

The Affinity between the Lost Midrash Yelammedenu and Midrash Vayekhulu

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1 The Lost Midrash Yelammedenu and “the Tanhuma-Yelammedenu Problem”

Scholars usually refer to the Tanhuma-Yelammedenu (TY) corpus as a single entity. This inclusive term comes from the common practice of substitution the title “Tanhuma” for “Yelammedenu” in medieval references to the work¹ and because of the complicated state of affairs that was realized when the numerous extant versions of the Tanhuma midrashim were compared.² But in my opinion, the first step to solving what has been called “the Tanhuma-Yelammedenu problem” lies in distinguishing between these two works, namely Tanhuma and Yelammedenu, rather than their inclusion in one corpus.

This argument becomes more obvious when treating works that are lost: in such cases, the inclusion of separate works in one rubric either delays or even prevents the possibility of identifying and studying them. The first of such compositions that I shall discuss in this article is the lost Midrash Yelammedenu mentioned in the Arukh by Rabbi Nathan (Natan) of Rome and in the Yalkut Shimoni, where only fragments remain. This midrash differs from TB and from

1 The merging of the two names is already found in the title of the first printing of Tanhuma (Constantinople, 1520): “מדרש תנחומא הנקרא ילמדנו” (“Midrash Tanhuma, which is called Yelammedenu”). Leopold Zunz also alternates between works and quotations referenced as “Tanhuma” and those referenced as “Yelammedenu.” See Yom-Tov Lipman Zunz, *Ha-Derashot be-Yisrael ve-Hishtalshelutan ha-Historit*, ed. Hanoach Albeck (Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik, 1947), 108–109. This inaccuracy was followed by many researchers.

2 See Moshe D. Herr, “Tanhuma Yelammedenu,” in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Vol. 15 (Jerusalem: Keter, 1972), cols. 830–832; Günter Stemberger, “Tanhuma-Yelammedenu,” in Hermann L. Strack and Günter Stemberger, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash*, trans. Markus Bockmuehl (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1996), 302–306; and Marc Bregman, *The Tanhuma-Yelammedenu Literature: Studies in the Evolution of the Versions* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2003), 3–19.

the TP³ and from the Yelammedenu mentioned by Rabbi Jacob of Sicily (Sikily) in Yalkut Talmud Torah.⁴ This version of Yelammedenu is extremely important because it contains unique traditions.⁵ However, it has not received thorough treatment in the scholarship, because of the confusion that prevails in dealing with the different versions of the TY midrashim.

We have some 400 relatively brief citations from the lost Midrash Yelammedenu in the Arukh⁶ and about 260 mostly long quotations from the Yalkut Shimoni on the Torah and on the Prophets and the Writings of the Hebrew Bible (Nakh), 50 of which were excerpted separately in the Kuntres Acharon Mi-Yelammedenu, which was appended to the first printed edition of the Yalkut Shimoni on the Torah.⁷ Similarly, there are several fragments from the “European Genizah” that may be identified as belonging to this midrash. Among them are a fragment of the lost Yelammedenu on the beginning of Deuteronomy from the Wolfenbittel Library, which was published by Kurt Wilhelm in 1966;⁸ a fragment of the lost Yelammedenu on Genesis from the

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- 3 See Zunz, *Ha-Derashot be-Yisrael*, 108–116; and Solomon Buber, *Midrash Tanhuma* (Wilna, 1885), 7–14, 87–88 (= TB).
- 4 Excerpts called “Yelammedenu” mentioned in Yalkut Talmud Torah (the entire work is still in manuscripts) were collected by Solomon Wertheimer and by Jacob Mann and Isaiah Sonne. See Solomon Aaron Wertheimer, ed., *Batei Midrashot: Twenty Five Midrashim Published for the First Time from Manuscripts Discovered in the Genizoth of Jerusalem and Egypt with Introductions and Annotations* (Jerusalem: Mosad HaRav Kook, 1954), 137–175; and Jacob Mann and Isaiah Sonne, *The Bible as Read and Preached in the Old Synagogue* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College, 1940). The study of these excerpts is in Elazar Hurvitz, “The Nature and Sources of Yalkut Talmud Torah by Rabbi Jacob Sikily” [in Hebrew] (PhD diss., Yeshiva University, 1965), 196–274.
- 5 See, for example, Bregman’s discussion on the word “pagan” mentioned in a quote from Yelammedenu in the Arukh, in Bregman, *The Tanhuma-Yelammedenu Literature*, 175, and my discussion of the lists of the 70 elders whom Moses assembled, which is mentioned below in note 15.
- 6 See “Index,” in Alexander Kohut, *Aruch Completum*, 9 Vols. (Vienna, 1892), 8:115–121, (partial); and Buber, *Midrash Tanhuma*, 195–202.
- 7 See “Indexes,” in Arthur B. Hyman, *The Sources of the Yalkut Shimoni on the Pentateuch* [in Hebrew] (Jerusalem: Mosad HaRav Kook, 1974), 781–782, 793; Arthur B. Hyman, *The Sources of the Yalkut Shimoni on the Prophets and Hagiographa* [in Hebrew] (Jerusalem: Mosad HaRav Kook, 1965), 566, 583. About the relation between the excerpts called “Yelammedenu” in Yalkut Shimoni and those of the Kuntres Acharon, see Amos Geula, “The Riddle of the Index of Verses in MS Moscow-Ginzburg 1420/7 (Preparation for the Creation of the *Yalkut Shimoni*)” [in Hebrew], *Tarbiz* 70 (2001): 429–464, here 435, n. 43.
- 8 See Kurt Wilhelm, “Fragments from *Midrash Tankhuma* on Exodus and from *Midrash Yelammedenu* on Deuteronomy” [in Hebrew], *Kobez al Yad* NS 6 (1966): 62–75. See also the article of Andreas Lehnardt in this volume.

Heidelberg Library, which was published by Ephraim Urbach, also in 1966;⁹ and additional fragments apparently found in other libraries in the “European Genizah.” The quotations from the Arukh cover all of the Pentateuch, while those from the Yalkut Shimoni deal with four books of the Pentateuch, with the exception of Exodus.¹⁰

It is clear that this *midrash* was in the possession of other rabbis as well, who probably quoted from it. Before we attach citations from other sources, however, we must make sure that we actually are referring to the same *midrash*.

So far, there has been practically no attempt to collate all the fragments of this lost midrash and to reconstruct it according to the assumed original order. Over a century ago, Lazar Grünhut made such an attempt, but he collected fragments in an indiscriminate manner.¹¹ Saul Lieberman was correct in dismissing the scholarly value of his work.¹² Solomon Schechter undertook another, more systematic attempt by copying the quotations from Yelammedenu in the Arukh, and then, separately, those from the Yalkut Shimoni. However, this anthology was never published. The manuscript may be found in the JTS Library in New York.¹³

In his doctoral dissertation, Marc Bregman referred mainly to excerpts called “Yelammedenu,” which do not belong to the lost Midrash Yelammedenu addressed in this article, and he did not pay particular attention to fragments from this lost Yelammedenu that were quoted in Arukh and Yalkut Shimoni.¹⁴ In my study of this midrash, I have collected all of the quotations and have reconstructed them according to their probable original order. I intend to publish an edition of this work in the future.

The quotations from the lost Midrash Yelammedenu are permeated with Greek words and references to material realities that point to an affinity with Byzantine culture. A quotation from this midrash¹⁵ lists the 70 elders whom Moses assembled, and at the end it adds a testimony regarding the chain of transmission from a Babylonian Gaon to certain rabbis in a *tarbitz* (i.e., a *beit*

9 See Ephraim E. Urbach, “Heidelberg Fragments,” in “Remains of *Tanhuma-Yelammedenu*,” *Kobez al Yad* NS 6 (1966): 1–54, here 48–54.

10 This was indicated by Abraham Epstein, *Me-Kadmoniot ha-Yehudim* (Jerusalem: Mosad HaRav Kook, 1957), 304.

11 See Lazar Grünhut, *Sefer ha-Likkutim* (Jerusalem, 1900–1903), 4 (Num), 5 (Deu), 6 (Gen).

12 See Saul Lieberman, ed., *Midrash Devarim Rabbah* (Jerusalem: Wahrman Books, 1974), vi, n. 1.

13 New York, JTS MS Rabbimics 170 (5055) (Yalkut Shimoni); MS Rabbimics 171 (5051) (Aruk). Mentioned by Bregman, *The Tanhuma-Yelammedenu Literature*, 93.

14 See Bregman, *The Tanhuma-Yelammedenu Literature*, 93–95, and, for example, his discussion on 175.

15 See Amos Geula, “On the Study of Midrash Yelammedenu: A Reexamination of an Attribution in Yalkut Shim’oni and Its Sources” [in Hebrew], *Tarbitz* 74 (2005): 221–260.

midrash, “house of study”),¹⁶ but a different quotation which I published has instead the word *tebetz* (i.e., Thebes in Greece).¹⁷ In light of the latter, I assume that the midrash was edited either in Greece or in Southern Italy around the 9th century CE. This hypothesis is similar to the conclusions reached by Leopold Zunz.¹⁸ Nonetheless, a discussion of all of the findings in the citations and fragments of this midrash is worth having in its own right.

2 Midrash Vayekhulu and the Lost Midrash Yelammedenu

The second midrash that I shall treat in this article – Midrash Vayekhulu – is mentioned in various works written in Ashkenaz (Germany) and Northern France from the 12th century onward.¹⁹ This midrash is also lost, and we do not even have a single fragment of a manuscript of it. The quotations from Vayekhulu have not yet been collected systematically. As part of my doctoral dissertation on other lost aggadic midrashim that are known only in Ashkenaz, such as Avkir, Esfah, and Deuteronomy Zuta, I collected over 50 quotations from the lost Midrash Vayekhulu, all of which are from the Books of Genesis, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy. We do not have a single quote of Midrash Vayekhulu from the Book of Exodus. This is similar to the current state of affairs regarding Midrash Yelammedenu. There are no citations from it in Yalkut Shimoni on the Book of Exodus.²⁰

The quotations from both the lost Yelammedenu and Midrash Vayekhulu contain quite a number of linguistic parallels. Therefore, a major question in the study of these midrashim is the affinity between them.

16 Version in Yalkut Shimoni: “וכתבנו אותם מפי רב שמואל אחי של פנחס ומרים זכור לטוב: רבנא חנינאי כהנא ראש ישיבת גאון” ולמד אותם בתרביץ מוצא (=מרנא) רבנא חנינאי כהנא ראש ישיבת גאון”. See Yalkut Shimoni, Numbers 11:16, §736. It can be found in *Yalkut Shimoni*, ed. Dov Hyman and Isaak Shiloni, 10 Vols. (Jerusalem: Mosad HaRav Kook, 1973–2009), 4:212–213. This edition will be used for subsequent Yalkut Shimoni citations.

17 Version in the Torah commentary attributed to Rabbi I. Ezzovi: “וכתבנו אותם בקבלה איש מפי איש מפי רב שמואל אחיו של רב פנחס ז”ל, והם קבלו אותם בתבץ מפי מרנא ורבנא חנינאי כהנא ראש ישיבת גאון. וכן כתב גם הוא שקיבל מרבו ורבו מרבו איש מפי איש עד אנשי כנסת הגדולה”. See Yair Ben Shalom, ed., *Yalkut haEzzovi* (Jerusalem: Machon Bnei Yissachar, 1998), 158.

18 See Zunz, *Ha-Derashot be-Yisrael*, 111.

19 *Ibid.*, 427, n. 20.

20 See Hyman, *The Sources of the Yalkut Shimoni on the Pentateuch*, 781; and Epstein, *Me-Kadmoniot ha-Yehudim*.

In a note on *Sefer Ha-Eshkol*,²¹ Shalom Albeck pointed out the similarity between a quotation attributed to *Yelamedenu* on the prayer of the 18 Benedictions – the *Shemone Esrei* – gleaned from the Prayer of Hannah, and which appears in *Yalkut Shimoni* on the one hand, and a similar one attributed to *Midrash Vayekhulu* in the *Rokeach* (see Table 9.3) on the other. Albeck simply claimed that *Vayekhulu* was another name for *Midrash Yelammedenu*. According to his theory, we may assume that a copy of *Midrash Yelammedenu* made its way to Ashkenaz without the beginning of the text (and also without the midrash on the Book of Exodus) and that its first page opened with the section beginning with the word *vayekhulu* (“were finished,” Gen 2:1) instead of the first word of the Book of Genesis, *Bereshit* (“in the beginning,” Gen 1:1). This copy was given the name of its first word, *vayekhulu*, which was then the accepted name in Ashkenaz, while the other copy was called “*Yelamedenu*,” both in Italy and in Ashkenaz. The author of *Yalkut Shimoni*, who quoted extensively from *Yelammedenu*, did not include a single quotation from any midrash called “*Vayekhulu*,” which seems to prove Albeck’s argument. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the first citation in the collection from *Midrash Yelammedenu* concerns the biblical verse *Vayekhulu ha-shamayim* (“and the heavens and earth were finished”) (Gen 2:1), which also seems to fit the theory.

However, it is also possible that *Midrash Vayekhulu* is a different midrash that was derived from *Yelammedenu*, as is common when it comes to later midrashim, or that both were based on a common source.

Since we only have random quotations from these two lost midrashim, the fact that they are not identical cannot serve as proof that they are different compositions, because a fragment that is not identical may be found in a part of a text that is not in our possession. Even if we find quotations from both midrashim that are nearly identical, we can still not determine whether we are talking about the same midrash, because it is possible that other parts of the text are not identical. Therefore, we must examine the types of similarities between the quotations of both midrashim.

Some of the parallels between the two midrashim are identical as far as language is concerned. For example, in table 9.1 there is a unique exegesis that argues that women are disqualified for giving testimony in court because the most righteous of women, Sarah, repudiated the promise of the angels – or, in another case, in table 9.2, an exegesis that argues that bandits plundered all of Laban’s belongings – despite the fact that the order of the details differs.

21 See Shalom Albeck, ed., *Sefer Ha-Eshkol* (Jerusalem: Vagshal, 1935), 27, n. 17. This has been commented on already by R. David Luria in his introduction to *Pirkei de-Rabbi Eliezer* (Warsaw, 1852), 13b.

TABLE 9.1 Women, Sarah, and testimony

Vayekhulu	Yelammedenu		
	In Arukh ^b (ערך 'נשים')	In Yalkut Shimoni ^c	In Kuntres Acharon ^d
<p>ותכחש שרה מיכן שהנשים פסולות לעדות שהצדקת שבהן כיחשה. במדרש ויכולו.</p>	<p>בילמדנו ותכחש שרה מכאן פסלו רבותינו את הנשים לעדות.</p>	<p>ותכחש שרה מכאן שהנשים פסולות לעדות. ואילולי שאמר הק' לאברהם שיתן לו בן משרה לא היתה יולדת שלא האמינה.</p>	<p>ותכחש שרה מכאן פסלו רבותינו את הנשי' מן העדות, ואילולי שאמר הב"ה לאברהם שהוא נותן לו בן משרה לא היתה יולדת שלא האמינה</p>
<p>“Then Sarah denied” (Gen 18:15), from this verse [we learn] that women are disqualified as witnesses, because even the most righte- ous of them [i.e., Sarah] denied [i.e., lied about what she did]. In midrash Vayekhulu.</p>	<p>In Yelammedenu. “Then Sarah denied” (Gen 18:15); based on this verse our rabbis disquali- fied women as witnesses.</p>	<p>“Then Sarah denied” (Gen 18:15), from this verse [we learn] that women are disqualified as witnesses. And if G[od] did not tell Abraham that He would give him a son from Sarah, she would not have given birth, as she did not believe it.</p>	<p>“Then Sarah denied” (Gen 18:15), based on this verse our rabbis disquali- fied women as witnesses. And if God did not tell Abraham that He would give him a son from Sarah, she would not have given birth, as she did not believe it.</p>

a See (Unknown author), *Perush ha-Rokeach al ha-Torah*, ed. Julius Klugmann (Bnei Brak: Julius Klugmann and Sons, 1986), 1:156 (Gen 18:15). According to Joseph Dan, attribution of this commentary to Rabbi Elazar of Worms is incorrect. See Joseph Dan, “Commentary on the Pentateuch by Rabbi Elazar of Worms” [in Hebrew], *Kiryat Sefer* 59 (1984): 644; and Amos Geula, “Lost Aggadic Works Known only from Ashkenaz: Midrash Abkir, Midrash Esfa and Devarim Zuta” (PhD diss., Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2006), 2:11–12.

b See Kohut, *Aruch Completum*, 5:394 (ערך 'נשים').

c See Yalkut Shimoni 1:366 (Gen 18:15, 82).

d See Kuntres Acharon Mi-Yelammedenu, 14 in Yalkut Shimoni 5:795.

TABLE 9.2 Laban's belongings

Vayekhulu (In Perush ha-Rokeach) ^a	Yelammedenu (In Kuntres Acharon) ^b
<p>וישב לבן למקומו (בר' לב א) מדרש ויכולו מיד חזר לעניותו, אמ' יעקב ותבט עיני בשורי בקמים (תה'צב יב), כי באותה לילה שרדף לבן אחר יעקב נכנסו הלסטים ונטלו כל מה שהיה לו.</p> <p>“And Laban returned to his place” (Gen 32:1). Midrash Vayekhulu: He immediately returned to be poor. Jacob said: “My eye has gazed on them that lie in wait for me” (Ps 92:12), because on the same night when Laban chased Jacob, robbers entered and took whatever he had.</p>	<p>וילך [וישב] לבן למקומו (בר' לב א), אלא לעיר אחרת הלך, מהו למקומו שחזר לעניותו, שבאו לסטין ונטלו כל מה שהיה לו, ואמר יעקב ותבט עיני בשורי (תה' צב יב).</p> <p>“And Laban departed, and returned to his place” (Gen 32:1), What else? He went to another city? so what does “return to his place” mean? That he returned to be poor, that a robber came and took whatever he had. And Jacob said: “My eye has gazed on them that lie in wait for me” (Ps 92:12).</p>

a See Perush ha-Rokeach Al Ha-Torah 1:241 (Gen 32:1).

b See Kuntres Acharon Mi-Yelammedenu 21 in Yalkut Shimoni 5:797.

The longer exegetical sections also preserve the parallels between the midrashim, as we can see in Table 9.3:

TABLE 9.3 The prayer of Hannah

Vayekhulu (In Rokeach) ^a	Yelammedenu (In Yalkut Shimoni) ^b
<p>במדרש ויכולו יליף מחנה שהיתה מתפללת י"ח ברכות. רמה קרני – מגן, ממיית ומחיה – מחיה המתים, אין קדוש – האל הקדוש, דעות – חונן הדעת, ונכשלים אזרו חיל – הרוצה בתשובה, מוריד שאול ויעל – חנון המרבה לסלוח, שמחתי ביצועתך – גאל ישראל, מקים מעפר – רופא, שבעים בלחם – מברך, חסידי ישימור – מקבץ, [ידין] – אוהב צדקה ומשפט, ורשעים בחשך – מכניע, קשת גבורים – מבטח לצדיקים, קרן משיחו – דוד, אין עור כאלהינו</p>	<p>ותתפלל חנה, מכאן אנו למדין שנשים חייבות בתפלה שכן חנה היתה מתפללת י"ח ברכות רמה קרני בה' (שמ"א ב א) – מגן אברהם. ה' ממיית ומחיה (שם ו) – מחיה המתים. אין קדוש בה' (שם ב) – האל הקדוש. כי אל דעות ה' – אתה חונן. ונכשלים אזרו חיל – הרוצה בתשובה, מוריד שאול ויעל – המרבה לסלוח. שמחתי ביצועתך – גואל ישראל. מקימי מעפר דל – רופא חולים. שבעים בלחם – מברך השנים. רגלי חסידי ישימור – מקבץ נדחי</p>

a Rabbi Elazar of Worms, *Sefer ha-Rokeach*, ed. Shneerson (Jerusalem 1960), 326, pp. 222–223.

b See Yalkut Shimoni 6:186 (1 Sam 2:1, 80).

TABLE 9.3 The prayer of Hannah (*cont.*)

Vayekhulu (In Rokeach)	Yelammedenu (In Yalkut Shimoni)
<p>– [שומע], אל תרבו תדברו – שאותך לבדך ביראה נעבוד, יצא עתק מפיכם – הטוב, ויתן עוז למלכו – עושה שלום.</p>	<p>עמו ישראל. ה' ידין אפסי ארץ – אוהב צדקה ומשפט. ורשעים בחשך ידמו – מכניע זדים. ויתן עוז למלכו – בונה ירושלים. זירם קרן משיחו – את צמח דוד. ואין צור כאלהינו – שומע תפלה. אל תרבו תדברו גבוהה – שאותך לבדך ביראה [נעבוד]. יצא עתק מפיכם – הטוב שמך ולך נאה להודות. ויתן עוז למלכו – עושה השלום. הרי שמונה עשרה ברכות שהתפללה.</p>
<p>In Midrash Vayekhulu, they learn from Hannah, who prayed the <i>Eighteen Benedictions</i>: “My horn is exalted in the Lord” (1 Sam 2:1) [is the benediction] “He protects”; “The Lord kills, and makes live” (1 Sam 2:6) – “revives the dead”; “There is none holy [as the Lord]” (1 Sam 2:2) – is [the benediction of] “the Holy God”; “[for the Lord is a God of] knowledge” (1 Sam 2:3) – “You grant [knowledge]”; “and they that stumbled are girded with strength” (1 Sam 2:4) – “who yearns for repentance”; “He brings down to the grave, and raises up” (1 Sam 2:6) – “The merciful one who increases forgiveness”; “I rejoice in your salvation” (1 Sam 2:1) – “the savior of Israel”; “He raises the poor out of the dust” (1 Sam 2:8) – “the Healer”; “The satiated have hired out themselves for bread” (1 Sam 2:5) – “He blesses [the years]”; “He guards the feet of pious ones” (1 Sam 2:9) – “He gathers [the destitutes of his nation Israel]”; “[The Lord judges]” (1 Sam 2:10) – “[He] loves righteousness and judgment”; “but the wicked shall be put to silence in darkness” (1 Sam 2:9) – “the oppressor [of evil-doers]”; “the bows of the mighty</p>	<p>“And Hannah prayed” (1 Sam 2:1). From here we learn that women are obliged to pray [the 18 Benedictions], since Hannah was praying the <i>Eighteen Benedictions</i>: “My horn is exalted in the Lord” (1 Sam 2:1) [is the benediction:] “He protects Abraham”; “The Lord kills, and makes live” (1 Sam 2:6) – “revives the dead”; “There is none holy [as the Lord]” (1 Sam 2:3) – “the Holy God”; “for the Lord is a God of knowledge” (1 Sam 2:3) – “You grant [knowledge]”; “and they that stumbled are girded with strength” (1 Sam 2:4) – “who yearns for repentance”; “He brings down to the grave, and raises up” (1 Sam 2:6) – “He who increases forgiveness”; “I rejoice in your salvation” (1 Sam 2:1) – “the savior of Israel”; “He raises the poor out of the dust” (1 Sam 2:8) – “the Healer of the sick”; “The satiated have hired out themselves for bread” (1 Sam 2:5) – “He blesses the years”; “He guards the feet of pious ones” (1 Sam 2:9) – “He gathers the destitutes of his nation Israel”; “The Lord judges the ends of the earth” (1 Sam 2:10) – “[He] loves righteousness and judgment”; “but the wicked shall be put to silence in darkness” (1 Sam 2:9) –</p>

TABLE 9.3 The prayer of Hannah (*cont.*)

Vayekhulu (In Rokeach)	Yelammedenu (In Yalkut Shimoni)
<p>men are broken" (1 Sam 2:4) – "haven for the pious ones"; "He exalts the horn of his anointed one" (1 Sam 2:10) – "The sprout of David"; "there is no rock like our God" (1 Sam 2:2) – "Hearer of prayer"; "Do not multiply exceeding proud talk" (1 Sam 2:3) – "You alone we worship You in awe"; "let not arrogance come out of your mouth" (1 Sam 2:3) – "Your name is good, [and it is befitting to give thanks to you]"; "He will give strength to His king" (1 Sam 2:10) – "makes peace."</p>	<p>"the oppressor of evil-doers"; "He will give strength to His king" (1 Sam 2:10) – "The builder of Jerusalem"; "He exalts the horn of his anointed one" (1 Sam 2:10) – "The sprout of David"; and "there is no rock like our God" (1 Sam 2:2) – "Hearer of prayer"; "Do not multiply exceeding proud talk" (1 Sam 2:3) – "You alone we worship You in awe"; "let not arrogance come out of your mouth" (1 Sam 2:3) – "Your name is good, and it is befitting to give thanks to you"; "He will give strength to His king" (1 Sam 2:10) – "makes peace". These are the eighteen benedictions which Hannah prayed.</p>

This exegesis argues that women are required to say the prayer of 18 *Benedictions* (*Shemone Esrei*) on the basis of Hannah's Prayer, as her prayer contains all 18 benedictions. It is found in the *Sefer Halakhot Gedolot*, where it is attributed to "they say in the west" (*amarinan be-ma'arava*), that is, the Land of Israel.²² Hence, the version of the prayer service that emerges here is that of the Land of Israel. The parallel texts are nearly identical, with the exception of the separation between the blessings of "builder of Jerusalem" (*boneh Yerushalayim*) and "offspring of David" (*tzemakh David*). The version in Midrash Yelammedenu is similar to the Babylonian version of the prayer and there is an omission of one of the fixed blessings ("haven for the pious ones") in order to preserve the number of 18 blessings. However, a copyist may have made this revision.

In some cases, parallel texts appear in an abridged form when attributed to Vayekhulu, whereas in Yelammedenu they appear in full. We can see this in the following two examples (Tables 9.4 and 9.5):

22 See *Sefer Halakhot Gedolot, Hilkhoh Berakhot*, ed. A.S. Treub (Warsaw, 1875), 5:6b (this paragraph is missing in the Hildesheimer edition [Berlin 1888], 1:35); and "Introduction," in *Lekakh Tov*, ed. Solomon Buber (Wilna, 1880), 1:20.

TABLE 9.4 Abridged vs. non-abridged texts I

Vayekhulu (In Perush ha-Rokeach) ^a	Yelammedenu (In Kuntres Acharon) ^b
<p>במדרש ויכולו בזכות י' נסיונות אני נותן לכם י' הדברות וכו'</p>	<p>והאלהים נסה את אברהם (בר' כב א). י' נסיונות, בזכותן י' דברות, ועשרה מכות לשונאיהם, וי' נסים בבית המקדש, ושכינה בי', "אלהים נצב בעדת אל" (תה' פב א), ומתכפרים בעשרה בתשרי, ונגאלו בחדש עשירי בחדש טבת (על פי אס' ב טז) והכהנים רוחצים בעשרה כיורות.</p>
<p>In Midrash Vayekhulu: Thanks to the ten trials I give you the Ten Commandments etc.</p>	<p>God tested Abraham (Gen 22:1). Ten trials, and thanks to them – Ten Commandments, and ten blows to their enemies, and ten miracles in the Temple, and the Shekhinah [is present] among ten [people] "God stands in the congregation of god" (Ps 82:1), and they [i.e., Israel] are atoned on the tenth of [the month] Tishre, and they [i.e., Israel] were saved on the tenth month, on Tevet (according to Es 2:16), and the priests are washing in ten sinks.</p>

a See Perush ha-Rokeach Al Ha-Torah 1:179 (Gen 22:16).

b See Kuntres Acharon Mi-Yelammedenu 15 in Yalkut Shimoni 5:795.

TABLE 9.5 Abridged vs. non-abridged texts II

Vayekhulu (In Perush ha-Rokeach) ^a	Yelammedenu (In Yalkut Shimoni) ^b
<p>"הנה ילדה מלכה גם היא" (בר' כב כ) מלמד שחיתה עקרה וכשנפקדה שרה נפקדה גם היא, במדרש ויכולו.</p>	<p>ד"א. אמר ליה [בלעם לבלק]: "אתה אומר לי לקללם אילולי הם לא הייתי בעולם". כיצד? מלכה ושרה היו אחיות שנאמר "ויקח אברם ונחור להם נשים" (בר' יא כט) ושתייהן היו עקרות, וכיון שנעקד יצחק על גבי המזבח, אמר הקב"ה לאברהם "והתברכו בזרעך כל גויי הארץ" (בר' כב יח), היה אברהם מהרהר</p>

a See Perush ha-Rokeach Al Ha-Torah 1:180 (Gen 20:20).

b See Yalkut Shimoni 4:485 (Num 23:7, 765).

TABLE 9.5 Abridged vs. non-abridged texts II (*cont.*)

Vayekhulu (In Perush ha-Rokeach)	Yelammedenu (In Yalkut Shimoni)
<p>“Behold, Milkah also gave birth” (Gen 22:20) – [These words] indicate that she [i.e., Milkah] was barren, and when Sarah conceived, she [i.e., Milkah] conceived as well. In Midrash Vayekhulu.</p>	<p>ואומר: אחרים מתברכין בזכותי ומלכה קרובתי אחות אשתי לא היתה צריכה להפקד? מיד “ילדה מלכה גם היא” (בר' כב כ), ילדה מלכה בנים אין כתיב כאן אלא גם היא, שבשם שהיתה שרה עקרה ונפקדה כך מלכה נפקדה.</p> <p>Another interpretation. He said to him [Balaam to Balak]: “You are telling me to curse them [i.e., the Israelites, however,] without them I would not have come into the world.” How is it? Milkah and Sarah were sisters, as it says “and Abraham and Nahor took wives” (Gen 11:29); and both were barren. And then Isaac was bound on the altar, The Holy One Blessed Be He said to Abraham: “And all nations of the world will be blessed by your seed” (Gen 22:18); Abraham was thinking and saying: others are being blessed because of me, and Milkah, my relative, the sister of my wife should not be blessed? Immediately “Milkah also gave birth” (Gen 22:20). It does not say “Milkah bore sons,” but ‘also’, [which means that] as Sarah was barren and conceived, also Milkah conceived (Balaam was an Aramean, and Milkah gave birth to Kemuel, the forefather of the Arameans).</p>

In such cases, it is easy to argue that the copyist of the midrash titled “Vayekhulu” abridged the text.

There are more parallels. Fifteen out of some 50 excerpts from Midrash Vayekhulu (around 30 percent) contain linguistic parallels with the lost Midrash Yelammedenu. These parallels support the view that Midrash Vayekhulu and the lost Midrash Yelamedenu are actually the same composition.²³

23 I will publish excerpts from Midrash Vayekhulu and Midrash Yelammedenu separately.

However, some of these parallels include significant changes. It frequently happens that several elements of the parallels are identical, but one is different. Thus, for example, the exegesis on the sacrifice offered by a leper (Table 9.6) contains very obvious linguistic parallels between Vayekhulu and Yelammedenu in three parts of the text, while there is an essential difference in one of the sections regarding the teachings about “cedar wood”:

TABLE 9.6 Sacrifice offered by a leper

Vayekhulu (In Perush ha-Rokeach) ^a	Yelammedenu (In Kuntres Acharon) ^b
במדרשו ויכולו. למה צפרים? כשם שהוציא(ו) דברים עלִי רוח מתוך פיו כך מתכפר בצפרים ששטות על פני רוח ומודיעות לשמים, “כי עוף השמים יוליד את הקול” (קה’ י כ.).	“ולקח למטהר שתי צפרים” (וי’ יד ד) כשם שהוציא דברים של רוח מתוך פיו כך מכפר עליו בצפרים שהן טסין על פני רוח, שהן מודיעות לשמים דברים שאמר, “כי עוף השמים יוליד את הקול” (קה’ י כ.).
ועץ ארז על שם אם חוזר בו “כארז בלבנון יטגה” (תה’ צב ג.).	ועץ ארז למה? שנמשלה תורה לעץ שנ’ “עץ חיים היא” (מש’ ג יח) וכן “מרפא לשון עץ חיים” (שם טו ד.).
ושני תולעת הוא שינה דיבורו וחזר בו נתכפר בזכותו של יעקב, “אל תראי תולעת יעקב” (יש’ מא יד.).	ושני תולעת למה? בשביל ששינה דבריו וחזר בו מתכפר בשני תולעת, בזכו[ת] יעקב, “אל תראי תולעת יעקב” (יש’ מא יד.). ואזוב תחטאני באזוב ואטהר” (תה’ נא ט.).
In Midrash Vayekhulu. Why birds [i.e., in Lev 14:4]? As he uttered things of air [i.e., worthless] from his mouth, so is he atoned by birds who fly on the wind and inform the heavens, “for a bird of the air shall carry the voice” (Eccl 10:20). “And cedar-wood” (Eccl 10:20) – means that if he regrets – “He shall grow like a cedar in Lebanon” (Ps 92:13).	“[then shall the priest command] to take for him that is to be cleansed two living clean birds [...]” (Lev 14:4). As he uttered things of air [i.e., worthless] from his mouth, so do birds atone for him, as they fly in the air, and they notify the heaven the things that he said, as it says “for a bird of the air shall carry the voice” (Eccl 10:20). “And cedar-wood” (Lev 14:4) – Why? Because the Torah is likened to a tree, as it is said: “She is a tree of life” (Prov 3:18) also “A soothing tongue is a tree of life” (Prov 15:4).
“And scarlet” (Lev 14:4) – He said inappropriate things and regretted it,	“And scarlet” (Lev 14:4) – Why? Because he said inappropriate things and

a See Perush ha-Rokeach Al Ha-Torah 2:245 (Lev 14:49).

b See Kuntres Acharon Mi-Yelammedenu 45 in Yalkut Shimoni 5:801.

c Perhaps it should be של.

TABLE 9.6 Sacrifice offered by a leper (*cont.*)

Vayekhulu (In Perush ha-Rokeach) ^a	Yelammedenu (In Kuntres Acharon) ^b
atonement is made on account of Jacob's right – "Fear not, thou worm Jacob" (Isa 41:14). "And hyssop" (Lev 14:4) – "Purge me with hyssop, and I shall be clean" (Ps 51:9).	regretted it, atonement is made by scarlet, on account of Jacob's right – "Fear not, thou worm Jacob" (Is 41:14). "And hyssop" (Lev 14:4) – "Purge me with hyssop, and I shall be clean" (Ps 51:9).

The difference found in the second section cannot be attributed to a copyist's error, but to the author of one of the midrashim choosing to make a change in the text although he had the original source before him.

In another instance (Table 9.7a), Midrash Vayekhulu omits the exegesis on a Greek word, which serves as the basis for the exegesis in Yelammedenu as follows: "[The Hebrew word] *Hen* ('lo') in the Greek language [means] one" (Num 23: 9). This omission is not accidental. The same source from Vayekhulu (Table 9.7b) continues with a lengthy section on the enthronement of God in the *Shema* prayer, which is recited at night before going to sleep. This section does not appear in the quotations from the lost Midrash Yelammedenu, but is quoted in other TY midrashim:²⁴

TABLE 9.7A *Hen*

Vayekhulu (In Perush ha-Rokeach) ^a	Yelammedenu	
	In Yalkut Shimoni ^b	In Arukh ^c (ערך 'הן' [ג])
בויכולי למה אמר הן עם כלביא (במ' כג כד) הן עם לבדד ישכון, אלא ה' נרוץ אין	הן עם לבדד ישכון (במ' כג ט), הן בלשון יונית אחד אינו מחשבין עם אומה אחרת, תדע לך שהוא כן חשוב כל האותיות ותמצא כולן יש להן זוג	בילמדנו הן עם לבדד ישכון (במ' כג ט) א"ר פנחס הכהן בר חמא הן בל' יון אחד. אינן מתחשבין עם אומה

a See Perush ha-Rokeach Al Ha-Torah 3:99 (Num 23:24).

b See Yalkut Shimoni 4:491 (Num 23:24, 768).

c See Kohut, Aruch Completum, 3:220 ([ג] 'הן' [ג]).

24 TP Balak; NumR 20; and Yelammedenu in Yalkut Talmud Torah.

TABLE 9.7A *Hen* (cont.)

Vayekhulu (In Perush ha-Rokeach)	Yelammedenu	(עֵרֶךְ 'הַי' ג')
In Yalkut Shimoni	In Arukh	
<p>להם זוג, א"ט ב"ח ג"ז ד"ו, הרי ה' אין לה זוג, י"צ כ"ף ל"ע מ"ס, נ' אין לה זוג,</p> <p>In Vayekhulu: Why did he say: "Here is a people rising up like a lion" (Num 23:24), "Lo, it is a people that shall dwell alone [...]" (Num 23:9). But <i>he</i> and <i>nun</i> have no pair: <i>aleph</i> and <i>tet</i> [are together ten], <i>bet</i> and <i>khet</i>, <i>gimmel</i> and <i>zayin</i>, <i>dalet</i> and <i>vav</i>, <i>he</i> has no pair, [and the same with the sum being 100]: <i>yod</i> and <i>tzade</i>, <i>kaf</i> and <i>pe</i>, <i>lamed</i> and <i>ayin</i>, <i>mem</i> and <i>samekh</i>; <i>nun</i> has no pair.</p>	<p>וה"א ונו"ן אין להם זוג א' אחד ט' תשעה הרי עשרה. ב' שנים ח' שמונה הרי עשרה, א"ט ב"ח ג"ז ד"ו ה' אין לה זוג, וכן י"ץ כ"ף ל"ע מ"ס נ' אין לה זוג.</p> <p>"Lo, it is a people that shall dwell alone [...]" (Num 23:9). <i>Hen</i> ("lo") in the Greek language means "one." He does not consider them [i.e., Israel] with any other nation. Know that this is so, because if you calculate all other letters, and you will find that each has a pair, but <i>he</i> and <i>nun</i> have no pair: <i>aleph</i> is one and <i>tet</i> is nine, [and together they are] ten, <i>bet</i> and <i>khet</i>, <i>gimmel</i> and <i>zayin</i>, <i>dalet</i> and <i>vav</i>, <i>he</i> has no pair, and the same [with the sum being 100]: <i>yod</i> and <i>tzade</i>, <i>kaf</i>, and <i>pe</i>, <i>lamed</i> and <i>ayin</i>, <i>mem</i>, and <i>samekh</i>, <i>nun</i> has no pair.</p>	<p>אחרת. תדע לך שכן הוא חשוב כל האותיות ואת מוצא כולן יש להן זוג וה"א ונו"ן אין להם זוג. כמו שכתוב בע' אטב"ח.</p> <p>In Yelammedenu: "Lo, it is a people that shall dwell alone [...]" (Num 23:9). Rabbi Pinhas Hakohen, son of Khama said: <i>Hen</i> ("lo") in the Greek language means "one." They [i.e., Israel] do not consider any other nation. Know that this is so, because if you calculate all other letters, you will find that each has a pair, but <i>he</i> and <i>nun</i> have no pair, as it is written in the entry <i>aleph-tet-bet-khet</i>.</p>

TABLE 9.7B Enthronement of God

Vayekhulu (continued excerpt)	TP Balak ^a
<p>לכך אמר "הַי עַם" (במ' כג כד), כך ישראל הם ישנים מן המצוות ומן התורה עמדו משנתן באריות חוטפין קריית שמע וממליכין להקב"ה ונעשין אריות וכשבא לישן אינו ישן עד</p>	<p>הַי עַם כלביא יקום וכארי יתנשא (במ' כג כד) אין אומה בעולם כיוצא בהן, הרי הַי ישנים מן התורה ומן המצוות, עמדו משנתן עומדים באריות חוטפים קריאת שמע וממליכים להקב"ה</p>

a See TP Balak 14, 587–588.

TABLE 9.7B Enthronement of God (*cont.*)

Vayekhulu (continued excerpt)	TP Balak
<p>שממליך להקב"ה. "לא ישכב עד יאכל טרף" (שם) כשאומרים ה' אלוהינו ה' אחד, והמחבלין שבאו ליגע בו שומעין שהמליך עליו; ובורחין הימנו והוא נסמך בקריית שמע ומשמרי שומרי יום לשומרי לילה וכשבא לישן פוקד נפשו ל"שמע ישראל" (דב' ו ד), "בידך אפקיד רוחי" (תה' לא ו), גיער משנתו וממליך הקב"ה שומרי לילה הם מוסרים אותו לשומרי יום, "נפשי לה' משמרים לבקר" (שם קל ו). אמר בלעם איזו אומה כזו אומה יחידית הן עם לבדד ישכון.</p>	<p>נעשין אריות מפליגין לדרך ארץ למשא ומתן, אם נתקל אחד בכלום או אם מחבלין באו ליגע באחד מהם ממליך להקב"ה. "לא ישכב עד יאכל טרף" (שם) כשהוא אומר "ה' אחד" (דב' ו ד) נאכלין המחבלין מפניו, מלחשין אחריו בשכמל"ו ובורחין. והוא נסמך בזכות ק"ש משומרי היום לשומרי הלילה, וכשבא לישן מפקיד רוחו ביד הקב"ה ואומר בידך אפקיד רוחי וכשנוער ממליך להקב"ה השומריין בלילה מוסרים אותו לשומרי היום שנאמר (תה' קל ו) נפשי לה' משומרים לבוקר שומרים לבקר לכן בלעם אומר אין אומה כזו.</p>
<p>Therefore, he [i.e., Balaam] said: "Here is a people [...]" (Num 23:24). Thus Israel sleep away from the Torah and the commandments. When they rise from their sleep like lions, they quickly reciting the <i>Shema</i> and proclaim the sovereignty of the Holy One, Blessed be He, they become lions. And when he [i.e., an Israelite] goes to sleep, he does not sleep until he proclaims the sovereignty of the Holy One, Blessed be He. "It (a lion) does not sleep until it has eaten its prey" (Num 23:24). When they say [in the <i>Shema</i>] "the Lord is ours, the Lord is one" (Deut 6:4), the destroying demons that came to inflict him hear that he has proclaimed the sovereignty of the [Lord], they flee from him. And he is sustained through the recitation of the <i>Shema</i> from the day watchers [i.e., angels] to the night watchers [i.e., angels]. And when he goes to sleep, he entrusts his spirit through the [saying of the] <i>Shema Israel</i> [i.e., Hear, O Israel,</p>	<p>"Here is a people rising up like a lion" (Num 23:24). There is no nation in the world like them. Here they are sleeping away from the Torah and the commandments. [Then] having risen from their sleep, they stand up like lions. Quickly reciting the <i>Shema</i>, they proclaim the sovereignty of the Holy One, Blessed be He. Then having become like lions, they embark on worldly business pursuits. If one of them should stumble, or if destroying demons come to touch one of them, he proclaims the sovereignty of the Holy One, Blessed be He. "It (a lion) does not sleep until it has eaten its prey" (Num 23:24). When he says [in the <i>Shema</i> of], "the Lord is one" (Deut 6:4) the destroying demons are destroyed on his account, [and] they intone after him [the liturgical response], "Blessed be the name of His glorious kingdom forever and ever" and flee. And through the recitation of the <i>Shema</i> he is sustained from the day watchers [i.e., angels] to the</p>

TABLE 9.7B Enthronement of God (*cont.*)

Vayekhulu (continued excerpt)	TP Balak
<p>and:] “into Your hand I entrust my spirit” (Ps 31:6). When he awakens from his sleep, he proclaims the sovereignty of the Holy One, Blessed be He, [then] the night watchers transfers him to the day watchers, “My soul is to the Lord, from the watchers of the morning” (Ps 130). [Therefore] Balaam says, “There is no nation like this one”; they are a unique nation; “Lo, it is a people that shall dwell alone [...]” (Num 23:9).</p>	<p>night watchers [i.e., angels]. And when he goes to sleep, he entrusts his spirit into the hand of the Holy One, Blessed be He, when saying: “Into Your hand I entrust my spirit” (Ps 31:6). Then when he awakens [and] proclaims the sovereignty of the Holy One, Blessed be He, the night watchers transfer him to the day watchers, as it says: “My soul [yearns] for the Lord more than the watchmen for the morning, the watchmen for the morning” (Ps 130:6). For that reason, Balaam says, “There is no nation like this one.”</p>

From these citations, it appears that Midrash Vayekhulu borrowed text from the lost Midrash Yelammedenu, and perhaps, from another TP source, and inserted changes in some of the sections.

3 The Main Theory: How the Two Midrashim Are Related

At this point, I should like to present my main theory regarding the relationship between the two midrashim. A thorough study of the parallels between the two midrashim brings to light a fact that has not been recognized in previous studies, namely that some of the changes in Midrash Vayekhulu constitute tendentious adaptations of Midrash Yelammedenu. Further, when comparing the two midrashim, it emerges that Midrash Vayekhulu includes several halakhic issues and customs that do not have parallels in Midrash Yelammedenu. The most important finding is that some of these customs noted in Midrash Vayekhulu are also found in other adapted works, such as the adapted Talmud Yerushalmi. I shall present several examples in order to elucidate this point.

The biblical verse “Who has counted the dust of Jacob” (Num 23:10) is cited in both Midrash Yelammedenu and Midrash Vayekhulu in a lengthy, two-part exegesis:

TABLE 9.8A A look at Numbers 23:10

Vayekhulu (In Perush ha-Rokeach) ^a	Yelammedenu (In Yalkut Shimoni) ^b
<p>[מי מנה עפר יעקב (במ' כג י'), בויכולו כי י' מצות מקיימים [בעפר], יצא לחרוש לא תחרוש בשור וחמור (דב' כב י'), בא לזרוע שדך לא תזרע כלאים (וי' יט י'), בא לאכול פושט י' אצבעות לפני הקב"ה שמלמדין עליו סניגוריא, אומר ריבוני הרי י' אצבעות לפניך אינם טועמות כלום עד שיקיימו י' מצוות בעפר, ופורס בב' ידי המוציא ומברך י' תיבות בברכת המוציא וכן י' תיבות מצמיח חציר לבהמה ועשב לעבדת האדם להוציא לחם מן הארץ (תה' קד יד).</p>	<p>מי מנה עפר יעקב (במ' כג י'), בוא וראה כמה מצות ישראל עושין בעפר א"ר מאיר הפחות מישראל אינו עובר לו יום שאינו עושה את המצות, וחשבון הוא אלא שלא נטריח, ושלמה צווה כפלח הרמון רקתך [...] תדע לך שכן א"ר יהודה בן רבי שלום אפילו הדיט שבהדיוטות אינו פושט פרוסה לתוך פיו עד שעושה מצות, כיצד יצא לחרוש הוא מקיים לא תחרוש בשור ובחמור, בא לזרוע הוא מקיים לא תזרע כרמך כלאים, בא לקצור הוא מקיים לקט שכחה ופאה, בא לדוש הוא מקיים לא תחסום שור בדישו, העמידה כרי הוא מקיים מצות התרומה ומעשר ראשון ומעשר שני, בא לאפותה הוא מקיים מצות חלה הרי עשר מצות, ולא (עשה) [עוד] אלא כיון שהוא בא לאכול הוא פושט שתי ידי ליטול לידים. מה טעם אלא שהוא פושטן לפני הקב"ה והן מלמדין עליו סניגוריא, אמר ליה רבוני הרי עשר אצבעות לפניך אינם טועמות עד שיתקיימו עשר מצוות בעפר, לפיכך אמר בלעם בני אדם שעושין כמה מצות בעפר מי יכול לקללן, הה"ד מי מנה עפר יעקב (במ' כג י').</p>
<p>“Who has counted the dust of Jacob” (Num 23:10). In Vayekhulu: as they fulfill ten commandments [in the dust], [if one] goes out to plow, he fulfills “You shall not plow with an ox and an ass together” (Deut 22:10); he goes to sow, he fulfills “You shall not sow your field with two kinds of seed.” (Lev 19:19); when he come to eat, he spread ten fingers before the Holy One Blessed Be He, which give a good testimony about him.</p>	<p>“Who has counted the dust of Jacob” (Num 23:10). Come and see how many commandments the Israelites fulfill with dust. Rabbi Meir said: even the lesser of Israel does not let a day pass in which he does not fulfill the commandments, and it is a calculation which we will not bother with it now. And Solomon said “Your temples are like a pomegranate split open [...]” (Song 6:7) [...] know that this is [so], as Rabbi Yehuda son of Rabbi Shalom</p>

a Perush ha-Rokeach Al Ha-Torah 3:95 (Num 23:10).

b Yalkut Shimoni 4:490 (Num 23:10), 4:766–767.

TABLE 9.8A A look at Numbers 23:10 (*cont.*)

Vayekhulu (In Perush ha-Rokeach)

He says: My Lord, here are ten fingers before you, that do not taste anything before fulfilling ten commandments in the dust. And he **cuts** the bread with his two hands and blesses ten words in the blessing of *hamotsi*, and also ten words in the blessing “He who grows grass for the cattle, and herb for the service of man to bring forth bread out of the earth” (Ps 104:14).

Yelammedenu (In Yalkut Shimoni)

said: Even the lest of the *hediot*es does not slice a slice of bread [and puts it] into his mouth before he fulfills commandments. How is it? When he goes out to plow, he fulfills “You shall not plow with an ox and an ass together” (Deut 22:10); he goes to sow, he fulfills “You shall not sow your vineyard with two kinds of seed” (Deut 22:9); he goes to cut the harvest, he fulfills “gleaning the harvest,” “forgotten sheaf,” and “corner of the field”; he goes to thresh, he fulfills “You shall not muzzle the ox when he treads out the corn” (Deut 25:4); he puts it in the container, he fulfills the commandment of “donation,” “first tithing,” and “second tithing.” He goes to bake it; he fulfills the commandment of *hallah*. Thus you have ten commandments, and not only this, when he come to eat, he **spread** his two hand to wash them before the meal. What is the reason for this? He spreads them before the Holy One, Blessed Be He, and they give a good testimony of him, he tells Him: My Lord, here are ten finger before you, that do not taste [anything] before fulfilling ten commandments in the dust. This is why Balaam said: people who fulfill so many commandments in the dust,

TABLE 9.8B Another look at Num 23:10

Vayekhulu (In Perush ha-Rokeach)	Yelammedenu (In Yalkut Shimoni)
<p>ועוד במדרש ויכולו מי מנה עפר יעקב שני שדייד כשני עפרים (שה"ש ד ה) אדם עסוק בדב(ו)ר עם חבירו ומתוך משא ומתן שלו (ו) מגדף את חבירו, בא לו אצל הזקן הוא מפשיט ומקפל בגדיו לאחוריו ומלקהו ונותן פיו בעפר ומנשק רגליו של זקן ושכרו של זה אתה יכול למנות, וכן לבוש בגדיו של שבת ושל מועד ונכנס ומתאבק בעפר לשמוע זקן בדברי תורה, הוא שיעקב אומר ליששכר מי גרם לך להיות בן תורה שאתה רובץ בן המשפתיים (בר' מט יד).</p>	<p>דבר אחר אמר לו מי יכול למנות שכרן של בחורי ישראל כענין שנאמר שני שדיך כשני עפרים (שה"ש ד ה), אדם עסוק בדבר עם חבירו ומתוך משא ומתן שלו גורם לו והוא מגדף, מיד בא לו אצל הזקן והוא מפשיטו על הספסל ומכה אותו, ומשהוא לוקה הולך ונותן פיו בעפר ומנשק רגליו של זקן ושכרו של זה אתה יכול למנות, וכן לובש בגדים של שבת ושל מועד ונכנס ומתאבק בעפר לשמוע לזקן ולשמוע דברי תורה, הוא שיעקב אמר ליששכר מי גרם לך להיות בן תורה שאתה רובץ בעפר ובאשפתות. יששכר חמור גרם (בר' מט יד), למה שרובץ בין המשפתיים (בר' מט יד), אמר הקב"ה לישראל בעולם הזה אתם מקיימין את המצות בעפר אף אני התנערי מעפר קומי שבי ירושלים (יש' נב ב), וכתוב מקים מעפר דל מאשפות ירים אביון וגו' (ש"א ב ח).</p>

And more [is found] in Midrash Vayekhulu: "Who has counted the dust of Jacob?" (Num 23:10), "You two breasts are like two fawns" (Song 4:5). A man is speaking with his friend, and from negotiating he reviles his friend, then he comes to an elder, he folds his cloths backwards, and he [i.e., the elder] hits him, and puts [i.e., the man] dust in his mouth, and he kisses the feet of the elder. Can you evaluate the reward [for piousness] of this person? And also: he is dressed in festive cloths, and enters [into the synagogue] and wallows in the dust of their feet in order to hear an elder saying words of Torah. This is what Jacob said to Issachar: How are you made to be a son of the Torah? In that you are "couching down between the sheep-folds" (Gen 49:14).

Another interpretation: who can count the [reasons for] reward of the young men of Israel, as it says "You two breasts are like two fawns" (Song 4:5). A man is busy with his friend, and negotiating makes him revile [his friend]. Right away he comes to an elder, and he lays him on a bench and hits him, and after he gets hit, he [i.e., the man] puts his mouth to the dust and kisses the feet of the elder. Can you evaluate the reward [for piousness] of this person? And also: he wears the cloths of Shabbat and of the festivals, and enters [into the synagogue] and wallows in the dust of their feet in order to hear an elder saying words of Torah. This is what Jacob said to Issachar: How are you made to be a son of the Torah? In that you are couching down in the dust and in the rubbish.

TABLE 9.8B Another look at Num 23:10 (*cont.*)

Vayekhulu (In Perush ha-Rokeach)

Yelammedenu (In Yalkut Shimoni)

“Issachar is a large-boned ass”
 (Gen 49:14), why is it? Because he is
 “couching down between the sheep-folds”
 (Gen 49:14). The Holy One Blessed Be
 he said to Israel: in this world you are
 fulfilling the commandments of the dust,
 also I will [do] “Shake yourself from the
 dust; arise, and sit down, O Jerusalem”
 (Isa 52:2) and it also says: “Who raises up
 the poor out of the dust, and lifts up the
 needy out of the dunghill” (1 Sam 2:8).

(Perush ha-Rokeach, Strasbourg MS 4037):

מי מנה עפר יעקב (במ' כג י) במדרש ויכלו י
 מצות מקיימין בעפר לא תחרוש לא תזרע לקט
 שכחה ופאה לא תחסם תרומה מעשר ראשון
 מעשר שני חלה אינן טוענין [=טועמים] כלום
 עד שיקיימו י מצות בעפר וכן לובש בגדיו של
 שבת ושל מועד ונכנס ומתאבק בעפר לשמוע
 לחכם בדברי תורה כך היא דרכה של תורה
 על הארץ תשכב וכו' (משנה אבות ו, ד) זהו
 מה שאמ' יעקב ליששכר מי גרם לך להיות בן
 תורה שאתה רובץ בין המשפטים מי מנה עפר
 יעקב ישר' הן יורדין עד עפר וישימם כעפר
 לדוש יתן בעפר פיהו התנערי מעפר מקים
 מעפר דל. כמה מצות עושין בעפר וכסהו בעפר
 מעפר שריפת החטאת ומן העפר אשר יהיה
 בקרקע המשכן וטומנין המילה בעפר.

“Who has counted the dust of Jacob”

(Num 23:10). In Midrash Vayekhulu:
 [They fulfill] ten commandments in the
 dust. “You shall not plow” (Deut 22:10);
 “You shall not sow” (Deut 22:9); “glean-
 ing the harvest,” “forgotten sheaf,” and
 “corner of the field”; “You shall not
 muzzle” (Deut 25:4); “donation,”

TABLE 9.8B Another look at Num 23:10 (*cont.*)

Vayekhulu (In Perush ha-Rokeach)

Yelammedenu (In Yalkut Shimoni)

“first tithing,” “second tithing”; *hallah*.
 They taste nothing, until they fulfill ten commandments with the dust. And also: [A man] wears the cloths of Shabbat and of the festivals, and enters [into the synagogue] and wallows in the dust [of their feet] in order to hear a sage [saying] the words of Torah. “This is the way of the Torah: you should lie on the dust, [and eat a piece of bread and salt, and drink only a small amount of water” ...] (mAv 6:4) This is what Jacob said to Issachar: How are you made to be a Torah scholar? In that you are “couching down between the sheep-folds” (Gen 49:14). “Who has counted the dust of Jacob” (Num 23:10). The Israelites descent to the dust, “and made them like the dust in threshing” (2 Kgs 13:7); “Let him put his mouth in the dust” (Lam 3:29); “Shake yourself from the dust” (Is 52:2); “Who raises up the poor out of the dust” (Ps 113:7). How many commandments they do with the dust! “and cover it with dust” (Lev 17:13); “They shall take of the ashes of the burning of the purification from sin” (Num 19:17); “and of the dust that is on the floor of the tabernacle” (Lev 5:17); **and they bury the foreskin in the dust.**

The source of the first part (Table 9.8a) is the Yerushalmi. This section covers two topics: the 10 *mitzvot* regarding bread that Israel [Jews] must perform using sand; and the spreading of the 10 fingers in a blessing as a symbol of these 10 *mitzvot*. Both appear in Vayekhulu and in Yelammedenu. The name of Rabbi Isaac to whom the first saying is attributed in the Yerushalmi is omitted in both midrashim. In Vayekhulu, however, there is a small addition

that states that he who breaks bread does so with 10 fingers. This passage does not appear in Yelammedenu. This addition does not appear in our text of the Yerushalmi (Table 9.9, middle column). It may, however, be found in a quotation in Ashkenaz and attributed to the Yerushalmi (Table 9.9, right-hand column):

TABLE 9.9 Ten fingers

Vayekhulu (In Perush ha-Rokeach) ^a	Yerushalmi (Hallah) ^b	Yerushalmi (in Sefer Ravyah) ^c
... בא לאכול פושט י' אצבעות לפני הקב"ה שמלמדין עליו סנגוריא, אומר ריבוני הרי י' אצבעות לפניך אינם טועמות כלום עד שיקיימו י' מצוות בעפר, ופורס בב' ידי המוציא ומברך י' תיבות בברכת המוציא ...	עשר מצות אדם עושה עד שלא יאכל פרוסה משום לא תחרוש בל תזרע בל תחסום לקט שכחה ופיאה תרומה ומעשר ראשון ומעשר שני וחלה. ר' יצחק בידו אתי מיסב לידיו הוא פשט עשרתי אצבעתי ואמ' הרי קיימתי עשר מצוות.	דגרסינן <בחלה> ירושלמי <סוף פרק ראשון> עשר מצות אדם עושה עד שלא יאכל הפרוסה משום בל תחרוש בל תגרע תחסום מפריש לקט שכחה ופאה מפריש תרומה ומעשר ראשון ומעשר שני וחלה. אמר רבי יצחק כד אתי ומיסב לידיו הוא פשיט עשרת אצבעתיה ופורס ואמר הרי קיימתי עשר מצות. [ומכאן שצריך אדם לפרוס בעשר אצבעות המוציא: אבי מורי.]
When he is about to eat, he spread, before God, ten finger that advocate for him; he says: my Lord, here before you are my ten fingers, which will not taste anything before the fulfill ten commandments which are connected to the earth. He then cuts the bread with both hands ,	A person fulfills ten commandments even before he eats a slice of bread, those of "you shall not plow [...]," "do not plant [...]," "do not block," the gleaning of the harvest, the forgotten sheaf, reaping the corner of the field, donation, the first tithing, the second tithing, and the leaving aside the Hallah portion. Rabbi	As we learned in Yerushalmi Hallah [at the end of the first chapter], a person fulfills ten commandments even before he eats a slice of bread, those of do not plow, do not diminish (should probably by do not sow'), [do not] block, setting aside the portions of "gleaning the harvest," "forgotten

a See Perush ha-Rokeach Al Ha-Torah 3:95 (Num 23:10).

b See jHal 1:6, 58a.

c See R. Eliezer b. Joel HaLevi, *Sefer Ravyah* (Jerusalem: Mekhon Hari Fishel, 2003), 2:396 (= Lulav 691).

TABLE 9.9 Ten fingers (*cont.*)

Vayekhulu (In Perush ha-Rokeach Rokeach)	Yerushalmi (Hallah)	Yerushalmi (in Sefer Ravyah)
and says the blessing of <i>hamotsi</i> , which has ten words.	Yitzhak [says]: In his hand [he marks]. [When he] comes to sit down to eat, he extends his hand and ten fingers and says: "Behold, I have fulfilled ten commandments!"	sheaf," and "corner of the field," setting aside the 'donation', 'first tithing,' and "second tithing," and the "hallah." Rabbi Yitzhak [says]: When he comes to sit down to eat, he extends his hand and ten fingers and cuts [the bread] and says: "Behold, I have fulfilled ten commandments!". {From this we learn that a person should cut the bread with his ten fingers [and bless the blessing of] <i>hamotsi</i> . [In the name of] my father and teacher.}

This "Yerushalmi," quoted by medieval Ashkenazic scholars (*rishonim*), among them the authors of the Ravyah, the Rokeach and the Or Zarua, is an adaptation of the Yerushalmi used in Ashkenaz, which Avigdor Aptowitzter called "Sefer Yerushalmi."²⁵ The copy of this Yerushalmi includes tendentious adaptations regarding matters of halakhah and custom. Yaacov Sussmann discovered several fragments of this Yerushalmi in the European Genizah and proved that it existed in Ashkenaz.²⁶ The important discovery here is that Midrash Vayekhulu includes the same adaptation that is found in the "Adapted Yerushalmi" (as I will now call it). In this case, we may conclude that Midrash Vayekhulu adapted

25 See Avigdor Aptowitzter, *Introduction to Sefer Ravyah* (Jerusalem: Mekize Nirdamim, 1918), 275–277, and references noted there.

26 Yaacov Sussmann, "Yerushalmi Fragments – An Ashkenazi Manuscript: Notes toward a Solution to the Riddle of Sefer Yerushalmi" [in Hebrew], *Kobez al Yad* NS 12 (1994): 1–120.

Midrash Yelammedenu in the same manner that the Adapted Yerushalmi adapted the Talmud Yerushalmi.

The second part of this exegesis (Table 9.8b) describes young Israelite men crawling in the sand in order to fulfill the commandments. This section in Vayekhulu and in Yelammedenu has linguistic parallels. However, at the end of the section in Vayekhulu (according to the citation in MS Strasbourg and in the Rokeach),²⁷ there is an addition that is not found in Yelammedenu, despite the fact that it appears in Yalkut Shimoni in a continuous manner, according to which Israelites “bury their foreskins in the sand.” This addition recalls the custom practiced in the Land of Israel as opposed to Babylonia, where foreskins were put in the water, as is cited in the *Sefer ha-Hillukim she-bein anshei mizrach u-benei Erez Yisrael* (17):

א"מ [=אנשי מזרח] מוהלין במים ונותנין על פניהם, >מהדא דכתיב: וארחצך במים (יח' טז ט), <ובני א"י [=ארץ ישראל] מוהלין בעפר, מן הדא: גם <את > בדם בריתך שלחתי אסיריך מבור אין מים בו (זכ' ט יא).²⁸

The people of the east [i.e., Babylonia] put the foreskin in water, and put it on their face, <learning it from what it says “Then washed I you with water” (Ez 16:9)>, and the people of the Land of Israel bury the foreskin in dust, [learning] from this verse: “As for thee also, because of the blood of thy covenant I send forth thy prisoners out of the pit wherein is no water” (Zech 9:11).

In this case, apparently the author of Midrash Vayekhulu added a practice, which he wished to encourage, to the section from Midrash Yelammedenu, and thus he adapted it tendentiously.

Another excerpt from Midrash Vayekhulu (Table 9.10) states that one must be exact in reading the word *uzekharterem* (“and you shall remember”) when reciting the *Shema* in order that it not be heard as *usekharterem* (“and you shall be paid”):

27 Rabbi Elazar of Worms, *Sefer ha-Rokeach*, ed. Shneerson (Jerusalem 1960), 108, p. 60: “במדרש ויכולו: 'מי מנה עפר יעקב' (במ' כג י) – שישראל מטמינין ערלתן בעפר”.

28 Mordecai Margaliyot, *Sefer ha-Hillukim she-bein anshei mizrach u-benei Erez Yisrael* (Jerusalem: Reuven Mas, 1938), 125–127.

TABLE 9.10 *Uzekhartem and Usekhartem*

Vayekhulu (In Rokeach) ^a	Yerushalmi (Berakhot) ^b	Adapted Yerushalmi
במדרש ויכולו "אם בחו" קוטי" – "וזכרתם את כל מצות ה" (במ' טו לט), צריך לדקדק פן יקרא ושכרתם.	אלו צריך דיקדוק... רבי לוי רבי אבדימ' דחיפ' בשם ר' לוי בר סיסי צר"י להתזיז למען תזכרו. ר' יונה בשם רב חסדא צר"י להתזיז כי לעולם חסדו.	In Machzor Vitry: ^c וצריך להתזיז זיזין של שלא יהא נשמע תשכרו. תזכרו דמשמע על מנת לקבל פרס. תלמוד ירושלמי: In Rokeach: ^d תזכרו צריך להתזיז' של תזכרו, בירושלמי שלא יהא כאומר תשכרו דמשמע עשו בעבור שכר.
In Midrash Vayekhulu: "If you follow my rules," [regarding the verse] "and you remember [uzkhartem] all the commandments of the Lord" (Num 15:39), one should make sure to pronounce it accurately, lest they read "and you shall be rewarded" [uskhartem].	These need to be made sure of [...]. Rabbi Levi [and] Rabbi Avdimi from Haifa in the name of Rabbi Levi son of Sisi, one should spit out "so that you remember" [tizkeru] (Num 15:40). Rabbi Yonah in the name of Rabbi Hisda: one should spit out "because for ever is His grace" [khasdo] (Ps 136).	In Machzor Vitry: And one should spit out the zayin of "you shall remember" [tizkeru] (Num 15:40) so that it does not sound "you shall be rewarded" [tiskeru], which would mean that [one does it] in order to get a reward. Yerushalmi. In Rokeach: "You shall remember" [tizkeru] (Num 15:40) – one should spit out the z of "you shall remember" [is said in the] Yerushalmi, so that he will not be saying "you shall be rewarded" [tiskeru], which means that they did it to be rewarded.

a Rabbi Elazar of Worms, *Sefer ha-Rokeach*, §320, p. 213.

b jBer 2:3, 4d.

c Simcha b. Shmuel, *Machzor Vitry*, ed. S. Hurwitz (Nürnberg: J. Bulka, 1923), 1:12 (= Machzor Vitry 14).

d *Perush Siddur ha-Thephila la-Rokeach*, ed. Moshe Hershler (Jerusalem: Machon HaRav Hershler, 1992), 1:296.

This citation from Midrash Vayekhulu does not have a parallel in the excerpts from Midrash Yelammedenu. Still, a similar type of exegesis may be found in

Ashkenazic sources that are called “Talmud Yerushalmi” such as Machzor Vitry and a commentary on the prayers by the author of the Rokeach (righthand column), while our text of the Talmud Yerushalmi does not include the explanation regarding paying and remembering.

In this case as well, apparently the text of the Yerushalmi quoted by medieval Ashkenazic scholars is the Adapted Yerushalmi that was in use in Ashkenaz. And once again, Midrash Vayekhulu contains the same adaptation that contains the Adapted Yerushalmi. And again, this adaptation is not found in the quotations from the lost Midrash Yelammedenu.

The third example (Table 9.11) shows how the Adapted Yerushalmi (Column 3) inserted into the Talmud Yerushalmi the custom of reciting Vayekhulu in the repetition of the prayers by the cantor, and thus, saying it three times on the evening of the Sabbath – once as a silent prayer, a second time when it was repeated, and a third time, during the *Kiddush* (sanctification and blessing of the wine). This practice appears in the exact same way in Midrash Vayekhulu. Therefore, Midrash Vayekhulu either is based upon the Adapted Yerushalmi or explains it. This practice also is cited in Midrash Shokher Tov, which was known in Ashkenaz but not in our text of Midrash Tehillim (and not in the Buber edition). In contrast, the quotations from Yelammedenu do not mention this practice:²⁹

TABLE 9.11 Recitation of Vayekhulu

Vayekhulu (In Rokeach) ^a	Yerushalmi (Berakhot) ^b	Adapted Yerushalmi	“Shokher Tov”
ומסיק רבא במדרש ויכולו ג' פעמים חייב אדם לומר [ויכולו] בשבת, אחד בתפלה ואחד לאחר התפלה ואחד על הכוס	אמר רבי יוסי בר' נהיגין תמן במקום שאין יין שליח ציבור עובר לפני התיבה ואומר ברכה אחת מעין שבע ...	In Sefer Ravyah, Berakhot, 141: ^c א"ר יוסי ברבי נהיגון תמן במקום שאין יין שליח צבור עובר לפני התיבה ואומר ויכולו השמים וכו' ואומר ברכה אחת מעין שבע ...	In Sefer Ravyah, Shabbat, 196: ^d מה שנהגו לומר ג' פעמים ויכולו, [בתפלה ו]לאחר התפלה [ועל הכוס], בשחר טוב

a Rabbi Elazar of Worms, *Sefer ha-Rokeach*, ed. Shneerson (Jerusalem 1960), 40, p. 49.

b jBer 81, 11d.

c Sefer Ravyah, Berakhot, 141, 1128.

d Ibid., 241.

29 About the reciting of Vayekhulu on Friday evening, see Israel M. Ta-Shma, *Minhag Ashkenaz ha-kadmon* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1999), 166–167.

TABLE 9.11 Recitation of Vayekhulu (*cont.*)

Vayekhulu (In Rokeach)	Yerushalmi (Berakhot)	Adapted Yerushalmi	“Shokher Tov”
		In Sefer Ravyah, Shabbat, 196: ^e ומיהו בירושלמי משמע שעיקרו של ויכולו נתקן לומר במקום שאין יין, דגרסינן בירושלמי במסכת ברכות ... אמר ר' יוסי נהגו תמן ... ומיהו העם נהגו לומר ויכולו אפי' [במקום שיש יין], טסמכו על האגדה שחייב לומר ג' פעמים ויכולו בשבת.	יליף לה דג' אשר כתיבי בפרשת ויכולו וג' אשר כתיבי בתחלת פרשת פרה מלמד שכל האומר ג' פעמים ויכולו כפרה לכל עונותיו וכאלו קיים כל התורה. ושמעתי דבמדרש שוחר טוב אמרינן דחייב אדם לומר ויכולו ג' פעמים בשבת אחד אומר בתפלה וכן כתוב בתורתך ויכולו וג' והשני לאחר התפלה ושלישי על הכוס.
And Rava draws a conclusion in Midrash Vayekhulu: a man has to say three time “[and the heaven and the earth] fin- ished” (Gen 2:1) on Saturday, one in the prayer, and once after the prayer, and once when blessing over the wine.	Rabbi Yossi be-Rebbi [said]: There, in a place where there is no wine, the cantor who prays in the ark and says the seven-faceted blessing [...]	In Sefer Ravyah, Berakhot, 141: Rabbi Yossi be- Rebbi says: It is the custom there: in a place where there is no wine, the cantor prays before the ark and says “and the heaven [and the earth] finished” (Gen 2:1) etc. and says the seven faceted blessing. In Sefer Ravyah, Shabbat, 196:	In Sefer Ravyah, Shabbat, 196: What is it regard- ing the custom to say three time “and they finished” [dur- ing and] after the prayer [over the cup]? In Shokher Tov they teach that the three times which is written in the pericop of Vayekhulu and the three times which is written in the

^e Sefer Ravyah, Shabbat, 196, 1:242.

TABLE 9.11 Recitation of Vayekhulu (*cont.*)

Vayekhulu (In Rokeach)	Yerushalmi (Berakhot)	Adapted Yerushalmi	“Shokher Tov”
		<p>And however in the Palestinian Talmud means that the essence of “[and the heaven and earth] finished” (Gen 2:1) was established to say in a place where there is no wine, as they say in the Yerushalmi tractate Berakhot [...] Rabbi Yossi said they had the conduct there [...] and however, the people used to say “finished” even [in a place where there was wine], as they trusted the Aggadah that one has to say “finished” three times on Saturday.</p>	<p>beginning of the pericope of Parah teaches that whoever says three times “and they finished” is atoned (<i>kaparah</i>) for all his sins, and it is as if he upholds all the Torah. And I heard that in the Midrash Shokher Tov they say that a person must say “and they finished” three times on Shabbat, once in the prayer “and so it is written in your Torah, ‘and they finished’ etc.”, and the second [time] after the prayer, and the third [time] during the blessing over the cup.</p>

4 Conclusion

In conclusion, there are definitely parallels between the quotations from Midrash Vayekhulu and those from the lost Midrash Yelammedenu. A thorough study of these citations, however, suggests that Midrash Vayekhulu adapts

its sources in a tendentious manner, which is similar to the adaptations of the Adapted Yerushalmi and other adapted works (such as the MS Erfurt of the Tosefta and the Scholion of Megillat Taanit).³⁰ These adaptations do not appear in the extant excerpts of Yelammedenu and, as far as I know, they are not found in other TY midrashim. Therefore, it seems that these tendentious adaptation followed the latter stage of the TY midrashim, and it is likely that they occurred toward the end of the 10th century.³¹

I have come across similar tendentious adaptation in other lost aggadic midrashim known only in Ashkenaz, a phenomenon that is parallel to what is found in the Adapted Yerushalmi. According to my research, the origin of these adaptations is Southern Italy, as in the case of Midrash Avkir and Midrash Tehillim (Buber edition). These midrashim include adaptations of the earlier midrashim that were their sources, and similar adaptations are found in the Adapted Yerushalmi or, to be more exact, the network of adapted works. I have shown a detailed example of this in my doctoral dissertation about the practice of flinging the *tzitzit* backwards, which is mentioned in the Avkir and in the Shokher Tov in Ashkenaz and in the Adapted Yerushalmi.³²

Following this exposition, we assume that those who were responsible for the tendentious adaptation of the Adapted Yerushalmi were also responsible for the adaptation of the Yelammedenu in the form found in Midrash Vayekhulu as well as in some additional later midrashim that are related to the TY midrashim.³³

30 Yaacov Sussmann, "Learning Tradition and Text Tradition of the *Yerushalmi*" [in Hebrew], in *Mechkarim ba-sifrut ha-Talmudit*, ed. Shemuel Reem (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1983), 12–76; Yaacov Sussmann, "The Ashkenazi Yerushalmi MS – 'Sefer Yerushalmi'" [in Hebrew], *Tarbiz* 65 (1995): 37–63; Vered Noam, "The *Scholion* to *Megilat Taanit* – Toward an Understanding of Its Stemma" [in Hebrew], *Tarbiz* 62 (1992): 55–99; Vered Noam, *Megilat Taanit – Versions, Interpretation, History* [in Hebrew] (Jerusalem: Yad ben Zvi, 2003), 386–391.

31 Geula, *Lost Aggadic Works*, 1:291–336.

32 *Ibid.*, 1:308–315.

33 For more on midrashic works in Southern Italy, see Geula, *Lost Aggadic Works*, 321–336; and Amos Geula, "Midrashim compositi nell'Italia meridionale," in *Gli ebrei nel Salento*, ed. Fabrizio Lelli (Galatina: Congedo editore, 2013), 43–74.