STUDIES IN SAMARITAN SCRIBAL PRACTICES AND MANUSCRIPT HISTORY: V

Samaritan Bindings: A Chronological Survey With Reference to Nag Hammadi Techniques

By A. D. CROWN, M.A., Ph.D.

HEAD OF THE DEPARTMENT OF SEMITIC STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF SYDNEY

Purposes and Methods

It is not our purpose here to produce a propaedeutic study of Samaritan binding techniques, though such a function could develop incidently from detailed descriptions of phases in, or aspects of, binding. The purpose is that of codicology itself, namely, the establishment from data drawn from dated manuscripts of chronological reference points with which undated manuscripts and bindings can be compared and dated as accurately as is possible. Throughout this survey, therefore, emphasis is placed first on whatever chronological information is to be derived from studies of methods and materials, rather than on the artistic merits of a given binding or binding style.

To obtain our data we are obliged to take account of two sets of evidence. The first, and a self-evident, corpus of information is that provided by the manuscripts themselves. The second is information about binding styles and methods from non-Samaritan sources where it can be reasonably illuminating beyond the realm of hypothesis. This second source is used sparingly to avoid our being taken beyond our limited purposes.

In considering the evidence provided by the manuscripts we find ourselves examining the paper, leather and parchment used in their construction, even though these are the objects of separate consideration elsewhere in this series. The point of this additional study is that we now see materials in their use as casings round a manuscript text block rather than as folios of the text block itself. We study what the craft-binder calls "forwarding processes" in the manufacture of the casing of the manuscript and here the materials used in the structure provide us with quite a different set of data on the relationship between format and raw materials, data from which we make our chronological judgements.

To assemble the evidence, a pro-forma questionnaire (presented below) was drafted on the basis of the experience gained in a preliminary examinations of dated manuscripts. In the event it proved to be inadequate in at least one respect. It turned out to be necessary to take account of the various restorations of manuscripts, and categories of restorations, carried out by Samaritan scribes, for binding and restoration were found to be closely related activities of the scribes. Without a survey of this activity a substantial body of evidence, some of it among our oldest information about binding techniques, would have been lost.

SAMARITAN CODICOLOY PROJECT: II. BINDINGS

1. Format: Unbound/Islamic flap/Western codex/roll/prepared book.
2. Spine: Tight back/hollow back/bands/other indications.
3. Boards or cockled sides.
4. Case: Materials: front
   back
   flap
5. Linings: Inner/flap/boards.
6. How are the contents attached to the boards?
   i. End paper and fly—tipped or sewn.
   ii. Hinged? Materials and methods.
   iii. Quarter hinge.
7. Are there head bands? Head caps?
   Materials of bands—any board inner to head bands?
   Are the head bands drawn from kettle stitches?
8. How many stitch holes? Thread type and colour?
9. How are the stitches attached to the inner linings?
10. How are the first linings attached to the boards?
11. Glues and pastes? What indications of wet glueing?
12. Internal guards and patches?
13. Tooling and blocking? Creasing?
14. Trimming out; doublures and paste-downs?
15. Are there manuscript linings?
    The age of the MS. linings?
    Are these homogeneous with contents?
16. Are the first and last sections renovated?
17. How are the new pages attached?
18. How are intermediate pages tipped in?

General Considerations

Despite the volume of evidence gathered with the aid of the proformas, it was not as easy to integrate the data in an overview —into a general picture of Samaritan binding history and techniques—as we would have hoped. The possibility of fitting each piece into its proper place depends on having at least a basic chronology of methods and techniques before us. Yet, this was not available at the beginning and there are still substantial gaps in the broad frame, let alone in the details.

In the first place, we have no direct evidence at all of the nature of the coverings supplied to Samaritan manuscripts before the twelfth century—if there were any such coverings.[1] It is true that we may draw reasonable conclusions from the late evidence which faces us, but codicology involves establishing data bases using inductive processes with dated materials, and places as little reliance as possible on deductive processes, though these are unavoidable. It is also true that we might be able to extrapolate evidence from the treatment of manuscripts by non-Samaritans in the same geographical region, but such results might be misleading in that the Samaritans tend to be conservative and developed their imitative techniques long after their neighbours made use of them. In any case it seems that early Samaritan binding methods show a closer affinity to those of the Nag Hammadi binders than to those of their Islamic neighbours.[2] Even relatively late bindings show these affinities, but since we have no direct, firm evidence of Samaritan techniques before the twelfth century, we are not able to draw the lines of relationship that would have been helpful and desirable. This lacuna also places limitations on our exposition of such limited linguistic evidence as there is: there are some terms which *do* relate to bindings and there are some which *might* do so, and the latter should be treated with caution.

We differentiate in this study between codices and scrolls. The latter were not, and are not, bound but were provided with removable cases. These cases might well have been the model or

[1] See below for a detailed examination of this problem.

[2] Although this matter is discussed more fully below, it is evident that further direct examination of the manuscripts—in particular the unbound ones—is necessary so that more positive conclusions can be drawn from the evidence currently available. The writer hopes to be in a position to undertake such a study in the near future.

analogue for the loose coverings which we know were provided for many codices. But there are too few scroll cases extant to have more than curiosity value for us in this study.[3]

If numbers alone could have been a guarantee of a worthwhile database, there would have been an adequate corpus of manuscripts in the libraries of Europe and the Americas to have sustained a detailed codicological examination. Unfortunately, most Samaritan manuscripts in western libraries are not in their original covers. Many important manuscripts, in particular the older ones, were acquired at times when private collectors considered it *de rigueur* to replace oriental bindings with whatever was the current western vogue.[4] Some manuscripts may have had their bindings replaced in the oriental style, and these may not be clearly distinguished as secondary bindings.[5]

Some libraries, such as the British Library and the Bodleian, apparently changed their policies and a complete rebinding of manuscripts gave way to such restoration as was absolutely necessary to prevent damage and decay. Hence, in these manu-

[3] Apart from scroll cases in Samaritan hands, three others are known. An account of one, at East Lansing, Michigan, has been published by R. T. Anderson, *Studies in Samaritan Manuscripts and Artifacts — The Chamberlain-Warren Collection, (ASOR Monographs)*, 1978. Anderson discusses the work of his predecessors who had examined this case. See also my supplementary comments in "Notes and News", *Bulletin*, lxv (1982-83), 2-3. A second scroll case was once, apparently, on loan to the Smithsonian, according to the *Proceedings of the United States National Museum*, xxxiv (1908), 708-709. It is now in the Jewish Museum, New York. Strangely enough, it is of similar age and provenance to the first. Unfortunately, one cannot rely on the transcription of the names in the *Proceedings*; the name of the craftsman who made the case was probably Joseph b. Ab Sakhweh of the Meter family (not "Joseph b. Abaspoh of the tribe of Patar".) A third case is mentioned by Harkavy, in his Appendix to J. Nutt, *A Sketch of Samaritan History, Dogma and Literature* (London, 1874), p. 174.

[4] The bindings of the Samaritan manuscripts formerly in the Crawford collection, now owned by the Rylands, are an eminent example of the way in which an important collection of manuscripts of diverse dates and provenance was brought into uniformity. These bindings are a group of brilliantly designed and executed blind-tooled bindings by a first-class binder, but they leave us with no way of recapturing the data relating to their original bindings. They are carefully restored, guarded and resewn, the new sewing being so tight that it is difficult to locate the centre bifolium of a quire let alone count the number of sewing holes in the original sewing.

[5] See the discussion below of Leiden Or. 249.

scripts we may sometimes be able to identify original features beneath the new materials; for example, in Bodl. Sam. MS. e.10 the old spine can be traced beneath the new one, but all the inner linings of the case are new and of no interest to us.

There are good reasons for concluding that some Samaritan manuscripts were provided with bindings for the first time when they came into western hands, for, as we propose to show, a large number were never bound at all.

All too few manuscripts from before the seventeenth century have retained their original bindings. The greatest number of original bindings currently available for study are those which came into western collections when there was some awareness of the need to conserve. We are dealing, then, with a preponderance of eighteenth-, nineteenth- and twentieth-century bindings. Despite these limitations, we can suggest that comparison of the many later bindings with the few earlier bindings still extant indicates some stability in binding techniques, but not an absolute resistance to change.

Ironically, it is to the benefit of the student of Samaritan codicology that one substantial collection of manuscripts, almost all of which are in their original bindings, suffered badly from heat and water damage during the bombing of London during World War II. This, the Gaster collection in the Rylands Library, comprises manuscripts most of which are modern, although there is a leavening of older texts and bindings, which makes for a representative cross-section of Samaritana from the early seventeenth century onwards. Fortunately, it has proved, as yet, to be beyond the resources of the Library to restore these damaged manuscripts. Some of them are now disbound (for example, Gaster 812; Ryl. Sam. MS. 34) and others are so close to being disbound that it is possible to see with clarity most details of linings and sewings. This makes for a situation where scholars can study the Samaritan binder's art with some facility.[6]

[6] It would be appropriate here to record my thanks to Dr, Frank Taylor, former Keeper of Manuscripts and Librarian of the John Rylands Library, and to Miss Glenise Matheson, the current Keeper of Manuscripts at the Library, for permitting me to examine all their Gaster manuscripts, even the damaged ones, with a degree of thoroughness. Without their kind permission and assistance it would have been rather more difficult than it has been to write this study of Samaritan bindings.

It is also a matter of good fortune that the Samaritans do not seem to have developed their binding into an art form. Their bindings seem to have been strictly functional, so that it is possible to suggest reasons why different stages of the binding developed, allowing us to expand our horizons a little in assessing the chronological evidence.

Bindings are notoriously difficult to date. There are problems common to all students of bindings as well as those specific to Samaritan bindings. One relates to the dating of the tooling and blocking on the covers. Blocking or stamping tools were small, durable and portable. They could be transported long distance to contemporaries or passed on by sale or inheritance to the next generation, so that similar motifs, produced with the same tools, could reappear in different periods. We find, for example, that one tool which looks rather like the hoofprint of a goat, tends to appear on eighteenth-century Nablus bindings. Since we have no knowledge of the date of the instrument itself, it becomes daring to argue that an undated binding on which the tool was used must stem from the eighteenth century. Identity of tooling may be informative but not definitive, for we are not at all *directly* informed about the provenance, date and subsequent fate of the stamping tools used on Samaritan bindings.

One specific factor which complicates the dating is the well-attested predilection of Samaritan scribes, who, in most instances appear to have been binders, for restoring and refurbishing older manuscripts. While their calligraphic restorations are easily distinguished, their physical changes to the manuscript are not always so easily traced and can mislead even those long acquainted with Samaritan manuscripts. In particular, the covers on a dated manuscript may not be those supplied by the original scribe-binder, and if the manuscript is an older manuscript the chances are that it was never bound at all in the original state.

This and the preceding problem are readily illustrated by Ryl. Sam. MS 28 (= Gaster 1133) (see plate 1). In Robertson's description of this manuscript[7] he wrote, "The manuscript is in its *original binding* [our italics] save that the spine has been renewed and, in the rebinding, the manuscript has been too tightly bound for free use." He could be correct in this assessment of the

[7] E. Robertson, *Catalogue of the Samaritan MSS. in the John Rylands Library, Vol. 2, The Gaster MSS* (Manchester, 1962), p. 10 (= CJRL).

Plate 1. — Rylands Sam. MS. 28; note the warping of the flap where stamped.

age of the binding, but the tooling and the treatment are little different from those of MSS. B.N. Sam. 24, 15, 48 and Klagsbald 1 and 2,[8] with a period of at least four hundred years separating the Rylands' manuscript from these bindings. It seems probable that the Rylands manuscript is not in its original covers, but that this fourteenth-century copy was rebound, early in the nineteenth-century, by the scribe Amram b. Salamah b. Tabyah, who restored the text in 1846 according to a note in the manuscript.[9] One

[8] In the Klagsbald, Jerusalem, collection. I am grateful to Mr. Klagsbald for permitting me to examine his Samaritan manuscripts extensively.

[9] Note also that Amram was involved in the rebinding or restoration, or both, of B.L. Or. 10271; Ryl. Sam. MS. 14; B.L. Add. 19010; Bodl. Sam. MS. e.3; Ryl. Sam. MS. 20; Nablus 21; and he was scribe and/or binder of at least ten other manuscripts.

should notice that one of the parallel binding styles noted above, that of B.N. Sam. 48, was that of Amram's father, Salamah b. Tabyah, who copied the manuscript before binding it. The only apparent basis for Robertson's conclusion is the secondary (tertiary) restoration in which the spine was replaced, affecting the ease with which the covers close. That secondary restoration destroyed the original lining papers covering the inside of the case, so that we are reduced to the precarious procedure of relying on tooling for dating; but there is no reason to believe that the restoration which Robertson took to be secondary was other than tertiary for the manuscript and secondary for the binding. Thus, the binding would have been restored between Amram b. Salamah's 1846 restoration and Gaster's acquisition of the manuscript.

The assumption that the scribe was also the binder is based on the observation that restoration was often directly related to the binding process and that, though some scribes seem to have specialised in restoring manuscripts, they were scribes rather than restorers (see below). Of all the terms for binders, *per se*, which occur in the Islamic literature on binding,[10] none can be said to be found indubitably among the Samaritans. In other words, there does not seem to have been a group of binders who were distinct from scribes.

There is one doubtful exception. In the chronicle of Abu'l Fath, f. 174,[11] in a discussion of sectarian opinion, the chronicler, in speaking of Sakta, a heterodox Dosithean leader, records a controversy in which Sakta spoke disparagingly of the container for the Torah Scroll and of works which had individual leaves (codices). One of the terms used for the leaves of the codex is *El Waraq*, a word which also may refer to a bookbinder when it carries both *Aleph* and a doubled *ra*.[12] Since even the covering of a scroll appears to be an innovation arousing Sakta's wrath, and the appearance of the codex likewise is an object of scorn, we may exclude the idea of binding from the reckoning.

[10] The evidence is examined in G. Bosch, J. Carswell and J. Petherbridge, *Islamic Bindings and Bookmaking* (hereafter I.B.B.) (Chicago, 1982), pp. 4-13.

[11] All references to Abu'l Fath's chronicle here are to the edition of P. Stenhouse, *The Kitab Al Tarikh of Abu'l Fath*, Sydney, Ph.D., 1980, and to his translation, published Sydney, 1981.

[12] *I.B.B.*, loc. cit.

It is interesting that among Samaritan family names not one refers to the function of binding, though such negative evidence is not necessarily conclusive. (Samaritan families were named, apparently, both after eponymous members (who can sometimes be identified in the Samaritan Chronicles) or after some identifiable characteristic or function).

The identity of the scribe as the binder is indicated, at least for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, by those manuscripts which carry a note in the scribe's handwriting to the effect that the *'or* of the manuscript is "ritually pure".[13] In possible contrast to like references from earlier times (discussed below), the *'or* in these manuscripts on paper cannot refer to parchment leaves. The only leather in their construction is in the binding. Thus, the ritually pure leather is the binding. Many of these common notes include the information (*mutatis mutandis*) that the purity is guaranteed because the scribe prepared it himself, something he would be unlikely to have done unless he were actually involved in the binding.[14] This conclusion is supported by the evidence of similarity between bindings on late manuscripts written by the same scribe, or bindings on manuscripts which have had extensive restoration of the "core" type (see below), at the hands of the same scribe. Sometimes, as noted above in the case of Ryl. Sam. MS. 28, manuscripts written by father and son are bound in a similar fashion.

From this conclusion it follows that we are in a position to name the binder of Samaritan manuscripts of the eighteenth

[13] E.g. Bodl. Sam. MS. e.11, the lining of the envelope flap carries the inscription, "pure skin from the sacrifices of the Samaritan community in Shechem." Does this form of wording also suggest that the manuscript was written for sale? It is interesting that the custom of using virtually pure leather, *'or tahor'*, mislead Robert Curzon into believing that the declaration as to the nature of the leather was the scribe's name. See Robert Curzon, *Catalogue of the Materials for Writing on Early Tablets and Stones, Rolls and other Manuscripts* and *Oriental Books in the Library of the Hon. Robert Curzon, at Parham in the County of Sussex* (London, 1849), p. 14, item B. Curzon gives the scribe's name as *Uru Tahor*. The manuscript is now B.L. Or. 8738.

[14] Cf. Jacob b. Aaron in Nablus 15 (the Nablus references here are to the Hebrew University listing in the Institute for Hebrew Microfilms) where he says, "I made this Pentateuch from pure leather." On the other hand, in MS. Sassoon 30, the word *'or* might actually mean binding, for Jacob b. Aaron's words about this manuscript incline us to believe that the binding is called the *'or*.

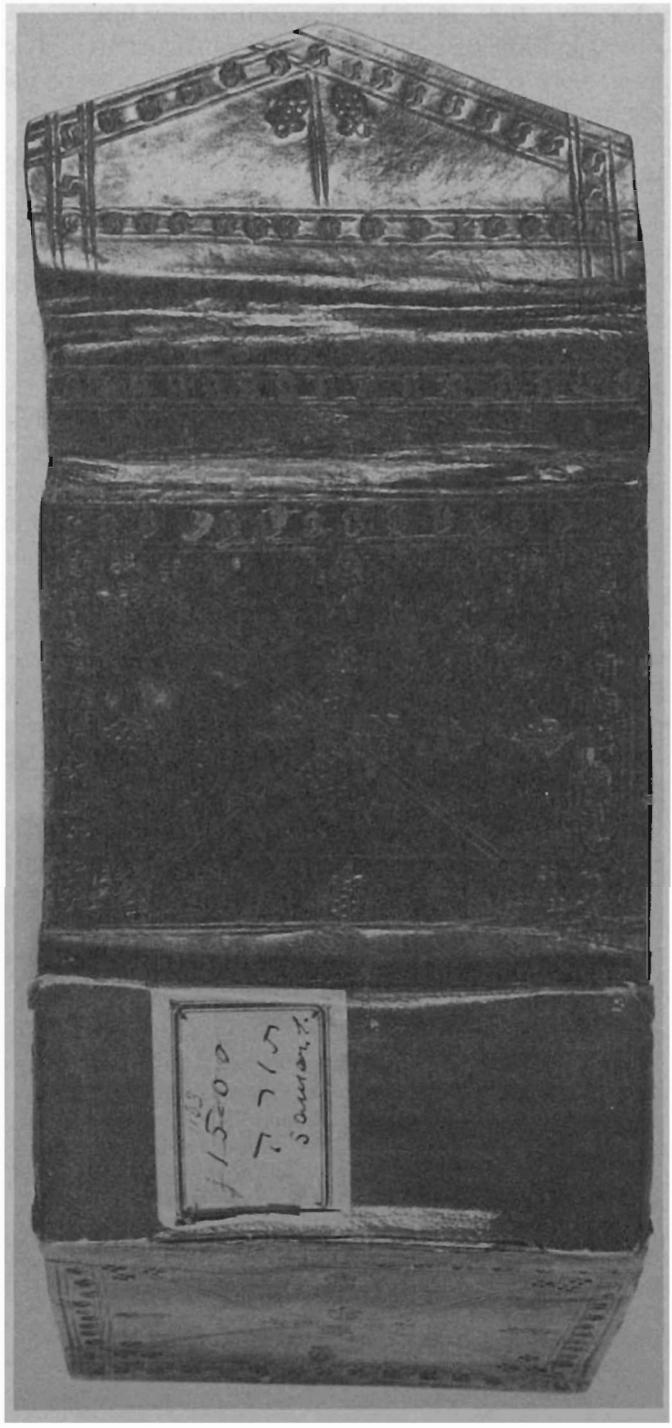


Plate 2. — Rylands Sam. MS. 28. Note the tooling.

century and later—the scribe, and, in the case of older manuscripts still cased Samaritan style, the restorer. In one interesting example, B.L. Or. 8738,[15] which no longer carries a Samaritan binding, references to ritually clean skin would lead us to conclude that it was originally bound by its Samaritan scribe in 1760 A.D. Additional evidence in support of the argument that the scribe is also the binder will appear from subsequent discussions.

Even though the scribes appear to have been their own binders, the evidence of the casing styles and methods, presented below, suggests that the binding of manuscripts was undertaken after they were completed rather than before writing began. Scribes do not appear to have written in complete and bound books except in the very latest period of Samaritan scribal activity.

Scribal Restorers and Restorations

Restoration in Samaritan manuscripts can run the gamut from the patching and protecting of a few damaged folios, intended to prevent further deterioration when the manuscript was in regular use, to the "rebuilding" of a manuscript around a core of surviving folios from an older text. With the proviso that some form of restoration is a feature of scribal activity in all ages, it seems to be possible to trace several phases in the development of scribal restoration techniques with moderately well-defined chronological intervals. For only the last two of these phases can we offer detailed evidence about the bindings.

From the earliest manuscripts available we can see that, whatever the contents, minor damage, including the loss of folios, was made good by scribes.

In the best-preserved of the older parchment manuscripts the most common form of damage and deterioration was the splitting of parchment leaves along the folding of bifolia, and sometimes the loss of leaves if the splitting was not repaired. Sometimes the leaves themselves cracked and tore. Tearing was treated in the way which seems to have remained the common treatment for this problem, namely, oversewing with thread to prevent the tear extending, though the sewing was often crude.[16]

[15] See n. 13 above.

[16] A good example of such treatment is to be found in the Scott-Watson manuscript in the New York Public Library (= NYPL 11010).

The loss of leaves was made good by the restoring scribes who replaced the missing text. There is ample testimony to restoration of this type. This would appear to be the import of the fists, designated Y^1 and Y^2 by Von Gall,[17] in Bodl. Or. 140. Folios in fist Y^2 were written specifically to relate to fist Y^1 to fill a lacuna of the section from Gen. 27:32-31:1. Likewise, we see that MS. B.Z. 10,[18] which was written *c.* 1231-1232 A.D. by Israel b. Abraham, was restored to the extent of five folios by the High Priest, Pinḥas b. Eliezer, in 1505-1506 A.D. A couple more folios were replaced by Abraham Qabaṣa in 1551-1552. So, too, the Leningrad manuscript, 37 Φ II was restored in 1474 A.D. by Abd Neṣṣana b. Sadaqa, and again by Abd Yahweh b. Abd Hayehuv at an unspecified date, but certainly in the fifteenth century. In these, as in most of the restored manuscripts of the period, restoration was on quite a small scale. Only a few manuscripts have scribal restoration of a more substantial nature, such as B.N. Sam. MS. 15, in which we see major restoration from the fifteenth century to the nineteenth. This manuscript is probably the most extensively restored of the early texts. By and large we do not find manuscripts showing evidence of having been extensively restored before the sixteenth century, though there are many older manuscripts showing extensive restoration from later periods. In general, it may be suggested that the first period of restoration closes about 1500 A.D.

These facts suggest that any manuscript beyond the possibility of simple restoration, that is the replacement of one or two quires at the outside, was put into storage. While there is some evidence that storage could simply be a matter of placing the manuscripts on shelves in the synagogue, or even in the ark, where they are known nowadays as *razē Hashem* (God's secrets), there is also evidence that accumulations of badly damaged manuscripts reached substantial proportions, and we may speak of such accumulations, wherever they were, as *genizot*, in analogy to the Jewish usage of the term, though the Samaritan term was *maṭamrah*, מטמרה, which means the same as *genizah*, viz., a hiding place.[19] A scholium in Cambridge MS. Add. 1846 refers to the

[17] A. F. Von Gall, *Der hebräische Pentateuch der Samaritaner* (= HPS), Giessen, 1918.

[18] Now in the collection of the Bible et Terre Sainte, Paris.

[19] See the comments by Harkavy, Appendix 1, in Nutt, op. cit., p. 152, n. 1. On the modern Nablus Genizah, i.e. fragments stored in the ark at the Nablus

manuscript as having been in the *maṭamrah* when the room caught fire. This manuscript was probably secreted because it lacked the first and last sections, both of which were supplied in a restoration of the first type. A *genizah* is known to have existed in Nablus[20] and is also assumed to have existed in Damascus,[21] and it may be that there was one in Cairo. Whether the failure, at this period, to restore badly-damaged texts indicates any concept of a state of ritual uselessness, *Pasul*, פסול, among the Samaritans, or whether their attitude was governed by the technical problems and economics of restoration, we cannot now say.

Some scribes in later eras were renowned for their restorations, but no specific term for "restorer" [of manuscripts] seems to have been used by the Samaritans.[22] The term (*mutatis mutandis*) *metaqen miqratah* was used of some scribes—for example, Jacob b. Ab Zehuta, the Danfi, *c.* 1402 A.D., and Joseph b. Ṣadaqa, one of the Segiana family, *c.* 1401 A.D., but this term should probably be translated as "Correctors of the sacred scriptures" and not "restorers", for we find corrections in various hands. Likewise we find a comment by Jacob b. Matana in connection with MS. Sassoon 403, that he had found the manuscript replete with omissions and duplications and that he "*Katav Yatah 'al hakosht*"—"*made it right*". Almost certainly this is not a reference to restoration.

Restoration was described as "making good the lacunae in", in such terms as "*mal'ē hesron*" or "*Kellal hamigr'a*", or, more fully, "*Kellah mah 'ithger'a ... veheshiv ...*".[23] Pinḥas b. Eleazar, a High priest whose period of office was broken by a spell in exile, was able to use this lack of an exact term for a restorer, when he restored MS. B.Z. 10 in 1505-1506 A.D., by playing on the ambiguity of the verb *kll* which can also mean "to complete the

---

Synagogue, see R. Kashani, "The Samaritans", *Bitefusot Bagolah*, 56/57 (1971), p. 213.

[20] Firkowitsch collected most of his Samaritan MSS. in Nablus and Cairo. Harkavy, op. cit., p. 153, gives his opinion that the manuscripts came out of *genizot*.

[21] Cf. J. Fraser, "Documents from a Samaritan Genizah in Damascus", *P.E.Q.*, 1971, pp. 85-92.

[22] The term *Taheb*, sometimes translated "restorer", refers only to the Messianic figure and is unrelated to manuscripts.

[23] Cf. MS. 37 Φ II 23, for this phrase. See also Cambridge, Westminster College, R. 15.1; Sassoon 30, etc.

writing of", giving the false impression that he was the scribe rather than the restorer. It is probable that those priests or Levitical priests whose function seems to have involved a special responsibility for the sacred texts (which clearly included codices as well as scrolls) were also charged with the responsibility for restoring damaged manuscripts. We find several references to priests and Levitical priests such as Ṣadaqa b. Yusha b. Metuḥiah b. Tabiah, b. Abraham, *c.* 1489 A.D., who are described as "caring for", or "servicing" the sacred books (*shartē hamikhtavim haqedoshim*)[24] [*mutatis mutandis*]. Sometimes the same person is identified as a scribe or his fist can be recognized in a correction or mild restoration.

Although we have nominated the first period as being one of small-scale restoration and have suggested the sixteenth century as its prime chronological boundary, we must remind ourselves that our definition of periods of activity depends on quantitative measures; that is, the period when any given type of activity was at its height, and simple, small-scale restoration could continue to be found in later periods. Thus, even in the nineteenth century (*c.* 1808) we note that a manuscript such as Cambridge, Westminster College, R. 15.1, had ff. 306-308 replaced with a paper insert among its parchment leaves.

The second period of restoration seems to have begun only after European travellers and scholars made the first non-Renaissance contacts with Samaritan communities in the sixteenth century.[25] Both the style of restoration and its purposes changed and we may expect the persons involved in restoring changed, including not only scribes but business agents, though this point is not yet firmly established.

From the time that Guillaume Postel became interested in the Samaritans, *c.* 1567 A.D.,[26] there began to develop a steady demand for their manuscripts among western savants, who either

[24] See MS. BZ. 23 (= *Sepher Hashomronim*, p. 290); N.Y.P.L. 11010; Berlin Or. fol. 534, etc.

[25] Various brief accounts of this contact are available. See J. A. Montgomery, *The Samaritans* (Philadelphia, 1907), pp. 3-4. The present writer has some additional information on this matter in his *Manuscript and Cast Type, A Short History of the Samaritan Type Faces*, as yet unpublished.

[26] Cf. J. Fr. Michaud, *Biographie Universelle Ancienne et Moderne*, Graz, 1968. Article G. Postel.

visited the Levant themselves or had their agents purchase manuscripts on their behalf, either from the communities in Nablus and Damascus or in Gaza and Cairo.[27] It is probable that the Samaritans were reluctant to supply their "brethren" in Europe with copies from their stock of good manuscripts—there are indications that they were somewhat sceptical about the information being fed to them.[28] So they took out of storage manuscripts too worn for normal use, and prepared them for sale and despatch to their "brethren". If we may judge from Bodl. Or. 140, Barberini Or. 1, or B.N. Sam. MS. 3, all of which seem to have come from a *genizah/maṭamrah* in Damascus, this second phase of restoration involved the reconstruction of a text block which was substantially intact.[29]

In general, it was the beginning and the end of each manuscript that was deficient, either lacking folios or being badly damaged. Restoration involved replacement and/or repair of leaves. Quite frequently the first and last folios of the intermediate quires were also damaged or lost. Restoration was undertaken by cannibalising some manuscripts so that others could be restored with the parts. Where necessary, sections from several of the manuscripts being cannibalised would find their way into one restored manuscript, and a whole group of manuscripts could be restored at the same time using folios from the same cannibalised sources. From Bodl. Or. 140, for example, we can see that up to ten hands are found in the restoration. Allowing for the fact that the two older hands, (Y^1 and Y^2) are from small-scale restoration of an earlier period, we can see that at least eight other manuscripts were culled for leaves to restore this one text. Presumably seven other manuscripts were restored at the same time and are now scattered in libraries across Europe and the U.S.A.[30]

In this type of restoration it was seldom possible to obtain a perfect match between the heterogeneous elements which went into a single manuscript whether in materials or in wording. Paper

[27] Cf. Nutt, op. cit., pp. 111-3. Cf. also A.C. Hwiid, *Specimen Ineditae versionis Arabico-Samaritanae Pentateuch* (Rome, 1978), pp. 6-8.

[28] Cf. S. de Sacy, *Correspondence des Samaritains de Naplouse* (= *Notices et Extraits de Divers Manuscrits Arabes et Autres*) (Paris, 1829), p. 180.

[29] A good survey of the manuscripts in the Damascus genizah and their restoration is to be found in Fraser, op. cit.

[30] Cf. MS. Garrett 4, 5, 8 (Princeton), Ryl. Sam. MS. 7 for relics of manuscripts which were cannibalised.

could be mixed with parchment, the quality of the parchments varied, and even the ink colour might differ. Occasionally we find that some words are overwritten—retouched—to attempt to bring some unity to the ink colour. Some original folios were consecutive with the newly-supplied leaves, but this was rarely the case. More often than not, there was some duplication in the wording on the scale of a few words to three-quarters of a page. Sometimes there was a lacuna between the new material and the text into which it was being embedded. Duplicated material was simply crossed out, usually quite crudely, with no attempt at artistry. In Bodl. Or. 140 we find an erasure of half a page in this way. Adventitious treatment of this type should be taken as a characteristic of this phase of restoration. Lacunae were made good by the restoring scribes.

It is assumed that the cores of the cannibalised texts were put back in *genizot*, for we find these battered remnants reappearing in a later generation. One day, when machine-readable catalogues are fully developed, it will be possible to link these cores with their offspring and describe in detail the fate of each cannibalised manuscript.

So far as can be ascertained, currently, none of this extensive sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century restoration, at least as far as Pentateuchs are concerned, involved rebinding the restored text. All manuscripts now in western hands from this series of restorations are supplied with western bindings. Whether that is simply because of the custom of the collectors of the day replacing bindings or whether it is because the restorers did not supply bindings, it is not now possible to say.

Some of the potential evidence is lost, and there is uncertainty regarding the rest. Not all the newly-restored manuscripts which included cannibalised sections went to the western world. Some were bought by other Samaritans, and their defects and imperfections are readily acknowledged in their deeds of sale. Of these, many came into western hands at later dates and now have western bindings. It has not yet been possible to connect any of those that remained in Samaritan hands with a binding contemporary with this phase of restoration, though this may be possible in the future. There are several liturgical manuscripts which had extensive restoration of a parallel type; there was, as yet, no western interest in these and they were intended for use in

prayer. Again, we cannot correlate any of their current bindings with this period, for all were rebound in subsequent restorations.

We do have the fairly clear testimony of the Bodleian Pentateuch, MS. Laud 270. This was restored in the fashion described, by cannibalising parchment leaves for a text written on paper. The parchment leaves which were inserted at the beginning and end of the manuscript were somewhat shorter than the paper folios. One new leaf was provided by the restoring scribe at the beginning and he wrote several additional paper leaves to supplement the cannibalised folios. It would be reasonable to suppose that the restoration (at the hands of Isaac b. Salamah b. Jacob, of whom we have no further knowledge) was completed before the manuscript was sold. However, when Archbishop Laud acquired the manuscript—not later than the date and signature at the front of the manuscript, namely, 1633 A.D.—he found it necessary to repair the text by replacing six folios (183-188 incl.) in his own hand. Laud's own notes in the codex indicate that the manuscript once contained information about the scribe and the restorer, information that must have been on the folios which he replaced, as it is no longer available to us. These circumstances would indicate that subsequent to the restoration by Samaritan scribes the last six folios were loosened, damaged and had to be replaced.

Had the manuscript been bound (or rebound) during its Samaritan restoration, such damage would have been unlikely to have occurred. We may infer, therefore, that the manuscript was not bound as part of this process of restoration. Presumably it was sold to Laud's agents unbound and was damaged in transit before it reached Europe. Whether this one instance should be taken to be characteristic of the binding of manuscripts in the whole phase of restoration is arguable, but there are good grounds for believing that it *was*, as will be shown later.

The third and fourth types of restoration were carried on simultaneously. They differ in type rather than in representing epochs in time. However, there are two totally distinct phases to be identified in the third type, in which the matter of purpose and intent is of more importance than that of method. We must note also that there are examples of the fourth type from the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century.

The third and fourth types seem to become evident in the eighteenth century, to reach their peak in the early nineteenth,

and to wane at the end of that century. The third mode was the rebuilding of a manuscript from a small central core; it involved the addition of extensive new materials to replace what had been lost. We cannot be certain that the core materials came from *genizot*, but it is most probable that they did. It is also probable, though not yet proven, that some of these cores were the remnants of the cannibalised texts which had supplied the materials for the previous phase of restoration.

It is on the matter of intent that the third type of restoration falls into two phases. The first began at a time when the Samaritans were a diminishing community. Their Diaspora was contracting and there were communities principally in Gaza, Jaffa and Nablus. The prime purposes of the extensive retoration which we call "core restoration" must have been to sell the finished product rather than to preserve a manuscript for the community —though the latter is not unknown. In a scholarly market eager to acquire Samaritan manuscripts, almost any text would have brought a price. However, a well-restored and rebound manuscript would, evidently, command a better price than a fragmentary core.

There are several good examples of the first phase of "core restoration" which allow us to see that it also included the provision of a binding. One example is the Pentateuch now identified as Petermann I. This has two hundred and thirty nine folios in two hands. The first, that of the main scribe, has no identifying colophon, but clearly indicates that the scribe wrote in Nablus in the century between 1300 and 1400 A.D. The second hand is that of the restoring scribe, Salamah b. Jacob b. Ab-Sakhwa (Murjan), who completed his restoration in 1172 A.H. = 1761 A.D. Of the original text, only a little more than half (139 ff.) remained before his restorer began his task of recreating a whole manuscript by adding one hundred new folios. A second example, of almost the same date, is the Topkapi Serai manuscript Gi 101 which was completed in 1171 A.H. = 1760 A.D. Of the two hundred and fifty one folios in this manuscript, only ninety-nine belong to the core, which was probably written in the coastal Diaspora in the early thirteenth century (by Abraham b. Israel, *c.* 1216 A.D.). The remaining one hundred and fifty one folios are in the hand of Ṭabiah b. Isaac b. Abraham, who is known to us both as a major restorer and as a creative scribe.

This phase of the third type of restoration continued until

the mid-nineteenth century when the "core restorations" were devoted to the community and no longer sold to European scholars. Jacob b. Aaron, the High Priest, observed in one of his scholia that he had restored nine manuscripts to date and these were *ḥerem*, devoted to the synagogue for the use of the community. The occasion for the change was probably concern at the drying-up of the supply of old texts, especially after Jacob es Shelaby's[31] selling expeditions to Europe in 1855 and Firkowitch's raid on the Nablus *genizah* in the late 1860s. Almost all restorations from the second phase of "core restoration" are worked round manuscript cores which are not as badly damaged as were those of the first phase, and almost all this group of restored late medieval manuscripts are still in the hands of the Samaritans at Nablus. Among them we note MS. Nablus 12, which had twenty-four folios replaced by Jacob b. Aaron; Nablus 16, which had forty folios restored by the same scribe; Nablus 15, which had twelve folios replaced by him; and Nablus 6, which had fourteen folios replaced. In almost every case the quires at the beginning and end were damaged and replaced. Most of these manuscripts were bound by the restoring scribe, probably for the first time.

In this phase we also see a renewal of creative copying: the older restored texts were kept by the Samaritans but the copies were sold abroad. The vast preponderance of Samaritan manuscripts in libraries, especially in the Americas, is the fruit of this copying. The sources from which the copies were made were now being guarded with some zeal.

In suggesting that the fourth type of restoration coincided chronologically with the third, our definition is again quantitative in suggesting a period when this type of restoration was most concentrated. There are clear examples from the sixteenth century. The fourth type was of a less dramatic and radical nature. This phase consisted of the careful conservation of torn and worn folios in manuscripts in communal use. Folios were patched, corners protected by strengthening and reinforcing them with paper, and the worn tops and bottoms of folios were, likewise, reinforced

[31] Some of the background to Shelaby's visit to Europe is to be found in E. T. Rogers, *Notices of the Modern Samaritans* (London, 1855), pp. 50-55. Several manuscripts are known which are inscribed in Shelaby's hand to generous patrons.

and, where necessary, missing text was supplied. There are examples where a text that was complete, on folios in poor condition, had to be covered by reinforcing material as no other anchorage for the strengthening piece was available. The obscured text was rewritten on the new material, sometimes with variants in the replacement text. So, for example, in Bodl. MS. Huntington 350, pt. II, f. 33. The guards in the corner of the folio were apparently put there when Part I (1562 A.D.) and Part II (1596 A.D.) were joined together. The guard on this folio is in the hand of the scribe of Part I, but the text on the guard has some variants from the text it masks.[32]

A most important element of this lesser restoration was the supplying of guards to protect the sewing, especially at the kettle stitches, where the greatest strain was placed. This guarding of the folds of leaves and sections is to be noted also in the third type of restoration, especially at the juncture between the new materials and the core text. It would seem to be directly related to providing bindings for the manuscripts.

In no case was this activity other than *ad hoc*, for patches and guards, even within the same manuscript, are generally of different sizes and have been cut specially for the places to which they are supplied in the repair. Not infrequently the guards of reinforcements are cut from manuscript pages, often from the pages of calendars, which were of ephemeral utility. With care (and the cooperation of librarians, which is not always forthcoming) it should be possible to date the guards and the patches. Thus, we could arrive at a *terminus a quo* for the restoration of a manuscript when there is no other chronological datum relating to it.

This fourth phase tended to be the work of a small group of scribes who specialised in manuscript restoration. Their purpose was almost certainly to maintain the ubiquitous paper manuscripts, rather than any question of improving saleable items. By the early eighteenth century parchment manuscripts were no longer being written, and paper leaves, deteriorating more rapidly than parchment, needed constant attention to keep texts in use.

[32] Some detail can be seen beneath the loosened guard. It would have to be lifted fully to be able to describe all the variants. It would seem that the two texts in the MS. must have been united not long after the completion of Pt. II, as the scribe of Pt. I would have been in middle life when Pt. II was written.

We have some indications of the rate at which deterioration of manuscripts on paper took place. In general, one hundred years was about as long as a paper textbook could continue in use before its condition made restoration necessary. A clear testimony to the speed of deterioration is provided by Bodl. Sam. MS. f.4, written in 1179 A.H. (1766 A.D.) and restored in 1294 A.H. (1877 A.D.). This manuscript of the book of Numbers was probably a school text and needed restoration within a century and a quarter. Bodl. Sam. MS e.13, a liturgy for the seven special sabbaths, was probably in less frequent use, yet needed attention one hundred and twelve years after it was written, and was treated yet again by western binders after its acquisition by the Bodleian.

The life of a manuscript in daily use, such as a liturgy, may have been quite short, which may well account for the fact that we have so few complete manuscripts of the liturgy from before the eighteenth century.

While we cannot exclude the profit motive as a factor in this type of restoration, there is ample evidence that it was not of major concern. Of more concern was the state of a manuscript and, sometimes, its provenance.

For example, B.L. Or. 10271, a sixteenth-century Pentateuch, was recovered from Gaza by the Levitical priest Ṭabyah b. Isaac, in 1766, when the Gaza community came to an end. It was restored by the priest shortly afterwards. Ṭabyah's scholium in the manuscript leaves us with the impression that his motive in restoring the text was concern at its state and the desire to restore an old text to a useable condition, though, as we have seen previously, Ṭabyah was actively engaged in phase I of the "core restoration" of manuscripts.

Among specialists in this fourth style of restoration we note the names of scribes who were also active in the third type, especially phase II. The most commonly noted specialist restorers were the Levitical priests, Jacob b. Aaron, Salamah b. Amran b. Salamah, and Salamah b. Ṭabyah. In general these men added scholia to the restored manuscripts giving detailed descriptions of how much of the text they had replaced and, often, a note of how long the restoration had taken. Where no colophon was supplied, we are sometimes able to name the restorer on the basis of his treatment of the manuscript. Thus, it is likely that Salamah b. Ṭabyah was the binder-restorer of many of the small-format

Pentateuchs of similar appearance restored between 1783 and 1845 A.D. However, we must be cautions about this judgement.

A fifth, and final, phase in restoration should be noted, although restoration is perhaps not quite an apposite term. This was the assembling of a miscellany of unrelated fragments, leaves, and sections into a volume which was then bound and sold. The purchasers were usually travellers and tourists in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, who eventually passed on their "treasures" to libraries, where they are now to be found in some numbers. The folios of these gallimaufries were sometimes remnants from restored manuscripts or, we may suppose, sometimes were simply loose leaves which had fallen out of manuscripts and not been replaced. Very often these manuscripts are provided with a title page, but only occasionally is the content homogeneous enough to relate at all to its title page. More often the contents are disparate, with no connecting theme from folio to folio or from section to section. An example of such a fragmentary manuscript containing homogenous material is B.N. MS. Sam. 26, which is entitled "Liturgy, part 4" (= Shavuot) and is built around a core written by Mufarrij ibn Joshua b. Mufarrij in 1759 A.D. One sees from the catchwords that many pages are not in consecutive order; several manuscripts are represented in the fragments and one whole section (ff. 11-17, the manuscript has 46 folios) which does not belong to the core has been inserted. Despite the obvious lack of congruity, a Samaritan scribe has provided consecutive pagination in Arabic numerals to give a semblance of continuity. This type of manuscript (which in this instance appears to betray the hand of Jacob es Shelaby) is not far from being a forgery, since the consecutive numbering was probably done with the intention of deceiving a buyer.

A classic example of the heterogeneous text is Princeton University MS. Garrett 5, a veritable congeries which incorporates liturgy, pages from Pentateuchs, and pages from biglotts and triglotts of various ages. But manuscripts of both types can contain literary treasures and should not be despised.[33]

[33] In MS. Garrett 5 there are three pages of the important manuscript of the Targum used by A. Tal, *The Samaritan Targum of the Torah*, 3 vols., Tel Aviv, 1980-83, as his principal manuscript. These pages were probably displaced from this source and bound into the MS., which was then sold. Other leaves include an early translation of the Arabic Pentateuch.

Forms, Structures and Materials

General Considerations

Since very few Samaritan manuscripts have escaped some sort of restoration, whether on a major or a minor scale, the foregoing presents us with some chronological data with which we can compare undated manuscripts for indications as to when restoration took place. If the manuscripts were bound in the process of restoration, we can examine the bindings for some refinement of these chronological horizons. If unbound, or if bound at times other than those at which they were restored, then there are still data to be adduced from our store of information about bindings, their materials and the forwarding processes involved in sewing and turning the loose folios into a text block and thence to a bound text block.

In general it must be suggested that the materials used in bindings and the forms of the bindings supplied to manuscripts are less stable chronological factors in Samaritan bindings than are the forwarding processes used in their manufacture. It may be observed, in a detailed study of individual cases, that there is a high degree of conservation in the forwarding processes employed by Samaritan binders that makes it possible to allow comparisons between such matters as their sewing and that of the Nag Hammadi codices.[34] On the other hand, there is a steady chronological change in regard to materials employed in binding and types of binding which were supplied to Samaritan manuscripts. For all that, we are always dealing with flexible data which defy too precise chronological definition, and we are seldom, if ever, in a position to draw precise temporal boundaries for the use of any material or any binding styles, though we may get close to such a situation.

Having regard to the need to establish typologies as broadly as possible and to make time separations as firm as the evidence will allow, the less stable data relating to materials and forms is treated before any consideration of the forwarding processes. It is true,

[34] See T.C. Petersen, "Early Islamic Bookbindings and their Coptic Relations", *Ars Orientalis I* = Smithsonian Institution Publication no. 4187, for a description of the binding practices at Nag Hammadi. Some of these practices bear direct comparison with those of the Samaritans.

though, that such a separation, while convenient, is also a little artificial, in view of the self-evident interdependence of method, material and style in binding.

It may be seen from a sustained examination of a number of Samaritan bindings that the following are useful, if somewhat imprecise, chronological indicators:

I. The general style and format of the binding and of the materials used in creating the whole manuscript casing.
II. The use of boards constructed by the binder by laminating single leaf materials, as against the use of manufactured board of commercial availability, for the rigid structures to which the covering materials are attached; in effect, the nature of the sub-casing.
III. The date of the papers used for the linings, doublures and pastedowns.

I. Styles of Binding and Format

We have no current means of knowing the nature of the bindings on early Samaritan manuscripts, or even if they were bound at all. It may be conjectured that, as in most other things which they adopted from within their milieu, the Samaritans were conservative and ideas diffused amongst them rather slowly. It might be reasonable to argue that, as with the Jews, the Samaritans were reluctant to adopt the codex form for the sacred Pentateuch; after all, the scroll is still the accepted vehicle for mediating the Samaritan Torah in the *Kinsah* and this fact seems to indicate the same conservatism which preserved the Jewish scroll form. If it were, as accepted orthodoxy has it,[35] that there was little Samaritan writing until the fourth-century flowering of Marqah b. Nana and his composition of the *Memar*,[36] with the

[35] The accepted view of Samaritan literary history is put succinctly by Montgomery, op. cit., pp. 314-5, in his résumé. A more elaborate exposition, which, ultimately, is even more conservative, about the origins of Samaritan literature, is to be found in Ayelah Loewenstamm, "Samaritan Literature", *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 4 (abstracted in the Samaritan newspaper, *Aleph-Bet*, nos. 247-8, 1979).

[36] Cf. J. MacDonald, *Memar Marqah*, Berlin, 1963. MacDonald suggests that one should look only at the period 2nd-4th century A.D. for Marqah. Loewenstamm, op. cit., gives a wider latitude of 1st-4th centuries, but in her article "Markah" in the same encyclopaedia says clearly that Markah wrote his *Memar* in the fourth century A.D.

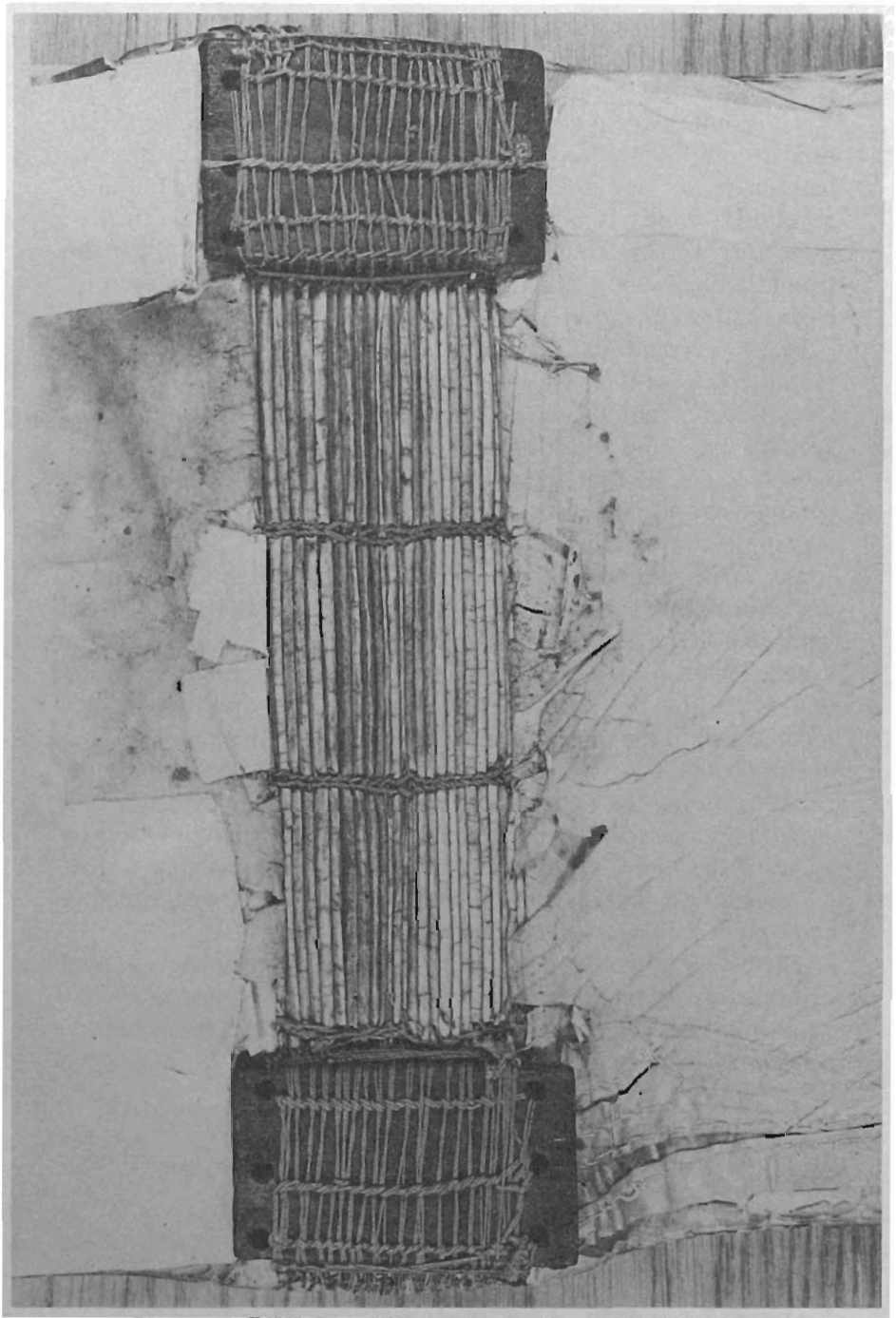


Plate 3. JNUL Sam. MS. 2°2 showing head and tail blocks.

weight of literary exposition to come only in and after the eighth century A.D., there would have been little pressure to adopt the codex form at a comparatively early period in its development. Yet it is quite evident (see below) that the codex was known to and used by the Samaritans in the lifetime of Sakta, the Samaritan heresiarch of apparent Dosithean lineage. In Abu'l Fath's account,[37] which is not without its difficulties and obscurities, there are several references to the veneration accorded to the palm fronds, which were the handles for the rollers of the Torah scrolls, by his followers and even by some of his opponents.

In the account of Sakta and his heretical followers we are permitted to see the zeal with which a group of religious fanatics fought to prevent the scroll being displaced by the codex. The account begs the question—when did Sakta live? Again, the accepted view is that the Dositheans, from whose ranks Sakta sprang, were a first-century A.D. sect.[38] Unfortunately there is no way of determining the chronology of the sub-sects. Sakta's heresy seems to be related to that of Levi, a son of Baba Rabba and nephew of the priest Aqbon—if the heretical Levi is identical with Baba's Levi. There are good reasons for finding external synchronisms for some of the events of Baba's lifetime in the first half of the third century A.D.,[39] hence, Sakta would have to be reconsigned to the third century, and perhaps to the middle of that century. Such a date for a controversy over the adoption of the codex form for the Pentateuch would well suit the evidence of a common milieu for the development of similar scribal practices by some of the Greek-Byzantine scribes and the Samaritan scribes who wrote the Torah codices and, perhaps, developed what we can only see as Massoretic canons of their own.[40]

The evidence would also suit a reconsideration of the accepted orthodoxies about Samaritan literary history. If one considers with care the recondite materials in the account of Sakta's heresy, it becomes evident that there was a fixed corpus of liturgy which

[37] See Abu'l Fath, Stenhouse's ed., p. 175 = translation p. 228.

[38] See the summary of the evidence in J. S. Isser, *The Dositheans* (Leiden, 1976), pp. 106-11.

[39] Cf. Stenhouse, op. cit. (translation), n. 876.

[40] See my "Studies in Samaritan Manuscripts III. Columnar Writing and the Samaritan Massorah", *Bulletin*, lxvii (1984-85). New evidence shows the technique well established in Palestine by 409 A.D. Cf. A. Alt, *Die griechischen Inschriften* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1921), p. 10.

was adapted and changed by the heretics, sometimes with the approbation of the orthodox successors of the movement.[41] Such a fixed liturgy, as like as not, would have been written down.[42] Since the breaches of conservatism which were allowing the Torah to be written in codices were currently being assailed, one must assume that other parts of Samaritan literature, especially the liturgy, were regularly written in codex form.

Even if the Samaritans adopted the codex structure in the third century A.D., this is by no means indicative of their having adopted a style of fixed binding for manuscript covers. If we may extrapolate from a reference in the second-century B.C. work Enoch 89:70 to the Nag Hammadi codices, and the rather conservative Mandean tradition,[43] we are given the impression that a common, perhaps the only, pre-Islamic style of binding in the Near East, was to wrap codices in cloth or leather covers, and then, perhaps, to enclose the cloth-wrapped codex in a container.

It is beyond our current concerns and our exiguous data to discuss whether such a wrapper was a more efficient way of coping with the friability of papyrus leaves or with the inclination of vellum folios to curl. Suffice it to note here that the wrapping of an unbound codex in a "swaddling" cloth is one of the styles of binding known to have been used by the Samaritans. Whether it was the earliest style is arguable. There is some evidence for the storage of manuscripts in containers (see below), which might either have been an extension of the custom of wrapping them or which might have developed independently. The following suggested chronological order for Samaritan binding styles must be seen in the light of this possibility:

i) Loose silk or cloth wrappers used to wrap round unbound codices.
ii) Detachable covers which slipped over codices to provide a firm but moveable casing, or a box ensclosure.

[41] Among the prayers said to be abrogated were "Moses prescribed a Law for us", which is still to be found in the Samaritan liturgy embedded in an Aramaic prayer, which indicates its antiquity. See A. Cowley, *The Samaritan Liturgy* (Oxford, 1909), pp. 115, 468. Another abrogated prayer, "Blessed be his name forever" (unless it be only a response), is no longer in the liturgy.

[42] There is a suggestion in Abu'l Fath that Sakta composed a Qinah for the liturgy (p. 174).

[43] Cf. E. S. Drower, *The Mandeans of Iraq and Iran* (Leiden, 1962), p. 23, and Berthe Van Regemorter, "La Reliure des Manuscrits Gnostique Découverts à Nag Hammadi", *Scriptorium*, xiv (1960), 215-34, especially 226.

iii) Islamic flap bindings; that is, bindings with a triangular "envelope" flap which attached to the fore-edge of the rear cover of the manuscript and lapped around the front of the manuscript, protecting both the fore-edge and the text block.
iv) Western style casing of manuscripts written in single section or in multi-sectioned note books.
v) Paper bindings of manuscripts in the western style.

i) Loose Cloth Wrappings

In the discussion of restoration, it was seen that some manuscripts deteriorated very badly indeed, and even in those which needed but small-scale restoration there was a tendency for the first and last folios, or even the first and last quires, to be quite eroded. It is difficult to believe that such localised deterioration was possible if manuscripts were bound with any sort of attached, hard, protective covers. We must conclude that it was not uncommon for Samaritan manuscripts not to have been bound in any fixed way. They were either handled in an unbound state, allowing the loosening and loss of folios, or else had detachable covers. The latter would allow manuscripts to be stored with a degree of protection, but moderate wear would ensue every time a manuscript was released from its cover and used. There are still extant a number of unbound Samaritan manuscripts which have survived the passion of librarians for rebinding. Examination shows no sign of these manuscripts ever having had bindings. In some cases, where we note small-scale localised damage to their beginnings and ends, we seem to have support for the view that they had been protected either by loose wrappings or some sort of detachable case or box.

Among these manuscripts we may cite Haverford College MS. 22, fourteenth-century, which lacks its first three folios and several folios at the end; Smithsonian Institute, Accession no. 216,164, a small-format fifteenth-century Pentateuch; Chester Beatty 751, a Pentateuch of early thirteenth-century provenance which had five missing final folios restored; Chamberlain Warren CW2473, a fifteenth-century Pentateuch; Chamberlain Warren CW2478(a), a fifteenth-century Pentateuch; and Hebrew University Sam. 2°2, a fifteenth-century Pentateuch. These are among the older extant Samaritan manuscripts and are probably a representative sample, since they cover a span of three hundred years.

The red cloth wrapping round H.U. Sam. 2°2 is obviously not the original wrapper, but, almost certainly, follows a Near Eastern tradition, already noted, of wrapping codices in cloth and, therefore, represents the early stylistic phase of Samaritan binding. This wrapper, which is made of two pieces of red silk, each about 80 × 81 cm., was not just a wrapping fortuitously to hand, but was dedicated to this purpose, as is evinced by the inscription embroidered thereon, namely,

חתורה הקדושה השער המשיג / אל רתות יהוה ורחמותו /
הצדיקים יבואו בו / ברוך יהוה נותינה / ...

That is, "The sacred Torah is the gate through which one may aspire to God's mercy and charity. The righteous shall come within it—blessed be God Who gave it". Wrapped inside this wrapper, around the codex, are four other coverlets in various stages of disintegration; they apparently were replaced in sequence as they wore out, but were not thrown away. It is possible that they represent two or three centuries of coverings. The other coverlets had no inscriptions.

It may have been the custom to put inscribed and worn coverlets into the *maṭamrah/genizah*. Vilsker[44] has described a red coverlet for a Torah, a red silk cloth which was embroidered in gold. The inscription indicates that it was once in use in the Damascus synagogue, but, no doubt, it came to Leningrad from the *genizah* at Nablus and Firkowitcz's raid. Vilsker argued that this coverlet, described in its own inscription as a *beged*, בגד, = "cloak", "coat", "covering", was intended to be used for a codex, not for a scroll.[45] It is possible that he is correct in arguing for the use of that particular coverlet on a codex, but, it must be remembered, scrolls were not only placed in metal cases but also had outer cloth wrappings, often with inscriptions embroidered in gold. The preferred colour for these, likewise, was red.[46] Inner

[44] L. Vilsker, "A Samaritan Inscription on Silk" (Russian), *Palestinskii Sbornik*, xxvii (90) (1981), 109-13.

[45] Despite the conclusion reached in the text, it should be noted in favour of Vilsker that the word Pinḥasiah, embroidered on the coverlet, is clearly to be associated with codices, but is not yet associated with scrolls. See the discussion in *S.H.*, p. 2644.

[46] The Abisha scroll case has an outer silk wrapping. Whether this is the same as that seen by J. Mills, *Nablus and the Modern Samaritans* (London, 1864), p. 310, it is not easy to say. It seems to be remarkably clean and may have been replaced. Incidentally, the Damascus Synagogue was given a new scroll case in

wrappings beneath the red could be green. It should also be noted that in the Samaritan chronicles[47] we are told that Jacob b. Aaron, the High Priest, "made a box [or container] for the sacred [Abisha] scroll, out of silver, with three parts and a coverlet". The word for coverlet here is *beged*. This usage is repeated in the same chronicle when speaking of an ark for all the scrolls, which had a double coverlet or curtain for the sacred scrolls, one inside the ark, the other outside. The evidence does not allow us to say clearly that the *general* term for manuscript coverlet—whether scroll or codex—is *beged*. Our unequivocal examples relate to scrolls only, but do not exclude the use of the term for codices.

Jowett,[48] Mills and Macalister,[49] observed that they had seen and/or handled codices covered in cloth. Jowett saw several codices so wrapped lying on a shelf in the *Kinsa*. Mills handled two manuscripts both wrapped in silk coverings. None of the observers mentioned whether the manuscripts had any other sort of binding, though we are given the impression from subsequent comments that the manuscripts had no coverings other than the cloth wrappers. However, the Samaritan copy of the Walton Polyglott, which, presumably, was bound, was kept wrapped in white linen, according to Macalister. There is no evidence that cloth wrappers were anything other than loose coverlets, yet there has been a suggestion by one European traveller, John Bagford,[50] that he had seen Islamic manuscripts in linen wrappers which were sewn to the manuscripts as a casing. This suggestion is usually disregarded as being a faulty observation.[51] However, it is possible that such a practice may yet be noted among the Samaritans.

There is a self-evident tendency for unbound works to be of a large format—folio rather than octavo—though the evidence of

---

1524 A.D. (see n. 3 above) and it is rather likely that a new *beged* was needed for the case forty years later in 1567, to replace the one supplied with the new case.

[47] Cf. A. D. Crown, *A Critical Edition and Translation of the Samaritan Book of Joshua* (= *S.B.J.*), Sydney, Ph.D., 1967, pp. 165-6.

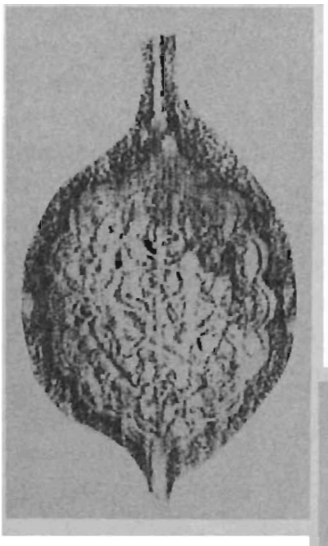
[48] W. Jowett, *Christian Researches in Syria and the Holy Land in 1823 and 1824* (London, 1825), p. 197.

[49] Op. cit., pp. 308-9. See also S. A. Macalister, "Gleanings from the Minute Books of the Jerusalem Literary Society", *P.E.Q.*, 1911, pp. 30-1.

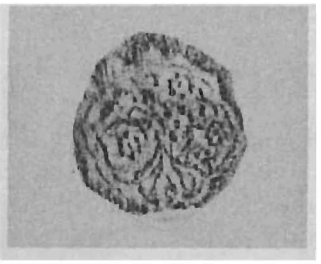
[50] Cf. C. Davenport, "Bagford's Notes on Bookbindings", *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, vii. 1904.

[51] Cf. *I.B.B.*, p. 55.

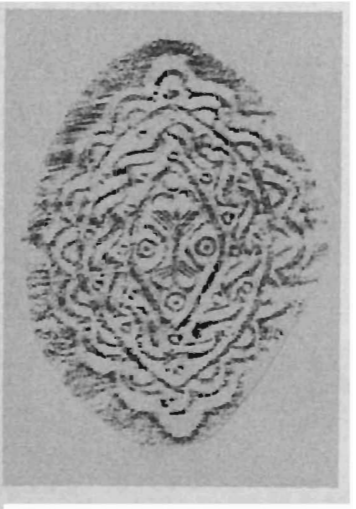
CHAMBERLAIN WARREN
MS. 10262
FRONT PANEL



CHAMBERLAIN WARREN
MS. 2481
CENTRE OF FLAP: PANEL



DROPSIE SAM. 6
REAR PANEL



CHAMBERLAIN WARREN
MS. 2481:
FRONT PANELS

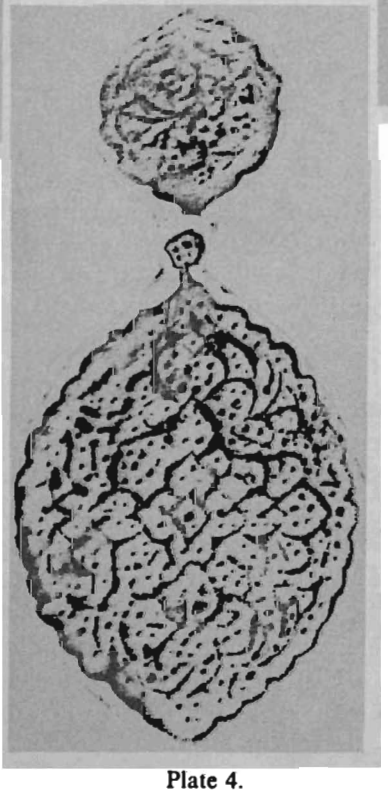


Plate 4.

the Smithsonian manuscript points to the fact that manuscripts of any size could be left without a binding. One must also note that unbound manuscripts are invariably Pentateuchs. We have no unbound manuscripts of the Chronicles, commentaries and liturgies of parallel age to the early Pentateuch codices. However, it is likely that neither size nor content was a factor in deciding whether a manuscript was bound or not. The most influential factor was almost certainly the nature of the material used for the leaves. If parchment, the more resistant of the writing surfaces to material damage, then the manuscript was probably left unbound but wrapped in a loose cover. If paper, a material more vulnerable than parchment, then a stronger cover might well have been indicated. However, the shortage of older paper manuscripts means that the evidence is by no means as secure as one would wish. If these suggestions as to why some codices were left unbound are correct, there are two possible corollaries. The first is that we see here an example of material affecting the format. The second is that there is every likelihood that the Samaritan codex never had a stage in which it had papyrus leaves. Instead, parchment may well have been the material first employed in Samaritan codex making. Were this not so, we would expect to find, at the very least, a binding of the sort found on the Nag Hammadi codices on the earliest Samaritan manuscripts available to us.

B.L. MS. Or. 1444, a large-format Pentateuch dated to 1495/6 A.D., currently bound in a leather Islamic flap binding, shows signs of having been considerably dilapidated. Almost every quire of this paper manuscript has lost a folio—usually its first—and its current binding is the work of a nineteenth-century restorer. Yet, the dilapidation probably occurred when the manuscript did have a binding of sorts. The reinforcement and guarding of the edges of the folios indicate heavy damage to the foredges and to the top and tail, of the sort which occurs to the text blocks of Samaritan manuscripts which are in bindings in which the turn-in does not project beyond the text block to afford protection.[52]

[52] For the terminology of binding used in this discussion see B.C. Middleton, *The Restoration of Leather Bindings* (= *R.L.B.*), especially his drawing of a volume and its parts—frontispiece; Eric Burdett, *The Craft of Bookbinding*; and *I.B.B.* The terminology is that commonly used in bookbinding literature except where it is specifically modified in *I.B.B.* for Islamic bindings, or where new

It may well be that the Samaritan scribal tradition of leaving the first folio of the manuscript unwritten[53] developed because of the danger that first folios were easily lost through wear. In other words, the blank first folio was, in itself, a variety of soft binding.

ii) Detachable Covers

There is some indication that unbound manuscripts were sometimes provided with a hard cover that was not attached to the manuscript by over-sewing or lining, but which was in the nature of a slip case or box. Again, we might cite the Mandean tradition, in which manuscripts were not only wrapped in loose wrappers but also put in boxes. Such a development should be anticipated for loose-wrapped Samaritan manuscripts when we consider that manuscripts were transported long distances. Thus, Samaritan manuscripts written in Damascus found their way to Gaza, Cairo, and back to Damascus. The deeds of sale and scholia in manuscripts leave us in no doubt as to their mobility. The need to transfer a manuscript would, like as not, soon have led to the development of some sort of container for protecting the contents. Even in its new home the manuscript may have remained in its container. Such a container, if used as the storage for a manuscript which was taken from it to be read, must be considered to be a form of binding. There is some evidence that the postulated box did, in fact, exist, and it was probably made to fit a specific manuscript which would have been both swaddled in wrappers and packed with loose, retaining material.

We know that MS. Cambridge Add. 1846 was kept for a while in a box in the *genizah*, for this is clearly stated in a scholium.[54]

---

terms are needed to describe Samaritan practices. It is clear that some terms, such as "kettle stitches", have quite a different application in Samaritan and Islamic bindings. However, the common term has been preferred to the "endstitch", and "headband" has been preferred to "endband" as there seems to be no gain in diverging from the common terminology in these instances.

[53] Cf. Mills, op. cit., p. 30. He gives a different reason for the practice, saying "... the idea is to imitate the sacred roll, which is written only on the inside: and, consequently, none of the text is exposed but that open for the purpose of being read."

[54] "This holy law, in the year 598 A.H. [1201 A.D.] was in a *matamrah* in a box and the *matamrah* caught fire and it was saved from the fire and jumped through the window of the *matamrah* and out of the fire, in the days of our master Baba, the High Priest ..." (f. 137b).

We do not know whether the box, *'Aron*, was specifically made to house this manuscript, whether it contained other manuscripts, or whether it was simply an appropriate box that chanced to be available and was used to prevent further damage to a stored text. The *scholium* gives the impression that Add. 1846 was the only manuscript in the box. Neither this box nor any other similar is available to the author to study, but there is a short description by Macalister of a box he saw in Nablus at the beginning of this century. He wrote,[55] ... "This [manuscript] was said to be 900 years old. It is kept in sundry white linen wrappers within a box among cedar shavings."

Despite the lack of direct evidence, there is also evidence from two deeds of sale which would point to the box having been a not uncommon storage device cum casing for manuscripts. The first is on f. 63r of B.L. MS. Or. 1443, which relates that in 1586 A.D. the manuscript was sold with its *'oren*, viz., *hadah 'arhutah ve 'orantāh*, "this Torah and its 'oren."

A similar word is used in a deed of sale at the end of Exodus in Princeton MS. Garrett 5, where we are told that the Pentateuch had been inherited by its owner, except for its *'oren*, viz., *bilàdy 'oranav*. Of the various possible meanings of this word, which is not otherwise attested in the Samaritan lexicon,[56] three suggest themselves in this context. *'Oren* could be a derivative of the noun *'or*, "skin", "leather", a noun used by the Samaritans for binding leather, hence perhaps, "leather cover" or "binding". Convenient as such a meaning would be, the derivation would be etymologically difficult and the possible interpretation should probably be set aside.

Alternatively, there is the possibility that, as so often happens in Samaritan, the gutturals have interchanged, and we are looking at a variant spelling of the word *'aron*, "a box". While the repetition of the interchange between the gutturals would speak against this interpretation, as would the occurence of the word in the Samaritan Chronicles in conjunction with the word *'aron*, correctly spelled, this reference provides a clue to the usage of *'oren* as a derivative of *'oren*. The Chronicle indicates that the

[55] Op. cit., p. 31.

[56] Cf. Z. Ben Hayyim, *The Literary and Oral Tradition of Hebrew and Aramaic Among the Samaritans*, vol. II, The Lexicon. In a private discussion, Prof. Ben Hayyim has suggested that *'oren'* might mean "other things", depending on the context.

'oren was a material from which the ark for holding the sacred scrolls was made.[57] The form *'oren* with *'ayin* is a regular derivative in Aramaic of the form with *'aleph*, meaning "cedar". This would serve the excerpt from the Chronicle well. It would also imply that we are to understand the references in the scholia as being to things made of wood. Yet, these things are not integral to the manuscripts but are some sort of extraneous or simply extra item which has to be described separately from the manuscript as a whole. Thus, either *'oren* was the technical name for the case or box in which a codex was stored (as against *'aron*, the case for a scroll), or else the term was a collective noun for boards which were used as loose attachments. The former seems the more likely explanation.

Apart from loose wrappings, our only example of a detachable cover is that to be found on a modern manuscript, H.U. Sam. 2°1, a trilingual text written by Jacob b. Aaron. It is clear from its structure that Jacob b. Aaron had adopted a format for sewing headbands and headboards (see below) which continues a tradition found among much older manuscripts (e.g., Haverford 22) and which is noted (but without a core or solid board) at Nag Hammadi.[58] This tradition seems to retrace the line of development of the older manuscripts, sidestepping subsequent, or, at least, alternative formats. We may well suggest, then, that Jacob b. Aaron, a knowledgeable and scholarly Levitical priest and scribe, utilised an old format for the manuscript cover. It is instructive to compare the photographic plates of the spines of H.U. 2°1 and 2°2 which would tend to support this suggestion.

We cannot make any parallel claim to an antique tradition for such an unbound manuscript as O Nova 516 (Uppsala University Library), a bilingual Arabic and Samaritan-Hebrew Pentateuch written in the nineteenth century by Amram b. Ishaq. Its forty-eight sections are neither sewn nor attached to each other in any way, but are simply wrapped in boards and taped around. It is improbable that the scribe intended to leave the sections unsewn —unbound manuscripts known to us are always sewn—and the fact that the text is on paper would render the manuscript vulnerable to damage. We must assume that the scribe intended to

[57] *S.B.J.*, ii. 165, "*asah lamikhtav haqadosh aron keseph ushlosha rimonim Ubheged*"; p. 166, "*ve asah aron ushloshah rimonim keseph tahor min orano*".

[58] Cf. Petersen, op. cit., p. 53-55.

bind this manuscript, but that an eager purchaser was found or had even commissioned the writing and it was accepted unbound.

iii) Islamic Flap Bindings

The oldest extant Samaritan bindings are those executed in the Islamic style, which seems to have made its appearance between the eighth and the tenth centuries A.D.[59] The style may well have been a development of the envelope wrappings used on the Nag Hammadi manuscripts.[60] All the older manuscripts bound in this fashion are liturgical, chronicles, or small-format Pentateuchs. This is probably not fortuitous but rather because paper seems to have been utilised more readily for such works than for Pentateuchs, for most of which (especially the Hebrew and Aramaic texts) parchment was used. As suggested previously, paper manuscripts, apparently, were seen to be more in need of protection than parchment. One of the older paper manuscripts is in this style of binding. This is Leiden Or. 249, the Chronicle brought to Europe by Scaliger and published by Juynboll. We cannot, however, be certain that the cover is original, though we have no data about the rebinding. It has been resewn in a European-style sewing, and the casing is of a much higher quality than that found on other Samaritan manuscripts. It seems that the Egyptian Samaritans either gave their manuscripts to professional binders or else the European owners had the manuscript rebound in the Islamic style. The former is more likely, and the case was probably preserved and re-used when it became necessary to resew the manuscript.[61]

It was probably quite difficult to bind the larger Pentateuch manuscripts in the Islamic flap style when the accepted vogue was

[59] For the early history of this style of binding, see *I.B.B.*, pp. 25, 55-56.

[60] The relationship between the Nag Hammadi bindings and the Islamic flap style is to be seen clearly in the illustrations in Jean Doresse, "Les Reliures des Manuscrits Gnostiques Coptes Découverts à Khenonboskion", *Revue d'Égyptologie*, xiii (1961), 27-49. *I.B.B.*, p. 55, notes the parallel with traditional Armenian bindings as well as early Christian Coptic bindings.

[61] Leiden Or. 249, has a feature in common with Bodl. Sam. e.10, namely, that the rigid structure inside the flap, and its hinge, are neat and symmetrical, contrary to normal Samaritan practise. E.10 has evidently been restored by a Western restorer and the text block of Leiden Or. 249 would appear to have been restored likewise.

to cut the covering for the covers and flap from one piece of skin (Cf. Bodl. Sam. MS. e.15).

Islamic flap bindings continue to be used by Samaritan binders so that it is the most common form of binding style found. Despite its ubiquitous nature one can see chronological development in the making of the flap binding from full bindings, utilising one piece of leather for flap and boards, to full bindings using one piece of leather for boards alone with a second piece for the flaps, through to half-bindings and quarter-bindings. These terms need defining when applied to Samaritan bindings as they cannot be simply transposed from their European configurations.

A half-bound Samaritan manuscript, such as Bodl. Sam. e.2, not only has a leather strip for the spine and hinges, but also has leather at the top and tail in the form of continuous strips, at the foredge of the front board of the manuscript, likewise as a continuous strip to hinge and cover the flap to the foredge of the rear board of the manuscript. The secondary binding material, whether cloth or paper, forms only a small panel on the side of the boards, which give the appearance of being framed in leather. The secondary material overlaps the leather framing, which can be seen below, in outline, often in a crude and untrimmed state.[62]

Quarter-binding, likewise, differs from its western equivalent. A Samaritan quarter-binding has either a leather spine and hinging strip with a flap attached to the backboard as a separate piece, or a cloth spine and hinging strip and flap. In neither case does the quarter-binding have a framing strip at the top or at the tail, and the secondary binding material turns over the boards in the western manner. Two examples demonstrate this type, Bodl. MSS. Sam. e.4 and e.6. Both are undated, but both are quite evidently nineteenth-century rebindings of older texts. We see here leather hinging (Sam. e.6) and cloth hinging (Sam. e.4). In both cases a similar blue, marbled paper serves as the secondary covering material. There are other examples of similar date in which buckram is used as the secondary material.[63]

There seems to have been no accepted convention or standard for the proportional relationship of the width of the primary to the width of the secondary covering materials. Primary stripping

[62] The trimming out of leather covers seems to be both a Western and a modern tradition. *R.L.B.*, p. 160, illustrates older, Western bindings which appear to have untrimmed covers.

[63] E.g. Ryl. Sam. MS. 1878.

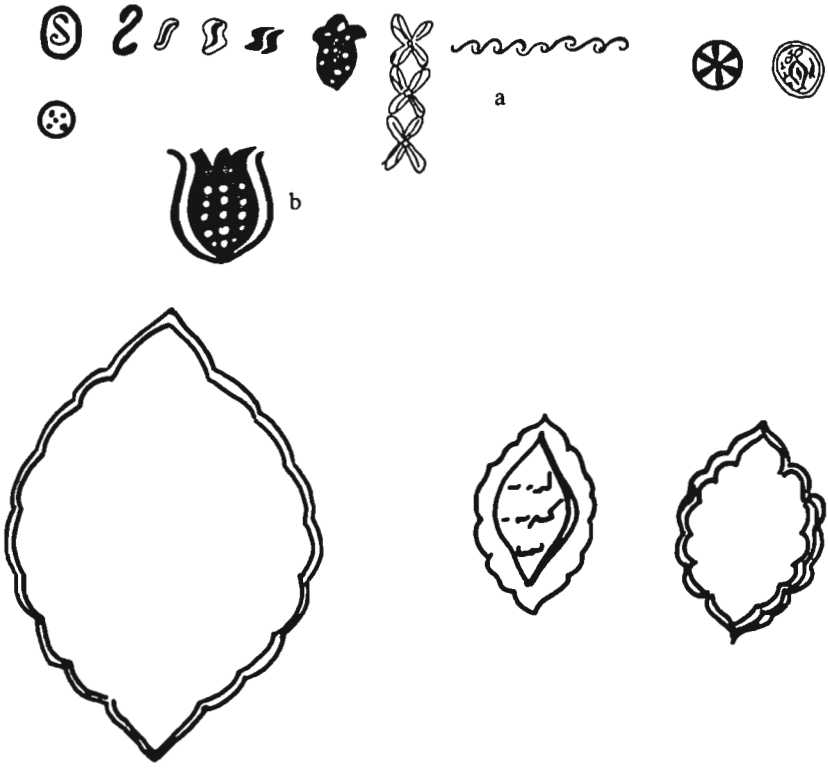


Plate 5. — Stamps and seals used on Samaritan MSS.
a. Fine type of stamping on Scaliger MS. Perhaps of Egyptian provenance.
b. Enlarged, twice. See Bodley Sam. MS. e.18.

could, apparently, be of any width and the secondary covering material could overlap the stripping, abut to the stripping, or, on occasion, fall short and fail to touch it so that a gap was left and additional covering material had to be supplied. In all but one of the examples of quarter-binding, the leather of the spine was roughly cut in a bow shape with the apex of the bow pointing to the centre of the spine. This may have been fortuitous or it may have been an accepted mode of trimming. The secondary covering material is cut square and overlaps the boards with the turn-over edges being masked on the reverse by a paste-down. In one of the manuscripts examined, Keble 83, the leather flap had been lost and most of the spine. At first glance this gave the impression of a manuscript with a soft paper cover, which would have been unusual. The impression was enhanced by the intricate, but faded, design on the covering paper, which carried the trace of a title as through the paper had been the sole outer facing of the case. It is probable that this is the remains of a board laminated from manuscript layers, and, as in the case of H.U. Sam. 8°69, an old title-page was incorporated. However, we cannot exclude the possibility that the Samaritans once used secondary coverings which were hand-coloured title-pages. This matter needs further investigation.

Though we are unable to establish a detailed chronology for Samaritan half-bindings and quarter-bindings, it is apparent that the quarter-bindings are a recent (eighteenth century) development, whereas half-bindings are an older usage. In general, one can observe that quarter-bindings of the early to the late nineteenth century use leather and cloth as primary and secondary covering materials respectively, whereas from the late nineteenth century into the twentieth cloth and paper were the primary and secondary covering materials. However, there are numerous exceptions to this general formulation.

iv) Western Style Casings

Samaritan manuscripts adopted European formats rather later than their Islamic counterparts. It is not until the later nineteenth century and onwards that one begins to find them bound in European style quarter-bindings (e.g., B.N. MS. Sam. 26, Gaster 808 [no Rylands accession number]) or which have been written in European style single section books, not unlike multi-leaved

exercise books. These manuscripts are covered in a variety of materials, including silk (Dropsie NS. 40) and paper (Dropsie NS. 41).

In the uncommon circumstance that a short, single-sectioned manuscript is found from an older period, that manuscript, too, might be in a non-flap format. One such manuscript is Ryl. Sam. MS. 290, dated 1707 A.D. However, there can be no mistaking the binding chronology, for the earlier manuscript has a Samaritan style half-bound leather frame, over a cockled board (infra p. 466). covered by a marbled paper. It also makes use of a doublure (infra p. 467) rather than the end paper and fly of a modern, single-sectioned manuscript. The later single-sectioned bindings are quite distinct in that they are closer to European binding styles than to Samaritan.

v) Paper Covers

There is some evidence that paper covers, with no board base, were sometimes used as a binding, although this is as yet too scanty to allow of a proper description. It is clear from MS. Dropsie New Series 15, a twentieth-century manuscript, that the paper cover, highly decorated and coloured, was an accepted form of binding. There is, as yet, no firm parameter for dating. We have noted the occurrence of paper sheets which appear to have been covers for manuscripts of various ages. When data accrues it will be possible to describe this type of binding with more certainty, but the very nature of the binding makes it the most ephemeral of all types and the most difficult to discuss.

II. The Boards and Sub-Casing

Samaritan binders attached the outer casing materials of their manuscripts to rigid sub-structures. The extant rigid sub-structures are boards of three types, though it is possible that wooden boards were once used; if they were, we have no single example left for study. In the first type probably developed on the analogy of glued papyrus layers,[64] layers of writing paper were glued together to form a flexible laminated board (e.g., Bodl. Sam. f.4, 1766 A.D.; H.U. Sam. 8°69, 1699 A.D.). These leaves were sometimes blank paper and sometimes taken from discarded or

[64] Cf. *I.B.B.*, p. 56.

tattered manuscripts, as in the case of MS. Keble 84. While there is a preponderance of discarded calendar pages in these boards, there are also the remains of liturgies, *et. al.* It scarcely needs saying that boards constructed in this fashion were actually made by the Samaritans, most probably by the binders, or specifically for the binders by assistants among their families, since their manuscripts were not widely dispersed.

The second type was a laminated structure made from coarse, paper-like layers, brown in colour, forming a commercial board which seems to have been of Middle-Eastern origin. The provenance of this board is not yet determined, but its coarse nature and the ease with which its glued laminae can be separated, indicate small-scale manufacture, almost of a cottage-industry type. As far as could be ascertained from a preliminary and, perforce, restricted examination, the laminated board of this type in Bodl. Sam. e.18 was made of seven sheets of rough brown paper, and a similar board in Ryl. Sam. MS. 96 (*c.* 1736 A.D.) had eight laminae. The boards of B.L. Oriental MS. 1444 give the impression of being of this type of construction, perhaps from irregularly-cut leaves.

The third type is a kind of mill-board or fibre board, in which laminations, if they exist, are not visible to the naked eye. This type may have been imported from Europe, perhaps from Venice, from which came much of the paper used in the manuscripts. There seems little doubt that the board used in Ryl. Sam. MS. 125, a late nineteenth-century manuscript, is a mill-board of European origin.

While one can offer a broad chronology for the use of three different boards, the older type could appear at any time and one cannot date manuscripts simply on the appearance of paper-laminate board.

By and large, the laminated brown board is more common than any other type in nineteenth-century manuscripts, and the non-laminated board appears in the twentieth century.

It is possible that in early Samaritan bindings the same technique of lamination was practised using parchment leaves. Although not one example has yet appeared, the possibility that this technique was practised is suggested by the use of an antique sliver of parchment for strengthening the hinged flap of B.N. Sam. MS. 46, and the use of a rough-cut piece of parchment as the cover

for a valued document, rather in the style that became common in Europe.

Ryl. Sam 337B is a fragment of a Torah scroll in the hand of an Egyptian scribe of the late fifteenth-century. It was roughly cut down with a knife so that it could be folded and sewn. The folding line leaves two equal sides and there are sewing holes marked along the fold. Such pieces were often used in the west to protect valued documents such as title deeds. This fragment would testify to the same practice among the Samaritans.

At times, the manuscript leaves which have been glued together to produce a laminated board are visible through cracks in the outer casing material. At times, the leaves are freely available for examination as a result of extensive damage to a binding or because they have been treated in a laboratory and separated (as with MS. Keble 84). In cases where these leaves can be seen, they may serve as useful clues to the age of a binding, as they tend to give us a *terminus a quo* for it. If the laminating material is a calendar, then the binding must be at least a year younger than the calendar. Where the text on the recycled leaves is other than a calendar, one may be able to draw some conclusions about the date of binding, and perhaps about the date of the manuscript, as in the case of MS. Keble 84. The boards of this manuscript were made from pages of a seventeenth-century liturgical text in the hand of one of the members of the Mufarriji family of scribes, probably (on the basis of script comparisons) Mufarrij b. Jacob b. Abraham, who wrote in the third quarter of the seventeenth century. Since the manuscript is a *defter* (daily prayers) made of leaves of various ages, the binding is a useful guide to the date at which the leaves were assembled in a drastic restoration. It cannot have been before the time of Mufarrij, and is more likely to have been in the second half or third quarter of the eighteenth century, a judgement supported by other factors.

When the main sub-structure of a binding is not visible through the casing materials and linings, the use of a laminated paper board can generally be detected. The board tends to cockle beneath the casing skin, the cockling apparently resulting from the stretching and shrinking of paper which has been glued and allowed to dry without adequate pressing under boards or under some sort of pressure, such as would be supplied by stones and wooden boards. When cockling is seen on the side of a Samaritan

paper construction, we may infer that the manuscript is of laminated paper construction and that the binding is *likely* to be older than the nineteenth-century.

We should note the need to distinguish cockling from warping, especially if the centre of the binding has been blind-tooled with a stamp (see plate 1, Ryl. 28). Warping is a process in which a board bends in either a concave or convex arc in a symmetrical or uniform fashion. It may result from the response of a board to the pasting of a leather cover without a compensating paste-down on the reverse, or from the wetting of the leather to facilitate blind tooling. It may, of course, simply result from heat, exposure to the sun or damp, or other forms of damage. Cockling is an effect where the board warps in both concave and convex patterns, without any symmetry or regularity in distribution, small areas being warped in reverse directions.

One further form of sub-casing should be noted. In Leiden Or. 249, parts of which date from the fourteenth century, an internal sub-cover has been created by glueing folios together. Thus, f. 1 was doubled by gluing to provide a strong protecting leaf. There is no loss of text, so, though the practice is not otherwise attested, it may be original rather than the work of the restorer who resewed the text block.

III. Lining Papers, Doublures and Pastedowns

The term "lining papers" is used here to include the papers used in back-linings, generally called second linings, in contrast to the cloth-canvas type first linings and those papers which are used as endpapers, pastedowns and doublures. The latter cover the internal edges of the leather case, both to counteract warping and to strengthen the hinging of the book to the boards. Lining papers of the same age as the manuscript indicate that the binding is contemporary with the content, especially if the lining is a first-folio pastedown (see below for this term). Coincidence in age of this sort allows us to speak with reasonable confidence about the binding concerned.

Unfortunately, the author knows of no early Samaritan paper manuscript in which the endpaper is contemporary with the folio, and he knows of no bound parchment manuscript which is attached to the covers with anything but a later paper lining after rebinding or first binding at a comparatively recent date.

Since restoration tends to involve the beginnings and ends of manuscripts, lining papers and pastedowns tend to belong to the period in which restoration took place rather than to the period of first binding.

It is, of course, often difficult to know whether chronological incongruities between lining papers and manuscript age indicate a relining of an old case by a restorer or the replacement of the case with a new binding. Both situations are known. Since the Samaritans did not use flyleaves but rather a doublure with a stub (see below), or even a paper hinge pasted as a separate strip, it was not difficult for a renovater to reattach older bindings with new hinges and linings. Even tertiary restoration could take place with new linings (as in Ryl. Sam. 28), to the confusion of the unwary.

One must note that there are dateable binding papers which are quite different, in markings and even colours, from the paper folios of the corpus of the text but which, apparently, are chronologically homogeneous with the bindings. One example is seen in the nineteenth-century lining papers inside the cover of B.N. MS. Sam. 48 (written in 1834 A.D.). Such differences between lining paper and the paper of the text block occur when the binder/scribe did not use the first recto page of the manuscript as a pastedown, or even the same paper tipped to or sewn to the text block for use as a pastedown, but when a doublure and stub was used to cover the casing and provide hinging when the binding was otherwise complete, except, perhaps, for tooling.

This point is well illustrated by Bodl. MS. Huntington 24, written by Mufarrij b. Jacob, *c.* 1663.[65] This manuscript is complete. The initial folio is blank. The text begins on f. 2^v, as 2^r is also blank. The quire structure, consistent throughout, of 5 + 5 folios per quire, leaves little room for doubt that the first quire is complete, and, though the initial blank folio suggests that the scribe intended the manuscript to be a first folio pastedown, it was not treated this way. Instead, a doublure was used. The reason for using a doublure is reasonably clear. The scribe was unable to contain his text and it ran over to the last folio verso which could not then be pasted down. Marks on the last folio verso 1.4 cm. from the spine indicate that the doublure once extended as a hinged stub, but this has become detached.

[65] See Ryl. Sam. 27 for the date of this scribe.

This evidence would further support the conclusion that the scribe and binder were one and the same person.

IV. Forwarding Processes and Materials

From the foregoing examination of the forms in which Samaritan manuscripts appear and the materials from which these forms are structured and fashioned, we can see that it is possible to create broad chronologies with blurred horizons within which most bindings and some manuscripts with their bindings can be fitted. These chronologies can be refined a little when we come to examine in detail the methods or the forwarding processes[66] which were used to turn parchment and paper leaves into a sewn textblock and then into a complete manuscript. Occasionally we find elements common to groups of manuscripts so that group typologies can be established. By and large, inside the typologies we find a basic chronological stability.

In the more ancient manuscripts—and in this case we mean simply the medieval texts—we can sometimes see and isolate the evidence despite later vicissitudes. For example, it is often possible to see older sewing under the threads of modern sewing, or, at least, to identify traces of it. In this respect, at least, it is possible to observe the continuity, or lack of it, between older and later practices, but, by and large, (re)binding has destroyed most of the evidence that would have been helpful to us.

On the whole we still have an inadequate data base and such typological determinations as can be made have to be balanced by specific observations from individual bindings. It is to be hoped that one day adequate evidence will be forthcoming to allow us to set up proper syntheses, diachronic and synchronic, as is the proper aim of codicology.

i) Sewing

Samaritan codices are flat-backs; that is, the manuscript is not rounded in a backing press but is sewn flat and left in this state in all forwarding processes. The lack of rounding tends to promote the development of concave spines and convex foredges, often weakening the joints because of this forward thrusting. The sewing seems to follow the tradition which we find in the Nag Hammadi

[66] See *R.L.B.* for this term.

manuscripts of not using any supplementary cords, thongs or tapes to which the sewing is attached, and which secure the manuscripts to covering boards.

One difference from the techniques at Nag Hammadi is that a first lining of coarse, open-weave cloth is used to hold the body of the text to the covers, and in only one example known to us (Ryl. Sam. MS. 320 = Gaster 1874) is the sewing thread attached to the boards.[67] The first lining material is not attached to the text by all the sewing but only by the kettle stitches, which hold the lining cloth at the top and bottom of the manuscript.

In Samaritan manuscripts one finds two-, three-, four- or five-hole sewing in contrast to the common, two-hole sewing in Islamic manuscripts; the size of the codex apparently governs the number of holes.[68] This same pattern seems to have been long established, as one can sometimes detect from the older manuscripts, even after resewing and binding, if the new stitching is gently moved aside. So one finds in Bodl. MS. Opp. Add. 8v°16 four original sewing holes under the later sewing. Likewise the earlier pattern can be distinguished in Bodl. MS. Huntington 301. Two-hole sewing, Islamic style, was adopted by the Samaritans only in the late seventeenth-century.

In the older manuscripts of the twelfth through to the fourteenth-centuries, when they are 35 cm. in height and larger, four-hole sewing was the preferred technique (Chester Beatty 751; H.U. Sam. 2°2; Haverford 22). In four-hole sewings, the holes tended to be spaced equidistantly from each other and from the top and tail of the manuscript. In the examples cited, the actual spacing of the holes varies between 6-8 cm. from each other. This detail is useful in that it helps to determine whether the holes also supported kettle stitching. In all but one of the examples known to the author the centre stitches are not sewn with the same thread used for the kettle stitches. They are a separate series of stitches and they seem to serve different functions.

[67] Even in this example one cannot be certain as to the intended structure, as the manuscript case has been badly damaged by water and the present appearance of attachment by threads may have results from displacement of the threads.

[68] But cf. *I.B.B.*, p. 46, where it is argued that the number of sewing holes ("stations") is not related to the size of the book and the need to hold the gatherings at several points. The sewing technique is one of the many points in which Samaritan bindings differ from Islamic bindings.

The centre stitches, which utilise two, three or four holes, serve to lock the loose folios or gatherings into sewn quires, and the quires are locked together with a knotting or interlocking stitch. The quires are thus sewn together by a continuous thread which passes through all the folios.

In some restorations it can be observed that the original sewing, even if rather loose, has not been replaced. Instead, an extra piece of thread has been sewn through the loosened interlocking stitches and pulled tightly at the centre of the whole sewing to tighten the stitching. So far as can be determined now, tightening the stitching to pull the new sewing firmly together (in the original sewing) was normally done by leaving one long thread which passed through the knots at the back of the last quire in the manuscripts,[69] as may be seen at the back of Haverford 22. In this discussion, the centre sewing is termed the centre locking sewing/stitching, because of its prime function.

Though the centre locking stitches and the kettle stitches are independent of each other, there are some manuscripts, especially small octavos, in which the kettle stitches pass through the same holes as the centre locking stitches. Since the kettles pass *outside* the top and tail of the manuscript (see below), no additional holes are needed for the kettle stitching in this type of small manuscript sewing—one sees only two- or three-hole sewing. For example, in MS. Keble 84, where the kettles pass through the centre locking holes, one sees only three holes. These are: 1) The first kettle hole = first sewing hole/centre locking hole, 2.5 cm. from the top of the MS. 2) The second sewing/centre locking hole, 5.6 cm. from the previous hole. 3) The third sewing hole/centre locking hole = bottom kettle hole, 5.8 cm. from the second hole and 2.0 cm. from the tail of the manuscript.

In general this pattern of spacing is repeated;[70] if the holes nearest the top and tail are used only for kettle stitches, only the centre locking holes are equally spaced from each other; the kettle holes are closer to the top and tail of the manuscript.

The independence of the kettle and centre locking stitches from each other, is made very clear in those manuscripts where different coloured thread is used for the different stitches. In Bodl. Sam. MS. e.15 and Ryl. Sam. MS. 161, for example, the centre

[69] Cf. MS. Keble 84, for this feature.

[70] Cf. Ryl. Sam. MS. 125. The sequence is 4.5 cm., 6.0 cm., 6.0 cm., 4.0 cm.

locking stitches are white and the kettle stitches blue. In general, in the older manuscripts, kettle stitches are white, but from the eighteenth century and onwards blue, yellow or pink kettle stitches may be noted. When there is doubt as to whether the manuscript has been rebound, some assistance may be derived in resolving the problem from an examination of the colour of the kettles.

It is difficult to agree with Bosch and Petherbridge[71] that the kettle stitches, which they call secondary sewing or decorative endband sewing, were intended to be decorative in anything but an incidental fashion. There are several obvious functions for kettle stitches, and there can be little doubt that kettle stitching developed to fill a practical need or needs.

The kettle stitches serve to hold the heads and tails of consecutive sections together. This was probably not their primary function in that this function, to some extent, duplicates the work of the centre locking stitches. They also serve to hold the first lining to the spine, but since kettles have a long history (see below) and first linings are associated only with fixed covers, this function, too, might be secondary. Their prime function may well have been to provide anchorage points for headboards which sometimes were (and are) solid timber pieces, and they may even have anchored a carrying strap if the manuscripts were intended to be regularly carried about.

There is evidence which points to the probability of kettle stitching having a long ancestry in Samaritan manuscripts, even into the period when they were unbound. The first testimony is that of B.L. MS. Add. 22369, a Pentateuch on parchment written in Gaza in 1359/1360 A.D. This manuscript has been rebound in western style, yet the original sewing holes can be seen, since they were not used in the rebinding. There are five of them, of which three are centre locking holes and two are kettle holes. The arrangement of the holes, the first and fifth being 4.3 and 4.0 cm. respectively from the top and tail of the manuscript and the three centre holes being 5.5, 5.5 and 6.0 cm. apart, quite clearly indicates that the upper and lower holes were for kettle stitching. We cannot tell from the arrangement whether the manuscript was bound or unbound, but it would be a reasonable assumption that it had headband boards. Other four- and five-hole sewings which clearly

[71] *I.B.B.*, p. 53.

had kettle stitches are MS. Nablus 7 of 1453 A.D. (a five-hole sewing which has some guards supplied), B.L. Or. 2688 (a fourteenth-century manuscript, rebound, but the kettles are still visible), and MS. Haverford 22 (a four-hole sewing, with no apparent kettle holes, yet the remains of a wooden headband core still dangles loosely at the tail of the spine by remains of kettle stitches).

A more complex picture is to be seen in Bodl. Sam. MS. Opp. Add. quarto 99 of 1348 A.D. The western binder did not remove all the older sewing before rebinding and some kettle stitches are still in place. Unfortunately we cannot be sure that these kettles are part of the original fourteenth-century sewing. There are some Samaritan guards in the manuscript—quite distinct from, and certainly older than the mending tissue of the western binder. These guards are signs of a restoration before the manuscript fell into the Bodleian's hands. A Samaritan scribe might well have bound the manuscript, adding kettles in the process.

Since the kettle stitches are not locking stitches, in the sense that their prime purpose is not to hold the gatherings together, it is not necessary for them to penetrate every folio in a gathering. When some quires are opened at their centres the locking stitches are visible but the kettles are not, as they have not passed right through the gathering. For example, in Bodl. Sam. MS. e.15, the first quire, the kettle stitch at the head passed through the fourth bifolium, (ff. 4/7) but not the fifth (ff. 5/6). The kettles at the tail appears to have passed through the fifth bifolium (though damage to the manuscript precludes certainty). In the fourth quire the head kettle passed through the fourth bifolium (ff. 34/37) but not the fifth, whereas the tail kettle passes through the fifth (ff. 35/36). Clearly this sewing pattern is not fortuitous, as the technique is to be found in other manuscripts (e.g. Bodl. Sam. MS. e.2).

The centre locking stitches do not penetrate the first lining. This is held to the spine by the kettles and appears also to have been lightly pasted, so that it adhered to the gatherings. As in European style binding, the glue seems to have penetrated the junctions between the gatherings, adding some little additional strength to the locking action and holding the gatherings together. It would have been impracticable to sew the centre locking stitches after the kettle stitching had passed through the first lining. That would have been a technical feat of some difficulty. Moreover, the failure of the kettles to penetrate all the bifolia could only be a con-

sequence of the prior sewing of the centre stitches. Since the kettles are knotted on the outside, sewing of the kettles would appear to have started from the inside of the manuscript.

The holes for the sewing must have been marked after the gatherings were placed in sequence and aligned, so that the sewing could be kept in straight lines. The holes were pierced from the outside in the older manuscripts, using some instrument which left a sizeable but not necessarily symmetrical hole, and a series of holes forms, what is virtually, a sewing channel. A knife suggests itself as a possible tool for such a major cut. In a comparatively modern manuscript, Bodl. Sam. MS. e.11 of 1858 A.D., channels for the centre locking stitches appear to have been saw-cut, as in modern craft bindings. The technique may have been traditional, but there is no other evidence of it.

In general the kettle stitches are sewn with single threads. The centre locking stitches are sewn with single thread in the fairly complex four-hole sewing, but with doubled thread in some three-hole sewings. This doubling is not that achieved by a needle which had been double threaded, for there are cases (see Ryl. Gaster MS. 1878) where the needle has missed the original hole and we can see but a single thread. The doubling, then, has arisen from two-hand movements in the sewing.

Locking stitches can be seen as lateral "braids" on the sewing channels at the spine. We see also that the first or the final section has a single thread outside the spine in quite a number of manuscripts (see e.g. Haverford 22, Keble 84, Ryl. 161).[72] The function of this thread is not at all clear, unless it be to serve as an anchorage for the sewing, to enable the sewing to be pulled and tightened. The sewing action seems to have been fairly complex, for without tapes or cords to hold on to[73] the stitches had to lock on to those in the preceding section without leaving

[72] The same feature is to be seen in Bodl. Sam. MS. e.11. Even though the manuscript is not disbound, one can see through the loose sections that a single thread runs down the rear of the sewing.

[73] A possible exception to the general situation is to be noted in respect of Smithsonian Access. no. 216, 164. According to a note of John Hyltoft, relayed to me via Dr. Ellen Wells of the museum, the manuscript was "sewn over four cords—cord build up: four stranded yarn." It is hoped to examine this manuscript directly in the near future to check this detail. If it proves to be correct, we shall have evidence pointing to the use of sewn-on-boards in the 13th/14th century.

the sewing holes wide open from pressure. The evidence of how this was done is not yet clear for all types of sewing. In attempting to reconstruct the hand movements, two models are suggested, that of Keble 84, which provides a result not unlike that of J. H. Petersen's reconstruction of Islamic sewings,[74] and, a second model, seen clearly in a photograph, H.U. Sam. 2°2. It should be remembered, however, that while the manuscript may preserve an old technique, the actual sewing is fairly modern. The sewing of Haverford 2°2 seems to have been done by tightly knotting the thread at each hole.

All the sewing styles seem to have been reasonably strong save for the two-hole sewing found in some nineteenth-century manuscripts. The centre stitches were interlocked well enough not to pull their way through the folios. However, there was a marked tendency for kettle stitching to do extensive damage to the top and tail of the manuscript, so that guarding was a necessary and continual form of restoration.

ii) Sewing Threads

It has not yet proved possible to obtain samples of sewing threads for electron microscopy. Medieval threads appear to be of flax or silk and are fairly thick, varying in width from 1.5 mm. to 2.5 mm. The threads are spun and plaited or twisted; usually four strands are evident in older sewings, as in the Smithsonian Museum Access. no. 216, 164.[75] Modern threads may be coloured, especially when used for kettle stitching, and they tend to be finer and more uniform than medieval threads.

iii) Headbands

Most, but not all, of the manuscripts examined had headbands or relics of headbands at the head and tail. In one instance the headband was intact even though the manuscript had been rebound western fashion, testifying to the long history of the style. The cores round which the headbands are sewn may have been glued into place,[76] but the headbands themselves are an integral part of the structure of manuscripts and are sewn, not applied.

[74] Op. cit., p. 43.

[75] Cf. n. 73 above. Hyltoft's description of the ply of the thread confirms what can be seen on the photographs.

[76] It has not been possible to verify this point by examination. All the cases

The sewing of headbands has been described by Bosch and Petherbridge, but we can see several variations in Samaritan manuscripts from the pattern they have described; which of the variations had chronological priority is not certain.

i) The kettle stitches were sewn around a solid core of cane or wood, or even paper board, which was glued or held to the spine, at the top and/or tail. The stitches first made a vertical cradle for the core, and, when all the kettles were sewn through all the gatherings, the threads were wrapped laterally to prevent the core slipping sideways. Since the wrapping, rather than interweaving of thread, does not make a secure integument for the core, this sort of headband would seem to predicate association with a binding, which would have prevented slipping. MS. Keble 84 presents us with an example of such a simple headband in which the thread was wrapped around the back of the core when it abutted the spine, in the manner of winding thread around a bobbin, in a crude fashion.

ii) A wooden core of substantial size was cut so that it covered or overlapped the full width of the spine (see H.U. Sam. 2°1, 2°2) and occupied the height of the spine from top and tail to the first locking hole. The board was pierced by a number of holes; in the examples cited, up to six. These were probably anchorages for the kettle stitches and they also served as anchorages for the cross sewing. The first kettles must have held the board in place and then lateral threads were braided through the kettles, and both anchored and knotted into holes and kettles. The finished result was a tightly-fastened headband of a not insubstantial size and bulk.

iii) In a bound manuscript where an open weave cloth was used as a first lining, a variation of the first type of headband is found. The kettles were sewn as in this first type, penetrated the first lining and held it in place. Coloured threads, often of a different colour from the kettles, were sewn around the core from anchorages in the hessian. Only by accident do these coloured "woof" threads become anchored in the folios. Examples are rare, and only one quire in any manuscript may be affected (see, e.g. Bodl. Sam. MS. f.1). The vertical kettles

---

examined have been moveable inside their cradle of thread but this could be fortuitous as gum can crack and fall away.

are used as a warp for the coloured threads which are woven through them as a woof, or a more complex plaiting system which produces a strong and intricately woven band (e.g. Bodl. Sam. MS. e.15, 18, f.3), not unlike that recorded by Petersen. The plaiting noted above seems to have served instead of a core on some headbands. The surviving headband of B.N. Sam. 48 appears to have been made without any core, by looping green and vermilion threads alternatively around the lining cloth, and interweaving the same coloured thread as a woof. The headband of H.U. Sam. Octavo 69 was also made by plaiting.

Although leather cores are known to have been used in Islamic bindings,[77] there is no evidence at all of such a practice in Samaritan bindings. In general, headbands are so substantial and bulky that the width or colour of the kettles cannot be picked out in the band. The most commonly used colours are yellow for the woof (lateral threads) and blue for the warp. Other colours which may appear are vermilion, pink and green, especially in nineteenth-century manuscripts.

There are several instances of headcapping (see below) but the headband is not attached in anyway to the headcap.

The evolution—hence chronological history—of the headband is clearly related to its function; in fine, one may argue that in all early manuscripts which were provided with headbands a core was considered to be essential. Manuscripts which had coreless headbands represent a secondary phase of development in which the band has become more decorative than functional, as in many contemporary bindings.

In support of these arguments we should note that if kettle stitching began before the development of headbands, simply to hold the top and tails of gatherings together, in the manner of locking stitches, the kettles would have done extensive damage to the foldings of the gatherings through vertical pressure every time the manuscript was opened. The foldings would simply have split to the kettle holes. One can see no reason why a locking stitch would not have been superior to the kettle for the purpose of securing the gatherings.

A headband and core would minimize the damage caused by kettle stitching by reducing the ability of the kettles to apply

[77] Cf. *I.B.B.*, p. 53.

vertical cutting pressure to the folding. The core would take most of the tension but would not eliminate the cutting pressure entirely. In view of the fact that damage still occurs here, and kettles cause the damage, it is improbable that the headband originated solely as a secondary protection to the existing kettle stitches.

One notes on unbound manuscripts the tendency for the top and tail of the spine to be heavily abraded; in Haverford 22, for example, there is considerable abrasion. The tops and corners of manuscripts—their extremities as it were—tend to be the points most prone to damage. Rubbing would cause splitting, fraying and eventually fragmenting of the leaves. Papyrus would have been more prone to damage than leather, and it may well have been the case that the habit of supplying headbands developed with papyrus codices and was later continued with codices on parchment. Substantial wooden cores were probably the oldest type of headband, and a useful protection.

In support of these arguments it is interesting to note that photographs of Smithsonian Museum MS. Access. no. 216,164 show that the corners are very heavily worn. The top and tail of the spine carry kettle stitches and, though there is now no trace of a headband core,[78] the top and tail are so well preserved that one must suggest that a core was once provided.

When unbound manuscripts were carried about, even from the home to the *kinsa* or other comparatively short distances, on a regular basis, the lack of a firm casing that was stitched, laced or strapped around the folios would allow them to bend and flex, loosening the sewing and perhaps causing the stitches to cut into the gatherings. It has been suggested above that for long-distance transport of manuscripts, boxes may well have been supplied. One can see that a solid, well-anchored headband, fastened into place by an independent set of sewings, would provide an alternative means of giving a rigid structure to a textblock, to avoid undue flexing. This would not be as satisfactory a solution as boards or boxes, but in a milieu where silk wrappings were in common use, the headband and core would have provided some protection against damage.

[78] Hyltoft's description (see n. 73 above) continues, "[The] same yarn used concerning main stitches and tail connections. The manuscript was unbound without traces of headband support or use of wrapping materials".

If these arguments are acceptable, the chronology of the development of the headband is likely to have been: (1) The solid wooden core band on unbound but wrapped manuscripts. (2) Cored, cradled headbands in bindings.[79] (3) Uncored decorative headbands in bindings. The first style could appear as an archaism at any time in binding history. Thus, our two best examples of wooden cores on unbound manuscripts occur on a modern manuscript (H.U. Sam. 2°1) and a modern core on a medieval manuscript (H.U. Sam. 2°2).

iv) Backlinings

Examination of Samaritan manuscripts once fully bound but now disbound, or sufficiently so to permit detailed study, shows that the majority had but a single back lining, though there is a minority with more than one lining. In fully-bound manuscripts the lack of a second back lining can be detected sometimes by a close scrutiny of the leather covering the spine. Since the manuscripts are cased as flatbacks and tightbacks, the leather has sometimes worked its way into the interstices between the sections, presenting a furrowed appearance which exposes the features of the subcutaneous construction. In this circumstance it is possible to detect the absence of a second lining.

In a small number of manuscripts, more than one lining is to be observed. The mixture of practices among Samaritan binders reflects the practice among Islamic binders, some of whom—perhaps the majority—had a long tradition of using second and third linings of paper, whereas others, especially in the region which is now modern Iraq, used one lining only.[80] All our evidence relating to Samaritan second and third linings is drawn from manuscripts of the eighteenth century and later. Earlier bindings had but one lining, and this was probably the primary form. The later form was probably adopted from Islamic binders in Nablus.

First linings have proved to be cloth—usually coarse cloth rather like a hessian or sacking material, but the cloth often is flax-based like a very broad-weave canvas. Several bindings[81]

[79] Cf. *I.B.B.*, where the appearance of cored headbands is noted from the 14th century onwards in Islamic bindings.

[80] *I.B.B.*, p. 49, in a description of the forwarding processes by Ibn Badis.

[81] E.g. Bodl. Sam. MSS. e.15, 18, Ryl. Sam. 96, and Keble 84.

showed the use of the same very broad-weave, unbleached material which was composed of twelve threads to the warp and to the woof, per square centimetre.

In some manuscripts we can see that the back linings were made of ordinary, commercial fabrics. In one instance, Ryl. Sam. MS. 125, we find that the binder used printed calico; in the case of B.N. Sam. 48, a greyish canvas was used and a similar material —a nondescript grey canvas—was utilised for Ryl. Sam. MS. 320. It is unlikely that these manuscripts represent a regular tendency of Samaritan binders to utilise whatever scraps of material were opportunely to hand. On the contrary, most manuscripts showed a similarity between first linings which would seem to represent a traditional usage.

The first lining was sewn to the textblock by the kettle stitches. Despite the absence of paste or glue on the first linings of disbound manuscripts available to us, the tightback structure of whole manuscripts leads to the inevitable conclusion that the first linings were pasted to the spines of the textblocks, as in Islamic bindings. We are forced to suggest that in disbound manuscripts the paste has been leached away.

In no case was the first lining trimmed obliquely at the head and tail to avoid the problem of creeping over boards after pasting. In every case the material was cut with a substantial wing to serve as a hinge, and to hold the lining and the textblock to the covers of the manuscript. The width of this hinge varied between 1 and 3 cm. but 2 cm. was the more common.[82] In most of the examples studied, the back lining was glued by its wings directly to the boards of the case.

More complex lining structures are to be seen. Ryl. Sam. MS. 96, which is eighteenth century, had at least four linings, which included two cloth linings and two paper linings of the same paper quality as found in the textblock. These linings were cut wider than the spine, providing both strong lining for the covers and protection for the first folios. In Bodl. Sam. MS. e.15 a second and third paper lining of a heavy-weight, coarse texture were glued over the cloth/first lining. The second lining had two short wings or stubs, not unlike the stub of the doublure (see below), which projected beyond the spine for about 2.5 cm. on

[82] The actual widths are Ryl. Sam. 96, 2 cm.; Keble 84, 1 cm.; Keble 83, 2 cm.; B.N. Sam. 48, 3 cm.; Bodl. e.18, 2.5 cm.

either side. This second lining was used as a masking over the first lining, which was pasted on to the folios and not the boards. (The texture of the cloth can be seen through the second lining). A third lining held the textblock to the case and was covered by a pastedown.

v) Endpapers, Doublures and Flyleaves

Because so few Samaritan bindings have survived in their original condition, for reasons already mentioned, we have all too little evidence about endpapers, doublures and flyleaves, except in comparatively recent examples.

Recent bindings in original condition, such as Bodl. Sam. MSS. f.1 and f.3, both dated to 1877/8 A.D., would indicate that the Samaritans utilised a system—possibly one of their own devising—whereby the first sheet and the last sheet of the manuscript were used as pastedowns, covering both the untrimmed leather turnovers and the wings of the first lining when they were pasted down *in situ*. The first sheet is the first folio of the first gathering, so that when the number of leaves in the quire is counted there is no balance. The quire appears to have 4 + 5, or 5 + 6 leaves. The last gathering shows the situation in reverse with 5 + 4 leaves or 6 + 5 leaves. For convenience we term the practice the "first folio pastedown".

The technique had obvious advantages in that it saved the trouble of providing a doublure, and served to make for a quick and neat finish to the binding. It had an intrinsic weakness, which was often compounded by lack of care in failing to ensure that paper was folded along the grain in preparing the gatherings.[83] The weakness was that the hinging strength of the first lining was reduced and the first folio tended to split away from the quire under the strain of opening the covers. Likewise, the last folio was also under strain and was frequently detached. First folio pastedowns tended to deteriorate more rapidly than bindings with doublures or end papers.

In older manuscripts an obvious sign that the textblock had been attached to the covers with a first folio pastedown is the detachment of ff. 1 and 10 (the counter-folio in the first gathering)

[83] This fact can be judged by observing that the chain line could be parallel with the spine or at right angles or even oblique to it.

and the first folio of the last gathering. This detachment might be indicated by the replacement of the said folios in a late hand, or merely by guarding and tipping. For example, in Bodl. Sam. MS. e.13 (1736 A.D.) the tenth folio was replaced, indicating that the manuscript had been bound originally as a first folio pastedown. Likewise, in the heterogeneous manuscript Bodl. Sam. MS. e.7 the unified first quire was drawn from a manuscript bound as a first folio pastedown on the testimony of f. 10.

Two alternatives are found to the practice of first folio pastedown. The first is that of sewing a blank bifolium to the first and last quires to serve as endpapers and flyleaves. The hinging strain is thus taken off the actual written folios. The second alternative is the technique commonly used in Islamic manuscripts[84] where a doublure, that is a separate sheet, often different in paper quality from the textblock, is used as a pastedown. These doublures were cut to overlap the first and last folios, so that there was a short paper stub, generally about 3 to 5 cm. in width, but sometimes less,[85] which was pasted down to the first and last folios, acting as a hinge (see, e.g., B.L. Or. 1446). The gluing of the whole stub as a hinge (compare the 3-4 mm. of adhesive on modern tipped flyleaves in case-bound books) resulted in quite stiff opening of the covers.

The majority of Samaritan manuscripts make use of the doublure and stub rather than of the first folio pastedown. Sometimes the doublure and stub is used in a restoration, and we may note the use of a saffron dye or similar colouring material to match the colour of the new doublures to the dirt-soiled folios of the textblock.

Bodl. Sam. MS. e.2, a nineteenth-century manuscript in original condition, provides us with a combination of doublure and stub at one end and a first folio pastedown at the other, indicating that both styles of attachment were in contemporary use. In this manuscript the first folio was fully written on the recto and could not be pasted down without loss of text, so that a doublure and stub was the indicated technique, whereas the blank last folio could be pasted down to the case.

[84] Cf. *I.B.B.*, p. 65 f.

[85] E.g., Bodl. Sam. e.18, where the doublure stub is 2.5 cm. wide. The glue mark stains on MS. Huntington 24 (1663) indicate that the doublure stub was 1.4 cm. wide.

A parallel example, H.U. Sam. 8°69, written in 1699 A.D., was restored in 1832 by Salamah b. Ghazal, so we cannot use it to demonstrate the "antiquity" of the hybrid style or even argue that it was a style rather than an *ad hoc* solution to a particular problem.

Sometimes traces of restoration are visible when the edge of an original pastedown can be seen beneath a new first folio pastedown. Counting the number of folios in the first and last gatherings will generally indicate whether a restorer has pasted a second folio down over an original first folio pastedown or whether a doublure had been supplied originally. In Bodl. Sam. MS. f.4, we are unable to see the original doublure beneath the new pastedown, but the original format is evident from the fact that the new flyleaf is tipped outside the stub of the original doublure, as well as from the fact that tooling on the turnover on the flap is obscured by a new lining.

vi) Glues, Pastes and Adhesives

We have no first-hand information about the adhesives used by the Samaritans, but we can draw some inferences. In simple, non-technical terms, we should note the low adhesive strength of Samaritan pastes, which bonded well neither with leather nor paper. Since even a starch paste will bond well with leather if double pasting techniques are used, we may assume that most Samaritan binders used single pasting techniques. In view of the common cockling of boards when they were made by layering paper, we are drawn to the conclusion that they were laminated with a water-based cereal paste, since cockling was unlikely to be severe, or even to occur at all, with animal-based or resin-based glues. In all probability the paste used was the wheat-based variety known to the Islamic binders as *nash'a*.[86]

Gum arabic may have been used in a mixture with cereal pastes, for there are cases where the glue has been too dry to be absorbed by the boards (or else the boards were so well sized that they were virtually impermeable). Support for such a conclusion is to be found in an examination of the many damaged manuscripts in the Rylands, where we see a light browning on the recto of the blank first folios. In many of these manuscripts we see the first folio

[86] Cf. *I.B.B.*, pp. 50-51.

pastedowns peeling from their boards and, as they peel, they show the paste residue which had bonded only on top of the paper and had been too dry to be absorbed by it. On the peeled pastedowns we can occasionally see a microtome thickness of board from the cover where a wetter paste was used. The evidence indicates that, as in current binding practice, adhesive was applied to doublures and pastedowns rather than to the boards.

A second inference which may be drawn is that when a modern rebound manuscript has a mild overall browning on the recto of the first folio, that folio was originally pasted by the Samaritans as a first folio pastedown, but has been released by the western binder. Sometimes, a narrow browning line masks where a doublure stub has been pulled away.[87]

vii) Casing

We have no direct statement in Samaritan sources as to whether the casings were integral; that is, built on to manuscripts in the "drawn on" fashion or whether they were constructed separately as in case bindings, being attached after the case was complete. Bosch, Carswell and Petherbridge[88] argue that Islamic bindings were case-made, despite the evidence to the contrary in the authors they cite.[89] However, this may not be the case with Samaritan manuscripts, which provide us with ambiguous data. For example, examination of Ryl. Sam. MS. 96 shows that its first lining hessian wings were incorporated between the laminated wafers which made up the boards rather in the manner of split-board bindings. This is not impossible to manage with a case-binding, but it is a technical feat of some difficulty, and one cannot see a reason for it in this instance. It is probable that this manuscript was bound as an integral structure, the outer skin being attached only after the internal sub-structure was ready to receive it.

One should also note that in many of the examples studied the leather covering the spine was not folded over at the top and tail, as would naturally occur in a case-binding, but was slit down to

[87] See n. 84 and MS. Huntington 24.

[88] *I.B.B.*, p. 64.

[89] See the description given, *I.B.B.*, p. 66, of finishing processes as described by Sufyani. This description gives a picture of an integral binding in which covering takes place after attaching the boards to the text block.

the textblock at the spine, leaving a collar which swelled up behind the headband and served as a headcap.

On the other hand, one should note that if the leather had been applied after the boards were in place in an integral binding, no reason suggests itself why the leather heading at the spine top and tail could not have been slid out of sight between the covering and the spine as in a contemporary craft binding, except that the covering was fully glued as a tightback. The evidence of Bodl. Sam. MS. f.1 is clearly that the turnovers at top and tail were folded first and then the leather was slit and the headcap formed.

The headcap may have been seen as functional rather than as just a residual swelling in the leather resulting from the binding process. This is indicated by Bodl. Sam. MS. f.4, in which the upper part of the spine was reinforced in a nineteenth-century Samaritan restoration (*c.* 1877 A.D.)[90] and the worn headcap replaced. Its function may well have been simply to provide strength and protection to the spine.

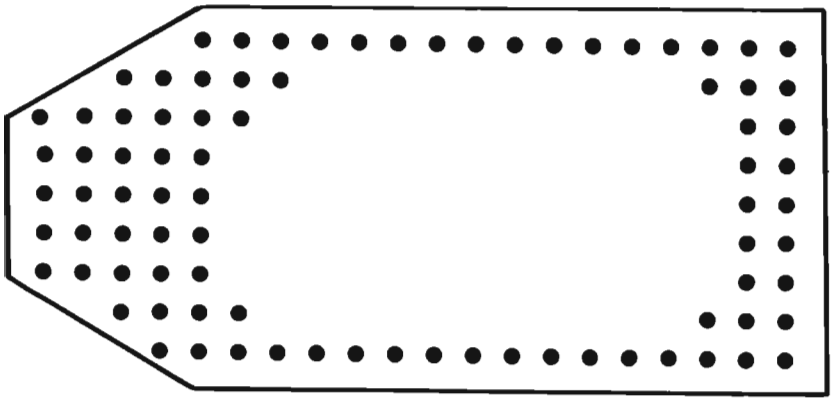
There is no evidence to be gleaned concerning the integrity of the binding from the relationship of the boards to the end papers. The boards tend to be cut to the same approximate size as the folios, so that there are no projecting squares to provide protection for the textblock edges. First and last folio pastedowns may actually abut the board edges; the inference is that if the case was applied to the textblock separately, miscalculation of the board size would cause the result described. Yet the same result can be achieved by trimming the boards to the size of the textblock when they are in place or by making up boards from standard size leaves—the laminated product would be the same size as the folio of the textblock.

Some details of the way the board was handled for binding may be observed in the late nineteenth-century manuscript Ryl. Sam. 125, in which we can see much of the substructure quite clearly. The flap has a core of board which was carefully ruled and marked with a pencil, before cutting. The cutting was evidently done with a sharp knife, as can be seen from cut crack marks in the board made when the knife was almost through.

[90] The card index in the Oriental Reading Room of the uncatalogued manuscripts in the Bodleian is mistaken in dating MS. f.4 to 1877 A.D. There is a clear *Tashqil* in the manuscript. 1877 is the date of the restoration of the manuscript and of the replacement of the last page.

The covering of the substructure was of leather in the case of fully-bound manuscripts, and in leather, cloth or paper in half-bound and quarter-bound manuscripts.

In a fully-bound manuscript the case, including the flap, was cut from one piece of leather. There seems to have been no fixed tradition of the order in which the leather was turned over. We are usually able to ascertain this order of turning by examining the mitring or, at least, the layering, since the Samaritans were not meticulous in mitring their corners. In about 75 per cent of all the bindings examined it was evident that the leather for the flap was turned over last. In the remainder the flap tended to be treated first. The leather at the rop of the flap tended to be turned before the bottom. The neatness with which many flaps were made and the fact that the leather turnover produces an oblique line at the apex indicates that the leather was cut for the boards as follows:



Suggested shape of cutting for leather casing.

The hinge which overlaps the foredge (i.e. the foredge flap) was often strengthened to prevent it buckling in use. Various lining materials have been noted in this position—coarse cloth of the type found as first linings, paper, parchment, leather, and even red silk. The whole flap, including the foredge flap and the envelope flap or tongue, is either then lined with a doublure or lined with separate coverings for the foredge flap and tongue. Where these linings are original, they are, of course, useful chronological keys.

Among the fully bound manuscripts are several examples where a single piece of leather was too small to cover the whole manuscript and flap. Usually only the flap needed supplementary

covering leather, but there is one good example in which the sides needed additional skin. This is B.L. Or. 1444, a large manuscript measuring 44 × 32 cm. The light tan goatskin used to cover the boards was too small, so an additional piece of leather was sewn to the main piece to provide an adequate covering. The join was made as unobtrusive as possible by the binder, who stamp-tooled (blind-tooled) the sewn joint with thirty-five stampings.

More frequently, it is the tongue which is incompletely covered, and additional pieces are cut and glued to fill the void. A doublure then masks the inside of the junction. A good example is found in Bodl. Sam. MS. e.15, which was bound in 1765 A.D. In this manuscript the right-hand side and flap were turned over before the top and tail. The shape of the leather turnover on the tongue indicates that the covering at the top of the tongue was turned over first. The resulting turning produced partial covering and supplementary leather needed to be added.

In half-bindings and quarter-bindings, the covering for the whole flap and envelope is cut from a separate piece of leather which attaches to the rear board. In all other aspects it is lined as described above.

After the covering was completely applied to the boards, flap and tongue, the leather must have been simply left to dry in place before tooling began. There seems to have been no tradition among Samaritan binders of trimming-out surplus material or smoothing rough edges, so that the rough cut edges of the covering are to be seen beneath pastedowns.

viii) Leather

As noted previously, the leather covering of manuscripts is termed *ʿor*. It is generally stated to be of a sacrificial origin. Among the terms found are, "Pure (or ritually pure) skin from the sacrifices of the Samaritan community in Shechem" (Bodl. Sam. MS. e.11); "Its leather is ritually pure" (Ryl. Sam. MS. 290); "Its leather is from the sacrifices in Egypt". It is apparent that the terms "sacrifice", "whole offerings", and the like cannot refer to any sort of sacrificial offering or sacrifice in a formal sense. Apart from the Passover sacrifices there is no evidence of any Samaritan sacrificial offerings during the whole period of copying the manuscripts from which the references are found, except for the "Red Heifer". It should be noted that in the Passover sacrifice

the lambs used were somewhat well-charred from being engulfed in glowing pits of charcoal,[91] hence the skin would not be useable. Moreover, no sacrifices were offered in Egypt. Their offerings at Passover were made by pilgrims to Mt. Gerizim.[92] The references must, then, be to animals slaughtered ritually for food.

It is easy enough to detect when the reference to ritually pure leather is exclusively to the outer covering; that is, when the textblock is written on paper, and only the casing is leather. But there is the real possibility that some of the references are to the parchment of the folios, and that there was a developed tradition that parchment for Pentateuch manuscripts was to come from the skins of animals killed ritually for food.[93]

The leather skins used in binding certainly are always those of a ritually clean animal however it was killed; we have no means of knowing that! No single example has yet been seen of an unclean animal's skin in a Samaritan binding. The most common leather is goatskin (identified by its characteristic triple follicle mark) followed by wool-sheep (identified by the ripple marks of wool sheepskin). Some of the leather coverings give the impression of being from the common Middle-Eastern hair-sheep.

From the statements of scribes, which not only declared the ritual purity of the leather but which often included the declaration that they had prepared it with their own hands, we see that Samaritan binders tended to tan their own leathers. However, we have no description of the process. The most commonly used colour, especially in the older manuscripts, is brown; this may well have been the colour most easily achieved with the aid of

[91] For a description of the Passover sacrifice with photographs of each stage, see J. Jeremias, *Die Passahfeier der Samaritaner*, Giessen, 1932.

[92] Cf. the letters of Obadiah of Bertinoro in A. Yaari, *Iggrot Eretz Israel* (Tel Aviv), pp. 94-141.

[93] Samaritan tradition has it that the ashes of a Red Heifer were used until 1542 A.D. for purification after contact with the dead and after ritual killing of animals. When the use of this method of purification ceased, the skins of animals killed ritually for food were no longer clean and hence could not be used for parchment, with the consequence that paper replaced parchment leaves. Cf. R. Kashani, "The Samaritans, their Origins, Traditions and Customs" (Hebrew), *Bitefutsot Hagolah*, 56/57, 1971, p. 218. That this is a rationalisation for the replacement of parchment by paper can be proved from those parchment manuscripts written after 1542, as also from the use of the words *'or ṭahor* for covering leather.

readily available and simple chemicals such as gall nuts and vitriol. However, a range of colours is to be seen including red (Ryl. Sam. MS. 34), light tan (B.L. Or. 1444), yellow-green (B.N. Sam. 60). From this we may infer that Samaritan binders had some skills as tanners.

ix) Tooling and Decorating

The tooling of the leather covers seems to have been done after all other stages of the binding were complete. This is to be discerned by examination of the damaged Gaster manuscripts in the Rylands, where one can see the tooling marks in the boards beneath the leather. One can also see tooling carried to the edges of the covers but the lines do not continue beyond the turn-in —ready confirmation that the blocking was done when the casing was complete.

The most common form of decoration seems to have been the ruling of lines on the leather surface; that is, blind-tooling, with an instrument like a bone folder. Intricate chased patterns such as are found on some Islamic bindings are unknown among the Samaritans, except for Leiden MS. Or. 249, discussed below. Some stamp tools were used. Some of these stamps were simple decorative patterns, others were panel stamps.

The most commonly found tooling style, the mixture of blind-tooling and decorative stamps and panels, is to be seen in the plate showing Ryl. Sam. MS. 28 (Plate 2). The stampings on that binding, the "broad S" pattern and the strawberry (if that is what is represented), are most commonly found on bindings of the third quarter of the eighteenth century. It can be seen from the plates that the front and back covers are patterned almost identically, with a border of double-tooled framing lines, diagonal intercepts from corner to corner and large stampings at the interceptions and at the mid-points inside the framing lines. The framing lines contain a frieze of "broad S" stamps. The foredge flap is tooled and the flap tongue is also tooled with framing lines which follow the outline of the tongue. The tongue is bisected by a double line on a diagonal, and at the interception with the framing lines the large stamp motif is found again. Once again the framing lines are decorated with a "broad S" frieze.

The style has a simplicity which is the keynote of the Samaritan style. Only two tools are used to obtain the effect and these are used repetitively.

On some manuscripts, such as Klagsbald 2, one sees a single blocking line down the middle of the front and rear panels. This line was apparently intended to serve as a guide to the scribe so that he could place other lines and stamps symmetrically. However, if this was the purpose, it seldom seems to have achieved its effect properly; moreover, it was the only guide line used. Occasionally one finds gouge marks in the leather where the blocking tool left tracks when the scribe's hand veered away from the straight edge that was evidently used for guiding the tool.

The most carefully-wrought Samaritan binding known to us is that on Leiden Or. 249, a Scaliger manuscript, which, as noted, has been resewn by a European binder. The loose case may indicate that an old binding was retained after the manuscript was restored, or that a new case was made in imitation of the Islamic style. The binding is atypical, with no parallels anywhere in the known Samaritan tradition. All its blocking lines are carefully placed and appear to have been measured and executed to a design. There are intricately chased and gilded panels, rather faded now, across the middle of the front and rear covers, and the tongue is not framed in the way customarily found among the Samaritans. The centre panels show a sense of proportion and technique of execution not otherwise attested amongst them.

A second style of decoration, which combines the use of framing lines and friezes of small motif stamps with panel stamps, is found on the covers of Bodl. Sam. MS. e.15. In this decoration framing lines are drawn but do not contain any motifs. The small motif stamps are placed inside the centre panel and not inside the framing lines. In the centre of the framed square is a large panel stamp containing a motif of flowers and leaves and above and below the panel stamp are smaller panel stamps of a flower, perhaps a lily, rather like a cornucopia. The latter is common on Samaritan bindings. On the flap tongue a smaller panel stamp fills the space between the framing lines. In most Samaritan bindings of this type the same pattern is to be found on the front and the rear, and the flap tongue shows a smaller panel stamp than that used on the sides. Occasionally the large panel stamp is repeated on the spine, as in B.L. Add. 19956.

A third style of decoration which represents a combination of both the above styles is to be seen in the tooling of MS. B.N. Sam. 48. Here the framing lines are not filled by the motif. This merely outlines the central panel. The tooling lines cut the corners

diagonally. The central panel is bisected and a panel stamp—in this case a letter—is cut by the tooled lines. Similar combined forms are to be found in Ryl. Sam. MS. 96 and Bodl. Sam. MS. e.18.

Two examples of coloured panel stamps are known, representing two different techniques of execution. The first, on the sides of B.L. Add. 19956, a late eighteenth-century MS., survived restoration by the library's binders. For this panel the binder appears to have used fawn skiver which he onlaid. Panel stamps then seem to have been blocked through the skiver.

The second example, Ryl. Sam. MS. 30, is an early eighteenth-century manuscript (*c.* 1737 A.D.). On the front a panel stamp has been blocked on to onlaid skiver. This skiver, originally tan, was partially coloured with an opaque white paint which has now largely been lost. Blocking lines were drawn after the panel stamping was completed and these cut through the stamping.

x) Tools and Stamps

Since the same tools tend to be repeated, it is not yet possible to present a chronology. The small "motif" stamps include: (a) a small rosette; (b) a simple pricking point for producing a dotted pattern; (c) a small pomegranate; (d) a strawberry; (e) a lily; (f) an amphora; (g) an oblique cross; (h) three varieties of "S", one in a circular frame, one in a curved frame, and one unframed. The latter is sometimes used in an oblique position so that half the stamp registers and a "snake link" can be created; (i) A cluster of five dots in a circle; (j) a "goat's hoof"; (k) a thick cross.

Panel stamps are of the shield variety and generally carry flower and leaf motifs. Three examples are known where the envelope flap is embossed with an Arabic motif, namely B.L. Add. 19956, and Ryl. Sam. MSS. 34 and 43. The latter are both twentieth-century manuscripts. In the first, the panel stamp is much rubbed and the three minute lines of writing cannot be read. In the latter two the stamp appears only as Arabic in large letters, reading "There is no God but One".