

L. Matassa, J. Macdonald et al., “Samaritans” in *Encyclopedia Judaica*, eds. M. Berenbaum and F. Skolnik (Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2007): 718-740.

HISTORY

Samaritanism is related to Judaism in that it accepts the Torah as its holy book. Samaritans consider themselves to be the true followers of the ancient Israelite religious line. The Samaritan temple was on Mt. Gerizim near Shechem (modern Nablus), where dwindling numbers of Samaritans still live and worship today.

Passages in the Hebrew Bible indicate that Mt. Gerizim has a legitimate (albeit obscure) claim to sanctity through its association with those who visited it. Abraham and Joseph both visited Shechem (Gen. 12:6–7, 13:18–20), as did Joseph (Gen. 37:12–14 and Josh. 24:32). In Deuteronomy (11:29 and 27:12), Moses commanded the Israelites to bless Mt. Gerizim when they entered the land of Canaan. When the Israelites crossed the Jordan they built an altar on Mt. Ebal (opposite Mt. Gerizim), and six of the tribes faced Mt. Gerizim while blessing the people of Israel as Moses commanded (Josh.8:30–33). Throughout Samaritan history, Samaritans have lived near Mt. Gerizim (Pummer 1968, 8).

After the fall of Samaria (724 B.C.E.), the Assyrian conquerors sent much of the population into exile to be resettled in various parts in the Assyrian empire. Towards the end of the seventh century B.C.E., Josiah tried to reform the cult in Jerusalem and, from then on, the stories and laws of the five first books of the Bible (the Torah, or Pentateuch) were at the heart of Jewish monotheism.

The Samaritan tradition maintains that its Torah (the *Samaritikon*) dates to the time of Moses and that it was copied by Abiša ben Phineas shortly after the Israelite entered the land of Canaan. However, modern literary analysis and criticism does not support this position. In fact, there are two main versions of the Torah: the Jewish version and the Samaritan version, and they are almost the same, which can only mean that both derive from the same original. While the Torah is a composite of traditions from both northern and southern Israel, the center of literary activity was Judaeen, starting with the work of the Yahwists and ending with the editorial work of the Judaeen diaspora (Pummer 1968: 93).

Samaritan Origins

There are a number of theories about the origins of the Samaritans, all of which have in common a tradition that originally the cult of YHWH was widespread through the land of Israel. Even so, the origins and early history of the Samaritans are quite problematic because the sources are far removed from the events and because the non-Samaritan sources tend to be hostile.

One tradition is that the Samaritans originated with the northern tribes of Israel because only a small proportion of these tribes was deported during the Assyrian conquests of the late eighth century B.C.E. and that those who remained on the land formed what later became the Samaritans (Mor 1989, 1).

Another Samaritan tradition claims Samaritan origins lie in the pre-exilic period, at the very beginnings of Israelite history, and that the split between Samaritanism and Judaism only arose when the heretical priest Eli stole the Ark of the Covenant and established a rival cult.

Until that time, the Ark of the Covenant had been kept at the sanctuary of YHWH on Mt. Gerizim. According to this tradition, the priest Eli was prevented from rising to the high priesthood because he was of the family of Itamar, not the high priestly family of Eleazar. Nevertheless, he took the Ark of the Covenant from Mt. Gerizim to Shiloh and established a rival cult there. As a result of this, two centers of the priesthood arose. One center was on Mt. Gerizim, at whose head stood the legitimate high priest, Uzzi (a descendant of Phineas and of the family Eleazar). The second (heretical) priesthood was at Shiloh, and the priest Eli, a descendant of Itamar, was at its head.

Thus, according to Samaritan tradition, Samaritanism is a perpetuation of the true Israelite faith, and Judaism only the continuation of Eli's heresy. This is the case, the Samaritan tradition claims, all the way through Samuel, Saul, David, and the Judaeen monarchy, with the rival cult of Eli eventually shifting from Shiloh to Jerusalem and continuing up to this day.

A non-Samaritan tradition from the same period claims that the Samaritans originated in the Assyrian post-conquest settlement of populations from Babylon, Cuthah, Avva, Hamath, and Sepharvaim in northern Israel (II Kings 17:24–41), and that they were forced to worship the god of Israel by the native peoples. These immigrant groups brought with them the idols of their native cities, whom they continued to worship in conjunction with the deity of their new home. (II Kings 17:24–41; Ezra 4:2, 10; Mor 1989, 1): "Even while these people were worshipping the Lord, they were serving their idols. To this day their children and grandchildren continue to do as their fathers did" (II Kings 17:41).

Another non-Samaritan tradition is that the Assyrian conquest of Israel was far from total, that significant numbersPage 720 | [Top of Article](#) of Israelites remained on the land, and that the Assyrians settled a separate group of exiles in what used to be the Israelite northern kingdom. These populations eventually intermingled, in time becoming a discrete group of people who later came to be referred to as Cutheans and Samaritans (Jos., Ant. 9:288–391; Mor 1989, 1).

But, unfortunately, even Samaritan historical traditions are not in agreement on either the time or the circumstances of their return. The Samaritan text Chronicle Adler relates the story of two returns, one under the high priest Seraiah in the early seventh century B.C.E. and another under the high priest Abdiel in the late sixth century B.C.E.!

Samaritans in the Time of Nehemiah

The first direct references we have to the Samaritans come from the book of Nehemiah. In 445 B.C.E., when the person we know as the biblical Nehemiah was appointed by the Persian king Artaxerxes I (464–424 B.C.E.) to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem and later (during a second "tour of duty") to be the governor of the province of *Yehud*. During some internecine rivalry surrounding the building of a wall around Jerusalem, Nehemiah named his enemies as Tobiah (the "Ammonite servant"), Geshem (the "Arab"), and [*Sanballat](#) (the "Haronite"). Tobiah was a

member of an established Jewish family (see [*Tobiads](#)) from Transjordan (Neh. 2:10; 2:19; 4:7; 6:1). Geshem led the Arab tribes in the southern part of Judea. Sanballat the Horonite was a Samaritan who was coincidentally the Persian-appointed governor of Samaria, and therefore a direct rival of Nehemiah and a person with whom Nehemiah refused to have any contact (Mor 1989, 2–3).

Sanballat, as the Persian-appointed governor of Samaria, may indeed have been in direct competition with Nehemiah, since Jerusalem was to be refortified, whilst Samaria, a provincial center, was not. Urban wall systems of the mid-fifth century are found only at Lachish and Tel en-Nasbeh and at Jerusalem during the time of Nehemiah (Hoglund 1992, 211).

Another reason for Nehemiah's rejection of the Samaritan contingent may have been that Judah had previously been part of the province of Samaria and that the Persian province of Yehud only came into being with the arrival of Nehemiah. This might explain why Sanballat wanted to be involved in the building project. If Samaria had controlled Judah up to this point (and there is a hint of this in the earlier attempts to stop the building program of Ezra), then the hostility towards Nehemiah may have been real. In the same vein, Nehemiah may have felt threatened by Sanballat, feeling that he might be trying to promote integration of Yehud back into the province of Samaria. In either case, there is no proof; only supposition and guesswork.

Nehemiah's program of wall-building can also be seen as an indicator of a reversal in the Persian attitude towards Jerusalem by reference to an earlier and failed attempt to rebuild the fortifications (Ezra 4:7–23). During that earlier attempt, officials in Samaria reported it to the Persian court, and Artaxerxes I ordered that the work be stopped. Samaritan officials used imperial military forces to make sure his order was enforced. This lends some support to the idea expressed above that Judea might once have been part of the province of Samaria, hence the rivalry between Sanballat and Nehemiah, both Persian officials.

One of Sanballat's daughters married a son of the Jerusalem high priest Joiadah (Neh. 13:28; Jos, Ant. 11:306–12). Since Nehemiah believed in the "purity" ideology of the returnees, his reaction was to expel the couple from Jerusalem (Mor 1989, 4; Smith-Christopher 1994, 259).

The Samaritans in the Second Temple Period

Until the arrival of Alexander the Great in the near east in 332 B.C.E., there is little information about the Samaritans. Then, at least according to Josephus, they once more come into view in Judea, where Manasseh, the brother of the high priest Jaddus, married Nikaso, a daughter of Sanballat III (a descendant of the Sanballat of the time of Nehemiah) (Jos., Ant 11:302–3; Mor 1989, 4). Josephus reports that this Sanballat, like his ancestor a governor of Samaria, hoped that through the marriage of his daughter to the high priest's brother he could establish ties with the Jewish community in Jerusalem. However, Manasseh was offered two choices by the Jerusalem hierarchy: to stay in Jerusalem and divorce his wife, or to leave the city and take his Samaritan wife with him. Manasseh chose the second option, whereupon his father-in-law promised to build a temple on Mt. Gerizim where Manasseh would be high priest and that, in addition, he would take over civic leadership of Samaria on the death of his father-in-law. According to

Josephus, many priests left Jerusalem and followed Manasseh to Samaria (Ant. 11:306–12; Mor 1989, 5).

Sanballat III sent 8,000 soldiers to support Alexander's campaigns and also convinced him that it would be to his advantage to allow the Samaritans to build a temple on Mt. Gerizim, where his son-in-law would be high priest. During this period when the Macedonians were consolidating their hold on the region and the Persians were not yet fully vanquished, the Samaritans quickly built their temple (it took less than nine months). The founding of a temple was not unusual; however, this temple was not far from its Jerusalem rival, and from the establishment of this temple the Samaritans and the Jews grew further apart, and it is from this period onwards that much of the anti-Samaritan polemic in the Hebrew Bible and extra-biblical texts (such as Josephus) originates.

The temple was completed around 332 B.C.E., at the time that Alexander finally took control of Gaza (Mor 1989, 7), and was also contemporary with the establishment of a Macedonian colony in the city of Samaria and the rebuilding and resettling of Shechem (Purvis 1968, 105).

However, Sanballat III died just two months into Alexander's siege of Gaza (Jos., Ant. 11:325) and, according to the historian Quintus Curtius, after the siege of Gaza Alexander left a Greek official named Andromachus in charge of the region. Despite Sanballat III's promise to his son-in-law, and for the first time since the Persian conquest, a Samaritan was not [Page 721 | Top of Article](#) in charge of Samaria (Mor 1989, 9). The Samaritan leadership reacted strongly to this, rebelled against the Macedonians, captured and burned Andromachus alive, and then fled from Shechem to a cave in the Wadi Daliyeh just north of Jericho (Cross 1985, 7–17). The Macedonians retaliated immediately, with Alexander himself said to have left Jerusalem to punish the Samaritans. All of the rebels were killed, all Samaritans were banished from Samaria, and the city of Samaria was settled with Macedonian veterans (Mor 1989, 10).

According to Josephus (Jos., Apion, 2:43), following the post-rebellion massacre, administrative control of the district of Samaria was given to the Jews because of their loyalty to Alexander. The Samaritans who survived the Macedonian massacre, and who had heretofore exercised control and political authority and cultural leadership in Samaria, were now wholly disenfranchised and they could not turn to Jerusalem for help.

From the death of Alexander the Great, nothing much is known about the Samaritans until the rise of the Seleucid empire in around 200 B.C.E. From Josephus (Ant. 12:5–10) we know that a number of Samaritans and Jews settled in Egypt and that relations between them were very strained, with each side demanding that sacrifices be directed to their respective sanctuaries. Any grace or favor to one side was seen as detrimental to the other, and so a tit-for-tat hostility developed.

In Palestine, the first report of open hostility between Shechemites and Jews in Jerusalem is dated to the time of Ptolemy V (Epiphanes) and Antiochus III in around 200 B.C.E. (Jos., Ant. 12:154–56). According to Josephus, the Jews were being harassed by Samaritans through raids on Jewish land and the capture and sale of Jews into slavery, and the Samaritans found themselves under pressure from Antiochus III, because they had allied themselves with pro-

Ptolemaic policy, thinking that they would prevail against the Syrians. This was nothing new. This loyalty dated back to the Persian period when Sanballat the Horonite and Tobiah the Ammonite had allied against Nehemiah, the governor of the province of Judaea.

In 168 B.C.E. the two groups grew still further apart when the Seleucid king (Antiochus IV Epiphanes) ordered the Jews and the Samaritans to rededicate their temples to Zeus. In Judea, [*Judah Maccabee](#) organized a rebellion which culminated in the ousting of Zeus from the temple and its subsequent repurification. During this period, both Samaritans and Jews were subject to the persecutions of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175–164 B.C.E.), as is seen in II Maccabees (5:23; 6:2), even though Samaria did not rebel against Antiochus IV.

What had been a religious division now became a political conflict as well. Judea, having fought for its freedom from Seleucid rule, became an independent state, ruled by a line of high priests derived from the Hasmonean dynasty. One of them was [John *Hyrcanus](#) (134–104 B.C.E.), whose political program included the expansion of the state along with a campaign of propaganda to advertise itself and, as part of this campaign, Hyrcanus utilized a policy of forced conversion to Judaism. While Antiochus VII (Sidetes) was in the east, John Hyrcanus invaded northern Palestine and Syria.

Among the places he captured were Shechem and Mt. Gerizim. Later in his reign, Hyrcanus laid siege to Samaria and after a year's campaign took it (Jos., Wars 1:64ff; Ant. 13:275ff.). The bustling, cosmopolitan, and mainly non-Israelite city of Samaria was utterly destroyed by Hyrcanus (Isser 1999, 571), and in around 128 B.C.E., the sanctuary and temple on Mt. Gerizim were destroyed (Jos., Wars 1:62f.; Ant. 13:254ff.).

While the Jewish priesthood ceased to function after 70 C.E., the Samaritans continued to have an active priesthood with a high priest even after the temple on Mt. Gerizim was destroyed (Pummer 1998, 26–27), and whereas the inevitable dispersal of the Samaritans had not yet happened, the process was underway, not least because the Samaritans were now under the economic and political control of Jerusalem. However, a core group of Samaritans stayed near Mt. Gerizim in the town of Sychar (which may have replaced Shechem as the center of Samaritan religious authority).

There are very few sources other than Josephus to help outline the history of the Samaritans in the early Roman period, and those that do exist are often very hostile to their subject. Josephus, for instance, did not even consider the Samaritans to be Jews (Ant. 11:341).

Pompey's conquest of Palestine in 63 B.C.E. ended Jewish domination of Samaria (Jos., Wars 1:166). The cities that had been captured by the Hasmoneans were restored to their previous inhabitants. Samaria and other regions were joined to the Roman province of Syria and protected by two full Roman legions. Because so many of the people of Samaria had been killed or were too scattered to bring back together, the Romans repopulated the newly built town of Samaria with new colonists (Jos., Wars 1:169f.; Ant. 14:90f.; Isser 1999, 572).

The proconsul of Syria, Aulus Gabinius (57–54 B.C.E.) had to quell an uprising by another Hasmonean, Alexander, son of Aristobulus, during which Roman soldiers sought refuge and

came under siege on Mt. Gerizim. (Jos., Wars 1:175ff.; Ant. 14:100). In 43 B.C.E., with Roman backing, [*Herod](#) the Great restored order in Samaria (Jos., Wars 1:229; Ant. 14:284; Isser 1999, 572). At the end of the Roman civil war, Herod declared his loyalty to Octavian, who confirmed him as the Jewish king and conferred on him new territories (Jos., Wars 1:396ff.; Ant. 14:217); among these new territories was Samaria. Herod rebuilt and extended the city of Samaria and added a further 6,000 colonists to its population. He renamed the city Sebaste in honor of Octavian (Jos., Wars 1:403; Ant. 14:295ff.; Isser 1999, 573).

There are numerous reports of acts of hostility against the Jews by Samaritans. How true these are is unknown, but there does seem to be a prevailing tradition of antagonism between the groups. As an example of the sort of thing reported, Josephus records that during the procuratorship of Coponius (6–9 C.E.) it had been the practice to keep the gates of the Jerusalem temple open after midnight at Passover. On one such occasion, a number of Samaritans are said to have [Page 722 | Top of Article](#) secretly entered and scattered human bones throughout the grounds, rendering them unclean (Ant. 18:29f.).

There is another account in Josephus (Ant. 18:85–89) about a massacre of Samaritans during the Procuratorship of Pilate (26–36 C.E.). Josephus reports that a man whom he describes as a rabble-rouser promised to show the Samaritans the sacred vessels of the *mishkan* (the ancient tabernacle) which, according to Samaritan tradition, Moses had buried in a secret place on Mt. Gerizim. This discovery would signal the Age of Divine Favor (the fulfillment of Samaritan eschatological belief involving Moses, the *mishkan* and a person (the "rabble-rouser") who was a sort of messianic figure—the "restorer"). A large group gathered in a nearby village with the intention of climbing Mt. Gerizim, but Pilate interpreted this as the prelude to revolt and so the gathered Samaritans were intercepted by Roman troops and killed or captured. The leaders were executed at Pilate's orders. This was too much for the Samaritan council, who complained to Vitellius, the governor of Syria, who accepted their accusations against Pilate and sent Marcellus to take over in Judea and ordered Pilate to return to Rome for trial before the emperor Tiberius. This Pilate did, but Tiberius had died, and we know nothing further about this episode (Grabbe 1994, 424; Isser 1999, 576).

An even more serious event occurred during the Procuratorship of Cumanus (48–52 C.E.) at a village named Gema (between Samaria and the Plain of Esdraelon to the north). Josephus reports that some Samaritans attacked a group of Galileans who were on their way to Jerusalem for a festival and killed either many or one (War 2:12:3, 232; Ant. 20, 6:1, 118; Tacitus, *Annals* XII, 54). When the Jews appealed to Cumanus he did nothing (allegedly because he had been bribed by the Samaritans). A mob of Jews took matters into their own hands and attacked some Samaritan villages. Cumanus then intervened, and both Jews and Samaritans appealed to the Syrian governor, Quadratus. After a preliminary investigation, Quadratus sent Cumanus, the military tribune Celer, some of the Samaritan notables, the high priests Jonathan and Ananias, and other Jewish leaders to Rome for trial before Claudius. Agrippa II petitioned Claudius on behalf of the Jews and Claudius found in their favor, executing the Samaritan delegation and exiling Cumanus. The tribune Celer was taken back to Jerusalem and executed publicly there (Isser 1999, 574–75).

Acts 8:4ff. reports a successful mission of the preacher Philip among the Samaritans. He performed healings, exorcisms, and baptized many in the name of Jesus. After this, Peter and John came from Jerusalem and bestowed on the new converts the Holy Spirit. Nothing more is mentioned about the Samaritan converts (Isser 1999, 576). In general, however, the Samaritans (as with the Jews) regarded Jesus as a false prophet (Isser 1981, 166ff).

It is clear from Josephus at least that the relation between Samaritanism and Judaism was tense, as is presupposed in the story about the good Samaritan. However, Jesus, especially in the Gospel of Luke, contrasts Samaritan openness with Jewish rigidity (Luke 10:30–37; 17:16; John 4; Acts 8:25).

While Josephus does not say that the Samaritans fought with the Jews during the war of 66–73 C.E., he does note that large numbers of them collected on Mt. Gerizim, ready for war. Even though the Romans faced a steep ascent to join battle with the Samaritans, thirst and desertion among the Samaritans made their work easier and quicker. Despite this, those Samaritans who remained would not surrender and died fighting (Josephus, Wars 3:307–15).

In the wake of the Jewish and Samaritan rebellion, the Emperor Vespasian founded the new town of Flavia Neapolis (Jos., Wars IV, 449; Pliny, *Natural History* V, 13:69) which later came to be called Nablus by the Arabs. This settlement became the new center for the Samaritans and remains so to this day (Isser 1999, 577).

Samaritans in the Graeco-Roman Diaspora

In the Diaspora, when Jews and Samaritans lived in the same communities, they would have had to explain their allegiances to the authorities from whom they requested privileges, and Josephus records difficulties between Jews and Samaritans in Egypt (Ant. 12:10, 74–79). Thus, while Jerusalem exerted its influence on Diaspora Jews, so Gerizim influenced the Diaspora Samaritans (Purvis 1968, 110).

In 1979, two inscriptions were found near the stadium on [*Delos](#) by Philippe Fraise of the Ecole française d'Athènes. Both were found in an unexcavated area just beneath current ground level near the shoreline of the east of the island. Both are dedicated by the "Israelites who offer to Holy Argarizein." The term *Argarizein* is the Greek rendering of the Hebrew *Har Gerizim*, that is, Mt. Gerizim, and these two inscriptions certainly provide evidence of a hitherto unknown community of Samaritans on the island (Matassa 2006; White 1987, 141–42).

The first inscription reads "The Israelites on Delos who make first-fruit offerings to Holy Argarizin crown with a golden crown Sarapion son of Jason of Knossos for his benefactions on their behalf," and has been dated to between 150 and 50 B.C.E. (Bruneau 1982, 469–74; Matassa 2006). It is not clear whether the honoree is himself a Samaritan, Jew, pagan, resident of or visitor to Delos. It does, however, identify the dedicators as "the Israelites on Delos," and there seems little doubt that this refers to a Samaritan community of some sort on this tiny island.

The second inscription reads, "[The] Israelites who make first-fruit offerings to holy Argarizin honor Menippos, son of Artemidoros of Heraclea, himself as well as his descendants to have

established and dedicated its expenses, for an offering/prayer [to God], [-----] and [-----] and crowned it with a golden crown and [---]," and is dated to around 250–175 B.C.E. (Bruneau 1982, 469–74; Matassa 2006).

The inscriptions show that the dedicators (on Delos or elsewhere) were connected to Mt. Gerizim, and it could be that offerings were sent to Mt. Gerizim while the Samaritan temple still stood there or that offerings continued to be made and sent to Samaria after the destruction of the temple. Or, indeed, [Page 723 | Top of Article](#) it could be that the offerings were made on Delos, perhaps in the form of votives, and were dedicated by Samaritan visitors to the island, Samaritan residents of the island, or even friends or business partners of Samaritans elsewhere on their behalf – as the two inscriptions are the only evidence of Samaritans on the island, it is impossible to know. There is certainly no evidence of a synagogue (either Jewish or Samaritan) on the island, but the inscriptions do at least indicate there was a permanent colony of Samaritans on Delos in the Second Temple period (Matassa 2006).

Excavations on Mt. Gerizim

Yitzhak Magen's excavations on Mt. Gerizim uncovered some 480 marble inscriptions and around 13,000 coins. About 90% of the inscriptions were written in ancient Aramaic script, and the remainder in either Hebrew or Greek. The inscriptions were votive offerings brought to the sanctuary and dedicated there. According to Magen, those inscriptions indicate that the sanctuary was there as early as the end of the sixth century B.C.E. (Magen, Tsafania and Misgav 2000(c), 125–32).

The excavations on the top of Mt. Gerizim began in 1983, but only as late as 1998 did the profile of the temple begin to emerge. The temple was found under the remains of a fifth-century Byzantine church (the Church of Mary the Theodokos built by the Emperor Zeno in 484 C.E.). The excavation team uncovered six-foot-thick walls, gates, and altars, and it is thought that the totality of this find could provide the first real indication of what the Jewish temple, destroyed by the Romans in 70 C.E., might have looked like (Magen 2000(a), 74–118; Magen 2000(b), 133).

The Mt. Gerizim excavations show that the temple was surrounded by residential quarters, such as those in Jerusalem. Some 15,000 people lived in a city spread out over 100 acres, which the excavators have taken to indicate that Josephus was correct in saying that the Mt. Gerizim temple was a replica of the temple in Jerusalem. While the exact dimensions of the Jerusalem temple are not known, the foundation of the temple on Mount Gerizim appears to be about 400 × 560 feet (Magen 2000(a), 74–118; Magen 2000(b), 133).

[Lidia Domenica Matassa (2nd ed.)]

Late Roman to Crusader Period

After brief reports of the building of Tiberias and Caesaria in the reigns of Tiberius and Vespasian, the Samaritan Chronicle II narrates the events of Hadrian's time. Both Jews and Samaritans suffered under this emperor (117–38), according to one part of the chronicles, but a later addition tells of the success of the Samaritans in gaining Hadrian's favor by helping him to

overcome the defenders of Jerusalem during his siege of the city. This version states that Hadrian was allowed to build a place of worship on Mt. Gerizim and that all Jews living in the area were forcibly removed. Samaritan guards were placed at the emperor's *beit kinshah*, as it was called (see Montgomery, 91, for further details from other sources), but while Hadrian was away in Rome his priests defiled the *beit kinshah* by burning corpses there. The defilement, in Samaritan eyes, resulted in a gathering of people destroying the building and then purifying the place ritually. The outcome was that Hadrian sent an army which attacked and killed many of the Samaritans. At last one clever Samaritan managed to put the blame on the Jews and managed to persuade Hadrian of the Samaritans' innocence, so that the emperor attacked the Jews instead. Throughout the chronicles, statements are made about the loss of Samaritan literature during times of persecution. The worst of these periods seems to have been during the rule of Hadrian (and later of Commodus and Severus), when most of the literature kept in Shechem was destroyed. The high priest lists, however, were probably preserved.

Both Samaritan and Jewish sources tell of the friendship of Antoninus Pius (138–61) for their respective peoples. For the Samaritans, the worst of all persecutions was that of Commodus (180–92). They were forbidden to read the Torah or teach it to their children, synagogues were closed, and many Samaritans suffered crucifixion for minor offenses. The reason for Commodus' persecutions given in Abu-al-Fath and Chronicle II was a dispute between [*Alexander of Aphrodisias](#) and a Samaritan called Levi. A philosophical discussion, which was the starting point, led to the anger of the emperor and severe repression of Levi's compatriots, with the consequent destruction of their written documents and scrolls (some of which were hidden and saved). Claudius Golenus (who died c. 200) is brought into the story, and it is claimed that he persuaded Commodus to force the Samaritans to eat the meat of pigs. Subsequent trials compelled many Samaritans to flee to other regions. At the end of Commodus' reign, 300,000 Samaritans were reported living in the Shechem area.

Nothing is reported of Septimius Severus (193–211), but Alexander Severus (222–35) is reported to have persecuted the Samaritans almost as severely as had Commodus. He enforced the worship of Roman gods, thus bringing about a series of rebellions against his rule, which he put down mercilessly. His reign was also a time of famine and pestilence. Since the Samaritans' great hero [*Baba Rabbah](#) is recorded as having lived during Alexander Severus' rule, it may be assumed that there is some confusion in the account (see Montgomery, 96, for an alternative view). Severus' successors are correctly stated to have been Gordianus (238–44), Philip (244–49), and Decius (249–51). This period seems to have been a difficult one for Samaria on the whole, but little more is heard from Samaritan sources until the advent of Muhammad. From the evidence of external sources, it is confirmed that Samaria suffered from the many political and military maneuverings of the era. The next source of trouble and change for Samaria was the Christianization of the empire. The edict of Constantius, which prohibited the marriage of Christian women to Jews (Montgomery, 100), led to social intolerance throughout Palestine. Circumcision, prohibited by Hadrian, seems to have been prohibited again in the time of Bishop Germanus, whose jurisdiction included Nablus.

The story of Baba Rabbah may properly be related to the period of Bishop Germanus. The chief importance of this SamaritanPage 724 | [Top of Article](#) hero was that he revived the Samarian hopes of freedom. He organized Samaria into districts, built synagogues, encouraged literature,

and raised a standing army. The Baba Rabbah story, despite some legendary accretions, is not as absurd as Montgomery claims (103), for a great change in Samaritanism undoubtedly took place at about this time (witness the work of [*Markah](#) and his family, who gave new shape to religious thinking and gave Samaritan religion a firm base).

During a long period of gradual Christianization in Palestine, the Samaritans fared badly; there were continual attacks by Samaritans on Christians and Christians on Jews and Samaritans, and the holy places of Israel were taken over by the Christians. Under certain rulers, a measure of protection was accorded to both Jews and Samaritans, but the long reign of Theodosius II (408–50) brought in its wake many deprivations, and both Jews and Samaritans became in effect second-class citizens with minimal rights. It was not until the latter part of the fifth century that the full fury of the new order was felt in Samaria, for under Zeno (474–91) Jews and Samaritans suffered terrible massacres, and the Samaritan chronicles tell of many incidents during this period which resulted in increasing repression. For the period of Anastasius (491–518) and Justinian I (527–65), the chronicles have little information, but external sources (see Montgomery, 113ff.) reveal further devastations of the dwindling Samaritan community. Many small-scale uprisings had taken place almost annually throughout the Christian period, but the greatest seems to have occurred soon after Justinian I became emperor. This was in the year 529, and there are many sources of information about it (Montgomery, 114–6). It is clear that thousands of Samaritans died in the fighting and that they tried to establish their own state. Jews and Samaritans seem to have been treated alike by the Christian victors; sources speak of 50,000 Jewish and Samaritan soldiers being offered by the Samaritans to the Persian king if he would take over Palestine. This attempt, which was foiled, was symptomatic of the state of affairs in Samaria. The people of Samaria became increasingly desperate, and things were to become even worse as more repressive laws were promulgated by Justinian, for a rising number of Samaritans relinquished their faith and embraced Christianity, thus further reducing the number adhering to the ancient faith. Indeed the Samaritans, as a recognizable religious group, had all but been outlawed by Christianity. They lived in territory sacred to the Christians; they were regarded, with the Jews, as eternal enemies of the new faith; and even when they converted, they were not accorded the full rights of other Christians.

According to the chronicles, many Samaritans fled eastward after 634, when the Muslims were victorious at Yarmuk. Throughout the account of Samaritan history, from earliest times, there were frequent emigrations eastward, and contact between the émigrés and [*Nablus](#) seems to have been lost frequently until the 13th century, when migrations back to Nablus began. The story of life under the caliphs is one of revolt and suppression. Little information on the basic cause of the troubles is available because Muslim and Samaritan historians hardly refer to the Samaritans in historical terms. During the early part of the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd (d. 809), plague and famine blighted Samaria, but after these calamities the Samaritans enjoyed peace in his time. The reign of Ma'mūn (813–33) was a period of respite, on the whole, but the reign of his successor, Mu'tasim (833–42), brought considerable calamity to Samaria when certain Muslim fanatics demolished many synagogues and all but destroyed Nablus.

As time went on, religious bitterness increased and the Muslims imposed prohibitions on religious practices, especially pilgrimages to Mt. Gerizim. During the tenth century, however, matters improved under the Fatimid caliphs. Samaritan, Islamic, or Christian sources tell little

about the period of the Crusades. The Samaritan capital was the center of political intrigue and ecclesiastical debate during the early part of the 12th century. In 1137 Nablus seems to have undergone the catastrophe of further devastation and decimation of its inhabitants when the Saracens attacked it. Thereafter, until 1244, Muslims assumed rule of the Samaritan capital.

[John Macdonald]

Statistics

An inscription from the period of Sargon II describing the destruction of Samaria tells that 27,290 Samaritans were exiled (721 B.C.E.). It is clear, however, that this number is only a minority of the inhabitants of the northern Kingdom of Israel, which, in the days of Menahem b. Gadi (743 B.C.E.), numbered 60,000 landowners who each paid 50 shekels tax to Tiglath-Pileser III (II Kings 15:19–20). It can therefore be assumed that the Israelite majority, which included an alien minority that was brought by the Assyrian kings, numbered more than 100,000 people at the beginning of the seventh century B.C.E. This community developed and spread into the Assyrian provinces in the center of the country. It is possible to learn of the large number of Samaritans during the period from the expansion of their settlement from Samaria into Gaza and Egypt in the south, and Beth-Shean, Acre, and Sidon in the north.

Clearer figures are known for the first centuries of the Common Era. In the three uprisings against the Byzantines (484, 529, and 579), the Samaritans lost tens of thousands of soldiers. In the largest uprising (in 529), which was a reaction to the Justinian persecutions, the Samaritans lost 100,000 soldiers, according to Procopius, or 20,000, according to the version of Malalas. Theophanes and Malalas related that the Samaritans sent emissaries to the king of Persia suggesting that he conquer the country from the Byzantines and agreeing to place 50,000 Samaritans and Jews at his disposal for this purpose. These sources imply that there were hundredsPage 727 | [Top of Article](#) of thousands of Samaritans in the country. The decisive decrease in this number was a result of the frequent uprisings against the Byzantines.

The massacre of Samaritans continued even after the collapse of Byzantine rule. Tens of thousands were massacred or taken captive at the time of the Arab conquest, which led to the flight of the Samaritans eastward. In 1163 [*Benjamin of Tudela](#) found some 1,000 Samaritans outside of Shechem. It is therefore possible to surmise that the total Samaritan population of the country was about 2,000. The Arab writers a-Bīrūnī (1048), Idrīsī (1173), Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī (1125), al-Dimashqī (1300), and others relate that there was a large number of Samaritans in Shechem, and some of them estimated the population at more than 1,000.

RELIGION AND CUSTOMS

The sources of knowledge of the Samaritan religion are the Samaritan Pentateuch and Targum, *Memar Markah*, the liturgy, and various expositions of law and commentaries on the books of the Pentateuch (see Language and Literature). Aside from the Pentateuch, the sources span a period of about 1,400 years. In terms of religious development these may be divided into three broad periods: (1) from the completion of the Pentateuch (date uncertain) to the Roman period, the period of formulation; (2) the third to fourth centuries C.E., the period of consolidation; (3)

the 13th–14th centuries, the period of expansion. Religious writing in other centuries, though important in several respects, did not radically change the general nature of Samaritan religion.

It is likely that the Samaritan creed in its earliest form was a simple statement of belief in God and in the Pentateuch. Belief in Moses as the sole prophet of God, so prominent a feature of Samaritanism, probably developed long before the Roman conquest of Palestine, and almost certainly belief in Mt. Gerizim as the one true sanctuary chosen by Israel's God was well established before Alexander the Great (witness the large sacred area on Mt. Gerizim dated to his time). Belief in the resurrection, which is stated in many of the religious writings, certainly was in existence before the fourth century C.E., as it is to be found, but in a less developed form, in *Memar Markah*. As basis for this belief the Samaritan exegetes of all periods provide the "proof-text," Gen. 3:19 (see below), but it seems certain that such "proof-texts" were pegs on which to hang beliefs that came into Samaritan religion at a later time. Belief in the *taheb*, i.e., restorer (or according to some "returner"), as one who would restore all things prior to the last day, the cataclysm, the judgment, and finally paradise, is undoubtedly the latest of the credal tenets. This tenet probably took hold in Samaritan soil during the time of religious ferment in Palestine around the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 C.E.

The doctrine of God is clear, simple, and mainly biblical. The absolute oneness of God is expressed on every hand. He is wholly "other" in substance and essence, present in all things, all-powerful, without peer, and beyond attribution. His purposes for mankind, especially Israel, were once and for all communicated to the world through Moses. The six beliefs can only be understood in terms of Moses. He was God's "Man," "the son of His house (= world)," almost His vice regent on earth; he it was who "wrote" the five books of the Pentateuch; it was he who authorized Mt. Gerizim as "the place which God chose" (not "will choose" as in Deut. 12:5 in the MT). There is some uncertainty about how Moses came to be associated with the *taheb*. It is in the didactic hymns of the 13th–14th-century part of the liturgy (many of which are to be found in manuscripts in various libraries, but see the long festival hymns in Cowley, *The Samaritan Liturgy*, vol. 2) that Moses is associated with the resurrection and judgment and with the restorer. Samaritan religious development did not quite formalize this association in the way that the other tenets were formalized, but in general it may be said that Samaritanism attributes to Moses every word and action, both for this world and beyond, which relates to the divine will for mankind.

Page 728 | [Top of Article](#)

The problem of belief in the resurrection in sectarian Samaritanism is fraught with difficulties. *Dositheanism may or may not have been one large sect. It may have comprised two or more sects stemming from an initial "heresy." Whether or not Dositheanism as a whole, or originally, believed in the resurrection as distinct from the priestly authority, there is no lack of evidence in the mainstream of Samaritan religious writing for such a belief. It is hardly likely that all such literature is "heretical."

The best view of essential Samaritan religion may be gained from a study of what the religious literature claims about Moses in relation to God and Israel. "Lord of all worlds," "the word of living truth," Moses is preeminent in all things; as the word in creation, the light shining on and in men, men's intercessor before God, lawgiver, teacher, priest, savior. All these and many other

attributes, which are commonplace from the *Memar Markah* onward, indicate how far Samaritanism is "Mosaism." Almost a christological position is reached when Markah writes: "He who believes in him [= Moses] believes in his Lord" (*Memar Markah*, 4:7). Gnostic elements are prominent in the religious literature. These are elements found in common with the early Jewish and Christian literatures, but their influence on Samaritanism is often terminological rather than doctrinal. However, the emphasis on Moses as the word and the light seems to be best explained by reference to Gnosticism.

A typical Samaritan feature is the prominence of their priesthood in the life of the community. The priests are the interpreters of the law and the keepers of the secret of the calendar, upon which the true observation of their festivals depends. The famous [*Baba Rabbah](#) was the firstborn of a high priest.

Since the Samaritans possessed only the Pentateuch as against the threefold Bible of Judaism and had no codified second law corresponding to the Mishnah, the outlines of their beliefs were easier to delineate. Moses was "the prophet" to the Samaritans, and Joshua alone of all the other biblical prophets is held in high esteem, even called king, because he is mentioned in the Pentateuch as the servant of Moses, who was initiated by him to fill his place. This last remark gives the clue to the development of Samaritan doctrine, namely that no concept which had no warrant in the Pentateuch could be regarded as valid. So the resurrection doctrine is bound up with the Samaritan text of Gen. 3:19, "to your dust you shall return." There are many instances of Samaritan and masoretic textual disagreements, mostly insignificant, but a few are of the significance of the example just quoted, where a doctrine is at stake. The Ten Commandments of the masoretic Bible are regarded as nine by the Samaritans, who have a tenth of their own (of considerable length) stipulating the prime sanctity of Mt. Gerizim.

Some of the differentiae of Samaritan and Judaic religion are explained in this way. Other doctrines developed during certain eras, such as the belief in the judgment day. Belief in a day of vengeance and recompense, as it is called, could well have sprung from or given rise to Deuteronomy 32:35, where the Samaritan text reads "on the day of " against the masoretic text's "mine," a difference of two Hebrew letters.

Most of the beliefs about paradise are set in Islamic-type terms, and no doubt many details of the pictures of "the garden" were supplied during the long Islamic period, but as early as the *Memar Markah* there is sufficient evidence of such beliefs. The parallelism with early Jewish and Christian teachings on the subject is often striking, but not surprising if one takes into account the influence of Gnosticism on them.

There is no sign in Samaritan writings of the religious malpractices of which the Samaritan syncretists were condemned in II Kings 17:29ff.; indeed, the religion which emerges from the sources is remarkably pure and free from pagan influences. There is no indication anywhere of dove worship (R. Nahman ben Isaac, *Hul.* 6a) or the adoration of a "god" called Ashima (Ibn Ezra, introduction, *Commentary on Esther*). This last accusation was based on a misunderstanding, as Ibn Ezra was not cognizant of the Samaritan usage to evade pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton by applying a surname "*Shema*" or "*Ashema*" instead (like *ha-Shem* in Jewish religious practice).

On the practical side of religion, the Samaritans have developed their code of religious practice by direct interpretation of biblical laws. A *halakhah* came into being, though not in the same way as in Judaism. It often differs from the rabbinical *halakhah* by its stricter adherence to the letter of the law, as in the laws of Sabbath and festivals or marriage between close relatives. In other cases it is based on different interpretation, as in the law concerning the levirate marriage (Deut. 25:5–10) or fixing the date of Pentecost, etc. There was no systematic codification of the law, and the few extant Samaritan halakhic compendia are arranged very loosely. Jewish, Karaite and Rabbanite, influence on their legal literature is evident in *Kitāb al-Mīrāth* ("Book of Inheritance"), probably belonging to the 12th century C.E., and in the classification of the 613 commandments of the Pentateuch. Mention of the number 613 is found even earlier in *Kitāb al-Kāfi* (1042 C.E.), but a systematic enumeration and classification is found first in a liturgical poem by Aaron b. Manīr of the 13th–14th century. His system shows striking dependence upon that of Maimonides. These influences are not surprising, as large Samaritan communities in Damascus and Cairo lived close to Jews, Rabbanites and Karaites.

Continuation of the festivals prescribed in the Torah was contingent on the political circumstances of the times, but throughout the vicissitudes of all these, the celebration of the Passover according to the strict regulations of the Torah was and is continued, whenever possible on Mt. Gerizim itself. Two other festivals, Pentecost and Tabernacles, were like Passover, regarded as pilgrimages, according to the Pentateuch (Ex. 23:17; 34:24; Lev. 23; Deut. 16), and to this day these pilgrimages are carried out as such (see M. Gaster, *The Samaritans*, pp. 168, 178 for details).

[John Macdonald]

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

Language

Throughout their history the Samaritans have used four languages: Hebrew, Greek, Aramaic, and Arabic. Apart from the Pentateuch (see [Samaritan *Pentateuch](#)), Hebrew was retained as the language of liturgy, revived from the 14th century on. This later Hebrew was mixed with Aramaic words and grammatical forms and developed under the influence of the Samaritan Arabic vernacular. Likewise, Hebrew translations of Aramaic and Arabic works done by 19th- and 20th-century writers for European scholars, notably Moses Gaster, show clear Arabic influence in words, grammar, and syntax. A peculiarity of post-biblical Hebrew is the confusion of the gutturals.

Only scanty literary fragments have survived from the Hellenistic era and they testify to the use of the Greek language among the Samaritans. They are all excerpts from Alexander Polyhistor, a Roman historian (c. 80–40 B.C.E.), which were transmitted by Eusebius in his *Praeparatio Evangelica* (third to fourth century C.E.; for further information see Montgomery, op. cit., pp. 283–6). Fragments of a Greek translation of the Samaritan Pentateuch have been found in Egypt. Origen refers in his Hexapla to a "Samareitikon," which is understood by most scholars to mean a Greek translation of the Samaritan Pentateuch. In 1953 a Greek archaeologist found a Samaritan synagogue inscription in Greek in Thessalonika which might belong to the fourth

century C.E. (Kippenberg, p. 148). Samaritan Aramaic, a dialect of Western Aramaic, has been preserved in compositions dating from the early Roman period to the 11th century C.E. (see [*Aramaic](#)). Arabic has been used by the Samaritans as a spoken language for many centuries. It is not known exactly when Aramaic fell into disuse, but it seems to have died out as a written language in about the 11th century, and most of the non-Hebrew writings from that time on are in Middle Arabic.

Many manuscripts in Western libraries and in the Samaritan community set out a text in three parallel columns: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic. These include the Pentateuch, *Memar Markah*, and some later exegetical works. There is also a glossary to the Pentateuch called *Ha-Meliz*, meaning "dictionary," which sets out in parallel columns the Aramaic and Arabic equivalents of the Hebrew words of the Pentateuch. It was edited for the first time by Z. Ben-Hayyim (I, II no. XI). Ben-Hayyim showed that it was composed in two stages, the first part being the Hebrew-Aramaic from the 10th to the 11th centuries. Later, when Aramaic began to fall into disuse, another author added the Arabic column, very often translating not the Hebrew word but its Aramaic translation, which he no longer understood properly. This part was added to between the second half of the 11th to the 14th century. The only extant manuscript was copied in 1476. This glossary is today the most important source for knowledge of Samaritan Aramaic.

ADDITIONAL SECTIONS FOUND IN THE COMPLETE ENCYCLOPEDIA JUDAICA ARTICLE [online through [Gale Virtual Library](#)]

Religious Ceremonies

CIRCUMCISION

THE LAWS OF RITUAL IMPURITY AND PURITY

COMPLETION OF THE TORAH

KIDDUSHIN

ERUSIN

NISSU'IN

INTERMARRIAGE

DIVORCE

MOURNING

SAMARITAN CHRONOLOGY

Historical Chronology

Literature**LITURGISTS****CHRONICLES****HALAKHIC LITERATURE****PENTATEUCH COMMENTARIES****GRAMMATICAL WORKS****IN ISLAM****MUSICAL TRADITION****BIBLIOGRAPHY:**

A.D. Crown, *A Bibliography of the Samaritans* (1984); UNTIL 1300: E. Vilmar, *Abulfathi; Annales Samaritani* (1865); A. Neubauer, *Chronique Samaritaine* (1873), = JA, 14 (1869), 385–470; T.W.J. Juynboll, *Chronicon Samaritanum* (1848); E.N. Adler and M. Seligsohn, in: REJ, 44 (1902), 188–222; 45 (1902), 70–98, 160, 223–54; 46 (1903), 123–46; J. Macdonald, *The Samaritan Chronicle no. 2 (or Sefer ha-Yamim). From Joshua to Nebuchadnezzar* (1969), = BZAW, 107 (1969); C.D. Mantel, in: *Bar Ilan, Sefer ha-Shanah*, 7–8 (1970), 162–77; G.E. Wright, in: HTR, 55 (1962), 357–66; idem, *Shechem* (1965); F.M. Cross, in: BA, 26 (1963), 110–21; idem, in: HTR, 59 (1966), 201–11; J.A. Montgomery, *The Samaritans* (1907, 1968); I. Ben-Zvi, *Sefer ha-Shomronim* (1970²). 1300–1970: J.A. Montgomery, *The Samaritans* (1907, 1968), 13–45, 125–42; A.E. Cowley, *The Samaritan Liturgy* (1909); S. de Sacy, *Correspondance des Samaritains de Naplouse* (1831); R. Tsedaka, *Samaritan Legends (Aggadot Am Shomroniyyot)* (1965), 33–56, 86–88; E.T. Rogers, *Notices of the Modern Samaritans* (1855); Ben-Zvi, *Erez Yisrael*, 419–30; R. Kirchheim, *Karmeï Shomron* (1851, 1970), 1–54; M. Ish-Shalom, *Masei ha-Nozerim le-Erez Yisrael* (1966), index s.v. *Shomronim*; I. Ben-Hanania, in: *Yedi'ot ha-Hevrah la-Hakiroi Erez Yisrael va-Attikoteha*, 11 no. 3–4 (1945), 57–63; B. Tsedaka, in: *Ba-Ma'arakhah* (1969). STATISTICS: E. Robertson, *Catalogue of the Samaritan Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library*, 2 (1962), 275ff.; P. Kahle, in: PJB, 26 (1930), 89–103. RELIGION AND CUSTOMS: J.A. Montgomery, *The Samaritans* (1907, 1968), ch. 12 and 13; M. Gaster, *The Samaritans* (1925), second lecture; J. Macdonald, *The Theology of the Samaritans* (1964); M. Haran, in: *Eretz Israel*, 4 (1956), 160–9; A.S. Halkin, in: *Goldziher Memorial Volume* (1958), 86–100. NEW YEAR AND DAY OF ATONEMENT: B. Tsedaka, in: *Ba-Ma'arakhah*, 101 (1969); R. Tsedaka, *Siddurei Tefillot Mo'ed ha-Hodesh ha-Shevi'i, Shabbat Aseret Yemei ha-Selihot u-Mo'ed Yom ha-Kippur* (1963) (in Samaritan-Hebrew letters). THE FEAST OF TABERNACLES AND SHEMINI AZERET: B. Tsedaka, in: *Ba-Ma'arakhah*, Page 740 | [Top of Article](#) 97 (1969); 102 (1969); I. Tsedaka, *Siddur Tefillat Hag ha-Sukkot ve-Shabbat Mo'ed Hag ha-Sukkot* (1963); D.J. Boys, *London Quarterly and Wolborn Review* (1961); 32–37; R. Tsedaka, *The Prayer of the Ten Commandments* (in Samaritan Hebrew letters; 1962). PASSOVER: R. Tsedaka, *Samaritan Legends* (1965), 73–76 (bibl.); *Pesach on Hargrizim. The Samaritans*; special edition of the Samaritan newspaper "A-B-The Samaritan News" (n.d.). SHAVUOT: B. Tsedaka, in: *Ba-Ma'arakhah*, 98 (1969). SAMARITAN

CHRONOLOGY: *Chronique Samaritaine*, ed. by A. Neubauer (1873), 6–12; Abu-al-Ḥassan al-Ṣuri, al-Tabbah, Ms. Huntingdon 24 (= Nicholl, Sam. Arab. V), pp. 17, 42, 5, 58–59, J. Al-Kirkisānī, *Kitāb al-Anwār wa-al-Marāqib*, ed. by L. Nemoy (1942), 40; 185–6; 800–1; Z. Ben-Ḥayyim, *Ivrit ve-Aramit Nosah Shomron*, 3 pt. 2 (1967), 74, 80, 212, 240; E. Robertson, in: BJRL, 23, 2 (1939), 458–86; A.A. Akavyah, in: *Melilah*, 3–4 (1950), 328–44; H.J. Bornstein, in: *Ha-Tekufah*, 8 (Warsaw, 1921), 287ff.; 9 (1921), 202–58; I. Ben-Zvi, *Sefer ha-Shomronim* (1970), 163–226; S. de Sacy, *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la bibliothèque du roi*, 12 (1831), 153; M. Heidenheim, *Bibliotheca Samaritana*, 3 (1896), 119–22; Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. *Demetrios*; A. von Gall, *Der hebraeische Pentateuch der Samaritaner*, 1 (1914), li; L. Ideler, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, 2 (1826), 231–7; 444–53; F.K. Ginzel, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, 1 (1906), 263–5; 2 (1911), 80–82. LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE: J.A. Montgomery, *The Samaritans* (1907, 1968); A.E. Cowley, *The Samaritan Liturgy* (1909); Z. Ben-Ḥayyim, *Ivrit ve-Aramit Nosah Shomron*, 4 vols. (1957–67); I. Ben-Zvi, *Sefer Ha-Shomronim* (1970²); F. Pérez Castro, in: *Sefarad*, 13 (1953), 119–29; J. Macdonald, *Memar Marqah*, in: BZAW, 84 (1963); A.S. Halkin, *The Relation of the Samaritans to Saadia Gaon*, in: *Saadia Anniversary Volume* (1943), 271–92; L. Goldberg, *Das samaritanische Pentateuch Targum* (1935); M. Gaster, *The Samaritans* (1925); idem, *The Samaritan Literature* in: EI, 4 (1925; supplement to the author's article *The Samaritans*); Steinschneider, *Arab Lit*, 319–34; E. Vilmar, *Abu-al-Fath, Annales Samaritani* (1865); A. Neubauer (ed.), *Chronique Samaritaine* (1873); J. Bowman, *Transcript of the Original Text of the Samaritan Chronicle Tolidah* (1954); T.W.J. Juynboll, *Chronicon Samaritanum... Liber Josuae* (1848); M. Gaster, in: JRAS, 31 (1909), 115–27, 149–53; E.N. Adler and M. Seligsohn, *Une nouvelle Chronique Samaritaine* (1903); A. Loewenstamm, in: *Sefunot*, 8 (1964), 165–204; M. Haran, in: *Eretz-Israel*, 4 (1956), 252–68; A.S. Halkin, in: *Memorial Volume I. Goldziher* (1958), 86–100; S.J. Miller, *Molad Moshe* (Ar. with translation in Samaritan Hebrew by Phinehas b. Isaac ha-Kohen; 1949); M. Klumel, *Mishpâtim, ein samaritanisch-arabischer Commentar zu 21–22:15 von Ibrahim ibn Jacub* (1902); G. Levin-Rosen, *The Joseph Cycle (Genesis 37–45) in the Samaritan-Arabic Commentary of Meshalma ibn Murjan* (1951); H.G. Kippenberg, *Garizim und Synagoge* (1971). M. Gaster in: *Festschrift zum 75-jaehrigen Bestehen des Juedisch-theologischen Seminars* (1929), 393–404; L.A. Mayer, *Bibliography of the Samaritans* (1964); R. Weiss (ed.), *Leket Bibliografi al ha-Shomronim* (1970). IN ISLAM: Tabarī, *Tavzrikh*, 1 (1357 A.H.), 296–7; Tha'rlabi, *Qiṣaṣ* (1356 A.H.), 175–7; Kis'āi, *Qisas* (1956 A.H.), 219–21; H. Speyer, *Die biblischen Erzählungen im Qoran* (1961), 323–33; J.A. Montgomery, *The Samaritans* (1907, 1968), 151–2, no. 39. MUSICAL TRADITION: A.Z. Idelsohn, *Toledot ha-Neginah ha-Ivrit* (1924), 53–58; idem, in: *Yerushalayim*, 11–12 (1916), 335–73; idem, in: MGWJ, 61 (1917), 117–26; Z. Ben-Ḥayyim, *Ivrit ve-Aramit Nosah Shomron*, 1 (1957), 53–57; 2 (1957), 304–403; D. Cohen and R. Torgovnik Katz, in: *Ethnomusicology*, 4 (1960), 67–74; J. Macdonald, in: *Islamic Quarterly*, 6 (1961), 4754; M. Ravina, *Organum and the Samaritans* (1963); C. Sachs, *Wellsprings of Music*, ed. by J. Kunst (1965), 64f., 169f.; E. Gerson-Kiwi, in: *Yuval*, 1 (1968), 169–93 (Eng. section); S. Hofman, *ibid.*, 36–51 (Heb. section); idem, in: *Divrei ha-Congress ha-Olami ha-Revi'i le-Madda'ei ha-Yahadut*, 2 (1968), 385–94 (Eng. abstract, 208f.); J. Spector, *ibid.*, 153–6 (Eng.); R.T. Hassafarey, *Kitāb al-Tasābich* (Heb., 1970). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** J. Bowman (ed.), *Samaritan Documents Relating To Their History, Religion and Life* (1977); P. Bruneau, "Les Israélites de Délos et la juiverie délienne," in: *Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique*, 106 (1982), 465–504; R.J. Coggins, *Samaritans and Jews. The Origins of Samaritanism Reconsidered* (1975); S.J.D. Cohen, *The Beginnings of Jewishness*.

Boundaries, Varieties, Uncertainties (1999); M.F. Collins, "The Hidden Vessels in Samaritan Tradition," in: *Journal for the Study of Judaism*, 3 (1972), 97–116; F.M. Cross, "Samaria Papyrus 1: An Aramaic Slave Conveyance of 335 B.C.E. Found in the Wadi el-Dâliyeh," in: *Eretz Israel* (EI), 18 (1985), 7–17; A.D. Crown (ed.), *The Samaritans* (1989); A.D. Crown, *A Bibliography of the Samaritans* (1993²); idem, "New Light on the Interrelationships of Samaritan Chronicles from Some Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library," in: *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* (BJRL), 54 (1971/72), 283–313; 55 (1972/73), 86–111; F. Dexinger and R. Pummer (eds.), "Einführung in den Stand der Samaritanerforschung," in: *Die Samaritaner* (1992), 1–66; L. Grabbe, *Judaism from Cyrus to Hadrian* (1994); C. Hezser, *Jewish Literacy in Roman Palestine* (2001); I. Hjelm, *The Samaritans and Early Judaism* (2000); K.G. Hoglund, *Achmaemenid Imperial Administration in Syria-Palestine and the Missions of Ezra and Nehemiah* (1992); S. Isser, "Jesus in the Samaritan Chronicles," in: *Journal of Jewish Studies* (JJS), 32 (1981); idem, "The Samaritans and Their Sects," in: W. Horbury, W.D. Davies, and J. Sturdy (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Judaism*, vol. 3 (1999); A.T. Kraabel, "New Evidence of the Samaritan Diaspora Has Been Found on Delos," in: *Biblical Archaeologist* (March 1984); Y. Magen, "Mt. Gerizim—A Temple City," in: *Qadmoniot*, 33:2 (120) (2000(a)), 74–118; idem, "Mt. Gerizim During the Roman and Byzantine Periods," in: *Qadmoniot*, 33:2 (120) (2000(b)), 133; Y. Magen, L. Tsafania, and H. Misgav, "The Hebrew and Aramaic Inscriptions from Mt. Gerizim," in: *Qadmoniot*, 33:2 (120) (2000(c)); 125–32; L.D. Matassa, "The Myth of the Synagogue on Delos," in: *Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology 2004*, Trinity College, Dublin, *British Archaeological Reports* (2006); M. Mor, "Samaritan History," in: A. Crown (ed.), *The Samaritans* (1989); R. Pummer, *The Samaritans* (1987); idem, "Samaritan Material Remains and Archaeology," in: A.D. Crown (ed.), *The Samaritans* (1989); idem, "The Samaritans—A Jewish Offshoot or a Pagan Cult?" in: *Bible Review*, 7:5 (1991), 22–29, 40; idem, "How To Tell a Samaritan Synagogue from a Jewish Synagogue," in: *BAR*, 24:3 (May/June 1998), 24–35; J.D. Purvis, *The Samaritan Pentateuch and the Origin of the Samaritan Sect* (1968); idem, "The Samaritans," in: W.D. Davies and L. Finkelstein (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Judaism*, vol. 2 (1989); L.Y. Rahmani, "Stone Synagogue Chairs: Their Identification, Use and Significance," in: *IEJ*, 40:2–3 (1990), 192–214; D.L. Smith-Christopher, "The Mixed Marriage Crisis in Ezra 9–10 and Nehemiah 13: A Study of the Sociology of the Post-Exilic Judaeon Community," in: T.C. Eskenazi and K.H. Richards (eds.), *Second Temple Studies*, 2. *Temple and Community in the Persian Period*, in: *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*, Supplement Series 175 (1994); E. Stern and Y. Magen, "The First Phase of the Samaritan Temple on Mt. Gerizim—New Archaeological Evidence," in: *Qadmoniot*, 33:2 (120) 2000, 119–124; T. Shemaryahu, "A Masada Fragment of Samaritan Origin," in: *IEJ*, 47 (1997), 220–32; L.M. White, "The Delos Synagogue Revisited: Recent Fieldwork in the Graeco-Roman Diaspora," in: *Harvard Theological Review* (1987), 135–54.