Another attribute common to both sects is the term יָוֶּאֶשׁ, “those who turn from transgression.” It occurs in the Damascus Fragments\footnote{II, 5; xx, 17.} and in the Manual of Discipline\footnote{X, 20.} as well as in the Thanksgiving Scroll.\footnote{II, 5; xx, 17.\footnote{X, 20.}} Significantly, in the two first-mentioned sources it is used as an antithesis to שֵׁבֶר מַעַשֶּׁת, "those who deviated from the way" — a term used as a designation for the antagonists. Both terms are expressive of the general ideology of the sect and are thus apt characterizations of the schismatics and their opponents. The very rise of the sect, it may be recalled, sprang from the conviction that the former generations, as well as the contemporaries who followed in their footsteps, had misinterpreted the Torah, had deviated from the right path and were steeped in impiety. The New Covenant is, therefore, a “covenant of return” (ברית תשובה)\footnote{سورא חמשת המינים, Pl. 36, 9; Pl. 40, 6; Pl. 48, 24.\footnote{Damascus Fragments, xix, 16.}} and its adherents are consequently called “those who turn from transgression,” while all others are “those who deviated from the way.”

But the designation שַׁבָּה הַפֶּשַׁח carries yet another and deeper implication: it is indicative of the eschatological
consciousness of the Qumran sectaries who believed that the period in which they were living represented the final stage in human history before the commencement of the messianic era and, further, that they were the שבי מעש of whom Isaiah (59.20) predicted: And the redeemer will come to Zion, and to those who turn from transgression. It is they who will be saved in the cataclysm that is to precede the coming of the Redeemer, while those who refuse to return will be handed over to the sword.

In addition to the designation שבח פשח', which clearly and unmistakably points to the Isaiah verse (the only place in the Bible where the expression appears), the elliptical term שבי מעש was also current among the Qumran sectaries, as in the much-discussed expression שבי מעש המדבר and further in שבי מעש המדבר occurring in the recently published fragment from a commentary on the Psalms. We met a similar ellipsis in the preceding section regarding the epithet הממי רר which was shortened to הממי, and another example will be encountered in the following section relative to the term שראית ישראל שראית ישראל. These very terms (שבי מעש, שבי מעש) were employed by the early Karaites, especially by the ascetics domiciled in Jerusalem, to designate themselves. Particularly frequent

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50 Notwithstanding the fact that the designation in question occurs rather frequently in early Karaite literature, it escaped the notice of scholars who treated of this history of Karaism. Only L. Ginzberg who published a Genizah text by an early Karaite author (Genizah Studies, II, 437–42) in which the term שבח פשח' appears twice, observes somewhat hesitatingly that he is inclined to take it as a sobriquet for Karaites (ibid., p. 435). On the other hand, one looks in vain to find the term in the extensive index (pp. 1487–1596) to Mann’s Karaitica (Texts and Studies II), although it does in fact occur there in the extracts from a commentary on the Psalms (p. 102).
is the full designation Shabhe Pesha', but also the elliptical
term shabhim and its Arabic equivalent were in
vogue among them.

Not only is the designation common to both sects,
also the ideology underlying it is the same. As already
indicated above, Messianism held a central place in the
thought and life of the Karaite ascetics; the belief in the
imminent approach of the messianic era shaped their
peculiar frame of mind and determined their mode of life.
It is highly significant that even the cardinal teaching of
Karaism, the rejection of Rabbanite traditions, was closely
linked up with its Messianism. The early spokesmen of
Karaism were indefatigable in reiterating time and again
that the adherence to Rabbanism had been the cause of the
prolonged exile and the chief obstacle to the messianic
salvation, and that it was only now, with the advent of the
Karaites who discarded Rabbanism, that the way for the
coming of the Messiah had at last been opened. The
Shabhe Pesha', those who turned from Rabbanism, have
at last appeared and they will be instrumental in achieving
the final redemption.

Eloquent expression to this belief was given by Daniel
al-Qumisi in his appeal to the fellow-sectaries in the
Diaspora to come and settle in Jerusalem.

\[53\] Cf. al-Qumisi in Melilah II, p. 202; Sahl ben Maqliah in Pinsker,
Appendices, p. 36; anonymous Karaite writer in Ginzberg, op. cit.,
p. 440, line 22.

\[52\] See David al-Fasi, Kitāb Jāmi‘ al-Alfāz, I, p. 396, line 83; II, p. 20,
line 31.

\[53\] JQR, XII, pp. 278 f.: המוכות יהודים למקרא ולMuiי ה’ heißt מוכות

As to the antithetical expressions “the Lord’s
Torah” (ה’ סבנה and “commandment of men learned by rote” (מוכות
לומדים), see my article in The Journal of Jewish Studies, 1955,
“And now my brethren in Israel, contemplate in your heart: Why is our Galuth lasting so very long? The Galuth of our forefathers, the Babylonian exile, lasted seventy years, but our Galuth is lasting exceedingly long... Know, that they [the forefathers] knew the way of the commandments of the Lord’s Torah, they realised therefore that they must repent... but in the Galuth of to-day people serve God through ‘commandments of men learned by rote,’ contrary to God’s Torah... therefore the Lord does not answer us, nor does He help us...”

The Shabhe Pesha' only will take part in the messianic salvation. On Amos 5.2 (The virgin of Israel is fallen, she shall no more rise) al-Qumisi observes that in fact since the destruction of the Northern Kingdom of Israel a little less than 1500 years have elapsed, and they have not yet risen from their exile, and they will not rise even in the messianic age, only those “who turn from transgression,” according to Isa. 59.20 and 1.27.

The earliest reference to the designation under discussion occurs in a Genizah fragment of the lost commentary on Exodus by Benjamin ben Moses al-Nahawandi (c. 830 CE),

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54 See also the fragment from al-Qumisi’s commentary on Leviticus (JQR, XII, p. 474): “Wherefore does He not help us? Surely, it is on account of the alteration of the precepts in our midst, and because of the ‘statues that are not good’ which the shepherds who lead [the people] astray have taught us” (לחם אל י시험ינו אלא אשר מתיולח מצות) (al shepherds who lead astray the people). Cf. also Elijah ben Abraham (12th cent.) in his (Pinsker, Appendices, p. 100): ...“It is for this reason that we have been forgotten all these years, and when we cry: Remember, O Lord, against the children of Edom (Ps. 137.7) we are not heard” (לונא תלדה ואמות נכחים...) (Ps. 137.7). Cf. further ibid., p. 102 and Hadassi, 124, letter 2 (1400 - 1100 BCE) (l'ntiwm l'vescat K obten Rn D) and 125, letter 3.

55 Melilah II, p. 199 (partly also Mann, op. cit., p. 78): נפל הלא תורע זא נקמתו שג וגו הלא אני ישראל אשים להוהי האלכף והמש שאותה שלעcher הלא עלול כולם שלחתיו ומאחרתי לא יימו כי אם שבינ שלעcher כלכף, וגו הלא אני ישראל אשים להוהי האלכף, והמש שאותה שלעcher הלא עלול כולם שלחתיו ומאחרתי לא יימו כי אם שבינ שלעcher כלכף.
who next to Anan ranks as second in the Karaite hierarchy. He allegorises the four kinds of material from which the curtains in the tabernacle were made (Ex. 25.4) and sees in the “fine linen” a symbol for the yt ,nv.s6

The best illustrations, however, both for our term and the ideology lying behind it are in Yefet ben ‘Ali’s biblical commentaries. A few examples will suffice. On Hos. 6.1–2 he says that the words, Come, let us return to the Lord apply to the present time and represent the exhortation of the Shabhe Pesha’, the mentors of the nation (שב יוסטט מוסטיל עומ), who recognized the corruption of many of the practices current in Israel,57 and admonish, therefore, the people to return to “the way of the Torah” (רור החורות).58 Or, as he paraphrases the same idea in another place,59 the verses allude to the Remnant, to “those who turn from transgression in Jacob” (שמריא שב יוסטט דניק), who will repent at the “end of the exile” (ארר אלולותה), in the period called by Daniel (12.1) “time of tribulation” (עה יראד).

57 On Hos. 14.3 Yefet is more explicit with regard to the “corrupt practices” which, according to him, the prophet had in mind when urging the people to return to the Lord. He observes that by saying Return, O Israel (ver. 2) the prophet meant the abandonment of capital sins concerning which there is no disagreement among the nation. But by saying: And return unto the Lord (ver. 3) he meant: forsake the corrupt practices which the people of the Galuth initiated and concerning which there exist disagreement and dissension among them. Thus they have permitted the Sabbath lamp and cohabitation on the Sabbath and instituted the Erub. They have introduced the calculation of the calendar and changed the festivals of the Lord from their due seasons... To these and similar practices the prophet refers when he says: and return unto the Lord. (רור המלך ליהו יראד) אלולות שאבטה ואלולות שאברדיליא אלולות שאברדיליא בקלו. מ CONDITION בבר ובר 1 אלולות שאברדיליא אלולות שאברדיליא בקלו. מ CONDITION בבר ובר 1 אלולות שאברדיליא אלולות שאברדיליא בקלו. מ CONDITION בבר ובר 1 אלולות שאברדיליא אלולות שאברדיליא בקלו. מ CONDITION בבר ובר 1 אלולות שאברדיליא אלולות שאברדיליא בקלו. מ CONDITION בבר ובר 1 אלולות שאברדיליא אלולות שאברדיליא בקלו. מ CONDITION בבר ובר 1 אלולות שאברדיליא אלולות שאברדיליא בקלו. מ CONDITION בבר ובר 1 אלולות שאברדיליא אלולות שאברדיליא בקלו. מ CONDITION בבר ובר 1 אלולות שאברדיליא אלולות שאברדיליא בקלו. מ CONDITION בבר ובר 1 אלולות שאברדיליא אלולות שאברדיליא בקלו. מ CONDITION בבר ובר

58 Ed. Birnbaum, p. 94.
59 Ibid., p. 96.
It is by now almost needless to repeat that the *Shabhe Pesha* are identical with the “perfect of way.” It is, however, instructive to compare the picture of the latter drawn by Yefet in the excursus to Ps. 119 with the following two passages in which the characteristic traits of the *Shabhe Pesha* are described and where some new and interesting features are added.

1. On Hos. 11.10-11 he says that in these verses the prophet is foretelling what will happen at the “end of time,” and continues:

“A time will come when from their midst there shall arise some who will walk with eagerness and enthusiasm after me. They will roar in their prayers by night and by day like the roaring of the lion, striving thereby to hasten my deliverance, as they recite in their prayers:

My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me (Ps. 22.2).

And as the lion does not cease roaring until he reaches his object of prey, so the *Shabhe Pesha* will not cease calling to the Master of the Worlds for rescue until He will bring them deliverance, as Isaiah says (62.7): And give Him no rest, till He establish, and till He make Jerusalem a praise in the earth. And as the lion is the mightiest of the beasts (cf. Prov. 30.30), so are the *Shabhe Pesha* the strongest and most powerful of the people in wisdom, intelligence and prayer.”

2. Commenting on Hos. 14.5 which he renders: *I will love them on account of their generosity*, Yefet writes as follows:

“God will love the Remnant of Jacob, the *Shabhe Pesha*, the *Maskilim* who — in addition to fulfilling the prescribed duties and obligations — perform supererogatory works like fasting,

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60 Ibid., p. 177 f.  
61 Cf. above, note 12.  
62 See infra, p. 279.  
63 Ibid., p. 220.  
64 Supererogatory prayers are also recommended by the anonymous Karaite author (*Genizah Studies*, II, p. 440) when he says: *הכט זכר והם*
wearing rough clothes and abstaining from excessive pleasures and rejoicings. They continually offer prayers saying: *Accept, I beseech Thee, the freewill offering of my mouth* (Ps. 119.108).

The name *Shabhe Pesha* is further encountered in a Genizah fragment by an anonymous Karaite. As the meaning of the passage concerned escaped L. Ginzberg, who edited the fragment, its explanation may be given here. The author interprets Isa. 24.16 as foreshadowing the appearance in the pre-messianic age of the *Shabhe Pesha*, saying as follows:65

"From the uttermost part of the earth have we heard songs means: from the four corners of the earth have we heard the songs of the *Shabhe Pesha*, i. e. we have now heard

It is against the background of this type of piety that Saadya’s deprecation of voluntary fasting and prayer has to be viewed. The uncompromising fighter against Karaism belittles what was regarded by the Karaite ascetics as the culmination of religious devotion. In his letter of thirty admonitions addressed to Egyptian Jewry (published by Revel in *Der Ur Jüdische*, I, p. 185) he writes as follows:

"From the uttermost part of the earth have we heard songs means: from the four corners of the earth have we heard the songs of the *Shabhe Pesha*, i. e. we have now heard

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something which was not customary among the former generations."

The key to the understanding of the passage\textsuperscript{66} lies — in addition to the recognition that \textit{Shabhe Pesha}\' refers to the Karaites — in the meaning of the word \textit{mi'irat}, which does not simply denote "songs" but "Psalms."	extsuperscript{67} The author refers to the Karaite custom, inaugurated by Anan and accepted by all subsequent Karaites, having the prayers consist exclusively of biblical texts, strongly objecting to compositions like the 'Amidah and similar prayers of the Rabbanite liturgy. The author of the fragment himself states further on:\textsuperscript{68}

\begin{quote}
ושב אל חפזה הנביאים הכבודת בחרה ובנביאיה חבוכיס
והרי החפב החרות רוחותי משם רбот.
\end{quote}

Indeed, it is obvious from the context that the sole purpose of introducing the exposition of the Isaiah verse was to show that the emergence of the Karaite form of worship was predicted by the prophet, and the whole passage was intended as a preface to the exhortation: "Let us return to the prayers of the prophets as recorded in the Bible, etc."

That this is the meaning of the passage is corroborated by the fact that the same interpretation is, in fact, given by David al-Fasi. Rejecting the one which connected the word \textit{mi'irat} with the connotation "to prune,” he writes thus:\textsuperscript{69}

\begin{quote}
אלאקרבר פייה אלאתפנדום סמועאו וה רגע אמאנה אלי צלואהתאמר
אלאמאפר בער חרכום ענהו ואמא טוילא.
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{66} Ginzberg explained the passage in the following words (note 9):

\textsuperscript{67} The term \textit{mi'irat} is still used to-day for the Psalms in the daily liturgy, commonly known as \textit{Pesoqe-de-Zimra}.

\textsuperscript{68} \textit{Op. cit.}, pp. 439 f.

\textsuperscript{69} \textit{Kitāb Jāmi\'\textsuperscript{'} al-Alfāġ}, I, p. 492, lines 51 f.
“The most plausible rendering is: ‘we have heard songs of praise,’ and it refers to the return of our people to the use of the Psalms as prayers, after having abandoned them for a long time.”

Continuing the prognostic interpretation of the verse, the author of the fragment writes:⁷⁰

In the light of what has been said about the Messianic expectations of the Karaite ascetics in the Holy Land, the obscurity of this passage is removed and its meaning clearly revealed. Taking ד in its connotation of “secret,” the author paraphrases the words דויד thus: my secret, i. e. the secret of the things to come, has [at last] been revealed. It concerns the advent of the Shabhe Pesha⁴ who will spring up among the nations, viz. in the Diaspora, and will proceed to Jerusalem. In other words, the final salvation will occur in the present epoch which saw the emergence of the Shabhe Pesha⁴. We are reminded of the Messianic speculators who sought to extract the secret of the “End” from Gen. 49.10 by figuring out that the coming of the Messiah will take place in the epoch of the “perfect of way” [= Shabhe Pesha⁴].⁷¹ These speculators may well have exclaimed: דויד “the secret has at last been revealed!”

⁷¹ For another occurrence of the designation Shabhe Pesha⁴ in a similar Messianic context, dealing with the calculation of the “End” based on Ps. 90.4, see the extracts from an anonymous Karaite commentary on the Psalms, Mann, op. cit., 102. In connection with this calculation Mann (p. 68) observes: “As against the numerous Rabbinic calculations of the ‘End’ (—we), this is the first instance, known to me, of a Karaite speculation of this sort.” It appears astonishing that Mann should have overlooked the fact that speculations of this sort formed a favorite pursuit of the early Karaites from Benjamin al-Nahawandi onwards. Yefet ben ‘Ali, to whom we owe this information, mentions also Josef Ibn Bakhtawi and Salmon ben Yeruḥim as having engaged
Also the epithet under discussion is alluded to in the polemical tract against the Karaites referred to above. The relevant passage runs:72

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\text{םשׁ מָתְקַשׁ שְׁמַאָהּ בְּנֵי קָרָאִים מַעֲמַרְתֵּם.}
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The Rabbanite polemicist refers to the notorious event at Gib'ah in Benjamin (Judg. 19), a place mentioned by him in the foregoing verse, and says that “there they resided till to-day.” S. H. Kook,73 followed by J. Mann,74 correctly interpreted “they” as alluding to הבוליןimest מַעֲשֶׁהַ מַעֲשֶׁהַ מַעֲשֶׁה [עֲבֵל, מַעֲשֶׁה מַעֲשֶׁה], namely to the Karaites who resided in Gib'ah (Kook) or its neighborhood (Mann). The biting sarcasm of the designation הבוליןimest מַעֲשֶׁה מַעֲשֶׁה, however, has not been recognized. It lies in its being the reversal of the honorific designation הבוליןimest מַעֲשֶׁה מַעֲשֶׁה which the Karaites conferred upon themselves.

III

The Remnant, שאריה, שאריה, שאריה, שאריה

The idea of a continual preservation of a Remnant forms an essential feature in the historiographical conception of the Qumran sectaries. The historical pattern of the author of the Damascus Fragments is: apostasy of the nation, extirpation of the evil-doers and preservation of a remnant worthy to form the nucleus of a regenerated community.75

72 Ginzberg, op. cit., p. 495; Rosenthal, op. cit., p. 53.
75 Cf. J. L. Teicher, JJS, 1951, 116 f.
The members of the Qumran sect felt themselves to be “The Remnant” in a two-fold sense. First, they looked upon themselves as the minority who remained loyal to God’s commandments in the general apostasy of the people; they claimed to be the sole repositories of the true and genuine Jewish tradition. Secondly, they regarded themselves as “The Remnant” who would be saved in the great destruction at the end of days.

We also observe in this respect a remarkable correspondence between the Qumran sect and the early Karaites. They too felt themselves to be the only loyal remnant in the midst of the general apostasy and expressly designated themselves as the “Remnant of Israel” (or Jacob), or simply “The Remnant” (الذواير، Arabic: المذواير). And if the Qumran sectaries compared themselves with “those who sigh and groan” (אבות, בולות),76 — the remnant preserved in Jerusalem during the destruction of the first Temple — the Karaites thought of themselves not only as the spiritual successors77 to, but contended that they were the physical descendants of, “those who sigh and groan,” who despite oppression and persecution remained steadfast in their fidelity to the law, as a kind of “underground movement.”78 It was the crypto-existence of this faithful Remnant which ultimately resulted in the emergence of the Karaite movement.

The term “Remnant” thus became a favorite designation for them. We already came across it in the citations from Yefet ben ‘Ali’s writings, where it figured together with the epithets המהרי דרו, שבי פשע.79 It may now be observed that

76 See Damascus Fragments, xix, 11-13.
77 Cf. S. Pinsker, Liggute Qadmonioth, Appendices, p. 101: והנה
78 Ibid., p. 101.
79 Cf. above, p. 274.
these three terms are the most frequent designations by which he refers to his fellow-schismatics. Here is one other example:

Commenting on the superscription of Ps. 45 ( نهائي ישלון), which he interprets as “concerning the lilies,” Yefet says that this Psalm speaks of the Remnant of Israel who are likened to “a lily among thorns” (Cant. 2.2). Just as the lilies appear in the spring which marks the beginning of the summer, so “the perfect of way” will appear at the end of the exile which is compared to the winter (Cant. 2.11).80

We note that he began with the “Remnant of Israel” but continued with the “perfect of way”; this is illustrative of the interchangeability of the two terms.

Salmon ben Yeruḥim, an older contemporary of Yefet ben ‘Ali, also uses this epithet. In the famous passage, which outlines the four epochs in the history of Karaism, he places the appearance of “The Remnant” (אֲנָשָׁיָם) at the close of the fourth epoch, which began with the settlement of the Karaites in Jerusalem. This coincides with his own time, since from the date of his writing (about 955)81 only a few years were to elapse before the termination of history in general, as according to his computation, the Messianic “End” was to occur in the year 968.82

80 Quoted by Bargès in his edition of Yefet’s commentary on Cant., pp. 185 f.: על יושביו העבר את אדם ישראל אל שארית אֲנָשָׁיָם בֵּין הָדוֹרִים וּלְךָ אָנָן אלעומאתך תֵּלֵךְ פִּי עַם אֲלָבָד אֲלָבָד עַל אָבְדֶּה עַל עַמְּךָ צַיּוֹן בָּדַת עַל גָּלֻּלִים. Cf. Elijah ha-Melammed’s four reasons for the epithet “lilies” at the end of this section. See also Salmon ben Yeruḥim in Pinsker, op. cit., I, pp. 21-22 (Arabic original in Skoss’ edition of Jāmī‘ al-Alfāẓ, II, p. cxxxvii); The Book of the Wars of the Lord, ed. I. Davidson, p. 37. Against this appropriation of the title “lilies” are directed the words of the Rabbanite: ‘ולקָם מַדוּגָּם אָנָן מַדוּגָּם (Mann, The Jews in Egypt and in Palestine under the Fatimid Caliphs, I, p. 141, note 1).

81 See Pinsker, Appendices, p. 130; S. Poznanski, ידיעות, II, p. 102, note 1.

Among the members of the Jerusalem community of ascetics, David al-Fasi seems to have had a special predilection for the term under discussion. He employs it several times without any qualification, just "The Remnant" (אלשהרה). A few instances are adduced here, which are of interest also from the point of view of the prognostic Bible exegesis in which these ascetics, like the Qumran sectaries, indulged so excessively.

1. Isa. 21.8 (And the lion cried: Upon the watch-tower, O Lord, I stand continually in the day-time and I am set in my wards whole nights) alludes, according to him, to "The Remnant," who are likened to a lion by reason of their pre-eminence. It need hardly be pointed out that he refers here to the day and night watches which formed a constant and typical feature in the ascetic life of the Jerusalem colony. His interpretation is significantly illuminated by Yefet ben 'Ali's exposition of Hos. 11.10-11, previously quoted, in which he compared the Shabhe Pesha to a lion. The general term "pre-eminence," too, is amplified by Yefet's more explicit words: "They are the strongest and most powerful of the people in wisdom, intelligence and prayer."

2. The heading of Ps. 22: ("concerning the Hind of the Dawn") is a metaphor for "The Remnant," who rise at dawn to divine worship as the thirsty hind runs to the water early in the morning.

3. Isa. 53.7, depicting the Suffering Servant as He was oppressed, yet he humbled himself and opened not his mouth, is a description of "The Remnant." It is worthy of note that this feature of self-effacing humility, which is

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83 For other examples see Kitāb Jámi' al-Alfāq, I, 77, line 116; 224, 56; 395, 53 f.; II, 617, 38. Cf. note 148 and infra, p. 148.
85 Cf. p. 274.
86 I, pp. 77, 132 f.
given prominence also by Yefet ben 'Ali,88 Sahl ben Maz-
liah89 and the anonymous author of the “Sermons,”90 is ala 'aviv' min...91 already mentioned in the Pesiqta Rabbati91 as a characteristic of the ancient Mourners for Zion: v'x ',5':

It should also be mentioned that the identification of the Suffering Servant with the Karaite intellectual elite was a widely accepted Karaite tradition.92 We cannot expatiate here on this point, but we must refer to Jacob ben Reuben (first half of 12th century) who in his compilation on the Bible93 explicitly equates the suffering figure with “The Remnant”;

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The term further occurs in the fragment of an anonymous Karaite, cited above. The author identifies himself with “The Remnant” when he uses the expression “on behalf of our Remnant” (על좋', שאריתנו).94

88 See Appendix, no. 1. 89 Cf. infra, p. 284.
90 Zion, III, pp. 37, 39, 40: ;nD-ni: oxy
91 Ed. M. Friedmann, 159a.
92 Cf. above, p. 279.
93 Sefer ha-'Osher, ed. Firkowitsch, Koslov, 1835 (under the general title Mibh4ar Yesharim).
94 Cf. Ginzberg, Genizah Studies, II, p. 439: מבnable ראש כיurbation עלול: the expression is the hebraized form of the Arabic 4Do ' Y and denotes “on behalf of”.

Both terms are used to express the idea that certain Psalms or other biblical texts were written by their ancient authors “on behalf of” “The Remnant,” the Maskil, etc. Cf. David al-Fasi, I, pp. 395, 53 f.; 396, 80; II, 20, 30 f.: קול עלל למשול אלאברט הרברך ' , הרברך: The Hebrew equivalent is used in the same meaning. In addition to the fragment quoted (see also ibid., p. 440,22), it is employed by another Karaite, ibid., p. 502,5 (עלל לוּוּם באה ירושלים), by Elijah ha-

Melammed (MS. British Museum, Or. 1263, fol. 33a) relative to Ps. 33
Finally, reference should be made to the commentary on the Psalms by Elijah ha-Melammed, who drew extensively on earlier Karaite sources. Special note should be taken of the expression שאריה תוריה, the community of the Remnant. On Ps. 22 he writes, according to MS. British Museum, Oriental 1263, fol. 333a, as follows:

א ли ת שחר, הכ מונע האילוה בתכש התמר וללא
וכל הילולה, כ אסחיי כל הילולה והשחר בתכש, כנבה אל שישנ
ושירה, עציל בתכש בואם, ובשאר היה יושעים יקופ יד
ת שחר.

Following an old Karaite tradition, Elijah ha-Melammed interprets the term “lilies” in the superscription of several Psalms as an attribute of “The Remnant” and advances four reasons for this attribute (fol. 338a):

ע לשון משיה וול קהל והשם מברך היה, וכנש א ר ח
יקבכנ יי מנוהל. וימצאו ימי המשנה, וכנש א ר ח
באהרה יימי הנו. והשמו רביקוה, וכנש א ר ח
לבלת המשנה, והם ימי הישועה.

IV

“The Poor,” עניים, אבר合い

The members of the Qumran sect described themselves as “poor” — a term which already acquired in the Bible and most especially in the Psalms a religious coloring and
became synonymous with “pious.” Applied to the Qumran sect, the title “poor” had also a sociological significance: it corresponded with the actual economic circumstances of the members of the sect who lived in self-chosen poverty.

With the exception of the Manual of Discipline, the title “poor” occurs in all sectarian writings at our disposal: the Habakkuk Commentary,\textsuperscript{96} the Scroll of the Wars of the Children of Light,\textsuperscript{97} the Thanksgivings Scroll,\textsuperscript{98} the fragment of a commentary on the Psalms\textsuperscript{99} and in the Damascus Fragments.\textsuperscript{100}

The Qumran sectaries share this title with the Karaite ascetics in Jerusalem, and also with reference to them, the title carries an economic implication, since they relinquished their private possessions to live in self-imposed poverty. Indeed, one of the most conspicuous and striking features of the ascetics was their poverty, and the renunciation of worldly possessions was glorified as one of the chief merits of their ascetic regimen. This is how Sahl ben Magliah, himself a member of the Jerusalem colony, portrays them:\textsuperscript{101}

“They abandoned their business, disregarded their families, rejected their homeland, forsook palaces and settled in nests, left the towns for mountain tops, suffered bitter degradation, took off beautiful clothes and donned sack-cloth.”

Salmon ben Yeruḥim in eulogizing his partisans also employed similar terms:\textsuperscript{102} “they relinquished their pos-

\begin{itemize}
\item Col. xii, 3, 6, 10.
\item Pl. xxvi, 9, 13; xxviii, 14.
\item Pl. xxxvi, 32, 34; xxxvii, 25; xxxix, 13, 14, 16, 18, 20, 22; lii, 14.
\item PEQ, 1954, p. 71.
\item Col. xix, 9.
\item Pinsker, Appendices, p. 31. Cf. also Harkavy, מכסף נרותי, no. 13, p. 198.
\item Skoss, Kitāb Jāmī’ al-Alfāz, II, p. cxxxvii; Pinsker, I, 22.
\end{itemize}
sessions and homes and retreated from this world” (וְרָחַ֣ת נַעֲרֵ֔ם וַאֲמוֹרֵ֖ם וַהוֹרֵ֑רִי פִּי אָלֵֽיעָלְּךָ).

But already Daniel al-Qumisi, who belonged to the earliest settlers in the Holy City, if not to the inaugurators of the settlement,\(^{103}\) declared “sparing bread and scant water” to be the criterium of the God-fearing\(^{104}\) and refers to Isa. 30.19–20.

Al-Qumisi also provides the earliest evidence for the term “poor” being applied as a Karaite epithet, interpreting as he does 

in Zeph. 3.12 (I will leave in the midst of thee an afflicted and poor people) as referring to the humble Mourners for Zion (עֵנֵי אֲבוּלָי צִיּוֹן).\(^{105}\)

He is followed in this interpretation by Yefet ben ‘Ali,\(^{106}\) and when the latter describes them in his portrait of the “perfect of way” as “an afflicted and poor people,” adding that they live on “sparing bread and scant water,”\(^{107}\) he is manifestly inspired by the sectarian interpretation of both Zeph. 3.12 and Isa. 30.19–20.

This method of interpretation was adopted by Yefet also in explaining other scriptural texts containing one of the Hebrew terms for “poor.” Thus Isa. 29.19 was explained by him as alluding to the Karaite spiritual leaders and their followers (M.S. British Museum, Or. 2502, fol. 85a):

\(^{103}\) See Mann, Texts and Studies, II, p. 6.

\(^{104}\) Cf. Melilah, II, p. 194: יִנְבִּא וּבְגִלֹא יִנְבִּא יָבוּם צַדְּרָמָל וְיִנְבִּא יָבוּם צַדְּרָמָל.

\(^{105}\) Cf. Melilah, p. 194: יִנְבִּא וּבְגִלֹא יִנְבִּא יָבוּם צַדְּרָמָל.

\(^{106}\) See Appendix, no. 1.

\(^{107}\) See Appendix, no. 1.

\(^{108}\) Arabized form of מִסְפִּיקוֹת, the contributions for the maintenance of the Geonic academies.
"The humble shall increase their joy refers to the mentors of the nation who are meek and hold neither positions of headship nor receive donations. And the words the poorest among the people refer to their followers who are poor and weak."

The above interpretation is all the more interesting as, by contrast, it contains a condemnation of the Rabbanite leaders who held positions of power and authority, and a denunciation of their practices in taking contributions from communities and individuals. While the “shepherds of the Galuth,” the exilarchs and the heads of the academies, were indulging in a quasi-royal style of life and amassing wealth, the Karaite leadership was distinguished by its extreme humility and self-denial.¹⁰⁹

It is indicative of the importance which Yefet ben ‘Ali attached to poverty that he conferred upon his co-sectarians not only the ordinary biblical terms for “humble” and “poor,” but also a term like השכימי in Isa. 50.10, which he understood as signifying “the dark ones.” This is his exposition of the verse according to the afore-mentioned M.S., fol. 85a–b:¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ Cf. above, note 15. Yefet ben ‘Ali reverts to this subject whenever an opportunity presents itself. On Isa. 55.2, he writes: “... the Mas- kilim... are generous with the dissemination of their wisdom, in return for which they accept no recompense” (quoted by Birnbaum, op. cit., p. xxix, note 83). Cf. further on Hos. 3.4: “He [the prophet] points out that they shall remain without king and without chief... But if anyone were to say, ‘behold they do have in Captivity exilarchs and presidents of academies,’ we should say to him: ‘these are transgressors; God has not invested them with authority. Only teachers are requisite in Captivity and none else’” (ibid., p. xxvii f.; p. 53).

Yefet follows here Daniel al-Qumisi who writes on the Hos. verse quoted as follows: זכרו עלכתוב את צ OAuth איזא של משה שימא ומיני נלעה אליאס מתכלך וראיתו מתכובע חתיהןlez. See also Salmon ben Yeruhim’s vituperations in Mann, op. cit., p. 84.

¹¹⁰ It appears very probable that the sectarian interpretation of this verse goes back to Daniel al-Qumisi, see Metilah, II, p. 194.
“Who is among you that walks together with the poor, the dark ones. This refers to the meek whose faces are darkened and bodies blackened from lack of food and abundance of tribulations...and with reference to them the prophet said (Zeph. 3.12): I will leave in the midst of thee a poor and afflicted people...”."

This interpretative practice we encounter also in Kitāb Jāmi‘ al-‘Alfāz,” where the terms "D’nlmm D’lr" in Isa. 14.30 are interpreted as relating to “The Remnant.”

However, the most important piece of evidence is contained in the following quotation from Yefet’s exposition of Isa. 32.7, where we have an explicit statement that the terms מים and מים are designations for his co-sectarians (MS. British Museum, Or. 2501, fol. 80a):

"To destroy the poor with lying words, and the needy when he speaketh right. The prophet mentions מים and מים because these are surnames of the ‘perfect of way’ ‘who turn from transgression in Jacob.’”

We have to revert at this point to the Qumran documents in order to call attention to a striking coincidence. In the foregoing quotation, as well as in the interpretation of Zeph. 3.12, Yefet equated “the poor” with the “perfect of way.” Precisely the same parallelism occurs in the Scroll of the Wars of the Sons of Light, as the following juxtaposition shows, where in A and B the destruction of the heathen

111 II, p. 617, 37 f.
nations is ascribed to "the poor," but in C to the "perfect of way":

A יל ב וד א ב י י ס נטיר ניירב כ ב א י ר כד

B لجזיל נורה בועיל שבעת ני görül בוי א ב י י ס פורוהפ

C ... 19 ...

Noteworthy, too, is the following coincidence. The author of the Damascus Fragments (xix, 9) designates the adherents of the sect as "the poor of the flock" (טריני). The same designation is employed by Sahl ben Mazliah115 with reference to the Karaites in the Holy City: דוד ב י יהוסא ירושלombresissors הקוה טיני ודנא.

We conclude this part of our study with a reference to the Karaite liturgy. It was suggested in a previous context116 that one of the principles which governed the choice of scriptural texts for inclusion into the Karaite liturgy was a specific sectarian interpretation placed upon the texts concerned. Our present subject furnishes another illustration of this contention. Ps. 102 was incorporated in the Karaite liturgy. Even if we had no definite proof that a Karaite interpretation was given to this Psalm, we would have been on firm ground in assuming that the reason for its selection lies in the superscription of the Psalm טפל לועני which declared the Ps. to be "a prayer of the poor." In fact, we have the testimony of Salmon ben Yeruhim to the effect that this Psalm represented the prayers of "The Remnant."117

Significantly, the recitation of the Ps. is introduced by an exordium (משרתו) of ten verses containing the terms

This fact emphatically underlies the word "poor" in the superscription, drawing the worshipper's attention to the character of the Ps., and at the same time is expressive of the importance attributed to the epithet "poor" in Karaite quarters.

APPENDIX

1

YEFET BEN 'ALI'S PORTRAYAL OF THE CELL OF THE MOURNERS FOR ZION

The reference to the name of certain members of the Mourners for Zion, see Mann, op. cit., p. 1472. It is worth noting that Ibn Ezra, who had a liking for puns, designated the Karaites בקע רבוד, for קע in the introduction to his commentary on the Pentateuch ("וְלָ缃 תִּֽרְוֹד‎").

118 Karaite Prayer-book I (Wilna), p. 65; II (Odessa), p. 33; Hadassi, Alphabet 20, letter 7; Gan Eden, 75c. A Genizah fragment of a Karaite Prayer-book in Cambridge University Library, T-S.H. 10/203, fol. 1a, has only the verses illustrative of יִיָּן but not those of the word יִי, as in the printed editions.

119 As to the term יִי attached to the name of certain members of the Mourners for Zion, see Mann, op. cit., p. 1472. It is worth noting that Ibn Ezra, who had a liking for puns, designated the Karaites בְּקֶעַ רְרוּד, for בְּקֶע in the introduction to his commentary on the Pentateuch ("וְלָ缃 תִּֽרְוֹד‎").

120 See Bargès' edition of Yefet's commentary on the Song of Songs, pp. 187 f.

121 See note 53.

122 Isa. 28.16.


124 The Karaite ascetics abstained from the use of oil as a manifestation of mourning for the destruction of the Temple. This is evident...
from Yefet’s comment on Jer. 31.15 (MS. British Museum, Or. 2503, 44a):

125 Al-Qumisi had already expounded the text as referring to those who partake of meat and wine in Galuth, see JQR, N. S., XII, pp. 281 f.

126 Isa. 65.11.

127 Isa. 56.12.

128 Isa. 66.5. Karaite exegetes interpreted the verse as alluding to the persecution and excommunication of the sect by the Rabbanites.

129 Cf. Ps. 102.10.

130 Ibid. vv. 7–8. The fact that Yefet applied these verses to his partisans may be taken as evidence that he, too, interpreted Ps. 102 as representing the prayers of the intellectual élite of the sect who bore the title “poor.” Cf. above, p. 285.

131 The custom of wearing sack-cloth is constantly harped upon by the Jerusalem ascetics. Cf. Sahl ben Ma‘zliḥ (Pinsker, Appendices, 31 and Harkavy, op. cit., 198, 203); Yefet (commentary on Hosea, p. 220, cited above, p. 101) and David al-Fasi (II, 233, lines 96 f.). The anonymous Rabbanite polemicist ridicules this custom when he says ... "they wear a hairy mantle in order to deceive" Ginzberg, op. cit., 495; Rosenthal 53).

132 This is no mere metaphor, but is to be taken literally, cf. N. Wieder, Islamic Influences, 50 and note 208a. To the sources adduced there add Hadassi, Alphabet 181, letter פ...
The expression נַעַר יִשְׂרָאֵל has been the subject of divergent interpretations. Apart from the quite unfounded emendation by Aptowitzer who suggested the reading נַעַר יִשְׂרָאֵל, there have been three different renderings. S. Schechter, followed recently by I. Rabinowitz, translated “the Captivity of Israel,” thus vocalizing נַעַר יִשְׂרָאֵל. On the other hand, already in 1912 Z. M. Segal maintained that the expression signified “the Elders of Israel,” a view which he reaffirmed in his recent publications and lately accepted by S. Zeitlin. The majority of scholars, among them Ginzberg, Büchler, I. Lévi, W. Bacher, and Charles, are agreed on the rendering “the penitents of Israel.”

—the covering of the face with ashes as a sign of grief and mourning was still practised in the 12th cent. even in cases of private mourning; see the letter by the Jewish court-physician of the Sultan Al-Malik Al-‘Aziz, published by S. D. Goitein in ידיעות, vol. 2-5 (1955), pp. 62 f., lines 6, 21.

133 Cf. Parteipolitik der Hasmonaerzeit, p. 190.
135 Cf. JBL, LXXII, 1954, 16, n. 20.
136 Ha-Shiloah, XXVI, 487; JQR, N. S., III, 309; JBL, 1951, 141; Tarbiq, xxi, 1951, 145.
137 See JQR, 1954, 22.
138 MGWJ, 1911, 683 f.
139 JQR, N. S., III, 473.
140 REJ, 1911, 178.
141 ZfHB, XV, 1911, 16, and note 1.
142 Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, II, 808.
However, the genitive construction of this expression requires an explanation. How is the seemingly superfluous addition of וְשִׁירָאֵל qualifying the term שִׁירָאֵל to be accounted for?

I suggest that the construction owes its origin to, and was inspired by, the antithetical term רֵעַ רֵעַ וְשִׁירָאֵל, used by the Qumran sectarians as a designation for their opponents. In this case, the addition of “Israel” was necessary in order to distinguish the “wicked” in their own midst from “the wicked of the nations.” As an antonym to רֵעַ רֵעַ וְשִׁירָאֵל the term שביחי וְשִׁירָאֵל was coined.

Karaite parallels suggest this solution. The term “the wicked of Israel,” not found in the entire Bible, was also in vogue among them to designate their own opponents. In contradistinction to this term they created, side by side with the ordinary Karaite epithet וְשִׁירָאֵל, also the expression מַכָּר וְשִׁירָאֵל.

Even more significant is the formation of וְשִׁירָאֵל וְשִׁירָאֵל, a variation of the title וְשִׁירָאֵל, which according to Isa. 59.3 would be conferred upon the mourners for Zion and which the Karaite ascetics appropriated to themselves.

A similar formation will be discussed in another context — namely, the term וְשִׁירָאֵל וְשִׁירָאֵל, which represents a parallel to the much-discussed מַכָּר וְשִׁירָאֵל in the Habakkuk Scroll (xii, 4).

144 See PEQ, 1954, p. 71.
145 Cf. Ginzberg, Genizah Studies, II, 438 f.: והם שביחי וְשִׁירָאֵל ... בהרה הגה... וכו' ואנו על ונ燊 הלשון משמיע ב: 'אורי ל', על הנהר... מ' שם וְשִׁירָאֵל והם רועית ישראל אושר לא ישונא ולא למכים ולא ישונא מרכיבות ה多万. More references elsewhere.
146 Cf. Sahl ben Mazliah (Pinsker, Appendices 36) and Yefet ben 'Ali on Cant. 2.9 (ed. Bargès).
147 Yefet, op. cit., p. 4.
148 Cf. above, pp. 100–2; Yefet on Cant. 1.2: מַכָּר וְשִׁירָאֵל וְשִׁירָאֵל: והם שביחי וְשִׁירָאֵל והם רועית ישראל אושר לא ישונא ולא למכים ולא ישונא מרכיבות ה多万. More references elsewhere.