

FRAGMENT OF A MASSORETIC TREATISE

Israel Yeivin

I

The text published hereunder is a Genizah fragment from the E. N. Adler Collection in the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York¹, No. 3118, fol. 8. It consists of one leaf, the recto of which is fully written on, while the verso ends in the middle of the page. The fragment contains notes on various Biblical verses in the order of the books. It does not constitute the beginning of a work, since the first word is [ב]גצירה, the end of a note which must have begun on the preceding leaf. The first preserved note deals with I Sam. vii, 17. Assuming that only one leaf is lost before the one we possess, it would seem to have contained notes on verses from the beginning of the Book of Joshua until the passage mentioned, since the one and a half pages at our disposal contain notes on the whole of I and II Sam. It is possible, of course, that the work contained some additional leaves with notes also on the Pentateuch. It is not clear why the writing ends in the middle of the verso, the last note on it is on I Kings iii, 13. The text ends before it reaches the end of a book or some other suitable point. Professor S. Abramson, whose advice I sought on this and other problems concerning the reading of this document (I herewith express my gratitude to him), surmises that this fragment was copied from another text where the notes reached the end of the page; the other pages had been lost and were thus not available to the copyist of our fragment.

In addition to the problem of the beginning and the end, it is also difficult to understand the system in the choice of notes: why, for instance, there are notes on some passages and not on others. Thus there is no note between I Sam. viii, 8 and xvii, 32, while on I Sam. xxvi alone there are four notes.

It is also not clear whether this fragment represents part of an independent composition, that is the notes of a massorete or of some traditional school in accordance with whose rules the pointing of Bible MSS had to be done, or a list gleaned from the margins of a model copy of the Bible.

The greater part of the work is in Arabic in Hebrew script. However, since most of it consists of quotations from the Bible, the number of Arabic words

1. I herewith wish to express my sincere thanks to the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America and to its chief librarian, Dr. Naḥum M. Sarna, for granting me permission to photograph and publish this fragment.

is very small. The writing is careless and not the work of a professional scribe, and shows a number of scribal errors (nos. 3, 4, 24?). Due to the fact that I only possess a photograph and not the original, I lack the data necessary for dating this fragment and can only put forward suggestions based on the contents (cf. below).

The work contains instructions for punctuation and accentuation. The great majority of the notes deal with Ga'ya, that is to say, whether a certain word has to be accorded Ga'ya or not. Only a few of the notes deal with other phenomena of punctuation and accentuation.

According to its character, this fragment belongs to the massoretic literature. Since, however, it does not occupy itself with the consonant text, but with pointing and accentuation only, it cannot be counted as belonging to early but rather to late massoretic literature; on the other hand, it does not give *rules* of pointing or accentuation and can therefore not be considered a *grammatical* work. As far as I know, we do not so far possess a similar work, the nearest one being the work of Mishael ben Uzziel on the Divergencies (*Hillufim*) of Ben Asher and Ben Naphtali. The two works use a similar terminology and both of them deal pre-eminently with Ga'ya and only very little with other phenomena.

The text of the notes is always clearly and unambiguously written, unlike late MSS (such as the "BA-BN Divergencies" added to many Biblical MSS, or the 1207 A.D. MS of *'Adath Devorim*²) where the massoretic notes are incompletely vocalized. In our fragment the pointing is always clear and in the correct place.

The sign for qamatz is a horizontal line with a point underneath it; the patah furtivum is placed beneath the preceding letter (no. 29: לְהוֹשִׁיעַ); at times Ga'ya is written underneath the vowel sign (no. 25); from time to time בְּנִדְכָפִית are marked with Raphe; the corners of the accents Mahpakh and Munah are rounded and not sharp; the Ga'ya sometimes turns to the right; the Paseq is short; the Telisha is a circle without a line beneath it; the Maqqeph is sometimes not marked where its use is obvious (nos. 2, 11) — all these features point to the antiquity of the MS. The same applies to the contents of the notes (as will be explained below). From all this I conclude that the fragment we are dealing with is not later than the eleventh century.

The fragment mentions no massorete by name (e. g. Ben Asher, Pinehas, etc.), nor any model copy of the Bible (such as "*Muggah*" or "*Mahzora Rubba*"). A comparison of it with Mishael's "Divergencies" gives the following results: of the forty-three Biblical passages with which our fragment deals, ten are

2. Cf. P. Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza*, London 1947, p. 66; Oxford 21959, p. 115.

commented on in the list by Mishael.³ Eight of them occur in the list of passages about which BA and BN differed: with four of these (nos. 16b, 26, 35b, 38) our text is definitely according to BA, while with the four others (nos. 6, 10, 21, 27) the text in 'Adath Devorim is not clear, but judging from various criteria (other lists of divergencies, etc.) it seems also to be according to BA. Two others (nos. 2, 40) are found in Mishael's list of passages where BA and BN agreed, but the text in 'Adath Devorim is not clear. It seems to me that no. 2 is according to BA-BN. Unfortunately I do not possess the precise text of the "Divergencies" for the interesting passage no. 40.

It clearly follows that our work inclines towards the system of BA, yet here, too, we meet with some surprises: the Biblical books with which our fragment deals show in Mishael's list some forty-five variants and another ca. thirty-three passages in which BA and BN agree, i.e. some seventy-eight passages are mentioned by Mishael. Of these our work only mentions ten. This low percentage poses the problem of the relation between Mishael and our work. Assuming that the list of the "Divergencies" was known to our author, why did he list the passages mentioned here when he could have simply mentioned the existence of the List of Divergencies and established his standpoint as being either like BA or BN? And if the list was not known to him, why did he not remark on all passages where BA and BN differ? It is difficult to believe that a massorete working after BA and BN would take no cognizance whatsoever of the List of Divergencies, which was no doubt quite famous. As long as we possess no additional material, no answer can be given to these problems.

II

As the majority of notes in this fragment deal with Ga'ya, a few remarks on this subject may not be out of place. The standard work on Ga'ya is S. Baer, "Die Metheg-Setzung", *Archiv für wissenschaftliche Erforschung des AT.*, 1869, pp. 55-67, 194-207 (henceforth: Baer). Later grammatical works (such as Bergsträsser), dealing with Ga'ya, followed his lead. Baer was of the opinion that the rules for Ga'ya which he formulated were the rules of BA, but in

3. Since I have, unfortunately, no access to the fragments of the MSS of Mishael's *Divergencies* which are in the Firkowitsch Collection, I was obliged to deal with this section according to the Hebrew translation of these *Divergencies* in 'Adath Devorim (II Firk. Arab.-Hebr. Paper no. 161). This photograph, which belongs to the Institute of Hebrew Manuscripts of the Ministry of Education and Culture (I herewith thank the Institute most sincerely for the permission to examine this photograph), is not clear in many places, and numerous notes are unpointed or wrongly pointed. Consequently one has to approach the material in this article relating to the *Divergencies* with some reservations.

actual fact his rules to a large extent fit the later Bible editions, yet not at all the ancient MSS such as L⁴ or B⁵. Baer divides Ga'ya into three types:

- A. *Light Ga'ya* (Baer, pp. 57–67) which occurs in an *open* syllable and serves as a kind of secondary accent. This Ga'ya is regularly found in prints, beginning with BR (except for BH), while in ancient MSS it only occurs in a few of the places where it ought to have occurred according to these rules, and generally in a word with Pashta or short word connected by a Maq-qeph. Mishael's "Divergencies", as well as our fragment, do not generally mention this type of Ga'ya⁶.
- B. *Heavy Ga'ya* (Baer, pp. 195–199, and especially *dritte Hauptregel*, §§ 24–25) occurs in a *closed* syllable. Rules for this Ga'ya are given in *Dikduqe ha-Te'amim* attributed to BA⁷. It occurs consistently in ancient MSS of the Bible. It should be noted that just in the late prints, such as BR, this Ga'ya is not consistently marked. Mishael and our work only remark on this Ga'ya when it has to be written in conditions to which the rules of BA do not apply, e.g. when it occurs in a word with a conjunctive accent or in a word where the number of syllables or their order is not as demanded by the rules.
- C. *The Euphonic Ga'ya* (Baer, §§ 41–44; pp. 205–207) and the *Ha'amadah* (Baer, §13; pp. 63–64) cf. below, nos. 7, 41.

III

The table below is a copy of the fragment. The third column gives the actual text of the fragment. I have divided it into lines and have added in the columns to the left of it a consecutive numeration and references. The columns on the right represent the text of the verse in A L C. Whenever one of these MSS has the same text as the MS on its left, I have indicated the fact by the word *same*. Erasures in the MS are marked by a round bracket and additions

4. I use the following abbreviations:
A = Aleppo MS; *B* = MS British Museum Or. 4445; *BA* = Ben Asher; *Bab.* = Babylonian pointing; *BH* = Biblia Hebraica 3rd edn., ed. Kittel-Kahle; *BN* = Ben Naphtali; *BR* = Biblia Rabbinica, Bomberg, Venice 1524–5; *C* = Cairo MS of the Prophets; *Gins.* = Ch. D. Ginsburg's O. T. edition, London 1926; *Ginsburg, Mass.* = id., *The Massorah Compiled from MSS*, 1880–5, 1905; *L* = Leningrad MS B 19a; *P* = Petersburg MS B 3 (dated 916); *S* = Sassoon MS 507; *Tib.* = Tiberian pointing. *L*, of course, is the MS on which *BH* is based; since, however, it is often rendered far from exactly, we shall have frequent occasion to oppose the readings of *L* to those of *BH* supposedly copied from it.
5. Cf. P. Kahle, *op. cit.*, 11947, p. 64 sq.; 21959, p. 110 sq.
6. Cf. A. Ben-David, *Tarbiz*, XXVI, p. 389.
7. S. Baer and H. L. Strack, *Dikduqe ha-T'amim*, Leipzig 1879, §§ 30, 31.

by square ones.⁸ A plus-sign next to the number of a note indicates that the passage is mentioned by Mishael.

After the text follow mostly brief remarks on the various rulings of the fragment in their order. Only in those cases of special significance which have not so far been dealt with have I attempted a fuller explanation.

No.	Reference	NS ENA 3118, fol. 8	MS A	MS L	MS C
		[ב]געיה [8a]			
1	I Sam vii, 17	ותשבחוהוּ קִי־שֵׁם בֵּיתוֹ כִּי בגעיה	קִי־שֵׁם בֵּיתוֹ	same	קִי־
2+	viii, 8	כָּכֹל הַמַּעֲשִׂים [א]ל הפלשתי הזה להלחם	כָּכֹל־הַמַּעֲשִׂים קִי־נָעַר אֹתָהּ	same	same
3	xvii, 33	בו ⁹ קִי נַעַר אֵל כִּי בגעיה			
4	xvii, 40	ויבַח ¹⁰ לוֹ חֹמֶשׁ [ח]לְקִי אבנים אלגעיה תחת אלקוף	חֲלָקִי־אֲבָנִים מִן־הַנַּחַל	same	same
5	xviii, 16	קִי־הוּא יוֹצֵא וּבָא לַפְּנֵיהֶם ○ כי בגעיה	קִי־הוּא	קִי־	same as L
6+	xviii, 20	וּתְאַהֲבֵם מִכֹּל בֵּלְאֵי גַעִיה	וּתְאַהֲבֵם	וּתְאַהֲבֵם	וּתְאַהֲבֵם
7	xxii, 12	שָׁמַע נָא בֶן אַחִי בגעיתין	שָׁמַע־נָא	same	שָׁמַע־
8	xxii, 17	וכִי יִדְעוּ כִּי בִרְחֹ־הוּא	כִּי־בִרְחֹ־הוּא	same ¹¹	כִּי־בִרְחֹ־הוּא
9	xxiv, 7	קִי־בָא דוֹד קַעִילָה בַגַּעִי	קִי־בָא דוֹד	קִי־	קִי־
10+	xxiv, 11	אֲשֶׁר נִתְנָךְ יְיָ הַיּוֹם בִּידֵי בִּוְאֵל לְהַרְגֶנָּה מִחֶרֶךְ אֵלַי בַּפֶּתַח ○ ושוא	לְהַרְגֶנָּה	same	?
				perhaps גִּלְגַּל [גִּלְגַּל] (?)	
11	xxv, 43	וּתְהִיֵּן גַּם שְׂתִיחֶן לוֹ לִנְגַם בַּגַּעִי	גַּם־שְׂתִיחֶן לוֹ	same ¹²	same
12	xxvi, 4	כִּי בָא שְׂאוּל אֵל כִּי בגעיה	קִי־בָא שְׂאוּל	קִי־	same as A
13	xxvi, 15	קִי־בָא אַחַד הָעָם כִּי בַגִּי ^{12a}	קִי־בָא	same	?

געיה

8. The photograph of C in the National Library, Jerusalem, which I have used, is unclear in many places. Whatever I could not read with any certainty in the photograph, I have marked with a question mark. I herewith express my thanks to the National and University Library for permitting me to use the photographs of L and C in their possession.

9. BH: עמו.

10. BH: ויבחר (scribal error).

11. BH wrongly ךֿ without Ga'ya.

12. BH wrongly ךֿ without Ga'ya.

12a. בגִּי = בגִּי ("without").

No.	Reference	NS ENA 3118, fol. 8	MS A	MS L	MS C
14	xxvi, 19	ועתה ישמע-נא בגעתין	ישמע-נא	same	ישמע-
15	ibid	כי-גרשוני בלא גע תחת כי ולא גרשוני	כי-גרשוני היום	same	same
16a	} xxviii, 10	וישב ^{חז} לה שאל בימי ל ה	וישב ^{חז} לה	same	וישב-לה
16b+		אם-יקרך ^{חז}	אם-יקרך	same	same
17	xxviii, 22	ועתה שמע-נא גם א בגע	שמע-נא	same	same
18	xxx, 13	ויאמר לו דוד למי-אתה בגע	למי-אתה	same	?
19	xxx, 15	השבעה לי בא הש ¹⁴ בתלשתין	השבעה לי	השבעה ¹⁵	same as L
20	ibid	ואם תסגרני ביד א ואוררך בגע והו בלא יוד	ואוררך	same	ואוררך
21+	xxx, 27	ולאשר ברמות נגב בג תחת אלמז	ברמות-נגב	ברמות ⁽¹⁾	ברמות-
22	xxx, 28	בשפמות בגעיה תחת אלשין	בשפמות	same	same
23	II Sami, 24	המל בשכם שני בגע	המל ב(י)שכם המל בשכם	same as A	
24	ii, 6, 7	אלמנדו אלסדר ועתה יעש ימי עמכם חסד ואמת ואל- מערוף ועתה תחזקנה ידיכם ¹⁶	ס in v. 6	ס erased in beginning of v. 6, and written anew in begin- ning of v. 7	ס in v. 7
25	v, 20	שם-המקום הוא עלכן ק שם-המקום ה בעל פרצים בגע	שם-המקום הוא עלכן ק שם-המקום ה בעל פרצים בגע	same	same
26+	vi, 10	כית עבד-אדם ויטהו דוד כית עבד-אדם בגע	כית עבד-אדם	same ¹⁷	עבד-
27+	vii, 1	וימי הניח-לו מסב	הניח-לו	הניח-	?

13. The word חז is written twice above the line, it means "suitable!!"

14. השבעה (the word השבעה), or 'ש (the letter *shin*)? 15. BH wrongly one Telisha.

16. The word אלמנדו is unintelligible. Professor D.Z. Baneth, whom I consulted, thinks there is a scribal error, or that the scribe did not understand the word he saw in his *Vorlage*. Perhaps to be read אלמנדו ללסדר or מכדו אלסדר; מכדו = المدؤ being a not too unusual spelling for المدأ, meaning "basis, main part". The general intention, at any rate, is clear: the proper beginning of the *seder* is in the verse ועתה ... יעש, though it is widely accepted that the *seder* begins with the following verse, ועתה ... תחזקנה. I herewith express my sincere thanks to Prof. Baneth for his kindness in examining this and other passages where the reading was doubtful.

17. Here the text is: אדם, with *Waw*.

No.	Reference	NS ENA 3118, fol. 8	MS A	MS L	MS C
28	vii, 22	על כן גדלת יי אלה כִּי-אֵין כמוך בגע תחת כי	כִּי-אֵין כמוך	same ¹⁸	כִּי- (?)
29	x, 11	להושיע לך בגע	להושיע לך	same	להושיע לך
30	x, 14	כִּי-נס ארם כי געיה	כִּי-נס ארם	כִּי-	same as L
31	x, 19 [8b]	להושיע עוד בגיר געיה	להושיע עוד	להושיע ⁽¹⁾	same as A
32	xii, 18	להניד לו כִּי-מת בגע	כִּי-מת הילד	same	same
33	xiii, 16	ולא אבה לשמע לה בגיר גע פי קצה אמנון	לשמע לה	same	לשמע(-) לה
34	xv, 8	כִּי-נדר נדר בגע	כִּי-נדר	same	same
35a	xviii, 22	ארצה נא גם אני אחרי הכ	ארצה נא	same	אר(ו)צה-
35b+		וי יואב למה-זה בגעיה	למה-זה	same	למה-
36	xix, 19	כי אם-אנשי-מות כי לא היה כל ב א כי אם אנשי-מות בגע	כי אם-אנשי-מות	אנשי-	same as L
37	IKings i, 36	ויען בניהו בן יהוידע א ה ויאמר אמן כן בגיר גע תחת ויאמר O	ויאמר אמן	same	same
38	i, 51	והנה אחז בקר ה ל ישבע-לי כיום בגעיה תחת אלבית ¹⁹	ישבע-לי	ישבע-	ישבע-
39	ii, 27	ויגרש שלמה א אביתר מהיות כהן בגע	מהיות כהן	מהיות ⁽¹⁾ (?)	same as A
40+	ii, 30	ויאמר א לא כי פה אמות בגע	ויאמר א לא	same ²⁰ (?)	ויאמר א לא
41	iii, 13	וגם אשר לא שאלת וג לא היה כמוך איש בגע	כמוך איש	כמוך	same as L

We may briefly consider the question which of the three MSS ALC is closest to our work. Of the forty-three notes (nos. 16, 35 have two notes each) the correspondences are as follows:

A — thirty-five positive, eight negative.

L — thirty-one positive, twelve negative; five places in L are emended from a text which does not correspond to our work to one which does, and one passage inversely.

18. L: כִּי-אֵין (?).

19. Two illegible signs follow the last word.

20. BH wrongly מְ without Ga'ya.

C — eighteen positive, twenty negative, and five doubtful.

Even assuming that all five doubtful places in C corresponded, this would not influence the result. The resultant picture bears an amazing similarity to that received from a comparison of Mishael's list with these three MSS: A is closest to the BA text, though not a hundred percent. L is very close to this text, a little less than A, and some of the passages were made to correspond with the BA text by means of emendations^{20a}; C exhibits a text quite different from BA.

IV

REMARKS ON THE INDIVIDUAL NOTES OF THE FRAGMENT

No. 1. — Since the syllable bearing the Ga'ya is not the second before the tone but the first, it is an exceptional Light Ga'ya. The author very frequently indicates such Ga'yoth, both when a Ga'ya has to be put (nos. 3, 5, 9, 12, 28, 30, 32, 34, 36) and when it has not (no. 13). Mishael has a few remarks of this type but relatively by far not as many as in our fragment.

No. 2. — The Heavy Ga'ya is exceptional. Mishael notes that BA and BN do not differ about this passage. The author also mentions exceptional Heavy Ga'yoth similar to the above in nos. 11 and 16b (BA and BN differ on the latter passage).

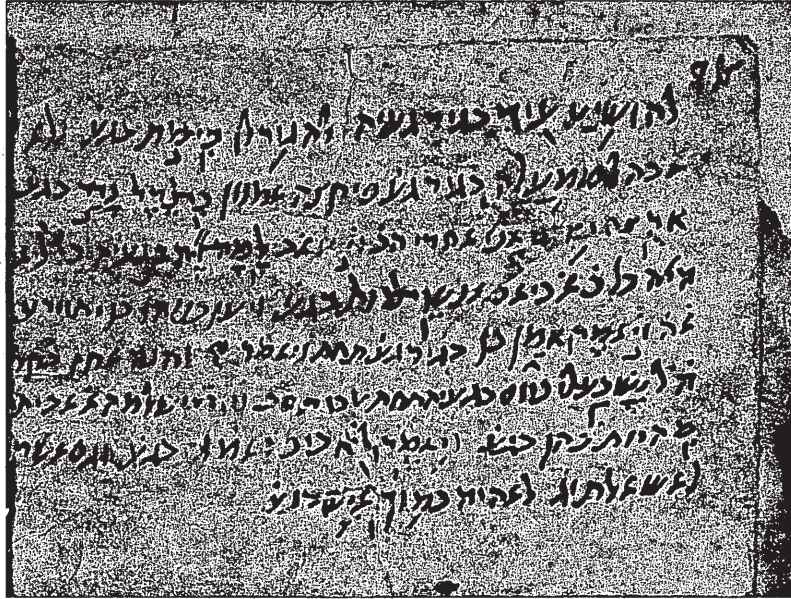
No. 4. — A ruling in which syllable to place Light Ga'ya. According to our rules (Baer) it must obviously be placed under the Qoph, like the ruling of the fragment, but it seems that during the author's time this rule was not quite so well established, since BA and BN differ a great deal concerning the syllable to be marked with Ga'ya in long words with Maqqeph (eg. Dt. vii, 1: *וַיִּסְרְפוּ רַגְלֵיהֶם*). The fragment also mentions similar places in nos. 21, 26 (BA and BN differ in both places), 35a; no. 15 also resembles them.

No. 6. — This word needs a Ga'ya according to BA's rules for the Heavy Ga'ya. Our author states that no Ga'ya appears here; the reason for this exception is unknown. BA and BN differ about this passage.

No. 7. — This word has two Ga'yoth. The first is a Ga'ya-Shewa, which occurs frequently in the Bible, though even Baer (pp. 201–205) was unable to discover rules concerning its use. An additional remark regarding Ga'ya-Shewa occurs in no. 18. The second Ga'ya is the Euphonic Ga'ya (Baer, §13 [pp. 63–64], and pp. 205–207). In our present discussion of this type of Ga'ya, we shall use a slightly different division from the one used by Baer.

20a. For the erasures in L, cf. H. Yalon, *Kiriath Sefer*, 30 (1954/55), p. 259; F. Pérez-Castro' *Sefarad* 15 (1955), p. 27 sq.

Handwritten text in Hebrew script, likely a manuscript page. The text is dense and appears to be a list or a collection of names and titles, possibly related to a religious or historical document. The script is somewhat faded and difficult to read in many places, but some words are discernible, such as "שם", "מלך", "נביא", "קדוש", "עליון", "גדול", "קדוש", "עליון", "גדול", "קדוש", "עליון", "גדול".



MS Jewish Theological Seminarg of America, ENA 3118, fol. 8b

A. Ga'ya with Şere which has become toneless through retraction of the tone, in order to prevent its being pronounced as Segol: אֶהָרֶב (Prov. xii, 1; Baer, §13; F. Praetorius, *Ueber den rückweichenden Accent im Hebräischen*, Halle 1897, p. 22).

B. Euphonic Ga'ya in a guttural letter.

C. Euphonic Ga'ya in a non-guttural letter (for this type cf. below, no. 41).

In no. 7, with which we are dealing at the moment, the fragment mentions a Euphonic Ga'ya in a guttural letter (type B); such notes are comparatively frequent in the fragment. These Ga'yoth occur under a final guttural if the following word is accented on its first syllable, their purpose apparently being to guard the guttural from being slurred. We shall divide them into two groups (a slightly different division from that of Baer's, §§ 42-44):

B(a). If the words are not connected by Maqqeph and the first one has penultimate accent and the second one has the accent at its beginning. Generally, the guttural is pointed with furtive Pataḥ: לַךְ לַהוֹשִׁיעַ (II Sam. x, 11).²¹ Yet sometimes the guttural is unpointed, e.g. הַשְׁמֵעַ עִם (Dt. iv, 33). Of this type in our fragment are notes nos. 8, 16a, 29 (with Ga'ya), 31, 33 (without Ga'ya).

B(b). When the words are connected by Maqqeph, the gutturals are generally vowelless (as opposed to the former): וְקָח-לוֹ (Ex. xxi, 10)²²; it is only very rarely pointed with a furtive Pataḥ: וְהִנִּיתָ-לוֹ (II Sam. vii, 1). Of this type we have in our fragment notes nos. 7, 14, 17, 27, 38.

No. 8.—This note belongs to the type discussed in no. 7, cf. there concerning the Euphonic Guttural Ga'ya. At this point we should dwell on the following matter: Both words are joined with a Maqqeph in the MS, in spite of the fact that the first word has a connective accent. Such accentuation is also found in no. 29. It requires further consideration, for a connective accent and a Maqqeph in one and the same word is a most surprising phenomenon and in contradiction to the rules of accentuation.

As can be seen in the right column, this accentuation stands in these two places also in C, and in C it occurs also in no. 16a, and an original Maqqeph is erased in no. 33. A. S. Hartom, in his article on the rules of Metheg in C, discussed the existence of Maqqeph and connective accent together²³. Two passages in his article deal with this Maqqeph: he has found (pp. 191-92) a Maqqeph in most cases of

21. Cf. Mishael on Eccl. i, 5: וּזְרָהּ הוּא שֵׁם BA lengthens the Heth (יֵאָרֵךְ הַחֵת), BN does not.

22. These Ga'yoth actually belong to the same type as those which frequently appear in A L C in the middle of a word before a guttural pointed with Shewa, e. g. יִשְׁעֵי הוֹרֵי (Is. xxxvii, 21).

23. *World Congress of Jewish Studies* 1947, I, Jerusalem 1952, pp. 191-192, 194.

the type שלף-חרב (Jud. xx,17; cf above no. 7, type A). He also (p. 194) sometimes found a Maqqeph in cases fitting no. 7, type B(a): ותושע-לו (Is. lix,16) etc. This latter example belongs to the same type of word groups which have Maqqeph in the examples in our fragment. To this should be added such a Maqqeph as occurs in C also in many of the places where there is a Euphonic Ga'ya in a non-guttural (no.7, type C) as we shall discuss later in no. 41. Summing up, we find that in a considerable number of places which are marked with a Euphonic Ga'ya of all three types, C places a Maqqeph between the two words. This Maqqeph, which occurs frequently in C, is also sometimes found in A and L. But it occurs so rarely as to suggest that these are only remainders which were forgotten by mistake. As there are so few of them, I shall produce here all those which I have found in A (I have checked through the whole MS):

Type A: שלף-חרב (Jud. viii,10 [also in C]; xx,2 [C?]; xx,35; I Chron. xxi,5); but:

שלף-חרב (Jud. xx,15,17); שלף-חרב (Jud. xx,46) etc.

גבל-ציץ (Is. xl, 7) [also in C?]

אם-יולד-גי (Is. lxvi, 8) [also in C]

Type B: ותושע-לו (Is. lix, 16) [also in C]

ותושע-לי (Is. lxiii, 5) [also in C]

וינח-לנו (II Chron. xiv, 6)

Type C: ועשת-לה (II Sam. vii, 9) [also in C].

Also in one case of retraction מה-יאמר-לי (Job. xxiii, 5)²⁴.

I did not examine L from this aspect, but it seems to occur even more rarely than in A. This type of Maqqeph I found in L only in four places;

ורבצה-בו (Deut. xxix, 19) [so L; BH without Maqqeph]

פציתי-פי (Jud. xi, 35) [no Maqqeph in A; C?]

24. There is a Maqqeph in II Chron. viii, 11: אשר-באה-אליהם, but it is difficult to establish the real accentuation here. Mishael notes a divergency in this place. In L: באה without Maqqeph; in the Marginal Massorah of L: BA באה (BH in both places: באה erroneously). Another passage which is not clear is Ezek. xvi, 12: ואתן-נום. L: ואתן-נום. C: ואתן-נום; Marginal Massorah in C: ל בטע; unclear Massorah Magna in C: בא ובין זה קורא בשופר בוואו; Cf. Ginsburg, *Mass.*, v, 25: במחזורא רבא ואתן-נום; וזה במארכה בתו ושניהם על יסוד אחד Maqqeph and connective accent occur also in Jer. xv, 11: אם-לא-שרותיך.

כל-שתי-מים (Ez. xxxi, 16) [no Maqqeph in AC]

עשק-דל (Prov. xiv, 31) [No Maqqeph in A]

The explanation which Hartom (ib. p.192) gives for this accentuation is that the Massoretes were apparently doubtful whether to use Maqqeph or a conjunctive accent in these instances and therefore used both. His explanation is, however, not convincing when one considers the generally exact accentuation of these three MSS. Such double accentuation also occurs in the Babylonian MS P, which in regard to the conjunctive accents and the Maqqeph agrees with the Tiberian usage.²⁵ Pinsker points out that in most instances of the *Athe me raḥiq* in P, e. g. *יעצת-בשת* (Hab. ii,10) the words are connected by Maqqeph even though the first word has a conjunctive accent. Among the Babylonian MSS described by Kahle in *MdO*, in two texts we find a point between two letters where the Tiberian has a *Deḥiq*. These words occur in text 20 (p.114): *מה . לכם* (Jos. xxii, 24); *נעשה . נא* (ib. 26); *חלילה . לנו* (ib. 29); in text 37 (p.135): *יחסה . בו* (Ps. xxxiv, 9). These two texts are pointed in the compound Babylonian system, but while P has in addition to the Maqqeph a Dagesh in the first letter of the second word, as in the Tib., there is no Dagesh in the two texts in the above examples.

There is apparently a connection between the point in these two Babylonian MSS and the Maqqeph in P and C. One may tentatively conclude that the point between two words constitutes an original Babylonian sign, whose purpose is to point out that a certain connexion exists between them. In Tib. this purpose is served by the Dagesh in the first letter of the second word²⁶. The two Babylonian MSS in *MdO* have the original Bab. version while P has both signs simultaneously, that is, the Bab. point (which has assumed the form of a Maqqeph) as well as the Tib. Dagesh—a typical phenomenon for the punctuation of P. C also has both signs at the same time, but not as in Bab. in cases of *Deḥiq* and *Athe me-raḥiq*²⁷, but in cases of the Euphonic *Ga'ya*.

Since the (Babylonian?) point between the words has in course of time taken on the form of a Maqqeph (in P), while the Maqqeph in the Tiberian system serves a completely different purpose, the Massoretes expunged it from their texts. Numerous traces of it have remained in C and a few also in A. The pre-

25. S. Pinsker, *Einleitung in das babylonisch-hebräische Punctuationssystem*, Wien 1863, p. 51 and esp. pp. 112–115.

26. Bergsträsser considers the points in these two Bab. MSS real Dagesh, cf. below note 41.

27. In only a very few instances in C did I find a Maqqeph in cases of *Deḥiq*, e. g. Jonah i, 11: *מה-נעשה-לך* (thus also P).

sence of this Maqqeph in our work is the best proof of its antiquity. Hence we have an additional piece of evidence that the fragment precedes the period of the Grammarians, who would without a doubt have 'corrected' every trace of this type.

No. 10.—The text agrees with BA. Notes such as these are still found in the *Divergencies*, e.g. *ad* Cant.viii,2: Mishael points out that both BA and BN write: אֲנִי־הִגַּלְתִּי, and point the gimel with pataḥ (׳הגִּמֶל פֶּתַח׳).

No. 19.—An interesting note. As is well known, the accent Pashta is postpositive, and in the case of a word with penultimate stress it is marked twice, once at the end of the word and once in the stressed syllable. Many grammarians²⁸ inform us that also the rest of the accents which are not marked on the stressed syllable (Large and Small Telisha, Zarqa, Segol), are in some MSS repeated in words with penultimate stress, and Heidenheim and Baer followed this practice in their Bible editions. But until now we did not know that this custom occurs also in the most ancient MSS. From the note in our fragment we learn that not every instance of a word with penultimate stress was thus marked, but only where there was doubt as to the stress of the word. The doubt in our example is obvious: it was necessary to indicate whether the accent was retracted or not. Since the accent retracted, this was marked by a repetition of the Small Telisha. This is also the practice of A B C L: these accents are only doubled in words with penultimate stress where there was room for doubt. Additional cases of such accentuation in our MSS are (the possibility of uncertainty in all of these is easily understood):

מִתְּהָ	(Gen. xlviii,7) L B (S only one Telisha)
וְהִסִּירָהּ	(Dt. xxi,13) L (S only one Telisha)
וַיֹּאמְרוּ לּוֹ הַחֲרָשׁ	(Jud. xviii,19) A L C
וַיֹּאמְרוּ לּוֹ חַכְמִי	(Est. vi,13) ²⁹ L
בַּעֲשׂוֹתַי בְּךָ שְׂפָטִים	(Ez. v,15) A L ³⁰ C
וְתָמוּ	(Jer. xliv,27) A (L C only one Telisha)

All of these concern the Small Telisha. Amongst the rest of the accents, I only found repetition of Zarqa:

דֶּרֶשׁ־מֶשֶׁקֶט (II Chron. xxviii,23) A

28. W. Wickes, *A Treatise on the Accentuation of the Twenty-One Prose Books*, Oxford 1887, p. 12; cf. *Minhath Shai* by S. J. Norzi to Gen. xxxi, 52; Ex. xii, 11, who quotes different views on this subject and the practice of different MSS.

29. Cf. below, note 34.

30. BH wrongly has one Telisha in all of these five places.

הִרְאָשׁ כָּל־בְּאֵנִי³¹ (II Sam. iii,8) L C (A only one Zarqa).
 חֲנֻנִי³¹ (II Chron. xix,2) L (A only one Zarqa)

Nos. 20, 23, 25, 39. These are various instances of the Light Ga'ya, which the author considered necessary to point out.

No. 22 — A special type of Ga'ya. Baer, §45 (p. 207).

No. 24 — Even though the text of this note is not clear (cf above, note 16), the intention is clear: the author wishes to say here that the *Seder* begins in verse 6 and not in verse 7. It is interesting that in A the *Seder* begins in verse 6, in C in verse 7, while in L the sign for beginning the *Seder* in verse 6 is erased and transferred to verse 7. All the sources in our possession: the list of *Sedarim* in L (end of the book of the Twelve Minor Prophets); in 'Adath *Devorim*; Ginsburg, *Mass.* II, p.331; in the beginning of BR—all fix the beginning of this *Seder* in verse 7. Our fragment, therefore, preserves the knowledge of a custom which had been forgotten until the discovery of A.

No. 35 — Exceptional Heavy Ga'ya. BA and BN differ.

No. 36 — Light Ga'ya similar to cases 1, etc. above.

Nos. 37, 40. — A Ga'ya of this type has not been known so far. While in no. 37 the author states that a Paseq is sufficient to separate the two words, in no. 40, in addition to the Paseq, Ga'ya is needed. The combination "וַיֹּאמֶר לֵי" (and he said unto him) frequently occurs in the Bible, and the first word is joined to the second. The combination "וַיֹּאמֶר לֵא" (and he said: Nay) occurs only rarely, and the Massorettes considered it necessary to point out that a distinction has to be made between it and the combination וַיֹּאמֶר לֵי (which is pronounced alike) and also to warn the reader to pause between the two words. Here the Ga'ya at the end of the word וַיֹּאמֶר serves this purpose. The following are additional examples of this combination:

Gen. xviii, 15: וַיֹּאמֶר לֵא (In L it is not clear if there is Ga'ya. S: וַיֹּאמֶר לֵא)

Mishael remarks: פֶּאן כֶּאן בַּעֲזָא אַלְמַעְלָמִין יִדְגֵּשׁ לֵא וְלִיס הוּ צַחִיָּה

"though some scholars put a Dagesh in the לֵא, this is not correct."

Josh. v,14: וַיֹּאמֶר לֵא. Mishael: BA without Dagesh, BN לֵא, Dagesh.

Jud. xii,5: וַיֹּאמֶר לֵא (A L). Mishael's note to this place is not clear.

31. BH wrongly has one Zarqa. There is a divergency regarding this passage, but it seems to refer to the accentuation of the word כָּל־בְּאֵנִי and not to the word אֲנִי.

I Kings xi,22: וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָּא (A L³²).

Cf also I Sam. ii,16: K וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָּא (Q לא). So A L C. In the Massorah Magna of C there is the following obscure note: וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָּא פִּינְחָס וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָּא.

In all of these passages Gins. notes variants in which לא is pointed with a Dagesh, but he notes no reading with Ga'ya. However, in other passages, also in A L C, a Dagesh serves the purpose of dividing a word from a following לא. For instance in passages marked in the Massorah Magna in L to Pr. xxvi,17:

וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָּא	(Gen. xix,2) L B S
וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָּא	(I Sam. viii,19) A L C
כִּי לֹא לֹ	(Gen. xxxviii,9) L S ³³ .
מִשְׁכָּנֹת לֹא-לֹ	(Hab. i,6) L C
הַמְרִבָּה לֹא-לֹ	(ib. ii,6) L C
רִיב לֹא-לֹ	(Pr. xxvi, 17) So A; L: לֹא-לֹ

In these passages לא is marked with Dagesh also in most of our MSS, cf. further:

I Sam. xvi, 7: לֹא כִּי אֵלָּא Michael notes a variant which is not clear (BN: לא?)

Dt. xxxii, 5; שָׁחַת לֹא לֹ A L. Gins. notes many MSS: לא.³⁴

With these two types of case, in the combination לא לֹ as well as in the combinations לֹ וַיֹּאמֶר/וַיֹּאמְרוּ, the Massoretes were obliged to emphasize the division between the two words. This they achieve, as we have seen, in two ways: by marking the end of the first word with Ga'ya and by putting a Dagesh into the first letter of the second word. Both cause the reading to be slowed up, and thus the word requiring distinction is emphasized. In the ancient MSS A L C both the Ga'ya and the Dagesh serve this purpose, while in late MSS we no longer find the Ga'ya, and only the Dagesh fulfils this purpose. The accentuation: לֹא־ in Pr. xxvi, 17 in L is interesting in that it has both Ga'ya and Dagesh.

The Dagesh in cases such as these has its normal function of doubling the consonant. The purpose of the doubling in this instance is to slow up the reading

32. BH has no Ga'ya.

33. BH has no Dagesh. For this passage cf. W. Heidenheim, *Me'or 'Enayim*, Genesis, Rödelheim 1818, a. 1.

34. The Massorah Magna on Dan. v, 11 and the סֵפֶר טַעְמֵי הַמִּקְרָא attributed to Ibn-Bal'am (*Liber de accentibus scripturae auctore R. Iuda filio Balaam*, ed. Io. Mercerus, Paris 1565, p. Aii, b) mention Dagesh in לֹ also in the two passages Jud. xviii, 19; Est. vi, 13. Cf. *Minhath Shai* ad loc; regarding the Jud. passage, Norzi points out that a Dagesh is prescribed by the Massorah, but that he himself found it only in one old MS. In A L C these places have no Dagesh. In S לא has Dagesh also in Num. xxii, 30; וַיֹּאמֶר לֹא after disjunctive accent (in L perhaps an erased Dagesh; B has no Dagesh).

in order to separate the words. This purpose of the Dagesh has not been recognized; those scholars who discussed it supposed it to be some form of the *Athe me-rahiq*³⁵; an unusual Dagesh conjunctivum³⁶; a sign which points out ultimate stress in contrast to penultimate stress or a particular pronunciation of the word³⁷; or dissimilation on account of the number of similar vowels³⁸, etc. Bergsträsser remarks that in Bab. לִי has a Dagesh in contrast to לֵא as a diacritic sign³⁹. There is no doubt of the relationship between this Dagesh in the Bab. and Tib. traditions, in spite of the fact that in Bab. it occurs in the word לִי, and in Tib. generally in the word לֵא. Yet, to my mind, the very fact that the Ga'ya serves the same purpose shows that though in Tib. this Dagesh might have evolved from a diacritic sign, in the Tib. MSS which form the subject of this study it is not a diacritic sign but serves to indicate doubling according to the normal function of a Dagesh. What is special here, is the purpose of this doubling, namely to emphasize the division of words.

It is likely that the purpose of the Dagesh which occurs in the *lamedh* of לֵאמֶר after מִשֶׁה also serves as word divider. It is only marked when the word מִשֶׁה has a conjunctive accent which would normally cause liaison, but since the sense requires separation, the Dagesh has acquired this task. Pinsker (*op. cit.*, p. 60) notes that in P there is a Dagesh in the word לֵאמֶר not only after מִשֶׁה as in our Tib. MSS, but in every instance where the preceding word has a conjunctive accent (with few exceptions). He deals there with the views of various grammarians, e.g. David Qimḥi who explains this Dagesh as Deḥiq. Pinsker himself is of the opinion that this Dagesh marks the different pronunciations of the word לֵאמֶר (לֵאמֶר-לֵאמֶר). Baer and Bergsträsser (*ib.*) consider this Dagesh an unusual Deḥiq. I am of the opinion that this Dagesh, as the one in לֵא, has for its sole purpose the division between words.

In this paragraph we saw that a Ga'ya at the end of the first word serves as word divider in exactly the same conditions as a Dagesh at the beginning of the second word^{39a}. In the following no. we witness a similar phenomenon.

35. S. Baer, "De primarum vocabulorum literarum dagessatione", in *Liber Proverbiorum*, Lipsiae 1880, pp. XIV-XV.
36. G. Bergsträsser, *Hebräische Grammatik*, I, Leipzig 1918, pp. 66 sq.
37. Such a Dagesh also appears in P. Cf. S. Pinsker, *op. cit.* p. 109 sq.
38. Y. F. Gumpertz, *מבטאי שפתנו*, Jerusalem 1953, p. 229.
39. *Op. cit.* p. 67, § 10u. He cites P. Kahle, *Der masoretische Text des A. T. nach der Ueberslieferung der babylonischen Juden*, Leipzig 1902, pp. 36, 144, but rejects the explanation of Kahle (who tries to see here a dissimilation in spite of numerous examples which cannot be thus explained) and of E. Littmann of this phenomenon. Bergsträsser regards this Dagesh as a diacritic sign to distinguish between לִי and לֵא.
- 39a. F. R. Blake, *JAOS* 32 (1912), p. 96, also notes some connection between Ga'ya and Dagesh. He puts forward the view (*ib.*, p. 98-9) that Peseq developed from Ga'ya, since sometimes both serve the same purposes, but does not provide full proof for this theory.

No. 41. — This is a most interesting Ga'ya, namely, a Euphonic Ga'ya in a non-guttural letter (type C in no. 7 above). It had been unknown until now. The only MS where it occurs in this place is A.⁴⁰

A Euphonic Ga'ya in a non-guttural letter frequently occurs in ALC, but scholars have not so far paid attention to it. In the case of two consecutive words, the first of which has penultimate stress and open last syllable, and is connected by a connective accent to the following word, whose stress is in the first syllable, the Massorettes apparently feared that the (last) unaccented syllable of the first word would be slurred over and they therefore strengthened it by one of the two ways known to us from no. 40 above: by means of the Ga'ya or the Dagesh. Two types have, however, to be distinguished:

- a. If the second word has the accent at its beginning and does not start with a vocal shewa;
- b. If the second word has the accent at its beginning and a vocal shewa precedes the accented vowel.

Likewise, the quality of the vowel which ends the first word must be taken into account according to whether it is *a* or one of the group *u, i, e*.

a. The second word has the accent at its beginning and does not start with a vocal shewa:

(1) The first word ends with the vowel *a* — in this case we have before us the well-known Athe me-raḥiq. e.g. וְאֶתְּחַדְּתָהּ לְיָ (Is. viii, 2), i.e. there is a Dagesh in the first letter of the second word.⁴¹

But if the second word starts with a guttural (except *Resh* which sometimes, in cases of the Athe me-raḥiq, also takes a Dagesh), there may be a Ga'ya at the

40. Ginsburg, *Mass.*, III, § 611kk has a note on I Kings viii, 23: כְּמוֹךְ בַּהֲלִילִי כְמוֹךְ.

The note is not clear. Perhaps it was meant to relate to our passage.

41. Cf. Bergsträsser, *op. cit.* p. 65 sq. on Dagesh conjunctivum. In his opinion this Dagesh shows that the syllable at the end of the first word has to be shortened. He rejects the view of other scholars who maintain that this is an ordinary Dagesh meant to double the letter. He supplies examples where in Bab. a point appears between words to indicate a Dehiq (see examples above at end of r.o. 8). From the explanations given below it results that this Dagesh, like the Ga'ya used for the same purpose, aims not at shortening the vowel preceding, but on the contrary, at preserving its length. The Dagesh Athe me-raḥiq is not only a diacritic sign but a doubling Dagesh, the purpose of which is to slow down the reading of the words. The parallel adduced in this section between the Dagesh and the Ga'ya causes us to ask whether the Athe me-raḥiq is not simply a Euphonic Dagesh whose purpose is that of the Ga'ya with which we deal in this section, that is: to preserve the last vowel of the first word. But the problem of the Athe me-Raḥiq is too complex to be exhausted within the framework of this article.

end of the first word. However, such a Ga'ya occurs in the MSS we are dealing with here in a minority of the cases where it ought to have occurred according to these conditions. Below I reproduce these in their entirety;

עֲשִׂתָּהּ חֶסֶד	(I Sam. xv,6) A
וַעֲשִׂתָּהּ חֶסֶד	(ib. xx,8) A
כְּמִוֶּה אִישׁ	(I Kings, iii,13) A (The example in our passage)
עֲבַדְיָהָ אֱלֹהֵי	(II Kings i,13) A L* (C?) 42.
כּוֹנֵנֶת אֶרֶץ	(Ps. cxix,90) A

These are all the places which I have found: all of them are in A, and only one of them is similarly pointed also in L. In addition, I found four instances where the second word does not begin with a guttural and yet has no Dagesh Athe me-rahiq but Ga'ya at the end of the first word:

כִּי-עָלָה מוֹת	(Jer. ix,20) A C
פְּלִיאָה דַעַת	(Ps. cxxxix,6) A L 43.
שֹׁמֵרָה נֶשֶׁף	(Job, xxiv,15) A L
הִיָּה וְעַר	(II Chron. xiii,7) A

(2) The first word ends with the vowels *u, i, e* — generally where the second word begins with a guttural, but also where it does not, there may be a Ga'ya at the end of the first word. This Ga'ya, too, only occurs in a minority of the cases suitable for it. For that reason I reproduce here all the instances which I found:

וַקָּרָאתִי לְךָ	(Ex. ii,7) B
אֱלֹהֵי כֶסֶף	(ib. xx,23) B
יַעֲלִימוּ עִם	(Lev. xx,4) L* (no Ga'ya in B)
רְאִיתִי אִמִּישׁ	(II Kings ix,26) A
הִילָלִי שְׁעַר	(Is. xiv, 31) 43 ^a A L C
וַנְתִּי חֲשֹׁךְ	(Ezek. xxxii,8) A
אֶפְפוֹנֵי מַיִם	(Jonah ii,6) C** (A is missing in this place)
קָרָאתִי נְעִם	(Zech. xi,7) A C**
חֲרִיתִי פָּרֶשׁ	(Mal. ii,3) A

42. In this section I mark with an asterisk* those cases where BH wrongly lacks Ga'ya which appears in L. I mark with two asterisks** those cases which in addition to Ga'ya also have Maqqeph (mainly in C; cf. above, no. 8).

43. BH wrongly has Merkha instead of Ga'ya.

43a. Perhaps this Ga'ya is to prevent the merging of the two consecutive syllables "li". Cf. a similar use of Dagesh in לִילִית לְיַעֲקֹב (Is. xxxiv, 14).

יִכְלְמוּ בִי (Ps. lxi,7) A
 מִשְׁכֵּימֵי קוֹם (Ps. cxxvii,2) A
 גְּבוּרֵי חֵיל (I Chron. xii,26) A

In only one case did I find a Dagesh in such a case;

וְאִנְחָנוּ קָמְנוּ (Ps. xx,9) L (sic! in the apparatus) (A is missing in this place).

Cf. also גָּסוּרֵי זֶרֶם מְאֹד (Jer. xlix,30) A L C ⁴⁴

With the whole of this type, Ga'ya occurs only in the minority of the cases suitable for it. Not so with the following type, where Ga'ya occurs in the majority of instances suitable for it.

b. The second word has the accent at the beginning and a Vocal Shewa preceding the accented vowel.

(1) The first word ends with the vowel *a* —if the second word begins with a non-guttural, it takes a Dagesh as with *Athe me-rahiq*:

אֶרְצָה כְּנִינִי (Gen. xi, 31)
 הִרְחִיבָה שְׂאוֹל (Is. v,14) A L* C
 וְלִילָהּ לְלִילָהּ (Ps. xix,3)⁴⁵.

and many others ^{45a}. Baer remarks in his introduction to *Proverbs* (cf. above note 35), p. XIII, that this kind of Dagesh occurs in all letters except for the particles בּוֹכֵל. The only case in which it does appear is לָךְ. Though he points out when a Dagesh does, or does not occur, he knows nothing about the Ga'ya

44. A similar instance in I Sam. xv, 6: לְכוּ פָרוּ רְדוּ A L C (in BH wrongly without Dagesh). In this example, as also in Jer. xlix, 30, one would have expected a Dagesh at the beginning of the third word (cf. below), and in fact a Dagesh does appear in this place in some MSS (cf Gins. ad. loc., and Ginsburg, *Mass.*, letter *Resh*, § 7, there רְדוּ is counted among the examples of *Resh* with Dagesh).

The three instances where the letter *Yodh* has a Dagesh at the beginning of the word may belong to this type (Massorah Magna on Dan. v, 11; Bergsträsser, *op. cit.*, p. 66): קָרָאתִי יְהָ (Ps. xciv, 12; BH wrongly without Dagesh); יִסְרֵנוּ יְהָ (ib, cxviii, 5); יִסְרֵנוּ יְהָ (ib. 18). In these examples, the purpose of the Dagesh

in the *Yodh* is to separate the two words so as to prevent the word יְהָ from being rendered indistinct by the hasty reading of the preceding word.

45. The Dagesh in this example may be on account of the multiplicity of *Lamedhs*; cf. בְּנִיָּהּ לְלֵא-לָהּ (Job xxxix, 16) A L*.

45a. Such a Dagesh appears in L and is erroneously not marked in BH in the following places: שָׁמוּ (Neh. ix, 7), לָהֶם (Ezra v, 4, 9, 10), טָעַם (Dan. iv, 25), מָטָא (ib. iii, 10).

which appears in the MSS A L C in the absence of the Dagesh. In fact, in all instances of this type, which according to Baer do not take a Dagesh, these MSS have a Ga'ya. Below is a list of all the cases which I found:

יְדַעְתִּיָּהּ בָּשֵׁם	(Ex. xxxiii,12) A L* B
תְּהִיֶּינָהּ לְאִישׁ	(Dt. xxi,15) L*
וְהִיֶּינָהּ לְעַם	(ib. xxvii,9) L
מִשְׁחַתִּיָּהּ לְמִלְךָ	(II Sam. xii,7 — A L [C?]; (II Kings ix,6 — L*; ib. 12 — L*)
וְהִיֶּינָהּ לְאִישׁ	(I Kings ii,2) A L*
פִּשְׁטָהּ וְעָרָה	(Is. xxxii,11) A L C**
קִרְאִתִּיָּהּ בְּצַדִּיק	(Ib. xlii,6) A L*
וְנִתְּתִיָּהּ לְבֹ	(Ezek. xxv, 7) A L* L**
תְּלֵה לְטוֹב	(Micah i,12) A L
וְתִקְרָאנָה שְׁמוֹ	(Ruth iv,17) A L ⁴⁶
חֲשֹׁכֶת לְמִטָּה	(Ezra ix,13) L

In two examples in A L C I found neither Maqqeph nor Ga'ya: Ezek xli,7; Lam. i,5.

Similarly, when the second word begins with a guttural which does not take a Dagesh, there will be a Ga'ya at the end of the first word. The following are the instances which I found;

פְּדִנָה אֲרָם	(Gen. xxviii,2,5,6,7) 47.
הַסִּבְלֶת עֲשׂוֹ	(Ib. xxxi,28) L
עֲבַדְיָהּ אֲנַחְנוּ	(Josh. ix,8 — A C; II Kings x, 5 — A)
לְפָנֶיהָ אָכַל	(I Sam. ix, 24) A L*

46. This example is in contrast to the above rule of Baer's.

47. This is the only example of the Non-Guttural Euphonic Ga'ya being found also in the ordinary editions. Grammarians and scholars knew of it but they did not know that it constituted only one form out of a whole series of such Ga'yoth and consequently they found it difficult to explain. They generally explained that the purpose of a Ga'ya in this instance was to prevent the א of the word אֲרָם from being swallowed up between the two *a* vowels. Cf עֵינִי הַקּוֹרֵא: So all of them (namely, the four passages where this combination appears) with a sign under *Nun* and all the Spaniards, and it seems that the sign was inserted for the sake of the correct reading of Aleph in אֲרָם". Gumpertz has a similar explanation *op. cit.* p. 246, note 42. In many MSS this Ga'ya has the form of a Merkha. In the ordinary Bible editions, very few further instances of such a Ga'ya are to be found. In the new edition by N. H. Snaith we find them in Job xxiv, 15 שְׁמֵרָה; Ruth ii, 14 גִּשְׁי (for the latter, cf. Ginsburg's apparatus).

נַחַה אֲרָם	(Is. vii, 2) L
שָׁמַעַתְּ חוּה	(ib. xlviii,6) A L C**
בְּשֵׁה חַמַּת	(Jer. xlix,23) A L C**
הַבִּיטָה עֲנִי	(Ps. xiii,4) A L
הִרְכַּבְתָּ אֲנוֹשׁ	(ib. lxvi,12) A
יִכְרַסְמוּהָ חוּר	(ib. lxxx,14) A L
כְּמוֹהָ חַסִּין	(ib. lxxxix,9) A L*
הַשְׁכַּחְנָא עֲלוּהִי	(Dan. vi,6) L

I did not find such a Ga'ya in A L C in the following places: Ezek. xxxii,29; Ezra iv,12; vi,13.

(2) The first word ends with the vowels *i, u, e*. In a few instances a Dagesh appears at the beginning of the second word, the following are all the places which I discovered;

קוֹמוּ צְאוּ	(Gen. xix,14; Ex. xii,31)
תִּשְׁבְּרִיתוּ שְׂאֵר	(Ex. xii,15) L*
קוֹמוּ סְעוּ	(Dt. ii,24)
קוֹמֵי שְׁבִי	(Is. lii,3) A L C
וַיַּחֲלוּ מַעַט	(Hos. viii,10) A L C
קִצְפַּתִּי מַעַט	(Zech. i,15) A L* C
וַתַּחֲסֶרְהוּ מַעַט	(Ps. viii,6) A L
רֹמוּ מַעַט	(Job xxiv,24) A L*(?)
הוֹדִינוּ לָהּ	(Ps. lxxv,2) A L
וַיִּסְכְּפוּ לָהּ	(Pr. ix,11) A L ⁴⁸ .
שִׁמוּ טַעַם	(Ezra vi,21) L*

Most of these places have a Dagesh not only in A L C but also in the current editions of the Bible, a number of them are even annotated in the Massorah. Baer, *op.cit.* (p.XIII) enumerates most of them; he considers them exceptional cases of the *Athe me-rahiq*. Heidenheim (*Me'or 'Enayim* on Ex. xii,15) states that the purpose of this Dagesh is to strengthen the sibilants, to prevent them from being swallowed up by the gutturals which follow them. Gumpertz, *op.cit.* p. 229 assumes that this Dagesh points out dissimilation from similar vowels as

48. In the apparatus of BH: *sic* L. It is not clear why here the Dagesh serves to separate while in many other places where such a word precedes לָהּ there is a Euphonic Ga'ya. Cf: והגידו לָהּ (Dt. xvii, 9, 10, 11); תגנו לָהּ (Gen.1,18) etc.

in: קומו צאוי. As I have tried to explain here, this Dagesh is not peculiar to isolated instances, but forms part of a complete system of cases where combinations of words which require a certain division are marked with Dagesh or Ga'ya. It may therefore, be assumed that also in these instances the purpose of the Dagesh is as word divider.

However, this Dagesh appears only in a minority of places in which the words fulfill these conditions, mainly in the sibilants and to a lesser extent also in the letters *Mem* and *Lamedh*. But in the vast majority of cases, Ga'ya occurs at the end of the first word. There are so many of these instances that I can only give a small selection:

תגידו בנת (II Sam. i,20) A L* C**
 פרתו ברית (Jer. xxxiv,13) A L C**

Amongst cases where the second word begins with a sibilant, I have found such a Ga'ya only when it begins with *Shin*:

נשבנו שנינו (I Sam. xx,42) only L*
 יאשיהו שמו (I Kings xiii,2) A

On the other hand, there are numerous cases where such a Ga'ya occurs when the second word begins with *Mem* or *Lamedh*, e. g.:

עשיתי מאומה (Gen. xl,15) L* B
 ושימני לאב (ib. xlv, 8) L* B

Similarly, it will of course occur when the second word begins with a guttural:

ועבדנו אנחנו (Jud. ix,28) A
 גשוו הלים (I Sam. xiv,38) A L C

Exept one group of combinations of the type חוקיהו בני (I Chron. iii,13) which practically never take such a Ga'ya, I found some 90 places suitable for such Ga'ya, of these it appears in L in 66 instances, i.e. 70% of the cases.⁴⁹ A shows a similar percentage: of 57 such places, Ga'ya occurs in 42. In C ca. 50% of such

49. The following is a list of places where L has Ga'ya but it was erroneously not marked in BH (in addition to the instances quoted before and marked L*): Gen. xl, 15; xliii, 9; xlv, 8; xlviii, 19, 22; Ex. xix, 19; xxxiii, 19; Lev. xxv, 53; Num. xxii, 28; Dt. xvii, 9, 10, 11; xxviii, 68; Jud. vii, 13; I Sam. xvi, 21; II Sam. vii, 9; xxiv, 10; Is. xxviii, 15; xxix, 23; Jer. xlii, 2; Joel iv, 13; Eccl. ii, 1, 12; Dan. vi, 25; II Chr. xvi, 3; xxviii, 27.

cases have Ga'ya (18 out of 37); a few places are illegible but they would not appreciably alter the picture.⁵⁰

One instance in A has Maqqeph between the two words in addition to the Ga'ya:

וְעִשְׂתִּי-לִךְ (II Sam. vii,9) (also in C)

L has also maqqeph in one instance (Ez. xxv, 7). C shows a Maqqeph between the two words in 14 out of 18 places which have a Ga'ya, i. e. in the great majority. Cf. concerning the Maqqeph above in the discussion on no. 8.

The Euphonic Ga'ya of this type appears neither in BR nor in the usual editions⁵¹, and it is not mentioned by any of the scholars who dealt with the rules of Ga'ya, such as Jekuthiel, Baer and Heidenheim. The only source I have found which makes some allusions to this Ga'ya, is the *ספר טעמי המקרא* (cf. above, note 34), p. F iii b. The language of the passage is not quite clear and as a result it was not understood until we were in possession of MSS such as A L C which mark this Ga'ya. I give here the Hebrew text of the passage;

“וגם אמרו בעלי הדקדוק ואם רצית לומר המלה הראשונה על השנייה בנעיא⁵² יהיה בין שני הטעמים מלך אחד או מלך ושבא ויהיה הטעם בתחלה השנייה או יסור ממנו בשבא ותהיה הראשונה סופה יד או ויו כגון ופניתי אני. ואם העלם יעלימו עם הארץ. ויהי כי הקיפו ימי המשתה.”

Below follow the verses quoted:

וּפְנִיתִי אֲנִי (Eccl. ii,11) L

50. The rule that the accentuation does not usually retract before a word beginning with Shewa has a bearing on this whole subject. F. Praetorius, *Ueber den rückweichenden Accent im Hebräischen*, Halle 1897, p. 34, supplies some twelve instances only in the whole of the Bible where the accent retracts before such a word (עָמַד וּבִלְהָ; כָּמָה לָךְ) etc). The *ספר טעמי המקרא* mentioned above shows (on the last page but one) several such examples (some of which Praetorius does not mention). But in all of these examples, the last syllable is closed, for had it been open e. g. הִיָּה לָךְ, Ga'ya would be needed, according to our rules, at the end of the first word.
51. It is worth mentioning that I found such a Ga'ya in a non-Biblical text which is accented accurately in imitation of the Biblical accentuation. This is a fragment of *Sefer Hammo'adhim* of R. Saadiah Gaon, printed in *JQR*, 14 (1902), photograph opposite p. 50 (MS Cambridge, T-S 10K 4). We find in this fragment (l. 12): נִפְלְאוּ לִמּוֹ, as in a (2) above.
52. The exact wording here deserves our attention. As far as I can make out, the author says that the “masters of grammar” leave it to one's discretion whether to insert this Ga'ya or not. In other words: one is not obliged to use this Ga'ya, but whoever does use it, must do so according to the proper rules. This statement may supply us with an explanation for the irregularity with which this Ga'ya appears even in A L C B. It might not be unreasonable to suppose that a similar practice was in vogue also with regard to the marking of Light Ga'ya, thus accounting for the inconsistency of ancient MSS in this respect.

יַעֲלִימוּ עִם (Lev. xx,4) L* (no Ga'ya in B)
 הַקִּיפוּ יָמֵי (Job i,5) L (no Ga'ya in A)

In two of these three examples, the second word begins with a Shewa before the accented vowel (section b above) and in one, with the accented vowel (section a above), i.e. this author, too, as in our explanation, makes no difference between these two types. He mentions only the Ga'ya in such cases but not the Dagesh; he mentions only the vowels *i, u*, but not *a*.

We thus realize that the two signs, Ga'ya at the end of the first word and Dagesh at the beginning of the second word, serve the same purpose: to prevent the merging of words. In section a it is clear that it is to prevent the merging of the last unaccented vowel of the first word. It is not clear to me whether in section b the idea is to prevent the merging of this vowel, or to enforce the correct pronunciation of the Vocal Shewa at the beginning of the second word. We have also come across the use of Ga'ya and Dagesh for the same purpose in nos. 37, 40.

The Euphonic Ga'ya in a non-guttural, which we have discussed at length in this no., appears only in A L C, not in other MSS or Bible editions. It can serve as a criterion for assessing the character of a MS. Below we examine a number of MSS from this aspect.

1. This Ga'ya appears in B. Out of fifteen suitable places in that part of the Bible, which is preserved in this MS, it occurs in eight, *i.e.* in more than half of the places, a percentage not much lower than that of A L.
2. In MS Firkowitsch 225 (Kahle, *MdW* I, pp.67 sq.) which contains nine fols. and is dated 1017 A. D., we find:

כְּרַתִּי (-) בְּרִית (Jer. xxxiv, 13)
 אֶפְפוּנֵי מֵיִם (Jonah ii, 6)
 תִּלְהֶה לְטוֹב (Micah i, 12)

According to its use of this Ga'ya (besides other indications), this MS clearly belongs to this group.

3. In S, which Sassoon (in his catalogue, vol. I, p. 23) considers earlier than B, I found this Ga'ya in six out of twenty-five suitable places in the Pent.: Gen. xxii, 7 (also Maqqeph between the two words); xlviii, 19; Ex. xxxiii, 12; Dt. xvii, 9, 10 (with Maqqeph); xxvii, 9. This MS, which inclines towards the system of BN, thus deviates from our group of MSS, as far as this Ga'ya is concerned, more than C which also inclines somewhat to the system of BN.
4. Among the early MSS which Ginsburg used in his edition (Gins.) MS 7—British Museum, Harl. 5720 (ca. 1100–1120)—This Ga'ya does not occur. From

among the rest of the rulings of the Massoretic fragment with which we are dealing, we may mention:

- No. 19: השבעה
 24: the *Seder* begins in verse 7
 40. ויאמר | לא

The signs show that this MS does not belong to the group with which we are dealing.

MS ה — British Museum, Ar. Or. 16 (ca. 1120).— There is no such Ga'ya. No. 40: ויאמר | לא

MS ז — British Museum, Add. 21161 (ca. 1150).— There is no such Ga'ya except for one instance: הקיפו (Job i,5). No. 40: ויאמר | לא

Similarly there is generally no such Ga'ya in MS ט — British Museum Add. 9403 (ca. 1160–1200); MS י — British Museum Add. 4708 (ca. 1180–1200); MS יא — British Museum Add. 15451 (ca. 1200).⁵³

Returning to the note we have been discussing (no. 41), we realize that the author thinks it right to comment on I Kings, iii,13 but not on similar places in I Sam. xv, 6; xx,8 (cf. above), even though they occur in that part of the Bible with which he deals. We witnessed the same phenomenon also with the rest of his notes which are not exhaustive. We cannot know today whether this is due to the author's unsystematic manner of writing or whether the text before him differed in these places.

In any event, it is obvious that though the Bible text of the author of the Massoretic fragment differed in a few places from each of the MSS A L C, it belonged to the same group of MSS.

53. I thank the Institute of Hebrew MSS for allowing me to study the microfilms of the MSS of the British Museum mentioned here.