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*The Samaritan Hebrew Sources of The Arabic Book of Joshua*

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(PLATE VI)

In 1848 Juynboll published the Arabic text with a Latin translation and elaborate introduction of a Samaritan work, which he called the Samaritan Chronicle. He printed it from a MS. in the Leyden library deposited there by Scaliger; this MS. belonged to the fourteenth century. It was written by two hands, the second part being of a somewhat later date. Juynboll was quite justified in calling it a chronicle, although the largest part of the MS. consists of the book of Joshua. It is a paraphrase of the book of Joshua of the Jewish Bible, containing chiefly the first chapters to which various legendary stories had been added. It starts with the appointment of Joshua as successor to Moses, in the latter's lifetime, then the history of Baleam, slightly differing from the record in the Bible, then also two different recensions of the death of Moses are given, after which, with a special heading, the book of Joshua begins. At the end of it the history is continued; it is very fragmentary. Within a very brief space of the Exile, under Bokht Nasar- the Arabic form for Nebuchadnezzar- is told, and then it is continued in the same brief form down to the time of Baba Rabba- second or third century- the great hero of Samaritan history. The Samaritans considered him as the one who had been able to throw off the yoke of the foreign rulers and to obtain for them a certain amount of political liberty.

Judging the book by this chapter, Juynboll rightly calls it a chronicle and this description agrees with that given by the Samaritans themselves to their history. To the Samaritans the Pentateuch stands by itself. It is their only Holy Book. With the death of Moses begins, as it were, the secular history. Whatever happens hereafter and has been confined to writing is no more treated as sacred scripture. Their own history begins thus with the entry of Joshua into Canaan, and is continued by their chronicles by adding the record of contemporary events to those recorded before. It is quite in the style of all the oriental and medieval chronicles. The old remains intact. Every subsequent chronicle is thus more or less a continuation, sometimes more elaborate, sometimes more limited, but the old material remains unchanged, and, therefore, this Arabic book of Joshua could also be called a chronicle.

Juynboll, who has written a very important introduction examining the book from every point of view, especially the philological, has never as much as touched upon the sources of this compilation. It may not have struck him that the book may have been a translation

from an older Samaritan one. At his time very little was known of the Samaritan literature; with the exception of a few MSS. in Leyden and in London no sources were then available, and, therefore, the question was not even raised. Matters have changed very considerably since. I have been able to obtain a very large number of MSS.- most of them now in my collection in the British Museum- and also much information from the Samaritans which was unavailable then. The problem, therefore, can now be raised with the hope of reaching some satisfactory solution; it would also throw light on the Samaritan Hebrew book of Joshua, but of this I will refrain for the time being, and keep strictly to the question of the sources of the Arabic story.

Juynboll did not know that there exists also another more complete text of the same Arabic book. In this the story begins much earlier, with the going of the twelve spies to Canaan. On the other hand, it is not carried so far down as in the MS. Juynboll has used. After the tale of Alexander the final chapter contains only the tale of Amram and his daughter, second or first century B.C.E. In itself a proof of a higher antiquity than the Juynboll text found also in the British Museum MS. No. Add. 19956.

It so happened that the Samaritans had in their possession a MS. different to that in the British Museum. It is of the same age as the Leyden MS. (fourteenth century), and it is also written by two hands. When I was engaged in the publication of the Samaritan Hebrew book of Joshua I learned from them that they possessed such a MS. I wrote for it, but before my letter reached the Samaritans somebody else had stepped in and purchased it. This MS. then disappeared, and I was unable to trace it until quite recently, when, through the kindness of Professor Marx, of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, I learnt that in some way or other it had got into the Adler collection which had been acquired by that institution. At my request the chapters missing in Juynboll were most courteously sent to me in Photostat, for which I wish to thank Professor Marx. This, as well as the MS. in the British Museum, is written in Arabic, whilst the Leyden MS. is written in Samaritan characters. I also obtained from the Samaritans three copies, two in Arabic and one in Samaritan characters all of recent date.

The true character of this compilation, however, is that it was not originally meant to be a chronicle. It was a kind of special history of their great hero, Joshua. They acclaimed him not only as the great conqueror of Palestine, but also as the man who, together with the high priest Eleazer (son of Aaron), established the sanctuary on Mount Garizim, and thus preserved, as they maintain, the old law which, according to Samaritan tradition, commanded the Temple to be built on Mount Garizim. Joshua, moreover, represented the tribe of Ephraim. The Samaritans claim to be the descendants of the tribes of Ephraim and Menasseh; Joshua thus becomes a national hero of the northern tribes of the Israelites. No wonder, therefore, that they endeavoured to write, as it were, a kind of epic poem of the life and achievements of Joshua. To this purpose every incident in the Pentateuch is eagerly seized upon and greatly embellished, and all these woven together into one single romance. This explains why, in the same complete MS., the history begins with the exploits of Joshua when sent with the other ten men to find out everything about the land of Canaan. It was a dangerous adventure and it is, therefore, one of the motifs of the first chapter. This contains a detailed account of these adventures, of the places which

they reached, of the kings with whom they came in contact, of the manner in which they escaped, and many other incidents which happened to them on that errand. Then follows the story of Joshua's military expedition against Bileam, and the role which he played, then the tale of his campaign against the Midianites, then his election and the role which he played after the death of Moses, and this leads up naturally to the history of the conquest of Canaan.

In the first place, the question must be answered: Is this an absolutely independent work? Secondly, were the sources used by the author Arabic or Samaritan? In point of fact, this second question is practically answered, for in the prologue to the Arabic chronicle, published by Juynboll, the author says distinctly that this is translated from the *Hebrew* language. There can be no doubt that this work is not original. Therefore he himself owns, not only that the book is not original- which, of course, it cannot be since it follows in the main the Biblical record- but that he has translated it into Arabic from Hebrew sources.

But there is another somewhat weighty piece of evidence to be adduced which shows that the Samaritans themselves knew that the Arabic was merely a translation of an older Hebrew Samaritan text. It is found in a MS. which I have obtained from the Samaritans, after the death of Ab Sakhua, whose name has been mentioned frequently as the "author" of the Samaritan Hebrew book of Joshua. The mystery can be fully explained. I was able to acquire, through the intermediary of the Priest Abisha, the largest part of Ab Sakhua's library; practically all the MSS., there was really a copy of that Hebrew Samaritan book, for if he had anything to do with it, if he were the real author, surely he would have kept a copy. This is the general practice among the Samaritans, and he made no exceptions. To my surprise no such copy was found, but something else which bears on the question before us and explains the misunderstanding which had arisen at the time. Among these MSS. there was his autographed copy of the Samaritan translation of the Arabic book of Joshua, made by him in 1908. When, therefore, questions were asked among the Samaritans as to whether a book of Joshua had been translated from the Arabic, or whether they had an independent book of Joshua, they took them to refer to the present work and they therefore told the truth when they asserted that Ab Sakhua had made such a translation! The confusion which has arisen is now fully explained. When Professor Kahle showed my edition of the Samaritan-Hebrew Joshua (ZDMG. 1908) to the High Priest, Jacob, he correctly replied that this was not the book which had been translated from the Arabic into Hebrew. In a way I was quite innocently responsible for the confusion. For when doubts were first cast on the original character of the Samaritan Hebrew book I asked the Samaritans to furnish me not only with a copy of the Arabic- of which I had one- but also with an exact translation of the text into Samaritan. I received three copies from three different writers, who alleged themselves to be the authors. Reference will be made to this later on.

In the autographed MS. of Ab Sakhua, then, after giving a short introduction, he writes as follows: "This book has been compiled in olden times from the writings of our forefathers. We do not know who has done it, and a certain Ab'del ben Shalma surnamed Zakki (i.e. the Meritorious One) translated it into Arabic." The bestowal of such a title is

very significant. It will be seen that he was a man of exceptional qualities, for this epithet is conferred by the Samaritans only on the forefathers, the patriarchs, or on the most worthy among the predecessors. Here we have a clear statement concerning the translation of the Arabic from the Hebrew. It is a definite statement from the man who has been the most learned among the Samaritans in modern times, one who had no reason to invent this fact that the book was an ancient compilation, originally written in the Hebrew language and then afterwards translated into the Arabic.

The reference is always to Hebrew, not to Samaritan, and this is a point of no small importance; the translator, or he who made the Arabic paraphrase- for it is a paraphrase in many parts- had not used any text written in the real *Samaritan* or Arabic language. He distinctly says that he has used Hebrew sources, that the stories which he translated into Arabic were written in the *Hebrew* language. This is a clear indication as to what kind of material Ab'del ben Shalma utilized for his work. It will be seen that all the texts which have gone to make up this Arabic book of Joshua were exclusively written in Hebrew. Of course the Hebrew is that which was current among the Samaritans. It has characteristic features of its own, as will be seen later on. In these texts were introduced also Biblical phrases. In that respect they have been extremely careful in preserving the original form of the language, whether it was Samaritan, Hebrew, or as in the quotations Biblical Hebrew. In every case one can recognize at once the source of the Arabic version. Ab Sakhua then writes in the Colophon that he has re-translated it into Hebrew- he uses the word "Tirgamtî". This is not to be taken literally. It is necessary to stress this point, for it will throw light upon the system of working, even of the most learned among them, who claim to have "translated" a work from the Arabic into Samaritan. In reality, however, he has done something different. He has simply utilized all the original Hebrew material which he recognized to be the direct sources of the Arabic version, and this he has embodied literally into his work, though he describes it as the translation, without any serious alteration. The difference between the old text and his copy is that he has modernized the words from time to time. It is no less important to notice that of the copies which came from three different men, who claim to be each one an independent author of the translation, two are nothing else but literal copies of this text found in Ab Sakhua's handwriting. Whilst in a third one the same text is used, but slightly altered. They are dated 1908 and early 1909. They were quite oblivious of the fact that I would be able to compare the one with the other and find out that far from being independent translations they were merely more or less copies of the same original. Thus they have facilitated my investigations into the original sources of the Samaritan text.

With the publication of the *Asatir* a new light has fallen upon the history of the Arabic book of Joshua. If my assumption is correct- and no one has been able yet even to suggest the contrary, still less to prove it- then this work belongs to the second or third century B.C.E. This is, therefore, at least about 1,500 years older than the Arabic translation, and here we find our greatest surprise. It is one of the sources of the book of Joshua. As the *Asatir* finishes with the death of Moses only some of the incidents previous to the real book of Joshua can be found in it. But they are there, and they are now found in their entirety in the Arabic book of Joshua, and curiously enough, they are those chapters in the *Asatir* which are more Hebrew than Samaritan. I am referring now, in the first place,

to the story of Bileam. If we compare the text as found in the Asatir with the version in the Arabic book of Joshua, and still more with the above-mentioned retranslation of it by Ab Sakhua, we will find that they agree even to such an extent that some of the passages which were obscure in the old text are also obscure here, although an attempt has been made to clear them up. It is quite sufficient for our purpose to accept his translation for the basis of this investigation, since he had access to these sources, and as mentioned before, he was the foremost scholar among them. The description of the sending of the messengers by the king of Moab, the behaviour of the Bileam; the acceptance of the invitation; the way in which he was not allowed to curse but to bless; then his flight; his advice to the king of Moab about the daughters of Moab; his encounter with Joshua; the words which he spoke and the manner in which he (Bileam) was killed- in all these the Arabic text and the Asatir agree absolutely, always bearing in mind that the Arabic is a paraphrase.

There can, therefore, be no doubt that the author of the Arabic book of Joshua had before him a compilation in which the story of Bileam was embodied, precisely in the same manner as it is found in the old book of the Asatir or, possibly in some text like it, for the agreement is too close to admit of any other solution than that he utilized this book directly for his purpose. There can be no question of any independent source, nor any doubt as to the immediate source; the texts agree in most points so completely that it would be impossible to imagine the Arabic writer to have had any other source than the Asatir from which to draw this story. It is unnecessary here to translate the text, since it is found in my edition of the Asatir and in the Latin version of Juynboll, as well as in the English translation of Crane.

If we proceed further to the next chapter about the death of Moses we find exactly the same to be the case. All the details found in the Asatir are faithfully repeated in the Arabic book of Joshua. I have referred to this dependence of the Arabic book of Joshua in my edition of the Asatir, page 179. See also pp. 303 ff., where I have been able to show also the transmission of the story through the ages from the third century down to the period of the Arabic translation through those fragments which have been preserved in the Samaritan literature. The story of the death of Moses is found already in Markah's work (second or third century C.E.) and then, later on, in other compilations, until it became part of one of the old Chronicles. This story has been carefully printed by me, from the latter, in the Asatir, pp. 303 ff. This section, which forms an integral part of a complete history of Joshua, thus has its source in the Asatir, with which it closely agrees. It has been utilized for the larger work intended to cover all the incidents in the life of Joshua.

The most important part, however, is the new introductory chapter, the story of Joshua's exploits in the land of Canaan, of which, hitherto, no old Samaritan text has been available. By dint of further investigation and research I have been able at last to obtain from the Samaritans in the first place four leaves and judging from a palaeographic point of view it may belong to the thirteenth or, latest, the beginning of the fourteenth century, if it be not older. The paper is already yellow with age, the margins greatly frayed, the writing in many places somewhat obliterated, especially on the first

and last pages, where, through being rubbed, in one or two places there are little holes in the paper. As to the high antiquity of this document there cannot be the slightest doubt, nor can its importance for the history of the Arabic book of Joshua, and for that of the old Hebrew book of Joshua, be over-estimated.

Before attempting to fix the date of the Hebrew original it is necessary to establish the fact that it is of a purely Samaritan origin. Leaving the evidence of the language aside for a while it is sufficient to point to vv. 138-43 where we find the reference to Mount Garizim as the Holy Mountain fully set out. We find here already the stereotyped form in which this dogma of the Samaritan faith was here enunciated. It is not only the Holy Mountain, it is the house of God, it is the seat of the angels, the gate of heaven, exactly as we find Mount Garizim described in every prayer, in every hymn, and in every composition of a religious character of the Samaritans. It is the cardinal point of the Samaritan faith, the fundamental difference between them and the Jews. There can, therefore, be no question that this composition is of Samaritan origin. Then the fact that Joshua is here described as the leader of the expedition into Canaan. It tallies with the Samaritan conception of Joshua. He is the national hero who as mentioned before established the sanctuary on that very mountain. In the Bible Joshua is only one of the twelve, it is only afterwards that he and Caleb stand out from the rest. They give a good report whilst the others disturb the peace of the people by an evil report.

Then the evidence from the language. One must bear in mind that Hebrew has never been the national language of the Samaritans except at a very ancient period before Aramaic became their language. Scarcely any ancient document has come down to us written in that special language so characteristic of that Hebrew used by the Samaritans. Even the *Ensirā*, the confession of faith of the Samaritans. Even the *Ensirā*, the confession of faith of the Samaritans, containing, as it was, the summary of the faith in its most important details, is only partly Hebrew. It is the language found in the Samaritan Bible in all those passages in which it differs from the Hebrew recensions. They are due to Samaritan interpolations.

Then we have portions in the *Asatir* and the additional portions in the book of Joshua. This old document agrees in the main as in the syntax it differs from the Biblical Hebrew, but in some details it seems to approximate to the language of the Palmyrene and Nabatean inscriptions. With the exception of the particle *kad* which occurs only once there is not a single Aramaic word in the whole text. It is not yet time to attempt a philological investigation of these remnants of the ancient Hebrew Samaritan language. But there is a certain uniformity in all of them. Closely connected, therefore, with this question is the date of that Hebrew composition. It owes its origin to the same tendency of completing the narrative of the Bible by stories and legends which seem to find some slight support in the words of the Bible, or are due to the invention of the author. The question which arose in the mind of the readers of the Bible was: how could the spies go through the land of Canaan unharmed and return safely? The author of the story, therefore, represents them as people feigning flight from the Israelites, seeking refuge somewhere in a safe place. At the same time they were preparing the way for the conquest by frightening the inhabitants and telling them wonderful tales of the power

and might of the Israelites. The author finds his justification for his romance by the manner in which the story of the two spies going to Jericho is told in Joshua. In Chap. ii, v. 2, we read first, "And it was told the king of Jericho, saying, Behold, there came men in hither to-night of the children of Israel to seek out the land." Compare here v. 9, then vv. 9-11, when they go to Hebron, what Rahab said: "And she said unto the men, I know that the Lord has given you the land, and that your terror is fallen upon us, and that all the inhabitants of the land melt away before you. For we have heard how the Lord dried up the water of the Red Sea before you, when ye came out of Egypt. And as soon as we had heard it our hearts did melt, neither did there remain any more spirit in any man, because of you: for the Lord your God, he is God in heaven above, and earth beneath."

The situation is practically the same and the very words used by Rahab are the words here put in the mouth of Joshua in speaking to the various kings. Now Rahab says, "we have heard of it". Where did they hear it from? In this Samaritan text we find then that Joshua had really spoken to the kings in that way when he visited them in Canaan. Compare vv. 16, 27, and passim. Intimate connection between these two accounts is beyond doubt, since there are other references to the book of Joshua in this first chapter and especially to the story of Joshua. In v. 82, in descending the trumpets, Joshua says that when they are blown they cause the walls of the town to fall, just as it is told in the book of Joshua. A clear reference to the Biblical book of Joshua. And in another place, v. 81, Joshua is described as the man for whose sake the sun stood still when fighting the Amalakites. The war referred to here is the one in Ex., chap. xvii, vv. 8 ff. But there is no trace of sun standing still, on the contrary, the sun is going its regular course, it was actually "going down", *ibid.*, v. 12. The Samaritan author has used these details and a large number from the Bible itself, notably Ex. xv, for embellishing the story of Joshua and his companions in Canaan and in describing the power of the Israelites and the miracles wrought for their sake. It is from the Book of Joshua that the author had learned of the large number of Kings inhabiting Canaan. No less than thirty-one are mentioned in Joshua, ch. Xii, v. 24. The text is rather free from anachronisms, Joshua is visiting King Og, whilst in the Biblical book of Joshua Rahab mentions him as one who had been killed. The route which the spies are taking coming to Damascus by the route of Edom and then long afterwards going to Hamatah is on a par with the other geographical details found in the story. This entitles us to regard this composition as being of very high antiquity. The internal evidence, the philological as well as the legendary. All point to a time when the people indulged in the composition of such legends and when Hebrew was still used by the Samaritans, being understood, at any rate, by most of the people.

It is not of course easy to fix a definite date, but one would not go far wrong in suggesting the Hellenistic period as the time for this composition. It was just that period in which this kind of literature flourished, and few remnants found in the Greek language are all more or less couched in the same terms. Nor is Josephus free from such legends skillfully interwoven in his narrative. We have the best parallel in the story of Moses and there are many other legendary motives found scattered throughout his Antiquities.

It is now necessary to indicate the relation in which this old Hebrew text stands to the Arabic translation. It is precisely this chapter which is missing in the Juynboll edition, but

it is found in the MS. now in New York, which is also very old, and in my MS., which are comparatively modern copies. The question as to whether it formed part of the original text is, therefore, set at rest, There can, therefore, be no shadow of a doubt that it belonged to the original compilation; nay that it is the first chapter of the whole work. So it is also assumed in the Samaritan translations which have been sent to me from Nablus. In every one of them this portion is found at the beginning of the story. It is, therefore, not at all improbable that the copyist of the Leyden MS. had an incomplete text before him and, whilst he omitted it at the beginning or did not notice its omission, he, on the other hand, added at the end some portions which belonged to the later history of the Samaritans, thus using a slightly different MS. Of these additions no trace in the old MSS. and in the translations made of them.

It is remarkable that the Arabic text as well as the so-called translations begin, as it were, almost with the very words of this old document. It shows that, already at the time of the old translations they did not possess more of the text than we possess now, except a little more at the beginning and something at the end. Of course, so long as those old fragments had remained hidden it was impossible to trace the Samaritan origin, but now that it has come to light one can definitely establish the Hebrew source of the Arabic text. No doubt from the quire which I received the first and last leaves had been detached or lost. The Samaritans always begin their writings, not on the first page but on the second and if this had been torn off it would explain also the disappearance of the last page to which the custos on the preceding page points. In the modern copies, however, there is a short beginning and the story is carried on to the end. To anyone ignorant of the existence of the Hebrew text the story as found in the Arabic would have appeared as a kind of free manipulation of the text of the Bible. Now, however, comparing it with this Hebrew text, we find that the Arabic translator has done nothing but copy and embellish the story just as he found it in the old Hebrew texts; just as he had done with the other sections taken from the Asatir. It is, therefore, perfectly clear that the Arabic version rests exclusively on old Samaritan Hebrew texts, all the portions of which have now come to light one after another, the last, and certainly one of the most important, being this one recently discovered and now published here for the first time with an English translation and some notes. I have divided the text into verses for easy reference.

As to the authorship of the Arabic book of Joshua we are informed by Ab Sakhua and by others that the author of the translation or rather paraphrase was none other than Abdullah ben Shalma. This man is a very well-known personality. He occupied a responsible and high position in the middle of the fourteenth century in Nablus. When Eleazar, the High Priest, died he trusted his nephew, the boy Pinhas, the presumptive heir to the high priesthood, to the care of Abdullah ben Shalma. It happened in the year 1387 when Abdullah was already a very old man. He is surnamed the Zakkai or Zakki, the Meritorious One, an honorific title which is reserved by the Samaritans only for the forefathers or for any of the most prominent and meritorious men of the past. He composed a large number of religious poems which form part of the liturgy of the Samaritans to this very day, and written more or less in Samaritan.

I have now discovered that he is also the author of a famous book, likewise full of Biblical legends, called the Molad Moseh. In this he describes not only the birth of Moses, but he introduces also a large number of legends. He starts with the Creation, he mentions then most of the patriarchs until he comes to the story of the birth of Moses. This agrees, down to the most minute details, with the same story found in the Asatir, of course embellished with a few more tales and legends, but every detail, down to the name of the wizard –Plti- are found therein. The agreement is so close that any independence of the Asatir is out of the question. It is now plain that in writing our Arabic Joshua he continued, as it were, the story where he had left it off and started with Joshua, leaving out a few minor incidents which happened in the lifetime of Moses, and then continued it down to the end of Joshua, even carrying the story further down to the time of Amram, probably as far as the old Hebrew sources went which he had at his command. In the Molad Mosheh the hero is Moses, the only prophet, and the law-giver of the Samaritans; in the second part of the “chronicle” it is Joshua, the military hero, the great conqueror of Canaan. This is, if necessary, another proof to show that the author of these two works had drawn his information exclusively from old Samaritan Hebrew sources. In the prologue to the book of Joshua he distinctly describes his activity in the following terms: “All of this is translated from the Hebrew language into the Arabic language, after the manner of a *rapid translation by word of mouth*.” What he means thereby is, “like a man who tells a tale orally,” and this is the character of his two works. From the above investigation it is now perfectly clear that he took *all* his legends from Hebrew writings. This unquestionably is also the case with the Book of Joshua, which he translated from the Hebrew Samaritan text discovered and published by me.

As for the date of the work it must belong to the early part of the fourteenth century, since Abul Fath, in 1355, refers already to it as one of the books from which he has drawn his information, and in fact follows it as closely as possible, using the very same Arabic text as the one before us.

I am now giving here a translation together with one plate of the original, vs. 73-82a.

#### TRANSLATION

(page 1) (1) Pray to God for our sakes, so that we may return unto you in peace. (2) They wept after that with a loud weeping (3) and they went away from him on the sixth day (Friday), and they came to Hebron, and they kept the Sabbath there, and they stopped at the cave of the field Makhphelah, where our forefathers are. (4) And Joshua the son of Nun began to praise his forefathers, and he wept with them, (5) and he continued at great length in these things, and in what he spoke before them he said. (6) “Do you know that your children have come out of Egypt with a mighty hand and He fulfilled unto them the word which He spoke to my father Abraham, “And afterwards they will go out with great wealth.” (7) And His words to my father Isaac, “I will surely multiply thy seeds like the stars of heaven.” And His words to my father Jacob, “And thy seed shall be like the dust of the earth.” Happy are ye that your possession is from God.” (8) And whilst Joshua was speaking these words at the gate of the cave of Makhphelah, men came from the two kings (9) and these were Ahiman, Sheshai and Talmi, (page 2) the children of Anak.

(10) And they said to them, "Twelve princes have come hither: honorable, and they are beautifully dressed, and among them one more goodly than the others. His clothes are superior to those of the others, and he is their leader." (11) Then Ahiman sent and called Joshua and the men that were with him, (12) and when Joshua came, he stood before him and his brothers: (13) and Ahiman said unto him, "Tell us of the things you have heard about the Children of Israel, and what they are seeking, and of the place which they desire to obtain?" (14) And Joshua answered the king Ahiman, saying "We have heard of great things about the Children of Israel, and we are fleeing from before them, for we are afraid of them." (15) Ahiman said unto him, "My soul wishes to see the lad who is the ruler over them all, of whom it is said that their success depends on him; and how he weakened Amalek who is the head of all the nations." (16) (page 3) And Joshua the son of Nun said unto him, "Have you not heard what he has done to Pharaoh and his army and his riders, and what he did at the Sea of Reeds, and how he cleft it; and he made unto them a road and they walked through it on dry land, (17) and Pharaoh and his army and his riders and his chariots all were sunk therein? (18) Have you not heard that the bitter waters were made sweet for them? (19) Have you not heard that the manna came down from heaven for them? (20) Have you not heard that the Mighty One of the heaven and the earth spake with him mouth to mouth?" (21) And the king said unto him, "Tell me about the form of their camps." (22) And Joshua answered the king with words which confounded them (amazes them). (23) He said, "They went forth with a mighty hand, and within a few days they will reach this place. (24) And we have heard that they have three forefathers, these are Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and they are blessed by them. (25) And the sea was cleft for them, and they will pass over to the land of Canaan, for they say that the Lord has made a covenant with them to cause them to inherit it. (26) And they are seeking it (page 4) and they carry double-edged swords, and the Lord will drive their enemies before them." (27) And when the children of Anak heard these words their hearts melted away, (28) and after that Joshua and his men went away, on the first day of the week (Sunday) going towards the town of Daneshek, by way of the land of Edom, and they came to that town; (29) and the king of the town called for Joshua, and he stood before him. (30) And he asked him concerning the Children of Israel. (31) And Joshua answered the king, saying, "Behold, we are fleeing from before them: and the fear of them has fallen into our hearts." (32) And the king said to him, "Tell me all their manners (conduct)." (33) And Joshua answered and spoke words which confounded (amazes) them. (34) And he said. "They walk with great triumphant shouts, and they speak very proudly. They go according to the command of their prophets Moses, upon whom be peace. (35) And they never cease praising and singing hymns day and night to their God. (36) And the pillar (page 5) of the cloud goes before them, and all their enemies are destroyed by their hand." (37) And when they heard these words their hearts greatly trembled. (38) And then they went on to the town of the third king on the third day. And they said unto them, "Why did you come thither?" (39) And they answered and said, "We have fallen into a great plague (great slaughter) through the Children of Israel." (40) And they said unto them "Speak unto us about them, of all their ways (conduct) how they are carting on." (41) And Joshua answered and spoke unto them words at which they were confounded (amazed). (42) And he said unto them, "These people carry themselves with great might; they hearken to a man who is their prince (ruler). His name is (Moses) of the name of God (43) and all the angels minister unto him; and he is of the tribe of Levi."

(44) And they journeyed to the town of the fourth king. (45) And the king sent for them and asked them as to what they could tell concerning the Children of Israel. (46) And Joshua answered and said, "We are fleeing from the Children of Israel." (page 6) (47) And the king said, "What have you heard concerning this people." (48) And Joshua answered and said to him, "This people is very numerous, and they are like as the sand of the shores of the sea and the stars of heaven. (49) And they carry themselves with honour. And they are the most perfect essence among the nations. Their food is the manna and the quails. (50) And whoever goes out against them, they weaken him (vanquish). And whoever pursues them is destroyed, but whoever flees from them is saved. (52) And whoever sits (quietly) before them, is shown pity." (53) And they went from there and came to the town of the fifth king on the fourth day of the week. (54) And this king asked them in the same manner as the kings whom we have mentioned. (55) And Joshua said unto him, "This people has come out of Egypt, and many things have happened for their sake, and the sea was a road unto them, (56) and Moses prayed unto God for them. And God fights for them, and they keep quiet. (57) It is better for you that you should flee from them, for they are seeking to possess your land." (58) And they went to the town of the sixth king and he was Og (page 7) the son of Anak (i.e. giant). (59) When Og heard that they had come to his town, (60) he sent for them and called them, (61) and he asked them what they had to tell. (62) And they answered him "We are fleeing from the Children of Israel." (63) And he asked them, "What is the form of their camp?" (64) And Joshua the son of Nun answered and said unto him, "The fear of them and the trembling before them is upon all the nations and all the cities, and they weaken (defeat) all the nations and all the people. Moses is their prince, for he is their prophet, (65) and you are already written down as slaves for them. They will soon come upon you. (66) And with them is a goodly youth, and he it was who smote Amalek and his people." (67) And they went on to the town of the seventh king on the sixth day. (68) And the king asked them concerning the Children of Israel, and he (Joshua) said unto them (unto him) "They rejoice in the land of Canaan and in the prospect of their smiting all its inhabitants. (69) They pray (ask for) the Lord, and God hearkens unto them. (70) And this land is an inheritance unto them, (71) and ye will be slaves unto them. And the Lord their God is all powerful (lit. He has the power over everything). (72) And as for their prophet, God fulfills all his wishes." And then they kept (page 8) the Sabbath there. (73) And on the first day they went to the town of the eighth king. (74) And the king said unto them, "Who are you and whence do you come, and which are the towns to which you are going?" And the king Joshua said, "We do not know the towns which we are seeking, nor the towns whither we are fleeing from before the Children of Israel, and we are rather confused in your words (or, we have lost our aim)." (76) And the king said "What is there found among you which you could tell us about them." (77) And Joshua the son of Nun replied, "We have heard that there was a man to be found among them who strikes the sea with his rod, and it becomes a dry path. (78) He strikes the rock with his rod, and water comes out. (79) He calls unto his God and He answers him with a loud voice. (80) He lifts up his hands on high, and he weakens (defeats) his enemies. (81) And there is among them a youth, and the sun stood still for him until he destroyed Amalek. (82) And they have two (page 9) trumpets, and when they blow (83) them they overthrow the walls of the cities in front of them." (84) When the king heard these words he was stricken in the loins where he stood, and (85) he could not rise. Then they went away from him in

peace and came to the town of the ninth king (in the MS., by mistake, "the third"). The king called them and said to them, "Tell me about the Children of Israel." (86) And Joshua answered and said unto him, "Their prince destroyed Egypt. (87) The world goes on by his word. The seed of Israel cannot be counted for its multitude. (88) God is a God of mercy and loving-kindness. The dew of heaven is their food. It is their thought to kill you" (or to grind your bones down) (89) And they went away thence and came to the town of the tenth king. (90) And he asked Joshua to report to him about the Children of Israel. (91) And Joshua said unto him, "They consider it an honour to smite all their enemies. Their power (page 10) is great. (92) Moses their prophet cleft the sea for their sakes, and the whole of Egypt was lost therein, and Israel got the name of 'The selected'." (93) And they left and came to the town of the eleventh king. (94) And the king Joshua said unto this king, "We warn you, flee before the Children of Israel, and seek peace unto yourselves (95) for within a short time they will come upon you, and you see what they have done to the kings before you." (96) And they left and came to the town of the twelfth king. (97) And Joshua said, "They are coming soon to your country, and they will dispossess all its inhabitants, and they will take prisoners your women and your daughters." (98) And they went away and came to the town of the thirteenth king on the sixth day, and they kept the third Sabbath there. (99) And Joshua the son of Nun said unto them, "Moses by whom is fed the whole people of Israel (page 11) is the master of the great name, who by his prayer breaks to pieces all his enemies. (100) Nothing else is left for you but to flee away. The day of your destruction is nigh." (101) And they went away and came to the town of the fourteenth king. (102) And Joshua spoke unto them saying, "The Children of Israel carry themselves with great rule (power). God is their help. He annihilates before them their enemies, even the kings of the nations before them. And they have a great prophet, (103) and they have in their hands the atonement of sins, which are not in your hands." (104) And they went away and came to the town of the fifteenth king on the second day. (105) And Joshua spoke unto them as follows, "The worship of idols is an abomination unto them. They hate all the strange gods. The mighty in War is with them, and He it is fights for them and he it is kills their foemen. (106) And they went and came to the town of the sixteenth king. (107) And Joshua began (page 12) and he said there, "High above all the other nations are they. The cloud covers them. (108) Their name is called, 'the servants of the Lord.' They are the masters of the land of Canaan and as far as you are concerned it is written down against you that you be slaves to them." (109) And they went away and came to the town of the seventeenth king on the fourth day. (110) And the king asked Joshua and he answered and said, "Israel has great honour, for he came out of Egypt with great wonders. (111) Moses opened unto them the sea, and he closed it, Pharaoh died therein; in the wave thereof the pillar of cloud goes before him (i.e. Israel) to serve him." (112) And they went and came to the town of the eighteenth king, (113) and he asked, and Joshua answered him and said, "All the righteous men have gathered themselves unto (114) them, the 'master of the fast', stands among them, prays for them. There is no richer prayer than his. (115) And they will remove your foundations." (116) And they went away and came to the town of the nineteenth king on the sixth day (page 13). And they kept there the fourth Sabbath. (117) And Joshua spoke to them, "The sanctuary is among them, and the master of the prophets, and the Holy Name is among them. (118) A wizard and a sorcerer is not to be found among them, and they observe the Ten Commandments,, and by their report alone

they smite all the nations and kill all the wicked ones. (119) Ye shall have no upstanding against them.” (120) And they went away and came to the town of the twentieth king on the first day. (121) And Joshua answered them to all their questions, with words like these, (122) And he said unto them, “There are among the Children of Israel

youths without number, (123) who go to war

and they are mightier than all the nations. T

against you. They will not rest until they inheri

(124) And they went away and came to the town

(1250 And the king of Hamatah said to Joshua t

Nun, “behold the form of my army, and my wea

War.” (126) And Joshua answered, “Wilt thou be

With (weapons like) these go against the Children of Israel?” (127) And the king of Hamatah said to him, “Shall I not (page 14) be able to succeed in this matter?” And he said unto him (probably a mistake of the scribe, instead of, which means “No”).(128) And the king said, “Tell me, I pray, how do they wage war?” (129) Joshua said unto him, “They blow three times with the two trumpets of loud soundings and their enemies all flee from before them. (130) And know that the angels all flee from before them. (130) Their manner in war is that they smite day and night, and never cease. (132) And even during their fights they are continually praising God, and never cease.”

(133) And when all the nations and kings heard from Joshua these things then they quaked and trembling seized hold on them, and also they melted away. And there fell upon them fear and terror. (134) And Joshua the son of Nun and Kaleb the son of Jephuneh were rejoicing at the terror of the inhabitants of the lands, and at the fear that had fallen upon them. (135) But the ten men were not like unto them. They thought evil, for evil dwelt in their nature. (136) And they went away from Hamatah on the fourteenth day at daybreak. (137) And they were joyful of heart (page 15). They walked on for three days, and they rested on the fifth Sabbath on the way. (138) And then they went another five days’ journey, until they came to Mount Garizim Beth-El on the sixth day, (139) and they kept

ath theron, (140) and they sung many hymns

God. (141) And Joshua said to his companions,

this holy place, the Name (God), blessed be He,

our father Abraham, “Get thee away from thy

from thy birth-place' and for its sake He made  
a Covenant, and also with his sons Isaac and Jacob,  
at covenant which he swore unto them, That He would  
to their seed this place to worship (serve) Him there.

(142) blessed are we that we have reached the place which the Lord hath chosen, the most holy place of the whole earth, the place of the house of God, and the seat of the angels of God. It is the gate of heaven.” (143) And on the third day they went from the Mount of Garazim, and came to the town of Hebron, and they spent that night there. (144) And Joshua son of Nun sang the praises of his forefathers the whole night until the morning. (145) And after that they forded the river Eshkol, and they found the children of Anak in great mourning (page 16). (146) And when the inhabitants of the town saw them they said, “These are the men who fled away.” (147) And Joshua and Kaleb rose up and took of the fruit of the land, and they went to Moses and Aaron in the desert of Paran. And they were in great rejoicing and with a happy heart. (148) And Moses asked them concerning the land through which they had gone. (149) And Joshua reported to Moses, and he said to him as follows: “The land through which we passed is a land flowing with milk and honey, (150) the land is exceeding good, but the ten men spread an evil report among the people of Israel. (151) And the Children of Israel went from the desert of Paran, and camped in Libnah on the first day. (152) And whenever they came to encamp then Moses would command a man from the people to go and tie up the wagons of Joseph the pious; and he washed himself in water, and he would prostrate himself before God, and Moses, upon whom be peace (!), would bless him (153) And in the evening he would wash his hands and feet

from the basin, and he would come to the cherubim

Ark of the Testimony, [to pray that] God may show

Favour and the pages, the princes, and the judges would

There to serve him, until. . .

Thus far the MS.

In the Arabic text and in Ab Sakhua's the story finishes as follows:-

“And the sages and the judges stood there ready to minister to him until he came out from the Sanctuary, then they kissed his hands and feet. In the same way also acted the priests and the Levites. And his entry into the Sanctuary was from the East, whilst Aaron and his sons, and the wagon of Joseph used to go before the Ark of the Testimony. And know that he whom God wishes to honour no one can contemn. Joseph was great in his lifetime and great also after his death.”

Thus the story ends.

*Stephen Austin and Sons, Ltd., Printers, Hertford.*

I discovered it to be the parallel to the apocryphal story of Susanna, an English translation of which appears in my *Studies and Text*, chap. x, pp. 284 ff.

This is an essential feature of the Samaritan creed, it is the very corner-stone upon which their dissent from the Jews is built, and to this very day Garizim is to them the Sacred Mount.

*The Samaritan Chronicle of the Book of Joshua, the Son of Nun*, translated from the Arabic, with notes, by Oliver Crane. New York: John Alden, 1898.

Probably "our father," but abbreviated, without a sign of abbreviation, but no other word is abbreviated in this document. And do the next two.

Text is corrupt, read three.

In the text "he said to them". Scribe's mistake.

Rather a quaint remark by the Scribe, who evidently had forgotten that Moses was alive then, and he being accustomed to always use this phrase, put it in.

This passage is evidently corrupt. For mishem elohim read perhaps Mosheh (ish-ha) elohim, "Moses, the man of God." The corruption obtains also in MS. Ab-Sakhua.

Photo from here to v. 82a Jos., ch. 6.

This is the way in which Joshua is always spoken of in the Samaritan Book of Joshua, and so in the Arabic text.

Transference of the well-known incident in Joshua to the war against Amalek, where, on the contrary, the sun is described as veering towards the south.

Evidently referring to Jericho.

This may be a corruption from "haam", the "people". For the word 'Olam, with the meaning of the "world", is not found in the Pentateuch. In the Arabic it is also Olom "world". Evident proof that the translation has been made from a text like this, if not the very same.

A very extraordinary passage, which reminds on of Ezekiel the poet.

The unintelligible yithawu (!) should be read yithanu (grind).

Corrupt. Perhaps a word like nikra' has dropped out.

Anachronistic.

A very remarkable statement. Moses is here the master of the great mysterious, the wonder-working name of God.

Moses who *fasted* 40 days on Mount Sinai.

The reading of this word is doubtful. Perhaps for mekor<sub>e</sub>chem read mekom<sub>e</sub>chem in the sense "your high-places".

A very remarkable passage. It is here for the first time one finds instead of the "10 words" the "10 commandments".

Or a few words have dropped out here and so in the Arabic.