The Evolution of a Talmudic Formula

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One of the most common strategies for differentiating between the different layers in the Babylonian Talmud is distinguishing between attributed statements and the anonymous editorial layer of the Bavli’s redactors. Aside from being anonymous, the redactional material is

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characterized by its use of distinct phrases and formulas, some of which are adapted from those found in earlier strata. By tracing the evolving syntax and use of one such phrase, it may be possible to further distinguish between earlier and later redactional layers and trace developments in the formulation of sugyot through the course of what are apparently different generations of redactional activity.

This article focuses on a question-answer formula which is found only in the Bavli “X (ploni) Haynu Tanna Qamma / Y? Icka beinaihu…” (PHTQIB), “[The opinion of] X is [identical to] the first opinion of the mishnah or baraita/Y? [No,] there is [a difference] between them…” This phrase compares two opinions appearing in a mishnah or baraita, one of which is usually the first, objecting that the two are essentially the same, and then offering a distinction between them. I will trace the development of this phrase, from what appears to be its first appearance in amoraic discourse as part of a dynamic exchange between two Amoraim, to its frequent use in the redactional strata where it becomes a formulaic rhetorical device—a stock phrase used to structure a statement in the form of a question and answer.

Manfred (Meir) Fulda explored this phrase four decades ago in his comprehensive study on the topic, offering critical analyses of all its eighty occurrences in the Bavli, and concluding that it is a post-amoraic term that reflects post-amoraic conceptions of the structure and redaction of the Mishnah. Moving beyond his findings, I examine this phrase on a more granular level, tracing its development and different usages within the various strata of the Bavli—from amoraic to redactional.

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Manfred Fulda, “Studies in the ‘Haynu Tanna Qamma’ and ‘Peloni Haynu Peloni’ sugyot: An Analysis of their Nature, Composition, and Approach to the Mishnah” (Yeshiva University, 1979). This study therefore does not shed light on the issue of “Stam Kadum,” more on this below.

As will be shown, the meaning of PHTQIB and its function within the sugya are indicative of the stage of formation at which it was incorporated. In earlier strata, it is employed as part of a larger argument which rejects or supports amoraic (and sometimes anonymous) positions. PHTQIB is used in this manner by the fourth-generation amora Rava, and this context appears to be the original setting for the formula since it both relates to the larger sugya and (arguably) makes a point justified by the tannaitic sources. At this point “X haynu Tanna Qamma” may instead appear as “X haynu Y” where Y is a sage cited later in the mishnah/baraita. In the next stage, PHTQIB appears as an independent discussion, which can be easily detached from the surrounding sugya. Often, the question itself seems to be unwarranted. At this stage, the title “Tanna Qamma” is an integral element in the formula and maintains its literal meaning as the first (usually anonymous) opinion in a mishnah or baraita. In ostensibly later anonymous strata, PHTQIB has become a standard formula serving as a stock rhetorical device such that the title “Tanna Qamma” no longer carries its literal meaning but can now refer to any tannaitic opinion.

The progression of this phrase from a natural and malleable dialogical element within a sugya to an artificial fixed rhetorical device indicates that later stages of the formulation of Bavli sugyot (1) often add on, rather than revise them (2) attempt to preserve the appearance of dialogue, and (3) may do so by reproducing existing rhetorical formulations, even when they do not fit well within the new context.

**A Yerushalmi precursor?**
PHTQIB is absent from the Yerushalmi, and even ostensible precursors to PHTQIB fail to meet all the criteria that would show them to be the Palestinian precedents. While statements such as “ameru davar ehad” and “atyə derabbi Ploni ki-rabbi Almoni” in the Yerushalmi, ostensibly express a similar idea, it becomes apparent that PHTQIB possesses a more narrow meaning. In one instance where atya appears, y.Er 4.5, 22a, the

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3 Fulda argues that almost every occurrence of PHTQIB is unwarranted.
4 See Appendix 1 for a parallel Bavli and Yerushalmi sugya with the major difference being that the latter lacks PHTKIB.
parallel sugya in b.Er 45b, 48a contains PHTQIB in its stead. If atya and PHTQIB have the same meaning, then it is possible that atya is a precursor to PHTQIB. Both sugyot appear as discussions on m.Er. 4:5:

משנה: מי שישן בדרכו ולא ידע עד שחשיכה ייך אלפים אמות לכל חור דברי
רבי יהונתן בן נורי.
והכמה? ארבעים ואחת אלפים ארבע אמות.
ר' אלעזר אומר, יהוד מסמא ברר ולשים.
ר' יהודה אומר, לא יצדוק ר' יהודה יהוד סמא ברר ולשים.

Mishnah: He who fell asleep on the road [Friday before sundown], and did not know until it had become dark, has [the right to move] two thousand amot in any direction—these are the words of R. Johanan b. Nuri.
The Sages say: ‘he only has four amot’.
R. Eleazer says: he is in the middle (of the four amot—i.e. he has only two amot in each direction).
R. Judah says: ‘He can go in whichever direction he wants’. And R. Judah agrees that once he chooses [a direction] for himself, he may not go back on it.

The mishnah presents a series of opinions regarding how far one may move during the course of the Sabbath if he is asleep at its onset and therefore does not actively establish a Sabbath residence to create his travelling boundary limit. R. Johanan b. Nuri permits up to 2,000 amot in any direction, while the sages grant him only four amot. R. Eleazer and R. Judah seem to debate the parameters of the Sage’s four amot; R. Eleazer explains that the four amot allows only two amot in each direction, while R. Judah allows him to walk four amot in any one direction he chooses.

5 [יילך] absent from y.Er. 4:5 (both MS Leiden and printed editions), m.Er 4:5 MS Parma, Biblioteca Palatina-3171 (138).
6 Following MS Kaufmann A-50.

The Bavli and Yerushalmi each record the following discussion on this mishnah:

**Yerushalmi**

He who fell asleep on the road, and did not know until it had become dark etc.’. R. Zeira in the name of R. Hisdai: R. Johanan’s b. Nuri’s reasons is; **were he to be awake (when the Sabbath commenced), he would have acquired Sabbath residence, if he is sleeping he does not**

**Bavli**

A. (45b) Rava enquired what does R. Johanan b. Nuri maintain? Does he hold that ownerless objects acquire residence, and it would be proper to disagree regarding vessels, and they only disagrees regarding a [sleeping] person to inform you how far the sages view extends; **for although it”

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7 Text from Sussman, pp. 471–2.
8 [תורובא ... נורי] absent from Vilna and Venice editions. This line will be addressed below.
not acquire residence and he only has 2,000 *amot* in every direction. may be argued that ‘since a man who is awake acquires [residence]. One sleeping should also acquire [residence]’, and so we are informed that no [not to distinguish between a sleeping person and an ownerless object]. Or perhaps R. Johanan b. Nuri holds that generally ownerless object do not acquire residence and here the reason (the sleeper acquires residence) is because a man awake acquires residence, so does a man who is asleep…

b. R. Judah said: even if he was awake and did not acquire residence he only has 2,000 *amot* in every direction.

c. R. Judah is like R. Johanan b. Nuri (and more than R. Johanan b. Nuri) for R. Johanan b. Nuri said: were he awake, he would acquire residence, if he is awakened and does not acquire residence, he only has 2,000 *amot* in every direction.

C. (48b) The Sages say: he only has four… R. Judah is [of the same opinion as] the first view of the mishnah? Rava said: Eight [cubits] by eight [cubits] is the difference between them.

The sugyot are clearly parallel:⁹ They both begin by explaining the logic behind the ruling of R. Johanan b. Nuri in similar manners (A, a).

⁹ There is much discussion on the relationship between the Bavli and Yerushalmi, and whether the former had a so-called “Talmud Kadum”, proto-version of the Yerushalmi as several scholars contend (see e.g. Shamma Yehuda Friedman, *Talmud Arukh: BT Bava Mezi’a VI, Text: Critical Edition with Comprehensive Commentary*, vol. II [Yerushalayim: The Jewish Theological Seminary Press, 2014], 13–16) or whether the Bavli redactor’s possessed tractates of the
Although, as is often the case, the Bavli discussion is more complex, it similarly argues that one who is awake and thus able to acquire residence, cannot be compared to one asleep. After citing the opinion of R. Judah, the Yerushalmi links his views with that of R. Johanan b. Nuri (section c.), asserting: *ata deRabbi Yudah ke-Rabbi Yohanan*. In the Bavli (C), the view of R. Judah is likewise connected with what is referred to as the first opinion of the mishnah, but only three folio later in its discussion of the sages’ opinion, and in this instance the association is formulated as an inquiry: "ר' יהודא ור'ヨハンן על אמה קמה".

Despite the apparent similarities between these two phrases, there are significant differences, including whom R. Yehuda is associated with. While “R. Judah is like the *Tanna Qamma*”, presumably refers to R. Johanan b. Nuri, who appears as the first opinion cited in the mishnah as in the Yerushalmi, it is nevertheless clear that the comparison is being made to the Sages. This is evident both from the heading which precedes this question (i.e. the opinion of the Sages) and that the opinion of R. Judah is not mentioned during the extensive discussion of R. Johanan’s ruling, but appears only in the context of the Sages’ opinion. The opinion of R. Judah is rather understood unrelated to R. Johanan b. Nuri. Indeed, the medieval commentary of Rashi explains that “*Tanna Qamma*” refers to the Sages:

**Yerushalmi (see Alyssa M. Gray, A Talmud in Exile: The Influence of Yerushalmi Avodah Zarah on the Formation of Bavli Avodah Zarah, Brown Judaic Studies; No. 342 (Providence, RI: Brown University, 2005).**


11 Furthermore, b.Er. 46a describes the opinion of R. Johanan b. Nuri as a *yahid*, individual opposed to the *rabim*, many, thus making it clear that his view is unshared by other Tannaim.

12 This is also the view/version of R. Hananel *ad loc.*

He is the Tanna Qamma - R. Judah who says he has four amot in whichever direction he wants, is [of the same opinion as] the Tanna Qamma (i.e.) the Sages who argue with R. Yohanan b. Nuri.

How the opinion of R. Judah is understood and what association is made by these different formulas therefore diverges in the two Talmuds. Leib Moscovitz has examined the term atya, demonstrating its multiple connotations and associations, making its meaning in each case subject to ambiguity.\textsuperscript{13} While it could suggest that two opinions are the same, it also connotes other more complex associations, sometimes even linking opposing views.\textsuperscript{14} Furthermore, the meaning of this particular Yerushalmi sugya is unclear, since the opinion of R. Judah as reported in the sugya bears little resemblance to both his view presented in the mishnah as well as that of R. Johanan b. Nuri.\textsuperscript{15}

Saul Lieberman therefore suggests an alternative explanation of this Yerushalmi, which underscores the difference between atya and the


\textsuperscript{14} See Leib Moscovitz, Ibid. He discusses the term that appears both in the Palestinian and Babylonian Talmuds, ameru davar ehad and how it compares to atya (which only occurs in the Palestinian Talmud), concluding that they are essentially synonyms.

\textsuperscript{15} The various commentaries of the Yerushalmi attempts to clarify this. Korban ha-Eidah ad loc.s.v. ha, alters the Talmudic text, thus explaining R. Johanan b. Nuri’s view as follows: were he awake, he would acquire right of movement, similarly when he is asleep he acquires right of movement, which is parallel to R. Judah’s view cited in the sugya, which states that one who is awake and makes no verbal declaration acquires 2,000 amot in every direction. Pnei Moshe, understands R. Zeira’s explanation of R. Johanan b. Nuri as a question; if one who is awake is able to acquire residence, shouldn’t one who is sleeping acquire it as well?

Bavli’s PHTQIB. Unlike in the Bavli where R. Judah’s opinion in the Mishnah appears to be remarking on the sages, the Yerushalmi’s version of R. Judah’s opinion comments on the ruling of R. Johanan b. Nuri. R. Johanan deems being awake at the onset of the Sabbath more effective in acquiring rights of movement than being asleep. Hence, if one who is awake but makes no verbal declaration acquires 2,000 amot, then one who is asleep can certainly not acquire more than that, but similarly acquires 2,000 amot. R. Judah, by contrast, maintains the opposite: being asleep is more effective than being awake without verbally acquiring a residence. In other words, if one may travel up to 2,000 amot in every direction where one consciously makes no verbal declaration (i.e. when he is awake at the onset of the Sabbath), he may certainly travel 4,000 amot in any direction he chooses if he is asleep when the Sabbath commences and thus his lack of declaration was unintended.

Lieberman further posits that section (c.) cannot be read according to the version of the printed text of the Yerushalmi, but he reconstructs the Yerushalmi based on MS Leiden as follows:

R. Judah is like R. Johanan b. Nuri and more than R. Johanan b. Nuri, for R. Johanan b. Nuri said: were he awake, he would acquire residence, if he is awakened and does not acquire residence, he only has 2,000 amot in every direction. And R. Judah maintains even were he awake and he did not acquire residence, he would only have 2,000 amot in every direction, but now that he is sleeping he has 4,000 [amot].


17  MS Leiden Eruvin contains the line: ורדבבו ר' יוחנן ב נורי, which does not appear in any other known manuscript of the Yerushalmi.

R. Judah is both like R. Johanan b. Nuri and “more than” R. Johanan b. Nuri, for the reason stated above. They are similar in that both agree that the actor, who is awake without verbally acquiring residence, acquires 2,000 amot in every direction. They differ, however, in a case where one is sleeping; R. Judah maintains that one acquires 4,000 amot, whereas R. Johanan b. Nuri limits it to 2,000 amot.

Another difference which arises from Lieberman’s reconstruction of the Yerushalmi, is that atya does not make an absolute association, but rather suggests that the two views share a similar feature, while acknowledging that there are differences between them. This is as opposed to PHTQIB, which asserts that the two views are apparently identical. Furthermore, atya deRabbi Yudah ke-Rabbi Yohanan is not raised as a question, which begs a solution explicating how they are different. It rather functions to point to a similarity between the two opinions. In fact, atya in the Yerushalmi may generally serve as a mnemonic device to aid in memorizing the various views presented in a mishnah.18 In the Bavli, by contrast, PHTQIB spurs further analysis; presenting a challenge that two views seem to be identical and that the mishnah/baraita therefore contains superfluous information, necessitating a distinction to be made between them. Rava resolves this problem of the seeming redundancy by clarifying the difference.19 Accordingly, these parallels suggest that that Yerushalmi sugya likely served as the foundation for the Bavli which the latter reworked; replacing a Yerushalmi term with a Bavli one, likely resulting from the different understandings of R. Judah’s statement, which therefore necessitated the re-ordering of the material due to the new association made.20 Thus while atya may have functioned as the impetus for the Bavli’s placement of PHTQIB in this sugya, the two terms serve differing functions.

19 See below for discussions regarding instances where Amoraim appear to respond to anonymous questions and the issue of “Stam Kadum” along with Rava’s role in talmudic conceptualization.
20 This accords with what Alyssa Grey has described as two of the characteristic ways that the Bavli reworks edited units of Palestinian amoraic material, in her study on the relationship between the Bavli and Yerushalmi tractate Avoda Zara. Gray, A Talmud in Exile, 101, 106–16, 125.
Having established that PHTQIB is a distinctly Babylonian phrase, in the sections that follow we will trace how it is introduced and continues to evolve throughout the Bavli.

**PHTQIB in an Attributed Statement**

PHTQIB by and large appears without attribution in the anonymous redactional strata of the Bavli. In several instances,\(^\text{21}\) the distinction signaled by איכא בינייהו, is attributed to Amoraim—usually with איכא בינייהו following the distinction.\(^\text{22}\) In what seems to be its first appearance, Rava is attributed with issuing the question to his teacher R. Nahman b. Jacob regarding m.Ker. 5:5 (b.Ker. 22b–23a). This is the first (and seemingly only) instance in which this question—along with the very term “Tanna Qamma”\(^\text{23}\)—is attributed to a named sage.\(^\text{24}\)

\(^{21}\) I have found the following: b.Er. 48a (Rava); b.Meg. 6b (R. Papa, discussed below); b.Er 28b (Abaye); b.Ket. 14b (R. Yohanan); b.Ket. 71a (Abaye and Rava, but only Rava states איכא בינייהו); b.Yeb 90a (R. Aha b. R. Ika); b.BM 74a–b (Rava); b.A.Z. 45a–b (Rami b. Hama citing Reish Lakish); b.Zeb. 118a (R. Papa); b.Hul. 75b (R. Kahana); b.Sanh. 12b (Rava); b.Ker. 20a (Rava) b.Meil. 19b (Rava, R. Papa). With the exception of the last passage, in all instances in which the איכא בינייהו is attributed, the distinction precedes איכא בינייהו, as opposed to the later stock formula in which איכא בינייהו precedes the distinction. Some manuscripts of b.Ket. 79b also contain איכא בינייהו attributed to Rava. See also b.Bekh.9b–10a, where איכא בינייהו repeats a distinction attributed to Rava cited earlier in the same passage, and ibid 26a, where Rava is presented as responding to the distinction offered by איכא בינייהו. See Manfred Fulda, “Studies in ‘Haynu Tanna Qamma’”, 17.

\(^{22}\) While such cases could arguably bolster the claim for a “Stam Kadum,” (as discussed by Robert Brody in several recent studies, e.g. Robert Brody, “The Anonymous Talmud and the Words of the Amoraim,” *Igud* 1 (2008): 213–32), it is likely that the redactional question was added later to introduce the amoraic statement issuing a distinction between two rulings. See Friedman, “A Critical Study,” 18–23, see note 42.; Manfred Fulda, “Studies in ‘Haynu Tanna Qamma’”, 58–59, 61–62, 84 who maintains that the “haynu” question is a post-amoraic addition to the distinction offered by the Amoraim. Indeed, even Brody links the “Stam Kadum” to generations after that of Rava and Abaye, and as the above list shows, some of the sages who are presented as responding to “haynu” are earlier Amoraim.

\(^{23}\) Infra nt. 42

A. Mishnah: …If there was a piece of helev and of unconsecrated food, and he ate one of them but does not know which one he ate - he is liable to a suspensive guilt-offering; if he ate the second piece, he is liable to a sin-offering. If he ate one piece and another person came and ate the other, each of them is liable to a suspensive guilt-offering.

B. R. Simeon says: they together bring one sin-offering.

C. R. Jose says: Two people cannot bring one sin-offering.

D. Gemara: Rava said to R. Nahman: According to R. Jose it is only a sin-offering that cannot be brought by two people, [the implication is that] a suspensive-guilt offering can be brought by two people. This is then [the same as] the first opinion of the mishnah? And if you will say that they differ


25 This attribution to R. Akiva is missing from MSS. Kaufman and Cambridge Add.470.1.

26 [דרני מצאו מקרא איה תשמיש אשיש תולים של ה' בה גם דירוה והשון לא דירוה והשון יכ רכשה] MS Oxford-Bodl. Heb. B. 1 (2537) 10–20. In this version, it is unclear who suggests the possible difference between them which is rejected. Other than this instance, this passage has no variations among the text witnesses.

27 MS. Munich אלא.
as to whether one or two pieces is required, but it has been taught: ‘R. Jose maintains that each of them brings a suspensive guilt-offering?

E. [R. Nahman] replied: what it teaches is that R. Jose is the first opinion of the mishnah.

Rava seemingly raises a question to R. Nahman based on an inference he makes concerning the opinion of R. Jose in m.Ker. 5:5. R. Jose only exempts the two actors from bringing a sin offering as R. Simeon requires; he would still, however, require them to each bring a suspensive-guilt offering. Thus, Rava argues that R. Jose "הני תנא קמא", issues the same ruling as the first opinion of the mishnah. A possible difference between them is suggested, by Rava or the redactors, which is immediately rejected. R. Nahman responds to Rava that R. Jose does in

28 Although R. Jose makes no mention of guilt offerings in the mishnah, the Tosefta reports R. Jose as requiring both parties to bring guilt offerings (t.Ker. (Zuckerman), 2:8 and see t.Ker 3:1 which describes the same case as the mishnah in question and refers to the ruling of R. Jose reported in 2:8). This correlates with what has been found to be the general tendency of fourth-generation Amoraim to be influenced by teachings from the Land of Israel (Zvi Dor, Torat Erez Yisrael beBavel (Tel Aviv: Devir, 1971); Richard Kalmin, Jewish Babylonia between Persia and Roman Palestine. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006, 4, see esp. chapter three and his conclusion) along with Rava’s awareness (and espousal) of Palestinian teachings and approaches (Yaakov Elman, “Rava ve-Darkhei ha-Iyyun ha-Eretz Yisraeliyot be-Midrash ha-Halakhah,” in Merkaz u-Tefutzah: Eretz Yisrael veha-Tefutzot bi-Ymei Bayit Sheni, ha-Mishnah veha-Talmud, ed. Isaiah Gafni [Jerusalem: Merkaz Shazar, 2004], 217–42).
Fulda, however, argues that Rava likely did not state "הני תנא קמא", since the inference made regarding R. Jose (i.e. he would require both to bring a suspensive guilt offering) could also be made about the first case of the mishnah, which he does not, since there the Tanna Qamma is explicitly attributed to R. Akiva. Fulda therefore maintains that Rava only made the inference regarding R. Jose’s opinion without raising the question that it is like the Tanna Qamma. The question was only inserted later by the redactors. Manfred Fulda, “Studies in ‘Haynu Tanna Qamma’", 187.

29 According to MS. Munich, R. Nahman does not respond, but this suggestion is a continuation of what precedes it.
fact have the same view as the Tanna Qamma, and that therefore R. Yose is the Tanna Qamma. In this probable first occurrence of PHTQIB, it is presented as a genuine inquiry, rather than a rhetorical device to introduce another teaching—indeed, it lacks the first half of what becomes the final formula—Rabbi X.

Rava’s reported concern with redundancy in the Mishnah conforms to what Yaakov Elman has described as this sage’s (borrowing James Kugel’s terminology) “omnisignificant revolution,” or his systematic program to create consistent use of exegetical principles, wherein all details of the biblical text carry meaning in interpretation. 30 This in turn correlates with what has been observed as one of the hallmarks of Rava’s methodology, developing “the terminology for evaluating the text of the Mishnah,” 31 along with his approach of providing “large-scale consistent reading of rabbinic sources.” 32 For example, Rava also introduces מורתין נמי דיקא, “the mishnah is also precise…” (along with his younger contemporary R. Nahman b. Isaac), 33 which like PHTQIB, involves a careful reading of the Mishnah in order to deduce new laws from it. Indeed, many fundamental concepts and modes of analysis in the Bavli can ultimately be traced to Rava, whose rulings were often further abstracted by the later redactors into explicit formulas and principles, and who therefore could be said to have ushered in the conceptualization characteristic of the redactional strata of the Bavli. 34 Consequently, in

33 Other occurrences of מורתין נמי דיקא are attributed to R. Ashi, Ravina, Mar Zutra, and R. Aha grandfather of R. Ashi. In b.Shev. 29b, Ravina quotes it in the name of Rava. Moreover, since R. Nahman b. Isaac is younger than Rava, it is possible that Rava was the first to use this term.
34 Leib Moscovits, Talmudic Reasoning, From Casuistics to Conceptualization (Tubingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002), 349. Yaakov Elman has several studies on Rava’s innovative approaches with regard to conceptual analysis and jurisprudence, see e.g. Yaakov Elman, “Rava ve-Darkhei ha-Iyyun”, 217–42; Yaakov Elman, “A Tale of Two Cities: Mahoza and Pumbedita as Representing

this instance Rava’s specific query is developed by the redactors into a standard form of analysis, consisting of a rhetorical question and answer, and applied to a range of cases throughout the Bavli.

**PHTQIB in the redactional Strata**

PHTQIB’s frequent appearance in the anonymous redactional strata of the Bavli functions in one of two ways. The first is as part of a larger argument, in which it is employed to reject or support an amoraic or anonymous opinion. This is likely the more original use of PHTQIB, since in this context it is related to the surrounding sugya in which it is embedded and makes an (arguably) justified point, and therefore appears to be in its more natural setting. The second way it occurs in the redactional strata is as an independent question and answer, which forms its own self-contained unit, detached from the rest of the sugya. We will examine instances of both in the sections that follow.

**Stage One PHTQIB: Part of the Sugya**

In what might be the earlier redactional use of PHTQIB, it relates to the rest of sugya and forms a part of a larger discourse. In this stage “Tanna Qamma” is not integral but a named sage may too be associated.35

One example (which associates a sage and the “Tanna Qamma”) is found in b.Ket 53b, regarding the case of a mema’enet, a young woman

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35 E.g. b.Git 73b–74a asks, ""חכמים היינו ר' יוסי", “the Sages are like R. Jose”, the latter being the third view cited and the sages, the fourth view. Similarly, b.Men 63 states ""ר' יוסי ברבי יהודה היינו אבוה""; b.Sanh. 13a–b contains both, ""在意 ר' יהודה"" and ""דנין תנא קמא"". In this case, Haynu does not necessarily mean that the two opinions are identical, but rather that they share a basic similarity. More on this meaning below). These examples would seem to be from the early stage of PHTQIB, before “Tanna Qamma” became a standardized element. Infra n. 41 for more examples.

who refuses the marriage arranged by her mother/brother while she had been a minor:

A. They inquired of R. Sheshet: Does a mema’enet receive support (from her father’s estate) or does she not receive support?

B. R. Sheshet said to them: You have learned this in a baraita: A widow in her father’s house, a divorced woman in her father’s house, or a woman awaiting levirate marriage in her father’s house receives support.

R. Judah says: if she is still in her father’s house, she receives support. If not, she does not receive support.

C. [The ruling of] R. Judah is [of the same opinion as] the [ruling of the] first opinion of the mishnah? Rather a mema’enet is [the difference] between them; the Tanna Qamma maintains she receives [support], and R. Judah maintains she does not receive [support].

It is uncertain whether section (C) is part of R. Sheshet’s response to the inquiry posed to him (B), or a redactional addition. On the one hand, without (C), his answer is difficult to understand: the baraita does not refer to a case of a mema’enet, making it unclear how it answers the question. On the other hand, it is possible that the explanation in section

36 MS St. Petersburg - RNL Evr. I 187.
37 MS Vatican 113; Vatican 487.11.

(C) is a later redactional addition to elucidate how the baraita addresses the case of the mema’enet.\textsuperscript{38} This is supported by the fact that R. Sheshet often responds to questions posed to him with tenitu’ha (you have learned this in a baraita) without an accompanying explanation.\textsuperscript{39} Tenitu’ha may therefore introduce a baraita alone or one supplemented by explanation, making R. Sheshet’s authorship of \textit{PHTQIB} inconclusive at best.\textsuperscript{40} In terms of function, \textit{PHTQIB} in this \textit{sugya} does not merely explicate the difference between the two opinions. R. Sheshet seeks to establish the law concerning a mema’enet, and the apparent redundancy in the mishnah is the instrument by which that is accomplished; since two opinions in the mishnah cannot be the same, one refers \textit{mutatis mutandis} to mema’enet. In this context, \textit{PHTQIB} plays a role in the larger discussion of the \textit{sugya} and thus appears as an organic outgrowth of it, much like in Rava’s statement discussed above.\textsuperscript{41}

\textsuperscript{38} Or perhaps, the fact that the mishnah does not include the \textit{mema’enet} indicates that she would not receive support.

\textsuperscript{39} See Friedman, “A Critical Study”, 9–12; David Weiss Halivni, \textit{Megorot u-Mesorot: Tractate Shabbath} (Israel: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1982), 1968–94. Perhaps relatedly, R. Sheshet is known for his wealth of knowledge in tannaitic teachings, but not for his “sharpness” or analytical ability (b.Er. 67a and b.BM 38b where he insults the Pumpidetan style of casuistry). Also of relevance is Leib Moscovitz’s observation that the \textit{Yerushalmi} alludes to tannaitic teachings without specifying the source, further bolstering the claim that Amoraim tended not to spell out their arguments but only refer to the tannaitic opinions, whereas the later redactors fill in the missing information. Leib Moscovitz, “Ameru Davar Ehad,” 111, n. 34.

\textsuperscript{40} Fulda maintains that R. Sheshet likely only cited the baraita, without the accompanying question and answer. Manfred Fulda, “Studies in ‘Haynu Tanna Qamma’”, 80.

\textsuperscript{41} For more examples of this seemingly earlier use of \textit{PHTQIB} see b.Men. 17a–b, b.Ker. 19b–20a, which both make the association to a named sage (and are discussed above, where \textit{PHTQIB} appears on the heels of R. Assi and R. Oshaya’s respective statements) b.Ber. 2b, 26b–27a, b.Shabb. 40b, 103a, b.Pes.37b, b.BQ 21b, b.BB 130a, 144b–145a, b.A.Z. 7b, 30b, b.Bekh. 10b, 26a, 35b, 42a, b.Hul. 4a, b.Tem. 7b. In some instances, \textit{PHTQIB} opens with ”^אִי_כַּי_א_” if this is so, in response to an (amoraic or redactional) argument that precedes it, underscoring that \textit{PHTQIB} relates to its surrounding \textit{sugya}. Note that in many such instances, the association is not made to “\textit{Tanna Qamma}” but to a named sage: e.g. b.Er. 22a, 23b \footnote{دل פרק זה בִּ֫ילָמצא ר.pay}.

STAGE TWO PHTQIB: An Independent Unit

PHTQIB also occurs in the redactional strata as a question and answer which forms its own self-contained unit, without interacting with or relating to the rest of the sugya. In these instances, there is often no further exploration of the distinction that has been made between the two associated opinions. The development of this second form of PHTQIB may be further differentiated into two different stages in the Bavli. In the first “Tanna Qamma,” a term which is found only in the Bavli and primarily in the anonymous strata, becomes an essential part of the formula. At first, it retains its usual meaning of the first opinion in the mishnah/baraita. In a subsequent stage, “Tanna Qamma” comes to refer to any opinion in a mishna/baraita, even one that is not the first.

a. Tanna Qamma Retains its Meaning

One instance where “Tanna Qamma” maintains its usual meaning of the first opinion, is found in b.Shabb 24b on m.Shabb. 2:1. The Mishnah states:

מתנה
A. במה מדליקין במה אין מדליקין... ולא באיליה ולא בחולב.
B. נחום המדי אומר מדליקין בחולב מבושל.
C. וחכמים אומרים כהך מבושל ואחד שאינן מבושל או ממלוכים או מבלי
D. ולא באיליה כל. חכמה-duration fema איכא בינייהו דרב ברונא אמר רב
לא מסיימי.

42 Michael Sokoloff, A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic of the Talmudic and Geonic Periods (Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan University Press, 2002), 1022, s.v. קמא, which translates תנא קמא as “the first Tanna” (and p. 1215 s.v. תנא), which is an usual case in that it associates two Amoraim rather than tannaitic sages.

43 Halivni lists four other instances in which the phrase “איכא בינייהו... ולא מסיימי” appears in the Bavli, and notes that all occurrences of לא מסיימי are late, sometimes post-geonic, additions. Weiss Halivni, Meqorot u-Mesorot: Shabbath, 74–75.

Mishnah
A. With what may we kindle and with what may we not kindle (the Sabbath lights)? We may not kindle with…. (fat from a) sheep’s tail, nor forbidden fat tissue.
B. Nahum the Mede says: we may not kindle with boiled fat tissue.
C. The Sages say: whether it is boiled or not, we may not kindle with it.

Gemara
D. ...(24b) “Nor with sheep’s tail”: the [opinion of] the sages is [of the same opinion as] the first opinion of the mishnah? The ruling of R. Beruna in the name of Rav is [the difference] between them, but they cannot be specified (as to who said what).

The first opinion of the mishnah (A) prohibits helev, fat tissue (among other substances), to be used to light Sabbath candles. In the final, self-contained section of this sugya (D), the redactors point out that the Sages (C) share the same view as the Tanna Qamma, since they too maintain helev may not be used, whether or not it is cooked, indicating that all forms of helev are forbidden. They offer a solution by postulating the difference between the two rulings as the teaching of R. Beruna in the name of Rav. This ostensibly refers to a ruling appearing on b.Shabb. 21a:

והאמר רב ברונא אמר רב חלבי מהתוכן והקרוב דגים שנמוחו אדם נותן לותוכו שמן כלשהם מдолוק.

For R. Beruna said that Rav said: melted fat tissue or fish innards that have dissolved, a person may put a small amount of oil into it and light.

The distinction between the Tanna Qamma and the Sages is that one agrees with this ruling of Rav, namely that fat may be permitted if oil is

added to it, while the other prohibits fat in all instances. It is unclear, however, which of the two agrees. In this instance, “Tanna Qamma” refers to the first opinion of the mishnah and retains its plain meaning.

As opposed to the case from the previous stage, in which PHTQIB was justified, in this one it is arguably unnecessary, since it is possible to understand the opinions of Nahum Hamadi (B) and the Sages as two possible interpretations of the Tanna Qamma rather than alternative views; Nahum Hamadi maintains that the Tanna Qamma (which Halivni views as an older mishnaic ruling) only forbids uncooked helev, whereas the sages understand the Tanna Qamma to exclude all forms of helev. Furthermore, PHTQIB does not appear to offer any insight into the sugya; it remains unclear who agrees with Rav’s ruling. Moreover neither the initial appearance of R. Beruna’s citation of Rav’s ruling (b.Shabb. 21a), nor the corresponding Yerushalmi (y.Shabb. 2:1, 4d) mentions that it is subject to a tannaitic debate.

b. Tanna Qamma Loses its Meaning
As PHTQIB is incorporated into more sugyot and gains wider use, it evolves into a stock phrase with a standardized formula: “Tanna Qamma” loses its usual meaning of the first view, and now may refer to any opinion cited in a tannaitic ruling, even one that is not the first. This constitutes a significant development in redactional terminology for in

45 This ruling is also found in Yerushalmi Shabbat 2,4d.
46 For other examples see b.Er. 13a; b.R.H. 29b both cases in which Tanna Qamma retains its original meaning, and PHTQIB is not justified since the supposed redundant opinions are presented as alternative understanding of the Tanna Qamma. (See also b.Er. 17a as an example of this latter phenomenon as well as where it is unrelated to the rest of the sugya). For more cases of where Tanna Qamma retains its meaning and is self-contained unit, see b.Ber 30a, 48b, 61b, b.Kid. 32b–33a, b.Sot. 7a, b.Ned. 53a, b.Sanh. 15b, b.Nid. 19a–b; b.AZ. 75a, b.Erekh. 28a.
48 In a similar vein, the discussion prompted by “"הוין" is entirely absent from the Yerushalmi.
49 Supra n. 42.

most instances where *Tanna Qamma* appears, it almost always refers to the first opinion. This would also point to the late provenance of such cases.

One example, (appearing in Appendix 1) is b.Ber. 30a. In this case, the redactors refer to the opinion of R. Eleazar b. Azaria as *Tanna Qamma*, though his is not the first opinion cited. Another case is b.Er. 23a-b. Mishnah 2:5 states:

> ועודי אמר רחב יהודה בן בבא הגינה והקרפף שהן שבעים אמה ושירים על שבעים אמה ושירים בממלוכם בחלב. שעתא בה שעריה או בר חידר וא שעתא ממלוכם לפי. רב יהודה אמר פלון לא ימי בה אלא בור ושות嫫 ימיר ממלוכם בממלוכם. רבי עקיבא אמר אף בור באף באה בשתי מנכל או ממלוכך בממלוכות ובחלב שעתא בה שעתא

Rabbi Judah ben Bava further said: a garden or a *karpaf*, whose area does not exceed seventy cubits and a fraction by seventy cubits and a fraction, which is surrounded by a fence ten handbreadths high, one may carry in it, as long as there is in it a watchman’s hut or a dwelling or it is near a town. Rabbi Judah says: even if it contained only a cistern, a ditch, or a cave one may carry in it. Rabbi Akiva says: even if it contains none of these one may carry in it, as long as its area does not exceed seventy cubits and a fraction by seventy cubits and a fraction.

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50 I have found only two instances in which “*Tanna Qamma*” (not in the context of PHQTQIB) does not refer to the first opinion (b.Betz. 9b; b.Sanh. 6b), but is one that appears earlier than the position under discussion.

51 Rashi, it seems, deals with this question by explaining:

> מיהית תנמא אليف אבר אליעזא דרבי אלייזא

It is the *Tanna Qamma* according to R. Eleazer b. Azariah.

52 i.e. a type of enclosure Sokoloff, *Palestinian Aramaic*, p. 507, s.v. קֶרֶפֶּף. Rashi explains that a *karpaf* was not intended for human habitation (Rashi, b.Er. 18a, s.v._le’ginah u-lekarpa).

Following a brief anonymous discussion on the necessity of “ועוד” at the onset of the mishnah, the Bavli sugya continues:

D. Akiva is [the of same opinion as] the Tanna Qamma?
E. The difference between them is a small amount.
F. For it is taught: R. Judah said: There is a small amount that exceeds seventy cubits and a fraction, but the sages did not specify this amount.
G. And what [is the area of] the size of two beit se’ah?—One like that of the courtyard of the Tabernacle.
H. From where is this deduced?—Rab Judah replied: For Scripture said: “The length of the court shall be a hundred cubits, and the breadth fifty everywhere,” the Torah states, ‘Take away fifty and surround [with them the other] fifty’...

In this sugya it is unclear who “Tanna Qamma” refers to, since the first opinion, which is attributed to R. Judah b. Baba (A) is unlike that of R. Akiva (C); the former only permits one to carry in a garden or karpaf that measures 70+ by 70+ if there is also some kind of living enclosure therein or it is adjacent to a city. R. Akiva, by contrast, requires only that it measure 70+ by 70+. The various Talmudic commentators therefore struggle to interpret whom “Tanna Qamma” denotes. Rashi (ad. loc. s.v. R. Akiva) explains that it actually refers to an opinion cited in an earlier mishnah in the same chapter, Mishnah 2:3.53

53 This is likewise the view of Tosafot ad loc. s.v. rabbi Akiva. The same anonymous sages responding to R. Judah also appear in the first Mishnah of this chapter.

The Evolution of a Talmudic Formula

a. R. Judah says: up to two *beit se’ah*.

b. They said to him: They only said two *beit se’ah* in regard to a garden and *karpaf*, but if the enclosed area was a cattle pen, fold, backyard, or courtyard, even if it is five *beit kor* or even ten *beit kor*, it is permitted [to carry within it]. And it is permitted to distance [the boards] any amount, as long as one adds to the boards.

According to this rendering, R. Akiva (C) in Mishnah 2:5 is synonymous to the sages responding to R. Judah (b) in 2:3.54 *Tanna Qamma* in this sugya thus refers to an earlier tannaitic (anonymous) opinion that is found in a prior mishnah, but not the first one of any mishnah. Here too it may be argued that PHTQIB is unwarranted. The first time this ruling is presented in 2:3, it is part of an argument against R. Judah who maintains that slats may only be expanded up to two *beit se’ah*, even around a well (a). The Sages thus respond (b) that this limit of two *beit se’ah* only applies to a garden or a *karpaf*, but not to an area which is used for daily purposes, i.e. the main concern of 2:3. Surrounding a garden or *karpaf*, by contrast, is not discussed and is mentioned only to dispute R. Judah. Mishnah 2:5 is rather concerned with enclosing a garden and *karpaf* and lists the various opinions associated with them, including the opinion of R. Akiva which has already been stated. In this context it is therefore understandable why his opinion is repeated.55 As we have seen in

Though R. Hananel *ad loc.* maintains the literal sense of “*Tanna Qamma*” arguing that it refers to the opinion of R. Judah b. Baba in the Mishnah.

54 See commentary of R. Ovadia of Bartenura on Mishnah 2:3 which explains how two *beit se’ah* is equivalent to seventy and a fraction by seventy and a fraction.

55 Halivni suggests an alternative interpretation of the sugya based on a reconstruction of R. Akiva’s ruling. He maintains that the first clause of his ruling,
previous cases, the Yerushalmi shares several parallels with this short Bavli passage, including a ruling which is strikingly similar to the stated distinction between R. Akiva and the “Tanna Qamma” (F), a teaching that the measurement is derived from the dimensions of the Tabernacle’s courtyard, and the citation of the accompanying verse, Ex. 27:18 as a proof text (G, H). However, the Yerushalmi lacks the question, “Akiva is [the same as] the Tanna Qamma?” In the Bavli’s version, the order in which the material is presented is reversed, and the question preceding it, “Akiva is [the same as] the Tanna Qamma?” subsequently has been added.

Tanna Qamma also lacks its usual meaning in the following case, which is noteworthy for it also demonstrates another possible import for the question of היהי תנא קמא. The Mishnah m.Ket. 5:5 with the corresponding Bavli sugya found in b.Ket 61b states:

אפילו אין בה אחת מכל אלו אפוי אלן אינ כה חת כהל אול

is not original to R. Akiva’s statement but was added by the compiler of the Mishnah; R. Akiva’s opinion, is therefore indeed redundant since it appears to be similar to the Tanna Qamma. “R. Akivah is the Tanna Qamma,” is therefore justified; they both mention the need for 70+ by 70+ (this is likewise how R. Hananel understands the question in his commentary ad. loc.). David Weiss Halivni, Megorot U-Mesorot: Seder Mo‘ed, Tractates Erubin and Pesahim (Jerusalem: JTS, 1974), 545–46. Hiddushei ha-Ritva, and ha-Rashba both report an alternative older version of R. Akiva’s statement which lacks only the latter clause, והלך שיאת מב שבעים שא ורשיאיוט שיאת מב שבעים שא ורושים. The difference between Tanna Qamma and R. Akiva is therefore quite clear; he thus concludes that Tanna Qamma refers to R. Judah.

המחד תאני שיש בוכר כל ווא כל ווא תכרם לועם עלי

This is in line with that which has been taught: There is a small point of difference here and sages could not solve the problem,” however, whereas in the Bavli, this is the answer to "היהי תנא קמא", in the Yerushalmi it is not in response to an inquiry, but follows the teaching that the size of the enclosure that one may carry in, is derived from the Tabernacle (along with a complicated mathematical equation of how it leads to the dimensions of 70+x70+, lacking in the Bavli).

This case is similar to what we observed in the first case examined, and Alissa Gray’s description of the relationship between the Bavli and its received Yerushalmi traditions. Supra n. 20.

Mishnah

A. These are the tasks that a woman performs for her husband: grinding, baking, laundering, cooking, sucking her child, making his bed, and working in wool. If she brings one servant, she does not have to grind, bake, or launder; two servants, she (also) does not have to cook or suckle; three servants, she does not make his bed or work in wool; four servants, she may lounge on her chair.

B. R. Eleazar says: even if she brings 100 servants, he may force her to work in wool, for idleness leads to lewdness.

C. R. Simeon b. Gamliel says: even one who takes a vow forbidding his wife from doing work, must divorce her and pay her ketubah, for idleness leads to idiocy.

Gemara

D. Rashbag says etc.: [the opinion of Rashbag] is [of the same opinion as] the Tanna Qamma? [the difference] between

58 Ed. Soncino (1487).
MS St. Petersburg-RNL Evr. 187 – קוסניאתא.
MS Munich 95 – קוסניאתא.
them is, she plays with wooden cubs, and she plays backgammon.

Despite the anonymous question which opens the sugya, the Tanna Qamma (A) bears no resemblance to the opinion of R. Simeon b. Gamliel (C) and hence likely not whom “היינו תנא קמא” refers to. The most probable association is R. Eleazar (B), whom Rashi likewise identifies as the “Tanna Qamma”. However, the statements of R. Simeon b. Gamliel and R. Eleazar are also not identical. Notwithstanding Rashi’s assessment, namely that there is no significant difference between lewdness and idiocy, it is uncertain that R. Simeon b. Gamliel would agree that a man could compel his wife to do work, nor is it clear that R. Eleazar would obligate a man to divorce his wife should he forbid her to do so. Perhaps PHTQIB can be understood in this case as querying that R. Simeon b. Gamliel and R. Eleazar share the same underlying principle, though their actual rulings differ; unemployment has negative consequences. The redactors thus inquire what practical difference arises between the logic that underlies their respective rulings and answer by explicating the specific activities which lead to “lewdness” versus “idiocy.”

59 Sokoloff, Babylonian Aramaic, 272, s.v. גוריתא.
60 Sokoloff, 777, s.v. נרדישר.
61 Rashi ad loc.
62 This discussion is entirely absent from the corresponding Yerushalmi. See also b.A.Z. 45a–b, in which PHTQIB may likewise indicate that the underlying principle between R. Jose ha-Gelili and Tanna Qamma are the same; the question is thus what the practical difference between them is. Also see b.Sanh. 13a–b (supra n.35).
63 For more examples of where Tanna Qamma does not refer to the first (anonymous) opinion in a tannaitic passage, see b.Er. 16b, 45a, b.M.Q. 20b, b.Shabb 26a. Though in the last case, where “Tanna Qamma” of PHTQIB does not align with the first opinion of the Mishnah in question, it is the first opinion reported in the corresponding tosefta attributed to R. Yohanan b. Nuri (t.Shabb (Lieberman) 2:3,4) which therefore could ostensibly justify why in the Bavli it is referred to as “Tanna Qamma”.

Late Addition to a Fixed Sugya

In the final passage we will examine, PHTQIB is already a well-established and well-known phrase such that it is added to the sugya after it had already been formulated. M.Meg. 1:4 followed by the sugya in b.Meg. 6b state:

Mishnah

A. If they had read the Megillah (Scroll of Esther) in the first Adar, and then an extra month was added to the year, they read it again in the second Adar. The only differences between the first Adar and second Adar are reading the Megillah and gifts to the poor.

Gemara

B. [The implication is that] with respect to the four [Torah] portions,\textsuperscript{64} [first and second Adar] are the same (i.e. one does not have to reread them during second Adar). Who is the author of our mishnah? It is neither the \textit{Tanna Qamma} nor R. Eleazer b. R. Jose, nor R. Simeon b. Gamliel.

C. For it is taught in a baraita:
1. If they read the Megillah in first Adar, and an extra month was added to the year, they must read [the Megillah] again in second Adar, since all of the precepts which are performed in the second Adar can be performed in the first, except for reading the Megillah.
2. R. Eleazar son of R. Jose says: it is not to be read in the second Adar, because all precepts that are to be performed in the second may be performed in the first.
3. R Simeon b. Gamliel says in the name of R. Jose: it is to be read again in second Adar, since precepts that are performed in the second Adar may not be performed in the first.
4. They all agree that mourning and fasting are prohibited in both.

D. R. Simeon b. Gamliel is [of the same opinion as] \textit{Tanna Qamma}?

E. R. Papa said: the order of the [special Torah] portions is the difference between them. The \textit{Tanna Qamma} maintains that from the onset [it should be performed] in second [Adar], but if is performed in the first, this suffices - except for reading the Megillah; even if it is read in the first, it must be read in the second; R. Eleazar b. R. Jose maintains even reading the Megillah should be read in the first from the onset; and R. Simeon b. Gamliel maintains, even the order of the [Torah] portions, if they are read in the first, must be read in the second.

\textsuperscript{64} The special Sabbath Torah portions read prior to and during the month of Adar: \textit{Shekalim} (Ex. 30:11–16), \textit{Zakhor} (Deur. 25:17–19), \textit{Parah} (Numb. 19:1–22), and \textit{Hahodesh} (Ex. 12:1–20). \textit{Rashi ad loc. s.v. seder.}

Several aspects of this sugya are distinct from others containing PHTQIB. First, although R. Papa seemingly responds to the query by distinguishing between the three opinions cited in the mishnah, R. Simeon b. Gamliel (3.) does not share the same opinion as Tanna Qamma (1.). R. Simeon b. Gamliel maintains that all the obligations of Purim must be performed again in second Adar, while the first opinion mandates that only reading the Megillah be repeated in second Adar. His opinion is also unlike R. Eleazer (2.) who does not require anything be performed in second Adar where Purim was already observed during the first Adar.

Another peculiarity, though by no means wholly distinct as we have already noted, is that PHTQIB is generally a redactional term, since in most instances the entire PHTQIB discussion is unattributed, while in this case, איכא בינייהו (E) is attributed to R. Papa and ר' שמעון בן גמליאל היינו תנא קמא (D) remains anonymous. Finally, this is unusual in that "ראאים ביניהם" does not only qualify the difference between Tanna Qamma and R. Simeon b. Gamliel, but also elucidates the distinctiveness of R. Eleazer, which does not correlate with the initial inquiry.

It is therefore unsurprising that רבן שמעון בן גמליאל היינו תנא קמא is absent from several text witnesses; MSS Munich 140, Gottingen 3, and Oxford (366). In these versions, R. Papa’s statement appears

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65 In the Tosefta’s version of this baraita, however, they are similar. Infr. 72. The version of R. Simeon b. Gamliel cited in the Yerushalmi (y.Meg. 1:5, 71a) is closer to that of the Bavli, however since the rest of the baraita does not appear, the question is irrelevant and therefore, unsurprisingly, not raised.
66 Leib Moscovitz confronts this same problem with several ameru davar ehad cases, in which the rabbis associated in no way seem to be saying the same thing. Moscovitz, Ameru Davar Ehad, 101–142.
67 Supra n. 21 for the cases in which just the "איכא בינייהו" is attributed.
68 Rabbi Yehudah Leib Alter in Sefat Emet ad loc. b.Meg. 6b is one of the only commentators to attempt to answer these questions. He explains:

 However, he admits the weakness of this answer.
69 See Appendix 2 for a table comparing the different manuscripts of this passage.

immediately following the citation of the baraita, delineating the various opinions listed therein regarding the order of the four Torah portions.\footnote{Likewise in MS British Museum, instead of of ר' כלא רבן שמעון בן גמליאל היינו תנא קמא, it asks ואמר ר' פפא שנוהגות בשני נוהגות בראשון.}

The independence of R. Papa’s statement from רבנ שמעון בן גמליאל היינו תנא קמא is further supported by six of the manuscripts (including the aforementioned three) which introduce R. Papa’s statement with ‘אמר ר’ פפא as opposed to ‘אמר ר’ פפא פפא. Since an answer to a question does not usually begin with “and,” ‘אמר ר’ פפא seems to indicate that it is an independent clause.\footnote{Rashi ad. loc. s.v. amar, notes that he has a version which reads ואמר ר’ פפא.}

Alternatively in five manuscripts; MSS British Library 400, Munich 140, Munich 95, Vatican 134 and Oxford 366, R. Simeon b. Gamliel and \textit{Tanna Qamma} could ostensibly share the same view, since "שכל מצות שנוהגות בשני נוהגות בראשון" is absent from the ruling of the \textit{Tanna Qamma}.\footnote{Likewise in the Tosefta’s version of this baraita (t.Meg [Lieberman] 1:6), \textit{Tanna Qamma} and R. Simeon b. Gamliel share the same view. In this baraita the view of \textit{Tanna Qamma} reads: קריאת המגלה באדר הראשון ונתĴה שנה צריכין לקרות באדר השני וכל מצות שנוהגות באדר השני אין נוהגות באדר הראשון.} Nevertheless two such instances (MSS Oxford 366, Munich 140), which report a condensed first opinion that is more in line with R. Simeon b. Gamliel, do not include the question רבן שמעון בן גמליאל היינו תנא קמא. MS Columbia T-398X141 which includes רבן שמעון בן גמליאל also contains the full quotation of the first opinion of the mishnah as it appears in the printed editions.

Based on the multiple variants among the text witnesses, we might suggest a possible development of this sugya, which also sheds light on the \textit{PHTQIB} formula in general. It is likely that "רבן שמעון בן גמליאל היינו תנא קמא" was not included in earlier versions of the sugya. R. Papa’s statement was rather intended at either ascertaining the author of the mishnah based on an analysis of the different opinions reported in the baraita, or elucidating which obligations apply on the first day so as to differentiate between the opinions in the mishnah.\footnote{This second option is suggested by Manfred Fulda, “Studies in ‘Haynu Tanna Qamma’, 69.}

Once \textit{PHTQIB} became a standard formula used

in the Bavli, רבן שמעון יינו תנא קמא was inserted by virtue of the presence of the associated term, "איכא ביןיהו". In other words, "איכא ביןיהו" had become linked with "awlín hei nêh têh kêmä" to the extent that R. Papa’s statement containing "איכא ביןיהו" was understood as a response to "רבינא بينיהו". This case therefore illustrates a later stage in which PHTQIB is already a set formula, and is inserted due to the presence of האיכא ביןיהו, despite its irrelevance to the context.

Conclusion
We have observed PHTKIB’s development through different stages in amoraic and redactional material. Absent from the Yerushalmi, PHTQIB originates as an amoraic statement in the Bavli attributed to Rava. While it is impossible to affirm definitively that it is indeed reliably attributed to Rava, it is consistent with other statements of this sage, which evince an interest in systemization of earlier teachings, innovation, and abstract

74 This would also be true in all instances where האיכא ביןיהו is attributed. Supra n. 21.
75 Another example demonstrates how an earlier appearance of this phrase was altered based on its later iteration, in the Bavli’s discussion of m.Ket. 2:8 (b.Ket. 26a–b). The Mishnah records three opinions:

In the Bavli’s opening discussion of this mishnah, the opinions of R. Simeon b. Gamliel and R. Eleazar are associated; however, the phrasing of the haynu question varies among the text witnesses. While in most, the question follows the earlier form, associating the sages by name: רשב"ג היינו ר' אליעזר; some manuscripts (MSS Firkovich 187, CUL: AS 79.14, Oxford: Heb. E. 76/115-1, Vatican, Bibliotheca Apostolica Ebr. 487/12) contain the more formulaic "רש"ג ביןיה תנא קמא". The ways the differences between these two sages are presented therefore also vary. Some consistently refer only to R. Eleazar (MSS Vatican, Bibliotheca Apostolica Ebr. 112, Vatican, Bibliotheca Apostolica Ebr. 113, 130), while some have “תanna Qamma” (MSS Munich 95, CUL: AS 79.14, Oxford: Heb. E. 76/115-1). The printed editions (Venice, Soncino, and Vilna) contain “R. Eleazar” in the first difference raised between the two opinions, and “תanna Qamma” in the second. These would all suggest that the original version had “R. Eleazar” which was changed at a later point to “תanna Qamma” once it had become a part of the formula.

thinking and analysis. PHTQIB is later incorporated into redactional material in which different layers are discernible. In what appears to be an earlier stratum—including cases in which PHTQIB is presented as partially attributed—it is part of a rejection or support of a ruling, makes a justified point, and plays a role in the context of the sugya in which it is embedded. In this stratum, Tanna Qamma is not always part of the formula, but two named sages may be associated as well. Later instances introduce Tanna Qamma as an essential element, and the question and distinction often appear unnecessary, adding little to the overall sugya. At this point PHTQIB becomes a standardized formula in which “Tanna Qamma” is integral to it. Subsequently “Tanna Qamma” becomes divorced from its usual meaning and rather refers to an earlier opinion in a mishna/baraita. In what is perhaps the latest stage, איכא becomes identified as a response to והני ת”ק, such that its presence induces the questions of פלוני היינו תנא קמא, though it is not the original intent of the text.

In terms of its meaning, PHTQIB tends to associate views perceived to be wholly similar to the effect that a difference and sometimes new principle is deduced. In this way it departs from earlier phrases dating back to sugyot in the Yerushalmi, such as “ameru davar ehad”, “atya”, as well as “ma’i beinaihu” which sometimes associate conflicting views or ones with varying levels of similarities. PHTQIB seems to represent another level of talmudic analytical discourse in which careful readings of earlier tannaitic rulings lead to new insights. PHTQIB is thus a rhetorical formula that is reflective of the honed conceptualization which is the hallmark of Bavli legal discourse.

76 See Elman, “Hercules within the Halakhic Tradition”.
77 “Tanna Qamma”’s inclusion may be because it is part of Rava’s initial inquiry, it is easy to remember, and most mishnayot and baraitot contain a Tanna Qamma.

Appendix 1: Parallel Bavli and Yerushalmi Sugyot, no Yerushalmi Precursor

We have seen that PHTQIB first appears in the context of an amoraic dialogue, and that it subsequently becomes a redactional phrase added to sugyot. That it is of Babylonian origin is strongly indicated by its absence from the Yerushalmi, particularly in those sugyot where the Bavli and the Yerushalmi are parallel in all other respects. While we have already seen a few cases where the Bavli and Yerushalmi are parallel, let us examine one additional example, b.Ber 30a-b and y.Ber. 4.7, 8c on m.Ber. 4:7,78 where the Yerushalmi contains no precedent of PHTKIB. This case falls into what we characterized above as Stage Two PHTKIB: an independent unit, in its later form, where Tanna Qamma no longer retains its usual meaning of the first opinion. The Mishnah there states:

רבי אלעזר בןעווריה אומר אין תפלת המוספין אלא בחבר עיר.
והכמרים ואמרם בחבר עיר שעלא בחבר עיר.
רבי יהודה אומר משמו כל מקום שיש שם חבר עיר?><ויד פטור מחפלה המוספין.

Eleazar b. Azariah says: the musaf prayer may only be said with the assembly of the town (i.e. a congregation of ten men).
The sages say: whether with or without the assembly of the town.
R. Judah said in his name: wherever there is an assembly of the town, an individual is exempt from the musaf prayer.


Yerushalmi

Bavli

A. דבי יהודה היה נתה כלמה! איך ביניהם?

1. כי שם העבר ער; והנה 82 קמהubre: פטר, ורבי יהודה סבר: חיות.

80. אמר ר' יהודה אמר ר' חנינא המל reelection של ר' יהודה אמר ר' אלעזר בן עזריה.

81. אמר ר' יהודה אמר ר' חנינא המל reelection של ר' יהודה אמר ר' אלעזר בן עזריה.

82. אמר ר' יהודה אמר ר' חנינא המל reelection של ר' יהודה אמר ר' אלעזר בן עזריה.

83. אמר ר' יהודה אמר ר' חנינא המל reelection של ר' יהודה אמר ר' אלעזר בן עזריה.

84. אמר ר' יהודה אמר ר' חנינא המל rekession של ר' יהודה אמר ר' אלעזר בן עזריה.

85. אמר ר' יהודה אמר ר' חנינא המל reelection של ר' יהודה אמר ר' אלעזר בן עזריה.

86. אמר ר' יהודה אמר ר' חנינא המל reelection של ר' יהודה אמר ר' אלעזר בן עזריה.

87. אמר ר' יהודה אמר ר' חנינא המל reelection של ר' יהודה אמר ר' אלעזר בן עזריה.

88. אמר ר' יהודה אמר ר' חנינא המל reelection של ר' יהודה אמר ר' אלעזר בן עזריה.

b. R. Bibi said in the name of R. Hanah: The law accords with R. Judah in the name of R. Eleazar b. Azariah.

c. The statement of Samuel says this, for Samuel said: ‘In all my days I never prayed musaf [alone] except for one time when the son of the exilarch died and the congregation did not pray and I prayed’.

d. The statements of the [following] rabbis dispute this. For R. Jacob b. Idi said in the name of R. Simeon the pious: ‘The mishnah [refers] to

A. R. Judah is [of the same opinion as] the Tanna Qamma? They differ in the case of an individual who is not [in the presence of] a town assembly: Tanna Qamma holds he is exempt; R. Judah holds he is liable.


C. R. Hiyya b. Abin said to him: You are right, for Samuel said, ‘[In] all my days I never prayed musaf alone in Nahardea, except for the day when the king’s forces came to the town and disturbed the rabbis and they did not pray. I prayed alone’, (I was an individual not in the presence of a congregation).92

D. R. Haninah was studying Scripture before R. Jannai and he was sitting and saying; ‘the law is like R. Judah who said in the name

shepherds and fig gatherers,\textsuperscript{89} [The mishnah] (only?) refers to shepherds and fig gatherers,\textsuperscript{90} which implies that all other people are obligated [to recite \textit{musaf}].

e. The statement of R. Johanan says this: for R. Johanan said, ‘I saw R. Jannai standing and praying in the market of Tzipporin and he walked four \textit{amot} and prayed \textit{musaf}. Is there no town assembly in Tzipporin?’\textsuperscript{91}

E. R. Johanan said: I have seen R. Jannai pray (privately) and then pray again (privately)\textsuperscript{93}.

The Yerushalmi opens with a statement of R. Bibi in the name of R. Hanah (b), which likewise appears in the Bavli (B), with a different attribution,\textsuperscript{94} upholding the view of R. Judah in the name of R. Eleazar. Both talmuds subsequently bring further support for R. Judah from an anecdote of Samuel (C,c). Though the settings of the narratives differ — in the Yerushalmi the congregation is unable to say \textit{musaf} due to the death of the exilarch’s son, while in the Bavli it is due to the arrival of the

\textsuperscript{89} Sokoloff, \textit{Palestinian Aramaic}, 490, s.v. \textit{קייט/קייץ}.

\textsuperscript{90} Meaning only shepherds and fig gatherers are exempt from praying when there is a town assembly, since they work in the field most of the time and are therefore ignorant in how to recite the \textit{musaf} prayer. \textit{Penei Moshe}, \textit{ad. loc.}, s.v. \textit{mileihon}.

\textsuperscript{91} Even though there was clearly a town assembly in Tzipporin, he nonetheless prayed \textit{shaharit} in the market and then walked four \textit{amot} and prayed \textit{musaf} on his own. \textit{Penei Moshe ad. loc.}, s.v. \textit{mileih}.

\textsuperscript{93} I.e. he prayed the two separate morning prayers of \textit{shaharit} and \textit{musaf} on his own, even though there was a town assembly; thus implying that the law does not follow R. Eleazar b. Azariah. Rashi \textit{ad. loc.} s.v. \textit{dezali}.

\textsuperscript{94} The names are so similar that the disparity could be due to a scribal error or a result of the process of oral transmission. In fact MSS Paris and London (see footnote 80) contain R. Bibi in the name of R. Huna. Furthermore in MS Paris 671, it is first attributed to R. Abba, which is similar to Bibi such that the two could have been confused.
king’s army—in both, Samuel maintains that he never recited *musaf* by himself as long as there was a congregation, per R. Judah. Sections (D,d) challenge the notion that the law follows R. Judah and sections (E,e) are also similar, though the Yerushalmi supplies more details; both report R. Johanan positing that R. Jannai prayed both *shaharit* and *musaf* by himself, even though there was a congregation. From this point on the two *sugyot* diverge and each digresses to a topic relating to the statement of R. Jannai.  

A conspicuous difference between the two *sugyot* is the Bavli’s opening statement, ר' יהודה贺 אני ת”ק איכא בינייהו וגו’, which is lacking from the Yerushalmi. Absent this question and answer, however, the two *sugyot* remain remarkably similar which demonstrates its inconsequentiality. Its very placement at the beginning of the Bavli *sugya*, thus making it easily removable, likewise demonstrates its independence and late provenance. What is more, the difference between the two supposed identical opinions receives no further attention.  

Although the two printed editions (Soncino 1484, Vilna) incorporate the distinction between *Tanna Qamma* and R. Judah into the end of Samuel’s statement, (‘I was an individual not in the presence of a congregation’),

95 The Bavli’s discussion centers on intention, suggesting the possibility that R. Jannai merely prayed *shaharit* twice since the first time he did not have the proper intention, while this concern with intention is absent from the corresponding Yerushalmi. This accords with what many scholars have observed as the Bavli’s increasing interest in matters relating to intention and interiority. See Shamma Friedman, *Tosefta Atikta: Pesah Rishon*, (Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan UP, 2002), 333–47, who demonstrates how the Bavli introduces the notion of בטל בלך, mentally nullifying leavened bread on Passover, i.e. that mental thoughts are legally significant, which is not found in the Mishnah, Tosefta and corresponding Yerushalmi; Ayelet Hoffman Libson, *Law and Self-Knowledge in the Talmud* (NY: Cambridge University Press, 2018), chap. One.; Yishai Kiel, “Cognizance of Sin and Penalty in the Babylonian Talmud and Pahlavi Literature: A Comparative Analysis,” *Oqimta* 1 (2013), 319–67, and his bibliography in note 4; Shana Strauch Schick, *Between Thought & Deed: Intention in Talmudic Jurisprudence* (Brill, forthcoming).

96 Fulda also argues that the alleged difference between R. Judah and the *Tanna Qamma* is not compelling. Manfred Fulda, “Studies in ‘Haynu Tanna Qamma’”, 31.

this clause is absent from all extant manuscript traditions,\textsuperscript{97} indicating that it is a late addition intended to include the initial distinction which opens the sugya into a later part of the passage.\textsuperscript{98} PHTQIB rather remains an independent, easily detachable unit.

\textsuperscript{97} Supra n. 87.

The Evolution of a Talmudic Formula

Appendix 2: b. Megillah 6b

The text is in Hebrew. The full text can be found in the document at the provided URL:
ואמ' רב פפא סדר פרשיות איכא ביןו דתנא קמא סבר לכתחילה בשני ואי עביד בראשון 

рабן גמליאל ותנא קמא סבר לכתחילה בשנ' ואי עביד 

ר' אלעזר בר' יוסי סבר אפי' מקרא מגילה לכתחילה בראשון ורשב"ג או מ' סדר פרשיות נמי אע'ג דקרו בראשון ליקרו בשני מני ...

람' רב פפא בין רבן גמליאל ותנא קמא סבר לכתחילה בשנ' ואי עביד 

בראשון עביד לבר ממקרא מגילה דאע'ג דקרו בראשון קרו בשני ור' אלעזר סבר אפי' מקרא מגילה לכתחילה בראשון ורשב"ג סבר אפי' סדר פרשיות נמי אע'ג דקרו בראשון קרו בשני מני ...

אמ' רב פפא סדר פרשיות איכא ביןו דתנא קמא סבר לכתחילה בשנ' ואי עביד 

בראשון עביד לבר ממקרא מגילה דאע'ג דקרו בראשון קרו בשני ור' אלעזר סבר אפי' מקרא מגילה לכתחילה בראשון ורשב"ג סבר אפי' סדר פרשיות נמי אע'ג דקרו בראשון קרו בשני מני ...

אמ' רב פפא סדר פרשיות איכא ביןו דתנא קמא סבר לכתחילה בשנ' ואי עביד 

בראשון עביד לבר ממקרא מגילה דאע'ג דקרו בראשון קרו בשני ור' אלעזר סבר אפי' מקרא מגילה לכתחילה בראשון ורשב"ג סבר אפי' סדר פרשיות נמי אע'ג דקרו בראשון קרו בשני מני ...

אמ' רב פפא סדר פרשיות איכא ביןו דתנ' קמא סבר לכתחילה בשנ' ואי עביד 

בראשון עביד לבר ממקרא מגילה דאע'ג דקרו בראשון קרו בשני ור' אלעזר סבר אפי' מקרא מגילה לכתחילה בראשון ורשב"ג סבר אפי' סדר פרשיות נמי אע'ג דקרו בראשון קרו בשני מני ...

אמ' רב פפא סדר פרשיות איכא ביןו דתנ' קמא סבר לכתחילה בשנ' ואי עביד 

בראשון עביד לבר ממקרא מגילה דאע'ג דקרו בראשון קרו בשני ור' אלעזר סבר אפי' מקרא מגילה לכתחילה בראשון ורשב"ג סבר אפי' סדר פרשיות נמי אע'ג דקרו בראשון קרו בשני מני ...

אמ' רב פפא סדר פרשיות איכא ביןו דתנ' קמא סבר לכתחילה בשנ' ואי עביד 

בראשון עביד לבר ממקרא מגילה דאע'ג דקרו בראשון קרו בשני ור' אלעזר סבר אפי' מקרא מגילה לכתחילה בראשון ורשב"ג סבר אפי' סדר פרשיות נמי אע'ג דקרו בראשון קרו בשני מני ...

אמ' רב פפא סדר פרשיות איכא ביןו דתנ' קמא סבר לכתחילה בשנ' ואי עביד 

בראשון עביד לבר ממקרא מגילה דאע'ג דкро ראשון קרו בשני ור' אלעזר סבר אפי' מקרא מגילה לכתחילה בראשון ורשב"ג סבר אפי' סדר פרשיות נמי אע'ג דкро ראשון קרו בשני מני ...

אמ' רב פפא סדר פרשיות איכא ביןו דתנ' קמא סבר לכתחילה בשנ' ואי עביד 

בראשון עביד לבר ממקרא מגילה דאע'ג דкро ראשון קרו בשני ור' אלעזר סבר אפי' מקרא מגילה לכתחילה בראשון ורשב"ג סבר אפי' סדר פרשיות נמי אע'ג דкро ראשון קרו בשני מני ...

אמ' רב פפא סדר פרשיות איכא ביןו דתנ' קמא סבר לכתחילה בשנ' ואי עביד 

בראשון עביד לבר ממקרא מגילה דאע'ג דкро ראשון קרו בשני ור' אלעזר סבר אפי' מקרא מגילה לכתחילה букן ור' אלעזר בר' יוסי סבר אפי' מקרא מגילה לכתחילה Bukן ור' אלעזר בר' יוסי סבר אפי' מקרא מגילה לכתחילה Bukן ור' אלעזר בר' יוסי סבר אפי' מקרא מגילה לכתחילה Bukן ור' אלעזר בר' יוסי סבר אפי' מקרא מגילה לכתחילה Bukן ור' אלעזר בר' יוסי סבר אפי' מקרא מגילה לכתחילה Bukן ור' אלעזר בר' יוסי סבר אפי' מקרא מגילה לכתחילה Bukן ור' אלעזר בר' יוסי סבר אפי' מקרא מגילהillacל תלחית בראשית והשליחה א"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה א"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה א"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה א"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה א"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה א"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה א"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה א"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה א"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה א"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה א"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה א"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה א"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה א"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה א"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה א"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה א"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה א"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה א"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה א"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה א"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה א"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה א"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה א"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה א"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה א"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה א"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה א"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה א"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה א"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה א"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה א"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה א"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה א"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה א"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה א"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה א"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה א"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה א"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה א"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה א"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה א"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה א"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה א"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה א"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה א"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה א"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה א"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה א"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה א"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה א"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה א"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה א"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה א"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה א"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה א"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה א"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה א"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה א"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה A"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה A"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה A"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה A"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה A"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה A"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה A"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה A"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה A"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה A"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה A"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה A"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה A"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה A"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה A"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה A"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה A"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה A"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה A"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה A"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה A"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה A"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה A"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה A"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה A"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה A"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה A"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה A"ג, אנ"ג תלחית בראשית והשליחה A"ג, אנ"ג תלחית