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NOTE ON 'SOLOMON B. JUDAH AND SOME OF HIS CONTEMPORARIES'

UNDER the above heading Dr. A. Marmorstein printed in this REVIEW (vol. VIII, 1-29) an article which included new material from the Genizah. The history of the Jews in Egypt and in Palestine under the Fāṭimid Caliphs is not yet written. This deficiency will only be made up when the remarkable Genizah finds completely see the light of publication. Judging from the past, we shall have to wait for many a year yet till this will be an accomplished fact. Every contribution, therefore, that augments our knowledge of this obscure period of Jewish history is to be gratefully accepted. But to be of scientific value, it must, of course, adequately present the new material. Only a few have the opportunity of re-examining the originals from which this material is taken. When manuscripts are improperly used, the result is a tangle of false conceptions to unravel which is indeed an uncongenial as well as thankless task.

Working on a contribution to the history of this period, based chiefly on hitherto unpublished Genizah material, for the last three years, I had the occasion to study the fragments Dr. Marmorstein used in addition to a good many more. With a single-minded purpose of serving scientific truth, I am constrained, though with great reluctance, to make the following remarks on his paper.

1. Before dealing with Solomon b. Judah proper, Dr. Marmorstein discusses the preceding Geonim of the Palestinian school (pp. 3 ff.). The Memorial List (MS. Adler 2592), on which he bases his genealogy of the Geonim belonging to Ben-Meir's family, cannot be fully considered here. It is enough to say, that there exist three other lists about this family (Bodl. 2874²⁸ and 2443, discussed by Poznański, *REJ.*, LXVI, 60 ff. ; the third

in the very same MS. Adler 2592) which Dr. Marmorstein entirely overlooked. As they are all contradictory, one list cannot be chosen at random without adducing other data for its veracity. But a signature in T.-S., 13 J. 16¹⁶, Moses **הסופר** b. Isaac **החבר** b. Solomon **החבר** b. Meir Gaon, is the cause of a long argument whether this Solomon **החבר** is the famous Ben-Meir, the opponent of Sa'adya (pp. 4 ff.). The obvious, and at the same time weighty, objection (already brought forward by Poznański) that Ben-Meir, styled **ראש ישיבה** even by his adversaries, would not be mentioned here simply as a Ḥaber, i. e. one that held a diploma from the academy, does not deter Dr. Marmorstein from deciding that Solomon is *the* Ben-Meir (p. 6).

But why this superfluous arguing about a mere signature? Let us see what the fragment contains besides the signature, to whom it is addressed, if it be a letter, and who else is mentioned therein. Now it is an epistle written by Moses **הסופר** to a highly influential elder, Abū Sa'ad b. Sahl, in request of support. The writer mentions that he is in a hurry to visit his grandfather, who is ill. Accordingly Solomon **החבר** was then still alive. But who is this Abū Sa'ad? From about 1025 to 1048 we find him having intimate connexions with the Fāṭimid court at Cairo. The Caliph aḏ-Ẓāhir bought from him a beautiful Sūdānī slave, who became the mother of the next Caliph al-Mustaṣṣir (1036–1094). The Queen-mother (Walīda) wielded great power in the court, especially since 1036, when she acted as regent for her seven-year-old son. Her former Jewish master, Abū Sa'ad, had since then become a *persona grata* till he was assassinated in 1048 (see Wüstenfeld, 'Geschichte der Fatimiden-Chalifen' in *Abhandlungen der Göttingen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, vol. XXVII, Abteilung iii. 1 ff.). The Genizah has preserved several fragments bearing on this Abū Sa'ad and his brother Abū Naṣr, the sons of Sahl al-Tustari (modern Shuster in Persia), which will be published by me elsewhere.

Now is it at all likely that the Ben-Meir of 921 was still alive in Abū Sa'ad's time? The answer is, of course, in the negative. Several other data prove conclusively that Ben-Meir was succeeded

by a son, called Meir, who is the father of the above Solomon החבר. I can only give here the result of my investigations (to be printed elsewhere) as to the Gaonic family of Ben-Meir, viz. Moses, Meir I, Judah=Ben-Meir (921), Meir II, Abraham, Aaron, Joshiah (1015).

But, writes Dr. Marmorstein (p. 8), 'We have further a fragment which enables us to fix the chronology of these Geonim. A letter, fragm. Adler, mentions severe persecutions in Sicily. The letter is written by אלחי bar Hakim to Hananiah "Ab bet din" ben ראש הישיבה . . . The father's name is missing. Hananiah is the father of Sherira, who became Gaon in the year 938/9. We assume, therefore, that Moses and his son Aaron I lived before 939.' What this has to do with the Palestinian Geonim the reader is at a loss to find out. But, forsooth, there occurs in the fragment (without Dr. Marmorstein telling us) the name of ראש הישיבה [ה רבנא] ומרנא יאשיה. This led Dr. Marmorstein at once to assume that Hananiah was Sherira's father, and that 'the head of the school' is his supposed Gaon Joshiah I. Again the question arises, What has the scholar of Pumbedita to do with the Palestinian Gaon?

Now let us state the facts. The address (verso) reads as follows:

... זנ[ם] חכי[ם]	מני[א] בו אלחי בר חכי[ם]	ב[ר] חנניה אב
	ואהובו		בית די[ן]
	רב[ש] לומות לאין קצ[ה] ומדה	ה[כ]הו ראש הישיבה	... [בר]
		זקל	

Accordingly Hananiah was a Kohen, and his identity with Sherira's father is out of the question. The contents of the letter (which will be printed elsewhere) are thus. Joshiah, 'the head of the school', wrote to Sicily requesting donations for his school. They were duly promised on a Sabbath, when the Gaon's letter was read before the congregation in the synagogue. But before the contributions could be collected such a heavy impost was made by the government that many people were ruined. The elders of the community do not like to reply to the Gaon without enclosing some money. Abū'l-Hayy, probably the local scholar,

therefore writes to Ḥananiah, *the Ab of the (Palestinian) academy*, informing him of what happened, and promising to do his best for the school during the ensuing festivals. The letter is written on Rosh Ḥodesh Elul. This Ḥananiah Hakkohen was Ab under Josiah, Gaon of Palestine in 1015, as will be shown elsewhere. Let me also add, that there is no justification whatever for Dr. Marmorstein's suggestion (pp. 13 and 15) that there were two academies in the Holy Land, one in Ramlah and the other in Jerusalem. Only the Gaon sometimes resided, instead of in the latter city, in the neighbouring Ramlah, the capital of the province of Philistia (Filastin) and the seat of the governor. This was the case with Ben-Meir, with Josiah, and, on several occasions, with Solomon b. Judah.

2. We come at last to this Gaon. Writes Dr. Marmorstein: 'In a fragment Adler there is a Selihah, beginning אבֿלה נבלה הארץ, written in the year 1362 (= 1051), *when he was still alive* (p. 14), and the years of his Gaonate were from 1025 till *his death about* 1052/3 (p. 16).¹ Now this Selihah (it is a loose leaf in MS. Adler 2804) has really the following beginning: (1) למא תופ[י] רבינו שלמה; (2) עמל אפ[ר]ים הרה אלסליחה (3) פי אלנצף אייר סנה אשסב גאון (4) אבֿלה נבלה הארץ וכו'. 'When our master Solomon Gaon died, Ephraim composed this Selihah in the middle of Iyyar 1362 Sel.' (= 1051 C. E.). The author of this elegy is most likely Ephraim b. Shemarya of Fustāt. Further comments are needless.

3. 'Solomon prevented the re-establishment of the dual authority of the Palestinian Gaonate' (pp. 14-15). This Dr. Marmorstein infers from a few lines cited from MS. Adler 2804. This fragment (it is fol. 3) deals with a rival of Ephraim b. Shemarya in Fustāt, and has nothing to do with a supposed opponent of the Gaon. The letter will be fully printed elsewhere. The following corrected readings of the lines cited by Dr. Marmorstein are given here. For כל הימנו read כל המינו; for באספו אליו ב[אנ] אילו; for אין זה דרך מי אין זה הדרך; for למחלוקת אין [אנו מחז]קין ידי בע[לי מ]חלוקת.

¹ The italics are mine.

Dr. Marmorstein actually left us in the middle of a sentence. (On the same page, for השורחני read השולחני, the banker.)

4. Writes Dr. Marmorstein (p. 16), 'We hear it very soon, already in Solomon's time, that people said: The former leaders always stood against the blood of their colleagues (T.-S., 13 J. 9² *vide* now *RÉJ.*, LXVIII, p. 45).' I have only to refer to my remarks in this REVIEW (vol. VII. 481), whence it is clear that Solomon b. Judah made these remarks *himself* about the spiritual leaders (ראשים)² in Fustât, speaking also disparagingly of Elḥanan (b. Shemarya). Dr. Marmorstein, who published this important letter in *RÉJ.*, entirely failed to understand its drift. The whole fragment will be reprinted by me, as it has been carelessly edited. Compare the two versions in *RÉJ.*, *l. c.*, p. 46, ll. 18-24, and in this REVIEW, p. 17, note 17. As for the latter, for יושב בעיר הקודש read אשב בעיר קודש אינו אים [= אלהינו אלהים] יבוננה, for באשר העמה אינו [= אלהינו] באשר [נעשה?] אלו. The meaning is, What can be done, the name is called (i. e. I bear the title Gaon), and it is impossible to reject what our God adorned (me) with.³ These bitter words of the Gaon were due to the great pain the opponents of Ephraim b. Shemarya in Fustât caused him by their letters. They accused him of siding with Ephraim, though unworthy, because of his presents; and they even threatened to denounce Solomon to the government. The corresponding lines read in the MS. (but cp. the version in *RÉJ.*, *l. c.*, 45, ll. 6-9!), כי רצו רוב העם לקבול עלי על (אל) המלכות יבוננה, אל כי הרשיתי איש לא ראוי וישמיצוך בדברים רעים המק [= המקום] יבנה הדין מכל מוציא שם רע וישב עליו בדין אכזריות ויאמרו כי למען [מתנ] ותיד ומשאותיך יבואוך אנרותינו להעזר בם עליהם. The whole epistle deals with a communal dispute in Fustât. And yet Dr. Marmorstein exclaims (p. 17), 'Is it not undeniably established⁴ that the enemies wanted another man in Solomon's place, and had one ready?'

Trying to find opposition against Solomon b. Judah's Gaonate

² Both Elḥanan the elder and his son Shemarya are called הראש, see *l. c.*, 479; VIII, 344.

³ Obviously alluding to Job 40. 10. Read therefore perhaps הערה.

⁴ The italics are mine.

where there is none, Dr. Marmorstein discovers (in this REVIEW, vol. VI, 161-2) a poem in MS. Adler 3363. 7, from which he copies two lines, and adduces that 'the dignity of Solomon b. Judah was fiercely attacked'. Now this fragment (it really covers ff. 8 a b and 9 a) is a copy of the well-known poem of Gabirol (another Solomon b. Judah!) in honour of his patron Yekutiel, already printed in Duke's *שירי שלמה*, no. 8 (p. 13), in Sachs' *שה"ש*, 16-36, and in Brody's edition, Heft I, no. 3. Needless to say that in the line *ואם תשאל מי הוא זה וכן מי שלמה בן יהודה*, Gabirol speaks of himself!

5. On pp. 18-19 Dr. Marmorstein makes statements about the adversaries of Ephraim b. Shemarya, which he tries to support by quotations from fragments torn from their contexts and entirely misconstrued. In the first instance, what do the lines of T-S., 13 J. 15¹ (p. 18, note 22) mean? Solomon writes to Ephraim that prior to this letter he sent him a few lines (*שורות*) after the festivals in reply to his epistles. Therein Ephraim reported the doings of his opponent. That person held the diploma of *Ḥaber* (*חבר*), given by the Jerusalem school, but not satisfied with it, he exchanged it for the title *Alluf* of the Babylonian academy. He accordingly 'despised the waters of Shiloah to drink the waters of the Euphrates'. Solomon, naturally, maintains that this man only lost thereby, since the Palestinian degree is higher. The academy of the Holy Land is the 'alma mater' (*אם*), whereas the seat of learning in Babylon is a step-mother (*אשת אב*). Several other fragments (to be printed elsewhere) deal with this scholar in *Fuṣṭāt* who changed his allegiance to the former school for the latter. The title *Alluf*, it can be stated with certainty, was never bestowed by the academy of Palestine, and has nothing to do with 'the history of the organization of the Palestinian Geonim' (p. 18). In note 22 for *ליד* [י?] read *ליד*, for *מעאה* read *מעאה*, for *מחתי מהר* read *לבילתי מוש מהם*.

But a typical example is the following. Writes Dr. Marmorstein (p. 19), 'Furthermore, we see that he (i. e. Solomon b. Judah) asked a man, *perhaps the lay head of the community in the Diaspora*

We learn from this letter several details of interest. In the first instance we see that Daniel b. 'Azarya was not the first Nasi in the Holy Land, but that already in Solomon's time a descendant of David settled there. (This Nasi is indeed mentioned in some other epistles of the Gaon.) Unfortunately his name is not preserved in our fragment, of which the beginning is missing. Solomon writes that he is very pleased that the Nasi intends leaving Egypt for Palestine, where he will be the leader of the people. The Gaon has already written to the Ḥaber (probably Ephraim b. Shemarya) setting forth how the division of authority (in Jerusalem) was to be arranged so that no friction arise between himself and the newcomer. (Our fragment is not written to Ephraim but to some other person in Fustāṭ, very likely Sahlān b. Abraham, because in l. 21 greetings are sent to the correspondent and his son. In the numerous letters to Ephraim there is never mentioned a son of his, only a son-in-law, Joseph by name.) The Gaon continues: I have spoken to-day (in Jerusalem) to the important elder, Sa'adya b. Israel, to write to 'our lord and leader, the elder and the glory of the house of Israel', informing him of my love for the Nasi, and my desire for his settling here. He deserves all honour. The time is pressing because the festivals are at hand, and I want him to be with us (in Jerusalem) before New Year. Let him obtain letters patent from the (central) government to be able to act here with authority, and put an end to the rampant strife of which the Gaon had enough. 'Our Nasi will tell him (i. e. this great dignitary) all the details.' (It seems that the Nasi had already visited the Holy City, and was well acquainted with the local state of affairs.) I am anxiously expecting a letter reporting his (the Nasi's) departure from Egypt. 'He (this dignitary) will do it in his kindness' (i. e. obtain from the government in Cairo (Fustāṭ) a decree of authority for the Nasi). May God hear my prayers for him, for (his) brother, 'the glory of the house of Israel', and their noble family. Let me state that these two brothers are the above-mentioned Abū Sa'ad and Abū Naṣr, who were the very people to obtain from the Caliph all the political power

required by the Nasi for his new régime in Jerusalem. This is the plain and obvious meaning of our fragment. What ground, then, had Dr. Marmorstein for his statement quoted above?

6. Dr. Marmorstein has found in several Genizah fragments (pp. 20 ff.) references to the formidable revolution in Palestine and Syria (1024-29) against the Caliph az-Zāhir. It should be stated at once that one leader of the rebels, Ḥasan, was not of the Banū Gariah, as Dr. Marmorstein prints, but of the Banū Jarrah (جرار), see Becker, *Beiträge z. Gesch. Ägyptens unter d. Islam*, I, pp. 44 ff.). Furthermore, the Resh Kalla Sahlān b. Abraham resided not in Ḳairowan but in Fustāt, as is clear from numerous fragments (see also my remarks in *JQR.*, N. S., IX, p. 161; the residence of Sahlān's father, Abraham, in Fustāt is also evident from the Arabic address, *JQR.*, XIX, 726, no. 11). But Dr. Marmorstein has discovered in T.-S., 13 J. 13²⁸ that Jews in Damascus were imprisoned for taking part in the rebellion. Accordingly Solomon b. Judah (to wit, in Jerusalem) writes to Suhlān b. Abraham (in Ḳairowan (!), according to Dr. Marmorstein) to inspire 'the Resh Kalla to take steps with the authorities on behalf of the Jewish prisoners in Damascus' (pp. 20-21). What a play with geography! To release prisoners in Damascus naturally the central Fāṭimid government in Cairo had to be approached. What help could the Gaon in Jerusalem hope to obtain for them from the intervention with the authorities (in Ḳairowan!) by the local Resh Kalla? But the letter was addressed to Fustāt, and has nothing to do with the rebellion.

Before briefly indicating its drift, I give the following corrected readings. The fragment is of paper, square writing, size 25.5 × 17.4 cm., badly preserved, torn at the bottom of the left-hand side. Its beginning is intact. Hence the dots by Dr. Marmorstein (note 30, before l. 1) should be deleted. In l. 2 for אל ידירי read וכן נשלתו . . . והיינו (l. 6) for והחוקנו read והחוקתי (l. 3) for אל ידירי read ונתוק וניתוק (l. 9) for והן נשלתו [ציריים והיינו] read כי [נשלח] להם כי ש[לח] אליהם (l. 10) for אלקואז read אלקואי, (l. 11) omit the second ארץ, for בולת read בולת[ו] (l. 12) for הפיתוק מפי read הפיתוק מפי [הזה] for ונשב לפי

דבר[ם] read דברינו (l. 13), ונשיב לפי מה [שנראה] read מה . . . (l. 14), אוי נא כי יספ' יי' יגון עוד [על] יגוני ונ' read אוי נא לי וכו' for ועורנו read א. א. ? ? can be read, for only [נ]נק[וה] read נקוה' for הזקן read מרדב' read מר, ורב (l. 15), [והיינ]ו מק[וים] read מקוים ומר. רב, אבו אלפכאר read אבולפוכאר (l. 16), [הכ]הן read כאשר, הנקוב אבו אלפצל' read דהנקוב אבולפצל' for [ומ]ן רב read וה[ו]ליכני . . . only (עצת ?) for (l. 17), באשר read הצדיק [ק.רא] for (l. 19), אוכל read אוכל, כוח read כוחי, for (l. 20), שניהם read עו[מד] for ותולה לפניך. . . read ה,חמטאים [והנה] באות read החוטאים . . . באו, for [גר]ולה לפ[ני יי'] read וואף (l. 21), ואף read אף כתוב, כמ[צפ]ים read ל. . . סים, for ולמכור (l. 22), בה[ק]הלה read (בהר) הזה, for ואם read באין איש רוא[ה] read באין אדם רואה, for [בשר] supply, לא ימנו אות . . . נו. . . ים read לא ימס אותם (?) וכי, for ולרה read (l. 25), שאלתם לא [י]בואו read שירותם (?) לא יבוא (l. 26), [י]כתב[ו] כתבים . . . וכאלה רבות ש. . . ר read יכתבו כתבים . . . for [בד]ברים ה[א]לה ההיתה צור[ך] . . . read בדבר . . . (l. 27), וכב[ר]ר נ[תתי] read וכבר שמתי (l. 28), השמיעו read השמעתי אל (l. 30), יעמוד read יעמד, ולהחזוק read להתחזק is vocalized ולא הש (?) for (l. 31), לכנוס read לכנס, אל' read ביי' [א]לה[ינ]ו אנו . . . read ואנו (l. 32), שלילה ולא ה[י]תה read צדק ושלוש מ. . . וכל (l. 33), after several letters are missing, read ובעונתי, קהלך read קהליך, ושלוש מסר[פ]ך⁹ וכל read אשאל לכתוב משמ[י] מטירוף read ידיי, ידי (l. 34), ובעונותיי ויוציא | מצרה לרווחה | למען¹⁰: The margin reads as follows: ולא שמו | ולמ[ען] ברית[ו] היות | כי לא הרעותי | את אחד מהם | ולא הטרחתי | וגם לא לקחתי | כופר והוא עד | ונאמן עליי | [ו]למאד קצת[י] | בחיי ונקטה | רוחי וכבר | [כתבתי] אל מר רב | [י]שי החבר ומ[ר] רב שמואל גם | קדמו מכתב[י]ם | אל החבר מר רב | אפרים הכהן שצ' | ואל

⁹ מסרף is an uncle from the maternal side in contrast to דוד. See, e.g., Ibn Ezra to Amos 6. 10: ומסרפ: אחי אביו ומסרפ: אחי אמו. Sahlān's maternal uncle was a scholar by name Sa'adya b. Ephraim, as will be shown elsewhere.

¹⁰ The perpendicular strokes indicate the lines of the margin.

מר רב | [י]פת ראש הקהל | [ואל] אחינו | מר רב יעקב | [שצ] ואל מר
 רב | נתנאל תתברכו | יחד המקום | יעזור אתכם | ויוריק[ם] ררך | הישרה |
 . . . ויצליחכם בכל | אשר תעשו | ועקב שלום | שלמה . . .
 between ll. 27-8 read *וכן החברים* after *וכן*. So much for the
 correctness of Dr. Marmorstein's copy!

As regards the subject-matter of the letter, it deals with a communal dispute between Rabbinites and Ḳaraites. (Several other fragments have a bearing on this episode. They will be printed in another connexion.) The latter used to be under the jurisdiction of the former. But in 1024 the Caliph issued a decree that independence in religious matters be granted to each sect. The commander-in-chief in Syria was ordered to carry out this edict also in his province. From 1024-9 affairs were chaotic there owing to the rebellion, and this Act of Tolerance could not be carried out. But with the restoration of order it began to take effect. (This is a summary of my construction of the data to be given elsewhere.) Now certain scholars of the Palestine school (*חברים*, Dr. Marmorstein translates 'partners'!) seem to have contravened in Ramlah this Government Act, were arrested and taken to Damascus, where the commander-in-chief ad-Dizbiri probably resided then. 'Adi b. Menasse (b. al-Ḳzāz) was an important *Jewish* Kātib in this city. No doubt acting in an official capacity, he informed the prisoners that they would be released on condition that they took an oath by God and the Caliph no more to use the title Ḥaber, and never again to hold any communal office in Palestine. The Ḳaraites came in with other demands that a separate shop be assigned to them in the Jewish bazaar where meat be sold to them which was not examined in the Rabbinic way (*בריקה*), that they should be allowed to trade on the festival days fixed by the Rabbinites, and other instances. Solomon b. Judah writes to Sahlān to obtain influential support in Fustāṭ (Cairo) for the cause of the Rabbinites; let the central government be induced to send word to Ramlah and Damascus in their favour. The Gaon energetically appealed to other influential Jews in Fustāṭ. It should be added that ultimately the Rabbinites had the better

of their opponents. The whole subject cannot be fully discussed here. But one thing is beyond doubt, that our letter has no bearing whatever on the rebellion of 1024-9.

But, writes Dr. Marmorstein (p. 23), '*If there were the slightest doubt about the dating of the letters*, one other fragment shows *undeniably*¹¹ that the revolution took place in the time of Solomon, and furthermore that it had a very sad influence on the Jews in those countries'. Nobody denies this. There are some Genizah fragments which tell us a good deal about the terrible sufferings of the Jews in Jerusalem and Ramlah during the rebellion. But the fragment T.-S., 13 J. 20²⁵, which Dr. Marmorstein adduces as evidence (note 32), has nothing whatever to do with this crisis. He has discovered therein a tribal prince *יבקי בן אביריון* and also the Banū Guriah (*בני נביררה*). Thus by some strange way of transliteration the Banū Jarrah (above, p. 417) become in MS. Banū Gariah, Banū Guriah, *בני נביררה*. But the MS. reads (l. 15) *בְּנֵי נְבִירָה* (vocalized in the original!). Thus: '... a letter from Mukhtar the Arab, and he said that my son Jabarah sent'! (Another fragment has expressly *בן מכתאר*.) As for the 'prince' *יבקי*, had Dr. Marmorstein considered the letter, dated Kislev (1) 340 Sel. (= 1028), from Alexandria to Ephraim b. Shemarya (*JQR.*, XIX, 250-4), he would have found that the 'noble' *יבקי* plied the honourable trade of slave-dealer. His relatives and trade-fellows were Mukhtar (mentioned in *JQR.*, l. c., and in our fragment, l. 1) and his son Jabarah. Saracen pirates infested in those days the eastern Mediterranean, and boat loads of captives from Byzantium were landed at the Egyptian ports, chiefly Alexandria. Several other Genizah fragments of this time mention Jewish captives from Byzantium whom their Egyptian co-religionists had to ransom. And our letter here is one of these fragments. It probably does not emanate from Alexandria, where the most representative Jew then was Netaneel Hakkohen b. El'azar, but from some other Egyptian port, probably Damietta. An elder, Nathan Hakkohen, negotiates with the captors about the ransom of the Jews. Some of the captives were also sent

¹¹ The italics are mine.

to Barḳah (l. 16), farther west on the North-African coast. (There is no ground whatever for identifying this Nathan Hakkohen with a Nathan החבר (no Kohen!) in Fustāt, mentioned in Solomon b. Juda's letter to Ephraim b. Shemarya, Saadyana, XLI, as Dr. Marmorstein does.)

In conclusion, the following corrected readings of the fragment are given here. It is torn across the whole right-hand side. Thus dots, indicating missing letters, should be placed at the beginning of each line. The length of a whole line can be estimated from l. 11. In l. 1 for לוקחה read קחה לו, for אבוריון read אביריון (l. 3) for ועניוים read ועניוים (l. 4) for [התנ?] supply [ונבקש], for יעננה read יענוה (l. 6) for והלבינו read והלכנו, for יום read ביום, for לילה read בלילה (l. 8) for ושבה read ישוה (l. 9) for לקחו read וקחו, for ולכן read ולכי, (l. 10) for כתבנו read ו[ש]בנו, (l. 12) before לוקנינו read זו, for יחי read יחי, for הקודש read הקדוש, (l. 13) for [ה]צלה read [ה]צלה, (l. 15) for בני גבירה read בני גבארה, (l. 17) before אחרי read בן, (l. 18) for . . . ה read [אח[רים]], for במאת read במאת (?), (l. 19) for עבודה read העברים, (l. 20) read [מ]רלותם [ויציל]ם, for העברים read ויגידו [ויציל]ם [מ]רלותם, (l. 21) before עבורם read [ובכיותינ]ו, of l. 22 only the last word [אליה] is preserved.

The moral of the above strictures is obvious. The facts speak for themselves. Needless to say, history—worthy of the name—cannot be reconstrued by such a method.

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