

YERUSHALMI *MOED* OF BOLOGNA*

At the 17th World Congress of Jewish Studies Prof. Mauro Perani announced¹ the discovery of two bifolios of *Talmud Yerushalmi* of *Seder Moed* in the Bologna State Archives.² This announcement came just as the long awaited *Ginze Yerushalmi*³ was poised to be printed, and the newly discovered fragments could not be included in that volume.⁴ These bifolios were recently published with an introduction in a joint effort by Perani and Stemberger.⁵

The following study has two parts, the first part is dedicated to a description of the Bologna *Moed* bifolios and their relation to the Leiden ms. This part will conclude with a few remarks on the Stemberger transcription. The second part is dedicated to insights concerning the Talmud yerushalmi that can be culled from the Bologna bifolios.

Part 1 - The Bologna Moed bifolios

These have been identified as belonging to the same manuscript⁶ as the bifolios of *Yerushalmi Nezikin* previously discovered in ASBO.⁷ However they were written by two different scribes. Perani

* I wish to thank Prof. Mauro Perani for his kind response to all my queries and requests. I am grateful to Prof. Günter Stemberger for patiently providing elucidation to difficult or unclear readings of the Bologna bifolios, and for his comments on this paper. Prof. Moshe Assis too, graciously read a draft of this paper. Special thanks and appreciation to Dr. Binyamin Elizur for providing advice and clarification concerning manuscripts in general and of the Talmud yerushalmi in particular.

Some notes regarding notation: The Leiden ms. will be referenced in one of two ways: Page and line number in the Leiden manuscript, for example Leiden 329b:32. Or, Column and line number in *Talmud Yerushalmi according to Ms. Or. 4720 (Scal. 3) of the Leiden University Library with Restorations and Corrections*, Introduction by Yaacov Sussman, Jerusalem, 2001, for example: L737:20-21. The Bologna bifolios will also be referenced in one of two ways: shelf number and line number, for example Bologna 652 2v:23. Or, Page and line number in Stemberger's transcription (see note 5), for example B256:16. Conveniently, the line numbers in the transcription follow the line numbers in the manuscript. For the sake of clarity, the Leiden references begin with an L (L737:20) and the Bologna references with a B (B256:16).

For the sake of brevity references to Stemberger's paper on the Bologna bifolios (see note 5) will be: Stemberger, p. xx. When referring to secondary textual witnesses I often refer to the Talmud Yerushalmi citation database (henceforth, TYdb) which can readily be accessed at <https://yerushalmidb.com>.

¹ WCJS 17, 2017, panel #286.

² *Archivio di Stato di Bologna*, henceforth ASBO.

³ YAACOV SUSSMAN, *Ginze Yerushalmi*, in collaboration with Binyamin Elizur, including Philological notes on the Genizah Fragments of the Talmud Yerushalmi by Shlomo Naeh, Jerusalem 2020. (Henceforth GY).

⁴ BINYAMIN ELIZUR, "Devarim Achadim," in: GY, p. 10, n. 47; ELYASHIV SHERLOW, "Lo Seridim Bilvad," *Zion* 86 (2021), p. 633 n. 10.

⁵ MAURO PERANI, "Eight New Pages of an 11th-century Talmud Yerushalmi *Megillah* and *Hagigah* from the State Archives of Bologna," in *Medieval Hebrew Manuscripts Reused as Book-bindings in Italy*, ed. M. PERANI (Leiden, 2021), pp. 214-234; GÜNTER STEMBERGER, "The Talmud Yerushalmi from Bologna, Probable *Vorlage* of Ms. Leiden: the New Fragments from *Megillah* and *Hagigah*," in *Medieval Hebrew Manuscripts Reused as Book-bindings in Italy*, ed. M. PERANI (Leiden, 2021), pp. 235-269.

⁶ PERANI, "Eight New Pages," p. 216; STEMBERGER, p. 235.

⁷ ASBO, Hebr. Frag. 564; ASBO, Hebr. Frag. 574. For an analysis and appraisal of these bifolios see: DAVID

concludes his introduction with the hope that further fragments of this manuscript may be found in future investigations of the Bologna archive.⁸

The spelling and writing of Bologna *Nezikin* are so similar to that of *Sifra*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Hebr. Ms. 31 (= Vat. 31), that it seems very likely they are the work of the same scribe,⁹ or at least of the same scribal school. Vat. 31 contains a colophon dated 1072/73, we may thus date *Nezikin* close to that period. Although the scribe of the newly found bifolios is not the scribe of *Nezikin*, their handwriting is very similar, and as has been mentioned, all the bifolios are from the same manuscript.¹⁰ We may safely assume that both scribes worked at about the same time and place (South-Italy, late 11th century). Thus, the *Moed* bifolios too, are approximately two centuries earlier than the Leiden manuscript (completed 1289).

Stemberger's analysis of the *Moed* bifolios has shown that their text is practically identical to the text of the Leiden manuscript. So much so, that only the text of the Bologna bifolios (without a synopsis) has been reproduced in his transcription.¹¹ Stemberger concludes:

The text is so close to the original Leiden manuscript before its additions and corrections that we must assume a very close connection between the two texts. Since manuscripts of the Yerushalmi always were extremely rare, the probability that another manuscript now lost formed the intermediary link between the two is very unlikely.¹²

This conclusion, with a tinge of doubt, is in fact the title of Stemberger's paper: "The Talmud Yerushalmi from Bologna, Probable *Vorlage* of Ms. Leiden."

This conclusion has implications as to the status of the Bologna fragments as independent textual witnesses to the Talmud Yerushalmi. The more certain we are that these bifolios are the *vorlage* of Ms. Leiden, the weaker their status as independent textual witnesses, after all Leiden is but a copy of Bologna. On the other hand, a *vorlage*, could clarify illegible texts of the Ms. Leiden,¹³ and provide a source

ROSENTHAL, "Al terumat ha-genizah ha-italqit le-heqer ha-nusah shel ha-Mishnah, ha-Talmud ha-Bavli, we-ha-Talmud ha-Yerushalmi," in *The Italian Genizah. Proceeding of the Conference held in Jerusalem, January 9, 1996 – 17 Teveth 5756*, ed. A. DAVID and J. TABORY (Jerusalem, 1998), pp. 101-109; DAVID ROSENTHAL, "Introduction to the Bologna fragments," (Hebrew) in *Yerushalmi Neziqin edited from the Escorial Manuscript ... including additional fragments from the Italian Geniza*, (Jerusalem, 2008), pp. 227-251.

⁸ PERANI, "Eight New Pages," p. 229.

⁹ The identity of these two scribes has been debated between M. Beit Aryeh who opines that they are the same scribe and E. Engel who states that they are clearly different scribes. See: MAURO PERANI and ENRICA SAGRADINI, *Talmudic and Midrashic Fragments from the <<Italian Genizah>>: Reunification of the Manuscripts and Catalogue* (Firenze, 2004), pp. 22-23. This question is not decisive for our purposes, either way, the handwriting is that of South-Italian scribes of the late 11th century.

As a side remark, one wonders about the Heuristic biases at work when comparing the handwriting of two scribes. There are at least three manuscripts considered as belonging to the Vat. 31 scribe, but no identification enjoys a consensus among the scholars: 1) ASBO, Hebr. Frag. 564; ASBO, Hebr. Frag. 574 – just considered. 2) ASBO, Hebr. Frag. 93. Engel identifies this with the Vat. 31 scribe, the catalog identifies it as a 13th century manuscript. See PERANI and SAGRADINI, "Talmudic and Midrashic," pp. 65-66, 248. 3) Ms. Parma 138. Haneman identifies this scribe with Vat. 31 but ROSENTHAL, "Al terumat," pp. 102-103 has rejected this identification.

¹⁰ PERANI, "Eight New Pages," p. 215 mentions the hypothesized existence of the so-called Otranto Schools copyists. The latest folios discovered show that a single manuscript was written by at least two scribes - this may serve as further support to this hypothesis. An individual contracting a book would do so from an individual scribe (Like the Leiden ms.) and not from multiple scribes.

¹¹ STEMBERGER, p. 236; transcription pp. 248-259.

¹² STEMBERGER, p. 247.

¹³ Cases where Bologna, if a *vorlage*, could clarify indistinct or erased text in Leiden:
 Leiden 329b:32 (L753:7): משה דינון [ה] = Bologna 652.1r (B248:26): משה דינון.
 Leiden 339a:2 (L773:8): כ בקורא = uncertain = Bologna 651.2v (B256:25): בקורא.
 Leiden 339a:3 margin (L773:10): ב בנותן = uncertain = Bologna 651.2v (B256:26): בנותן.

for some of the self-corrections¹⁴ and insertions¹⁵ the Leiden scribe made. *Vice versa*, Ms. Leiden could today be used to complete damaged or illegible portions of Ms. Bologna.¹⁶

Less certainty that these bifolios are the *vorlage* would yield opposite considerations. The status of Bologna as an independent textual witness of the Yerushalmi would be stronger. On the other hand, their ability to clarify the actual text of Ms. Leiden would diminish.

I. Can the Bologna bifolios be the *vorlage* of Ms. Leiden?

In the Leiden colophons the scribe indicates that he had only a single manuscript at his disposal.¹⁷ The *Nezikin* and *Moed* bifolios have been identified as belonging to the same manuscript.¹⁸ It follows that if Bologna *Moed* is the *vorlage*, then the entire Bologna manuscript, in particular, Bologna *Nezikin* too, is the *vorlage*. This question should therefore be addressed taking all Bologna bifolios discovered into consideration.¹⁹ The relationship between the text of the Bologna *Nezikin* and Leiden should be the same as the relationship between the text of Bologna *Moed* and Leiden.²⁰

Leiden 339a:17 (L773:37): (..)ע erased text = Bologna 652.2r (B256:2): עד.

Leiden 339a32: (L774:17): עושין י. uncertain = Bologna 652.2r (B257:16): עושים.

Leiden 339b:7 (L774:37): לא[ד]() erased text under ד illegible = Bologna 652.2r (B257:28): ולא.

¹⁴ Immediate corrections of mistakes made by the Leiden scribe as he was copying from Bologna and need not indicate the scribe may have been using other sources:

Leiden 330a25 (L754:6): ה[כ]ה = Bologna 652.1v (B250:16): כה.

Leiden 330a28 (L754:11): א[ד]ה = Bologna 652.1v (B250:19): אדא.

Leiden 331a2 (L755:42): איש (אשר) = Bologna 651.1r (B252:24): איש.

Leiden 331a3 (L755:44): [לידי] (לשם) = Bologna 651.1r (B252:25): לידי.

Leiden 338b20 (L772:21): [התורה] (פרשה) ישראל. Bologna 651.2v (B255:5): יש התורה.

Leiden 338b26 (L772:32): [שמע] (כפיו) את. Bologna 651.2v (B256:11): את שמע.

Leiden 339a10 (L773:24): אהא (אבהו) דר. Bologna 651.2v (B256:34): דר אבהו אהא.

Leiden 339a32 (L774:17): [שיחודו] (שסמרו) והוא. Bologna 652.2r (B257:15): והוא שיחודו.

¹⁵ Insertions made by the Leiden scribe as he was copying from Bologna and need not indicate the scribe may have been using other sources:

Leiden 339a3 (L773:9-11): marginal note by Leiden scribe = Bologna 651.2v (B256:26-27).

Leiden 339a22 (L774:1): ליה אמ' added by Leiden scribe above מה טע' = Bologna 652.2r (B257:6).

¹⁶ The damaged parts of Bologna: 652.1v (B250:26); 651.1r (B252:14); 651.2r (B254-255:13-15); 651.2v (B256:10-17).

¹⁷ Ms. Leiden 371a (vol 1), 303v (vol 2). It is quite unlikely that the identical description משובש ומוטעה mentioned in each colophon is referring to two separate *vorlage*, one for *Zeraim-Moed* and another for *Nashim-Nezikin-Nidah*. The division today of the Leiden ms. into two volumes cannot in any way support this thesis. As has been shown the scribe's original intent was to create only a single volume and later changed his plan (S.M. SCHILLER-SZINESSY, והמה בכתבים (Cambridge, 1878), pp. 10-11; BINYAMIN ELIZUR, של דף אבוד, עקבותיו של הירושלמי, *Qiryat Sefer*, 63 (1990), pp. 661-663).

J.N. EPSTEIN, *Introduction to the Mishnaic Text* (Jerusalem, 2000³), p. 939; J.N. EPSTEIN, *Introduction to Amoraitic Literature* (Jerusalem, 1962), p. 606 raises the possibility that the Leiden scribe had more than a single manuscript at his disposal. I.Z. FEINTUCH, (כ"ל) לידן כ"י לידן סופר בר בנימין הרופא סופר כ"י לידן כ"ל, in *Versions and Traditions in the Talmud*, ed. D. Sperber (Ramat-Gan, 1985), pp. 60-61 and SUSSMAN, "Introduction," in *Talmud Yerushalmi* (Jerusalem, 2001), p. 19 n. 103, both reject this possibility.

¹⁸ See note 6.

¹⁹ In this paper I will be focusing on the *Moed* Bifolios. As to the *Nezikin* bifolios, see Rosenthal's introduction, above note 7. However, a much more rigorous analysis of Bologna *Nezikin* is yet required.

²⁰ Saul Lieberman (*Hayerushalmi Kiphshuto* [Jerusalem, 1995²], Introduction p. 15, and לכתב-יד לידן, in *Studies in Palestinian Talmudic Literature*, ed. D. Rosenthal, [Jerusalem, 1991], p. 231), has observed that judging from the time elapsed between the dates of the colophon at the end of *Zeraim-Moed* and the colophon at the end of *Nashim-Nezikin-Niddah*, the speed of his writing, at least of the latter, was phenomenal, and could potentially account for a lower precision copying of *Nashim-Nezikin-Niddah* relative to his precision in

The similarity between all the Bologna bifolios and Leiden is indeed quite impressive.²¹ The decisive factor, however, is not the similarity between the manuscripts which is to be expected, after all these are two copies of the same Yerushalmi text,²² but rather the nature of the differences between them. An accumulation of discrepancies that cannot be explained without positing a source other than Bologna (beyond the scribe's errors and common-sense emendations)²³ would weaken our confidence that Bologna is indeed the Leiden *vorlage*.

After some preliminary remarks, an analysis of these differences will be undertaken. It should be stressed, it is the relationship between Bologna and Leiden and the scribe's transmission under consideration here, not the Yerushalmi text in and of itself.

The many differences between Bologna and Leiden can be divided into various categories, some of which can be summarily dismissed as having no bearing on the question at hand:

1. Leiden is rife with emendations by a much later hand.²⁴ These are irrelevant to the relationship between Bologna and Leiden. They can however, at times serve as indicators of errors common to Bologna and Leiden.²⁵

2. Scribes generally deviated freely from the *vorlage* in areas such as orthography, grammar, and abbreviations.²⁶ We have a unique opportunity to witness the copying habits of the Leiden scribe²⁷ during his copying of the Leiden manuscript. On two occasions he copied an entire folio twice.²⁸ The discrepancies between the two copies are revealing concerning his accuracy and scribal habits. Many are similar to the discrepancies between Bologna and Leiden.²⁹ Stemberger dealt at length with the orthography of Leiden vs. Bologna.³⁰ These too can be dismissed as having little bearing on the question at hand.

3. Differences in Biblical verses copied. Leiden often quotes verses at greater length than Bologna, sometimes slightly incorrect. We know about Leiden scribe's preferences and habits when copying verses,³¹ these discrepancies are not relevant to the present inquiry.³²

Zeraim-Moed. SUSSMAN, "Introduction," p. 15 n. 70, has pointed out that such a speed is not at all realistic and offers a technical explanation for the short time difference between the colophons. For some statistics on scribal rate see MALACHI BEIT-ARIÉ, *Hebrew Codicology*, <http://doi.org/10.25592/uhhfdm.9349>, pp. 190-199. Concerning the Leiden ms. see p. 658 n. 43.

²¹ Concerning the similarities between Leiden and Bologna *Nezikin*, see ROSENTHAL, "Introduction to the Bologna fragments," pp. 234-237.

²² The fragment from the Cairo Genizah (Stemberger, p. 236 n. 4) now published in GY p. 424 is identical almost letter by letter to Leiden. For synopsis see: MOSHE PINCHUK, "Tractate Megillah in the Palestinian Talmud Chapter IV," Ph.D. thesis, Bar-Ilan University, 2012, pp. 320-321.

²³ For an appraisal of the limited nature and extent of the scribe's self-corrections see SUSSMAN, "Introduction," pp. 21-22.

²⁴ Most probably the editors of the Venice edition, 1523. See SUSSMAN, "Introduction," pp. 22-26.

²⁵ See section 4 - Textual idiosyncrasies that are unique to Leiden and Bologna.

²⁶ BEIT-ARIÉ, "Hebrew Codicology," pp. 653-659.

²⁷ R' Yehiel bar Yekutiel bar Binyamin HaRofeh, a well-known scribe. SUSSMAN, "Introduction," pp. 21-22.

²⁸ FEINTUCH, "Versions and Traditions," p. 55-56; ELIZUR, "עקבותיו," pp. 666-668. (The latter is a comparison between the Venice edition based on a lost page of Leiden and the extant page of Leiden, so it is not clear which discrepancies are from the scribe and which are from the Venice editors); BEIT-ARIÉ, "Hebrew Codicology," pp. 654-658.

²⁹ The discrepancies are listed in Feintuch and Elizur, see note 28.

³⁰ STEMBERGER, pp. 236-238.

³¹ FEINTUCH, "Versions and Traditions," p. 52; I.Z. FEINTUCH, כתב-יד לידן, in *Versions and Traditions in the Talmud*, ed. D. Sperber (Ramat-Gan, 1985), p. 34 n. 40. See FEINTUCH, "Versions and Traditions," p. 56 no. 15 (L821:35-36), the first copy quotes the verse at greater length than in the second copy.

³² For a detailed list see appendix 1.

The remaining differences can be categorized into four groups:

1. Text in Bologna that is absent from Leiden.
2. Text in Leiden that is absent from Bologna.
3. Text in Leiden that replaces text in Bologna.
4. Textual idiosyncrasies that are unique to Leiden and Bologna.

The following analysis will attempt to determine if and to what extent these differences undermine or support the suggestion that Bologna is the *vorlage* of Leiden.

1. Text in Bologna that is absent from Leiden.

In Leiden there are eleven omissions of a single word, one omission of three words and one homoioteleuton,³³ all can readily be discounted as scribal error.³⁴ These omissions do not indicate that Leiden was copying from an alternate source.³⁵

2. Text in Leiden that is absent from Bologna.

In Leiden there are nine additions of a single word.³⁶ These can reasonably be construed as self-corrections of the scribe,³⁷ or attributed to scribal error, and do not indicate that Leiden was copying from an alternate source. According to Rosenthal, in the *Nezikin* bifolios this phenomenon is prevalent enough to conclude that, ‘the omissions in Bologna (relative to Leiden) prove that despite the great similarity between Leiden and Bologna, the Leiden scribe was not copying from Bologna’.³⁸

3. Text in Leiden that replaces text in Bologna.

There are ten places where Leiden has a different text than Bologna. Six of them can readily be explained as scribal errors.³⁹ But four of them raise doubts in varying degrees whether Leiden was copying from Bologna or perhaps from a different *vorlage*.

1

The numbering of the *halachot* differs between Bologna and Leiden:⁴⁰

B248:16	הל' י"א תני כהן משיח
L752:38	הל' י"ב תני כהן משיח
B250:20	הל' י"ב ר' יוחנן
L754:14	הל' י"ג ⁴¹ ר' יוחנן

³³ For a detailed list see appendix 2.

³⁴ We find similar omissions in the Leiden folio that he copied twice. See Feintuch, “Versions and Traditions,” p. 56 no. 15 (L821:35-36); no. 18 (L821:45); no. 36 (L822:49); no. 45 homoioteleuton (L824:20-23).

³⁵ If the rate of omission is high or higher than average, a critical rate may be reached where it is more reasonable to assume that the scribe is copying from a different *vorlage*. For some statistics on scribal error see BEIT-ARIÉ, “Hebrew Codicology,” pp. 654-658. Note that those statistics relate to all discrepancies, we are concerned here only with omission of words. In any event the rate here is reasonably low (13 omissions in 323 lines of text, is 0.04 per line).

³⁶ For a detailed list see appendix 3.

³⁷ About Leiden’s scribe’s self-corrections, see SUSSMAN, “Introduction,” pp. 20-22. We find a similar addition in the Leiden folio that he copied twice, FEINTUCH, “Versions and Traditions,” p. 56 no. 16 (L822:42).

³⁸ ROSENTHAL, “Introduction to the Bologna fragments,” pp. 236-237, but see note 19.

³⁹ See appendix 4.

⁴⁰ See STEMBERGER, p. 246.

⁴¹ The insertion by a later hand of the Mishnaic lemma has no bearing on this discussion.

If Leiden is copying from Bologna, it is difficult to understand why the numbering is different. Perhaps Bologna misnumbered one of the previous halachot, and Leiden corrected the numbering with a ripple effect.⁴²

In yMeg. 4, 5-11, the numbering of halachot in Bologna and Leiden is identical.⁴³ However, towards the end, Leiden adds a division, הל' יב. This division is uncalled for and is absent from Bologna. If Leiden is copying from Bologna, it is difficult to understand why this division is added.⁴⁴

B257:7	לא ניתנה לקריאה	אין מפטירים במרכבה
L774:3	לא ניתנה לקריאה הל' יב	אין מפטירין במרכבה

2

B248:28	הראשון כל קדושת כהונה עליו
L753:9	הראשון כל מצות כהונה עליו

Leiden has מצות instead of קדושת in Bologna.⁴⁵ קדושת is the more prevalent version (yYom. 562:42, yHor. 1425: 22).⁴⁶ מצות is found in a somewhat parallel source in tYom. 1, 4 and yHor. (Venice 1521). It is difficult to understand why Leiden would replace (purposefully or by error) קדושת with מצות. This seems to suggest that Leiden's *vorlage* indeed had the alternate version מצות. However, it should be noted that even when Leiden is copying the same text twice, there is nevertheless a textual discrepancy, the first copy reads לעהיד לבוא and the second copy reads לעולם הבא (L822:33).⁴⁷

3

Two interpretations are offered for the verse ורצון שכני סנה (Deut. 33, 16). In Bologna the aggadic interpretation of R' Yonah (1) is followed by the halachic interpretation of R' Yosah (2). In Leiden, the halachic interpretation (2), now attributed to R' Yonah, is followed by the aggadic interpretation (3) again attributed to R' Yonah:

⁴² This question may be resolved if additional bifolios of this chapter are discovered. See note 8.

⁴³

הל' ה	B255: 27	L771: 44
הל' ו	B256: 9	L772: 29
הל' ז	B256: 12	L772: 35
הל' ח	B256: 18	L772: 45
הל' ט	B256: 23	L773: 4
הל' י	B256: 24	L773: 7
הל' יא	B256: 40	L773: 34

⁴⁴ In Bologna *Nezikin*, there is almost a full correlation with Leiden concerning the division into halachot. See ROSENTHAL, "Introduction to the Bologna fragments," p. 230 note 13. There are two exceptions: 1) The Mishnah of BM chap 2 has 14 sections in Bologna (GY562-563) and only 13 sections in the Mishnah of Leiden (ms Leiden 191v). The omission of ט" in Leiden may be a scribal error. 2) There is no gap or מתני' in Bologna (GY565: 35) as opposed to הל' יג in Leiden (L1230:25).

Admittedly, the notation is different: Bologna *Nezikin* denotes the division by a gap in the text or the word מתני' (unnumbered) whereas in Leiden the notation is consistently הל' X. It is possible that the two scribes of Bologna used different notation, whereas the single scribe of Leiden was trying to be consistent throughout his work.

⁴⁵ STEMBERGER, p. 244.

⁴⁶ ערכי תנאים ואמוראים, ערך יוסי בן אלם (עמ' שמב) קדושת is attested in all three parallels and in

⁴⁷ FEINTUCH, "Versions and Traditions," p. 56 no. 29 and SUSSMAN, "Introduction," p. 22 n. 132.

Leiden (757:5-11)	Bologna (254:23-27)	
ר' יונה ר' אבהו בשם ר' יוסי בן חנינה ורצון שוכני סנה	ר' יונה ר' אבהו בש' ר' יוסה בן חנינה ורצון שכני סנה	1
קדשים המרצין נאכלין בחלקו שליוסף ... עד איסכופיה דשילה	ששרת שכינה ביסנאיו של יוסף ר' יוסה ר' אבהו בש' ר' יוסה בן חנינה ורצון שכני סנה קדשים המרצים נאכלים בחלקו שליוסף ... עד איסכופיה דשילה	2
ר' יונה ר' אבהו בשם ר' יוסי בן חנינה ורצון שוכני סנה ששרת שכינה בסנאיו שליוסף		3

Stemberger⁴⁸ concludes that having copied the first list of tradents, the Leiden scribe skipped a line because of homoioteleuton to the second of the two sayings, then continued, as in Bologna with the halachic interpretation (belonging to R' Yosa), before finally adding the aggadic interpretation, again in the name of R' Yonah he had previously skipped. This analysis is solid. The question is who added the skipped part to the text? Stemberger suggests it was the Leiden scribe. This may be, but on other occasions of homoioteleuton, the Leiden scribe added the skipped part in the margin.⁴⁹ We know how hesitant the Leiden scribe is of making corrections.⁵⁰ Would he make such a change in the order of the text? On the other hand, if the Leiden scribe found the addition already in place in the text he was copying, he could not have been copying from Bologna.

4

B254:11	אין קידוש החודש פחות מעשרה	תני שמואל
L771:16-17	אין קידוש החודש אלא בעשרה	תני שמואל
Ohr Zarua ⁵¹	אין קידוש החודש בפחו' מעשרה	תני שמואל

There is a parallel in ySan. (1265:47-48):

ySan.	שמואל אמ' אין קידוש החודש פחות מעשרה
GY570	שמ..... החדש פחות מעשרה

There are two separate traditions, תני שמואל in yMeg. and שמואל אמר in ySan.⁵² Leiden is unique in reading פחות מעשרה rather than אלא בעשרה. There are examples in Talmudic literature where מ פחות and ב אלא are interchanged.⁵³ It is difficult to determine whether the discrepancy here between Leiden and Bologna is a scribal error or if it was in Leiden's source.

4. Textual idiosyncrasies shared by Leiden and Bologna.

There are thirty places with potential idiosyncrasies that are shared by Leiden and Bologna. Upon inspection, thirteen of them can be dismissed as gratuitous or erroneous additions by a later hand or

⁴⁸ STEMBERGER, pp. 242-243.

⁴⁹ See Leiden 339a, the first entry in the upper left-hand margin (L773:9-11, B256:26-27).

⁵⁰ See note 37.

⁵¹ Laws of Megillah, sec. 570.

⁵² In GY the word before שמואל is החודש.

⁵³ PINCHUK, "Tractate Megillah," pp. 68-69.

enigmatic expressions that are not unique to Bologna and Leiden.⁵⁴ But seventeen of them do seem to indicate a strong affinity between Bologna and Leiden. There are five (!) common homoioteleuton and twelve idiosyncrasies that seem to be unique to Bologna and Leiden.

1

B248:11	אמ' רב חונה ההן דהב למברכה
L752:29-30	אמ' רב חונה ההן דהב למברכה

The somewhat cryptic expression, דהב למברכה, is not to be found in the parallel sugyot yBer. (L64:47), ySuk. (L648:13), nor in any of the primary or secondary witnesses of these sugyot.⁵⁵ Our sugya requires a trivial emendation of ה to ח, to read דחב למברכה.⁵⁶ This error appears only in our sugya in both Bologna and Leiden.

2

B248:17-18	כהן לרבות את מרובה
L752:40-41	כהן לרבות את המרובה [בגדים]

The addition of בגדים by a later hand is called for. The expression מרובה בגדים appears a few times in the sugya, but מרובה alone is not to be found here.⁵⁷ This is an omission common to both Bologna and Leiden.

3

B251:6	התיב ר' לעזר לר' יוסה בן חנינה כמן דאמ' לאחר מתן תורה בא יתרו
L755:10-12	התיב ר' לעזר לר' יוסי בן חנינה כמאן דאמ' לאחר מתן תורה בא יתרו והכתיב ויקח יתרו חותן משה עולה או זבחים לאלהי מה עבד לה ר' יוסי בר חנינא

The sentence restored in the Leiden margin by a later hand is a homoioteleuton common to both Leiden and Bologna. A parallel to the entire sugya, including the missing line may be found a few times in the midrash.⁵⁸

4

B252:19	תני אמ' ר' יהודה כל מה שהציבור מקריב באוהל מועד
L755:33-34	תני אמ' ר' יהודה כל מה שהציבור מקריב באוהל מועד
tZev. 13,13	ר' יהודה אומר כל שהציבור ויחיד מקריבין באוהל מועד
B252:22	וחכמי אר' כל מה שהציבור והיחיד מקריבים באוהל מועד שבמדבר
L755:38-39	וחכמים אומ' כל מה שהציבור והיחיד מקריבין באוהל מועד שבמדבר
tZev. 13,15	וחכמים אומרים כל שהציבור מקריבין באוהל מועד שבמדבר

⁵⁴ These can be found in appendix 5.

⁵⁵ See TYdb on these sugyot.

⁵⁶ MOSHE ASSIS, *Rabbi Saul Lieberman's Marginalia on Talmud Yerushalmi* (Jerusalem, 2022), p. 705 line 25-26.

⁵⁷ The parallel in yHor. 1425:7-10 is corrupt, but there too, only מרובה בגדים is to be found. (SAUL LIEBERMAN, *ירושלמי הוריות*, in *Studies in Palestinian Talmudic Literature* (Hebrew), ed. D. Rosenthal, (Jerusalem, 1991), p. 241; BINYAMIN ELIZUR, *לנוסח ירושלמי הוריות*, in *Mechkerei Talmud*, 2, eds. M. Bar-Asher and D. Rosenthal (Jerusalem, 1993), p. 8 sec 51.

⁵⁸ Ber. Rabba, 22, 4 (TA pp. 207-209); 34, 21 (TA pp. 318-319); Lev. Rabba, 9, 6 (Mar. pp. 182-183). Contra Gugenheimer, See STEMBERGER, p. 240 n. 9.

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Bologna and Leiden have reversed the opinions of R' Yehuda and the sages as appears in tZev. 13:13,15 and bZev. 117a.⁵⁹ The Academy of Hebrew Language edition, following earlier commentators indicate this reversal as an error.⁶⁰ This error continues in the sugya:

B252:23-24	מה טעמיה דר' יהודה ... עולה ושלמים מה טעמון דרבנן במקום איש
L755:39-40	מה טע' דר' יהודה ... עולה ושלמים מה טעמון דרבנן במקום איש

Here again, the Academy of Hebrew Language edition, following earlier commentators indicates that the names have been reversed.⁶¹ If so, this is a unique error common to Bologna and Leiden.⁶²

5

B252:28	סבר ר' שמעון משנקבע מעשר שיני עוד לא פסק
L755:48-49	סבר ר' שמעון משנקבע מעשר שיני עוד לא פסק

TY commentators have observed that this sentence is spurious.⁶³ It may have been inserted here on account of its proper appearance later (L757:28 = B254:38-39). This is an error common to Bologna and Leiden.

6

B253:37-38	מה אית לך משש שעות ולמעלן יהא כשר לא שלא לשמו
L756:13-14	מה אית לך משש שעות (ולמעלן יהא כשר) [ולמטן יהא פסול] לא שלא לשמו

Most commentators⁶⁴ emend the unedited Leiden text here. Guggenheimer's laconic assertion, 'The correctors text is to be omitted'⁶⁵ is somewhat puzzling. This is a unique error common to Bologna and Leiden.

7

B253:6	דא'ר' אבא בר כהנא שבע עבירות הותרו בפרו שלגבעון
L756:28	דאמ' ר' אבא בר כהנא שבע עבירות הותרו בפרו שלג(ב) [ד]דעון

R' Abba's statement concerning Gideon's Heiffer is attested in the midrash,⁶⁶ whereas a Heiffer of Gibeon is unheard of. The Leiden version is correct.⁶⁷ The Leiden scribe first wrote Gibeon as in Bologna and self-corrected to Gideon.⁶⁸ This may be an indication that Leiden is copying from Bologna.

8

B254:8-9	אית תניי תני אין אבילים עולים מן המינין א'ר' אבונה
L771:12-14	אית תניי תני אין אבילים עולין מן המיניין א'ר' אבונה [ואית תניי תני אבילים עולים מן המניין]

⁵⁹ In all textual witnesses (see <https://bavli.genizah.org/>).

⁶⁰ ASSIS, "Lieberman's Marginalia," p. 706 line 15-16.

⁶¹ ASSIS, "Lieberman's Marginalia," p. 706 line 24.

⁶² Alternatively, the Yerushalmi may have a different tradition concerning the argument between the sages.

⁶³ KORBAN EDAAH, PNEI MOSHE, and RIDVAZ, ASSIS, "Lieberman's Marginalia," p. 706 line 30-31.

⁶⁴ KORBAN EDAAH, PNEI MOSHE, RADVAZ, Sefer NIR, ASSIS, "Lieberman's Marginalia," p. 1796 line 44-45.

⁶⁵ H. W. GUGGENHEIMER, *The Jerusalem Talmud. Second Order: Mo'ed. Tractates Ta'anot, Megillah, Hagigah and Mo'ed Qatan (Mashqin)* (Berlin, 2015), p. 275 n. 536. See STEMBERGER, p. 240.

⁶⁶ Lev. Rabba 22, 9 (Mar. p. 519) and parallels.

⁶⁷ STEMBERGER, p. 244.

⁶⁸ Based perhaps on his knowledge of the midrash.

The sentence added by a later hand in Leiden is a homoioteleuton in both Bologna and Leiden. The unabridged form is expected in this type of argumentation as is evident from the continuation in the sugya and is well documented in the secondary witnesses of the sugya.⁶⁹ This would seem to be a homoioteleuton common to both Bologna and Leiden.⁷⁰

9

B255:14-15	וכהן	אם מתוך את למד סגין אינון
L771:22-24	ובקרקעות תשעה וכהן אלא נאמר כאן בני ישראל ונאמר להלן בני ישראל מה להלן עשרה אף כאן עשרה	אם מתוך את למד סגין אינון

In Both Leiden and Bologna there is a punctuation dot and a gap after אינון, indicating the end of the sugya. Although the parchment in Bologna is damaged here, the available space does not allow⁷¹ for the entire sentence added by a later hand in Leiden. This addition is well documented in parallels to the sugya in yBer. 7,3 (L58:10-17) and ySan. 1,6 (L1272:18-25),⁷² and is a homoioteleuton common to both Bologna and Leiden.

10

B256:14	את הסומא ר' מאיר או' פרט לסומא
L772: 37-38	ר' יהודה או' לרבות את הסומא ר' מאיר או' פרט לסומא	
B256:18	בלא ראות לרבות את הסומא	
L772:43	בלא ראות לרבות את הסומא	

The names here have been reversed, and the proper reading should be: מאיר אומר לרבות את הסומא ר' יהודה אומר פרט לסומא as we find in yMak. (1336:37-38). The correct reading in yMeg. is attested in *Ro"sh* Responsa 4:21. Later in the sugya, לרבות את הסומא (in yMeg. and yMak.) should also be emended to פרט לסומא, as attested in Nahmanides (bKid. 31a).⁷³ The former is an error common to Bologna and Leiden.

11

B256:28-29	גזירותיו של הקב"ה רחמים	שהם עושים
L773:13-16	גזירותיו של הקב"ה רחמים מדותיו של הקב"ה רחמים אילין דמתרגמין עמי בני ישראל כמה דאנן רחמין בשמיא כן תהוון רחמנין (על) בארעא תורתא או רחילא יתה וית ברא לא תכסון תרוייהוון ביומא חד לא עבדין טבאות שהן עושין	שהן עושין

The sentence added by a later hand in Leiden is a homoioteleuton in both Bologna and Leiden. The unabridged form is documented in the parallel in yBer. 5, 3 (L47:6-9) and in primary⁷⁴ and secondary sources there. This is a homoioteleuton common to both Bologna and Leiden.

⁶⁹ See TYdb on this sugya.

⁷⁰ Comp. Stemberger, p. 241.

⁷¹ The damaged parchment allows for at most 13 characters, the added sentence has over 45 characters.

⁷² PINCHUK, "Tractate Megillah," pp. 76, 311-312. Comp. STEMBERGER, p. 241.

⁷³ MOSHE ASSIS, *Parallel Sugyot in the Jerusalem Talmud*, Ph.D. thesis, Hebrew University, (Jerusalem, 1976), pp. 136-139; MOSHE ASSIS, "Hagahot U'Perushim BeYerushalmi Shabbat," *HUCA* 48 (1977), p. 9 note 56. ASSIS, "Lieberman's Marginalia," p. 715 line 67-69; p. 1802 line 67-69; p. 1803 line 74.

⁷⁴ Vat. 133; GY63:40 (= Bologna 457, this bifolio is not from the same manuscript as the Bologna bifolios of Nezikin and Moed); GY27:14 (the page ends after the first line of the missing text); Meiri Ber. 33b. PINCHUK, "Tractate Megillah," pp. 186, 317-318. Comp. STEMBERGER, p. 242.

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12

B256:34	אמורה דר' אבהוא אחא
L773:24	אמורא דר' (אבהו) אחא

The Bologna scribe corrected his error by putting a line through אבהוא. The Leiden scribe made and immediately corrected the same error. If he was copying from Bologna, he may not have noticed the line through אבהוא in Bologna until it was too late. Thus, he too was forced to delete and correct it. This is a strong indication that Leiden is copying from Bologna.⁷⁵

13

B256:36	דשמע מן אבוי בביתה הווה אמ' כן אמ' ר' בש' ר' יונה
L773:26-27	דשמע מן אבוי בביתא הוה אמ' כן אמ' ר' בשם ר' יונה

These last words are clearly erroneous.⁷⁶ This is an error unique to Bologna and Leiden.

14

B256:2, 3	את אהרן עד שפרעה אהרן; את משה עד שפרעה אהרן
L773:37, 39	את אהרן ע(..) [כנ] (ש)פרעה אהרן; את משה עד [כנ] (ש)פרעה אהרן

The verse reads (Ex. 32, 25), בְּיַפְרָעָה אֶהְרֵן. Bologna and Leiden have the mistaken אֶהְרֵן twice. A later hand corrected both places in Leiden. This is a unique error common to both.

15

B258:40	והסומא והחולה והקטן
L339b	והסומא והחולה והקטן

Both Leiden and Bologna read והקטן, whereas all other major witnesses of the Mishnah read זקן.⁷⁷ The former seems to be erroneous as קטן has been mentioned earlier in the Mishnah.⁷⁸ In any event, it is a reading unique to Bologna and Leiden.

16

B258:13	ר' שמעון בן מנסיא או' אין קורין מעוות
L339b	ר' שמעון בן מנסיא או' אין קורין מעוות

Both Leiden and Bologna read מנסיא, whereas all other major witnesses of the Mishnah read יוחי.⁷⁹ This reading is unique to Bologna and Leiden.

17

B259:40	למען ישמעון ולמען ילמדון פרט לקטן
L775:37-39	למען ישמעון ולמען ילמדון פרט לקטן [ויימר למען ישמעון ולמען ילמדון פרט לקטן]

⁷⁵ STEMBERGER, pp. 245, 247.

⁷⁶ See EPSTEIN, "Introduction to Mishnaic Text," p. 947; J.N. EPSTEIN, *Introduction to Tannaitic Literature* (Hebrew), (Jerusalem, 1957), p. 199; PINCHUK, "Tractate Megillah," pp. 203, 212. However, MOSHE ASSIS, 'ירושלמי' *Tarbiz* 81 (2013), p. 244 glosses over this quote with no correction or comment.

⁷⁷ Parma 138, Kauf. 50, TS E2.60, Bavli. STEMBERGER, p. 245.

⁷⁸ ASSIS, "Lieberman's Marginalia," p. 718 line 6-7.

⁷⁹ Parma 138, Kauf. 50, TS E2.60, Bavli. STEMBERGER, p. 245.

The correction and addition by a later hand in Leiden is called for from the logical flow of the sugya and is documented in *Kuntres Acharon* sec 29. This is a homoioteleuton common to Bologna and Leiden.⁸⁰

Conclusion

Having divided the relevant discrepancies between Bologna and Leiden into four categories, we found that the first two categories (Text in Bologna that is absent from Leiden; Text in Leiden that is absent from Bologna) do not contribute results meaningful to our inquiry. The third category (Text in Leiden that replaces text in Bologna) has a few cases that give reason to doubt that Bologna is the *vorlage*: The different division of the halachot (Sec 3, #1) between Bologna and Leiden raises doubts, this may be resolved if the remaining folios are discovered. The reworking of the aggadic sugya about Joseph (Sec 3, #3) raises strong doubts, unless we accept Stemberger's suggestion that this is the work of the Leiden scribe himself trying to correct his omission. There are two cases where Leiden exchanges a common expression in Bologna to a less common expression (Sec. 3 #2, 4). However, given the fact that Leiden has exchanged expressions even when copying the same text for a second time, these changes are perhaps less problematic. The fourth category (Textual idiosyncrasies that are unique to Leiden and Bologna), offer several strong examples in favor of Bologna being the *vorlage*. Bologna and Leiden share five(!) identical homoioteleuton (Sec. 4 #3,8,9,11,17). They share some unique idiosyncrasies (Sec. 4 #1,2,4,5,6,7,10,12,13,14,15,16). On two occasions one can literally see how Leiden is misled by an error in Bologna and immediately corrects himself (Sec 4 #7,12). The similarity between Bologna and Moed is quite remarkable, and the considerations for accepting Bologna as the *vorlage* of Leiden are strong. Stemberger's conclusion, that the Bologna bifolios are the probable *vorlage* of Ms. Leiden can be accepted under the following two conditions: 1. A satisfying explanation is found for the different division of the halachot (Sec 3, #1) between Bologna and Leiden; and for the reworking of the aggadic sugya about Joseph (Sec 3, #3). 2. If the Nezikin and Moed Bologna bifolios are indeed from the same manuscript, then a similar analysis of the Nezikin bifolios must also show compelling evidence that they are a probable *vorlage* of the Leiden ms. (I hope to report the findings of the Bologna Nezikin analysis in the near future).

II. The Punctuation in Bologna and Leiden

Another category to be considered in the context of the relationship between Bologna and Leiden is their punctuation. The history of punctuation is virgin territory in the fields of research of Hebrew manuscripts and texts. Except for the Bible and the biblical period, these have hardly received the attention of scholars and have not yet been sufficiently examined.⁸¹

Both Leiden and Bologna are richly punctuated using only a raised period often accompanied by a larger space between the words. Such systematic and consistent punctuation is very unusual in manuscripts of rabbinic literature.⁸² This commonality invites a comparison between the punctuation of Bologna and Leiden.

A preliminary comparison of a single page of Bologna (652 1r) to Leiden has yielded the following results. Leiden follows the Bologna punctuation meticulously,⁸³ but it adds punctuation in many more

⁸⁰ Comp. STEMBERGER, p. 242.

⁸¹ SINAI TURAN, "The History of Hebrew Punctuation — Introductory Chapters," *Tarbiz* (2002), p. 449.

⁸² SUSSMAN, "Introduction," p. 15, n. 66. For example, the geniza fragment pertaining to our text (end of yMeg., T-S F17.54 = GY p. 424), has no punctuation or spacing between sentences.

⁸³ The two exceptions are readily explained:

B248:11, מים בטובה is followed by a period and space. There is no space in Leiden (329b,16) because it is the end of the line.

places.⁸⁴ The similarity to the Bologna punctuation shows a close affinity of Leiden to Bologna, but the many additional punctuation marks may raise the suspicion that Leiden was using a different *vorlage*. Luckily, we know that the Leiden scribe took liberty regarding punctuation. In the Leiden ms. two folio were copied twice,⁸⁵ Turan compared the punctuation in these two copies and found many discrepancies, thus showing that the scribe was not at all meticulous in reproducing the *vorlage* punctuation.⁸⁶

The results of this comparison raise the possibility that Leiden is careful to copy the *vorlage* punctuation but allowed himself to enrich it.⁸⁷ A more extensive comparison between Bologna (Nezikin and Moed) would be required to substantiate this hypothesis.

III. Scribal Notation in Bologna

The Bologna scribe employs various symbols in his text:

1. Underlined letters.

B248:7 (L752:23) מממה דא ינן חמיי.⁸⁸

Stemberger suggests that this is used for correcting the text, ‘Bologna underlines the alef ... and thus probably wants to correct to דאנן’.⁸⁹

2. Strikethrough - The scribe erases a word by drawing a line through it.

B250:14 (L754:2-3) אקפח את בניי בנן שלא הייתה.⁹⁰

B256:34 (L773:24) דר' אבהוא אחא.⁹¹

B256:36 (L773:27) מלין דלא דשמע.⁹²

In the last case it is clear that the correction was made during the copying process and not at a later stage. This is indicated by the next word דשמע which would have been grammatically incorrect after דלא.

3. Overhead points on the first and last letter of the word to be omitted.

B251:14 (L755:20-21) דבר שהוא שהיה.⁹³

This is the prevalent method used by scribes to indicate erasure.⁹⁴ It is not clear why the Bologna scribe used three methods of notation to indicate erasures in his text.

B248:24, מביא שער, is followed by a period. There is no period in Leiden (329b,29) because it is the end of the line.

⁸⁴ There is additional punctuation on almost every line.

⁸⁵ See note 28.

⁸⁶ TURAN, “Hebrew Punctuation,” pp. 503-509.

⁸⁷ SUSSMAN, “Introduction,” p. 15 n. 66 questions whether Leiden is copying the punctuation from the *vorlage* or is punctuating independently. We now see a third possibility – Leiden is copying the punctuation from the *vorlage* and independently enriching it with his own punctuation.

⁸⁸ The transcription has an underline at B252:13 נתנימם. This is the editor’s addition, see note 107.

⁸⁹ STEMBERGER, p. 237.

⁹⁰ STEMBERGER, p. 243.

⁹¹ STEMBERGER, p. 245.

⁹² STEMBERGER, p. 244. In the transcription the strikethrough is absent.

⁹³ STEMBERGER, p. 243.

⁹⁴ BEIT-ARIÉ, ‘Hebrew Codicology,’ pp. 495-496.

4. Indicates the correct order by placing *alef* and *bet* above the words.

B258:6 (Leiden 339b) *לא במנחות⁹⁵ ולא בעופות⁹⁶.

The prevalent method to indicate transposition of letters or words is by points written above the letters or words.⁹⁶

5. Insertion of words in the margins.

On a few occasions the Bologna scribe inserts words that he omitted in between the lines.⁹⁷ It stands to reason that these were added at a later stage when it was no longer possible to add them within the line.

6. Stray letters.

The Bologna bifolio has some stray single or double letters.⁹⁸ It is not clear what their function was. Stemberger suggests that these are errors that the scribe immediately caught and continued with the correct writing.⁹⁹

IV. *The transcription of the Bologna bifolios of Megillah-Hagiga*

In addition to the reproduction of the Bologna bifolios of Megillah-Hagiga,¹⁰⁰ Stemberger also published a transcription as an appendix to his paper.¹⁰¹ This transcription has been used extensively in the current paper. A very useful aspect of this transcription is the fact that the lines follow the lines in the manuscript and are numbered, this makes referencing the actual manuscript very easy. However, having the text in justified form carries the price of a single word often carrying over to the next line, this can be quite disconcerting.¹⁰² It would have been preferable to have the text of each line of the manuscript in a single line in the transcription.

Some comments concerning the transcription:

1. Given the rarity of punctuation in talmudic manuscripts, and especially since both Leiden and Bologna (which may be the *vorlage* of Leiden), are punctuated it may have been prudent to include the punctuation in the transcription.

2. There are cases where the Bologna text is in between the lines. It is customary to indicate this fact in transcriptions by using square brackets.¹⁰³

3. Some typing errors in the Stemberger transcription, as well as corrected and alternate readings are offered in the following table. (The full corrected transcript may be viewed at TYdb):

⁹⁵ STEMBERGER, p. 244.

⁹⁶ BEIT-ARIÉ, "Hebrew Codicology," pp. 497-498. See Leiden 331b:1.

⁹⁷ B250:33, לו; B253:40, אינו; B254:20, לא, בתוך; 256:38, [ן]. The transcription does not indicate that these words are in between the lines.

⁹⁸ B250:29, י; B250:30, בו (not in transcription, but see Stemberger, p. 243); B251:41, ק.

⁹⁹ STEMBERGER, p. 243.

¹⁰⁰ STEMBERGER, pp. 260-267.

¹⁰¹ STEMBERGER, pp. 248-259.

¹⁰² See especially STEMBERGER, pp. 250, 252.

¹⁰³ These are marked as such in the table of corrections below.

Yerushalmi *Moed* of Bologna

Bologna 652 1r. Stemberger, 248-249.

Correction	Printed Text	Line
ר' זעורה בעי	ר' זוערה בעי	5
היילין אינון	היי לין אינון	6
ולא ידע מהוא עני	ולא ידע מה הוא עני	12
אף המרובה בגדים	אף מרובה בגדים	18
לרבות את המרובה בגדים	לרבות המרובה בגדים	20
עבודתו כשרה נשמענה מן הדה	עבודתו כשירה נישמענה מן הדה	29
וכשיצא אמר פר ושעיר שלהיום	וכשיצא אמ' פר ושעיר של היום	31
תל' לוי תחתיו	תל' לוי תחתיו	39

Bologna 652 1v. Stemberger pp. 249-251.

מה תל' לוי אחריו	מה תל' לוי אחריו	6
שלא היטיתה ימין	שלא היטיתה ימין	14
תל' לוי וכפר	תל' לוי וכפר	18
ר' חייה בר אדא	ר' חייה בר אדא	19
לעזר כל כו צפור ¹⁰⁴	לעזר כל צפור	30
להיעשות [לוי] ¹⁰⁵ שליח מהוא לבנות אבניו מהוא	להיעשות לוי שליח מהו לבנות אבניו מהו	33
לעלמה דאתי	לעלמא דאתי	38
ולמה נקרא שמו נחום	ולמה נקרא נחום	41

Bologna 651 1r. Stemberger pp. 251-253.

מהוא עורי שהוא	מהו עורי שהוא ¹⁰⁶	11
נתונים? נתונות? ¹⁰⁷	נתונים	13
ואי זו זו עולה	ואיזו זו זו עולה	25
מהוא שתהא כשרה	מהו שתהא כשרה	39
נידב [אינו] ¹⁰⁸ קרב	נידב אינו קרב	40

¹⁰⁴ Stemberger, p. 243 is undecided between בו or מ.

¹⁰⁵ Inserted above להיעשות שליח. STEMBERGER, p. 243.

¹⁰⁶ STEMBERGER, p. 243.

¹⁰⁷ Prof. Stemberger kindly informs me that the underline is his addition to indicate that the reading is not clear. Dr. Elizur also informs me that the reading is equivocal.

¹⁰⁸ Inserted above קרב נידב. STEMBERGER, p. 243.

Bologna 651 1v. Stemberger pp. 253-254.

5	של שמואל א' ר' יוסה	שלשמואל א'ר' יוסה
6	של גבעון	שלגבעון
8	כת' וירם	כתוב וירם
20	חופות לא היו אלא בתוך חלקו	חופות [לא] היו אלא ב[תוך] חלקו ¹⁰⁹

Bologna 651 2r. Stemberger pp. 254-255.

32	דעילי	דעילי ¹¹⁰
5	אין אומ'	אין אומרים
17	נישמעינה	נשמעינה

Bologna 651 2v. Stemberger pp. 255-256.

9	כהן	כוהן
10	שמע	שמע ¹¹¹
23	ר' יוסי	ר' יוסה
26	הגיעו קצוות	הגיעו קצווה
33	ר' בש' אבא	רבי בש' אבא
36	מלין דלא דשמע	מלין דלא ¹¹² דשמע
37	בעריתא	בעריתה
38	מן זרעך	מ[ן] זרעך ¹¹³

Bologna 652 2r. Stemberger pp. 256-258.

21	הדר בחוצה	הדר בחוץ
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Bologna 652 2v. Stemberger pp. 258-259.

2	של אביו	שלאביו
3	וחגיגה	והחגיגה
5	ונדבות	ובנדבות
9	י"	י"
11	רבי	ר'
38	איזהו	איזהוא
41	שאינו ראוי	שאינו ראוי <לבוא> ¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁹ Inserted above היו חופות, and over בחלקו respectively. STEMBERGER, p. 243.

¹¹⁰ Prof. Stemberger kindly informs me that the diacritic in the transcription is a mistake caused perhaps by the fact that in Leiden (757:19) דעילי is vocalized.

¹¹¹ There is erased text prior to שמע.

¹¹² See STEMBERGER, p. 244. If דלא was not erased, the next word דשמע should be שמע.

¹¹³ Inserted above מזרעך.

¹¹⁴ Catchword, bottom of page.

Part 2 - Some Contributions of the Bologna ms. towards understanding the Yerushalmi

The discussion so far was dedicated to describing the Bologna bifolios and their relationship to the Leiden manuscript. The focus henceforth will be on contributions of Bologna towards the understanding of the text of Talmud yerushalmi.¹¹⁵

1. Order of the Talmudic tractates:

Very few genizah fragments record consecutive tractates from which we can learn about the order of the tractates in Talmud yerushalmi.¹¹⁶ Bologna is a rare case which preserves the order of two consecutive tractates, Megillah-Hagiga. This agrees with other witnesses we have to this order.¹¹⁷ This is especially noteworthy considering the varying order of these tractates we find in witnesses of the Mishnah.¹¹⁸

2. The last sugya of Megillah is a collection of laws pertaining to Mezuzah (L774:7-43). There is no clear connection between these laws to the entire chapter, various suggestions have been offered.¹¹⁹ Early scholars of *Wissenschaft des Judentums* such as Frankel and Heschel Schorr have suggested that this entire collection is of later provenance which was later appended to the tractate. These scholars do not indicate at what point in time this collection was added, but its presence in Bologna brings the terminus two centuries earlier than Leiden. In any event their suggestion is to be rejected, see note 119.

3. The chapter of Mishnah before the Talmud.¹²⁰

Leiden and Bologna have in common the complete chapter of Mishnah prior to the Talmudic chapter. This is unusual in the textual witnesses of Talmud yerushalmi that we have.¹²¹ Epstein claimed that the *vorlage* of Leiden did not contain the text of the Mishnah and the Leiden scribe copied it from somewhere else.¹²² Sussman thought that the Leiden *vorlage* did contain the Mishnah.¹²³ Stemberger concludes that the fact that Bologna has the text of the Mishnah before the Talmudic chapter reopens the question not only regarding the *Vorlage* of the Mishnah of Ms. Leiden, but more generally of the place of the Mishnah in the textual transmission of Talmud yerushalmi.

4. What caused Jethro to come to Moses in the desert.

The Leiden text (L755:16-17) seems to be corrupt. The Bologna text (B251:9) offers a clearer text.¹²⁴

5. The interpretation of the blessing to Joseph (Deut. 32,16).

In light of the text in Bologna (B254:23-27) we see that the text in Leiden (L757:5-11) is corrupt. Bologna gives us a more authentic rendition of the entire sugya.¹²⁵

¹¹⁵ This chapter should be read keeping in mind that Bologna may be the *vorlage* of Leiden. See cautionary remarks above page 212-213.

¹¹⁶ YAACOV SUSSMAN, 'פרקי ירושלמי', in *Mechkerei Talmud* 2 eds. M. Bar-Asher and D. Rosenthal (Jerusalem, 1993), p. 223 n. 11.

¹¹⁷ Leiden 339b; Kuntres Acharon, sec. 26-27.

¹¹⁸ EPSTEIN, "Introduction to Mishnaic Text," pp. 983-984.

¹¹⁹ PINCHUK, "Tractate Megillah," pp. 242-245.

¹²⁰ This is a summary of Stemberger's discussion (p. 246).

¹²¹ YAACOV SUSSMAN, "כתבי-יד ומסורת נוסח של המשנה", *Proceedings of the Seventh World Congress of Jewish Studies, part 3*, 1981, p. 241.

¹²² EPSTEIN, "Introduction to Mishnaic Text," pp. 932-933.

¹²³ SUSSMAN, "Introduction," p. 19 n. 104.

¹²⁴ See Appendix 4, #1.

¹²⁵ See page 217.

6. yMeg. 4, 4 (L772:4-5 = B255:35), זכיי דכבול, ר' ירמיה ר' שמעון שרה ר' חנינא בר אנדריי בשם ר' זכיי דכבול, it is not clear if ר' ירמיה is part of this list of tradents or perhaps belongs to the end of the previous sugya.¹²⁶ The punctuation in both Leiden and Bologna before ר' ירמיה suggest the former.

7. yMeg. 4, 6 (L772:35-43 = B256:12-18), this sugya has a parallel in yMak. 2, 3 (1336:35-43). The sugya is difficult. Assis¹²⁷ has offered an astute interpretation of this sugya which requires a slight emendation (772:41) ביושב < כיושב. However, Bologna (256:16) also reads ביושב. If Assis is correct, we must conclude that the scribal error was already present in Bologna two centuries earlier.

8. yMeg. 4, 10 (L774:37 = B257:28). Leiden here reads: 'הוה מצטער (ד) לא חמא לולא'. A later hand erased a letter which is no longer legible and replaced it with ד. The parallel sugya in yYom. 1,1 (L562:6-7) reads: 'דלא חמא'. Bologna reads: הוה מצטער ולא חמא לולא. We can assume that Leiden in Megillah also originally read ולא.

These expressions have different meanings:

הוה מצטער דלא חמא לולא - Was sad that he did not see the staircase.¹²⁸

הוה מצטער ולא חמא לולא - He made an effort¹²⁹ but did not succeed in seeing the staircase.

The genizah fragment (GY 424:8-9) has a third reading, הוה מצטער על דלא חמה לולה. This is closer in meaning to the emended Leiden.

Appendix I - Variations in verses

B249:5-6	ובגדי הקדש אשר לאהרן יהיו לבניו
L753:38	ובגדי הקדש אשר לאהרן הכהן יהיו לבניו

This verse Ex 29, 29, 'ובגדי הקדש אשר לאהרן יהיו לבניו' appears twice. Earlier (B249:4 = L753:36) it has been copied correctly. In Bologna line 5-6 it is again copied correctly but in Leiden הכהן has been erroneously added. A similar verse 'ואת בגדי הקדש לאהרן הכהן ואת בגדי בניו לכהן' appears three times in the Pentateuch,¹³⁰ not to mention the ubiquitous expression 'אהרן הכהן', understandably the scribe mistakenly added הכהן.¹³¹

B250:24	ותקח רבקה את בגדי עשו בנה הגדול החמודות
L754:20-21	ותקח רבקה את בגדי עשו בנה הגדול החמודות אשר אתה בבית

Leiden has completed the verse in Gen. 27,16.

B251:4	והבל גם הוא מבכורות צאנו ומחלביהם
L755:6	והבל הביא גם הוא מבכורות צאנו ומחלבהן

Leiden scribe is correctly copying Gen. 4, 4, 'והבל הביא גם הוא מבכורות צאנו ומחלבהן'.

¹²⁶ PINCHUK, "Tractate Megillah," pp. 121-124.

¹²⁷ MOSHE ASSIS, "Parallel Sugyot," pp. 136-139; Moshe Assis, "Hagahot U'Perushim," p. 9 note 56.

¹²⁸ MICHAEL SOKOLOFF, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic*, Ramat Gan, Baltimore and London 2017³, s.v. לול, p. 302.

¹²⁹ מה אתה מצטער, Tanhuma (Buber), Kedoshim 8, בלעם, Balak 12, Tanhuma (Buber), מדוד, 62, Shochoer Tov (Buber), 62, שלא יהא מלאך מצטער לילך אחר בלעם, Tanhuma (Buber), שיהיה מצטער לבנות בית המקדש.

¹³⁰ Ex. 31, 10; 35, 19; 39, 41.

¹³¹ See note 31. The Talmud yerushalmi edition of the Academy of Hebrew Language edition (see note *) also failed to notice that הכהן is superfluous.

Yerushalmi *Moed* of Bologna

B252:25	לא תעשו ככל אשר אנחנו עושים פה היום
L755:42-43	לא תעשון ככל אשר אנחנו עושים פה היום

This may be a mere orthographical difference, or Leiden may be copying the verse in Deut. 12, 8 with precision, 'לא תעשון ככל אשר אנחנו עושים פה'.

B253:1	בכל מקום אשר תראה כי אם במקום
L756:20	בכל מקום אשר תראה כי אם במקום וגו'

Leiden is indicating that the verse Deut. 12,14 continues.

B257:7-8	ר' אליעזר או' אין מפטירים בהודע את ירושלם
L774:4	ר' אליעזר או' אין מפטירין בהודע את ירושלם את תועבותיה

Leiden is quoting the verse in Ez. 16,2 at greater length.

Appendix 2 - Text in Bologna that is absent from Leiden

1

B248:20	לרבות את המרובה בגדים
L752:45	לרבות מרובה בגדים

This could be a scribal error,¹³² which goes unnoticed because the ה of המרובה is also omitted. This may have even been a purposeful omission to render a smoother reading.

2

B249:30-31	ושימש תחתיו בכהונה גדולה וכשיצא אמר למלך אדוני המלך
L753:14-15	ושימש תחתיו בכהונה גדולה ואמ' למלך כשיצא אדוני המלך

In Leiden כשיצא has moved forward in the sentence, without changing the meaning of the text.¹³³ The scribe may have noticed his omission and was able to immediately rectify this by inserting it into a logical slot. The parallels in yYom. (L562:46) and yHor. (L1425:26) follow the order of Bologna.

3

B249:31	פר ושעיר שלהיום משלמי הן קריבים משלי או משל כהן גדול
L753:14-15	פר ושעיר של יום משלי הן קריבים או משלכהן גדול

In Bologna the question is presented twice, first in general then in detail. Two small changes in Leiden elegantly collapse them into one question. The parallel in yYom. (L562:47-48) follows Leiden, whereas the parallel in yHor. (L1425:26-27) follows Bologna.¹³⁴ This could be a scribal error perhaps even a purposeful omission to render a more concise reading.

¹³² אה has also been omitted in the transcription (B248:20). אה is omitted in Leiden on another occasion, see #12.

¹³³ See STEMBERGER, 244.

¹³⁴ In yHor. איל instead of שעיר.

4

B249:39-40	עשירית האיפה שלו	עשירית האיפה שלו תל' לוי תחתיו מבניו את שבנו עובד תחתיו מביא עשירית האיפה שלו
L753:25-27	שלו	עשירית האיפה

The sentence missing in Leiden is a homoioteleuton and has been restored by a later hand in the margin.¹³⁵ This sentence appears almost entirely in the parallel in yYom. (L563:9-10), and in Kuntres Acharon sec. 2. See Sifra, Tzav, parsha 3, perek 5, sec 1.

5

B249:1-2	מנין שהוא מתמנה להיות כהן גדול	מנין שהוא מתמנה להיות כהן גדול
L753:31	מניין שהוא מתמנה	כהן גדול

The parallels in yYom. (L563:14-15) and yHor. (L1425:44) follow Bologna. The omission is a scribal error.

6

B250:18	לרבות כהן אחר המתמנה	לרבות כהן אחר המתמנה
L754:8-9	לרבות כהן	המתמנה

The parallel in yYom. (L563:41) follows Bologna, yHor. (L1426:19) reads, לרבות אחר המתמנה.¹³⁶ The omission in Leiden can be a scribal error, or an attempt to shorten a double reading.¹³⁷

7

B250:20	ונעשך אב בית דין על ישראל	ונעשך אב בית דין על ישראל
L754:12	ונעשך אב בית דין	ונעשך אב בית דין

This is a quote from mEd. 5.6.¹³⁸ The parallel in yYom. (L563:45) follows Bologna.¹³⁹ The omission in Leiden can be a scribal error.

8

B251:41	ולמה נקרא שמו נחום איש קודש	ולמה נקרא שמו נחום איש קודש
L754:49-50	ולמה נקרא	נחום איש קודש

The parallels in, ySan. (L1326:45), yAZ. (L1394:9)¹⁴⁰ and yMeg. (L764:38)¹⁴¹ all follow Bologna. The omission in Leiden is a scribal error.¹⁴²

¹³⁵ See STEMBERGER, p. 239.

¹³⁶ See STEMBERGER, p. 239.

¹³⁷ The the Leiden scribe may have considered the doublet כהן/אחר a double reading, and decided to retain only one reading. See LEIB MOSCOVITZ, "Double readings in the Yerushalmi," in *The Talmud Yerushalmi and Graeco-Roman Culture. Vol. I*, ed. Peter Schäfer, (Tübingen, 1998), pp. 83-125.

¹³⁸ According to most textual witnesses the Mishnah reads, לישראל (Parma 3173, Kaufmann A50, T-S E2.77) or על ישראל (Munich Cod. Ebr. 95) never בישראל.

¹³⁹ See STEMBERGER, 239.

¹⁴⁰ And GY661:1 and secondary witnesses at TYdb.

¹⁴¹ Added by a later hand.

¹⁴² שמו has also been omitted in the transcription (B248:20).

9

B252:15	גבי שלמים הוא אמ' זאת תורת
L755:27	גבי שלמים אמ' זאת תורת

The omission could be a scribal error. However, the parallel in Cant. Rabba 4, 16 follows Leiden.

10

B256:41	וכה תנינן ר' יהודה א' כל שלא ראה
L772:38	וכא תנינן כל שלא ראה

This is a quote from mMeg. 4,6 (or tMeg. 3,28).¹⁴³ Secondary textual witnesses¹⁴⁴ and the somewhat parallel in yMak. (L1336:35) follow Bologna. This is a non-trivial omission of three words as the sugya is discussing a contradiction between statements of R' Yehuda.

11

B257:29-30	שמואל אמ' מזוזה קודמת רב חונה אמ'
L774:38	שמואל אמ' מזוזה קודמת רב חונה אמ'

קודמת has been erroneously repeated in Bologna (end of line 30, beginning of line 31), and correctly appears once in Leiden and in all primary and secondary textual witnesses.¹⁴⁵

12

B258:20	והקבילו את ר' יהושע בבקיעין
L775:4-5	והקבילו ר' יהושע בבקיעין

The parallel in ySot. 3,4 (L920:14-15) follows Bologna, However Vat. 133 (p.15) follows Leiden.¹⁴⁶ This is a second occasion where Leiden has dropped את (see #1).

13

B259:31	ותנינן חרש שדיברו בו חכמים בכל מקום
L775:22-23	ותנינן חרש שדיברו חכמ' בכל מקום

Most textual witnesses of this Mishnah (mTer. 1, 2) lack בו.¹⁴⁷ The parallel in yTer 1,2 (L220:9) follows Leiden (without בו)¹⁴⁸ (including ms. Vat. 133). The parallel in yYeb. 12, 4 (L888:20) follows Bologna (with בו).¹⁴⁹ The omission in Leiden can readily be explained on account of the parallel texts.

¹⁴³ Textual witnesses of both read, ר' יהודה אומר (Parma 3173, Kaufmann A50, Mishnah in Leiden; Vienna 20, Berlin 1220).

¹⁴⁴ TYdb.

¹⁴⁵ GY424:10 and TYdb. A similar phenomenon occurs in Leiden, see appendix 3 #4.

¹⁴⁶ In general, the text in Vat. Ebr. 133 is corrupt.

¹⁴⁷ Kaufmann 50, Munich 95, and the Mishnah in Leiden all lack בו, it appears only in Parma 3137.

¹⁴⁸ Vat. 133 follows Leiden.

¹⁴⁹ Both versions are attested in the secondary textual witnesses, see TYdb.

Appendix 3 - Text in Leiden that is absent from Bologna

1

B249:32-33	אילו לא דיין אלא ¹⁵⁰ ששימשתה שעה אחת לפני מי שאמר והיה העולם
L753:15-16	אילו לא דיין אלא ששימשתה שעה אחת לפני מי שאמר והיה העולם דיין

דיין is added in Leiden.¹⁵¹ This addition is not attested in the parallels in yYom. (L562:49), yHor. (L1425:28-29) in any primary or secondary textual witnesses.¹⁵² It does not appear in tYom 1, 4. This can be Leiden scribe's own addition.

2

B249:8	לא בשמונה שלכהן ולא בארבעה שלכהן הדיוט
L753:42	לא בשמונה שלכהן גדול ולא בארבעה שלכהן הדיוט

The addition of גדול in Leiden is appropriate and called-for, it appears in yYom. (L563:24-25) and compare yHor. (L1426:3-4). This can be Leiden scribe's own addition.

3

B249:10	וטועים דבר מבפנים לבחוץ
L753:46	וטועים בין דבר מבפנים לבחוץ

בין does not appear in the parallel in yYom. (L563:28)¹⁵³ or yHor. (L1426:7). This can be Leiden scribe's own addition.

4

B250:29	מכל החי מכל בשר שיהוא שלימים באיבריהם
L754:29-30	מכל החי מכל בשר שיהו שיהו שלימים באיבריהן

The repetition of שיהו in Leiden is the last word on Leiden 330a and the first word on Leiden 330b.¹⁵⁴ This is a scribal error or a catchword.

5

B254:33	שם שם מה שני' להלן הבמות אסורות אף שם שני' כן
L757:20-21	שם שם מה שם שנאמר להלן הבמות אסורות אף שם שני' כאן

The addition of שם in Leiden is appropriate and called-for, as it fits the structure of such a homily. This can be Leiden scribe's own addition.

¹⁵⁰ Concerning this expression see Lieberman, "Hayerushalmi Kiphshuto," pp. 289-290, 560; MOSHE ASSIS, *A Concordance of Amoraic Terms Expressions and Phrases in the Yerushalmi* (New York and Jerusalem, 2010), p. 105 n. 981.

¹⁵¹ STEMBERGER, p. 239.

¹⁵² GY679:5 and TYdb.

¹⁵³ Not in GY262:25.

¹⁵⁴ A similar phenomenon occurs in Bologna, see appendix 2 #11.

Yerushalmi *Moed* of Bologna

6

B255:5	התורה על סדר	כדי שישמעו יש'
L772:21-22	התורה] על סדר	כדי שישמעו את ישראל

The addition of את in Leiden makes the sentence awkward, the source for this addition is not from Bologna. Perhaps this is a self-correction of the Leiden scribe who meant to write את ישראל rather than את ישראל.¹⁵⁵

7

B256:31-32	להוסיף	אינו רשיי לא לשנות ולא לכנות
L773:20	להוסיף	אינו רשאי לא לשנות ולא לכנות ולא להוסיף

The addition of לא in Leiden is appropriate and is expected in the structure of the sentence (comp. tMeg. 3,41). Note that in Bologna לכנות is the end of line 31 and להוסיף is the beginning of line 32. This may have confounded the scribe causing him to omit the לא. This can be Leiden scribe's own addition.

8

B258:6		ובאשם ובבכור ובחזה ושוק
Leiden Mishnah		ובאשם ובבכור ובחזה ובשוק ובבכור

The last ובבכור in Leiden is redundant and is a scribal error.

9

B258:7		ונכסים ממועטין מביא שלמים
Leiden Mishnah		ונכסים ממועטין מביא שלמים מרובין

Leiden follows Parma, and Kaufmann (with the marginal addition). This can be Leiden scribe's own addition (based on his memory of the Mishnah).

Appendix 4 - Text in Leiden that replaces text in Bologna

1

B251:9	מלחמת עמלק שמע	חזקיה אמ' קריעת ים סוף שמע ר' יהושע בן לוי אמ' מלחמת עמלק שמע
L755:16-17	אמ' קריעת ים סוף שמע	חזקיה אמ' קריעת ים סוף שמע ר' יהושע

Leiden seems to be corrupt, why is the splitting of the sea mentioned twice?¹⁵⁶ Also, חזקיה is an Amora whereas יהושע ר' is a Tana. It is possible that this error occurred while copying from Bologna.

2

B253:40		אמ' ר' יוסה בן חנינה אין הבמה ניתורת
L756:19		אמ' ר' יוסי בן חנינה אין הבהמה ניתרת

From the context it is clear that Leiden is a trivial scribal error.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁵ See STEMBERGER, p. 241.

¹⁵⁶ STEMBERGER, p. 240.

¹⁵⁷ As indicated in the Academy edition. See Sussman, "Introduction," p. 27 note 169; ELIZUR, "Introduction,"

3

B255:21	תני עבדים ושטרות ומיטלטלים אין להם איגרת ביקורת
L771:33	תני עבדים ושפחות ומיטלטלין אין להם איגרת ביקורת

Bologna follows the parallel in ySan. (L1270:36-37) A trivial scribal error.¹⁵⁸

4

B256:8	כד דאינין תרתיי תי מייבל חדא ומייתי חדא
L772:62	כד דאינון תרתיי תי מייבל חדא (תי)

Bologna follows the parallel in yYom. (L593:18-19) and ySot. (L937:12-13) and all known textual witnesses.¹⁵⁹ Leiden scribe wrote only תי which he then erased, perhaps with an unfulfilled intent to correct his omission. A later hand added ומייתי חדא in the Leiden margin.

5

B257:5-6	ברכות כהנים נקראות ולא נקראות
L773:43	ברכות כהנים נקראות ולא מיתרגמות

Bologna is an erroneous quote from mMeg. (4,10).¹⁶⁰ All textual witnesses of the Mishnah read:¹⁶¹ 'ברכת כהנים ... לא נקרין ולא מתרגמים'. The Babylonian tradition of the Mishnah differs and reads, 'ברכת כהנים ... נקרין ולא מתרגמים'.¹⁶² Babylonian influence would explain the scribal error in the Mishnaic quote in Bologna and Leiden which should read, 'ברכת כהנים לא נקראות'.¹⁶³ This reading is supported by the adjacent Talmudic discussion', 'לברכה ניתנה לא ניתנה לקריאה', which explains why reading is forbidden.¹⁶⁴ The Bologna scribe also confounded נקראות with מתרגמות an error Leiden would understandably correct.¹⁶⁵

6

B257:18	היאך שמע שיש לה רואה את הפתח
L774:21	היאך שמע שלה רואה את הפתח

The meaning of this sentence is unclear.¹⁶⁶ The nature of the requirement, שיהא שמע שלה רואה, צריך שיהא שמע שלה רואה (B257:17, L774:19) is also unclear, thus it is difficult to evaluate the two versions. However, the expression שמע שלה רואה את הפתח appears as such in both Bologna and Leiden in the previous line, and that version is attested in secondary textual witnesses.¹⁶⁷ One may thus assume that שיש לה in Bologna is a scribal error that Leiden corrected.

42 note 25. Assis, 'Lieberman's Marginalia,' p. 706 line 49-50; p. 1796 line 49-50.

¹⁵⁸ STEMBERGER, p. 241; PINCHUK, "Tractate Megillah," p. 101; ASSIS, 'Lieberman's Marginalia,' p. 714 line. 22; p. 1802 line. 22.

¹⁵⁹ Vat. 133; TYdb.

¹⁶⁰ See PINCHUK, "Tractate Megillah," p. 238.

¹⁶¹ Kaufmann, Parma, Leiden, Napoli (print), see tMeg. 3, 38 (Erfurt, London).

¹⁶² See PINCHUK, "Tractate Megillah," p. 239.

¹⁶³ Correctly quoted by R' Hannanel, bMeg. 25b.

¹⁶⁴ Sages who adopted the Babylonian reading in the Yerushalmi were hard pressed to explain how לברכה 'פי לקריאה כהלכתו בתרגום', relates to targum, and offer an unconvincing explanation, 'ניתנה לא ניתנה לקריאה'. See: Eshkol (Orbach, 2, p. 61; Albeck Laws of reading the Torah 65b), and Orchot Chaim 1, Laws of reading the Torah, sec. 40.

¹⁶⁵ STEMBERGER, p. 243.

¹⁶⁶ See PINCHUK, "Tractate Megillah," pp. 275-280.

¹⁶⁷ TYdb.

Appendix 5 - Textual idiosyncrasies shared by Leiden and Bologna

1

B248:1-2	בשיר במזמור בהשכל ברינה בתפילה בברכה המאושר שבכולם הללויה
L752:15-16	בשיר במזמור בהשכל ברינה בתפילה בברכה המאושר שבכולן הללויה בתודה

בתודה has been added in Leiden by a later hand. In the parallel in ySuk. (L648:1), בתודה appears in the Leiden text. According to Korban Eda and Yafeh Mareh הללויה is counted as one of the ten modes of praise,¹⁶⁸ hence adding בתודה is problematic as there are now eleven modes of praise. Korban Eda and Yafeh Mareh suggest omitting one of the other modes of praise. However, Bologna and Leiden that omit תודה may be the correct version.

2

B248:3	ר' זעורה בעה קומי ר' אבהוא מה נעני אמ' ליה הכא כיפה קומך
L752:17-18	ר' זעורה בעא קומי ר' אבהו מה נעני אמ' ליה הכא כיפה קומך

The enigmatic expression הכא כיפה קומך is in both Bologna and Leiden.¹⁶⁹ The parallel in ySuk. (L648:3-4) has the same enigmatic expression.¹⁷⁰ This expression is not unique to Bologna and Leiden.

3

B248:23	אילו נאמר משיח ולא נאמ' כהן הייתי או' זה המלך
L752:48-753:1	אילו נאמ' משיח ולא נאמ' כהן הייתי או' זה המלך לעולם על העולם דבר מביא פר ... או אלו נאמר כהן ולא נאמר משיח היתי אומר

A later hand added a portion to the text that is absent in both Bologna and Leiden. Lieberman¹⁷¹ has shown that the addition is erroneous. This omission is not an error common to Bologna and Leiden.

4

B249:34	שיצא לדבר עם מלך ערבי
L753:17-18	שיצא לדבר עם מלך ערבי ערב יום כפורים עם חשכה

ערב יום כפורים עם חשכה was added by a later hand. It is not in the parallel in yYom. 1,1 (L563:1) or in tYom. 3, 20. However, it is present in yHor (L1425:30).¹⁷² Lieberman¹⁷³ concludes that the addition is erroneous. Leiden and Bologna have the correct text.

¹⁶⁸ In parallel sources bPes. 117a, and Midrash Shocher Tov 1, 6, הללויה is clearly counted as one of the ten modes of praise. *Mata DeYerushalayim*, Sukkah interprets the sugya differently.

¹⁶⁹ STEMBERGER, p. 244. Maharam of Rothenburg quotes ySuk. differently but with the same expression, הכא כיפה קומך.

¹⁷⁰ In both places a later hand has emended the text in different ways. See ASSIS, 'Lieberman's Marginalia,' p. 705 line 14.

¹⁷¹ LIEBERMAN, "Hayerushalmi Kiphshuto," p. 17; ASSIS, "Lieberman's Marginalia," p. 705 line 42-44. See STEMBERGER, pp. 238-239.

¹⁷² And in yhor. appended to the Bavli and in Erkey Tanaim, s.v. Yishmael ben Kimhit.

¹⁷³ Tosefta Kifshuta, Yomah, pp. 805-806; STEMBERGER, p. 239.

5

B249:1	יצא משוח מלחמה שאינו בא אל אהל מועד לשרת בקדש
L753:30-31	יצא משוח מלחמה שאינו בא אל אהל (מ)ועד לשרת בקודש אין בנו עובד תחתיו

A later hand added אין בנו עובד תחתיו to Leiden. The tannaitic source (Sifra, Tzav 3, 5, 1) and the parallel in yYom. (L563:14) follow Bologna and Leiden. The parallel in yHor. (L1425:42-43) has a different ending:

All versions	את שהוא בא אל אהל מועד לשרת בקודש בנו עומד תחתיו
Sifra, Meg, Yom.	יצא משוח מלחמה שאינו בא אל אהל מועד לשרת בקודש
Horayot	ואת שאינו בא אל אהל מועד לשרת בקודש אין בנו עומד תחתיו

It seems that the later hand appended the ending from the alternate version in yHor. to the version in yMeg.¹⁷⁴ This omission is not an error.

6

B249:1-2	מנין שהוא מתמנה להיות כהן גדול פינחס בן אלעזר נגיד היה עליהם
L753:32	מניין שהוא מתמנה כהן גדול [שנ] פינחס בן אלעזר נגיד היה עליהם

The later hand addition וְשׁ is gratuitous, a similar addition has been made to the parallel in yYom 1, 1 (L563:15)¹⁷⁵ but not to yHor. 3, 4 (L1425:44). This omission is not an error common to Bologna and Leiden.

7

B250:26-27	תמימים ובעלי מומים
L754:24-25	תמימין [אבל לא] (ו)בעלי מומין
B250:28	תמימים ובעלי מומים מנין
L754:28-29	תמימים [אבל לא] (ו)בעלי מומין מניין

A later hand emended Leiden twice.¹⁷⁶ The addition is an error as seen from the content of R' Elazar's exegesis (B250:29, L754:29-30).¹⁷⁷ This is not an error in Bologna and Leiden.

8

B251:34-35	לכם אין אתם עושים עושים הם אחרים לכם
L754:38-39	לכם אין אתם עושין [אבל] עושין הם אחרים לכם

A later hand added this word, it is gratuitous, compare bKer. 5a.

¹⁷⁴ Comp. STEMBERGER, p. 239.

¹⁷⁵ It is present in Kuntres Acharon, sec 2.

¹⁷⁶ STEMBERGER, pp. 239-240.

¹⁷⁷ See LIEBERMAN, "HaYerushalmi Kifshuto," p. 7. From the discussion in Tosafot bHulin 22b, s.v. *Ve'hevi Techilat* it is apparent that his Yerushalmi followed the unedited version here.

9

B254:20	שכל חופות [לא] היו אלא
L757:1	שכל חופות [שהיו] לא היו אלא

A later hand added שהיו, this addition is unnecessary. This omission does not seem to be an error.

10

B255:32	זה שהוא עומד צריך לקראות שני פסוקים
L771:50	זה שהוא עומד [תחתיו] צריך לקרות שני פסוקים

A later hand added תחתיו in Leiden. Various suggestions have been made as to the reason for this addition.¹⁷⁸ But its omission does not seem to be an error.

11

B256:24	תפילים מרובעות הלכה למשה מסיני
L773:4	תפילין מרובעות [שחורות] ה' למשה מסיני

A later hand added שחורות in Leiden. It is not clear what this addition is based on.¹⁷⁹ Its omission does not seem to be an error.

12

B257:15	ר' בא בש' רב יהודה ואפילו סמרו והא תני והוא שסמרו
L774:15-16	ר' בא בשם רב יהודה ואפי' [לא] סמרו והא תני והוא שסמרו

It is unclear whether the addition of לא is erroneous, either way this *sugya* is enigmatic.¹⁸⁰

13

B259:29-30	מדבר ואינו שומע חרש שומע ואינו מדבר חרש
L775:19-20	מדבר ואינו שומע חרש שומע ואינו מדבר [אינו] חרש

The parallels in yTer. 1, 2 (L220:5-6)¹⁸¹ and yYev. 12, 4 (L888:17-18), and Nahmanides (bYev. 104b, s.v. *Veha*) all follow Bologna and unedited Leiden. Ohr Zarua (Laws of Slaughter, 369) follows the edited Leiden. Regardless of what the correct version may be, this is not a reading unique to Bologna and unedited Leiden.

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¹⁷⁸ STEMBERGER, p. 244; PINCHUK, "Tractate Megillah," p. 2 n. 9; 108 n. 2; 120 n. 46.

¹⁷⁹ STEMBERGER, p. 242; PINCHUK, "Tractate Megillah," p. 2 n. 9; 184-185.

¹⁸⁰ Tosefta Kifshuta, Megillah, pp. 1212-1213; ASSIS, "*Lieberman's Marginalia*," p. 1803 line 52-54; PINCHUK, "Tractate Megillah," pp. 269-272.

¹⁸¹ Vat. 133 is corrupt here.

SUMMARY

An analysis of the relationship between the Bologna and Leiden mss. has shown strong evidence that Bologna may be the *vorlage* of the Leiden ms. This conclusion is contingent on finding a satisfying explanation for two of the discrepancies between the mss. And on the conclusion of a similar analysis of the relationship between Bologna Nezikin and Leiden.

Finally, some contributions of the Bologna mss. towards the clarification of the Yerushalmi text and its interpretation have been reviewed.

KEYWORDS: Talmud Yerushalmi; Leiden manuscript; Bologna manuscript; punctuation.

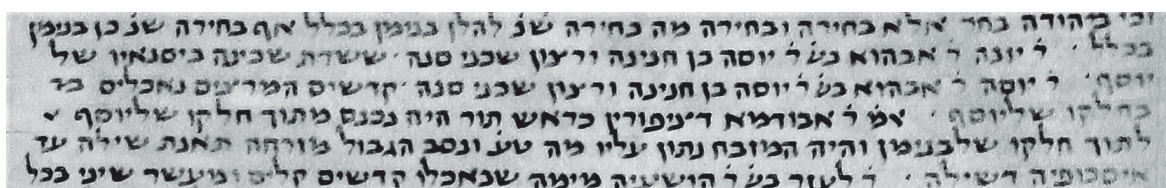


Fig. 1 - Bologna State Archives, ms 651 Iv 23-27.
Most substantial textual difference between Bologna and Leiden.

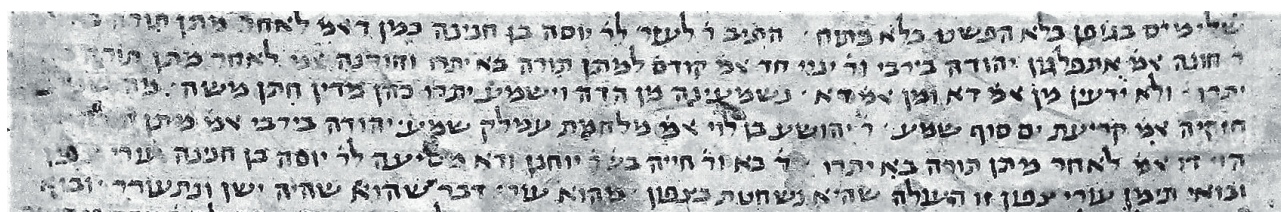


Fig. 2 - Bologna State Archives, ms 651 1r 9.
Substantial textual difference between Bologna and Leiden.

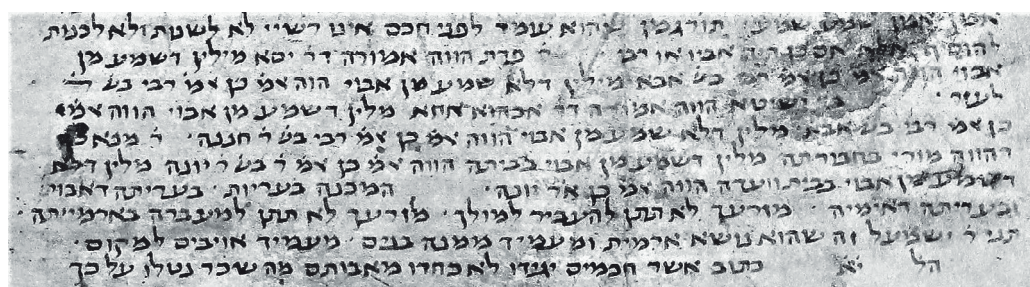


Fig. 3 - Bologna State Archives, ms 651 2v.
Two examples of scribe's strikethrough to erase.

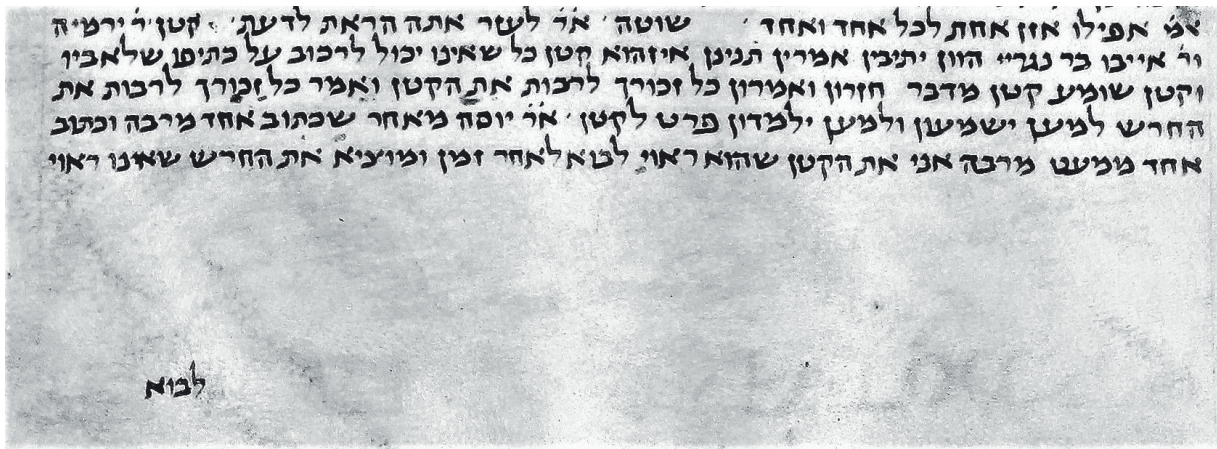


Fig. 4 - Bologna State Archives, ms 652 2v.
Catchword.

