

ALAN D. CROWN

Samaritan Scribes and Manuscripts

*Texts and Studies in
Ancient Judaism*

80

Mohr Siebeck

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Martin Hengel and Peter Schäfer

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Mohr Siebeck

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Preface

The contemporary surge in interest in Samaritan studies has made it apparent that there is a need for codicological studies to facilitate the best use of Samaritan manuscripts. Unfortunately, though there are many hundreds of these in the libraries of the world, probably more than a thousand all told, and an equivalent number of fragments, not enough of these carry dates or have been described after codicological examination. This book aims to provide the critical tools to help scholars in their use of Samaritan manuscripts. The text is based on a series of articles which appeared first in the *Bulletin of the John Rylands, University Library of Manchester*. Some years ago permission to reprint these articles as a collection was given very kindly by the editor of the *Bulletin*. However, in the event, since each of the original studies was the first of its kind in its field, scholarship has moved on and some of the hypotheses originally put forward have been proved as new materials came to hand and others have had to be abandoned in the light of fresh evidence. The new evidence has been incorporated in these studies though it is fair, and satisfactory, to note that the original thrust of the evidence remains intact.

The basic codicological tool is a series of complementary data-bases compiled from typological studies of the physical properties of manuscripts. Each typology is in effect a diachronic profile created by painstaking comparison and analysis of the physical properties of manuscripts of known provenance and/or date. Using these typologies or diachronic profiles it is possible to evaluate the chronology of the physical characteristics of any manuscript – the quire or gathering structure, ink, ruling, spacing of the text on the folio, sewing of the sections, the nature of the sewing thread, the binding (where a manuscript is in a binding supplied by the scribe), the tooling on the binding, the nature of the writing material, whether it is skin or paper, the chain and laid line combinations and spacing, the water-mark assemblages in manuscripts written on paper, and so on. Naturally, the more information available about the physical properties of any manuscript the better the chance of making correlations between the typologies of different properties.

The basic rule in palaeography and codicology is that the researcher works on an inductive basis from as wide a sample as possible of dated manuscripts. It is hoped that in the studies in this volume, evidence has been provided which will serve as a guide both to the appearance and the nature of Samaritan

manuscripts and to the evaluative processes that one would employ in examining them for codicological purposes. The reader should be able to apply the criteria provided here to the evaluation of whatever data can be retrieved from any undated Samaritan manuscript with which he is confronted.

Some of the material is fairly fine tuned and some is more general and presents a broad sweep of information. There are two self-evident tools. The first is a study and typology of the styles of writing employed by Samaritan scribes and of their palaeographic techniques. The second is a survey of the literary output of the Samaritans, as the date of composition of any work must be the *terminus a quo* for dating its manuscripts. Content is the first, and sometimes prime, chronological parameter.

In setting up almost every data profile the discussion tends to start with Pentateuch manuscript and moves from there to manuscripts of other types. The reason is readily apparent. Samaritan codicological history began with the scroll and moved to the codex. There are very few scrolls extant, but thousands of codices, and the majority of the older manuscripts are Pentateuchs. The Pentateuch codex, as the successor to the scroll, shared the traditions developed by the scribes for the copying of the sacred text. In turn the Pentateuch codices are supplemented by *defter* and other liturgical manuscripts and shared the scribal traditions and developed them. Differences in format, page layout, and text distribution reflect scribal developments but are rooted in the earliest traditions. This makes the use of profiles somewhat dangerous in that older habits and techniques may reappear as archaizing styles at much later dates.

Nevertheless, when this is taken into account, these studies should make it possible to allocate manuscripts to scribal centres and to eras of writing, perhaps within fairly fine tolerances of error. Even with undated fragments, then, one could come to precise conclusions about the date, both from palaeographic comparisons and in other ways. The task of comparison can be faced with some equanimity in the knowledge that a few scribal families – the Nesiim, probably of Yavneh, the Nuna family of Şerifin, the Metuḥiah family of Egypt, and the Levitical family in Nablus (from 1500 onwards), turned out between them more than two hundred manuscripts and there are dated samples of the work of the more prolific scribes. Using these scripts alone as an inventory makes it possible to identify many fragments and unsigned, whole manuscripts. Secondly, many of the undated fragments have references in fragmentary scholia to Samaritan owners, vendors, witnesses to deeds of sale or even part of the name of a scribe. In this collection of materials there is a comprehensive index of scribes incorporating data from published and unpublished catalogues and directly from the manuscripts or microfilms thereof. Most recent additions are the names of scribes from the unpublished

catalogue of the manuscripts of the Yad Yitzhak Ben-Zvi and the manuscripts in St Petersburg. Fragmentary names may be identified, completed and dated from this index. A careful use of the index of scribes provides a guide to manuscript holdings throughout the world, thus, the index is in itself a summary universal catalogue of manuscripts.

From the time that paper first came into common use for manuscripts its nature has varied, and, in recent years, studies have begun to describe that variation with regard to the more visible characteristics, namely, wire marks and patina. The study of watermarks, after some eclipse, has again returned to favour, especially since the use of beta-radiography removes errors in recording. The author has found that under the electron-microscope one can now find some structural differences in paper according to the centre of manufacture. When all these details are recorded with properties specific to Samaritan manuscripts, one has a useful source for inductive evaluation.

The writer has been gathering this data for a period of some years. Clearly, the task is a substantial one, since the information to be recorded is varied and plentiful and the manuscripts are scattered world-wide. The material has been recorded for some years in manual form and now is transferred to electronic research media. Even then the process of collecting has meant endless visits to manuscript collections in four continents. Only the generosity of the Australian Research Grants Commission and the University of Sydney, has made it possible to survey so many manuscripts.

The core of the project is a listing which presents basic data about each scribe and each manuscript. The printed and bound proformas which provide a standard format for information gathering and transfer to electronic storage and indexing, are in a format, *mutatis mutandis*, first laid down in Hebrew for the Hebrew palaeography project of the CNRS and the JNUL. As noted, these proformas have been used on annual working visits to Samaritan holdings internationally. The following studies, most of which have been reprinted from the *BJRUL*, with the kind permission of its editor, represent a mature reworking of the first fruits of this project.

It should be noted that the data presented supports the prescient observations of the late James Fraser who, in his Ph.D. thesis, identified the same problems as the writer and had tentatively suggested similar conclusions, but was not vouchsafed the length of life to prepare the diachronic profiles on which codicology ultimately depends.

The author acknowledges with gratitude the cooperation of many scholars who, over the years since the study of Samaritan codicology was begun have helped with generous comments, the provision of materials and copies of catalogues, correction of mistakes and errors and material support in its widest

sense. These include, at the inception of the project Malachi Beit-Arié and Colette Sirat, Jean-Pierre Rothschild and Dom G. D. Sixdenier. In the course of the years I have come to work closely with Reinhard Pummer, Abraham Tal, Brad Sabin-Hill, who encouraged a rewriting of the section on Samaritan type faces, Habib Tawa and Vittorio Morabito. These acknowledgments would not be complete without reference to the late Dr Frank Taylor, the former Keeper of Manuscripts at the John Rylands, University of Manchester Library and his successor, Glenise Mathieson. It was Frank Taylor, as editor of the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, who published the first ventures in this field of study and who gave advice from his vast store of knowledge of Classical manuscripts. He encouraged persistence when it seemed that some aspects of codicology and palaeography were intractable. He was patient and friendly and made available facilities which were unimaginably rich for a (then, young) researcher. He was notable among Keepers of Manuscripts in permitting me to examine all the Gaster manuscripts in the Rylands, especially the damaged ones, with a degree of thoroughness. Without this kind permission and assistance it would have been rather more difficult than it has been to write any of these studies and, in particular, the study of Samaritan bindings. His colleague and able successor, Glenise Mathieson, was as kind and generous as Frank Taylor in her support of this research and it is because of both of these scholars that the riches of the Rylands Samaritan collection forms the backbone of this work. Finally, but above all, I acknowledge the generosity of spirit of my long-suffering wife and lifelong friend, Sadie Crown, who gave up her own career to travel in search of Samaritan manuscripts and, in the days before computers, gave herself to the typewriter in support of scholarship.

Abbreviations and Symbols

>	See the entry in chapter ten
AION	<i>Annali del' Instituto Orientale di Napoli</i>
AJBA	<i>Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology</i>
ATSP	Shehadeh, <i>Arabic Translation of Samaritan Pentateuch</i>
AS	Crown, 'The Abisha Scroll of the Samaritans'
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Studies</i>
BJRUL	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester</i>
BMSD	Fraser, 'The British Museum Manuscript of the Samaritan Defer'
BU	Michaud, <i>Biographie Universelle</i>
BZI	Ben-Zvi Institute=Yad Yitzhak Ben-Zvi, Jerusalem
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CJRL	Robertson, <i>Catalogue of Samaritan Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library</i> I and II
CMS	Rothschild, <i>Catalogue des manuscrits samaritains</i>
CMSES	Balog, <i>The Coinage of the Mamluk Sultans</i>
CNI	<i>Christian News from Israel</i>
CSrP	Harkavy, <i>Catalog... samaritanischen Handschriften in St. Petersburg</i>
CSS	Crown, Pummer, Tal, <i>Companion to Samaritan Studies</i>
CTFS	Birrell and Garnett, <i>Catalogue</i>
d.	deceased
DETF	- Rowe-Mores, <i>Dissertation</i>
DIIM	Purvis and Strugnell, 'An Early Samaritan Decalogue Inscription in the Israel Museum'
DIV	L Blau, 'Massoretic Studies III: The Division into Verses'.
EHTO	Guignes, J. de, <i>Essai historique</i>
EI	<i>Eretz Israel</i>
EJ	<i>Encyclopaedia Judaica</i>
ES	Rothschild & Sixdenier, <i>Études samaritaines</i>
FCPB(E)	Enschedé, and
FCPP(F)	<i>Fonderies</i> . (English or French edns.)

Fo. Fol.	Folio(s)
GC	Voet, <i>Golden Compasses</i>
GT	Lepreux, <i>Gallia Typographia</i>
HDSL	Fraser, 'The History of the Defter of the Samaritan liturgy'
HPS	Von Gall, <i>Hebraische Pentateuch Der Samaritaner</i>
HUC	Leowe, <i>Handlist of Hebrew and Samaritan Manuscripts</i>
IBB	Bosch, <i>et al.</i> , <i>Islamic Binding and Bookmaking</i>
IPL	Stieg, <i>An Introduction to Palaeography</i>
JESHO	<i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i>
JF	Morison, <i>John Fell</i>
JPOS	<i>Jewish Palestine Oriental Society</i>
JSJ	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism</i>
JSP	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i>
JSS	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
KSH	Shunnar, <i>Katalog samaritanischer Handschriften</i>
KT	Stenhouse, 'Kitab Al-Tarikh' (thesis)
KTAF	Stenhouse, <i>The Kitab Al-Tarikh of Abu'l-Fath</i>
LA	<i>Studii Biblicii Franciscani, Liber Annuus</i>
LDC	Postel, <i>Linguarum duodecim characteribus</i>
LPS	Sixdenier, 'Remarques sur la Paléographie Samaritaine'
LSDI	Bowman, 'The Leeds Samaritan Decalogue Inscription'
LOA	Vitray, <i>Linguarum orientalium</i>
LOT	Ben-Hayyim, <i>The Literary and Oral Tradition of Hebrew and Aramaic among the Samaritans</i>
MM	Macdonald, <i>Memar Marqah</i>
NK & J	Carter and Buday, 'Nicholas Kis and the Janson Types'
NK:JT	Buday, 'Some Notes on Nicholas Kis'
NTM	Finegan, <i>Encountering New Testament Manuscripts</i>
NS	New series
NYI	Ben-Zevi, 'Note of the Yabneh Inscription'
NYPL	New York Public Library
OD	Sassoon, <i>Ohel Dawid</i>
OELF	Reed, <i>Old English Letter Foundries</i>
PHM	Gruijs, <i>La Paléographie Hébraïque Médiévale</i>
PO1	Smitskamp, <i>Philologia Orientalis</i>
PO2	Smitskamp, <i>Philologia Orientalis 2</i>
PSBA	<i>Proceedings of the Society for Biblical Archaeology</i>
PSST	Gaster, 'A Samaritan MS of the Second or Third Century'
QIS	Strugnell, 'Quelques Inscriptions Samaritaines'

<i>RLB</i>	Middleton, <i>The Restoration of Leather Bindings</i>
<i>SDI</i>	Bowman and Talmon, 'Samaritan Decalogue Inscriptions'
<i>SID</i>	Sobernheim, 'Samaritanische Inschriften aus Damascus'
<i>SH</i>	<i>Scripta Hierosolymitana</i>
<i>SHP</i>	M. Gaster, 'A Samaritan Scroll of the Hebrew Pentateuch'
<i>SIS</i>	Yönick, 'The Samaritan Inscription from Siyagha'
<i>SMA</i>	Anderson, <i>Studies in Samaritan Manuscripts and Artifacts</i>
<i>SMCDD I or II</i>	Pummer, <i>Samaritan Marriage Contracts</i>
<i>SMP</i>	Crown, <i>Samaritan Majuscule Palaeography</i>
<i>SPA</i>	Gaster, 'Samaritan Phylacteries and Amulets'
<i>SPSS</i>	Purvis, <i>The Samaritan Pentateuch and the Origin of the Samaritan Sect</i>
<i>SPST</i>	Gaster, 'A Samaritan Phylactery of the Second or Third Century'
<i>SPT</i>	Berry and Johnson, <i>Catalogue of Specimens of Printing Types</i>
<i>SSA</i>	Kaplan, 'Second Samaritan Amulet from Tel Aviv'
<i>SSKT</i>	Murr, 'Von syrischen Typen'
<i>STP</i>	Tal, <i>Samaritan Targum of the Pentateuch</i>
<i>TS</i>	Crown, ed. <i>The Samaritans/Montgomery, The Samaritans</i>
<i>TSA</i>	Kaplan, 'Two Samaritan Amulets'
<i>TOMN</i>	Marmottan, <i>Typographi orientale Medicis</i>
<i>TSF</i>	Dreyfus, <i>Type Specimen Facsimiles</i>
<i>ZDPV</i>	<i>Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina Vereins</i>

Chapter One

Samaritan Literature and Its Manuscripts¹

Despite the interest in Samaritan writings, in particular their Pentateuch, no single volume has been devoted to the comprehensive study of Samaritan literature. In the nineteenth century two scholars, Brüll² and Heidenheim³ published a number of texts and some introductory matter on Samaritan literature, but their works were far from global. During the past century there have been several attempts at comprehensive descriptions either in the form of descriptive articles or chapters in books. The majority of these have been surveys of the whole field of Samaritan literature in older works which, unfortunately, despite the progress of scholarship, have remained the standard references, particularly for newcomers to the field of Samaritan studies. The best known of these presentations have been that of Montgomery⁴ which is now nearly ninety years old, those of Moses Gaster⁵ which are at least seventy years old and that of Loewenstamm⁶ which, though considerably younger than its predecessors, is still twenty years out of date. Among younger encyclopaedia articles it might be noted that most are part of a general discussion of the Samaritans and either ignore developments in Samaritan

¹ Reprinted from *BJRUL*, 76:1 (Spring, 1994).

² Adolph Brüll, *Zur Geschichte und Literatur der Samaritaner* (Frankfurt, 1876).

³ Moritz Heidenheim, *Bibliotheca Samaritana, Texte aus Samaria und Studien zum Samaritanismus* I. *Die samaritanische Pentateuchversion* II. *Die samaritanische Liturgie. Eine Auswahl der wichtigsten Texte.* III. *Commentar zum samaritanischen Pentateuch von Marqah dem Samaritaner* (Leipzig and Weimar, 1884–1896: reprinted, Amsterdam, Georg Olms, Philo Press, 1971).

⁴ E.g. See chapter 14, 'The languages and literature of the Samaritans' in J. A. Montgomery, *The Samaritans* (Philadelphia, 1907: 2nd ed. New York, Ktav, 1968).

⁵ M. Gaster's third Schweich lecture *The Samaritans, their History, Doctrines and Literature*, Schweich Lectures for 1923, (London, 1925: reprinted by Gordon Press, 1976 and 1980), pp. 96–158 is entitled 'Samaritan Literature'. See also his article, 'The Samaritan literature' (Supplement to the author's article 'The Samaritans'), in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden, Brill, 1925). Reprinted as 'Die samaritanische Litteratur', in F. Dexinger and R. Pummer, *Die Samaritaner, Wege der Forschung* (Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1992), pp. 141–86.

⁶ Ayalah Loewenstamm, 'Samaritan language and literature', in *EJ*, vol. 14, pp. 752–758.

studies within the last twenty years or like that of R. T. Anderson⁷ are rather too brief to do more than scratch the surface of the subject while pointing to the significant elements.

Although there have been extensive studies of the Samaritan Pentateuch since the Western world became aware of it in the early seventeenth century, it is only since the beginning of the century that individual works e.g. the *Tibât* (or *Memar*) *Marqe*⁸ or types of work e.g. the Liturgy⁹ or halakhic writings,¹⁰ have come under analysis and been described with some degree of care. The result is that a substantial amount of new material is currently available that needs to be described in any comprehensive survey of Samaritan literature. Two such surveys which take cognisance of the new material currently are available, these are Abraham Tal's 'Samaritan Literature',¹¹ and the same author's briefer survey, 'Halakhic literature'.¹² Both these latter ignore the Samaritan Hellenistic material about which evidence is not abundant, but do cover all other recent researches in the whole spectrum of Samaritan literature. A third survey, that of Baillet,¹³ is somewhat diffuse for it intermeshes with a wide-ranging study of the history, chronology, calendar and other matters of the Samaritan religion and their life.¹⁴

⁷ R. T. Anderson, 'Samaritans', in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary* (London, New York: Doubleday, 1992), vol. 5, pp. 940–47.

⁸ John Macdonald, *Memar Marqah (The teaching of Marqah)* 2 vols. (Berlin: BZAW, 83, 1963). Z. Ben-Hayyim, *Tibât Marqe: A collection of Samaritan Midrashim* (Jerusalem, IASH, 1988). Gerhard Wedel, *Kitab at-Tabbah des Samaritaners Abu'l-Hasan as-Suri; kritische Edition und kommentierte übersetzung des ersten Teils* (Berlin, Fachbereich Altertumswissenschaften der Freien Universität Berlin, 1987). According to John Mills, *Nabulsi and the Modern Samaritans*, (London, 1864) the *Tibât Marqe* was called *Kitāb el Amir*.

⁹ A. E. Cowley, *The Samaritan Liturgy*, 2 vols. (Oxford, OUP, 1909).

¹⁰ R. Bóid, *Principles of Samaritan Halachah. Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity* (Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1989), p. 476. Idem, 'The Samaritan Halachah', in *The Samaritans*, ed. A. D. Crown (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1989), pp. 624–649 [hereafter TS].

¹¹ Abraham Tal, 'Samaritan Literature', in TS, pp. 413–67.

¹² Abraham Tal, 'Halakhic Literature', in A. D. Crown, R. Pummer and A. Tal, *A Companion to Samaritan Studies*, (Tübingen, Mohr, 1993), pp. 108–11. [Hereafter CSSS].

¹³ M. Baillet, 'Samaritains', in *Supplément au dictionnaire de la Bible*, fascicules 63–64a (1990), cols. 774–1047.

¹⁴ Though not strictly surveys of Samaritan literature Paul Lester Stenhouse deals extensively with the Samaritan chronicles, in particular with the chronicle of the Samaritan historian, Abu'l-Fath in his various writings on this subject. See in particular his 'Kitāb al-Tarikh of Abu'l Fath' (University of Sydney Ph.D thesis, 1981) [hereafter KT]; idem, *Kitāb al-Tarikh of Abu'l Fath* (Sydney, Mandelbaum Judaica Series 1, 1985) [hereafter KTAF]; idem, 'Samaritan Chronicles,' in TS; idem, 'Samaritan Chronology,' in A. Tal and M. Florentin, editors, *Proceedings of the First International Congress of the Société d'Études Samaritaines* (Tel Aviv, Chaim Rosenberg School for Jewish Studies, University of Tel

The current discussion is somewhat indebted to more recent surveys but departs from them in that it attempts to incorporate what is currently known about Samaritan Hellenistic literature and to focus attention on the relevant manuscripts of each class or individual work of literature with special, but not exclusive, reference to manuscripts in the British Library. It thus may serve as a guide to new researchers in the various segments of the field of Samaritan literature who may wish to know where to look for the better manuscripts.

Hellenistic literature

In their chronicles the Samaritans claim to have had an extensive early literature which was lost to them in the course of various oppressions particularly at the hands of the emperor, Hadrian,¹⁵ whose persecution left them in a depressed and depleted state until their revival in the third century under the aegis of their hero, Baba Rabba.¹⁶ Though this claim has been disputed as a pretension of the Samaritans there are three factors which should lead us to consider it seriously. The first is that there was indeed a Samaritan Hellenistic Greek literature as will be shown below. This might have been the literature that they spoke of since no

Aviv, 1991), pp. 173–188. All references to Abu'l-Fath (AF) are to the *Kifāb al-Tarikh* unless otherwise noted.

¹⁵ According to the *Book of Joshua*, chapter 47, but Abu'l-Fath places the loss of books in the reign of Commodus (AF cap. 37). The books lost are claimed to have been *The Book of Choice Selections* (some sort of land register?), Hymns and praises which were used when the sacrificial rite was offered, the *Book of the Imams (Tulidah?)*, and the *Annals*. It is interesting that the extant Samaritan works, are of the types mentioned by Abu'l-Fath, i.e. liturgies, the genealogical register, and chronicles.

¹⁶ It is the accepted truism in scholarly literature that Baba should be assigned to the fourth century, but the Samaritan chronicles put him in the third century and make him a younger contemporary of Judah Hanassi living at about the same time as Origen whose Hexapla took note of the Samaritan Pentateuch. See Paul Lester Stenhouse, 'The Reliability of the Chronicle of Abu'l-Fath with Special Reference to the Dating of Baba Rabba,' in J-P. Rothschild and Guy Sixdenier, editors, *Études samaritaines* (Louvain-Paris, 1988), pp. 235–257 [hereafter ES]. The events of the chronicles would seem to place the beginning of Baba's career in the interregnum in Palestine between 235–238 CE when the country was threatened by border tribes and it continued through the reign of Gordianus who fought the Persians in 243. The third century was a century of comparative and relative peace for the Samaritans who seem to have used their military training in the middle of the century, at the time when the Romans had few garrison troops in central Palestine, to maintain their own standing force of about three thousand men at Neapolis. It was at this period that the great Samaritan religious reformers worked, that their liturgy began to take its shape and they began to formulate their Masoretic tradition about the copying of the Pentateuch. One notes the likelihood that the scribe of Codex Alexandrinus had a copy of the Samaritan Pentateuch before him.

parallels to this material in Hebrew are known. The second reason why this claim should be taken seriously is that there are references to Samaritan writings in some of the Church Fathers including some discussion of content¹⁷ and some refutation of Samaritan arguments. This refutation would betoken some knowledge of Samaritan works, though these may well have been written rather later than the time of Hadrian.

The third reason is that there are a number of independent traditions in Samaritan chronicles some of which have considerable antiquity and some of which are of doubtful antiquity. Despite scholarly scepticism about the value of all of these traditions and an ever manifest willingness to treat Samaritan evidence as secondary and always corrupt, recent studies have shown that some of these traditions have a core of historical accuracy¹⁸ which bespeak a long transmission history which is not always traceable. For example, the chain of Samaritan High Priests which is of fundamental importance in Samaritan history and chronology is clearly of independent transmission but there are no extant manuscripts of any antiquity which show how the chain was remembered and recorded.¹⁹ There should also be noted the many Greek words in the chronicles, some of which are thoroughly corrupted but which can be detected beneath the translations through Arabic and Hebrew. Analysis of the sources show that at least one Greek source lay directly behind the Arabic of the Samaritan Arabic Book of Joshua²⁰ and suggests a base manuscript in Greek transmitted through the Byzantine period. Moreover, the survival of fourth century BCE Samaritan material from the Wadi Daliyeh caves²¹ and what appears to be a liturgical fragment from Masada²² is now a substantive indication of the probability that there were ancient Samaritan literary materials,

¹⁷ Photius says (in the name of Eulogius) 'He (Dositheus, the Samaritan) adulterated the Mosaic octateuch with myriads of spurious changes of all kinds, and he also left behind with his believers certain other works he had composed – foolish and outlandish and contrary to the laws of the spirit.' For further discussion of early patristic views of Samaritan writings see Bruce Hall, *Samaritan Religion from Hyrcanus to Baba Rabba*, Mandelbaum Studies in Judaica, 3 (Sydney, Mandelbaum Publishing, 1987). A new study of Samaritan references in Patristic writings is being produced by Reinhard Pummer.

¹⁸ For example see the notes to the Arabic text in Stenhouse, *KT*.

¹⁹ At the Congress of Samaritan Studies in Paris, 1992, Florentin cast some doubt on Bowman's view that the eleventh century manuscript of the *Tulidah* in Nablus was the archetype. Even if it were not the archetype text the tradition of the priestly chain had to be preserved and transmitted and there is no older manuscript of this chain extant. See note 120.

²⁰ Published by T. W. J. Juynboll, *Chronicon Samaritanum Arabice conscriptum, cui titulus est liber Josuae* (Lugduni Batavorum, Luchtmans, 1848).

²¹ Still largely unpublished after twenty years.

²² See Shemaryahu Talmon, 'A Masada Text of Samaritan Origin' *IEJ* 47: 3–4 (1997): 220–232.

not to mention the 'proto-Samaritan' Pentateuch texts among the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Of the first period of Samaritan writing, namely, the Hellenistic period, there are now no extant manuscripts. However, for the sake of presenting a tolerably complete skeleton survey some comments are made here about the literature of this period. There is certainly no unanimity in scholarly literature as to which Hellenistic authors were of Samaritan origin and scholars have changed their minds after having once identified one or other author as a Samaritan.²³ Criteria for establishing what was a Samaritan text are not at all clear. While the names of Samaritans such as the sophist, Syricius and Marinus the philosopher, are known it is not clear to what extent works associated with their names can be described as Samaritan. References to Mt. Gerizim, once adopted by scholars as a clue to the Samaritan origins of a text are no longer accepted as best evidence of Samaritan authorship.²⁴ There are other writers whose works have been lost and whose identity as Samaritans is somewhat dubious. These include Thallus, a writer who is remembered in some Patristic texts and is said to have written a euhemeristic chronicle of world history in three books down to the time of the 167th Olympiad (112/109 BCE). It is not at all clear that Thallus was a Samaritan.²⁵ Without any actual trace of any of Thallus' writings scholars are in no position to judge whether he was indeed a Samaritan who wrote the foundation material on which later Samaritan chronicles might have been based or whether he was the first Samaritan author to make reference to Jesus Christ as interpreters of Africanus *apud* Syncellus would have us believe.

A second writer of the period, Theodotus, likewise, is not certainly a Samaritan despite claims that his description of Shechem, preserved by Alexander Polyhistor, and quoted in Eusebius' *Praeparatio Evangelica*, indicates authorship by a Samaritan. Whether he was a Samaritan or not, Theodotus made the statement in his poem, *On the Jews*, that Shechem was a holy city, an unlikely claim to have been made by a non-Samaritan. Daise,²⁶

²³ See C. R. Holladay, *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors*, 2 vols. (Chico, California and Atlanta, Scholars Press, 1983–1989).

²⁴ R. Pummer, 'Argarizin – A Criterion for Samaritan Provenance?', *JSJ*, 18 (1987–1988): 18–25.

²⁵ Though he has been described as a Samaritan by a number of scholars this attribution depends on an interpretation of Josephus (*AJ* 18:167) derived by emending the text to read Thallus, where his name does not actually appear. The relevant passage has been interpreted differently by Rigg who argues that while the passage indeed speaks of a Samaritan it makes no reference to Thallus and our only information is still that of the Church Fathers.

²⁶ Michael Daise, 'Samaritans, Seleucids and the Epic of Theodotus', *JSP*, 17 (1998): 25–51.

reviewing the information on and arguments about Theodotus, supports the hypothesis that he was a Samaritan and provides a historic context in which to fit his epic poem. He argues that the poem should be seen in the context of the political crisis which the Samaritans faced with the Seleucids in the late third and early second centuries BCE. The Samaritans wanted to reconquer the city of Shechem from the Seleucids and Theodotus' poem is the expression of this desire.

Other Hellenistic writers claimed to have been Samaritan are the tragic poet, Ezekiel, Pseudo-Eupolemus and Cleodemus-Malchus. The fragmentary literary remains of these writers are preserved in a quaternary form in the text of Eusebius's *Praeparatio Evangelica*, where he quotes (apparently via Josephus, though his words do not make it clear whether he was checking Josephus' version with a direct copy) Alexander Polyhistor's history *Concerning the Jews*, in which are embedded extracts from other authors. Although some of the data quoted appear to be Samaritan in character it is not possible to know whether the appearance results from a presentation by a Samaritan compiler or whether it is a result of a pagan Hellenistic writer presenting a syncretistic account. After all there were a large number of pagans resident in Samaria²⁷ who would have been aware of the traditions of the Samaritans amongst whom they lived and who might in addition, have known the Pentateuch in its Judaeian version.

The evidence for claiming that Cleodemus-Malchus was Samaritan rests in part on a study of the person of the writer and in part on a study of what are alleged to be his writings. In so far as his person was concerned, according to Eusebius, Cleodemus was described by Alexander Polyhistor as 'the prophet who is also called Malchas' (*PE* 421b). Freudenthal²⁸ argues that since prophecy among the Jews was regarded as closed, the only Palestinians who could use the term prophet were either the Christians, (who were not yet in existence) or the Samaritans (on the assumption that the use of the term in relation to Simon Magus and Dositheus bespeaks a Samaritan tradition). He also associates the term Malchus with the Samaritans (though he ignores the words of Malalas who does use this term of a number of Samaritan rebel leaders), claiming that the name was rare in its time. In fact as is known today

²⁷ See Rita Egger, *Josephus Flavius und die Samaritaner*, NTOA 4 (Göttingen, 1986). Egger discusses the problem of confusing Samarian pagans with Samaritans.

²⁸ Jacob Freudenthal, *Hellenistische Studien: Alexander Polyhistor und die von ihm erhaltenen. Reste jüdischer und samaritanischer Geschichtswerke*. (Breslau, Jüdisch-theologisches Seminar, 1875). [Reprinted from the *Jahresbericht des jüdisch-theologischen Seminars*, 1874–1875].

from a number of sources it was a common name of the period among pagans as well as Jews.

The determination that Cleodemus was a Samaritan from the study of the remnants of his writing is made on very slim ground indeed, namely that the association in his text between Hercules and the descendants of Abraham via his concubine Keturah was derived from an equation of Hercules with Zeus Zenios and Zeus Hellenios at the temple on Gerizim. This sort of syncretistic comment is alleged to be Samaritan. The pagan temples at Gerizim are known to have been unrelated to any Samaritan temple and the hypothesis can scarcely be supported.

The suggestion that Pseudo-Eupolemus was a Samaritan seems to be espoused more strongly by scholars. The fragments known as Pseudo-Eupolemus are the two sections of the work of Eupolemus quoted by Eusebius via Alexander Polyhistor (*PE* chapters xvii and xviii) which are so different from the rest of the writings of Eupolemus that they are attributed to a different author. It is argued that Pseudo-Eupolemus was neither a Jew nor a pagan but a Samaritan. In a midrash on the life of Abraham, Pseudo-Eupolemus states that the city of Ur from which Abraham stemmed was called Samarina and that the temple of Melchizedek to which Abraham was admitted for worship was on the 'Mount of the Most High' which he takes to be Mount Gerizim. It is difficult, but not impossible, to accept that a pagan would compose such a midrash when the Judaeon Pentateuch would indicate the association of Melchizedek with Jerusalem. Heinemann²⁹ demonstrated that the question of Melchizedek's association became an important issue in the Rabbinic-Samaritan polemics which surfaced both in Talmudic and Aggadic literature, a factor which would make it even more likely that Pseudo-Eupolemus was a Samaritan. Wacholder³⁰ may well be correct in his assessment that the Samaritan known as Pseudo-Eupolemus 'must be counted among the earliest Biblical historians writing in Greek'.

Two types of Samaritan writing survive from this period, the Samaritan Pentateuch and the Samaritan Greek version or *Samareitikon*, of which there may be some surviving manuscripts,³¹ and, to these works it might be possible

²⁹ Joseph Heinemann, 'Anti-Samaritan polemics in the Aggadah', *Proceedings of the Sixth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, 3 (Jerusalem, Magnes Press, 1977): 57–69.

³⁰ Ben-Zion Wacholder, 'Pseudo-Eupolemus'. Two Greek fragments on the life of Abraham', *HUCA*, 34 (1963): 83–113.

³¹ On the *Samareitikon* see Reinhard Pummer, 'The Greek Bible and the Samaritans', *REJ*, 157: 3–4 (1998): 236–358 and idem, 'The Samareitikon Revisited', in A. D. Crown and Lucy Davy, *Essays in Honour of G. D. Sixdenier*, *New Samaritan Studies of the Société*

to add, perhaps, the Samaritan book of Joshua though that is a matter of debate.³² Although the earliest manuscripts from Qumran relating to the Samaritan Pentateuch include some in the Palaeo-Hebrew script and others (in the square Hebrew script) which are akin to the Samaritan text type as it must have been before the fixing of the Samaritan text in the period of Baba Rabba³³ there are no surviving dated manuscripts of the Pentateuch in the Samaritan majuscule character from before the tenth century CE. These pre-texts are what Qumran scholars call 'authentic' texts as against 'reworked' texts into which category it might be possible to put parts of the Samaritan Pentateuch such as the tenth commandment.³⁴ That they are Samaritan and written before the reworking by the third-century CE Samaritan sages (*see below*) is clear. Among the surviving manuscripts which belong to this group are 4QpaleoExod^m and 4QNum^b, 4QExod-Lev^f. There are related manuscripts which make substantial use of the Samaritan text-type, viz. 4Q158 and 4Q364.

These pre- or proto-Samaritan texts which were preserved at Qumran and date from perhaps the third century BCE³⁵ are significant in that they demonstrate that both the Samaritans and whoever used those texts were interested in the older Palestinian traditions in the Pentateuch, which depended on, or were represented by textual differences from the MT.³⁶ The Qumran pre-

d'Études Samaritaines (Sydney, Mandelbaum Publishing, 1995): 381–455 [hereafter *Sixdenier Festschrift*].

³² See A. D. Crown, 'Was there a Samaritan Book of Joshua?' in T. W. Hillard, R. A. Kearsley, et. al. eds., *Ancient History in a Modern University*, vol. II, *Early Christianity, Late Antiquity and Beyond* (Grand Rapids and Cambridge, Eerdmans, 1998), pp. 15–22.

³³ For these texts see P. W. Skehan, E. Ulrich and J. E. Sanderson, *Qumran Cave IV Palaeo-Hebrew and Greek Biblical Manuscripts DJD IX* (OUP, 1992). Emanuel Tov has observed that 'in view of the recent finds in Qumran it is now believed that at the base of the Samaritan Pentateuch lies a non-sectarian Palestinian text similar to several texts that have been found at Qumran and which for this purpose are named 'proto-Samaritan.' These sources contain early non-sectarian texts on one of which the Samaritan Pentateuch was based. In its present form, the Samaritan Pentateuch contains a clearly sectarian text. However, when its thin sectarian layer is removed, together with that of the Samaritan phonetic features, the resulting text probably did not differ much from the texts which are now labelled 'proto-Samaritan.' See Tov, 'Samaritan Pentateuch', in *CSS*.

³⁴ See for example, Emanuel Tov, 'Rewritten Bible Compositions and Biblical Manuscripts, with Special Attention to the Samaritan Pentateuch', *DSD*, 5:3 (1998): 334–354.

³⁵ For a brief evaluation of these texts in the light of the problems of Samaritan origins see F. Dexinger, 'Samaritan Origins and the Qumran Texts' in M. Wise, N. Golb et al., 'Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site' *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, vol. 722 (1994): 231–250.

³⁶ It is not clear whether the text is the deposit of or the source of the variations in tradition and practice.

Samaritan or proto-Samaritan texts are at times as expansionist as the Samaritan and may almost exactly coincide with it.³⁷ Thus, some of the editing that is regarded as 'reworking' belongs to the period before Baba Rabba's work. (See below). The preservation of these old Palestinian texts is an added plus for the view which sees preserved in the Qumran material a form of old Palestinian halakhic tradition that was espoused by various groups of the period, among whom were the Samaritans, and others of smaller number who could not at that time have been regarded as sectarian, but only as groups identified by Josephus as holding differing philosophies of Judaism. This pre-Tannaitic halakha was almost certainly latitudinarian and allowed a variety of rituals and beliefs to coexist peacefully. It was only after the unifying of Jewish tradition under the Tannaim that one could regard the differing philosophies as sectarian. This view virtually returns us to supporting the speculations of Geiger and others of his generation about the old Sadducean halakha.³⁸

None of the texts from Qumran which have similarities to the Samaritan version are at all close to the *Samareitikon* cited by Origen in his *Hexapla*.³⁹ The Qumran texts have been researched recently by Kung Rae Kim,⁴⁰ who makes it unmistakably clear that these are of the genre which grew into the Samaritan texts. According to Kim, Sanderson,⁴¹ Kuenen,⁴² Macuch⁴³ and others, the Samaritan Pentateuch is a late development of the Masoretic Pentateuch in which the greater part of the differences between the Masoretic text and the Samaritan text rose through the influence of later currents of thought,⁴⁴ that is, they were rewritten.

It is clear enough today that a substantial number of the Samaritan variants relate to Samaritan hermeneutics, exegesis of the text, and theories as to the nature of the text. They are not only the crystallisation into a particular text-type

³⁷ On this point see Kyung Rae Kim, 'Studies in the Relationship Between the Samaritan Pentateuch and the Septuagint' (Doctoral Thesis, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1994). Unfortunately Kim did not deal with the similarities between the pre-Qumran and Samaritan texts which might reflect older halakhic traditions.

³⁸ See *DJD* X, p. 181.

³⁹ See also Dexinger, 'Limits of tolerance', p. 108.

⁴⁰ Kim, *Studies*.

⁴¹ J. Sanderson, *An Exodus Scroll from Qumran: 4QPalaeoExodm and the Samaritan Tradition*, Atlanta (Scholars Press, 1986), en passant.

⁴² A. Kuenen, *Libri Exodi et Levitici Secundum Arabicam Pentateuchi Samaritani versionem ab Abu Saido conscriptam* (Leiden, Brill, 1854).

⁴³ R. Macuch, 'The Importance of Samaritan Tradition for the Hermeneutics of the Pentateuch,' in Tal and Florentin, *Proceedings*, pp. 13–22.

⁴⁴ See R. Macuch, 'Hermeneutical Divergences Between the Samaritan and Jewish Versions of the Blessings of the Patriarchs (Genesis 49 and Deuteronomy 33),' in *Sixdenier Festschrift*, pp. 365–380.

of textual variants such as one finds in some of the Qumran pre-Masoretic texts, though there are many of these relating to old Samaritan rituals. Some of the variants and rewording are intended to 'impart a more perfect and internally consistent structure to the text'.⁴⁵ Furthermore it has also been made clear in recent studies that the Samaritan tendency to remove anthropomorphisms in the Pentateuch text came about under the influence of the fusion of Samaritan and Hellenistic cultures and that their hermeneutic style developed in an Aramaic milieu and follows the Septuagint and does not precede it.⁴⁶ Macuch,⁴⁷ concludes that the Samaritan Pentateuch was fixed over a period that extended into the first Christian centuries. Macuch's conclusions could be supplemented with a statement of the obvious – that while the Samaritan-Qumran materials may have been proto-Samaritan they were not the Samaritan version in the forms in which it is now known.⁴⁸

The Samaritan version took shape, to be formulated in the fashion found today, at some time later than the direct textual evidence from Qumran allows us to see. Because there is no other evidence from Qumran of this version one may be justified in arguing that it took place some time after the Qumran site was deserted for the second time, in other words in the period between 135 CE and Origen's citation of the *Samareitikon* which would put its reformulation squarely into the period of intensive activity of Baba's lifetime.

One contrary argument to these conclusions might be indicated by Stephen's speech, in Acts, which appears to draw upon the Samaritan Pentateuch, giving the impression that the Samaritan Pentateuch was in existence at that time. However, a recent re-examination of the evidence testifies against Stephen having drawn on the Samaritan version as we know it today.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ Cf. Tov, 'Rewritten Bible Compositions', p. 341.

⁴⁶ Cf. R. Macuch, 'Les bases philologiques de l'herméneutique et les bases herméneutique de la philologie chez les Samaritains', *ES*, pp. 149–158. John Lightfoot, *Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae*, ed. R. Gandell (Oxford, 1859), makes an interesting observation (p.358) on the exchange of the names, Ebal and Gerizim in Deuteronomy 11:29 and 27:12–13. Having drawn our attention to Rabbinic complaints about the expansion of Deut. xi:30 he suggests that the reason no complaints were heard about the exchange of Gerizim and Ebal is that these changes were made after the lifetime of Eliezer b. Jose, i.e. after the second century CE. The argument from silence is, of course, dangerous, but not without merit.

⁴⁷ 'Les bases philologiques', p. 154.

⁴⁸ Cf. D. N. Freedman and K. A. Mathews, *The Palaeo-Hebrew Leviticus Scroll* (Winona Lake, AASOR, 1985) where the words 'proto-Samaritan' regularly indicate that the text is not the Samaritan Pentateuch. Judith E. Sanderson, *An Exodus Scroll from Qumran*, Harvard Semitic Studies 30 (Atlanta, Scholars Press, 1986) seems to find 4QpalaeoExod^m rather close to the Samaritan version but not identical with it.

⁴⁹ Cf. W. F. Albright and C. S. Mann, 'Stephen's Samaritan background', *The Anchor Bible, The Acts of the Apostles*, ed J. Munck (New York, 1967), Appendix V, 285–300. For

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