

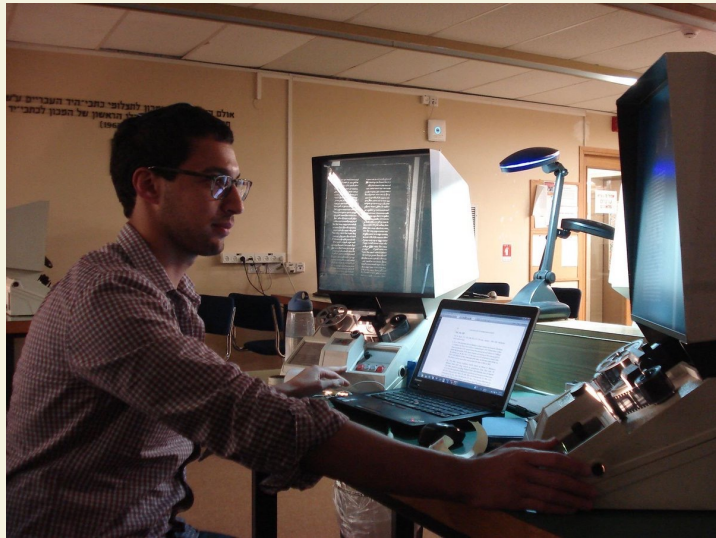
JEWISH HISTORY AND EDUCATION THROUGH THE LENS OF JTS'S RARE MANUSCRIPTS

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INTRODUCTION



A younger me, researching in the Institute for Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts of the National Library of Israel, ca. 2013.

My research:

(1) The history of the transmission of Jewish knowledge over the course of the long first millennium

(2) The history of Jewish liturgy

➤ Hebrew manuscript studies as it interfaces with these two avenues of research

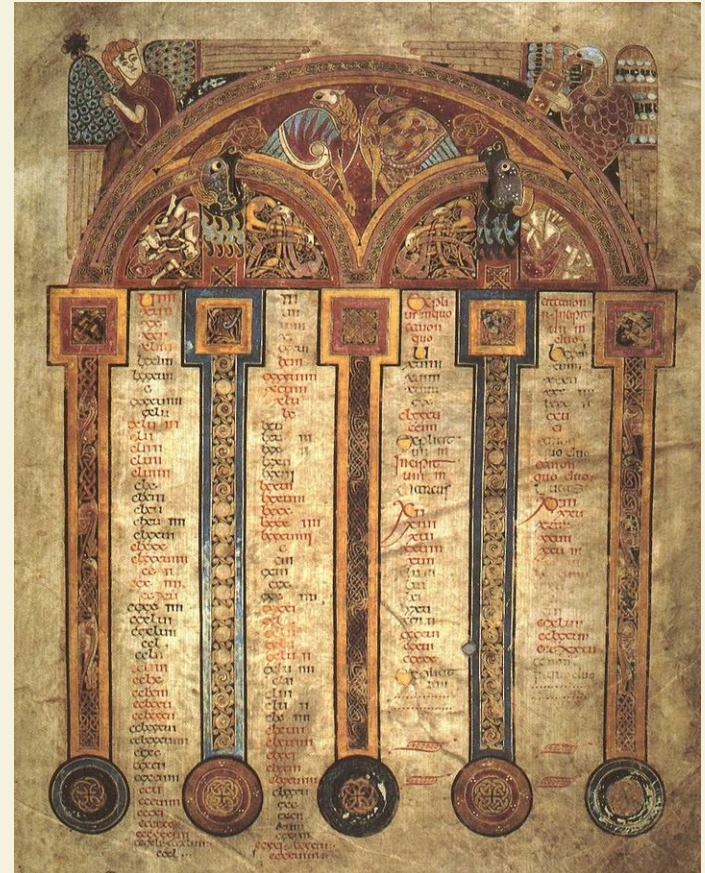
This class:

A) A brief introduction to Hebrew manuscript studies

B) An overview of the manuscript evidence of rabbinic literature, focusing on the Mishnah

WHAT IS A MANUSCRIPT?

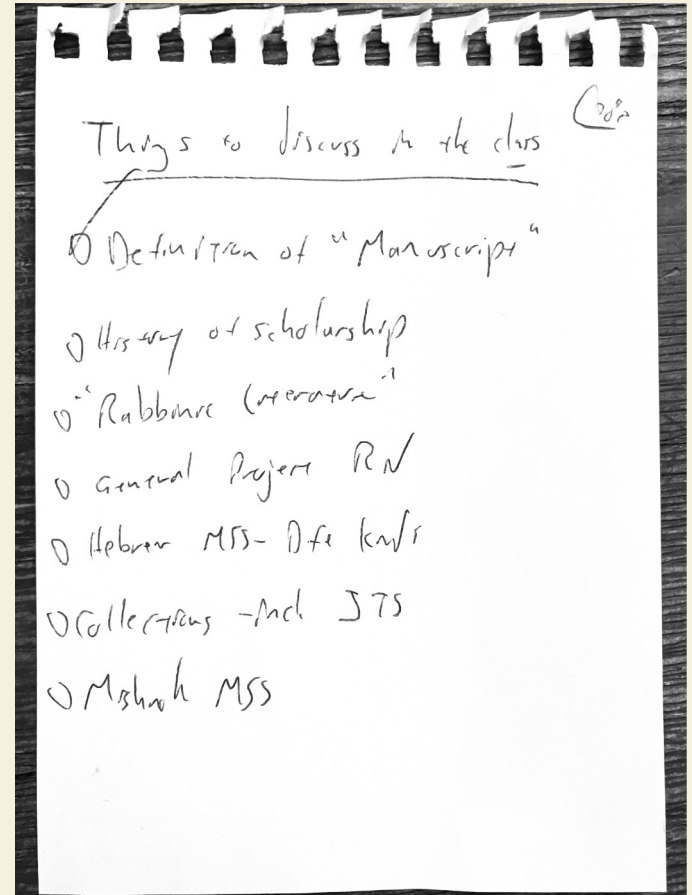
- Literally—from the Latin: *manu* + *scriptus* (“written by hand”)
- So, a hand-written copy of a text
- A millennia-old technology, with much variety and history
- Some possible differences include:
 - Content, genre, language of the text, paratexts, materials, methods of preparation, book form, setting in which it was created, purpose, etc.



The Eusebian Canons in the ca. 800 c. "Book of Kells" from Ireland or Scotland (f. 5r)

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Handwritten Note, 2024, New York City

WHAT IS A HEBREW MANUSCRIPT?

- Generally speaking, manuscripts using Hebrew *script*
- Often times created *for personal use*
- A Key Distinction:
 - “Complete” Manuscripts: manuscripts that still more or less look as they did when they were initially created
 - Manuscript “Fragments”: a single page or several pages of a now dismembered manuscript, usually found in either a Genizah or in book binding waste

Two helpful introductions:

Richler, Binyamin. 1990. *Hebrew Manuscripts: A Treasured Legacy*. Cleveland & Jerusalem: Ofeq.

Sirat, Colette. 2002. *Hebrew Manuscripts of the Middle Ages*. Translated by Nicholas de Lange. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

THE CAIRO GENIZAH

- Caches of discarded manuscript fragments, found largely in or near the Ben-Ezra synagogue in Cairo (Fustat)
- Scholars began to purchase and use such fragments in their scholarship towards the end of the 19th century
- Largest collections:
 - Cambridge University Library
 - The Jewish Theological Seminary



Interior of the Ben-Ezra
Synagogue

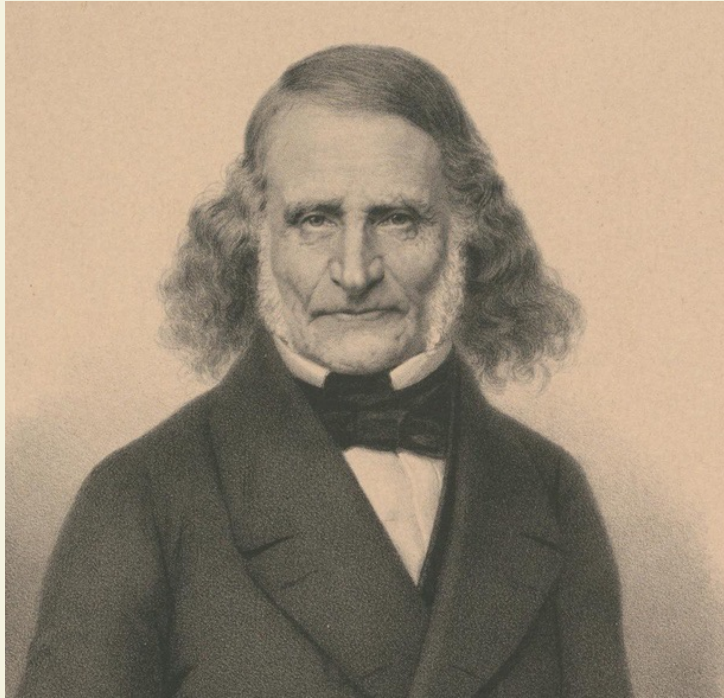
See: Jefferson, Rebecca J. W. Jefferson, *The Cairo Genizah and the Age of Discovery in Egypt: The History and Provenance of a Jewish Archive* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2022).

WHAT IS RABBINIC LITERATURE?

- The corpus of works that revolve around the sayings and acts of rabbis who operated in 1st-4th century Palestine and 1st-5th century Babylonia.
- Considered to comprise “the Oral Torah,” viewed as supplemental to “the Written Torah,” i.e., the Hebrew Bible.
- “Classical rabbinic literature”: works that date to the 3rd-6th centuries and are thus chronologically proximate to the rabbis whose opinions are recorded.
- Two axes:
 - Chronological: the earlier classical works were edited in Roman Palestine in the early third century, are almost entirely in Hebrew, and contain the opinions of earlier rabbis referred to in medieval chronologies as “*tannaim*.” Later works come from both Palestine and Sasanian Babylonia, are in a mix of Hebrew and Aramaic, and mention the *tannaim* alongside later rabbis known as “*amoraim*.”
 - Organization: *midrashim* are organized as Biblical commentaries, while the Mishnah is organized topically, and the Tosefta and two Talmuds—Palestinian and Babylonian—are patterned as supplements or commentaries to the Mishnah.

SIDEBAR:

WISSENSCHAFT DES JUDENTUMS



Leopold Zunz
(1794-1886)

“The Academic Study of Judaism (Wissenschaft des Judentums) was the key invention of the nineteenth century that transformed Judaism...It consisted of the application of the new methods of textual study, especially philology and history, to the study of Jewish texts and the history of Judaism...Leopold Zunz, Eduard Gans, and Heinrich Heine, understood their enterprise to be imperative for the acquisition of equal rights: Judaism had to be emancipated in order for the Jews to be emancipated.”

- David Sorkin

WISSENSCHAFT DES JUDENTUMS AND MEDIIEVAL HEBREW MANUSCRIPTS

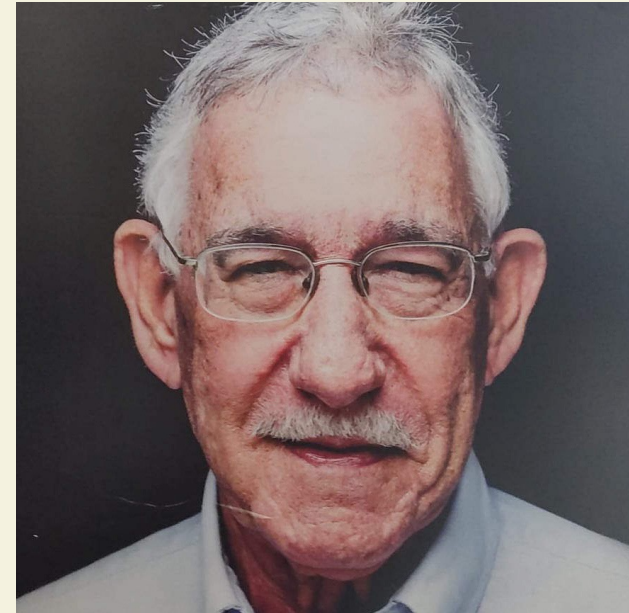
- Moritz Steinschneider (1816-1907)—“the father of Jewish Bibliography”
- Occasional protégé of Zunz
- Taught for many years in Berlin at the Veitel-Heine-Ephraimsche Lehranstalt, training many important scholars
- Author of well over 1,000 publications, including several important *catalogues* of Hebrew Manuscripts in European libraries



Moritz Steinschneider
(1816-1907)

HEBREW MANUSCRIPTS: DISCIPLINES AND SUB-DISCIPLINES

- “Codicology”: The study of the creation of the codex book
- “Papyrology”: The study of works and ephemera written on papyri
- “Paleography”: The study of handwriting
- “Philology”: can be used to refer to linguistic studies, or to the study of textual versions of written works, focusing on their reconstruction and transmission
 - “Textual Criticism”: The study of manuscript and other versions to reconstruct the history of texts and perhaps also to create a *critical edition* of the text
 - “Ecdotics”: The study of the creation of critical editions



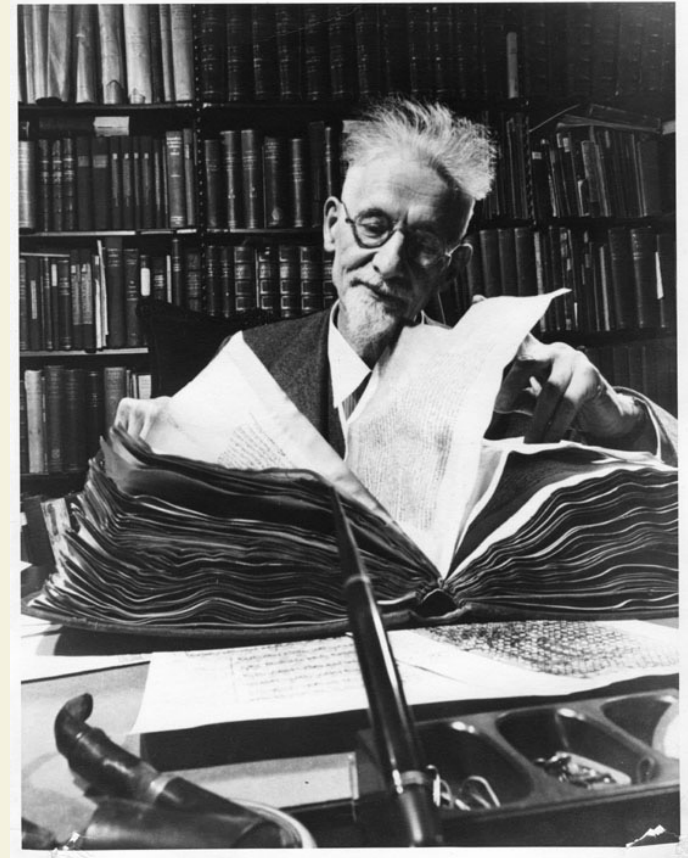
Malachi Beit-Arié
(1937-2023)

MAJOR COLLECTIONS OF HEBREW MANUSCRIPTS

- ❖ The Jewish Theological Seminary of America!
- ❖ The National Library of Israel
- ❖ The Bodleian Library, Oxford, and the Oxford colleges
- ❖ The Cambridge University Library, and the Cambridge colleges
- ❖ The British Library
- ❖ The Bavarian State Library in Munich
- ❖ The Berlin State Library
- ❖ The Bibliothèque nationale de France
- ❖ The Biblioteca Palatina in Parma
- ❖ The Vatican Libraries
- ❖ The National Library of Russia, St. Petersburg

THE LIBRARY OF THE JEWISH THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY OF AMERICA

- 1886: JTS founded
- 1901-2: Reorganized, Solomon Schechter arrives
- 1903: Alexander Marx arrives, serving as Professor of History and Librarian until his death in 1953
 - Amasses the largest collection of medieval Hebrew Manuscripts in the world
 - Major purchase in 1923 of the collection of Elkan Nathan Adler



Alexander Marx, 1878-1953

THE RISE OF THE ACADEMIC STUDY OF RABBINIC LITERATURE: JTS BRESLAU



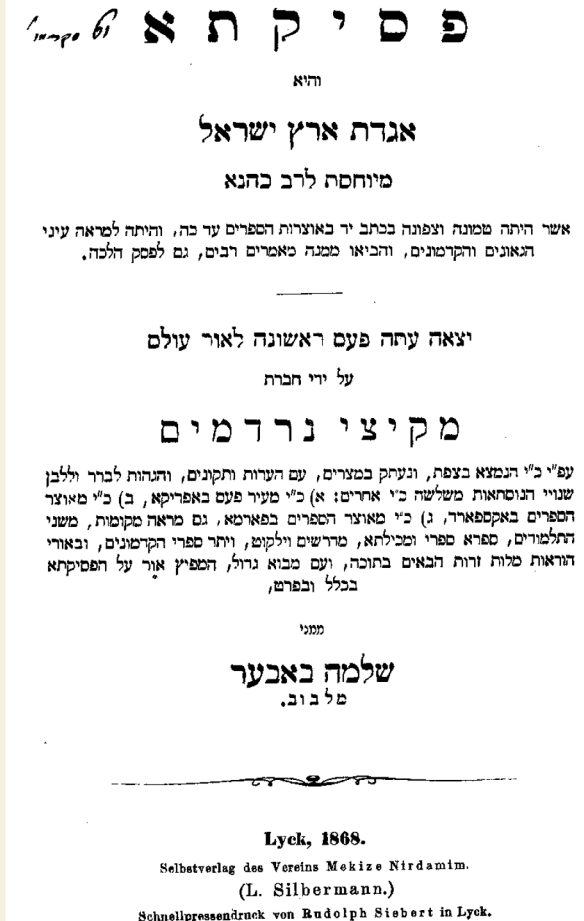
Zecharias Frankel
(1801-1875)



- The Jewish Theological Seminary of Breslau, founded in 1854
- First Director and Professor of Talmud: Zecharias Frankel
 - Later published major studies on the Mishnah (1859) and Palestinian Talmud (1870)
- Early Breslau professors:
 - Heinrich Graetz (1817-1891; Historian)
 - Jacob Bernays (1824-1881; Philologist, Philosopher, Librarian)
 - The Second Generation: Israel Lewy (1841-1917; Talmud)

THE USE OF MANUSCRIPTS IN THE STUDY OF RABBINIC LITERATURE

- At first, manuscripts were primarily used by modern scholars to publish “forgotten” rabbinic works
 - I.e., works that for whatever reason were not published in the Early Modern Period
 - E.g., the Scholarly Society “Mekitze Nirdamim” (founded in Lyck, Prussia in 1861, moved to Berlin in 1885, and to Jerusalem in 1934)
 - E.g., editions of rabbinic texts prepared by Solomon Buber (1827-1906)



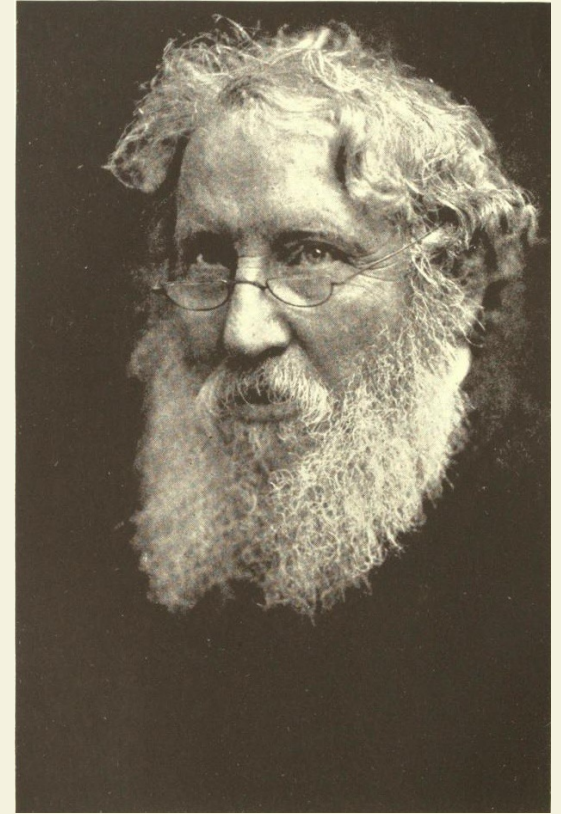
THE USE OF MANUSCRIPTS IN THE STUDY OF RABBINIC LITERATURE

- The Breslau students, influenced especially by Jakob Bernays, and then by Israel Lewy, published some of the first “critical editions” of known rabbinic works

See:

Yaakov Sussman, “Schechter the Scholar,” *Jewish Studies* 38 (1998): 213–30 (in Hebrew)

E. E. Urbach, “Zechariah Fraenkel, Israel Lewy, Saul Horowitz: Three Talmud Teachers at the Seminar in Breslau,” in G. Kisch ed., *Das Breslauer Seminar: Jüdisch-Theologisches Seminar (Fraenckelscher-Stiftung) in Breslau - Gedächtnisschrift*, (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1963), 175–85.



Solomon Schechter
(1847-1915)

THE USE OF MANUSCRIPTS IN THE STUDY OF RABBINIC LITERATURE

מסכת

אבות דרבי נתן

בשתי נוסחאות

א) הנוסחה המפורסמת בתיקן והגדה ע"פ הווגנמאט וכתבי יד שונים.
 ב) נוסחה אחרת עמיקה במתב יד והאנורה נקצח פסרים ולא נוספה עדיין.

עם הערות עליון בפנין חלוקה הגרמאות והווגנמאט בשני החלומים המדרשים
 ואיזה כאורים כדרך קצרה.

מבוא

מדבר בהשכלות הססכה הזאת ושיבה ישתי נוסחאותיה ומיב הבי המצאים ממנה
 ומפרישו.

ונלנו לזה ארבע הנוסחות

מכילות לקומי נוסחאות מבי שונים והשפמות ותיקומים כאשר יבואר בפנים.

ושלשה מסתרות

מפחה למסוקי תנין ומסתה למרקי אבות ומפחה השטחה.

מאה

שני אור זלמן שעכמער.

וויבא, תרמיז למק.

ברמאות הנוסחה לאור

In Commission-Verlage von D. Nutt in London, Ch. B. Lippa in Wien
 und D. Kauffmann in Frankfurt a. M.

הנה נראש מרתי סקאקלמאכר הסכנה וסמך רוקעק. תיקן לקאקאוסמאט. געבערדיגטאוסט 68.

נוסחה א פרק א

אבות דרבי נתן

נוסחה ב פרק א

כל העושה עצמו גדול אוני גדול אם אין
 אחר גדול ממנו מגדלו (א). מלך מלכי המלכים
 הקב"ה גדל את משה ומי' קדשו שנאמר
 לא כן עבד משה בכל כותו נאמן הוא מה אל
 מה אדרכ בו וני' (במדבר י"ב ח) הא למדנו
 שמי' הקב"ה גדל את משה ומי' קדשו (ב);
 משה נתקדש בענין כל שבועה שנאמר ויעל
 משה אל ה' ויכס הענין את ה' וישכון כבוד
 ה' על הר סיני (ונו') (שמות י"ד ט"ו) (מכאן)
 שחור (ג) עליו (נאח) הכבוד כל שבעת הימים
 וקדשו כדברי ר' יוסי הגלילי ר' עקיבא אומר
 וישכון כבוד ה' על הר סיני בראש החדש ר'
 ויכסו הענין ששת ימים וקרא אל משה כיום
 השביעי מתוך הענין (ס) שביעי אחר דבורת ה';
 משה נתקדש ר' (הענין) (בנענין) כל שבועה
 וקדש את ארזן ואת בניו כל שבועה שנאמר
 ויקח משה כישוף המסחה ומן הדם אשר
 על המזבח וני' (ויקרא י"ד ל') אלעזר שרף את
 הפרה והוא ממנה על כל ישראל כל שנה (ז)
 ושנה (ח). אמר ר' יוסי הוא המורה הנודעת
 (בדורות) (לדורות) (ט). מכאן אמרו ז' (י) ובה
 ז' נדה ז' מצורע ז' טמא מת ז' אבל ז' משתה ז'.
 ז' מנין שנאמר ובי יתרה הוב מוזבו וספר
 לו שבעת ימים (שס ס"ו י"ו). ובה ז' מנין
 שנאמר ואם מורה מוזבה וספרה לה שבעת
 ימים (שס שס כ"ח). נדה ז' מנין שנאמר שבעת
 ימים תהיה בנדתה (שס שס י"ט). מצורע ז' מנין
 שנאמר וישב מחוץ לאהלו שבעת ימים
 (שס י"ד ח'). יא). טמא מת ז' מנין (שנאמר) וכל
 אשר יגע על פני השדה בחלל חרב או בבת וני'
 (במדבר י"ט כ"ו). אבל ז' מנין שנאמר ועש לאביו
 מלא שבעו זאת וני' (שס כ"ט י"ב) :

משה נתקדש בענין וקבל תורה מסיני שנאמר
 וישכון כבוד ה' על הר סיני למשה (שמות כ"ד י"ג) למהרו זה היה
 ומעשה אור עשרת הדברות (א) (דברי ר' הגלילי ב) ורע אומר
 וכסו הענין ששת ימים (שס) (להר ולא) למשה ומראש
 חדש (ג) וקרא אל משה ביום השביעי מתוך הענין (שס)
 לחלוק לו כבוד למשה : אר נתן מפני מה נתעבכ משה
 כל ששת ימים ולא שרה עליו דבור בשביל שימק מכל
 אכילה ושתייה שהיה בענין עד שעה שנתקדש ויהא
 כמלאכי השתה. אל רבי מתאי בן הרש ר' לא אמרו אלא
 לאיים עליו כדי שיקבל עליו דברי תורה באימה ביראה
 ברתת ובויע שנאמר עבדו את ה' ביראה ונילו ברעדה
 אלהים חיים ולשמוע בדרך ארזן ואע"פ שאתה רבי ואני
 תלמידך אימוב לעובד דברי אלהים חיים ולשמוע בדרך ארזן (ה).
 אמרו כל זמן שזושבין ועוסקין בתורה היו עושין מקנאין זה
 לזה (ז) וכשנמטין דומין כשהן אורבים מנעוריהם (ז) :

על ידי משה נתנה תורה בסני שנאמר וכתבם על שני
 לוחות אבנים ויתנם אלי (דברים י"ג ט"ז) ולהלן הוא אומר אלה
 החוקים והמשפטים והתורות אשר נתן ה' בינו ובין בני ישראל
 בה' סיני בוך משה (ויקרא כ"ו י"ז). תורה שנתן הקב"ה לישראל
 לא נתנה אלא ע"י משה שני' בינו ובין בני ישראל ובה משה
 להיות שליח בין בני ישראל למקום (ט). משה עשה את איל
 המלואים ואת שמן המשחה ומשה בו ארזן ובניו כל שבעת
 ימי המלואים. ממנו נמשחו כהנים גדולים ומלכים (ו) ואלעזר שרף
 פרת החמאת שכמנו טמאים מטהרים לדורות יא). א"ר אלעזר
 נחלה מדה זו שהיא נודעת לדורות שארזן ובניו נתקדשו
 בשמן המשחה שנאמר ואת ארזן ואת בניו תמשה וקדשת
 אותם לכהן ל' (שסו ל"ב י"ב) :

אבל שבעת ימים (בראשית כ"א). משתה ז' מנין שנאמר

הערות לנרא

(א) אחר דבורת בכיאי ובכיעי מעשה אחר עשרת הדברות. ועל הגליון
 הראשונות. (ב) ר' יוסי ריעי בכי' וכן תהיה בהוספת מלת רברי ובפסרים ח'
 יוסי הגלילי שנים ריעי. (ג) תהיה ע"י הכי' ובפי' למשה הדיד. וכבר הוגה
 ע"י המפרישים לתר ולא למשה (ד) ע"י אומר ר' ע"א וסדר עולם רבה פי'
 ובסדרה רבה פי' בפי' (ה) ע"י תענית כיא ע"א מעיבה דר' ואלא (ו) אמרו
 ובה וזו נעשת כקנאין וכו' בכי"א (ז) ע"י קדושן ל' ע"ב. ובכיעי היו דומין
 שהם (ח) בכי' ותתם ח' אילי את שני לוחות הברית ועי' תומי' (ט) ע"י ח"כ
 בקתיורי' ספיה וני' ח"כ פי' א' ומכילתא ריש כ' חסא וברכות ח' ע"ב.
 (י) ע"י ח"כ פי' צו במכילתא דמלאים והוריות יא' ע"ב ומורשטי' שפי'
 ובריות ח' ע"ב ובוקרא רבה פי' מיה ובסדרה רבה שם. (יא) ע"י ספרי
 בסדרה פי' ע"ב ובני' ספרי את כיה' אבל ע"י מסקאקא דריב פי' פיה
 ובני' בקתיורי' את קעיו' ובוקלום ח' השני' ולפי' היה נראה להגיה כן משה

הערות לניב

(א) בכייה גלילי. (ב) ע"י עירובין י"ב ע"ב. (ג) ש ח' י ר'
 בכייה. (ד) מראש תרס בכי' ח' אחר ע"י ר' דבורת
 בכייה. (ט) וסוף דברי ר' ע"י הוא ע"י עירובין ע"י ח' ח' ח'
 (ו) בכייה כיון שבעת נתקדש משה. (ז) כל שנת ליתא
 בכייה. (ח) ע"י במדבר פי' י"ב פי' א' ואלו ציל כל
 שעה ושעה (הצריכה לכהן). (ט) כלומר וילוף מיה ענין
 כל מירושת שש' ז' יוסט וכמו כהנ' קדש יו"ב וני'
 יוסא ד' ע"א כל תפסאש. (י) נדה ז' ובה ז' בכייה.
 (יא) כן הוא הסדר בכייה ובכיר' במא זאת רמסא
 מת היא קודם לכבא חוב' ז' (יב) ע"י כיר' פי' ע' ובגיהס

ובני' בקתיורי' את קעיו' ובוקלום ח' השני' ולפי' היה נראה להגיה כן משה ח' ע"י בהוריות שם וריל לדעת המפרישים

THE ACADEMIC STUDY OF THE MISHNAH

- Traditional Approaches:
 - Halakhic Guidance
 - The individual *mishnah* as the main object of study
- Academic Approaches:
 - Rabbinic History
 - The Sources of the Mishnah and the History of the Mishnah's Creation
 - Legal History
 - Cultural History—including Gender
 - Literary Studies
 - Text-Critical (Philological) Approaches and the Quest to Create a “Critical Edition” of the Mishnah



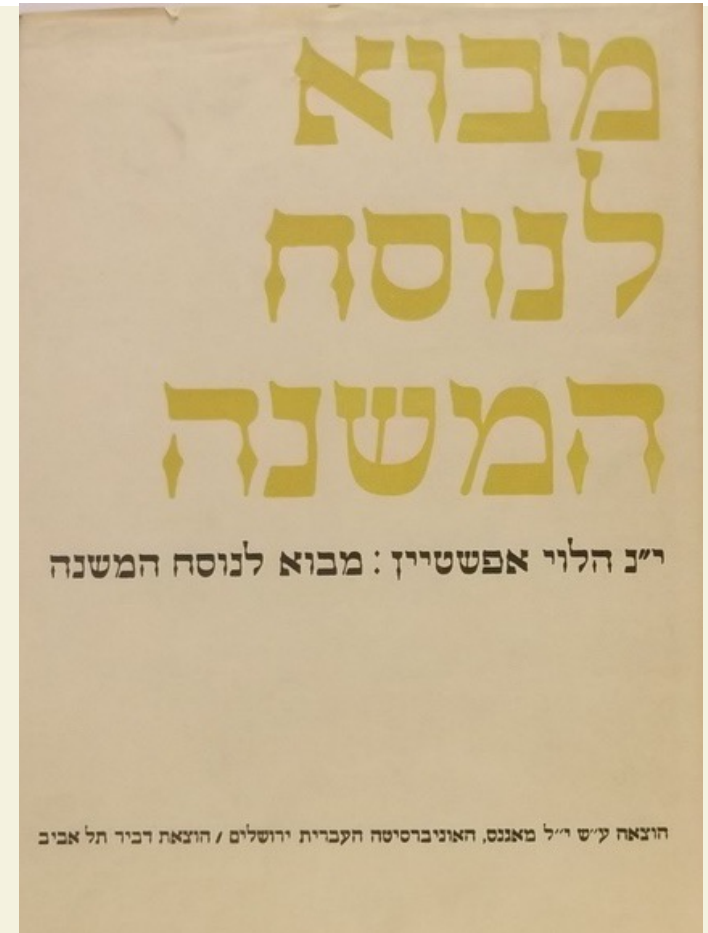
PROF. J.N. EPSTEIN



- 1878-1952
- Worked in Berlin on a Critical Edition of the Mishnah for The Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaft des Judentums
- 1925: Appointed Professor of “Talmudic Philology” at the newly founded Hebrew University of Jerusalem
- According to Prof. Saul Lieberman, Epstein was “The Father of the Exact Talmudic Science”

EPSTEIN'S *MAGNUM OPUS*

- Began as a German introduction to a critical edition of the Mishnah
- Published in Jerusalem in 1948 as *An Introduction to the Mishnaic Text*, or in Hebrew, מבוא לנוסח המשנה
- Primarily follows the history of the *text* of the Mishnah until the early print editions, but the vast majority focuses on the Talmudic period itself
- Clocks in at ~1,342 pages
- Lampooned in Joseph Cedar's film *Footnote* (2011)



WAS THE MISHNAH “WRITTEN”?

- While agreeing that he *composed** the Mishnah, traditional accounts from the Middle Ages and on disagree on the question of whether Rabbi Yehudah ha-Nasi (late 2nd-early 3rd century) *wrote down* the Mishnah
 - E.g., Sherira Gaon (late 10th c.), vs. Maimonides (12th c.)
- This has been at times a religiously charged issue
- It has a significant impact on how scholars understand the rabbinic movement, and on how they engage in textual criticism of the Mishnah

*To be sure, what this means is also debated



SO, IN THAT CASE, *WHEN WAS THE MISHNAH PUT IN WRITING?*

- We don't really know!
- Scholars think this took place roughly between the 7th-8th centuries
- Earliest complete manuscript is from the 11th century
- There are certainly fragments in the Cairo Genizah from a few centuries earlier
- Lines from the Mishnah appear in a few magic bowls written in Jewish Babylonian Aramaic, from Late Antique Babylonia
- Once written, the Mishnah was still (/is still) memorized, and there is a *recitation tradition*



Schøyen MS 1929/6;
*Photograph courtesy of James
Nathan Ford*

MISHNAH MANUSCRIPTS: TYPOLOGIES

- ❖ The Mishnah Alone
- ❖ The Mishnah with Talmud (that is, the Babylonian Talmud)
- ❖ The Mishnah with Commentary (that of Maimonides)
- ❖ The Mishnah in Liturgical Contexts

See Further:

- Yaakov Sussman, “Manuscripts and Text Traditions of the Mishnah,” *Proceedings of the Seventh World Congress of Jewish Studies: Studies in Talmud, Halacha and Midrash* (1980): 215–50.
- Robert Brody, “Chapter One: The Theory of a Palestinian and Babylonian Mishnah,” in *Mishnah and Tosefta Studies* (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press, 2014), 5–14.

“MISHNAH ALONE”

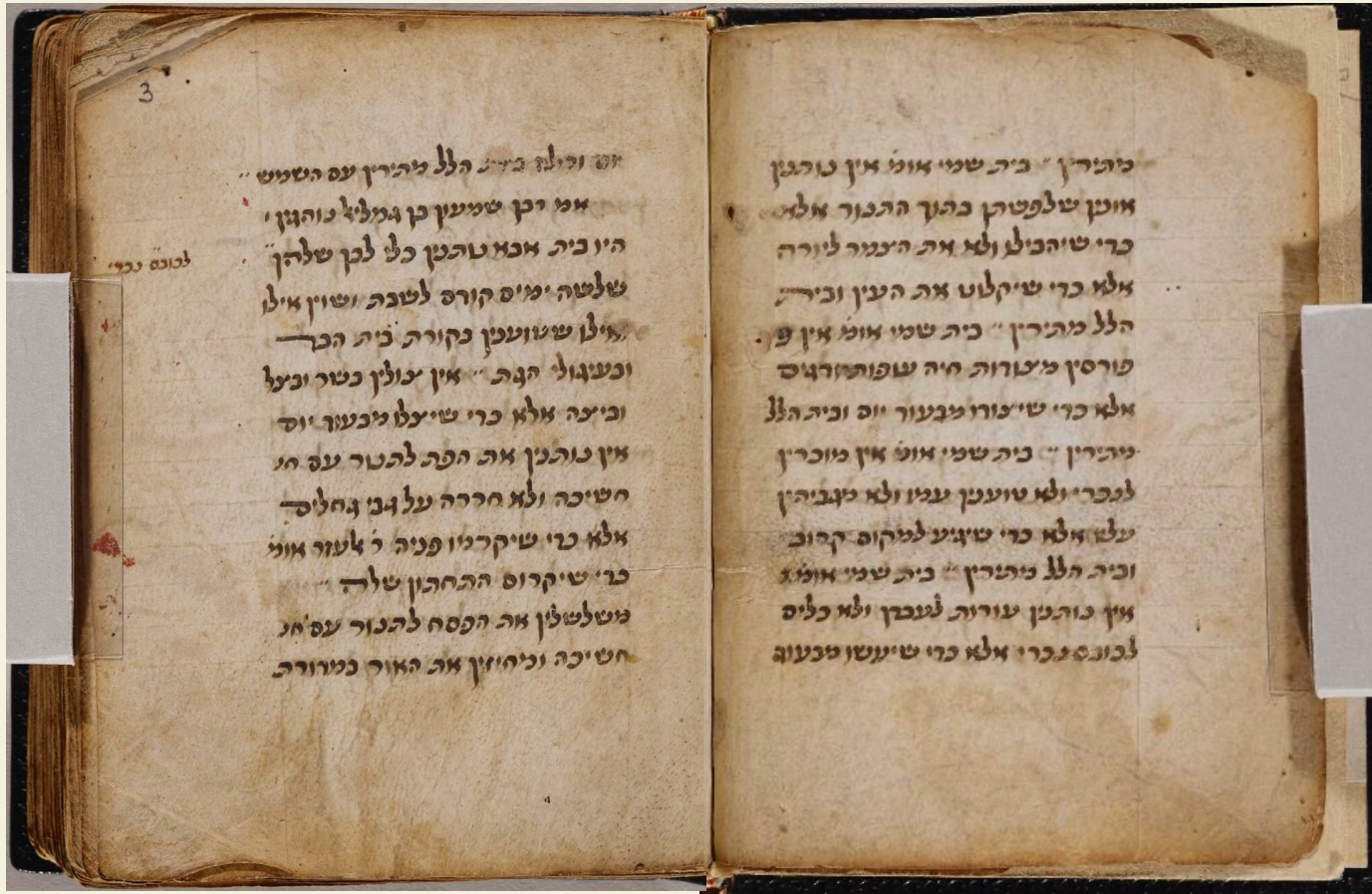


Parma, Bibloteca Palatina, MS 3173
(de Rossi 138; Richler 710), 11th Century



Budapest, Akademia, MS Kaufman A50,
~12th Century

“MISHNAH ALONE”



New York, The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, R934, North Italy, 1361

“MISHNAH ALONE”



Materia giudaica
Rivista dell'associazione italiana
per lo studio del giudaismo
XXVII (2022)



Yitz Landes

THE “FINZI MISHNAH” (JTS, MS. R934)
AND THE EARLY GENERATIONS OF THE FINZI FAMILY*

Introduction

The Finzi family is one of the oldest and best-known of the Italian Jewish families, its members having excelled in all walks of commercial and intellectual life over the course of the later Middle Ages and into the modern era.¹ In recent decades, several scholars have attempted to detail the early lineage of this illustrious family. The majority of these studies have focused on archival documents from cities in the Po River Basin.² To a lesser extent, scholars studying the early generations of the Finzi family have also considered the evidence of Hebrew manuscripts, particularly paratextual elements such as colo-

phons, bills of sale, and other signs of ownership.³ In what follows, I introduce an additional piece of paratextual evidence, the colophon of New York, The Jewish Theological Seminary Ms. R934—the so-called “Finzi Mishnah”—written in 1361 by one Binyamin the son of Yisḥaq Finzi, who includes his genealogy in the colophon.⁴ I will show that this colophon allows us to connect the evidence for two different branches of the Finzi family that have until now been studied in isolation from one another.

Considering the importance of the Finzi family, the conclusions adduced here regarding the family’s history are within themselves important for the history of Italian Judaism.⁵ In

* In preparing this article, I benefited from information found in Sfordata (<http://sfordata.nli.org.il>) and in the digital catalogue of the National Library of Israel (<http://merhav.nli.org.il>). I would like to thank Ra’anan Boustan, Yakov Z. Mayer, and Marco Santini for their comments on earlier drafts of this article.

¹ See, for example, E. HOROWITZ, *Families and Their Fortunes: The Jews of Early Modern Italy*, in *Cultures of the Jews: A New History*, ed. D. BIALE (New York: Schocken, 2002), 573–636.

² See especially V. COLORNI, *Judaica minora: saggi sulla storia dell’ebraismo italiano dall’antichità all’età moderna*, Pubblicazioni della Facoltà giuridica dell’Università di Ferrara, ser. 2a 14 (Milano: A. Giuffrè, 1983), 329–342; IDEM, *The Lineage of the Finzi Family: The First Generations* [Hebrew], in *Jews in Italy: Studies Dedicated to the Memory of U. Cassuto on the 100th Anniversary of His Birth*, ed. H. BEINART (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1983), 218–31; A.L. PINI, *Famiglie, insediamenti e banchi ebraici a Bologna e nel Bolognese nella seconda metà del Trecento*, in «Quaderni storici» 18, no. 54 (3) Ebrei in Italia (1983): 783–814; A. CAMPANINI, *Una famiglia ebraica a Bologna tra Medioevo ed Età moderna: i Finzi*, in «Zakhor: rivista di storia

degli Ebrei d’Italia» 3 (1999): 79–94; D. CARPI, *Il ramo padovano della famiglia Finzi da Ancona tra la fine del Trecento e l’inizio del Quattrocento*, in *L’individuo e la collettività: saggi di storia degli ebrei a Padova e nel Veneto nell’età del Rinascimento* (Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 2002), 1–25. Important also is the much earlier work of A. CISCATO, *Gli ebrei in Padova (1300–1800): monografia storica documentata* (Padova: Società Cooperativa Tipografica, 1901).

³ See especially G. BUSTI, *Menahem Finzi of Recanati: The True Name of an Old Acquaintance*, in «Materia Giudaica» 3, no. 1 (2003): 213–18, and the pioneering work of M. STEINSCHNEIDER, *Letteratura italiana dei giudei* (Roma: Tipografia delle scienze matematiche e fisiche, 1884), 51–56.

⁴ For a brief description of this manuscript with references to relevant secondary literature, see Yaakov Sussman, in collaboration with Yoav Rosenthal and Aharon Shekva, *Thesaurus of Talmudic Manuscripts*, 3 vols. (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi and the Friedberg Genizah Project, 2012) [Hebrew], 556, no. 6018.

⁵ On the use of such manuscript paratexts as sources for the history of Italian Jewry, see M. PERANI, *Il manoscritto ebraico come fonte storica*, in «Materia giudaica» 9, no. 1–2 (2004): 79–101.

“MISHNAH ALONE”



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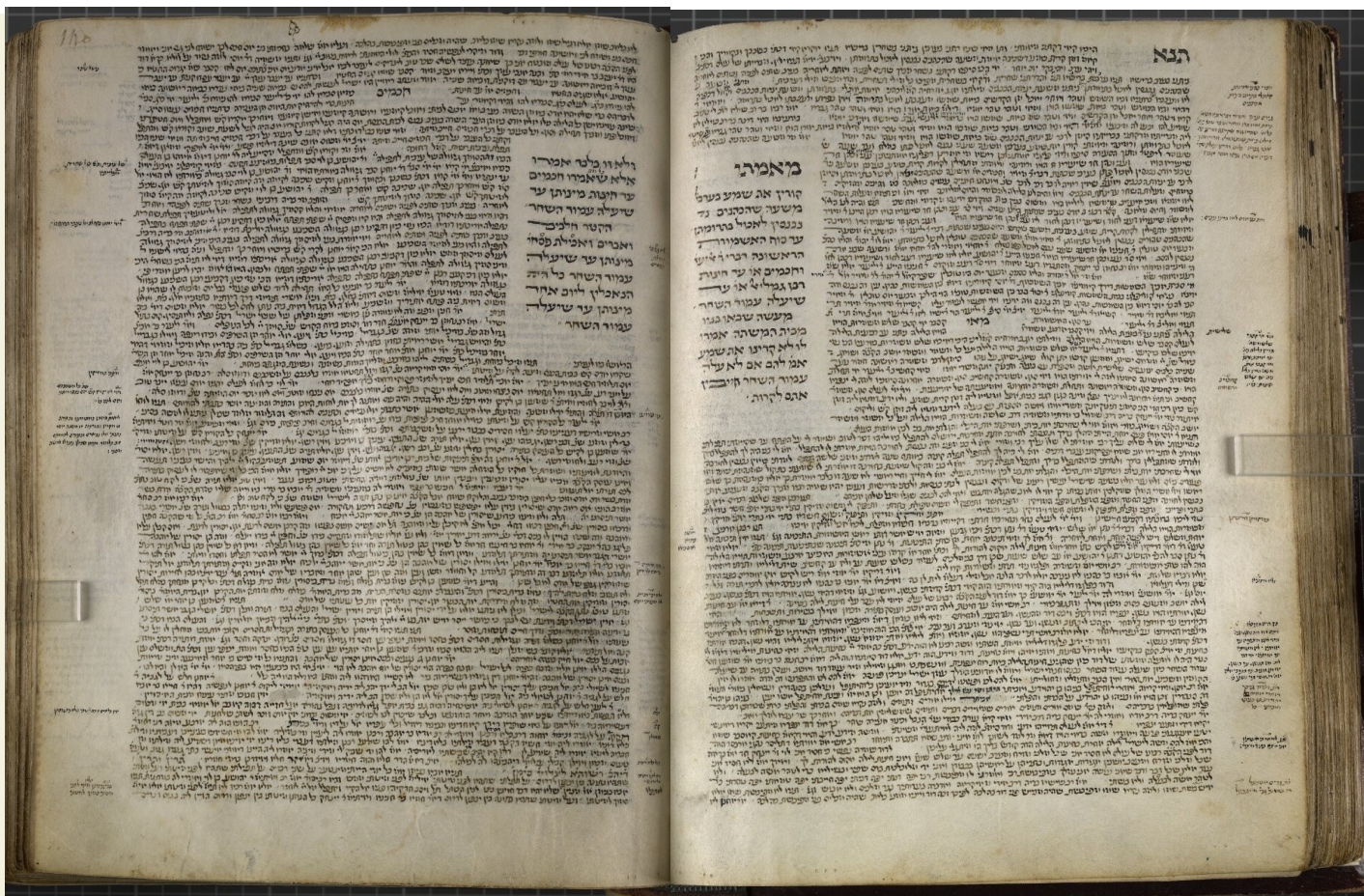
degli Ebrei d’Italia” 3 (1999): 79–94; D. CARPI, *Il ramo padovano della famiglia Finzi da Ancona tra la fine del Trecento e l’inizio del Quattrocento*, in *L’individuo e la collettività: saggi di storia degli ebrei a Padova e nel Veneto nell’età del Rinascimento* (Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 2002), 1–25. Important also is the much earlier work of A. CASCATO, *Gli ebrei in Padova (1300–1800): monografia storica documentata* (Padova: Società Cooperativa Tipografica, 1901).

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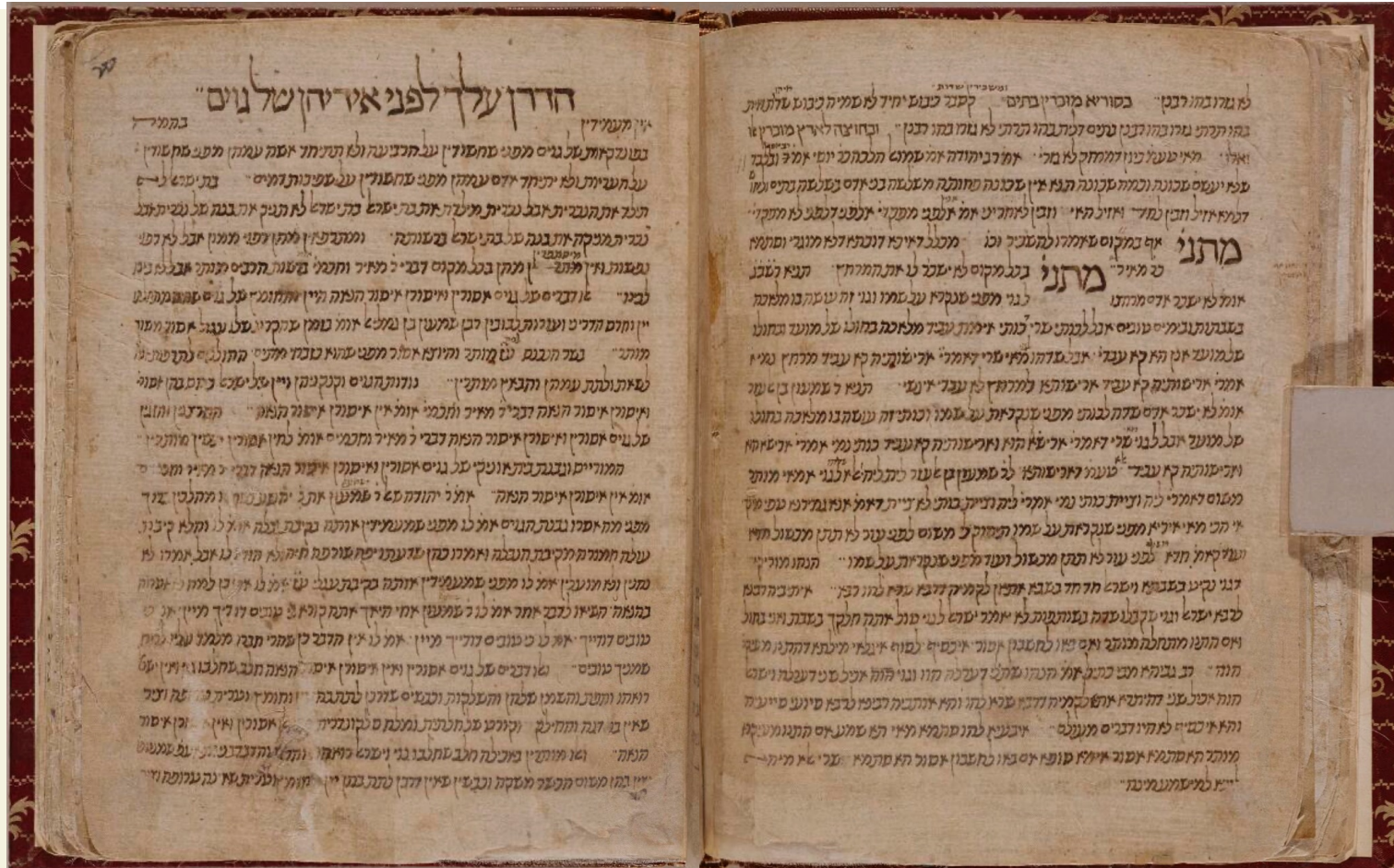
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"MISHNAH WITH TALMUD"



Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Cod. Heb. 95, France, 1342

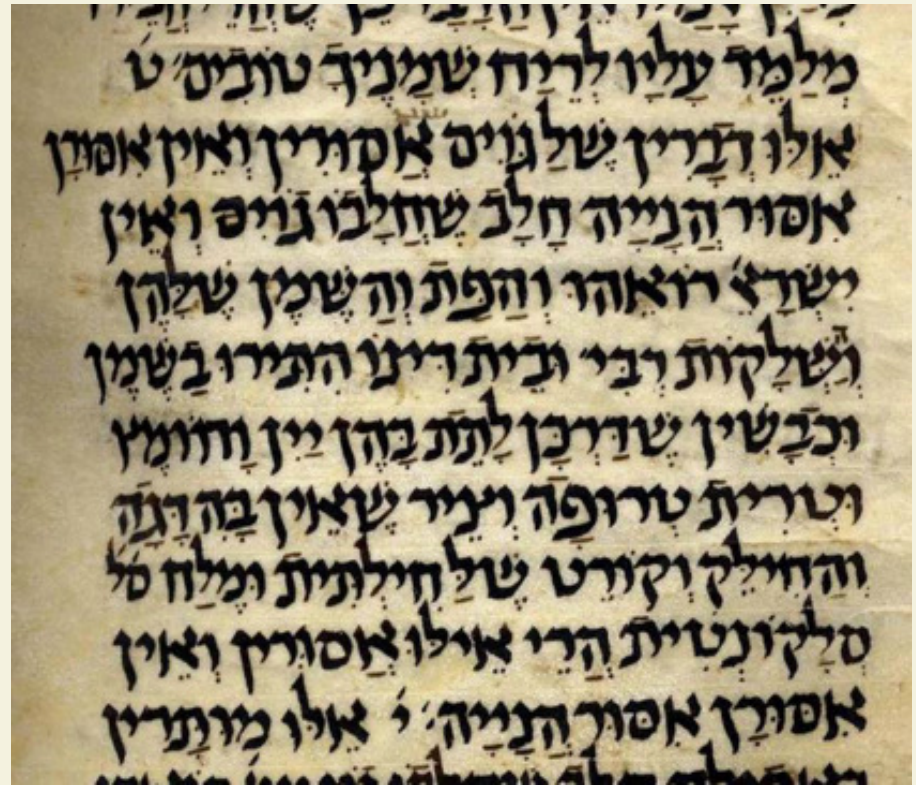
“MISHNAH WITH TALMUD”



New York, The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, R15, Spain, 1290

EXAMPLE: M. AVODAH ZARAH 2:6

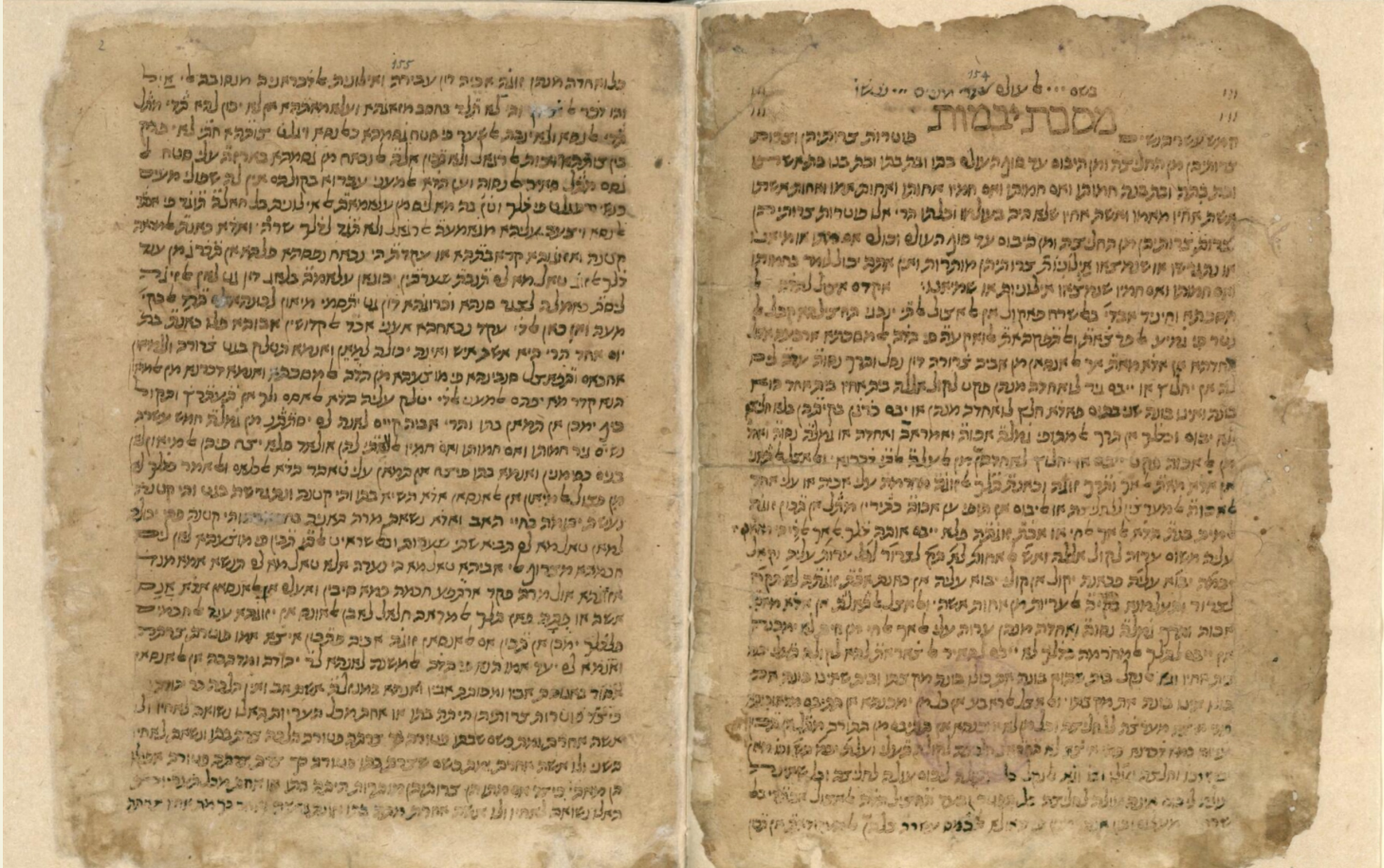
The following items of gentiles are prohibited but their prohibition does not extend to all benefit: milk that was milked by a gentile without Israelite supervision, and their bread and oil; **Rabbi and his court permitted oil**; and boiled and pressed preserves into which they customarily put wine or vinegar, and pounded *terit*, and fish brine that has no fish, and *hilek* fish, and drops of *asafetida*, and *sal conditum*. These are prohibited, but their prohibition does not extend to all benefit.



MS Kaufman A50

(Trans. Hayes [modified])

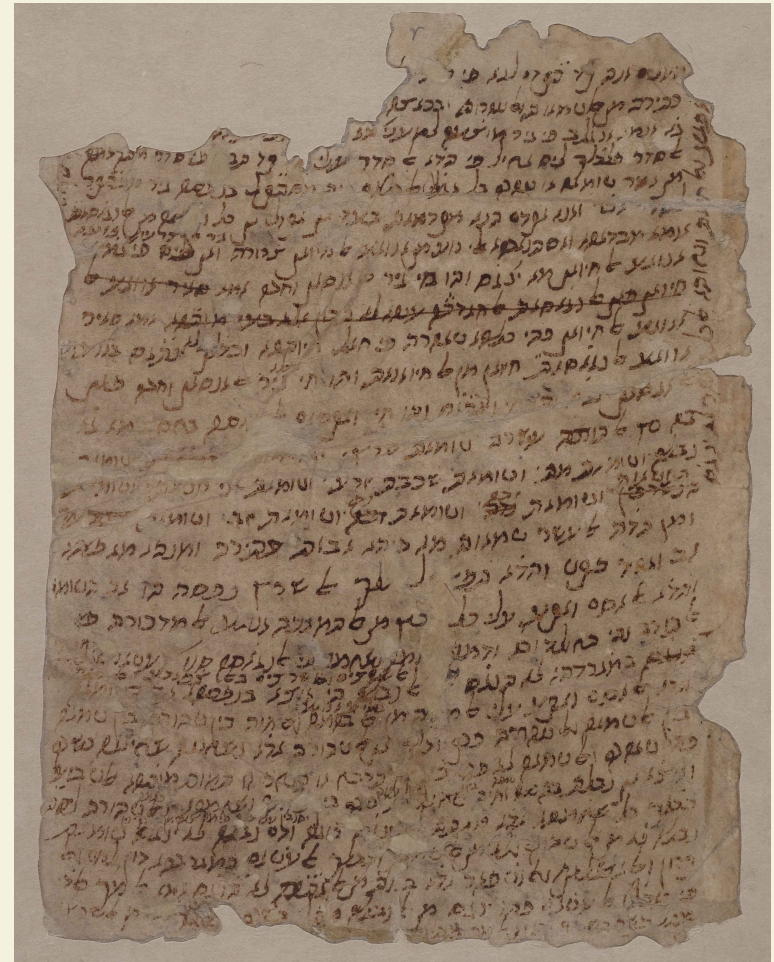
MISHNAH WITH MAIMONIDES



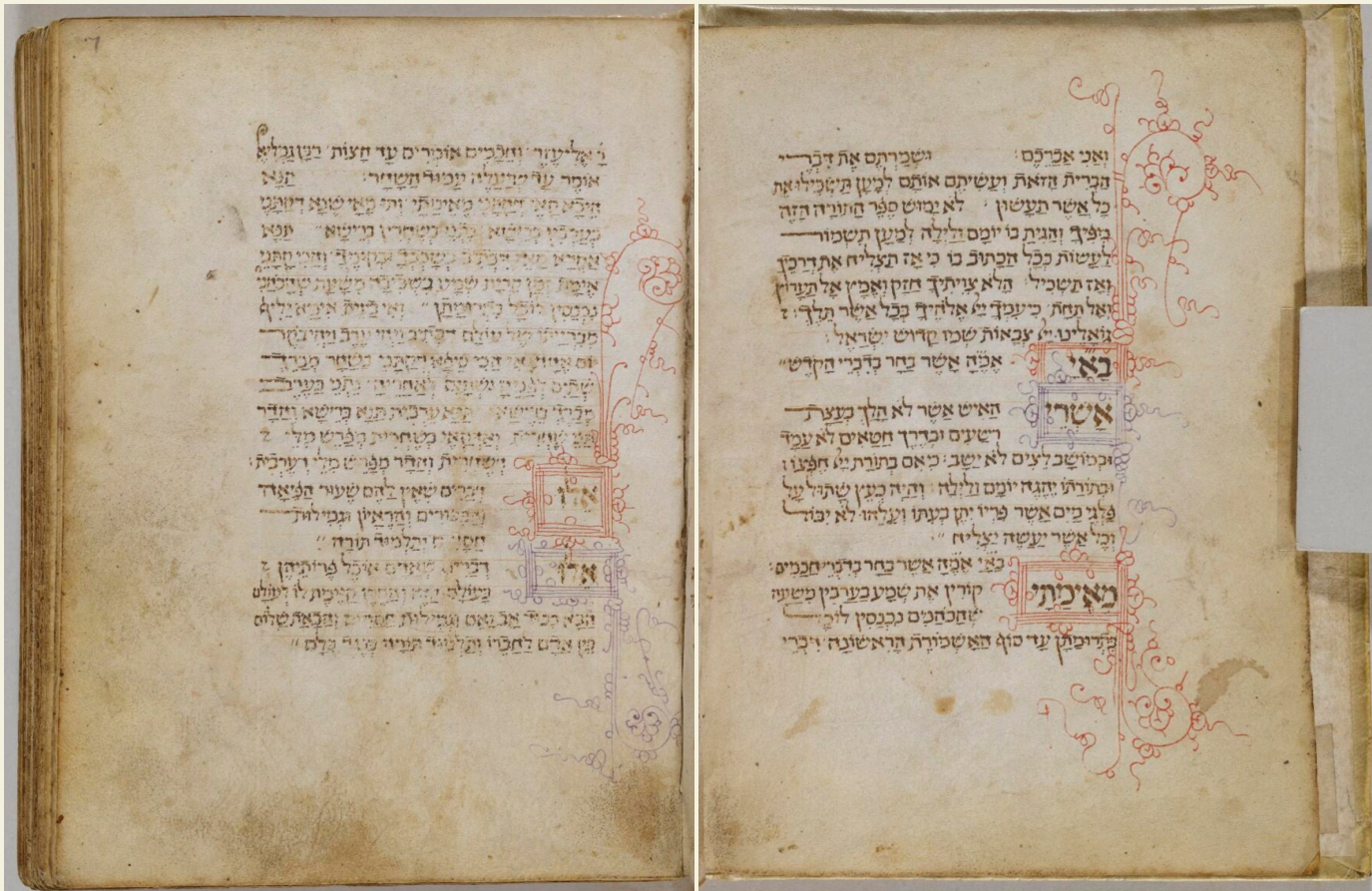
Jerusalem, The National Library of Israel, MS 5703⁰⁴, late 12th/early 13th century

MISHNAH WITH MAIMONIDES

- New York, The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, MS 8254, f. 3 (formerly ENA 4045.8), 12th century
 - Maimonides handwritten draft of his commentary to the order of *Taharot*



“LITURGICAL MISHNAH”



New York, The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, MS 8255, North Italy, 1471

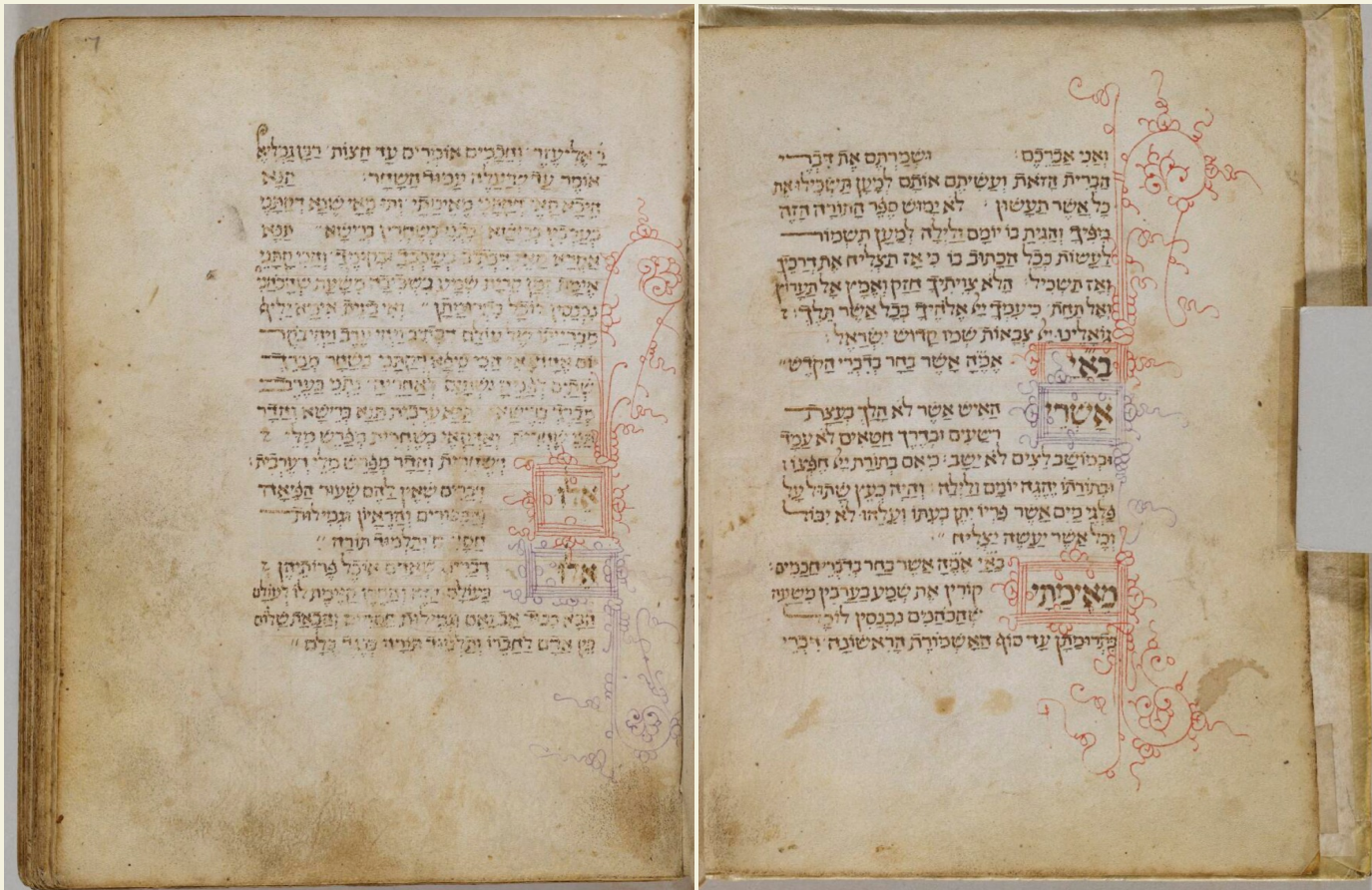
“LITURGICAL MISHNAH”

נֵא אֵתָּה זֶה הַיּוֹם
שֶׁעָשִׂיתָ לִּי כָּל צִדְקֶיךָ
יְיָ עֲשִׂיתָ אֵתָּה וְלֹא אִישׁ
שֶׁלֹּא עָשִׂיתָ אֵתָּה וְשֶׁלֹּא
שֶׁלֹּא עָשִׂיתָ נִכְרִית

הַגּוֹבֵל חֲסִדִּים טוֹבִים לְעַמּוֹ יִשְׂרָאֵל
אֵתָּה פּוֹקֵחַ יְעוּרִים
נֵא
טֵא אֵתָּה זֶה הַיּוֹם
שֶׁעָשִׂיתָ לִּי כָּל צִדְקֶיךָ
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שֶׁלֹּא עָשִׂיתָ אֵתָּה וְשֶׁלֹּא
שֶׁלֹּא עָשִׂיתָ נִכְרִית
הַטֵּה לְטוֹבֵי כְנֵעַ לְחַכְחִין
כִּן הַיּוֹם וְכִן הַלֵּילָה
טֵא אֵתָּה יְיָ עַל דְּבַרֵי תִּירָה
הַצֵּרֵךְ
עַל יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֶת דְּבַרֵי תִּירָה וְעַל
וּכְפִלְיוֹת עֲבֹד כִּתְיֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וְעַל
אֲחֵינוּ וְעַל אֲנֵינוּ וְעַל עַבְדֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
וְעַל תִּירָה נֵא חֲסִדֵי תִּירָה לְעַמּוֹ יִשְׂרָאֵל
אֵתָּה אִשֶׁר בָּרַךְ בְּטוֹב כָּל הָעַמִּים וְעַתָּה
נֵא

New York, The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, MS 8255, North Italy, 1471

“LITURGICAL MISHNAH”



New York, The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, MS 8255, North Italy, 1471

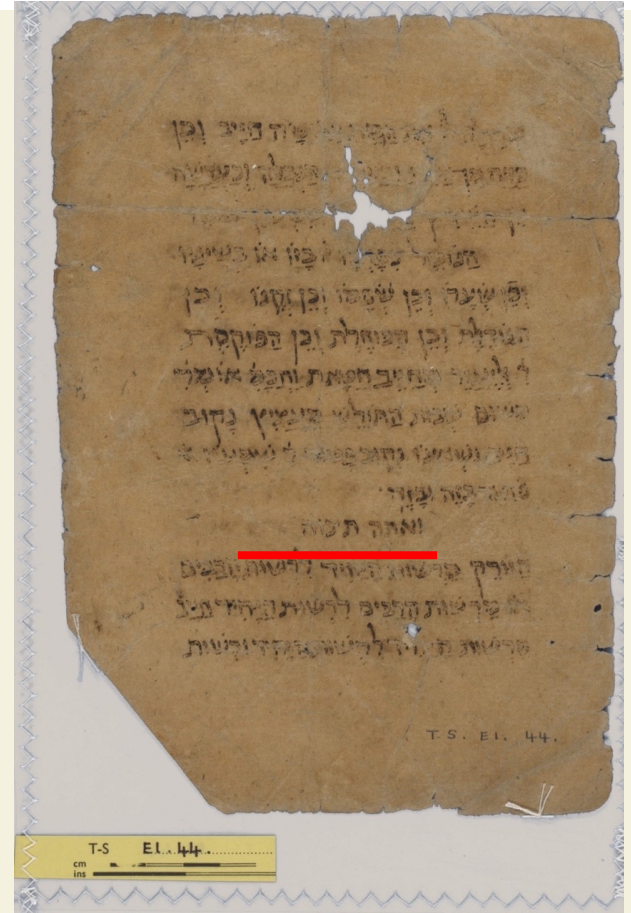
“LITURGICAL MISHNAH”

- Tractate Avot in JTS’ “Rothschild Mahzor”



“LITURGICAL MISHNAH”

“Vi-Atah Titsaveh,” the twentieth parsha, appears before Shabbat XI, the twentieth chapter in the order Berakhot then Shabbat

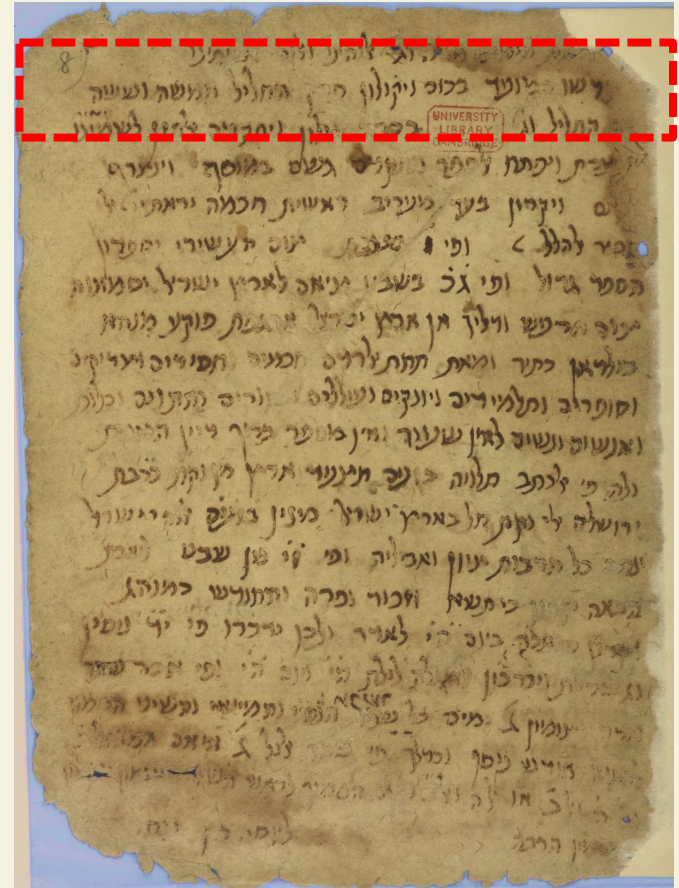


CUL, T-S E1.44

“LITURGICAL MISHNAH”



CUL, T-S NS 272.39



CUL, T-S 10H8.8

THE *LANGUAGE* OF THE MISHNAH: ONE FURTHER TYPOLOGY

- Moshe Bar-Asher:
 - Babylonian vs. Palestinian: differences in the orthographic text of the Hebrew of the Mishnah.
 - Within the Palestinian branch: there are differences of pronunciation between “Eastern” and “Western” versions, though the orthographic text of the Mishnah is the same.
 - And yet, *all the traditions originate in the Land of Israel*

19 The Different Traditions of Mishnaic Hebrew

19.1 Introduction

§ 1 Research into Mishnaic Hebrew, which has made great strides in the past seventy years, has concentrated primarily on the language of the *Tannaim*. Only a few studies have been devoted to works or manuscripts belonging to later periods of rabbinic literature;¹ and even within the language of the *Tannaim*, scholars have mainly dealt with the language of the Mishna.² The revered status of the Mishna within *tannaitic* literature is well-reflected in the following two points: (1) several complete manuscripts of Mishna are extant as well as hundreds of poorly preserved, fragmented manuscripts of Mishna. There are, on the other hand, very few manuscripts of other *tannaitic* works; and (2) it is the only corpus of *tannaitic* literature for which a regular reading tradition has been preserved in the many different dispersed Jewish communities. This situation has led scholars to concentrate their efforts on the study of the language of the Mishna, neglecting other *tannaitic* corpora. As a result, there are scores of studies dealing with the grammar of the language of the Mishna.

§ 2 In many of these studies, especially those dealing with early manuscripts, one clearly discerns the desire of the researchers to recover the earliest features of mishnaic Hebrew. All studies attempt to lay bare changes and corrections which have entered the language during the long course of its transmission. J. N. Epstein and H. Yalon paved the way for such research with their exemplary studies; these scholars were followed by E. Y. Kutscher who gave added momentum to this method of research (Kutscher 1963). Kutscher sought, as he had done with Galilean Aramaic, to base the linguistic description of the Mishna on reliable manuscripts, i.e., manuscripts which either preserved or partially preserved the original language and text of the Mishna.³ According to Kutscher, MS Kaufmann (K) was the most reliable manuscript of the language of the *Tannaim* in general, and the language of the Mishna in particular. He

¹ For example, see Sokoloff 1971 and especially Breuer 2002.

² The works of the late M. Moreshet on the Hebrew *baraitot* of the Babylonian Talmud (Moreshet 1974a and 1974b) constitute noteworthy exceptions. See also Haneman, 1974, Bar-Asher 1983b, and Yelvin 1965.

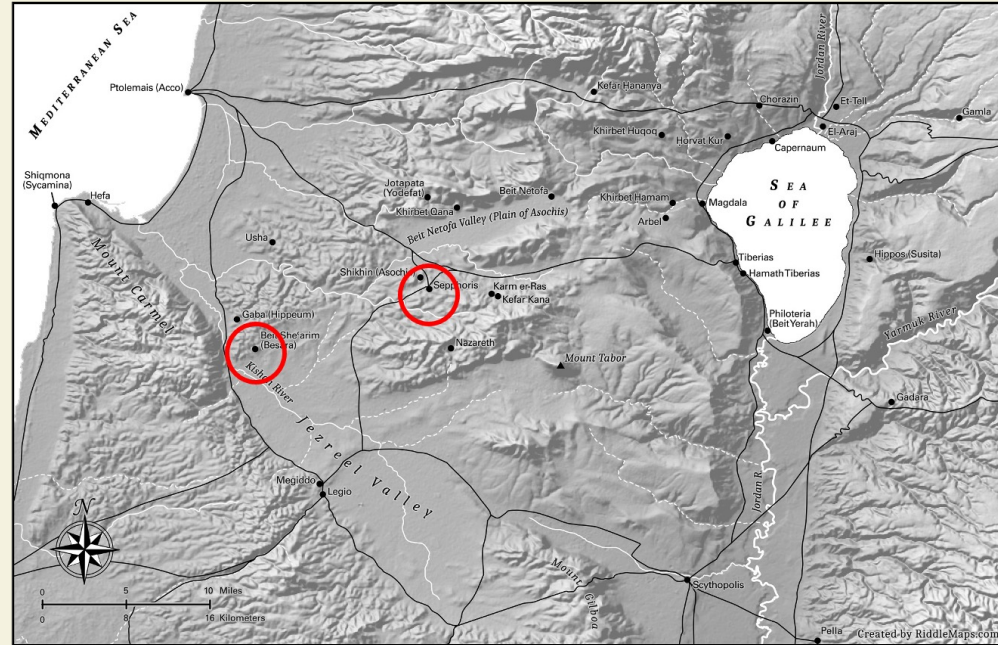
³ Kutscher's main criticism of M. H. Segal's *A Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew* (1936) focused on the fact that Segal based his grammar on printed editions of rabbinic literature and ignored the evidence found in manuscripts. The existence of manuscripts was already known at the time he wrote his earlier edition of the grammar in English (1927). See Kutscher 1968:1.

SOME LINGUISTIC DIFFERENCES

- Palestine Branch “ממנו” vs. Babylonian branch: “הימנו” (from him)
 - *But הימנו is documented in letters from second century Judean Desert*
- Palestine Branch “בבית” vs. Babylonian branch “אבית” (in the house of)
 - *But “אבית” is documented in second-century letters of Bar Koseba*
- Other common differences:
 - Palestine “שהוא קורא, שהוא עושה,” etc., vs. Babylonian “שקורא, שעושה,” etc.
 - Palestine “למעלן, למטען,” vs. Babylonian “למטה, למעלה”
 - *And many others*

WHY THE DIFFERENCE?

- Chronological and Geographic Differences:
 - *The Mishnah was brought to rabbinic circles in Babylonia while it continued to be modified in Palestine*
 - *In some ways, then, the “earliest” versions of the Babylonian Mishnah may then predate those found in Palestinian sources, or in manuscripts that come more directly from that tradition*



A CONCLUSION: HOW TO PRESENT THE TEXT OF THE MISHNAH

על אשכרע היו עשאן בן נמלא של
 זרב סזכורין אוחו לשבח: י' (ר') בין קטין
 עשה שנים עשר דד לכיור שלא היו
 בו אלא שנים אף הוא עשה סכנה
 לכיור שלא יהו סימיו ניפטלים בלינה

56
 60

חילופי נוסח:-- סתתתפים: (GA/15)14)11)

שלאשכרע (של אשכרוע (LOHM)
 ושלאשכרוע (VY) שלאשכרוע (E)
 היו (ה' (LOH)
 עשאן (ועשא' (M) ועשאן (G4VEYLOH)
 נמלא (נמליאל (L)
 של זרב (שלזרב (G4VEY)
 סזכורין (ומזכורין (VYLO) והיו סזכורין (M)
 סזכורין אוחו לשבח (ה' (G4EH)
 י' (ה' (G4VEYLOHM)
 בין (בן (G4VEYLOHM)
 היה (היה (O)
 בו (לו (G4VHM) סם (EL)
 שנים (שהים (L)
 סכנה (סוכני (VEYLHM) סכני (G4)
 יהו (היו (H) יהיו (VE)
 ניפטלים (נפטלין (G4VEYLOHM)

56
 57
 58
 59
 60

שלאשכרע (שלאשכרוע (פיס) ושל אשכרע (רה) ושל אשכרוע (נ)
 ושלאשכרוע (ס) ושל אשכרוע (ז)
 עשאן (ועשאן (נזירצנה)
 נמלא (נמלה (ל) נמליאל (ס)
 של זרב (שלזרב (פנויצהסט)
 סזכורין (ומזכורין (לנזרצנה) והיו סזכורין (י)
 י' (יא' (פנב) ב' (ל) י'ב (ז) ה' (רסט)
 בין (בן (פלנזירצהסט)
 היו בו אלא שנים אף הוא עשה סכנה לכיור שלא (ה' (פ)
 בו (ה' (פ) ש'ס' (נ) לה (ב)
 סכנה (ה' (פ) סכני (לנזרצה) סוכני (ינס) סיכנה (ס)
 יהו (יהוא (ל) היו (נ) יהיו (צנ)
 ניפטלים (נפטלין (לנזירצהסט)

קיצורים:--

58 עשה (עש' (M) / שנים (שני' (M) / עשר (עש' (M) / לכיור (לכיו' (ה) /
 59 שנים (שני' (ה) / 60 ניפטלים (ניפטלין (פנ) / בלינה (בלינ' (ה)

קרות:--

62 הלני (??? (G4) שפרשת סוטה (??? (G4) 59 בו (ב? (ז)

Mishna "Kipurim" (Yoma)
 - A Critical Edition

with Introduction

Thesis Submitted for the Degree
 "Doctor of Philosophy"

by

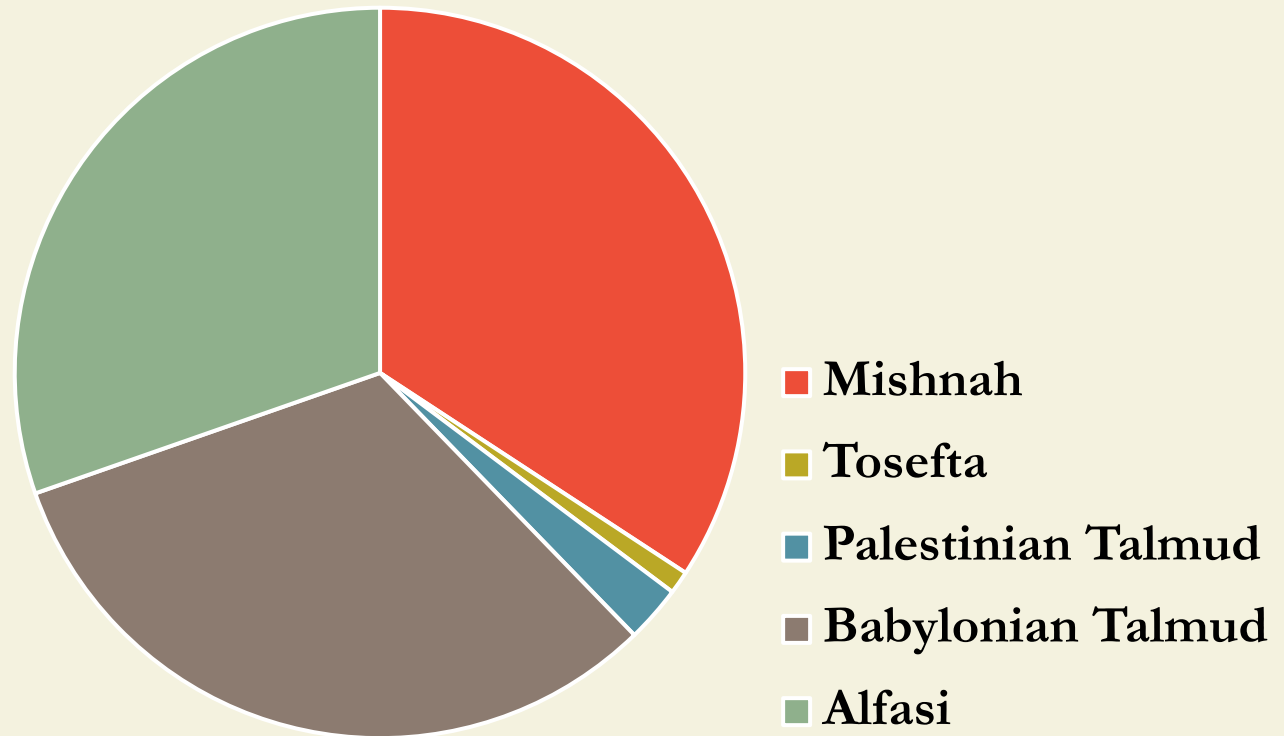
Yehoshua Rosenberg

Submitted to the Senate of the
 Hebrew University, Jerusalem
 JANUARY 1995

ספריית הדר הירושלמי
 בית המדרש הרבני

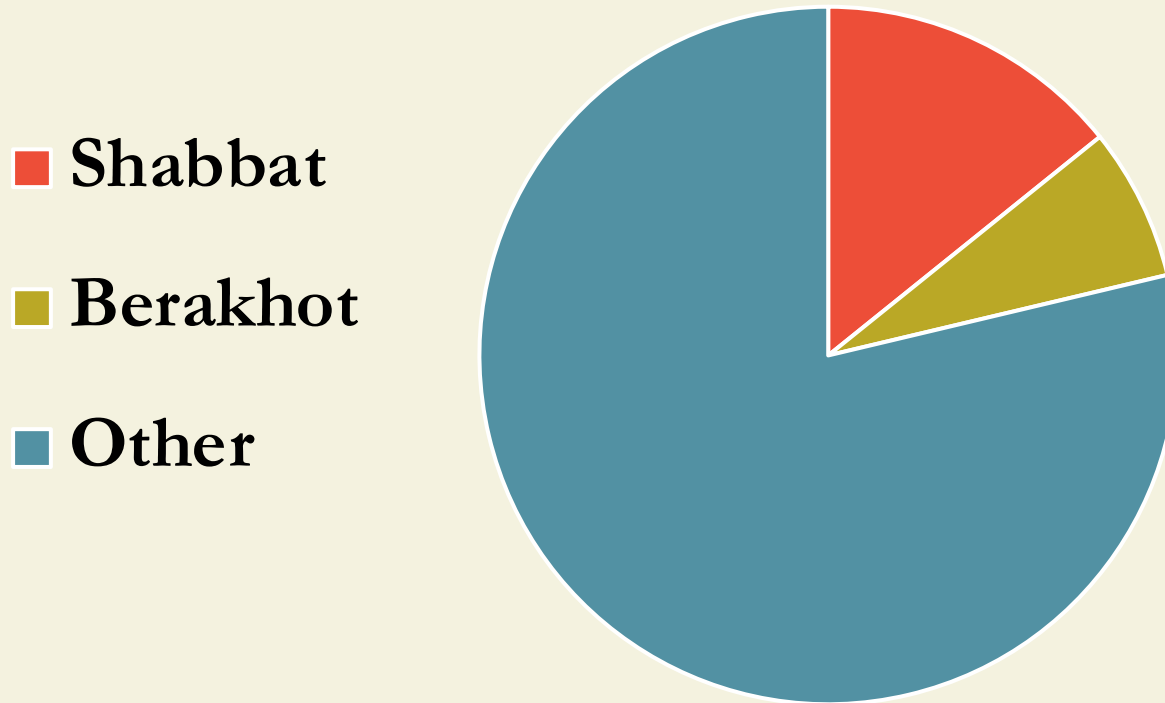
MISHNAH MANUSCRIPTS AND JEWISH EDUCATION: BIBLIOMETRY

Relative Number of Genizah Fragments



MISHNAH MANUSCRIPTS AND JEWISH EDUCATION: BIBLIOMETRY

Possible Number of Manuscripts Attested in the Cairo Genizah by Proportion



MISHNAH MANUSCRIPTS AND JEWISH EDUCATION: SCRIBAL ERRORS

עֵרְבִין פִּירוֹת בְּפִירוֹת אֶפְלוּ חֲדָשִׁים בְּחֹר
 בְּחֲדָשִׁים וְאִין עֵרְךְ לֹמֵר חֲדָשִׁים בִּישְׁעֶם כ
 כֹּחֶת בֵּין הַיָּדוּ לַעֲרֵב קֶשֶׁה בְּךָ מִפְּנֵי שֶׁ
 שְׂהוּא מִשְׁבִּיחוֹ אִין עֵרְבִין שְׁפָרִי יִין בֵּין
 אֲבָל נִתָּן לוֹ אֵת שְׁפָרִי מִי שְׁנֵתֶרֶב מִיִּם
 בֵּינֵי לֹא יִמְכַרְנָהּ בְּחֶמֶת אֱלֹהִים אִם כֵּן הוֹדִיעַ

Parma 3173 f. 90r (m. BM 4:11)

הַאֲנָחָה אֲרֵבֶכֶם מִפְּנֵי שֶׁרִשָׁם וְאֲרֵבֶכֶם
 לְכַלֵּעַ שְׂתוֹת לִפְקָח אֵי עַן אֲמַתִּי פוֹתֵר לֹה
 לְהַחֲזִיק עַד כְּרִי שִׂירָאָה לְהַגֵּר אִו לְקִרְבּוֹ
 הוֹרָה טְרַפְזֵן בְּלוֹד הַהוֹנִיָּה שְׂמֹנֶת כֶּסֶף לֹם
 לֹם לֵעַ שְׁלִישׁ לְמִקַּח וְשִׁמְחוּ תְּגִיד לֹרֵךְ אֲמִר
 לֹהֵם מוֹתֵר לְהַחֲזִיר כָּל הַיּוֹם אֲמִרוּ לוֹ גַּם
 לִנְרָד טְרַפְזֵן אֲתִּמְקוֹמֵינוּ וְחִזְרוּ לְדַבְּרֵי חֶפֶץ
 אֲחָד הַלּוֹקָח וְאֲחָד הַמְּכַר יֵשׁ לֹהֵם אֲנָחָה כ
 כֶּסֶף שֶׁאֲנָחָה לְהַדִּיט כִּךְ הוֹנִיָּה לְתַגֵּר דְּבִי
 יְהוּד אִו אִין לְהַגֵּר אֲנָחָה מִי שְׁהוֹטֵל עֵלָיו
 יָדוּ לְעֵלְיוֹנָה שְׂהוּא אֲנֹכְ לוֹ תָן לִי מַעֲתֵי
 אֲוֹתָן לִי מָה שְׁהוֹעַתִּי דְּ וְכַפֶּה תֵּהֵא
 הַסְּלִיעַ חֲסִידָה וְלֹא יֵהֵא בֵּה אֲנָחָה דְּ מִאִיר א
 אֲרֵבֶכֶם אֲסִרוֹת מִאִסֵּר לְדִינֵךְ דְּ יְהוּד אֲמִיר
 אֲרֵבֶכֶם מְרַנְוִינֵת מְפֹנְרִין לְדִינֵךְ דְּ שְׂמֵעֵן
 אִו שְׂמֵעָה מְרַנְוִינֵת מִשְׁנֵי מְפֹנְרִין לְדִינֵךְ
 הַ עַן אֲמַתִּי פוֹתֵר לְהַחֲזִיר בְּכִרְכִּים עַן
 עַד כְּרִי שִׂירָאָה לְהַגֵּר אִו לְקוֹבֵר לְשׁוֹלְחָנִי
 וּבְכִפְרִים עַד עֲרֵבִי שְׂבִתוֹת אִם הִיָּה כְּכִרְהָ
 אֶפְלוּ לְאַחֵר שְׂעֵם יַעֲשֵׂר חוֹדֶשׁ פְּקִלָּה וְאִין
 לִו עֵלָיו אֱלֹהִים תְּרַעֲפֵת וְתַתֵּנָה לְמַעֲשֵׂר שְׂעֵ
 וְאִינוּ חוֹשֵׁשׁ שְׂאִינָה אֱלֹהִים נֶפֶשׁ רִיעָה דְּ
 הַהוֹנִיָּה אֲרֵבֶכֶם וְהַטְעֵנָה שְׂתִי כֶּסֶף וְהַ
 וְהַהוֹדִיָּה שְׂוֹהַ פְּרוֹטָה חֲמִשָּׁה פְּרוֹטוֹת הֵם
 הַהוֹדִיָּה שְׂוֹהַ פְּרוֹטָה וְהַאֲשֵׁה מִתְּקִדְשָׁה
 בְּשׂוֹהַ פְּרוֹטָה הַעֲתָה שְׂוֹהַ פְּרוֹטָה מִן הַקֹּדֶשׁ
 מִיַּעַל הַעוֹנָה שְׂוֹהַ פְּרוֹטָה חֲמִשָּׁה לְהַכְרִיף הַגּוֹזֵל
 אֵת חֲבִירוֹ שְׂוֹהַ פְּרוֹטָה וְשִׁבְעֵינָה יוֹדִיכֵנָה דְּ
 אַחֲרָיו אֶפְלוּ לְדִינֵךְ דְּ חֲמִשָּׁה חֲמִשִּׁים
 הֵן הַאוֹכֵל תְּרוּמָה וְתוֹעֵת עֵינֵשׁ וְהַרְוַעַת
 מִיַּעֲשֵׂר שְׁלִדְעִי חֲחִלָּה וְהַגִּי כוֹדִים מִסִּסְתָּה ח
 חוֹשֵׁשׁ הַפְּרָה נִטְרַבֵּעַ וְעִינֵשׁ שְׂעֵ שְׁלוֹ
 מוֹסִיף חוֹשֵׁשׁ הַפְּרָה קִדְּשׁוּ מוֹסִיף חוֹשֵׁשׁ
 וְהַעֲנָה בְּשׂוֹי פְּרוֹטָה מִן הַקֹּדֶשׁ מוֹסִיף חוֹשֵׁשׁ
 וְהַגּוֹזֵל אֵת חֲבִירוֹ שְׂוֹי פְּרוֹטָה וְשִׁבְעֵינָה מוֹ

CONCLUSIONS

- ❖ While scholars have used Hebrew manuscripts to study Jewish History and texts for well over a century, a significant amount of work remains to be done, and the *nature* of the work itself has changed
 - This is due to *technological* changes—how we can access and analyze manuscripts—and to *methodological* changes
 - To be sure, the two are related to one another
- ❖ In the study of manuscripts of rabbinic literature, one major shift is from studying the history of *the text* to the *history of the work and corpus*—and using this to shed light on *the transmission of knowledge*
- ❖ JTS is a center for this form of study, given our mission and resources