

SCRIBAL ADDITIONS TO TEXTUAL WITNESSES OF RASHI'S COMMENTARY
TO TRACTATE SUKKAH*

Numerous studies on the Commentary of Rashi to the Talmud have taken a general approach to the commentary to the entire Talmud and have been based textually primarily on the commonly-found printed versions of the commentary. The current generation of research into the commentary has moved in a new direction: in-depth analysis of the commentary to a single tractate, including examination of all textual witnesses to the commentary to that particular tractate.¹ In this spirit the current article attempts to advance the state of scholarship on Rashi's Commentary to the Talmud with a concise investigation into an aspect of the Commentary to Tractate Sukkah.

Introduction

The interpretative enterprise of the Tosafists is well-known and has been preserved in numerous collections. However, an additional, lesser-known and more modest literary activity has also been documented: scribal additions to the Commentary of Rashi. These were added after Rashi completed his composition. Some were added by Rashi himself (his '*mahadura batra*'), but most of them were composed by his students or later Sages. The contents of some of these additions predate Rashi, some are contemporaneous comments from members of his scho-

ol, and some were composed long after Rashi's time. Occasionally, these consist of completion of partially cited verses or short explanatory phrases, but at times these consist of longer interpretative passages which were not part of the original commentary. The additions were written in margins or migrated into the body of the commentary. In order to identify the additions, a detailed comparative analysis of all textual witnesses is required. There are several indicators of scribal additions to the commentary; we will now list a few of the main signs: A. a passage which is labeled with the name of a Sage or a clear explicit heading indicating its addition in at least one of the textual witnesses, such as "*to-sefet*" (תוספת) or "*ad kan*" (עד כאן); B. a passage which is only found in one textual witness; and C. a passage found in the margin and not in the body of the text, where it is clearly not the restoration of the lacunae of a previous scribe. Identification of the scribal additions is important in order to precisely understand the parameters of Rashi's original Commentary, in order to recognize interpretative enterprises which preceded and post-dated Rashi, and in order to widen our knowledge of the practices of scribes and printers of the commentary.

In this respect, we will examine the scribal additions found in the textual witnesses of the Commentary of Rashi to Tractate Sukkah. We

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¹ See Y. MALHI, פירוש רש"י למסכת ברכות: הנוסח שבידינו ונוסחאות אחרות [Rashi's Commentary to Tractate Berachot], Bar-Ilan University, Ramat Gan 1983; D. FOGEL, פירוש רש"י למסכת בבא מציעא: חלקים נבחרים, פרקי מבוא Bava Metzia: Selected Parts, Introductory Chap-

ters], Bar-Ilan University, Ramat Gan 1992; A. AHREND, פירוש רש"י למסכת מגילה [Rashi's Commentary on Tractate Megilla], Jerusalem 2008 (Henceforth: AHREND, Megillah); ID., פירוש רש"י למסכת ראש השנה [Rashi's Commentary on Tractate Rosh Hashana], Jerusalem 2014 (Henceforth: AHREND, *Rosh HaShannah*); ID., *A Spanish Recension of Rashi's Commentary to Tractate Berachot in a Fragment from a Girona Historical Archive Binding*, in «Ma-

will analyze a selection of the additions and attempt to draw scholarly conclusions based upon them.² Afterwards, we will examine illustrations interspersed in textual witnesses to the commentary.

The commentary to Tractate Sukkah has been preserved in two virtually complete manuscripts: NY JTS Rab. 832 and Munich 216; and in a third manuscript, Escorial G II 4, which lacks Rashi's commentary to the first chapter. The only textual witness which contains the commentary in its entirety is the Pesaro edition, circa 1515. Several manuscript fragments of the commentary have been preserved in libraries across Europe. A complete listing of these textual witnesses will be found at the end of the study.

A. Comments of Rashi which were copied from other Loci

A relatively rare phenomena found in textual witnesses of the Commentary of Rashi to the Talmud is the copying of a comment found in one Tractate to a manuscript of the commentary to another Tractate.³ We will now examine several such instances found in textual witnesses to the Commentary to Tractate Sukkah.

1. On folio 3b, adjacent to loc. אין עושין, a scribe added the following section to the margin of the JTS manuscript:

פרש"י בפרק מעברין ג' נותנין קרפף לעיר: כשבא למדוד התחומין אינו מודד מן החומה אלא מרחיק ע' אמה ושירים כחצר המשכן ומתחיל למדוד דברי ר' מאיר. וחכמים אומרים לא אמרו בקרפף אלא בבין ב' עירות כו' קמ"א ושליש: היינו שני קרפפות. להיות אחד: והיוצא מזה ללכת דרך חברתה חוצה לה מודד מחומת חברתה והולך.

In this instance, the scribe added a quotation from the Commentary of Rashi to the Mishnah found in Eruvin 57a, in order to clarify

Rashi's comments to the current discussion which cites that Mishnah. In the textual witnesses to the commentary to Tractate Sukkah, Rashi only cites the opinion of the Sages, whereas Tosafot cites a version of the commentary of Rashi which also explains the opinion of R. Meir, a disputant of the Sages. The scribe added this section because the commentary of Rashi to the opinion of the Sages in Tractate Eruvin is incomprehensible without the commentary to the opinion of R. Meir. From the fact that the scribe acted in this manner, and did not include the commentary of Rashi to the opinion of the Sages as well, strongly suggests that his intention was not to add to the words of Rashi themselves.

2. At folio 5a we find a supplement in the margin of the JTS manuscript, adjacent to loc. קדש למ"ד מלמטה:

תוספת וכתוב עליו ב' שיטין: כמין ב' שרטוטין. יו"ד ה"א למעלה וקדש למ"ד למטה: פרש"י כמשמעותו דבשיטה ראשונה י"ה ובשיטה שנייה קדש למ"ד. ואינו נראה דהא בקרא כתיב ופתחת עליו פיתוחי חותם קודש ליי (שמות כח, לו) ומשמע דקדש תחלה. ומפרש רבנו תם דלעולם קדש למ"ד בשיטה ראשונה אך בסוף שיטה ראשונה היה כתוב, וי"ה היה כתוב בשטה שנייה בתחלתה, ומעתה הרואה מרחוק נראה לו ד"ה מלמעלה וקדש למ"ד מלמטה ולעולם קדש למ"ד בשיטה ראשונה כדכתיב בקרא.

This marginal addition paraphrases the Commentary of Rashi to Tractate Shabbat 63b, loc. יו"ד ה"א, explaining a baraita appearing in our sugya: למטה וקדש למ"ד למטה, which Rashi does not comment upon here. Afterwards, this interpretation is rejected and an alternate interpretation of R. Tam, Rashi's grandson, is cited.⁵ This addition is somewhat similar to the commentary of Tosafot here, loc. קדש, and to Tosafot Shabbat 63b, loc. וכתוב, whose author is R. Samson of Sens (~1150--1215). However, there are discrepancies in the second comment.

3. On folio 47a, Rashi's comment according to the first edition (Pesaro):

teria Giudaica» XIX/1-2 (2014), pp. 481-500.

² Scribal addenda whose purpose is to complete phrases will not be discussed here.

³ On the phenomenon in his commentary to other Tractates, see: AHREND, *Rosh HaShannah*, p. 56.

See a similar example in example 5 below.

⁴ The scribe erroneously wrote: דבשעה, and so too in the two subsequent appearances of the word בשיטה.

⁵ The commentary of R. Tam is found in his ספר

ולִינָה: ללון לילה של מוצאי יום טוב הראשון בירושלים דגמרינן מפסח דכתיב ופנית בבקר והלכת לאוהליך (דברים טז, ז), ביום טוב לא קאמר קרא שהרי הוא יום שחייבו חכמים לראות בעזרה כך פ' בפרק קמא דראש השנה (ה ע"א), לראות בעזרה כדי להביא עולת ראייה, ואי אפשר לומר והלכת לאוהליך אלא בחולו של מועד וקאמרינן בבקר אלמא חייב ללון מוצאי יום טוב בתוך העיר...

The section: ביום טוב לא ... עולת ראייה is not found in other textual witnesses to the commentary and it is clearly a later scribal addition. The sentence: ביום טוב לא ... חכמים לראות בעזרה is copied from the Commentary of Rashi to Tractate Rosh HaShannah 5a, loc. ופנית בבוקר, referred to explicitly in the continuation: כך פ' בפרק קמא דראש השנה. The purpose of the addition is to explain why ופנית בבוקר cannot refer to a Yom Tov. The conclusion of the addition: לראות בעזרה כדי להביא עולת ראייה reprises Rashi's words in Tractate Rosh HaShannah: לראות בעזרה and their explanation according to the Tosafot. Apparently, the scribal addition originally appeared as a marginal notation in a manuscript and, at some point, subsequently migrated into the body of the text as found in the first edition.

4. On folio 25a a series of comments appear in the margin of the JTS manuscript following the comment at loc. מאי משמע:

ובפירוש ברכות פרש"י מאי משמע: פרט לחתן ובלכתך בדרך דהא בשבתך בביתך ממילא משמע בשבתך דידך פרט לעוסק במצוה. מה דרך רשות: הרשות בידו לילך בה אי בעי אזיל ואי בעי לא אזיל. אף כל מקום שהוא רשות: חייב בקריאה לאפוקי חתן דמצוה היא ומשבתך נמי הוא נפיק חתן אלא כולה קרא דריש ואזיל ומקום לשבתך בחדא ובלכתך בחדא. מי לא עסקינן כו': כלומר היינו הליכה מה דרך רשות וכו' הא דרך סתם קאמר ואפילו דמצוה. ומשום דאיירי התם לענין חתן איצטריך לפרושי רש"י הכי.

The scribe copied explanations from the commentary to a parallel found in Tractate Berakhot 11a. These comments are focused on a hermeneutic interpretation which exempts a groom from the obligation of reciting *keriyat sh'ma*, whereas Rashi's commentary here does not focus on the groom.⁶ The scribe attributed the comments to Rashi and explained that Rashi

focused on the groom in his commentary to Tractate Berakhot due to the context of the sugya there, based on the Mishnah which exempts the groom. It should be noted that the comments in the margin only slightly resemble Rashi's Commentary to Tractate Berakhot. Perhaps the scribe was copying from a different version of the commentary to that tractate. There is another possibility. It is well-known that in the 11th and 12th centuries other commentaries to the Talmud were composed in Ashkenaz and France. These, like Rashi's commentary, folled the same literary style of serially alternating a quotation from the Talmud (דיבור המתחיל) with a brief local explanation. Perhaps the scribe was copying from such a commentary from the school of Rashi, which he attributed to Rashi himself.

B. Comments whose Author can be Identified (not Rashi)

Scribes who added supplements to the Commentary of Rashi rarely attributed these comments to particular authors. In the first example, the source of the added comment is known, in the second case the author is identified in the heading, and in the third example, the identity of the author can be deduced.

5. On folio 28a, Rashi comments on a baraita:

שיחת מלאכי השרת שיחת שדים שיחת דקלים: לא ידענא מאי היא.

In the margin of the Munich manuscript, alongside Rashi's comment we find the following supplement:

הגהה שיחת שדים: [להש]ביען ונפקא מינה [לעש]ות קמיע לרפואה. ושיחת דקלים: שבני [אד]ם רגילין לדבר [על] הדקלים כדכתיב [בש]למה [ויד]בר על העצים [מל"א ה, ג]. ושיחת מלאכי השרת: [לה]שביען. מעשה [מ]רכבה: לדרוש [ב]מעשה מרכבה [שב]יחזקאל.

The scribe copied the comments from the

[Sefer HaYashar, Novellae], ed. S. SHLESINGER, Jerusalem 1959, #393.

⁶ See Rashi's phrasing: מהני קראי פרט למצוה.

commentary of Rashi's grandson, R. Samuel ben Meir, Rashbam (~1080 - at least 1159), to Tractate Bava Batra 134a. There, we find these explanations of the types of conversations which Rashi admitted that he was unable to identify and to מעשה מרכבה which Rashi did not explain here. The relationship between the Munich manuscript and the Commentary of Rashbam is attested to elsewhere.⁷

6. On folio 45a, we find the following section in the Pesaro manuscript:

מיד התינוקות שומטין את לולביהן: הגדולים שומטין לולבי התינוקות בשביעי מיד התינוקות. ואוכלין את אתרוגיהן: של קטנים ואין בדבר לא משום גזל ולא מפני דרכי שלום שכך נהגו מחמת שמחה. תוספת ורבינו גרשום פירש מיד: לאחר שמקיפין המזבח שבע פעמים לאלתר התינוקות כול'.

Rashi explains that מיד התינוקות שומטין refers to adults snatching *lulavs* from the *hands* of the children. On folio 46b as well, Rashi explains the word מיד as "from the hand", in his commentary there: אורחא דמילתא: שאין דרך לשמוט מיד הגדולים את אתרוגיהם. In the passage above, after the heading: תוספת, an alternate interpretation of R. Gershom is cited. He interprets מיד temporally, not spacially. The children (not the adults!) dropped their *lulavs* "immediately" following the procession around the altar. The reference is to R. Gershom me'or haGolah, (~955-1028), head of the Mainz yeshivah. Who wrote this scribal addition? One might suggest that Rashi himself composed it after completing his Commentary to Tractate Sukkah, and it was preserved in the Pesaro manuscript as part of the final version of the commentary (מהדורא בתרא). However, this does not appear to be the case; rather, we have before us another late scribal addition. Two proofs are: A. The heading תוספת is not characteristic of Rashi

and his introduction of this heading is counterintuitive; B.R. Gershom is rarely mentioned in the commentaries of Rashi. In his Bible Commentary Rashi cites one tradition attributed to him (Isaiah 46,1). Rashi cites his responsa twice (Beitza 24b, loc. ולערב; and Kiddushin 39a, loc. סתום). On one occasion, Rashi cites R. Gershom's textual variant of the Talmud (Sukkah 40a, loc. הכי) and once he cites mi-sod R. Simon the Elder: מפי רבינו גרשום אבי הגולה (Shabbat 85b, loc. בנוטה). However, Rashi never cites the commentary of R. Gershom to the Talmud. Thus, it appears that the Commentary of R. Gershom was copied by a later scribe from a manuscript or an oral tradition which was preserved in the Pesaro manuscript. Until now, only one citation of the Commentary of R. Gershom to Tractate Sukkah was known.⁸ An additional citation has now been revealed, as will be explained.

R. Samson of Sens cites the Commentary of Rashi in his Tosafot here, loc. מיד. He then cites the following interpretation, without attribution to R. Gershom:

ועוד יש לומר דמתניתין לא איירי כלל שיחטפו הגדולים מיד של תינוקות אלא מיד, כלומר לאלתר, התינוקות שומטין לולבי עצמן מתוך הערבה לפי שהלולב ארוך ושוחקין בו ואתרוגיהן היו אוכלין.

Tosafot's version of the Commentary of Rashi was similar to most textual witnesses here which do not contain the later addition. R. Isaac ben R. Moses of Vienna (~1180--1250) in his *Sefer Or Zarua* cited the aforementioned Tosafot of R. Samson of Sens and added:

וכן פירש רבינו יהודה ברבי נתן: מיד התינוקות, כלומר לאלתר כשנעשית מצות ערבה, שומטין התינוקות לולביהן.

Or Zarua attributes R. Samson of Sens' interpretation to R. Judah ben R. Nathan,

⁷ The commentary in this manuscript from page 55a, following loc. ת"ל ובראשי חדשיכם until the end of the tractate is stylistically similar to Rashbam's commentaries. See: A. AHREND, סוכה למסכת, פירוש שרידי [Fragments of a Commentary to Tractate Sukkah from the School of Rashi], in «Kobez al Yad» 22 (2014), pp. 99-108. The commentary to the tenth chapter of Tractate Pesahim in this manuscript is Rashbam's. A long gloss in the margin

of this manuscript to the Commentary of Rashi to Hagigah 21b, loc. דררא, opens: ואני שמואל ב"ר מאיר, כך פירשתי מדעתי ועיקר.

⁸ See *Sefer HaArukh*, פטם. A. EPSTEIN, פירוש [The Talmud Commentary Attributed to Rabbeinu Gershom Me'or HaGolah], in «Neṭu'im» 6 (2000), p. 109, quotes *Sefer Šibolei HaLeqet* 370, but refers to R. Gershom's Commentary to Tractate Me'ilah 13b,

aka Rivan, a son-in-law and disciple of Rashi. Perhaps Rivan followed R. Gershom's interpretation, or he arrived at it independently, as R. Samson of Sens appears to have arrived at it independently.

7. On folio 46b Rashi explains: מיד התינוקות [שומטין כו': בשביעי קאי במתניתין]. In the Pesaro edition a long addition not found in other textual witnesses contains the interpretation of R. Gershom and Rivan mentioned in the previous paragraph, but without attribution to an author:

ויש מפרשים מיד תינוקות כלומר מיד אחר סיום מצות לולב התינוקות [שומטין]⁹ את לולביהן כלומר מניחין אותם כמו שומטו ומניחו בקרן זוית (ביצה כח ע"ב) והולכין ואוכלין אתרוגיהם. ואין נראה דאמ' בבראשית רבה (ויקרא רבה לז, ב) מעשה בחסיד אחד שנתן דינר לעני והקניטתו אשתו וברח ולא היה לו במה להתפרנס בשביעי של ערבה הלך ושמט אתרוגין מיד התינוקות כדתנין קמן מיד התינוקות שומטין כו', אלמא דגדולים שמטי ליה מיד התינוקות, והיה אותו חסיד עובר בספינה דרך כרך אחד והוצרכו לבית המלך לאתרוגין דמצוה לרפואה ומכרן ביוקר גדול וחזר לביתו.

In this scribal addition, the interpretation of R. Gershom/Rivan is cited as יש מפרשים and then the interpretation is refuted on the basis of a Midrash which describes a man who שמט אתרוגין מיד התינוקות, meaning that the Midrash dovetails with the Commentary of Rashi and not the Commentary of R. Gershom.

Clearly this scribal addition is not Rashi's own, for it does not appear in any of the older manuscripts: JTS, Munich, Escorial and Pesaro. Also, it is clear that neither Tosafot nor Tosafot Rosh 45a were familiar with this passage, for if they were, it would behoove them to relate to the refutation therein.

Furthermore, during the early period of printing, the addition is not always found. Maharshal, R. Solomon Luria, (~1510-1573), wrote in 1546 that the passage is found ... במקצת ספרים.

not Tractate Sukkah.

⁹ This word was erroneously omitted in the Pesaro edition.

¹⁰ R.S. LURIA, ים של שלמה [Yam šel Š'lomo], Jerusalem 1996, *Bava Kamma* 5,10. On dating the composition of the commentary on Bava Kamma, see: M. RAFELD, "המהרש"ל ו"הים של שלמה", Bar-Ilan Uni-

¹⁰ ובספרים מדויקים אינו בפירוש רש"י כלל. It seems that מקצת ספרים refers to the Commentary to Tractate Sukkah in the Venice edition of 1526, which Maharshal utilized,¹¹ and ספרים מדויקים are manuscripts of the Commentary to Tractate Sukkah in his possession.¹²

R. Meir, Maharam of Lublin (1558-1616), testified in his novellae here that he examined a special version of Rashi's commentary:

ראיתי פירוש רש"י ישן כתוב על קלף ולא נמצא בו הא דכתוב לפנינו ברש"י סתירת היש מפרשים ולא ההיא עובדא דבראשית רבה.

Maharam perused a version which did not contain the comment of the יש מפרשים, and also not the refutation of that interpretation.

C. Comments whose Author is Unknown

In general, the identity of authors of scribal additions to textual witnesses is not stated. These typically consist of short additional explanatory phrases or marginal glosses on Rashi's commentary. However, at times, the additions are verbose and composed by a Talmudic scholar, or copied by a scholar from an early expansive commentary which was not a running commentary to the entire tractate. We will now examine three relatively long scribal additions.

8. On folio 5a, adjacent to loc. ותניא, a marginal gloss is found in the JTS manuscript:

תוספת לא ירדה שכינה למטה: והא דאמרין בעלמא עשר מסעות נסעה שכינה כו' (ראש השנה לא ע"א), איבא לאוקומא למעלה מעשרה טפחים.

This scribal addition does not deal with the Commentary of Rashi, but with the relationship between the words of the Talmud here

versity, Ramat Gan 1991, pp. 96-97.

¹¹ See: I. RON, מהדורת התלמוד שהגיה מהרש"ל [The Talmud Emendations of R. Solomon Luria (Maharshal)], in «Ale Sefer» 15 (1989), p. 103.

¹² See: Y.S. SPIEGEL, בתולדות הספר העברי [Chapters in the History of the Jewish Book: Scholars and their Annotations], Ramat Gan 2005, p. 315.

and another loci. It is structured like a typical Tosafot to the Talmud: a contradiction between one Talmudic passage and another, followed by resolution via an *oqimta*, isolating the law taught in one location to particular cases only. Clearly this is a later addendum, for Rashi's original commentary is always focused on the local Talmudic discussion and does not drift off to involve distant discussions intimately.

9. On folio 14a of the Pesaro edition we find the following passage of Rashi's Commentary:

משום הכי מטמא רבי יוסי: דקסבר במעשה זוטא לא בטלה תורת ידות מינייהו. שאלתי את מורי מגופה דמשנה דמייתי אגב גררה בשמעתינן מי שייד למיתני גופה כדגר' במימרות האמוראים. ואמר לי רבי משום דהך משנה מן הטהרות¹³ שאין מהם שום גמרא בעולם ולא מפורשות כשאר המשניות לפיכך נהוג התלמוד לומר גופא כדי לפרש.

The first sentence, דקסבר... ידות מינייהו, is Rashi's explanation of the decision of R. Yosi in Mishnah Uqtzin (1,5). The following section, from שאלתי until the end of the passage, refers to the word גופא cited in our sugya before the quotation of Mishnah Uqtzin. This word generally appears in the Talmud as terminology indicating focus on an Amoraic opinion previously mentioned in the sugya. Here, uncharacteristically, it labels a Tannaitic statement. The author of this passage relates that he asked his teacher about the unusual usage: ...שאלתי את מורי... במימרות האמוראים, to which his teacher replied: ואמר לי רבי... כדי לפרש.

The discussion surrounding the word גופא is found in the Pesaro edition alone and not in any of the other textual witnesses of the commentary. This fact alone arouses considerable suspicion that the passage is not part of Rashi's original commentary, but may be Rashi's own later interpolation subsequent to his comple-

tion of the commentary, to which only certain scribes were privy. However, the language of the passage strongly indicates that the passage was not composed by Rashi, as it utilizes phrases not found elsewhere in the Commentary of Rashi.¹⁴ Furthermore, Rashi never addressed the meaning of the phrase גופא anywhere in his commentary.¹⁵ Hence, this passage appears to be a later addition to the commentary.

10. A marginal gloss to Rashi's commentary on folio 19b, loc. אמ הגביהה, appears in the JTS manuscript as follows:¹⁶

תוספת אמ הגביהה מן הקרקע טפח: יש לפרשה בב' עניינים. חדא אמ הגביהה מן הקרקע טפח פירוש כגון שעשה מחיצה מרובעת בגובה טפח ואח"כ אפילו עשה למעלה כמין צריף¹⁷ כשירה. בע"א [=בענין אחר] כדפירש רש"י שכיון שעשה חלל טפח אור חשבינא ליה כמו סתום¹⁸ אותו אור. וכן מוכח בירושלמי (סוכה א, יב) דגרסינן התם מודה ר' אליעזר לחכמים שאם היתה נתונה על ד' אבנים או שהיתה גבוהה מן הארץ פותח טפח כשירה, היינו משמע אור פותח טפח אע"פ שהוא מגולה. וכן פירש ריב"א בב' דרכים.

The addendum cites two explanations of the baraita אמ הגביהה מן הקרקע טפח: either it was lifted with a wall one *tefah* high, or, according to Rashi, it was lifted without a physical wall and the resulting empty space is considered filled according to the Talmudic principle of lavud. A proof to Rashi's interpretation follows from the phrasing of the Palestinian Talmud. The additional passage closes by noting that Riva also cited these two interpretations of the baraita. This addendum is also found in the standard commentary of Tosafot, as well as Tosafot Rosh and Tosafot R. Peretz. However, in the three Tosafot collections the phrasing is virtually identical whereas the version in the addendum here is distinct and the conclusion וכן פירש ריב"א בב' דרכים is only found here. Riva is R. Isaac ben Asher haLevy (~1055--1125), a disciple of Rashi.

¹³ In the manuscript "הטהרות".

¹⁴ The term שאלתי is found in the Commentary of Rashi only once (Hullin 46b, loc. היינו). In general Rashi was not wont to cite his own inquiries of teachers. Also, the phrase משנה דהך is found only once in the Commentary of Rashi (Hullin 110b, loc. דתנן). Rashi preferred the phrase מתנינן. Furthermore, the phrase כדי לפרש is only found once in Rashi literature (Genesis 2,8).

¹⁵ See; Y. FRAENKEL, בפירושו לתלמוד, דרכו של רש"י בפירושו לתלמוד, רכ"ב (Rashi's Methodology in his Exegesis of the Babylonian Talmud), Jerusalem 1980, p. 172.

¹⁶ Found erroneously adjacent to Rashi's commentary at the beginning of page 20a.

¹⁷ In the manuscript: "צריף".

¹⁸ In the manuscript: "מרובע".

This passage proves that he composed a commentary to Tractate Sukkah.¹⁹ The mention of Riva in the addendum indicates that the scribe had access to early traditions.

Conclusion

Our discussion has been focused on addendum to the Commentary of Rashi to the Talmud. This is a collection of comments primarily written in the margins of manuscripts of Rashi's commentary, some of whom migrated into the main body of the standard printed commentary. Ten relatively long scribal additions were presented from textual witnesses to the commentary to Tractate Sukkah, mostly from manuscripts as well as three from an early edition (3, 7, 9). Some of these consist of recopied passages of Rashi's commentary to other tractates, some stem from medieval Sages of Ashkenaz/France who can be positively identified, and most addenda remain anonymous.

The contents of the addendum are varied, and may consist of: explanation or support to Rashi's commentary (1 and 3); an alternative interpretation to Rashi's and rejection of that interpretation (7); support for Rashi's explanation as well as an alternative interpretation (10); a different interpretation than Rashi's (4 and 6); and commentary to Talmudic passages which Rashi did not interpret (2, 5, 8, and 9). All of the addendum save one (8) include local plain-sense commentary in the style of Rashi. In other words, most of the scribal additions are in harmony with Rashi's literary style and complete his general mission. Detailed examination of the scribal additions suggest that none of them were composed by Rashi himself after completion of the commentary. Some of the additions parallel commentaries of Tosafot printed "on the daf" in standard editions of the Talmud (2, 6, and 10).

With one exception (6), the glosses in the manuscripts are found in the margins and did

not migrate into the body of the commentary. Furthermore, all of them include a verbal indication of the addendum, such as the name of its author (1 and 6) or an opening heading or closing footer (2, 4, 5, 6, 8, and 10). These indicators show that the scribes did not intend to conflate their comments with the commentary of Rashi. They viewed his commentary as a sealed composition. Their goal was to facilitate its comprehension, not to alter it.²⁰

In contrast, the addenda in the printed editions were conflated within Rashi's own commentary, not in marginal glosses. Neither identifications of authors nor indicators of the addenda were printed, hence it is difficult to discern when Rashi's commentary ends and when they begin. The printers copied them from the margins of their source manuscripts of the commentary in the commentary itself without any indication of the additions.²¹ Thus, Talmudists studying from the printed editions were tricked into attributing these addenda to Rashi. It is quite understandable why the additions were not printed in separate windows, due to the technical difficulty this would entail in the early days of printing, but one is puzzled as to why printers did not add simple textual headers and footers to indicate them. Possibly the source manuscript employed by the printers clearly indicated the addenda by their location in the margins, but without headers and footers and the printers copied these verbatim into the commentary of Rashi.

The scribal additions are all from the JTS manuscript, with two exceptions (5 and 6). The text of this manuscript is influenced by the Tosafot, particularly in the first chapter. Also the commentary of Rashi to Tractate Megillah found in this manuscript contains many such addenda.²² It seems that this scribe had access to early written commentaries which he would draw from and present alongside Rashi's commentary.

The addenda to textual witnesses of the Commentary of Rashi to Tractates Megillah and

¹⁹ See: E.E. URBACH, בעלי התוספות [The Tosaphists: Their History, Writings and Methods], Jerusalem 1986, p. 170.

²⁰ See our analysis above, at the end of Example 1.

²¹ This may have been done by the scribe who co-

pied the manuscript which the printers subsequently utilized.

²² See: AHREND, *Megillah*, pp. 42-43. Also, a great number of illustrations appear in this manuscript, as will be discussed below.

Rosh HaShannah have been the subject of prior research.²³ The profile of addenda in textual witnesses to Tractate Sukkah is quite similar to that of other Tractates.

Drawings in the Commentary of Rashi

Textual witnesses of the Commentary of Rashi to Tractate Sukkah, as well as many other Tractates, intersperse sketches and diagrams to illustrate the commentary. Walls and barriers are the subjects of eleven drawings in the Commentary to Tractate Sukkah, two are of palm branches (of the four species), and one is of the exterior Temple altar. Most illustrations are found in the first chapter, devoted to various possible options in constructing the walls of the Sukkah. At times there are differences between the illustrations appearing in various textual witnesses to the commentary. The number of total illustrations varied widely among the commentary's witnesses. For example, among the main witnesses: the Munich manuscript contains two drawings, the JTS manuscript contains eleven, the Escorial manuscript contains two (it lacks Rashi's commentary to the first chapter), in surviving fragments of the Torino manuscript there are no illustrations, and in the Pesaro edition we find eight. Did Rashi himself draw the illustrations or were they added by later scribes? In order to answer this question we will turn to Rashi's other great work, his Bible Commentary. Some textual witnesses to Rashi's Bible Commentary contain a set of illustrations of which some of whom were clearly drawn originally by Rashi. Rashbam, R. Samuel ben Meir, Rashi's grandson, states in his Bible Commentary (Numbers 34,3) that Rashi included a sketch of a map of the Land of Israel in his Bible commentary there: רבינו זקני פירש וצייר תחומין, and well-

preserved manuscripts of Rashi's commentary do indeed contain such a drawing of the Land of Israel. Maps were clearly part of the original commentary.²⁴ Furthermore, the French sage R. Samuel of Auxerre asked Rashi about the layout of the Temple described in the Book of Ezekiel and Rashi replied that he would send a drawing to illustrate the subject: איני יודע להוסיף על מה שפירשתי בקונטרס, אך צורתם אצור ואשלח לו. Such an illustration is found in manuscript.²⁵ Clearly, Rashi incorporated some drawings in his Bible Commentary.²⁶

Since Rashi utilized illustrations on occasion in his Bible Commentary it stands to reason he did in his Commentary to the Talmud as well. Thus, at least a portion of the drawings found in the Commentary to the Talmud were probably copied from the illustrations he drew personally. It is difficult to ascertain whether or not any particular illustration was originally drawn by Rashi. The more a drawing is found in multiple reliable manuscripts the greater the chances are that Rashi originally drew it. Rashi's own phrasing is a factor here. We often find the word, כזה, "like this", adjacent to the location of a drawing.²⁷ The presence of this word in multiple reliable textual witnesses increases the probability that the reference כזה is Rashi's, but the possibility remains that a later scribe added the word. In any case, it appears that drawings included in the commentary without the reference כזה are later additions, for it does not stand to reason that Rashi would include a drawing without referring to it (although it is certainly within the realm of possibility). Some of the drawings found in textual witnesses to the Commentary of Rashi to Tractate Sukkah include the word כזה and some do not, so it seems that some of these are later additions and not Rashi's. From the fact that the Munich manuscript, copied in the 13th century, contains fewer drawings than later

²³ AHREND, *Megillah*, pp. 41-49; AHREND, *Rosh HaShannah*, pp. 55-63.

²⁴ See: A. GROSSMAN and B.Z. KEDAR, מפות ארץ ישראל שצייר רש"י ומשמעותן ההיסטורית [Maps of the Land of Israel Drawn by Rashi and their Historical Relevance], in «Egeret: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities» 25 (2004), p. 26.

²⁵ M. COHEN, מקראות גדולות הכתר: ספר יחזקאל, [Mikra'ot Gedolot 'Haketer'], Jerusalem 2000, pp.

321-322.

²⁶ A list of illustrations found in Rashi's Bible Commentary and discussion may be found in: M.I. GRUBER, *What Happened to Rashi's Pictures?*, in «Bodleian Library Record» (April 1992), pp. 111-124.

²⁷ For example: Rashi, Rosh HaShannah 17b, loc. סימניות; 23b, loc. לאין; Yoma 11b, loc. יש בגולה; Sota 43a, loc. חמשה.

manuscripts, we can ascertain that some of the illustrations found in these later witnesses are not original parts of the commentary.

Of interest is the proliferation of illustrations in the Commentary of Rashi in printed editions of the Talmud over the centuries. Let us briefly compare the drawings in the commentary to Tractate Sukkah which appear in the first printed edition of Pesaro (c. 1515) with those in the second edition, copied from it and printed in Venice a few years later (1521). The Pesaro edition contains eight illustrations in Rashi's Commentary: two on folio 4a, three at 6b, two at 7a, and one at 7b. On the other hand, in the Venice edition, we find the first two illustrations on folio 4a, similar to those found in the Pesaro edition, but in the remaining locations the printers left a blank space where the drawing should go, without any actual illustration. This phenomena of blank spaces in slots reserved for drawings is prevalent in the volumes of the Venice edition.²⁸ This already occurs in manuscripts of Rashi's commentary where the scribe and the artist were not one and the same. The scribe left a blank space for an artist who sometimes never actually arrived.²⁹ It stands to reason that some technical or financial issue prevented actualization of the remaining illustrations in the Venice edition, and it was left to later editions to fill in these blanks.³⁰

Textual Witnesses to Rashi's Commentary to Tractate Sukkah

A. Munich 216, ff. 161a-187a. The commentary starts at the beginning of the tractate and runs until 55a, loc. ח"ל ובראשי חדשים. Italian semi-cursive script, circa 13th century.

B. New York - JTS Rab. 832, ff. 33b-103a. The commentary covers the entire tractate

except 52a, loc. נקדים - 54b, loc. אלא ארבעה. Byzantine, 14th-15th century.

C. Escorial G II 4, ff. 75a-120a, commentary from the beginning of the second chapter (20b) until the end of the tractate.³¹ Spanish, 14th-15th century.

D. Torino A II 9, ff. 32a-89b, 179, 181, 189 (according to our numbering system). Fragments of the commentary to pages 2a-23a, 25a-34a, 35a-44a, 46b-49b, 50b-53a, and 54a-56b. Surviving pages are fragmentary and text is often blurred and illegible. Italian, 13th-14th century.

E. Nonantola - Archivio Comunale 319b and 320b;³² and Modena - Archivio Capitulare di Modena 21, 1a, and 21, 2a. Eight page sides contain the commentary to pages: 2b, loc. נימא - 3b, loc. לימא; 4b, loc. דכי אמצע - 6b, loc. גזרה; 7b, loc. באמתא - 8b, loc. פנימית; 13b, loc. מסכבין אבל אם יש - 14a, loc. מעשה מבטל; 16a, loc. טומאה תחת - 16b, loc. ומוקי לה בפחות; 22a, loc. אחד - 22b, loc. בראש האילן; 25b, loc. שרגילין. Italian, 14th century.

F. Sopron - Győr-Sopron Megyei 19. Two joined folio with commentary to pages: 4b, loc. בתרתי - 8a, loc. בשיבסר. Double-sided pages, two columns per face. The left side of the first page was not preserved. Ashkenazi, circa 1300.

G. Vienna - Tab, 3866, unnumbered pages, one page containing Rashi's commentary to pages 13a, loc. ולא פסול - 13b, loc. לרבי אגא. Ashkenazi, circa 1300.

H. Berlin - Akademie der Wissenschaften GCS-Akz 481.186a, fragment of single face with commentary to pages 15b, loc. רבא אמר - 16a, loc. בין תוך אוגנו. Only a few words on each line are preserved. Spanish, 14th century.

I. Pesaro - Archivio di Stato 20, f. 84, 85, 86, 86a, 99, 119. Six bifolios, twelve pages, with commentary to pages: 29a, loc. ועל קוצצי - 33a, loc. לא אמרין; 33b, loc. הותר אגדו - 35a, loc. לפי

²⁸ For example, in Rashi, Beitza 28a, loc. אתלת, in the Venice edition there is a blank space with no illustration. Also see: AHREND, *Rosh HaShannah*, p. 190, 219, and 220.

²⁹ See GRUBER (note 26 above), p. 166 and 121.

³⁰ See E. FRAM, *In the Margins of the Text, Changes in the Page of the Talmud*, in *Printing the Talmud: From Bomberg to Sottenstein* (ed. S. LIEBERMAN MINTZ), New York 2005, p. 91.

³¹ The manuscript contains an alternate commentary to Rashi's for the first chapter. It was published in: E. KUPFER, *פירוש מסכת פסחים וסוכה מבית מדרשו של רש"י* [Commentarius in Tractatos Pesachim et Sukka a Scholae Rashi], Jerusalem 1984, pp. 121-210.

³² See M. PERANI, *Frammenti di manoscritti e libri ebraici a Nonantola*, Nonantola-Padova 1992, p. 182.

רבי עקיבא. loc. - סימני. 36a, loc. שאין בה דין ממון
 אמרו לו - loc. 36b, loc. במינו. loc. - דעבדא. loc. 36b,
 הוא. loc. 38b, loc. - עונה. loc. 38a, loc. ולא מילתא.
 39b, loc. - פטורין. loc. 40b, loc. - כמאן. loc. 40b,
 loc. - וסמך. loc. 41a, loc. - הרי פירות. loc. 41a,
 loc. - על גג האצטבא. loc. 44b, loc. - דאיבני אימת.
 47a, loc. - נקוט. Italian, 14th century.³³

J. Nonantola - Archivio Comunale 312b,
 313b, Two bifolios with commentary to pages:
 34b, loc. - יכול. loc. 35a, loc. - ומאן דבעי. loc. 38b,
 loc. הוא. loc. 38b, loc. - יהוה מחוללין. loc. 39a,
 loc. - כשרבתה. loc. 48b, loc. - במזרח. loc. 49a,
 loc. - מעשה. loc. 53b, loc. - כמה דמידלי.
 loc. - שלש לגבי מזבח. loc. Spanish, 13th-14th century.³⁴

K. Paris - Bibliotheque Nationale Hébr.
 1066, ff. 114a-115b, with commentary to pages

38b, loc. - הוא אומר אנא ה'. loc. 40b, loc. - רבי יוסי בר.
 חגיגה. Spanish, 14th-15th century.

L. Frosinone - Archivio di Stato Fr. ebr.
 3, two fragments of Rashi's commentary, each
 containing five lines. This first covers pages 39a,
 loc. - הלוקח. loc. אין מוסרין. loc. The second covers pa-
 ges 39b, loc. - וניקחין. loc. אי הכי. loc. Ashkenazi, 14th
 century.

M. Pesaro printed edition, circa 1515,
 Tractate Sukkah with the Commentary of Rashi
 and Tosafot. Earliest complete edition of Trac-
 tate Sukkah.

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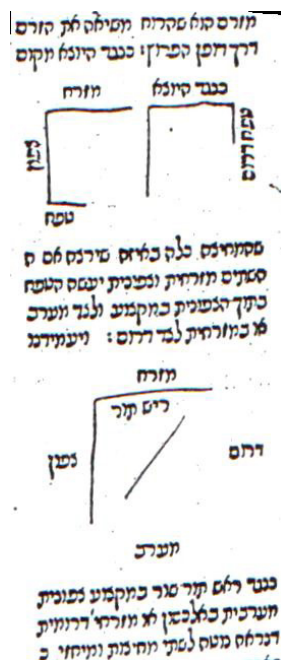


Fig. 1 - Tractate Sukkah, Pesaro 1515.

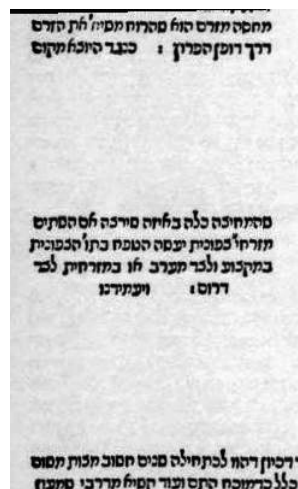


Fig. 2 - Tractate Sukkah, Venice 1521.

³³ See H.M. SERMONTA - P.F. FUMAGALLI, *Mano-
 scritti ebraici nell'Archivio di Stato di Pesaro*, Ro-

ma 2002, pp. 80-81.

³⁴ See PERANI (note 32 above), pp. 180-181.

SUMMARY

Textual witnesses of Rashi's Commentary on the Talmud contain scribal addenda. An analysis of these supplements to witnesses of the commentary on Tractate Sukkah reveals that some have been copied from Rashi's Commentary on other Tractates, some derive from other identifiable Sages, while most of them were taken from unknown sources. Some of these scribal additions migrated into the commentary text in the printed editions. The difficulty in distinguishing between the addenda and the commentary itself led the Talmudists using these editions to err in attributing these supplements Rashi himself. The content of the addenda is varied, but the vast majority was designed to elaborate upon and complete Rashi's commentary, not to dispute or alter it. Illustrative drawings appear periodically throughout the commentary, and at least some of them are later additions to Rashi's commentary.

KEYWORDS: Babylonian Talmud; Rashi; Tractate Sukkah; Tosafot; Scribal Addenda; Illustrations.

