

# THE SAMARITANS IN EGYPT

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For the last three hundred years Samaritans have lived only in the Holy Land. And in fact, today's Samaritans consider it a duty to live there[1]. However, from antiquity to approximately the year 1700, Samaritans were found in numerous cities outside the Holy Land, from Damascus to Rome. One of the most important diaspora groups lived in Egypt.

A number of surveys have been written about the Samaritan diaspora in general or in antiquity. The oldest seems to be Th. G. J. Juynboll's chapter six in his work *Commentarii in historian gentis samaritanae* published in 1846. It is entitled "De Terris, in quibus Gens samaritana olim vixit, et Urbibus, ubi Coetus samaritani antea flouerunt"[2]. J.W.Nutt presented a brief overview in *Fragments of a Samaritan Targum*, published in 1874[3]. More recent studies are the articles by A. D. Crown, "The Samaritan Diaspora to the End of the Byzantine Era"[4], and "The Samaritan Diaspora"[5]; and by P.van der Horst, "De Samaritaanse diaspora"[6], and "The Samaritan Diaspora in Antiquity"[7].

The following paper will focus on one area, Egypt, and will try to bring together all available information about the Samaritan diaspora in that land. Completeness was sought as much in the collection of the material, except for one aspect, i.e. not every manuscript with a colophon or a deed of sale that mentions Egypt, was identified and listed. In any event, it is not always the case that "Egypt" refers to that region, but often Gaza is intended[8].

As to the sources at our disposal, the following should be noted. Samaritan chronicles do speak of their co-religionists in Egypt, but for the early period they seem to contain only faint reflections of narrations found in non-Samaritan sources[9]; and for the later periods they often give only names of persons without clear chronological references[10]. Only from the 14<sup>th</sup> century on, names of scribes and owners of manuscripts are recorded with their dates in *tashqils* and deeds of sales[11]. We must rely therefore to a great extent on non-Samaritan sources for our information about Samaritans in Egypt through the centuries.

The presentation of the evidence will proceed century by century, from the earliest for which the existence of Samaritans in Egypt has been asserted, to the most recent. As will become apparent, neither the beginning nor the end of the Samaritan presence in Egypt can be established with precision, and for some centuries, no traces at all were preserved in the extant sources. Despite the dearth of information for many a century, for some periods we are able to catch glimpses of outstanding individuals. and sometimes even of the social and

religious circumstances in which the Samaritans lived.

It is with great pleasure that I dedicate these pages to Jean Margain who has contributed so much to the advancement of Semitic and, in particular Samaritan studies.

### **Fifth Century B.C.E.**

Some authors believed that the first Samaritans in Egypt were the colonists in Elephantine. Among them was F. Nau who called all those Arameans “Samaritans” who worshipped the gods of Bethel[12]. It is clear that this must be rejected. Nau proceeded on the assumption that the Samaritans were polytheists. The same argument was used by A. van Hoonacker[13]. Most authors however, underline that there is no basis on which to call the colonists Samaritans[14]. The origin of Samaritanism is to be dated considerably later, and there is no reason why the colonists should be considered even Proto-Samaritans rather than Jews.

### **Fourth Century B.C.E.**

According to Josephus, Alexander settled in Egypt eight thousand soldiers of Sanballat, the governor of Samaria (*Ant.* 11,345 ; *Ant.* 11,321). A closer look at this Tradition, however, makes it doubtful whether there ever was a large settlement of Samaritans in Egypt in the Hellenistic period. The numerous soldiers that Alexander purportedly settled in Egypt would have had to result in a considerable military population. But there is no evidence for such a population in the papyri. Samaria in Arsinois was predominantly Jewish as the extant names show[15]. But even if it was Samaritan, it would have been fairly small ; usually military settlements in Egypt consisted only of approximately one hundred soldiers[16]. The scanty information gleaned from the papyri makes it unlikely that Josephus’ story about the settlement of Sanballat’s soldiers is historical[17]. Moreover, already Tcherikover has pointed out that Alexander used local troops only when he penetrated into Central Asia[18]. And last but not least, it must be asked whether Sanballat’s soldiers really were Samaritans or simply Samaritans. Thus, it is difficult to accept this report in *Ant.* as the earliest evidence for a Samaritan diaspora in Egypt.

### **Third/Second Centuries B.C.E.**

In *Ant.* 12,7-10, Josephus writes about quarrels between the descendants of the Samaritans and Jews that had been settled in Egypt by Ptolemy I Soter (304-282 B.C.E.). Later, under Ptolemy VI Philometer (180-145 B.C.E.), another quarrel broke out among them in Alexandria according to Josephus, *Ant.* 13,74-79. In both cases the dispute was over the legitimate temple – the one in Jerusalem or the one on Mt. Gerizim. It may well be that the two accounts are duplicate reports of the same incident[19]. On the other hand, *Ant.* 12,10 may describe what is in effect the background to *Ant.* 11,74-79[20].

On the whole, there probably is a historical core to the accounts about disputes between Samaritans and Jews in Egypt in the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. B.C.E., but Josephus or his source(s) added a number of legendary embellishments. If this assumption is accurate, the earliest evidence for a Samaritan diaspora in Egypt goes back to the 3<sup>rd</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> cent. B.C.E.

In the Fayyum, a place was called “Samareia”, most likely because the original settlers came from that region. It is not known when they settled there. The village is first mentioned in the papyri of the late 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. B.C.E. [21]. The settlers could have been Samaritans or (Proto-) Samaritans. However, most scholars assume that the inhabitants were Samaritans[22]. Yet, gradually the latter must have intermarried with Jews and the settlement lost its original character[23]. Eventually, Σαμαρειται in Egypt came to mean “inhabitants of (the village of) Samareia”[24].

## Second Century C.E.

Several papyri from the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. C.E. characterize a person as Σαμαρειτηζ or Σαμαρειτα[25]. But as is the case with earlier occurrences of such terms, the designation may refer only to the village of Samaeria in the Fayyum. M. Nagel argues that Ιασων Σαμαρειτηζ in P.Mil. Vogl. 212, a list of names, must have an ethnic significance, since the same papyrus lists also a Ιουδαιοζ[26]. However, his argument is far from conclusive.

## Third Century C.E.

In his works *De principiis* 4,3,2 Origen mentions Dositheus the Samaritan. Origen wrote this work in Alexandria[27] where he was able to learn what Dosithean sects believed. The passage in which he mentions Dositheus deals with the Sabbath observance ; Dositheus is said to be one of those who oppose the law that allows traveling 2,000 cubits on the Sabbath.

## Fourth Century C.E.

The *Historia Augusta* from the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> cent. Mentions Samaritans in Egypt in the *Vita Saturnini* 7,5 and 8,3. In the course of a negative description of the Egyptians, the Samaritans are said to be one of the groups there. Like Jewish archisynagogoi and Christian priests, Samaritans are astrologists, diviners and charlatans. Although the context is a fictional letter of the emperor Hadrian, the passages show “how a writer of the fourth century imagined the religious composition of the Egyptian population”[28].

Further evidence comes from the first Roman law that mentions Samaritans along with Jews. On February 18<sup>th</sup>, 390, emperor Theodosius issued a decree that made it illegal to force the Jewish and Samaritan communities in Egypt to perform maritime transport duties; only individuals with sufficient means could be obliged to shoulder these burdens[29].

## Fifth Century C.E.

Two papyri have come down to us that contain proof that in the 5<sup>th</sup> as well as the 6<sup>th</sup> cent. Samaritans by religion resided in Egypt. The first is a letter, dated in the 5<sup>th</sup> cent. On palaeographic grounds[30]. The author of the letter swears by Mt. Gerizim :  $\mu\alpha\ \tau\omicron\nu\nu\ \text{A}\rho\gamma\alpha\rho\iota\zeta\iota\nu$ . Orthography and language of the letter are strongly coloured by popular idiom.

## Sixth Century C.E.

From the 6<sup>th</sup> cent. we have a deed of divorce in which the parties are identified as Σαμαριται την θρησκιαν. It is CPJ 513 from July 26, 586 C.E. From the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> cent. comes a treatise by Eulogius, Patriarch of Alexandria from 580 to 607, that makes clear that at that time there existed a Dosithean sect in the city[31].

## Eleventh Century C.E.

The next testimony to the existence of a Samaritan community in Egypt comes from the early eleventh century. A document dated the 9<sup>th</sup> day of Sha’ban 429 A.H., i.e. May 17<sup>th</sup>, 1038, found in the Cairo Geniza, mentions the Sheikh Abu al-’Imran Musa ibn Ya’qub ibn Ishaq the Israelite, court physician and Chief of the Jewish community (in Eusebi, Babbanite, Keraita and Samaritan)[32].

## Twelfth Century C.E.

Shahrastani (1076 or 1086 – 1153) describes the Samaritans in his work *Kitab al-Milal wa al-Nihal* as “a community living on the mountains around Jerusalem, and in villages in the vicinity of Cairo [or : in the provincial administrations of Egypt]”[33]

In 1188, Abu Salih, the probable author of *Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*, mentions “a cemetery of the Jews and Samaritans” in Cairo[34]. He also speaks of Samaritans who disputed with Mark al-Darir ibn Mauhub, called Ibn al-Qanbar (died 1208), who “was made priest by the bishop of Damietta”[35]. The fact that the cemetery was used by Jews and Samaritans is an indication that the Samaritan community was too small to have its own cemetery.

Two letters found in the Cairo Geniza and dated by Crowley in the 12<sup>th</sup> cent. were written by the Samaritan priest Joseph b. Ishmael[36]. They were written in square Hebrew characters, and the author calls himself *éðãøîüä*. Crowley thought the latter “was the local priest ( *ùîü*) of the congregation in Cairo”[37], whereas Goitein considers him a “carpenter, who possessed some Hebrew learning” and who describes himself in moving terms as a Kohen and foreigner in great distress”[38].

In the first letter[39], Joseph does in fact call himself both a priest and a carpenter who “can make boxes, bedsteads, doors, and beams”[40]. Usually, carpenters made only one kind of furniture, not all of them [41]. Since his fellow Samaritans do not support the needy, he turns to the Jews for help and wants the head carpenter to employ him. The latter may have been working on the rebuilding of the synagogue of the Palestinians[42]. Joseph’s reproach that the Samaritans do not care for the poor seems to be allusion to the wealth that some Samaritans had accumulated[43]. In particular, we know of one Abu Ya’qub Ibrahim, “the Samaritan”, who was chief secretary under the caliph al-Amir in the early 12<sup>th</sup> cent. Since al-Amir did not have a vizier, Abu Ya’qub’s position was especially elevated[44].

Another Samaritan signed a Jewish contract in Arabic in Damietta in 1106 C.E. His name was *üúôðã îäøà*. . Either this proves that the Jews considered the Samaritans as valid witnesses to a contract[45], or Abraham had converted to Judaism[46].

Finally, in the Cairo Geniza was found also a leaf of a Samaritan commentary on Exodus (9:13). Although the text was written in Arabic language and script, the biblical quotations are in Samaritan characters[47].

With Cowley we can conclude “that the Samaritans in Egypt lived on friendly terms with the Jews in the twelfth century, so that a Samaritan priest could appeal for help to a Jewish congregation, and would take the trouble to write his letter in Hebrew characters”[48].

## Thirteenth Century C.E.

An unknown Karaite author from the 13<sup>th</sup> cent. observed and described the rituals that the Samaritans used in Cairo for purification: *ãøîäé íéðáøä éë. íéí ää÷íá íéüãð íä äë íéðøîüì éäéàø äëä íéîä [49] íä÷íá äéäü äøäëä éë[50].*

In a notebook from 1234 C.E., found in the Cairo Geniza, a Samaritan is listed among the tenants of a pious foundation. It records the sum that was collected for “the apartment of al-Kuti”, *éäëèä îëí[51].*

Muslim writers of the late Ayyubid and early Mamluk period differentiate between Jews and Samaritans. In particular, from the early 12<sup>th</sup> cent. comes a document written by the Ayyubid official Mubâr al-Dîn b. ‘Abd

particular, from the early 13<sup>th</sup> cent. comes a document written by the Ayyubid official Muhyi al-Din b. Abu az-Zahir, that deals with the appointment of the head of the Jews in Egypt. It is quoted in Abu al-'Abbas Ahmad ibn 'Ali al-Shafi'i al-Qalqashandi's work *Subh al-A'sha fi Sina'at al-Insha*[52]. The head of the Jews has jurisdiction over Rabbanites, Karaites and Samaritans, the third subdivision of the Jews.

Muhyi al-Din treats the Samaritans with contempt. In the summary by Bosworth: "The stringent laws about contact with impurities and impure persons allegedly laid upon them as punishment for their supposed founder as-Samiri's leading Moses's community are to have the abysmal errors of their ways pointed out to them, but since they will doubtless persist in their purblind condition, they are then to be enjoined to observe punctiliously their own particular laws[53]".

Although severely berated in the document, the Samaritans were not alone among the non-Muslims in receiving harsh treatment from Ayyubid and Mamluk authorities.

## Fourteenth Century C.E.

The names of a number of Samaritan priests from Egypt during the 14<sup>th</sup> cent. are known from deeds of sales of manuscripts. Among them is  $\text{âäúë ùù} \text{ íéøöíá äùéã÷}$ , "custodian of the Holy Scriptures in Egypt"[54]. The Torah was sold by  $\text{âüüî äíéëú} \text{ íá öíáé}$  of the family of  $\text{êðüá}$ , to  $\text{äðøúé ää} \text{ íá á÷öé}$  of the family of  $\text{ä÷âô}$ .

Another priest in Egypt, also  $\text{íéøöíá ääúë ùù}$ , was  $\text{ôüü} \text{ íá ä÷ãö}$ : he wrote the deed of sale when the same Torah was sold in 1394/95 by  $\text{ää} \text{ íá á÷ðé} \text{ äðøúé}$  to his wife Simha[55].

Towards the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> cent. seems to have lived Mattanah ha-misri, an author of liturgical hymns in Samaritan Hebrew or "Shomronit"[56].

In the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> cent. Egypt, Muslim heresiologists discussed the Samaritans under the aspects of taxes, i.e. are they liable to pay *jizya* or not? The question was answered in the affirmative by such authors as Ibn Qayyim al-Jauziyya (1292-1350 C.E.)[57], al-Qalqashandi (1355-1418 C.E.)[58], and al-Maqrizi (1364-1442 C.E.)[59].

Several documents, whose origin may go back to the thirteenth century[60] make it clear that the Samaritans of the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> cent. Egypt had their own community head or Ra'is, "who gave judgment, watched over marriage and testamentary agreements, and had the synagogues (?) in his charge"[61].

Shihab al-Din ibn Fadl Allah al-Umari (d. 1349 C.E.) wrote a manual of administration entitled *Al-Ta'rif bi-al-Mustalah al-Sharif*. In it he quotes the text of the oaths of office to be sworn by the "head of the Jews" as well as by the "leader of the Samaritans"[62]. These texts, in turn, were quoted by later writers, including al-Qalqashandi, although already in the 14<sup>th</sup> cent. they were considered antiquated[63]. Nevertheless, Samaritans clearly lived in Egypt long after that date.

Although the Samaritans were considered a separate group, for certain purposes they were treated as if they were Jews[64]. This inclusion with the Jews simplified for the Muslims the collection of taxes[65]. Thus, on the one hand it is clear that the Samaritans in Egypt had their own leaders during the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods, on the other hand, the head of the Rabbanite Jews had authority also over the Karaites and the Samaritans[66].

It was in the 14<sup>th</sup> cent., i.e. in 1301, that the Mamluk sultan al-Masir Muhammad b. Qalawun (ruled 1293-94, 1299-1309, and 1310-1341) decreed that the Samaritans of Egypt and Syria must wear red turbans[67]. Travelers later remarked on this special head gear[68].

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A number of Christian pilgrims recorded the existence of Samaritans in Egypt in the 14<sup>th</sup> cent. The earliest was the Irish Franciscan Symon Semeonis who visited Egypt on his way to the Holy Land in 1323. He enumerates three Jewish groups : the Rabbanites, the Karaites, and the *Cusygm*. The last term is a rendition of *cutim* [69].

In 1349, the Italian Franciscan Niccolo Poggibonsi visited Cairo where he met Samaritans[70]. In 1384, another Christian traveler, Simon Sigoli of Florence, speaks about Samaritans in Alexandria in his work *Viaggio al monte Sinai*[71]. He was told that in the city lived “50,000 men-at-arms, counting Saracens, Jews, Christians of the Girdle and Samaritans. These generations are distinguished in this way. The Saracens wear on their head white bands, the Jews yellow bands, the Christians of the Girdle blue bands and the Samaritans red bands”[72].

## Fifteenth Century C.E.

Several Samaritan scribes are known from 15<sup>th</sup> cent. Egypt[73]. The most important was Afif b. Sadaqa b. Jacob b. Sadaqa b. Ab Hisda of the Munis family. He is probably to be identified with Ab Nesana b. Sadaqa b. Joseph b. Sadaqa b. Ab Hisda b. Abd Yahweh[74]. He died in 1502. On the whole he wrote over 30 Torah manuscripts. In the colophons and deeds of sale of these manuscripts other Egyptian Samaritans are mentioned.

Afif wrote his 19<sup>th</sup> Torah in 1476/77, i.e. MS St Petersburg *T. 2, No. 15*, for Abd Yahweh b. Sadaqa of the Remah family. In 1489 the manuscript was sold in Cairo to Sadaqa b. Abraham of the ‘Abada family by ‘Abdallah b. Sadaqaz of the Remah family ; the sale was witnessed by Sadaqa b. Joseph b. Metuhia b. Tabia b. Abraham b. Beraka the Levite “from the city of the priests who serve the holy scriptures in the land of Egypt, while the buyer must have been in Shechem since the deed contains the prayer “let it [i.e. the manuscript] get safely from the land of Egypt to Shechem”[75]. Sadaqa b. Joshua signed also a number of other manuscripts[76].

In 1484 Afif b. Sadaqa wrote the MS CW 2478a, a Pentateuch in Samaritan and Arabic[77] ; it was his 31st Torah and was written on “skin from an Egyptian sacrifice” (iéøöî äáæ ïî äøïö) according to the main *tashqil*[78].

Other names of scribes, witnesses and buyers are: Abd Yahweh b. Abd Hayehub b. Sadaqa of the Romah family[79], Sadaqa b. Joseph b. Metuhia b. Hassebi b. Abraham b. Beraka, Levitical priest[80], and Joseph b. Abd Yahweh b. Abd Heyehub of the Iqara family[81].

Possibly in the 15<sup>th</sup> cent. is to be dated the Cairo physician Abu Sa’id al ‘Afif. He was a famous doctor and author of his works on medicine[82]. Another Samaritan in Egypt was Muhadhhib al-Din Yusaf al-‘Ashari ; he wrote a work entitled *Sepher ha-Misvot*[83].

Of the Muslim writers, al-Maqrizi (1364-1442), in his work *Al-Mawa’iz wa al-l’tibar fi Dhikr al-Khitat wa al-Athar*, speaks of Samaritans in Cairo. In his summary of the synagogues known to him, he very briefly describes the location of the Samaritan synagogue : “Synagogue of the Samaritans. – This synagogue is in the Harat al-Zuwaitah in the street Darb al;kurani. It belongs to the Samaritans”[84]. Unfortunately, the street darb al-Kurani is not identified either in Maqrizi or in later writings that describe in detail the various sections of Cairo[85].

Two Jewish travelers, viz. Meshullam b. Menahem of Volterra and Obadiah of Bertinoro, have given short accounts of the Samaritans in Cairo.



In 1481 Meshullam visited the Jews in Cairo. Besides 800 Jews and 800 Karaite householders he found 50 Samaritan householders. He notes that “[t]hey live in a quarter of their own, and they have a synagogue of their own, and they keep Sabbath till midday, and then they profane it”. Jews, Karaites and Samaritans were given a common head (*nagid*) by the sultan[86]. Meshullam adds that there were no Samaritans in Alexandria[87]. This latter fact is already mentioned in 1473 by an anonymous traveler from Candia in Crete[88].

Obadiah of Bertinoro visited Cairo in 1488. He found there about 700 Jewish families of which 50 were Samaritans or Cutheans, and 150 were Karaites. After remarking on the Samaritans’ Pentateuch and script, he notes that “their Hebrew is like ours”. Further he writes : “Wherever the tetragrammaton occurs in scripture they write Ashima (אִשִּׁימָא) ; they are an abomination to the Jews because they offer up sacrifices and frankincense on Mount Gerizim. Many of them left Cairo with us to bring the Passover-offering to Mount Gerizim, for they have a temple (בֵּית־אֱלֹהִים) there; they celebrate the Sabbath from the midday of Friday till the midday of Saturday. There are very few of them in existence now : it is said scarcely 500 families in all the world[89].” He adds : “the Samaritans are the richest of all the Jews in Cairo, and fill most of the higher offices of the state; they are cashiers and administrators; one of them is said to have a property of 200,000 pieces of gold[90].” In stating that the Jewish *nagid* was appointed over all the Jews, Obadiah implies that he also ruled over the Samaritans[91].

Also from the 15<sup>th</sup> cent. comes a mention of the Samaritans in Cairo in a responsum by Jacob b. David Tam ibn Yahya (ca. 1475-1542). Ibn Yahya was asked if a curtain for the holy ark that contains an inscription in Samaritan script may be used in a Jewish synagogue. In his answer he came to a negative conclusion, and remarked that he had seen that curtain; it once was in a Samaritan synagogue in Egypt and was sold to Rabbanite Jews[92].

A responsum by David b. Solomon ibn Abi Zimra (1479-1573) also makes mention of the Samaritans in Egypt in connection with the problem of large stone slabs that were stolen by *goyim* and sold to Jews after the inscriptions were erased. The question was if Jews were allowed to use stones from Samaritan graves[93].

Another mention of Samaritans in Egypt at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century comes from the Christian Czech Martin Kabatnik[94].

In the 15<sup>th</sup> cent., then, the Samaritans in Egypt had only one community, i.e. the community in Cairo. They were very well off financially and occupied important positions in the government, and this despite their small numbers.

That the community of the Samaritans in Cairo was very small becomes clear from both the population figures quoted by travelers and the mention of one Samaritan synagogue only. Whereas the Jewish and Karaite households numbered 800 or 600 according to Meshullam of Volterra and Obadiah of Bertinoro respectively, the Samaritan families were said by the same authors to total no more than fifty. The number of synagogues for each community reflects this fact. Jewish and Muslim writers of the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> cent. speak of up to ten Jewish synagogues, and, in the 17<sup>th</sup> cent., the Karaite traveler Samuel ben David (d. 1673) claims even that there were thirty one[95]. For the Samaritans, on the other hand, only one synagogue is mentioned by al-Maqrizi as well as by Meshullam of Volterra[96] ; it seems that this synagogue remained the only one until the last days of the Samaritan community in Egypt.

## Sixteenth Century C.E.

Several names of individuals and their families in Egypt are preserved from the 16<sup>th</sup> cent. They occur in *tashqils* of manuscripts that were written for them. Among them is Sadaqa b. Abraham, priest of Shechem[97], wrote a Hebrew and Arabic Pentateuch, i.e. BL Add. 19011 in 1509/10[98]. Another name is Abraham b. Abd

Yahweh for whom the name Hassebi wrote the Pentateuch BL *Oriental 10271*, also in 1509/10[99]. Other persons known are Jacob b. Abraham b. Abd Allah of the Munis family[100] and his son Japhet b. Jacob b. Abraham[101] ; Adb Ha'ashir b. Abraham of the Abdah family[102] ; the brothers Abraham and Joseph, and their sister Halab, children of Sadaqa b. Abraham of the Abdah family, cousins of Abd Ha'ashir[103] ; Abraham b. Sadaqa b. Harabban Ithamar of the priestly family[104] ; another priest in Egypt, Joseph b. Ibn Moshe (?) [105]. Members of the family of Munis in Egypt are mentioned in several manuscripts[106]. In 1550 Abraham b. Sadaqa b. Harrabban Ithamar, "guardian of the scriptures in Egypt"[107], witnessed the third sale of MS St. Petersburg *T. 2, No. 15*.

Although in general the relationship between Jews and Samaritans seems to have been cordial, there were incidents in which animosity came to the fore. One such episode is described by Elijah Capsali (c. 1483-1555) in his work *Sefer Eliyahu Zuta* (also called *Seper de-Vei Eliyahu*), which he wrote in 1523. He mentions a Samaritan by the name of Sadaqa, a very rich man who had great influence with the Muslim authorities. It seems that this Sadaqa was the main instigator of an attempted massacre of the Jews at the end of the Mamluk rule when, in 1517, the Ottoman sultan Selim I (born 1467 or 1470, died 1520) conquered Cairo[108].

After the Turkish conquest, the heads of the Samaritans in Cairo were imprisoned by the Ottomans, apparently on the accusation that they had supported the Mamluks. One of the leaders who was incarcerated for four years, was  $\text{ä} \div \text{â} \text{ô} \text{ï} \text{á} \div \text{ò} \text{é}$ [109], an outstanding personality among the Samaritans in Egypt who is known from many sources.

According to the *Tulida*[110] in the year 910 A.H. (1504-05 C.E.) a man named the Prince ( $\text{ä} \text{ð} \text{ä} \text{ë} \text{ø} \text{à}$ ) Jacob of the family of Puqa ( $\text{ä} \div \text{â} \text{ô}$ ) arose in Egypt ; he did much good and was called "king of Israel" because he played the same role in the Phanuta as did the king of Israel in the days of the Rahuta. He extended his benevolence to Samaritans every-where and even to non-Samaritans. The Samaritans called him "Abrech" ( $\text{ê} \text{ø} \text{á} \text{à}$ ) [111]. *Chronicle Adler*, under the year 5905, also mentions a good man from the sons of Puqa ( $\text{ä} \div \text{â} \text{ô}$ ) who was called "the Sage Jacob" [112]. He lived in Egypt in the same time of the high priest Eleazar b. Phinhas (high priest :1549-1595/96) who was in office during the reigns of the sultans Murad III (1574-1595) and Mehmet III (1595-1603) ; during his whole life he did good to the Samaritans with his money and his numerous good deeds. Both references must be to the same person.

Jacob b. Abraham b. Jacob b. Abdallah of the Puqa family in Egypt is known as scribe, witness and owner of manuscripts[113]. In a deed of the sale which records his purchase of a Torah manuscript in 1511, he receives the epithet "king of Israel" [114]. He obviously was an important figure among the Samaritans in Egypt in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century.

The earliest date mentioned in connection with Jacob b. Abraham is October 1479, the year in which he bought the manuscript *JRULM 2*, a Hebrew-Arabic Torah, written in 1328 ; he paid for it 40 gold dinars. The next date is 1505 when he bought *CW 2473*, a Pentateuch written in 1470 ; its price was 30 gold dinars[115]. In April 1511 Jacob b. Abraham bought *BZ 11*, written in 1330/31 ; he paid again 40 dinars ; in May 1518 he dedicated the manuscript to his daughter[116]. The last date presently known is 1533, when Jacob functioned as witness of the purchase of a Torah, whose original date of writing is not known, i.e. *JRULM 28*.

Jacob b. Abraham possibly was also the donor of the well-known metal Torah scroll case in the synagogue in Nablus. An addition to the *Tulida* notes : "And it was he who donated the copper case on which the Tabernacle is depicted and which is to be found in the synagogue in Shechem ; and it is of gold, silver and copper, and it is from his property[117]."

It is in the 16<sup>th</sup> cent. that the correspondence between the Samaritans and European scholars began[118]. In 1589 Joseph Juste Scaliger wrote a letter to the Samaritans in Cairo who forwarded it to Nablus and sent a response to Scaliger on December 15<sup>th</sup>, 1589[119], which never reached him[120]. The Samaritans replied to



his inquires about their beliefs and practices, and asked him what congregation (ääö), faith and cities are. At the end of the letter they inform him that they must not sell him the *Book of Joshua* nor the Pentateuch if he is not a Samaritan[121]. Nevertheless, it was from Egypt that Scaliger eventually secured copies of the Arabic *Book of Joshua* and two calendars. He bequeathed the manuscript of the *Book of Joshua* to the library of the university of Leiden[122], and in his work *De emendatione temporum* he devoted two short chapters to the calendar[123].

## Seventeenth Century C.E.

At the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> cent., the number of Samaritans in Cairo was very small. The Christian traveler Henri de Geauvau reports that in 1608 there were only ten families living there[124].

In 1616, Pietro della Valle was in Cairo, and he found in the city an even smaller Samaritan community, viz. approximately seven families. He personally met one of the Samaritans, a priest[125].

Yet, small as their number was, some of the Samaritans were apparently interested in matters of science. The Jewish scholar Joseph Solomon Delmedigo (1591-1655) mentions the presence of Samaritans at a public disputation about spherical trigonometry between himself and the Arab mathematician Ali b. Rahmadan[126].

Towards the end of the century, in 1690, R. Huntington wrote in a letter to J. Ludolph that he found only one Samaritan couple in Cairo. For evidence of a Samaritan community in Cairo in the past, i.e. hundred years earlier, he refers to the second letter to Scaliger[127]. He then goes on to say that even today the Shechenites will not hesitate to claim that there is still a considerable number of Samaritans living in Egypt ; but from personal inspection (ἀότροψία) he knows that only one old and very poor man (*humuncio*) and his equally wretched wife were left[128].

## Eighteenth Century C.E.

In a letter written by the Samaritan high priest Shalma b. Tabia (1798-1857), dated July 26<sup>th</sup>, 1808, and addressed to French Consul General in Aleppo, Alexandre Corancez, the Samaritans informed him that for approximately hundred years no Samaritan have lived in Egypt[129]. This would date the end of the Samaritan community in Egypt to around 1708. However, scholars are not unanimous on the date of the disappearance of the Samaritans from Egypt.

J.A. Montgomery thought that “the colony must have failed much earlier than 1708”[130] ; not only did Pietro della Valle find only seven families in 1616[131], but also, as mentioned above, R. Huntington noted that in 1690 he found only one Samaritan man and his wife in Cairo. On the other hand, the Arabic Pentateuch BL OR 8738 seems to have been written in Egypt in 1761 ; it was acquired in Cairo in 1838 ; the writers were Sarur and Abraham al Mahari[132].

Taking into account the uncertainty of the date of the last mentioned manuscript and Huntington’s remark of 1690, a date of approximately 1700 for the end of the Samaritan community in Egypt seems to be most plausible[133].

Uncertain is also what happened to the Samaritan synagogue in Cairo. While I. Ben-Zvi claims that the Samaritan synagogue in Cairo was taken over by Jews in 1708[134], others believe that it was the Karaites who took it over[135].

Apart from several papyri from Byzantine times and letters from the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> cent., the only material traces of the Samaritan diaspora in Egypt are Torah manuscripts and copies of chronicles that were sold, or

otherwise transferred, to Nablus or to Western scholars during the life of the community. With the exception of the deed of divorce from the 6<sup>th</sup> cent. C.E., no personal documents seem to have survived. Although we have Samaritan *ketubot* from Gaza[136], not one such contract is preserved from Egypt.

## Conclusion

While it is possible to pinpoint fairly precisely the end of the Samaritan community in Egypt, its beginnings are impossible to determine with accuracy. The historicity of the details of Josephus' accounts is not assured. Nevertheless, it is probable that Samaritans lived in Egypt since Hellenistic times. Although later, i.e. during the Middle Ages, there are long gaps for which we have no evidence, it seems safe to presume that their existence in Egypt was continuous from antiquity until approximately 1700 of our era. For a number of centuries they lived in Cairo and Alexandria and at least in antiquity, in several smaller Egyptian towns. From the 15<sup>th</sup> cent. on they were restricted to Cairo alone. In the later Middle Ages, some of the Samaritans in Egypt achieved wealth and influence which may have entailed undesirable consequences for other members of the community. Judging from the evidence at our disposal, the Samaritans in Egypt never were very numerous. Gradually, their numbers dwindled until there were no Samaritans left in Egypt.

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[1] The Samaritan bi-weekly A.B. – *The Samaritan News* prints at the beginning of every issue a statement in Hebrew, Arabic and English, which is entitled “The Samaritan Israelites”. It includes a section on the four characteristics that establish the identity of a Samaritan; the first principle is “settlement within the Land of Israel, without leaving its historical borders or establishing residence outside it.” (A.B. 669 [8.8.1996]). – According to the Arab author Abu Muhammad Ali ibn Ahmed ibn Hazm (993-1064), the Samaritans forbade emigration from Palestine (see S. POZNANSKI, “Ibn Hazm uber judische Sekten”, JQR 16 [1904], p.766 [text], 768 [transl.], and 769), something which is not mentioned in any other source.

[2] Th. G.J.JUYNBOLL, *Commentarii in historiam gentis samaritanae*, Leiden 1846, p. 37-54.

[3] J.W.NUTT, *Fragments of a Samaritan Targum*, London 1874 (repr. 1980), p.26-28.

[4] A. D. CROWN, “The Samaritan Diaspora to the End of the Byzantine Era”, *Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology* 2 (1974-1975), p. 107-123.

[5] A. D. CROWN, “The Samaritan Diaspora”, in ID., ed., *The Samaritans*, Tübingen 1989, p. 195-217.

[6] P.W. VAN DER HORST, “*De Samaritaanse diaspora*”, *Netherlands Theologisch Tijdschrift* 42 (1988), p. 134-144.

[7] P.W. VAN DER HORST, “The Samaritan Diaspora in Antiquity”, in ID., *Essays on the Jewish World of Early Christianity*, Göttingen 1990, p. 136-147.

[8] See A.D. CROWN, “Samaritan Diaspora”, p. 215.

[9] Such as Josephus. See P. STENHOUSE, *The Kitab al-Tarikh of Abu l-fath*, Sydney 1985, p. 100; and on passage A.D.CROWN, “Samaritan Diaspora”, p. 97-198.

[10] See, e.g., the *Tulida* as edited by Neubauer in JA 14 (1869), p. 415 (text) and p. 458 (transl.); p. 416-418 (text) and p. 459-461 (transl.) ; p.419 (text) and p. 464 (transl.) ; the last passage will be discussed below under the 16<sup>th</sup> cent.

[11] A *tashgil* is a colophon singled out of a text ; see L.F. GIRON-BLANC, “Tasqil”, in A.D. CROWN – R. PUMMER – A. TAL, eds., *A Companion to Samaritan Studies*, Tübingen 1993, p. 228-229.

[12] F.NAU, “*Juifs et Samaritans a Elephntine*”, JA 18 (1911), p. 661, n.1.

[13] A.VAN HOONACKER, *Une communaute Judeo-Arameenne a Elephantine, en Egypte, aux VI et V siecles av. J.C.*, London 1915, p. 82.

[14] See A. E. COWLEY, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth century B.C.*, Oxford 1923, p. XV; E. KRAELING, *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri*, New Haven 1953, p. 83-99. C. VAN GELDEREN thought that the colony contained Samaritan elements, but cannot be called a Samaritan colony because the Jewish element was predominant (“Samaritaner und Juden in Elephantine-Syene:”, OLZ 15 [1912], p. 342).

[15] See M.LAUNEY, *Recherches sur les armies hellenistiques*, Paris 1949-1950, I, p. 545-546 and p. 550 ; for a list of names see II, p.1232-1235, and the discussion in I, p. 554.

[16] See D.J. CRAWFORD, *Kerkeosiris: An Egyptian Village in the Ptolemaic Period*, Cambridge 1971, p. 122-123.

[17] M. Launey has pointed out that the papyri have yielded the name of only one Samaritan soldier in Magdola (Fayyum) from 221 B.C.E. (*P. Enteux*. N° 62, recto 1.1 verso 1.2) ; he was Αδαμαζ Ατβαουου Σαμοριτηζ (*Researches* I, p. 554).

[18] V. TCHERIKOVER, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews*, Philadelphia 1966 (orig. 1959). P. 420, n. 13. See also B.BAR-KOCHVA, *Judas Maccabaens : The Jewish Struggle Against the Seleucids*, Cambridge 1989, p. 131, n. 3: bar-Kochva notes that it is equally unlikely that there was a Samaritan military tradition in Israel.

[19] So R.J. Coggins, *Samaritans and Jews*, Oxford 1975, p. 97.

[20] This is the opinion of H.G. KIPPENBERG, *Garizim und Synagoge*, Berlin – New York 1971. p.66. He is followed by R.EGGER, *Josephus Flavins und die Samaritaner*, Gottingen 1986, p. 234.

[21] See, e.g., CPJ n 22.28.128.

[22] See M.SMITH, *Palestinian Parties and Policies that Shaped the Old Testament*, New York 1971, p. 189 and 281, n.217.

[23] See A.KASHER, *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt*, Tübingen 1985, p.148 ; M.HENGEL, *Judaism and Hellenism*, London 1974, II, p. 11, n. 87.

[24] C.J> KRAEMER, JR., *excavations at Nessana*, III, Princeton 1958, p. 289. See also P.W. VAN DER HORST, *art. Cit. (supra, n. 7)*, p.139. Recently, J. ZANGENBERG considered the possibility that the self-designation “Jews” in certain papyri from Samareia may have been used by assimilated Samaritans or Samaritans who converted to Judaism, although he admits that nothing in the text is specifically Samaritan ; he leans towards the opinion that we have before us Proto-Samaritans (ΣΑΜΑΡΕΙΑ: *Antike Quellen zur Gerchichte und Kultur der Samaritaner in deutscher Ubersetzung*, Tübingen – Basel 1994, p. 303).

[25] See M. Nagel, “Un Samaritan dans l’Arsinoite au II siecle après J.C. (a propos du nom Sambas)”, *Chroniaue d’Egvnte* 49 (1974). n.357.

[26] *Art. Cit.* p. 358.

[27] EUSEBIUS, *Hist. Eccl.* 6,24.

[28] P.W. VAN DER HORST, *art. Cit. (supra, n.7)*, p. 142. See also H. DESSAU, “Die Samaritaner bei den Scriptoribus Historiae Augustae”. *Janus* 1 (1921), p. and the discussion in H.G. KIPPENBERG, *op.cit. (supra, n.20)*, p. 124, n. 150, as well as M.STERN, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, II, Jerusalem 1980, p. 636-639.

[29] *Cod. Theod.* 13,5,18 ; also *Cod. Just.* 10,40,8. For text, translation, short discussion, and bibliography see A. LINDER, *The Jews in Roman Imperial Legislation*, Detroit (Michigan) 1987, p. 182-185.

[30] See D. HAGEDORN, “Byzantinischer Brief aus samaritanischem Milieu” *Griechische Texte der Heidelberger Papyrus-Sammlung (P.Heid. IV)*, Heidelberg 1986, p. 225.

[31] The treatise is preserved in the *Bibliotheca* of Photius. See S.ISSER, *The Dositheans*, Leiden 1976, p. 63-69.

[32] See R. J. H. GOTTHEIL, “An Eleventh Century Document Concerning a Cairo Synagogue”, *JQR* 19 (1907), p. 485.

[33] S.M. WASSERSTROM, *Species of Misbelief: A History of Muslim Heresiography of the Jews* (Ph.D. thesis), University of Toronto 1985, p. 392 (text), p. 399 (transl.) ; see also M. BAILLET, “Samaritans”, *Supplement au Dictionnaire de la Bible*, fasc. 63-64A (Paris 1990), col. 801.

[34] B.T.A. EVETTS, *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt and Some neighbouring Countries, Attributed to Abu Salih, the Armenian*, Oxford 1895, p. 136.

[35] This may be a mistake for Damsis ; see B.T.A. EVETTS, *op. cit.*, p. 20 with n. 2. Concerning a Samaritan in Damietta in a Cairo geniza document, see below.

[36] A.E.CROWLEY, “Samaritana”, *JQR* 16 (1904), p. 474-484.

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 475.

[38] S.D.GOITEIN, *A Mediterranean Society*, II, Berkeley – Los Angeles – London 1971, p. 8.

[39] The second letter is only partially preserved.

[40] A.E.CROWLEY, *art.cit.*, p.480.

[41] S.D.GOITEIN, *OP.CIT.*, P. 8.

[42] So S.D. GOITEIN, *op. cit.*, p. 8, who, however, dates this rebuilding to around 1030.

[43] *Ibid.*, p.8.

[44] *Ibid.*, p, 520, n.5. Cf. also A.S.TRITTON, *The Caliphs and their Non-Muslim Subjects*, London 1930, p.

[45] So A.E. CROWLEY, *art. Cit.* p.477.

[46] So S.D.GOITEIN, *art. Cit.* p.8.

[47] Now in the Bodleian Library, MS Heb. D.64. f. 84 (A.E. CROWLEY, *art. cit.*, p. 477).

[48] A.E. CROWLEY, *art. cit.*, p. 477.

[49] Read אָאָ-יאָ.

[50] Quoted by A. BRULL, “Die Samaritaner in Kairo”, *Jahrbucher fur judische Gerchichte und Literatur* 7 (1885), p. 44, n. 1, after M. StEINSTCHINEIDER, *Catalogus codicum hebraeorum bibliothecae academiae lugduno-batavae*, Leiden 1858, p. 111 ; Steinschneider’s work was not accessible to me.

[51] M.GIL, *Documents of the Jewish Pious Foundations from the Cairo Geniza*, Leiden 1976, p. 436, lines 13-14 (text), p. 439 (transl.), p. 440, n.5.

[52] See C.E. BOSWORTH, “Christian and Jewish Religious Dignitaries in Mamluk Egypt and Syria”, *Medieval Arabic Culture and Administration*, London 1982 (orig. 1972), Section XVI, p. 211.

[53] *Ibid.*, p. 213.

[54] E. ROBERTSON, *Catalogue of the Samaritan manuscripts in the John Rylands Library of Manchester*, I, Manchester 1938, col. 26.

[55] *Ibid.*, col. 27.

[56] See A.E. CROWLEY, *Liturgy XXIX*, p. 111, 180, 265, 357, 400, and 425.

[57] See S.M. WASSERSTROM, *op. cit. (supra, n. 33)*, p. 228-231 ; p. 416 (text), p. 418-420 (transl.).

[58] *Ibid.*, p. 236-239 ; p. 422-423 (text), p. 426-428 (transl.).

[59] *Ibid.*, p. 245 ; p. 430-431 (text), p. 437-442 (transl.).

[60] See below, and C.E.BOSWORTH, *art. cit. (supra. n. 52)*, p. 211.

[61] R.J.H. GOTTHEIL, “An Eleventh Century Document” (*art. cit. supra, n. 32*), p. 499, n. 1 ; p. 533 (“Instructions for the Ra’is of the Samaritans”), and 536 (“Form of oath to be taken by Samaritans”). See also ID., “Dhimmi and Moslems in Egypt”, in *Old Testament and Semitic Studies in Memory of William Rainey Harper*, II, Chicago 1908, p. 369 and 384, and C.E.BOSWORTH, *art. cit.*, p. 211-213.

[62] R.J.H.GOTTHEIL, “An Eleventh Century Document”, Appendix III, Chicago 1908, p. 369 and 384, and C.E.BOSWORTH, *art. cit.*, p. 211-213.

[63] See R.J.H.GOTTHEIL, “An Eleventh Century Document”, p. 539.

[64] R.J.H. GOTTHEIL, “Dhimmi”, p. 373. n. 100 ; C.E. BOSWORTH, *art. cit.*, p. 212;  
S M WASSERSTROM *op. cit. n. 225*

[65] This was still so in the Ottoman period ; see S.M. WASSERSTROM, *op. cit.*, p. 288.

[66] R.J.H.GOTTHEIL, "Dhimmis", p. 373 n. 100 ; C.E. BOSWORTH, *art. cit.*, p. 312; S.M.WASSERSTROM, *OP. CIT.*, P. 230.

[67] The Jews were ordered to wear yellow, the Christian blue turbans, See Th.G.J. JUYNBOLL, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 2), p. 44. Cf. also A.S.TRITTON, *OP. CIT. (SUPRA, N. 44)*, P. 121.

[68] See below, and cf. also N. SCHUR, *History of the Samaritans*, Frankfurt am Main 1992, p. 111 (Martin Kabatnik).

[69] See D. WASSERSTEIN, "*Semitica Hiberno-Latina*", *Peritia* 2 (1983), p. 217.

[70] See his work *Libro d'Oltramare*, ed. B. Bagatti, Jerusalem 1945, p. 105.

[71] Milan 1863, p. 83.

[72] See B. BAGATTI, ed., *Visit to the Holy Places of Egypt, Sinai, Palestine and Syria in 1384 by Frescobaldi, Gucci and Sigoli*, Jerusalem 1948, p. 162.

[73] The English forms of the Samaritan names cited here follow the usage in A.D. CROWN, "Studies in Samaritan Scribal Practices and Manuscript History" IV, *BJRUL* 68 (1985-86), p. 317-372.

[74] See A.D. CROWN, "Studies in Samaritan Scribal Practices and Manuscript History" II, *BJRUL* 66 (1983-84), p. 116-120 ; ID., "Studies" IV, n. 34 ; R.T.ANDERSON, *Studies in Samaritan manuscripts and Artifacts*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1978. p. 15-22.

[75] See A. VON GALL, *Der hebraische Pentateuch der Samaritaner*, Gieben 1914-1916, p. XIII.

[76] See a list in A.D. CROWN, "Studies" IV, p. 366 (n. 527).

[77] See R.T. ANDERSON, *op. cit.*, p. 15-22.

[78] The phrase seems to refer to donations made by Samaritans living in Egypt, that were destined to be offered as *úáæ* on Mt. Gerizim.

[79] A.D.CROWN, "Studies"IV, p. 336 (n. 100 and 102)

[80] A.D.CROWN, "Studies"IV, p. 336 (n. 527)

[81] R.T.ANDERSON,*op. cit.*, p. 18.

[82] M. STEINSCHNEIDER, *Bibliotheca Arabica Judaica*, Frankfurt 1902, p. § 325, as quoted in J.R.H. GOTTHEIL, "Egypt", *Jewish Encyclopedia* 5 (1903), p. 71 (Steinschneider's work is not accessible to me).

[83] M. STEINSCHNEIDER, *op. cit.*, p. § 328, as quoted in J.R.H.GOTTHEIL, "Egypt", p.71.

[84] See R.J.H. GOTTHEIL, "An Eleventh Century Document" (*art. cit. supra*, n. 32), p. 513. The original text is to be found in vol. II of the 1892 edition published in Cairo. For a translation see vol. V, p. 185, of the



six-volume French translation by U. BOURRIOUT and P.CASANOVA, as quoted by R.J.H. GOTTHEIL, “Egypt”, 71 (the work is not accessible to me).

[85] For excerpts from such descriptions see R.J.H. GOTTHEIL, “An Eleventh Century document”. Later, the synagogue was mentioned also by Meshullam b. Menahem of Volterra, but only in general terms; see below.

[86] See E.N.ADLER, *Jewish Travellers in the Middle Ages*, New York 1987 (orig. 1930), p.171-172 ; for the Hebrew text see I. BEN-ZVI, *sepher Hashomronim*, Jerusalem 1970, p. 131 (Hebr.).

[87] E.N. ADLER, *op. cit.*, p. 161. In 1473, an anonymous Jewish traveler from Candia in Crete also mentions that there were no Samaritans in Alexandria (cited in N.SCHUR, *op. cit. [supra]*, n. 68], p. 110, after A. YA’ARI, *Travels to Eretz Israel*, Tel Aviv 1946 [Hebrew ], p. 116 [the work is not available to me]).

[88] N.SCHUR, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

[89] E.N.ADLER, *op. cit.* p. 225-226; for the Hebrew text see I.BEN-ZVI, *op. cit.*, p.131-132.

[90] E.N.ADLER, *op. cit.* p. 227.

[91] *Ibid.*, p. 229.

[92] Responsum n° 204, as quoted in A. BRULL, *art. cit. (supra)*, n. 50), p. 44.

[93] Responsum n° 741, as quoted in A. BRULL, *art. cit.* p.44

[94] *Cesta do Jerusamena*, Prague, n.d., p. 24, as mentioned in N. SCHUR, *op. cit.*, p. 111 (the work is not available to me).

[95] For the passages and a list of synagogues see J.R.H. GOTTHEIL, “Egypt” (*art. cit. supra*, n. 82), p. 71.

[96] The passage in al-Qalqashandi that speaks of synagogues in the plural, is unclear ; see R.J.H. GOTTHEIL, “An Eleventh Century Document” (*art. cit. supra*, n. 32), p. 499, n. 1 and 533 (Appendix III, f).

[97] On him see A.D. CROWN, “A Unpublished Fragment of the Samaritan Torah Scroll:”, *BJRUL* 64 (1981-1982), p.392-396 ; ID., “Studies” IV (*art. cit. supra*, n. 74), p. 323 and 349 (n 262).

[98] See A. VON GALL, *op. cit. (supra)*, n. 75), p. LXIII.

[99] See A. VON GALL, *op. cit.* p. XXXVII; A.D. CROWN, “An Unpublished Fragment”, p. 392.

[100] See A.D. CROWN, “Studies” IV, p352 (n. 313).

[101] *Ibid.*, p. 355 (n. 348).

[102] *Ibid.*, p. 335 (n. °78 and 79).

[103] *Ibid.*, p. 348 (n. 255).

[104] *Ibid.*, p. 344 (n. 205).

[105] See A. VON GALL, *op. cit.* p. XIII, and A.D. CROWN, “Studies”IV, p. 333 (n° 381) with n.55, for the correction of von Gall’s date.

[106] See A. VON GALL, *op. cit.*, p. XII.

[107] Cf. A. VON.GALL, *op. cit.*, p. XVI.

[108] I. BEN-ZVI, *Eretz Israel and Its Yishuv during the Ottoman Empire*, Jerusalem 1955, p. 424 (Hebr.), and ID., *Sepher Hashomronim*, Jerusalem 1970, p. 30 and 132.

[109] I. BEN-ZVI, *Eretz Israel*, p. 424, and *Sepher*, p. 281-282.

[110] See A. NEUBERGER, “Chronique samaritaine”, *JA* 14 (1996), p. 419-420 (text) and p.464 (transl.).

[111] Probably after *Gen* 41, 43, where Joseph is addressed thus during his investiture as governor of Egypt. Neubauer explains the term as “le pere tender”.

[112] See *REJ* 46 (1903), p. 133.

[113] See A.D. CROWN, “Studies” IV, p. 352 (n. 314). For the identification of the two personalities see I.BEN-ZVI, *Sepher*, p. 274.

[114] I. BEN-ZVI, *Sepher*, p. 274.

[115] See R.T. ANDERSON, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 74), p. 13.

[116] See I.BEN-ZVI, *Sepher*, p. 274-275.

[117] So B.TSEDAKA in *A.B.* 625 (25.12.1994) p. 38. The dedication took place, according to Tsedaka, in 1504/05. However, the dedicatory inscription on the case records that it was made in Sh’aban 928 A.H., i.e. between June 26 and July 25 of 1522.

[118] See M. DELCOR, “La correspondance des savants europeens, en quete de manuscrits, avec les Samaritains du XVI et XIX siecle”, in *Etudes samaritaines*, J.P. ROTHSCHILD- G.D. SIXDENIER, ed., Louvain – Paris 1988, p. 27-43.

[119] For a photograph of the letter see M. DELCOR, *art. cit.*, pls. VI-VII ; for further references see M. BAILLET, *art. cit.*(*supra*, n. 33), col.895-896 (n° 6).

[120] See Ph. DE ROBERT, “La naissance des etudes samaritaines en Europe aux XVI° et XVII° siecles”, in *Etudes samaritaines*, J.P. ROTHSCHILD – G.D. SIXDENIER, ed., Louvain – Paris 1988, p.21.

[121] Scaliger himself never was in Cairo nor Nablus ; see Ph. DE ROBERT, *art. cit.*, p. 15, n. 1.

[122] It was edited by Th. G.J. JUYNBOLL in 1848 under the title *Chronicon Samaritanum*, Leiden 1848.

[123] See S. POWELS, *Der Kalendar der Samaritaner anhand des Kitab hisab as-sinin und anderer Handschriften*, Berlin – New York 1977, p. 17.

[124] *Relation journaliere du voyage du Levant*, Toul 1608, p.144, as quoted in N.SCHUR, *op. cit.* (*supra*,

n.68), p.126 (de Beauvau's work is not available to me).

[125] R.SIMON, *Antiquites Ecclesiae Orientalis*, London 1682, p. 166 : "Cairi errant circiter septem familiae eorum, inter quos unus erat quem vidi, Antistes sacrorum de progenie Levi." See also PIETRO DELLA VALLE, *Viaggio in Levante*, Bologna 1672, p. I, p. 406.

[126] In his *Sod ha-Yesod* 41a, as quoted in A.BRULL, *art. cit.(supra. N. 50)*, p. 44.

[127] Photograph in M.DELCOR, *art. cit (supra. N. 118)*, pls. II-V; text and Latin translation in S. DE SACY, "Litterae Samaritanorum ad Josephum Scaligerium datae", *Repertorium* 13 (1783), p. 257-269 ; the letter is dated March 2<sup>nd</sup> , 1590. For further notes and literature on the letter see M. BAILLET, *art. cit. (supra, n. 33)*, col. 89 (n°7).

[128] *Epistolae*, London 1704, p.48.

[129] See S. DE STACY, *art.cit.*, p. 53 (text), p. 69 (transl.), and p. 78 (date). For other references concerning this letter see M.BAILLET, *art. cit.*, col. 903 (n° 44).

[130] *The Samaritans*, Philadelphia 1907, p. 151.

[131] See above under Seventeenth Century.

[132] See A.D. CROWN, "The Samaritan Diaspora" (*supra, n. 5*), p. 215, with reference to CURZON, *Catalogue*, p. 14 (not accessible to me).

[133] I. BEN-ZVI concludes that the history of the Samaritans on Egyptian soil came to an end in the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> cent. (*Sepher [op. cit. supra, n. 86]*, p. 132).

[134] *Eretz Israel (op. cit. supra, n. 8)*, p. 424.

[135] P. KAHLE noted that in 1908 the former Samaritan synagogue was being used by Karaites, and speculated that maybe the last Samaritans joined the Karaites ("Die Samaritaner im Jahre 1909 [A.H. 1327]", *Palastinajahrbuch* 26 [1930], p.91). I. BEN-ZVI'S ATTEMPTS TO FIND TRACES OF THE SYNAGOGUE IN THE VICINITY OF THE Karaites in Cairo were unsuccessful (*Sepher*, p. 133). See also S. GINAT, *The Samaritan Community in Israel*, Sulam Tsor 1963, p. 21 (Hebrew), and A.D. CROWN, "The Samaritan Diaspora", p. 215.

[136] See R. PUMMER, *Samaritan Marriage Contracts and Deeds of Divorce*, I. Wiesbaden 1993, p.3.