

A CASE OF PALESTINIAN ARAB JUSTICE BETWEEN MINORITY AND MAJORITY

THE SAMARITAN HIGH PRIEST SALĀMA B. ŠADAQA AND THE ARAB TAILORS OF NABLUS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Haseeb Shehadeh

The following Arabic short story about the Samaritan high priest Salāma b. Ghazāl b. Iṣḥāq b. Šadaqa (Shalmia b. Ṭabia b. Isaac b. Abraham b. Tsedaka) was written by the late high priest Yaʿqūb b. ʿUzzi in 1960.¹ Salāma (1784–1855) actually served as a high priest between the years 1799 and 1826 and all high priests who followed him were his offspring.² After the death of Ghazāl, his father, in 1787, the Samaritans lived about twelve years without a high priest because the only heir, his son Salāma, was too young to take the office of high priesthood.³ At the age of nine, the 20th of Jumādā al-Ākhira 1208 A.H., 23 January 1793 A.D., the

¹ كتاب السامريين، تاريخهم وعاداتهم وطقوسهم واحوالهم وحالتهم الاجتماعية والثقافية، أمنياتهم وأمانيتهم، كتبهم وقصصهم المكتوبة والغير مكتوبة مع بعض اساطيرهم الخ. كتبه الكاهن يعقوب السامري [نابلس] ١٩٦٠.

(Afterwards: Abū Shafīʿ, *The Book on the Samaritans*). A copy of this hand-written book including 351 pages (the author's pagination is inaccurate) is preserved under the number 7036 in the Yad Ben-Zvi Library, Jerusalem. A brief description of the 98 Samaritan manuscripts prepared by the present writer in 1981 and in 1997 is available at the Yad Ben-Zvi Library. Ben-Zvi asked the priest to write this book, see *A. B. Samaritan News* 763–765, 1.6. 2000, p. 53. The late priest ben ʿUzzi was among the first Samaritans of Nablus that I had the privilege to learn to know in the late 1960s.

² Paul Kahle, "Die Samaritaner im Jahre 1909", in: *Palästina-Jahrbuch* 26 (1930) pp. 89–103; Y. Shavit, Y. Goldstein, H. Be'er (eds.), *Personalities in Eretz-Israel 1799–1948. A Biographical Dictionary*. Tel Aviv 1983, p. 494 (Hebrew), Reinhard Pummer, *Samaritan Marriage Contracts and Deeds of Divorce*. Volume I, Wiesbaden 1993, pp. 152–153. No mention of this high priest in Alan D. Crown, Reinhard Pummer & Abraham Tal (eds.), *A Companion to Samaritan Studies*. Tübingen 1993.

³ Cf. Ratson Tsedaka, *Samaritan Legends. Twelve Legends from Oral Tradition*. Edited, annotated and accompanied by an appendix: Samaritan Folk-Traditions: Selective bibliography by Dr. Dov Noy. Haifa 1965, pp. 48–50 (Hebrew).

orphaned Salāma started to copy the Samaritan Torah. Unfortunately, only one folio of that Torah has survived in Firkovich Sam II B 55 at the National Library of Russia in St. Petersburg.⁴

At the beginning of the nineteenth century approximately thirty Samaritan families lived in al-Khaḍra area, referred to in the Torah by the patriarch Jacob as *Hlqt al-Smrh*.⁵ The governor of Nablus was firstly Mūsā Bey Ṭūqān, followed by Maḥmūd Bēk ‘Abd al-Hādī.⁶ The tax collector in the Samaritan community was ‘Abd Ḥannūna b. Ṣadaqa al-Danfī. Salāma had fairly good relations with the governors of the district of Nablus especially because of his knowledge of astrology (*tanḡīm*) and of writing amulets (*biṭāqāt*). This knowledge of predicting the future of people by watching the stars, is expressed in some of the legends collected by Ratson Tsedaka.

Salāma’s son, ‘Imrān (1809–1874), was the high priest of the Samaritans during the period 1826–59⁷ only, although, according to the Samaritan *halakhah*, a high priest remains in his office until he dies. Salāma, known often as Salāma al-Kāhin or al-Lāwī Salāma, corresponded for almost two decades with the well-known orientalist Sylvestre de Sacy (1758–1838) in Arabic and Samaritan Neo-Hebrew (the so-called Shomronit). It is to be noted that this successful term *Samaritan Neo-Hebrew* was coined by our dear friend, the late Professor Macuch.⁸ Salāma’s correspondence, significant in various respects, was published and translated into French by De Sacy, the pioneer of Samaritan Arabic studies in the modern era.⁹ In addition, Salāma met with some European travellers who visited

⁴ On 1 verso a colophon in Arabic beginning with the common words “كان ابتداء النجل... السعيد...” ‘It was the beginning of the happy offspring ...’. This folio, 20.7 x 16 cm, written space 15 x 11 cm includes 22 lines, Gen 1:1–8. On the Samaritans during that period see Nathan Schur, *History of the Samaritans*. Frankfurt 1989, pp. 139–191.

⁵ Gen 33:19, read ‘*hlqt hsdh*’ see De Sacy, mentioned in note 7, p. 53. Abū Shafīr, *The Book of the Samaritans*, p. 27 writes حلقة هشدی and known today by the name ‘al-khaḍra mosque’, the location of Jacob’s mourning. Today these two Hebrew words are pronounced *dlqāt aššādī*.

⁶ A sketch on the middle 19th century Samaritans can be found in Mary Eliza Rogers, *Domestic Life in Palestine*. London 1989 (first published in 1862), pp. 276–306, and about Maḥmūd ‘Abd al-Hādī, the governor of Nablus, see the index, p. 414.

⁷ See Haseeb Shehadeh, “A Poem by the Samaritan High Priest ‘Imrān ben Salāma against Mubārak al-Mufarraḡī who became a convert to Islam in 1841”. *A. B. The Samaritan News* 779–782, 15.2.2001, pp. 155–144; *Studia Orientalia*, Helsinki (2003), pp. 191–206.

⁸ See R. Macuch, “Samaritan languages: Samaritan Hebrew, Samaritan Aramaic” in: A. D. Crown (ed.), *The Samaritans* (Tübingen 1989), pp. 533, 534, 540; M. Florentin, “Shomronit”: A Grammatical Description and Lexical Characterization. Thesis Submitted to the Senate of Tel Aviv University 1989 (Hebrew).

the Samaritan community in Nablus, and they left us a positive picture of the character of this high priest.¹⁰

Salāma composed prayers in Samaritan Neo-Hebrew and several of these prayers are included in the collection of Cowley.¹¹ He also wrote poetry in the so-called Middle Arabic, and a few examples are known to us.¹² Therefore, his name should be added to the list of Samaritan poets in Arabic prepared by the present writer some years ago.¹³

Salāma's marriage with Šiṣ Shelah Ab-Sakuwwa ha-Danfi (Warda Ṣāliḥ Murḡān al-Danafī) took place in 1805, as recorded in their *ketubba* (kitāb al-'arīs),¹⁴ Firkovich Sam X 66 in the National Library of Russia in St. Petersburg.¹⁵ The couple had three sons, 'Imrān, Hārūn and Ishāq. Salāma's mother, Hadiyya, the sister of Ghazāl b. Surūr, was from Gaza. In light of his correspondence, it is evident that for two decades, from 1788 until 1808, the Samaritans were forbidden to celebrate their Passover on Mount Kārīzīm¹⁶ (= Gerizim). Salāma did not know anything

⁹ Sylvestre de Sacy, *Correspondence des Samaritains de Naplouse pendant les années 1808 et suiv.* In: Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Roi et autres Bibliothèques 12 (1831) pp. 1–235.

¹⁰ Nathan Schur, *History of the Samaritans*, pp. 162–163; Ferdinand Dexinger, *Der Taheb. Die "messianische" Gestalt bei den Samaritanern.* Habilitationsschrift. Wien 1978, pp. 84–93.

¹¹ A. E. Cowley, *The Samaritan Liturgy*, I–II, Oxford 1909, vol. II, pp. xxxiii, xcvi, Solomon b. Ṭabia, priest. At the beginning of manuscript Bod. Opp. Add.⁴⁰ 99 there is a poem by Salāma, starting with אברהם בן תרח ארש הנאמנים ('Abraham the son of Terah the origin of the faithful') and it is not included in Cowley's collection.

¹² See, for example, Firkovich Sam IX 12, p. 7b and Sam XIII 58 in the National Library of Russia in St. Petersburg; manuscript No. 7023 in the Yad Ben-Zvi Library in Jerusalem, Ratson Tseḏaqa Hassafarey (ed.), *Kitab al-Tasabich (sic!) (The Book of Commendations) the Best Wishes, Commendations and Supplications to God, Written by Samaritan Writers between 10th–20th Centuries A. D. Be Copied in Old Hebrew and from Arabic, transliterated into Old Hebrew Letters.* Holon, Israel 1970, pp. 145–147.

¹³ Haseeb Shehadeh, "The Samaritan Arabic Liturgy". In: Vittorio Morabito, Alan D. Crown, Lucy Davey (eds.), *Samaritan Researches Volume V.* Proceedings of the Congress of the SES (Milan July 8–12 1996) and of the Special ICANAS Congress (Budapest July 7–11 1997). Sydney 2000, p. 282 and his place should be no. 33 and his grandson Salāma moves to no. 34, etc.

¹⁴ This is the Arabic term given by Jacob b. 'Uzzi, see Abū Shafī, *The Book on the Samaritans*, p. 250.

¹⁵ Cf. now Reinhard Pummer, *Samaritan Marriage Contracts and Deeds of Divorce*, I–II, Wiesbaden 1993–97, vol. I pp. 100, 152–153 (p. 153 line 6 read 1809 instead of 1909), vol. II, pp. 130–132.

¹⁶ See De Sacy in note 9, pages, 57 (5 occurrences), 58, 62, 63. هر جريزيم is to be found too, see p. 63. The variant ار كريزم (Ar kryzm, two separate words) is to be found in Samaritan Arabic literature. It is included in a colophon written by Jacob b. Aaron b. Shalmia b. Ṭabia b. Isaac b. Abraham in 1854. See Firkovich Sam II B 164 in the National Library of Russia

about the Karaites. He was convinced that there were Samaritans in Europe and firmly rejected the possibility of selling Samaritan manuscripts. He used the terms “al-rayyis al-ḡalīl; imām al-sumarah, kanāyis” for “the high priest (venerated head / chief); the high priest (the priest of the Samaritans); synagogues” respectively.¹⁷ Salāma was the last high priest to live in the old, dark, and damp priestly house which was divided into three parts.¹⁸ In the past that house was known by the name *haš-šem*, that is to say, *the Name of God* because holy parchments including the name of God were preserved there in a small closet. Later those parchments were placed in a small golden box in a metal closet together with other old books in the synagogue.¹⁹

Yaʿqūb b. Shafīq (ʿUzzi) b. Yaʿqūb b. Hārūn b. Salāma b. Ghazāl (afterwards, Abū Shafīʿ) was born in 1899 and died on 26th January 1987.²⁰ Our friend, the late Professor Macuch, met him in Nablus in 1968 and described him as a “critical minded Samaritan” and “open minded person”.²¹ Abū Shafīʿ served as high priest from 20th October 1984 until his death. His parents died when he was young; the father died in 1905/6 at the age of thirty-five. His mother ʿAzīza, the daughter of Murḡān b. Salāma al Alṭīf, died in 1915/6 at the age of thirty. This small family of four members used to live in a 3.5 x 2 m room. The children, Abū Shafīʿ and his younger sister, Munīra, were raised for ten years under the auspices of their mother, their grandfather Jacob b. Aaron the Levite (1840–1916) and their paternal uncle Abū al-Ḥasan b. Yaʿqūb (1883–1959). It is worth mentioning that Abū Shafīʿ’ s father, a bookseller in Palestine, visited London with three Samaritans in St. Petersburg. ‘Mount Gerizim’ as two separate words in Samaritan script is also to be found. It is in a manuscript of two folios, Firkovich Sam XIV 42 from the year 1667.

¹⁷ Ibid., pp. 59, 60, 61, 65, 132. The word *kanisa* for synagogue is common in Samaritan usage, see the one page manuscript Firk. Sam XIV 17 dated 1769 in the National Library of Russia in St. Petersburg. The terms *al-ḡabr al-kabīr*, *kanāʿis*, *kahana ʿizām*, *kāhin aʿzam*, *al-ḡabr al-aʿzam* are used by Abu Shafīʿ, *The Book on the Samaritans*, pp. 12, 14, 15, 16.

¹⁸ See *Tārīkh ḡayāʿī* by the priest Jacob the Samaritan, Nablus 1975, p. 5.

¹⁹ Ibid, p. 6. The word *ha-shem* is written in Samaritan and square Hebrew scripts.

²⁰ I drew heavily on Abū Shafīʿ, *Waṣīyyatī wa-tārīkh ḡayāʿī* found in two versions and Abu Shafīʿ, *The Book on the Samaritans*, which are at my disposal (approximately 930 pages). My thanks are due to the late high priest who allowed me to produce copies of his works in 1970. There is no direct mention of the year in which the priest was born. The one adapted to 1899 is the most reasonable.

²¹ Rudolf, Macuch, “The importance of Samaritan tradition for the hermeneutics of the Pentateuch” in: Abraham Tal & Moshe Florentin (eds.), *Proceedings of the First International Congress of the Société d’Études Samaritaines*, Tel Aviv, April 11–13, 1988. Tel Aviv University 1991, pp. 14, 15.

1903. They were Ishāq b. ‘Imrān, Nāǧī b. Khaḍr and Shelabī b. Ya‘qūb b. Alṭīf. The main purposes of this three month trip were to sell Samaritan manuscripts, to collect donations in order to assist poor Samaritan families and to open a school. Among the manuscripts sold to a British lady named Mrs. / Miss Feen / Fien²² was a small old parchment, a Finasiyye dating back to pre-Islamic times! At that time there were still four scrolls, among which the famous one by Avisha‘ b. Pinḥas, which were housed in the three or four wood and metal cabinets in the synagogue in Nablus. That synagogue, built in the thirteenth century, had room for sixty worshippers. Each head of three priestly families held one of the three keys for the three big locks of the big iron gate of the synagogue. This meant that the three representatives should be present to open or lock the synagogue.

Abū Shafīʿ received his basic education, religious and secular, in three different systems. First, his demanding religion teachers were Salāma b. ‘Imrān and Ibrāhīm b. Khaḍr. The Torah as well as prayers from Mārqe Durran were taught. Secondly, he attended a Protestant missionary school where he was supposed to learn mainly Arabic and English. The old, liberal and modest teacher Abū Nādir was not successful. Thirdly, the school of E. K. Warren founded in 1912 was considered a good place for Abū Shafīʿ to learn various subjects such as English, arithmetic, history, geography and religion, especially the basics of cantillation. That school was in two big houses in the Samaritans’ quarter, one for boys and the other for girls. The number of the pupils in each house was about seventy, distributed into three classes. The age of the pupils varied from between five to twenty years. Yet, it should be emphasized that the major part of learning and education was achieved by Abū Shafīʿ himself. He taught himself both Hebrew (called in one place, the Jewish language) and English, and was fond of reading books. In his youth, history, love stories, and novels attracted him, but later he turned to scientific and philosophical works.

In 1937 Abū Shafīʿ married ‘Afāf (Yafa)²³ the daughter of Ghazāl b. Khaḍr the priest (1924–1998) and they had ten children, five sons and five daughters.²⁴ The gap in education and in age between the new couple was great. The elder son was Shafīq (‘Uzzi) and so the high priest was known by the *Kunya Abū Shafīʿ* in

²² Abū Shafīʿ mentions that she was a missionary worker in Palestine and knew Arabic. See *Tārīkh ḥayātī* by the priest Jacob the Samaritan, Nablus 1972, p. 10.

²³ The name in Arabic means ‘virtuousness, decency’ and in Hebrew ‘beautiful’.

²⁴ See *A. B. Samaritan News* 715–717, 31.7.1998, p. 15. The boys are Shafīq, Mu‘īn, ‘Azīz, Ghazāl and Mu‘ayyid. There is no mention of the daughters in the testament but in other places. They are ‘Azīza, Amal, Salām, Ibtisām and Raǧā’.

colloquial Arabic. He tried to move from Nablus to Ḥolon near Tel Aviv in 1961. This hidden desire was hinted at in his written and recorded testament, approximately two decades later.²⁵ He declared that he wished to move to Ḥolon in order to serve as Kohen, and if it was needed even to live in a tent. This aspiration was not realized, as he confessed, because of the interference of his cousin, the priest Ṣadaqa. The real reason behind the denial of the request of the priest to move to Israel is different. Anyone who reads the biography of Abū Shafi' comes to the inevitable conclusion that the Israeli authorities needed him to stay in Nablus and continue to function as a source of information. He visited Israel after the war of 1967, met the president, Z. Shazar, the prime minister of Israel, L. Eshkol and Dr. Z. Ben Ḥayyim. Abū Shafi' worked hard for the Jewish Agency more than eighteen years, thereby endangering his life. In addition he wrote for the newspapers, the *Palestine Post* and *Davar* for more than eighteen years, and for *Ha-Aretz* for twenty-one years. His attempts to get adequate compensation were in vain.²⁶ On the other hand, he and his family succeeded in getting Israeli identity cards and new immigrant certificates.

Abū Shafi' was courageous, open-minded, liberal, frank, diplomatic and modest. It is really rare, in my opinion, to find an old man living in a traditional middle eastern society saying to his wife *ḥabībatī* or *ḥabībtī*, let alone putting it down in writing. In addition he included a small chapter entitled 'My Love Story' which had lasted seven years and were the sweetest years of his life. This long story did not end with his marriage with the daughter of his maternal uncle. Yet, while mentioning the names of his five sons one by one, he refrained from mentioning the names of his five daughters and the name of his wife.

Abū Shafi' was active in various fields. Socially, he had good relations with Jewish, Muslim, Christian, and Druze dignitaries such as Yitṣhak Ben-Zvi, Dr. Yisra'el b. Ze'ev (Wolfson), Moshe Shertuk, Menaḥem Kapeliouk, Akram Z'ētir, Dr. Muḥammad Amīn, Ḥasan al-Kātib, Father Zakariyyā, the head of Latin monastery in Nablus, and Dr. Aḥmad Ḥamza. He was among a small Samaritan delegation, Ṣadaqa b. Ishāq, Nāḡī Khaḍr and 'Abd Ibrāhīm, which met the Jordanian King Ṭalāl in 1951. On the other hand, his connections with some of his relatives

²⁵ This testament has several versions through the passage of years. The one in my possession consists of thirty pages, and it was written when the priest was eighty years old. Any special characteristics of the priest without a reference means that they are based on this testament.

²⁶ See *Tārikh ḥayātī* by the priest Jacob the Samaritan, Nablus 1975, p. 171 "كنت أمل أن اخذ" تعويضاً مهما كانت قيمته من السخنوث التي عملت في خدمته زهاء الثمانية عشر عاماً وبذلت غاية جهدي وخاطرت بنفسي في سبيل ذلك، كذلك لقاء عملي مع صحيفتي البوسط ودايار ٦٣٦ مدة اطول من ذلك."

were not free from rancour, envy and jealousy.

He wrote some hand-written books in Arabic, copied many manuscripts,²⁷ corresponded with Yitshak Ben-Zvi (1883–1963),²⁸ the second president of Israel, was a correspondent and served as a source of information in Nablus for the Hebrew newspapers *Do'ar Hay-Yom*, *Davar*, *Haaretz* and the English one *Palestine Post*. His reports about aggression, fights and robberies, which were written in Arabic, were translated into Hebrew by the Jewish journalist M. Kapeliouk. Those reports, at least at the beginning, were not published. His work in journalism caused him political hardships particularly during the general strike in 1936 and the peasants' revolt in 1938. In addition he engaged in several occupations such as palmistry, distilling and selling arrack,²⁹ and commerce. Abū Shafīʿ put it clearly – the job of high priesthood since his grandfather's time is equal to nothing, and its holder will starve if he does not have another occupation.³⁰

Among Abū Shafīʿ' s books, mention should be made of *The Book on the Samaritans, My Testament and the Story of my Life, A Partial Arabic Translation of Yitshak Ben-Zvi's Sefer Haš-shomronim*, and the *Samaritan Sacrifice of Passover* in Hebrew published in 1934.³¹ A short treatise dealing with Samaritan scholars and their Arabic writings is included in the *Book of the Samaritans*, though it is

²⁷ Such as the following manuscripts: MS Sam 1 in Seminar für Semitistik und Arabistik in Berlin, a Samaritan Torah with Tiberian vocalization from 1944; the Yad Ben-Zvi Library in Jerusalem, MSS nos. 7015, 7029, 7034, 7055, 7061, 7084, 7090. Abū Shafīʿ used to copy manuscripts as a means of livelihood. He had a nice handwriting and people, especially foreigners, came and bought what 'his pen has bled' (*yaštarūn mā yanzifuhu qalami*'). In addition, he worked five years as a scribe for his cousin, the high priest, 'Imrān b. Ishāq (1889–1980), and copied over thirty manuscripts.

²⁸ See Gabriella Steindler Moscati, "The correspondence between the Samaritans and Yizhaq Ben-Zvi. New evidence for their cultural and political relationship". In: Vittorio Morabito, Alan D. Crown, Lucy Davey (eds.), *Samaritan Researches Volume V. Proceedings of the Congress of the SES (Milan July 8–12 1996) Special Section of the ICANAS Congress (Budapest July 7–11 1997)*. Sydney 2000, pp. 365–374. Needless to say, this correspondence still needs further research, and the publication of some samples preserved in the Yad ben-Zvi Library and in the Central Zionist Archives in Jerusalem would be required.

²⁹ Called by him 'a despicable profession' (*mihna marḍūla*). The usual word that he uses for arrack is *khamr*.

³⁰ See *Tārīkh ḥayāā* by the priest Jacob the Samaritan, Nablus 1975, p. 4.

³¹ The first book is mentioned in the first note. This work was translated by A. Mani, the Hebrew teacher in Nablus, into Hebrew. This typewritten translation of 263 pages is found under the no. 7043 in the Yad Ben-Zvi Library. The name of the second book of Abū Shafīʿ is: *وصيتي وتاريخ حياتي* Nablus 1974, 394 pp. The partial translation of 61 pages is found in Manuscript no. 7088 in the Yad Ben-Zvi Library in Jerusalem. It seems that most of the books used by Ben-Zvi for writing his book *Sefer ha-Shomronim* were bought from Abu Shafīʿ.

available separately.³² Abū Shafīʿ translated manuscripts from Arabic into Hebrew, including a pamphlet entitled “Who are the Samaritans”, which was published in Ḥolon in 1965 by Ibrāhīm Ṣadaqa, the husband of one of the daughters of Abū Shafīʿ. It should be noted especially that Abu Shafīʿ has translated the Samaritan Pentateuch into Arabic and has pointed out the differences between the translations of Abū Saʿīd (thirteenth century), Rab Saʿadia Gaon (882–942) and the well-known Septuagint. This work, which took three years (1935–1938), was given to Yitṣḥak Ben-Zvi, who failed to find an adequate purchaser for it.³³ The priest decided to sell this translation because he needed money for his marriage. My continuous attempts since the 1970s to find any traces of such a translation have been fruitless.

Abū Shafīʿ produced copies of the Samaritan Torah and the Deftar (collection of prayers) with vocalization in order to teach his children and to preserve the traditional oral pronunciation. He claimed that some ‘ignorant, fanatic and reactionary persons’ forbade such an action. Their argument was that these signs of vowels are considered an addition to the holy text of the Torah (Deut 4:2, 13:1).³⁴ The priest Jacob resisted the temptation to sell old manuscripts for any sums of money (*abaytu an abiʿa al-khālida bi-l-fānī*).³⁵

The life of Abū Shafīʿ was hard and he described it more than once as a *tragedy* (*maʿsā*). As a father he did not derive much pleasure from the intellectual achievements of his sons and suggested that rational people should, in fact, give a banquet when somebody passes away. As for himself, he desired that his coffin be

³² Yad Ben-Zvi Library Manuscript no. 7033. See *Kneset* 4 (1939) pp. 321–327, notes and additions by Israel Ben-Zeʿev and Yitṣḥak Ben-Zvi. These two scholars, who were friends of the priest, Abu Shafīʿ, asked and urged him to write the two Arabic works that are available to us now. Ben-Zeʿev promised to translate AbūShafīʿ’ s biography into Hebrew and English and publish them together.

³³ Abū Shafīʿ, *Waṣīyyatī wa-tārīkh ḥayātī*, p. 175 كما ترجمت التوراه السامرية الخمسة اسفار ترجمة حديثه الى اللغة العربية مع ملاحظة الفروقات بين الترجمه السامريه لابو سعيد واليهوديه للرب سعديه والسبعينية المعروفه واشرت لكل فرق واختلاف بأشارات معينه وقد استغرقتني هذا العمل زهاء الثلاثة سنوات ؟ وقد عرضتهم على صديقي الأدون بن صابي فاشار علي بايقائهم عنده فتركتم وقتها عنده ليرى رأيه بهم. ولما زرتة في مكتبه استقبلني بحفاوه بالغة وبارك لي بالعروس ولكنه ابدى اسفه لأنه لم يستطع ان يجد لي مشتر (لترجمتي وقد أخرجها لي pp. 201–206 dealing with the differences between the Samaritan Pentateuch and the Masoretic Pentateuch.

³⁴ Abū Shafīʿ, *The Book on the Samaritans*, p. 124 (in fact it should be 224; Cf. Rudolf Macuch, “The importance of Samaritan tradition for the hermeneutics of the Pentateuch”. In: Abraham Tal, Moshe Florentin (eds.), *Proceedings of the First International Congress of the Société d’Études Samaritaines*. Tel-Aviv, April 11–13, 1988. Tel Aviv University 1991, pp. 14–15.

³⁵ Literally ‘to sell the eternal for the temporal’.

made of strong wood painted green and that the grave ought to be two and a half metres deep and one metre wide. Planting flowers, and especially roses, beside the grave would be appreciated. He did not like mourning and wearing black clothes (*lā ʿuḥibb al-ḥidād wa-lā libs al-sawād*). Therefore, he beseeched his wife, his daughters and his grandchildren not to mourn over thirty days.

In the following is the story of the High Priest Salāma b. Ghazāl b. Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Ṣadaqa and the Arab tailors of Nablus during the first half of the nineteenth century. It is presented as it appeared in Abū Shafīʿs hand-written book on the Samaritans in 1960. The only modification I made is the addition of the two dots on the *tāʾ marbūʿa* which were missing in many (40%) cases. The story would have had some interest for Palestinian dialectology had it been written in the spoken Arabic of Nablus. The stroke / denotes the end of a page and the beginning of another³⁶. The English translation follows the Arabic text.

القصة الغير مكتوبة

الكاهن سلامة بن غزال والخياطين

وهذه قصة حقيقية غير بعيدة العهد ولم يسبق ان كتبت ونقلناها من افواه الذين يحفظونها ومن سمعوها من آبائهم ننقلها عن هذا الكاهن مع القصة التي تليها. وقد اشتهر الكاهن سلامة بورعه وبساطته واتصالاته الروحية. كما اشتهر بفقره وقلة ما بيده. وكان ايضاً يتقن علم التنجيم الذي تلقاه عن ابيه غزال. فقربه لذلك بعض حكام ووجها العرب الذين يحكمون هذا البلد اليهم وساعدوه بعض الشيء في امور حياته واعاشة عائلته الكبيرة.

هذا هو سلامة الكاهن التي سبقت الإشارة اليه في ترجمة حياة والده وترجمة حياته ايضاً. وهو الابن الوحيد للكاهن غزال ولد له بعد رجوعه من غزة من زوجته هدية الغزاوية السامرية اخت غزال بن السرور صديقه. يوم امتنع السامريون في نابلس من تزويجه بواحدة من بناتهم³⁷ نظر لخلاف³⁸ وقع له مع بعض المتنفذين منهم. فرحل من عندهم واقام في غزة مدة من الزمن معززاً مكرماً من قبل السامريين فيها وازوجوه³⁹ من خيرة بناتهم ولم يسمحوا برجوعه الا بعد الحاح شديد وطنب اكيد من وجهاء نابلس الذين

³⁶ Abū Shafīʿ, The Book of the Samaritans, pp. 183–186.

³⁷ First he wrote بناتهن and then corrected it.

³⁸ This phenomenon of having the *alif* of the accusative case preceded by a preposition which governs the genitive is common in the language of Abū Shafīʿ.

³⁹ Originally without a diacritical point on the third letter.

اظهروا ندمهم واسفهم على ما بدر منهم بحقه.
 وكان الكاهن سلامة بسيطاً للغاية متديناً وورعاً الى اقصى حدٍ احترف
 الخياطة ليس لأنه يحسنها بل لأنه رأى فيها / العمل الوحيد الذي يمكنه من
 الحصول على بعض النقود لينفقها⁴⁰ على عياله اذ لا دخل له ولا اهداً من طائفته
 المدقعة الفقر قادراً على مساعدته وقد ساعده بعضهم باستئجار حانوتا
 متواضعاً جداً وصغيراً في سوق [وكالة] الخياطين في نابلس.

واشتغل ربحاً من الزمن في خياطة القنابيز للقرويين البسطاء بأجرٍ زهيد
 وبالرغم من كونه كان غير ماهراً في هذه الصنعة فقد اقبلوا عليه وجعلوا لا
 يخطون تقريباً الا عنده. فحسده جيرانه من الخياطون العرب وكرهوه
 وطلبوا اليه ان يرفع الأجرة وهددوه ولكنه لم يبال بهم فقرروا الايقاع به
 واتهامه بالسرقة ورفع امره لحاكم نابلس الجبار موسى بك طوقان. ثم دسوا له
 في دكانه بحيث لا يشعر بعض قطع القماش التي كانوا يسرقونها هم من
 زبائنهم. ثم ذهب وفدٌ منهم وقابل موسى بك طوقان وعرضوا عليه امر هذا
 الكاهن السامري الذي يسرق مال المسلمين ويستحل مالهم. وشهدوا جميعهم
 امامه على صحة ما يقولون واقسموا على ذلك.

ولم يصدقهم البيك الذي يعرفه⁴¹ لأول وهلة واغلظ لهم القول وقال لهم
 انكم تحسدون هذا الفقير المسكين وتظلموه وهو بسيط وورع وبعيد عن كل
 شبهة. فقالوا: يا سيدنا ان كنت لا تصدقنا فما عليك الا ان ترسل من توك
 ومن عندك من يبحث في دكانه فاننا متأكدين من انه يوجد بها بعض القطع
 المسروقة فاذا لم يتحقق قولنا فعندئذٍ / نحن مستعدين الجزاء الذي يفرضه
 سيدنا علينا. فقال لهم البيك "وهو كذلك" ثم أمر بعض رجاله ان يذهبوا
 ويفتشوا حانوت الكاهن فاذا وجدوا به شيئاً من القطع المسروقة التي ذكرها
 الخياطون فعليهم ان يحضروها مع صاحب الدكان. واذا لم يجدوا شيئاً فلا
 يحضروه ولا يزعموه فذهب هؤلاء وفتشوا دكان سلامة الذي لم يدري لماذا
 حضروا وعلى أي شيء يبحثوا ولما عثروا على القطع الذي وضعها المشتكون
 بايديهم طلبوا منه ان يرافقهم الى البيك ففعل. ولما وصلوا مع ما وجدوا سقط
 بيد البيك الذي اشفق عليه وسأله ان يحدثه بالحقيقة فأنكر الكاهن ان يكون
 له أي علم بها. فاغتاظ البيك الذي لم يخطر بباله انها حيلة من الخياطين وظن
 ان الكاهن يكذب وينكر عليه فرفع يده لكي يصفعه [ولم يصفع احداً وبقي

⁴⁰ لينفقها Originally.

⁴¹ These two words were added above the line.

حياً] فحاد سلامة عن الضربة واصطدمت يد البيك بالحائط وكانت الضربة⁴² شديدة بهذا المقدار حتى ان البيك مال بعدها مغشياً عليه من شدة الألم. وقبل ان يستفق من اغمائه كان احد اخوة البيك قد اقتاد الكاهن سلامة من يده وقال له انج بنفسك ايها المسكين قبل ان تقتل وفتح له الباب ومنع الحراس من معارضته فلاد الكاهن بالفرار وهو لا يصدق بالنجاة ولا يدري من اين جاءه هذا البلاء. ولما وصل الى بيته اختبأ⁴³ في داخل السرداب الذي تحت بلاطة المعدل مثل هذه الامور منذ امد طويل وظل مختبئاً فيه حتى وافاه رسول البيك. الذي عندما استفاق من اغمائه / وجد ان يده تؤله جداً وحاول ان يحركها فلم يستطع وحضر المعدلون والأطباء وعبثاً حاولوا تخفيف المة او تمكينه من تحريك يده. فسأل عن الكاهن وماذا فعلوا به (وقد خشى ان يكونوا قد قتلوه) فتقدم منه اخيه وافهمه انه قد اخرجه واوصله لبيته فشكره موسى بك على ذلك. ورجاه ان يذهب الى عنده ويعتذر له ويأتيه به لأنه يعتقد ان لا احداً غيره يستطيع ان يفيدته فاسرع شقيق البيك الى دار الكاهن وبعد لأين ما اظهره عليه وقبل باصطحابه معه. وعندما وصل اعتذر له موسى بك ورجاه ان يُحرج له على يده (يصلي ويدعو) ففعل سلامة وزال الألم وتحركت اليد وكوفىء سلامة على ذلك بنفحة كبيرة من المال والهدايا لبيته وخلع ايضاً عليه واعتقد ببرائته ولكنه ظل غير قادراً على معرفة سر وجود القطع المسروقة في حانوته حتى احضر الخياطون المشتكون ووضعهم تحت العصا فاقر بعضهم بجلية الأمر واعترف بأنهم هم الذين وضعوا القطع التي سرقوها من زبائنهم فنالوا جزائهم بما كسبت يداهم. وغرمهم بكمية من النقود اعطاها الكاهن.

وظل بقية حياته ممتناً له يمدّه بالمساعدات. اه

TRANSLATION

The Unwritten Stories

The Priest Salāma b. Ghazāl and the Tailors

⁴² It was added above the line.

⁴³ Originally اختبأ.

This is a true story of a recent period. It had not been written down before we transcribed it from those who had heard it from their parents and knew it. We present it here, as well as the following one, as some of the stories of this priest.⁴⁴ The priest Salāma was renowned for his piety, simplicity and spiritual contacts, as well as for his poverty and lack of means. He was skilled in the science of astrology, which he had learned from his father Ghazāl. As a result he was close to Arab governors and leaders who ruled this town [Nablus] and who helped him a little to meet the needs of daily life and support his large family.

This is Salāma the priest, who was mentioned above in the biography of his father's and his own life.⁴⁵ He was the only son of the priest Ghazāl and his wife Hadiyya (or Hadiyye), the Samaritan from Gaza, and the sister of Ghazāl b. al-Surūr, his friend. The child was born after the family returned from Gaza [to Nablus]. At that time the Samaritans of Nablus refrained from giving in marriage one of their daughters because of a dispute between him and some influential Samaritans. Consequently, he moved to Gaza and lived there for a period of time with respect and honour among the Samaritans. They gave him the best of their daughters in marriage and did not let him go back until strong urging and the insistence of the notables of Nablus, who expressed their regret and sorrow for what they had done to him.

The priest Salāma was extremely simple, religious and pious. He practised tailoring as a profession, not because he mastered it but because he regarded it as the only occupation through which it would be possible to earn some money to support [literally: spend on] his family, especially because he had no other income and no one among his impoverished community was able to help him. Yet, some of them did help him in renting a very modest and small shop in the bazaar on the street [*wakāla*, guild?]⁴⁶ of the tailors in Nablus.

He worked for a long period making *qanābiz* (traditional men's robes) for simple villagers for a small fee. In spite of the fact that he was not skilled in this profession, people chose him as their tailor, causing envy among his neighbouring Arab tailors, who hated him and asked him to raise his fees and who even threatened him. Since he did not pay any attention to them, they

⁴⁴ It is entitled "The story of Salāma al-kāhin with Ḥusain Abd al-Hādī, pp. 187-196. Two other stories in Hebrew about Salāma are included in Ratson Tsedaka, *Samaritan Legends ...*, pp. 49-56.

⁴⁵ See pages 65-66. One line is devoted to Ghazāl and four lines to his son Salāma. That is why rendered *tarḡamat ḥayāt* which means biography or survey.

⁴⁶ The exact meaning is unclear.

decided to cause him harm by accusing him of stealing and by complaining about him to the governor of Nablus, the oppressor Mūsā Bey Ṭūqān. To make the charge, they secretly placed in his shop some pieces of cloth that they had stolen from their own clients. Then a delegation from them went and met Mūsā Bey Ṭūqān. They presented to him the matter of this Samaritan priest who steals the property of Muslims considering such action as lawful. They all testified and swore in front of the governor that they were telling the truth.

The Bey, who knew the priest, did not believe them at first sight and rebuked them harshly. He said to them: You envy this poor and humble person and treat him unjustly. He is simple, pious and above any suspicion. They answered: Our lord, if you do not believe us, you can immediately send⁴⁷ some of your men to search his shop. We are sure that there are some stolen goods [pieces] in it. If our statement turns out to be false, then we would be ready to accept the punishment that our lord imposes on us. The Bey agreed and commanded some of his men to go and search the priest's shop. He instructed them that if they found any stolen goods as charged by the tailors they were to bring both the stolen goods and the owner of the shop. If they do not find anything, they should not bring the priest and bother him. They went and searched Salāma's shop though he did not know why they came and what they were looking for. When they found the stolen pieces that the complainants themselves had put there, they asked him to accompany them to the Bey and he did. When they arrived before the Bey with what they found, the priest stood in front of the Bey. The Bey, feeling pity for the priest, asked him to tell the truth. The priest denied having any knowledge of the stolen goods. The Bey, who did not suspect that the charge was a trick by the tailors, became furious and thought that the priest was lying and refused to acknowledge the truth. So he raised his hand to slap him [nobody he slapped remained alive], but Salāma moved aside from the blow. The Bey's hand hit the wall. The blow was so hard that the Bey fainted because of the intense pain. Before he regained consciousness, one of his brothers led the priest Salāma by the hand and said to him: Go away and save yourself, you poor man, before you get killed. He opened the door for him and ordered the guards to let him go. The priest took to his heels, not believing that he was safe. He did not know what the source of this misfortune was. When he arrived home he hid in the cellar below a tiled floor which had been intended for such purposes for a long time. He remained in hiding until a Bey's messenger showed up. When the Bey regained

⁴⁷ The literal translation is 'then you have to' and this is unreasonable here.

consciousness he felt a great pain in his hand. He tried to move his hand but could not. Orthopaedic therapists and physicians tried to cure him but their attempts to mitigate the pain or enable him to move his hand were in vain. Then the Bey asked about the priest and what they had done to him. (He feared that they might have killed him.) His brother came close to him and informed him that he took the priest to his home. Mūsā Bey thanked him for doing that and requested him to go and apologize to the priest and fetch him, believing that no one else could help him. The Bey's brother hurried to the priest's house, and after some difficulty the priest showed up and agreed to accompany him. When he arrived, the Bey apologized to him and asked him to appeal to God and pray for healing. Salāma did so, and the pain vanished, and the hand was healed. Salāma was honoured and rewarded with a large sum of money and gifts for his family and an outfit for him. Though the Bey believed in Salāma's innocence, he could not understand how the stolen pieces came to the shop. Yet when the Bey brought the tailors who had complained and started beating them with a stick,⁴⁸ some of them unveiled the truth and confessed that they themselves had placed the pieces that they had stolen from their clients in the shop. They received a punishment which they had brought upon themselves, and they paid a fine which was given to the priest. After that the Bey remained grateful to the priest and extended to him a helping hand. END.

Finally, it is perhaps not superfluous to mention that the last High Priest, the late Cohen Sallum Ben 'Imrān (Shalom Ben 'Amram, 1923–2004), was a member of the Palestinian parliament. The new high priest, El'azar Tsedaka ben Isaac ben 'Amram ('Abd al-Murīn Ṣadaqa, 1927–) and all his community, Israelies and Palestinians, speakers of Arabic and Hebrew will be, as any minority in the world and in particular in the Middle East, the first ones to welcome real, just and comprehensive peace between Israel and the Palestinian authority and the Arab World. Shall we witness justice, peace and security in the Holy Land?

⁴⁸ Literally 'he put them under the rod'.