hillufim* in Gen. from *parasha* מקץ and the introduction to Ex. = *Kitāb al-Khilaf*, p. ח, line 24 to p. י, line 4 פואטיק. The *hillufim* are indicated and the Biblical passages are provided with accents and vowel points.

The following three fragments are parts of the same MS.

3. T-S, D1, 86 – a fragment of two leaves, paper, much damaged, written on both sides, size 12×9 cm. Each folio has eighteen lines. It contains: 1a–1b: congruences in Ki., *sedarim* in Is. = *Kitāb al-Khilaf*, p. ל line 17 והתפלל to p. לא line 13 והפרה הלבנה; 2a–2b: *hillufim*, in the Minor Prophets, from Jon. to Zeph. = *Kitāb al-Khilaf*, p. לח, line 11 to p. לט, line 15. The *hillufim* are indicated and the Biblical passages are provided with accents and vowel points.



4. T-S, D1, 70 – a fragment of two leaves, paper, very much damaged, written on both sides. The size of the second leaf is  $12 \times 9$  cm., of the first leaf only a small part has been preserved. It contains: 1a–1b; congruences from 1 Chr. 2:3; the beginning of the *hillufim* in Ps. (1–3:8) = *Kitāb al-Khilaf* p. מג, line 20 to p. מד, line 11 כי הכיית; 2a–2b; *hillufim* and congruences in Job (from 34:6), *sedarim* and *hillufim* in Prov. (1–4:27) = *Kitāb al-Khilaf* p. נא 2. col. 1st line to p. נב, 1. col., line 2 חט ימין. The *hillufim* are indicated as in no. 3.

5. T-S, D1, 13 – a fragment of two leaves, paper, much damaged, size  $12 \times 9$  cm. It contains: 1a–1b: *hillufim* from Ps. 66:12 to 72:7; congruences from Ps. 42:4 to 71:18, and the beginning of טרב מגילה אך טרב = *Kitāb al-Khilaf*, p. מז 1. col., line 11 to line 26 ידע אל; 2a: *hillufim* from Ps. 108; 25 to 123; 2 = *Kitāb al-Khilaf*, p. מט, 1. col., line 16 to 2. col., line 9 הנה כעיני; 2b: blank. The *hillufim* are indicated as in no. 3 (cp. plate III).

6. D1. 58 – a fragment of four pages of continuous text, square script. Each page has fifteen lines. It contains: congruences in Ez. (from 36:13 רבהעלותי), the congruences in the Minor Prophets and the *hillufim* in Chr. (to 2 Chr. 15:8 רהנבואה). The Biblical passages are provided with accents and vowel points. This MS is of a much later date than the preceding ones. The division into *Sedarim* and the number of the *Pesukim* are absent.

7. T-S, D1, 117 – one leaf, vellum, much damaged, oriental square script, written on both sides in three columns. It contains the congruences in Gen. from 33:18 כי יפגשך; *sedarim* in Ex., *hillufim* in Ex., congruences in Ex. and part of the *sedarim* in Lev. It is a Hebr. translation of *Kitāb al-Khilaf* but different from *Ad.* and מחברת התיגאן. Also the arrangement deviates from all hitherto known lists of *hillufim* in the Pent. Thus at the beginning of Ex. it gives the *sedarim* of the whole book; then follow the *hillufim* and at the end the congruences.

8. T-S, N. S309,36 (identified by Prof. N. Wieder) – a fragment of two leaves, much damaged. It contains, 1a – 1b: *hillufim* in Josh.; 2a – 2b: *hillufim* in 2 Sam.

9. Also in the Bodleian Library there are two fragments that belong to Mishael's treatise (Cp. Neubauer, *Catalogue*, Vol. II 2850, 40; 2821, 14b). These fragments were published by H.P. Rüger in VT 13 (1963) 231 ff. The first fragment (MS. Hebr. d. 62 fol. 1/7) contains the differences beginning from ואתה תצוה to ואלה פקודי. The second fragment (MS. Hebr. f. 56. fol. 40–41) contains extracts of Mishael's book on the division of the Pent. in *parashiyot* and *sedarim* from Gen. 1:1 to Num. 17:16.

10. M. Goshen-Gottstein found in the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York a fragment of three leaves which also consist of parts of Mishael's treatise. I herewith wish to thank him for the permission to use

the photographs. The fragment J T S 566, 2-4 contains: 2b-3a: the *hillufim* in 2 Ki. = *Kitāb al-Khilaf*, p כט, 2. col., line 21 to p. ל, 2. col., line 11; 2b-4a: the *hillufim* from 2 Ki. 18:25 (the first four lines are difficult to decipher) to 19:28. Then follow the *hillufim* from Is. 38:4 to Jer. 9:3. Thirty *hillufim* recorded by Mishael between התרגוך אלי (2 Ki. 19:28) and התרגוך אלי (Is. 38:29) are omitted. Likewise are omitted six *hillufim* in Jer. (3:9-7:33). The Biblical passages in this fragment are provided with accents and vowel points. The *hillufim* are clearly indicated, but no congruences are recorded.

The fact that there are preserved fragments of seventeen different MSS of Mishael's treatise is evidence that it was once a well known and highly appreciated work.

11. In catalogues of booksellers which were found in the Geniza we meet with such items as מגלד כחאב אלכלף בין כ"א ובין כ"ב. It is quite possible that these books contained the work of Mishael (cp. *e.g.* JQR 12, 54).

#### V. PARALLEL TEXTS OF *Kitāb Al-Khilaf*

A Hebrew translation of Mishael's work had been incorporated into the Massoretic compendium *Adath Deborah* of Joseph ha-Qostandini (fol. 24-39).<sup>1</sup> The Leningrad MS. Firk. II. Arab. Hebr. 161 is the only known copy of this work.<sup>2</sup> Owing to the efforts of P. Kahle this copy, dated A.D. 1207, was sent over to Bonn. I was able to restore from it a few small lacunae which were missing in the fragments of Mishael's work. This chapter on the differences between BA and BN in *Ad.* is a rather defective, inaccurate Hebr. translation of Mishael's compilation. Thus all differences in the *parasha* בהעלתך (Nu. 8-12) are missing. Twenty Biblical passages which show differences in the readings of the two Massorettes in the Book of Job are also omitted.<sup>3</sup> Frequently the Biblical passages are not provided with vowel points so that the differences cannot be established.<sup>4</sup> The mnemonic catchwords for the numbers of the verses differ in many instances from those stated by Mishael.<sup>5</sup>

Besides the *Ad.* there are known three more sources of later date which are based on Mishael's work and contain parallels to parts of it. I registered also the variants of these sources in the apparatus.

- 1 It concludes on fol. 39 with the following words: These are the instances in which they differ and agree, according to the explanation established by Mishael ben Uzziel.
- 2 Cp. *Diq.* XXXII f.; A. Harkavy, *Ḥadashim gam Yeshanim* I, 2 (1886) 11 ff; P. Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza*<sup>2</sup> (1959) 115 f; *id.* VT 1 (1951) 161 ff.
- 3 Between כל-ארחתי 13:27 and כל-ארחתי 33:11.
- 4 For the way in which this chapter of *Ad.* was used by S. Baer cp. above p. 15, n.51.
- 5 For instance in *parasha* וישלח it has אדולמי instead of אביאסף; in אלימו, אמר instead of מעדי; in וקנוה, מנחם instead of כסלחים.

1. The *Muqaddima* of Samuel ha-Rophe (about 1350–1420), an Arabic introduction to the *parashiyoth* of the Pentateuch written in Hebr. letters.<sup>6</sup> A copy of it from the seventeenth century is preserved in the British Museum (MS. Or. 2482–84) where I had the opportunity to study it. The *Muq.* gives at the end of each *parasha* the number of *sedarim* and verses and quotes the Biblical passages in which the two Massorettes differ, but not the instances where they agree. The Biblical passages are pointed and the differences precisely explained. The *Muq.* distinguishes two kinds of *ga'ya*. The one it calls געיה and the other מקף.<sup>7</sup> The differences quoted in the *Muq.* agree in most cases with those stated by Mishael. Samuel ha-Rophe, who was the head of the Karaite Community in Cairo, apparently used a copy of Mishael's book as *Vorlage* to this part of the *Muq.*, and, as at that time the famous BA codex still was in the possession of the Karaites in Cairo,<sup>8</sup> it is quite possible that he also consulted this codex. The differences quoted in the *Muq.* were published by Ginsburg in his *Massorah*, vol. 3, 6–14.

2. The *Manuel du Lecteur*, a Massoretic compendium published by G. Dérenbourg<sup>9</sup> from a Yemenite Pentateuch MS of the year 1391. *Man.* was known in Yemen under the name מהכרת התיגאן. It was prefaced to several Pent. MSS as an introduction, and it was also available as a separate book.<sup>10</sup> In this compendium are included (pp. 417–433) Mishael's introduction — in extracts and with deviations — the differences and congruences, of both Massorettes on the Pent., the subdivision into *sedarim*, and the number of verses of each *parasha* with the mnemonic catchword. *Man.* shows considerably more variants of Mishael's work than *Ad.* and *Muq.*

3. The list of differences in the Massoretic treatise preceding the Bible MS. Harley 1528 of the British Museum (= H).<sup>11</sup> The MS. originates probably from the 14th century. The list (fol. 9a–10a) contains the differences beginning from Josh. to Ps. 48:7 and quotes essentially the same Biblical passages as Mishael, enlarged by several passages already quoted by Qimḥi.<sup>12</sup> This list was also published by Ginsburg (*Massorah* 3, 15 ff). It shows many more deviations from Mishael's statements than the other parallels. It contains also a list of differences on the Pent. (fol. 1b–4b). But this list is entirely different from Mishael's. It quotes two hundred and fifteen differences against one hundred and seventeen in our treatise.

6 Cp. Margoliouth, *Catalogue* 394–396; *Introduction*, 269 ff.

7 As a rule in contrast to מכטופה.

8 Cp. MdW 1, 11 f.; Ben Zvi, *Textus* 1 (1960) 8.

9 JA sér. VI, t. 16 (1870) 309–433.

10 Cp. J. Sapir, אבן ספיר I (1866) 12.

11 Cp. Margoliouth, *Catalogue*, No. 57; *Introduction* 477.

12 Cp. above p. 12.

## APPENDIX

In the T-S collection of the University Library in Cambridge I found the following fragments of *hillufim* lists that do not belong to Mishael's *Kitāb al-Khilaf*.

1. T-S D1, 102 – one leaf written on both sides, vellum, square script. It contains: 1a: *hillufim* in Gen. (to *parasha* וישב); 1b: *hillufim* in Lev. Almost all the congruences in Mishael's treatise are here among the *hillufim*.

2. T-S D1, 69 – fragment of four leaves, damaged. It has many more *hillufim* and congruences than Mishael's treatise. It contains: *hillufim* in Job, Prov. and Five Megilloth. Unlike Mishael's lists, the *hillufim* and congruences are not given separately but promiscuously.

3. T-S, D1, 16 – one leaf written on both sides, square script. It contains *hillufim* and congruences from Nu. 22:5 to Deut. 7:26. *Hillufim* and congruences — more than in Mishael's lists — are given promiscuously.

4. T-S, K27, 36 – there are four leaves, but only one (3a–3b) contains *hillufim*. The headline of 3a reads: בן אשר. אלאול. בן נפתלי קאלחאני. Then follow *hillufim* and congruences in Gen. (to 18:15) promiscuously. The rule on אכל in Mishael's introduction is quoted here in connection with the *hilluf* in בעצבון תאכלנו (Gen. 3:17). It reads: תאכלנו מפתוח בפתח וכדלך נטראה: אדא כאן אללחן עלי אללמד גיר וא' והי בר' הט' רבו אכליה ובן נפתלי מא יפתח מנהא שי (Cp. the different wording in *Kitāb al-Khilaf*, p. ג).

5. T-S, N.S. 162, 5 (identified by S. Morag) – one leaf written on both sides, square script. It contains *hillufim* and congruences (promiscuously) from Job 17:13 to 24:14. It records fourteen *hillufim* against eight with Mishael, and six congruences, whereas Mishael has only one.

## SIGLA OF MSS

A	Firk. II, Arab.–Hebr.	147
B	dto.	148
C	dto.	149
D	dto.	150
E	dto.	151
F	dto.	152
G	dto.	153
H	Brit. Mus. MS. Harley 1528.	
P	Alliance Israélite, Paris IX A 3.	
Ad.	<i>Adath Deborim</i> , Firk. II, Arab.–Hebr. 161.	
Ch.-K.	Chufut Kale MSS.	
Muq.	<i>Muqaddima</i> of Samuel ha-Rophe, Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 2482–84.	

## ABBREVIATIONS

BA (א)	Ben Asher.
BN (ב)	Ben Naphtali.
Diq.	<i>Diqduqē ha-Te'amim</i> , ed. S. Baer–H.L. Strack (1879).
Liq. Qadm.	S. Pinsker, <i>Liqqute Qadmoniyoth</i> (Wien 1860).
Man.	<i>Manuel du Lecteur</i> , ed. J. Dérenbourg, JA, Ser. VI, t. 16 (1870).
Mikh.	David Qimḥi, <i>Mikhlol</i> (Lyck 1862).
Norzi	Jedidiah Solomon Norzi, <i>Minḥath Shay</i> (Wien 1813).
Riq.	Ibn Janāh, <i>Sepher ha-Riqmah</i> , ed. Wilensky (1928).
Shor.	David Qimḥi, <i>Sepher ha-Shorashim</i> (Berlin 1847).
Us.	Ibn Janāh, <i>Kitāb al-Uṣūl</i> , ed. Neubauer (1875).
Ben Asher– Ben Naphtali	L. Lipschütz, <i>Ben Ašer–Ben Naphtali, Der Bibeltext der tiberischen Masoreten</i> (Mukačevo 1935).
Massorah	Chr. D. Ginsburg, <i>The Massorah</i> etc. (1880–1905).
Introduction	Chr. D. Ginsburg, <i>Introduction to the Massoretico–Critical Edition of the Bible</i> (London 1897).
Margoliouth, Catalogue	G. Margoliouth, <i>Catalogue of the Hebrew and Samaritan MSS in the Brit. Mus.</i> (London 1899).
M d W	P. Kahle, <i>Masoreten des Westens</i> , I–II (Stuttgart 1927–1930).
Neubauer, Catalogue	A. Neubauer and A.E. Cowley, <i>Catalogue of the Hebr. MSS in the Bodleian Library</i> (Oxford 1906).
R T B T	M.H. Goshen–Gottstein, “The Rise of the Tiberian Bible Text” <i>Studies and Texts of the Philip Lown Institute</i> (1963).

