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The Yerushalmi Quotations in Ramon Martí's *Pugio fidei**

Abstract

*In the thirteenth century Raymundus Martini – or in Catalan: Ramon Martí – wrote his huge polemical treatise *Pugio fidei* ('Dagger of Faith') directed against all enemies of Christianity, in particular against Muslims and Jews. Some years ago a manuscript kept in a Parisian library was identified as the Dominican friar's autograph, which contains many more texts than the seventeenth-century print editions. Also the texts employed are sometimes different from the printed editions. Most striking is the continuous vocalization of the Hebrew.*

This article introduces Martí's use of the Jerusalem Talmud. The fact that he could use that text is in itself remarkable because it means that at least one manuscript was circulated in medieval Catalonia.

The texts which Ramon Martí had collected are presented in a newly-established transcription from the autograph.

Although the Talmud is the main source of the early halakha its transmission in manuscript is far from perfect. Among the manuscripts containing at least parts of the Talmud those containing the Bavli are better preserved than those containing the Yerushalmi.¹ Nonetheless there are at least some manuscripts which have been consulted for various semi-critical editions,² but one manuscript has been neglected so far. That manuscript is kept in Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Genève 1405.³ That manuscript contains Ramon Martí's autograph of the polemical work *Pugio fidei* ('Dagger of Faith'). Ramon Martí who, the most important Hebraist of the Middle Ages was a Catalan Dominican friar and a contemporary of Thomas Aquinas. Martí, also known as Raymond Martini, wrote against Mus-

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¹ For the manuscript tradition of the Yerushalmi see Günter Stemberger, *Einführung in Talmud und Midrasch*, 9th completely revised edition, München 2011, pp. 201–204.

² The most recent attempt to establish a text seems to be Heinrich W. Guggenheimer (ed. and tr.), *The Jerusalem Talmud: Edition, Translation, and Commentary*, 17 vols., Berlin/New York, 2000–2015.

³ For a description of that manuscript see Philippe Bobichon, *Le manuscrit Latin 1405 de la Bibliothèque Sainte-Genève (Paris), autographe et œuvre d'un converti?*, in: Görg K. Hasselhoff / Alexander Fidora (eds.), *Ramon Martí's 'Pugio Fidei' – Studies and Texts*, Santa Coloma de Queralt, forthcoming.

lims and Jews alike.⁴ For his polemics he employed authentic Arabic, Hebrew and Aramaic sources that he translated for his purposes. He arranged them the same way Christian sources had been arranged in scholastic literature in supporting one's own theses. In his chef d'œuvre *Pugio fidei* Marti did so by first writing down the Hebrew – and in fewer cases the Arabic or Aramaic – text, which was added by a Latin translation.⁵ The major line of argumentation is on the nature of Jesus Christ as the expected messiah. Marti scrutinises all rabbinical writings accessible in order to extract the passages referring to the messiah. In his opinion the Jews either did not understand that Jesus was the messiah or they wrote about other, 'false' messiahs. In other cases Marti used Jewish sources to develop his own Christian conception, for example, by applying rabbinical theories about the *middot* as analogies to the Christian concept of Trinity.⁶

The Hebrew and Aramaic texts employed were mainly taken from Midrashim and the Bavli,⁷ but also from grammarians, exegetes, and philosophers from the twelfth century onwards, ending with Marti's contemporary Moshe ben Nahman (Nahmanides).⁸ Among these quotations we also find more than twenty extracts from the Yerushalmi. The Yerushalmi contains discussions on the first four orders of the Mishna (Zeraim, Mo'ed, Nashim, Neziqin) and on the first three

⁴ For an overview of his writings see G.K. Hasselhoff, Einleitung, in: Raimundus Martini, *Texte zur Gotteslehre: Pugio fidei I–III, 1–6*. Lateinisch – Hebräisch / Aramäisch – Deutsch; Hrsg., übersetzt und eingeleitet, Freiburg i. Br. et al. 2014, pp. 9–42, at pp. 11–13.

⁵ For a detailed analysis see the forthcoming volume Hasselhoff / Fidora, *Ramon Marti's 'Pugio fidei'* (s. n. 3).

⁶ See Raimundus Martini, *Texte zur Gotteslehre* (s. n. 4); Thomas E. Burman, Ramon Marti: The *Potentia-Sapientia-Benignitas* Triad and Thirteenth-Century Christian Apologetic, in: Charles Burnett / Pedro Mantas-España (eds.), *'Ex Oriente Lux': Translating Words, Scripts and Styles in Medieval Mediterranean Society. Selected Papers*, Córdoba 2016, pp. 217–234.

⁷ See Saul Lieberman, *Shi'in: A Few Words on some Jewish Legends, Customs and Literary Sources Found in Karite and Christian Works (Including an Index of the Jewish Books Cited in the Pugio Fidei of Raymond Martini)* [Hebrew], Jerusalem 1939, pp. 84–91; Chen Merchavia, *Pugio Fidei – an Index of Citations [Hebrew]*, in: Aharon Mirsky et al. (eds.), *Exile and Diaspora: Studies in the History of the People of Israel Presented to Professor Haim Beinart on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday*, Jerusalem 1988, pp. 203–234, at pp. 208–231.

⁸ On Rashi see G.K. Hasselhoff, Die Rashi-Texte in Ramon Marti's *Pugio fidei*, in: *Judaica* 70 (2014), pp. 165–173; on Maimonides see G.K. Hasselhoff, Some Remarks On Raymond Marti's (c. 1215/30 – c. 1284/94) Use of Moses Maimonides, in: *Trumah* 12 (2002 [2003]), pp. 133–148; idem, Self-definition, Apology, and the Jew Moses Maimonides: Thomas Aquinas, Raimundus Martini, Meister Eckhart, Nicholas of Lyre, in: Yossef Schwartz / Volkhard Kreck (eds.), *Religious Apologetics – Philosophical Argumentation*, Tübingen 2004, pp. 285–316; idem, *Dicit Rabbi Moyses: Studien zum Bild von Moses Maimonides im lateinischen Westen vom 13. bis 15. Jahrhundert*, Würzburg 2nd ed. 2005, pp. 227–245 (survey of all quotations). – Although younger in date, Diana Di Segni, Philosophical Quotations from the *Guide of the Perplexed* in Ramon Marti's *Pugiofidei* [1], in: *Archiv für mittelalterliche Philosophie und Kultur* 21 (2015), pp. 75–96, represents an older state of research, on Ibn Ezra see Yosi Yisraeli, Abraham Ibn Ezra in the *Pugio fidei*: Compilations, Variations, and Interpolations, in: Hasselhoff / Fidora, *Ramon Marti's 'Pugio Fidei'* (s. n. 3), forthcoming; on further authors see G.K. Hasselhoff, *Judei moderni* in the *Pugio Fidei*. With an Edition of Texts Quoted from Jonah ibn Janah, David Kimhi, Rabbi Rahmon, and Moses Nahmanides, in: *ibid.*, forthcoming.

chapters of the treatise Nidda. Ramon Marti's altogether 25 passages quoted are taken from thirteen chapters of altogether nine treatises from three orders. From the order Zeraim the treatise Berakhot (six times from two chapters) and Bikkurim (once) are quoted. From the order Mo'ed we find each one quotation from Shabbat and Sheqalim, three quotations from three chapters of Yoma and six quotations from two chapters from Taanit. Finally from the order Neziqin we find four quotations from three chapters from Sanhedrin and two quotations from one chapter from Makkot, which in some manuscripts is part of Sanhedrin, and one quotation from Avoda Zara.⁹

When we have a closer look, we find the following quotations from the Yerushalmi.

a) yBerakhot

From the first chapter of that treatise two different passages are quoted.

From I, 8 it is mentioned how Rabbi Ayyahu interpreted King Salomon's praying. When he did so he raised his hands like being crucified (see # 20). From the following section (I, 9) a longer passage is quoted. In that passage we are informed that Ben Zuma said that in a future time, i. e. the days of the Messiah, Egypt will not be remembered any longer (see # 16).

From the second chapter four different passages from the same section are quoted (II, 4). In these texts the king messiah is identified with several names such as David, Tsemah, or Menahem (see ## 21; 25; 7; 8).

b) yBikkurim

From that treatise only one passage (I, 4) is quoted in which the definition is given that a *ger* is one who converts to Judaism as did Abraham (see # 11).

c) yShabbat

The only passage from this treatise (II, 8) deals with a healing in the name of Jesus ben Pantera. The healer is being cursed and dies immediately (see # 9).

d) ySheqalim

From an Aggada within ySheqalim (V, 1) an abbreviated passage is taken in which earlier generations of teachers are compared to those of later times. If, according to Rabbi Abba bar Zemina, earlier generations were like angels, the present teachers were like humans, but if they had been humans, then the present ones were donkeys (see # 24).¹⁰

⁹ In the earlier work *Capistrum Iudaeorum* only three treatises from three orders are referred to: Berakhot, Taanit, and Sanhedrin: yBer II,4 (twice); yShab XIV, 1; yTaan I, 1; IV, 8 (three times); ySanh I, 1; XIII, 7. All nine translations (without the Hebrew and Aramaic texts) are different from the translations of the *Pugio fidei*. For a survey, see below Appendix III.

¹⁰ There is but one problem with this text: It is the only quotation without a reference to the Yerushalmi; it starts the same way with which the Bavli quotations are introduced. So it might be that Ramon Marti cited that passage as a Bavli quotation. There is, indeed, a parallel to that passage in bSheq (Schottenstein 13b) which matches better the wording of that passage. The problem cannot be solved here.

e) yYoma

From that treatise altogether three passages are quoted.

The first text (I, 1), which is one of the longest quotations of the Yerushalmi in the *Pugio fidei*, and the second text (VI, 3) are about the destruction of the temples and the reason for not rebuilding it (see # 23; 10). The third quotation of the very last sentences of that treatise (VIII, 9) says that Israel's *miqve* is God himself (see # 17).

f) yTaamit (or Taaniyot)

From this treatise two passages from two chapters are quoted.

The first text (I, 1) in the first section quoted states that the *šekhiina* went to exile together with Israel (see # 13). A few sentences later we find a second quotation from the same text. Here it is stated that when all of Israel will repent for one day the messiah will come (see # 12).

The second chapter (IV, 8) to which Ramon Martí referred to is about the vocation of Bar Kokhba as a messiah. Here we find four quotations (see # 2; 5; 6; 15).

g) ySanhedrin and yMakkot

Martí referred altogether four times to three of the first eleven chapters of Sanhedrin. In I, 1 it is stated that 40 years before the temple was destroyed jurisdiction was removed from the temple (see # 4; 22). In VI, 3 two verses from Joshua 7 are interpreted: There will be no devastation in the world to come (see # 19). In X, 6 the question is raised as to who was exiled. The answers given in the discussion say that the uncircumcised were exiled because of circumcision and commandments, the bastards (*mamzerim*) because of the fathers, or none of them because those groups mentioned belonged to the 24 sects (*minim*) (see # 1).

Two further quotations of the thirteenth chapter of Sanhedrin (XIII, 7, or the second of Makkot: II, 7) are about punishment (see # 18) and the list of those pieces of the first temple that were not part of the second temple (see # 3).

h) yAvoda Zara

Finally one text from this treatise (II, 2) deals with the wrong doings of Jesus ben Patara's disciples (see # 14).

Already from this short overview it should be clear that Ramon Martí's focus is on "wrong" interpretations of the messiah and the world to come, on criticism of Jesus of Nazaret (equaled with Jesus ben Pantera), and on the interpretation of the exile. Their number is not high and perhaps not all of these texts were of major importance within the medieval Jewish tradition. Nonetheless there seem to be at least four points that give some importance to these texts.

First, their existence as such points to a simple fact: In medieval Catalonia at least some treatises of three orders of the Yerushalmi were circulated and were made available to the Dominican friar Ramon Martí in Barcelona. Here, it is not the place to ask whether this availability was executed by force, e. g., by the board of censors established after the disputation of 1263.

Second, the extraction of these passages means that Ramon Martí must have read more and selected and chose intentionally those texts mentioned. Evidence

is the fact that in his other polemical treatise against Jews, the *Capistrum Iudeorum*, we find further references. In addition, the selection is made according to the requirements of argumentation. Only in one case his introductory formula mentions two different places but the quotation is from a third one (see # 26). This mistake might go back to a miscellany source or to a simple scribal error.

Third, since there is no real critical edition of the Talmud Yerushalmi¹¹, the Hebrew excerpts provided by Ramon Martí could be of some interest not only for the Martí research, but also for a critical edition of the Yerushalmi, as the textual witness stems from the thirteenth century.

Finally, these quotations show that the Yerushalmi had an early *wirkungsgeschichte* which has been neglected so far.

Appendix I: Quotations and Latin Translations from the Yerushalmi in the *Pugio fidei* according to Order and Treatise

# in our edition	<i>Pugio fidei</i> (book and chapter)	print ¹²	MS G	Order, treatise, chapter	Chapter title according to Ramon Martí	ed. Guggenheimer
20	III-III,14(16)	851	353r	Zeraim yBer I, 8	meemathay qorin	130 + 132
16	III-III,11	781	305r	yBer I, 9	maymathay qorin	153f
21	III-III,14(16)	868	369v-v	yBer II, 4	haya qore	207 + 210 [= # 7] + 211
25	III-III,21(23)	953	425r	yBer II, 4	haya qore	207 + 210 [= # 7; 21]
7	II,5	345	58r	yBer II, 4	haya qore c	207 + 210
8	II,6	348-9	59v	yBer II, 4	[haya qore] (only in Hebr.)	211*
11	II,9	378	70r	yBikk I, 4	[no reference]	563*
				Mo'ed		
9	II,8	362	63r-v (l. 2)	yShab XIV, [1]	semona sarcin	432
24	III-III,19(21)	918	408v	ySheq ¹³ V, 1	ue illu hen a [Hebr.: hammemumim]	114
23	III-III,19(21)	897-8	393v-394r	yYom I, 1	sibath yamim	398
10	II,8	370-1	68v	yYom VI, 3	[sheni she'ire] (only in Hebr.)	559
17	III-III,13	819	332r	yYom VIII, 9	yom haqipporim [z]	626

¹¹ For this article I have made use of the Guggenheimer edition, but it is problematic, too.

¹² *Raymundi Martini Ordinis Praedicatorum Pugio Fidei. Adversus Mauros et Judaeos cum observationibus Josephi de Voisin, et introductione Jo. Benedicti Carpzovi. Qui simul appendix loco Hermanni Judaei opusculum de sua conversione [...]. Leipzig: Friedrich Lanckis, 1687* [reprinted: Farnborough 1967].

¹³ Lieberman, *Shkitin* (s. n. 7), p. 89, and Merchavia, *Pugio fidei* (s. n. 7), p. 223, proposed that this passage is taken from the Yerushalmi. Since the introduction of that passage leaves out a reference to the Yerushalmi it might be that they are wrong and the quotation is taken from bSheq 13b.

# in our edition	Pugio fidei (book and chapter)	print n°	MS G	Order, treatise, chapter	Chapter title according to Ramon Marti	ed. Guggenheimer
13	III-III,1		202r sub marg.	yTaan I, 1	a	16
12	II,10	402	82v	yTaan I, 1	[me'emaia] maskirin ba-halakah a] (only in Hebr.)	17
2	II,3	271-2	35r-v (l. 2)	yTaan IV, 8	be selossa paraqim	156f
5	II,4	325-6	52v-53r	yTaan IV, 8	bi selossa paraqim	165f
6	II,4	326	53r in marg.	yTaan IV, 8	bi selossa paraqim	165*
15	III-III,9	765-6	292v	yTaan IV, 8	bislossa paraqim	165* [= # 6]
				Neziqin		
4	II,4	314	47r	ySanh I, 1	dine memonoth, i.e. iudicia diuiciarum c	12
22	III-III,14(16)	872	372v	ySanh I, 1	dine memonoth [b]	12 [= # 4]
19	III-III,13(14)	830	340v	ySanh VI, 3	nigmar haaddin a	192
1	II,1	262	33r-v (l. 1)	ySanh X, 6	isti sunt qui non habent partem etc. f	383
18	III-III,13(14)	826	336v-337r	yMakk II, 7 [= Sanh XIII, 7]	illu hen haaggolin	453
3	II,3	292	44v	ySanh XIII, 7 [= yMakk II, 7]	illu hen haaggolin g	456f
14	III-III,7	744	276v-277r	yAZ II, 2	[no reference]	299 + 300

Appendix II: Text edition: *Quotations and Latin Translation from the Yerushalmi in the Pugio fidei*

The edition of the Yerushalmi fragments follows Ramon Marti's autograph (G = Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Genève, MS lat. 1405). The Hebrew text follows the line pattern of the manuscript. The vocalization of the text reflects the original. In order to locate the passage in the print edition which more than once deviates from the manuscript version, I add page references to the most common used print (ed. Carpzov, Leipzig 1687). Scribal abbreviations are dissolved and references to biblical texts are added in brackets (in the Latin text) and in footnotes (in the Hebrew text).

Text 1: ySanh X, 6 (PF II,1) [l. p. 262] [G f. 33r-v]

In libro item cenhedrin yerusalmi, i.e. ierosolimitano in distinctione, isti sunt qui non habent partem etc. f. Rabi eliezer et rabi yehuda: Alter eorum retulit, quod non iuerunt in captiuitatem israel, donec facti sunt incircumcisi. Alter uero dixit: Non iuerunt in captiuitatem israel, donec facti sunt mamzerim, i.e. spurij. Dixit quoque rabi yohanan: Non sunt captiuatj israel, donec fuerunt xxiij secte minim, i.e. heretici, vnde scriptum est eze. ij. b [Eze 2:3]: fili adam, imitens ego te, ad filios israel, ad goim hammordim, i.e. gentes apostatrices. Non dixit ad goy, i.e. ad gentem, sed ad gentiles apostatas qui apostatauerunt a me, ipsi [G f. 33v] et patres eorum culpabiles extiterunt in me, usque ad diem hanc.

בְּסֵפֶּה סִנְהֶדְרֵין יְרוּשָׁלַיִם פָּרַק אֵלֹו
שָׂאִין לְוֹן חֶלְקֵי ו' ו' אֵלֶיךָ וְה' יְהוּדָי
הַד אָמַר לֹא גֵלֹו יִשְׂרָאֵל עַד שֶׁנִּעְשֶׂה
עַרְלִיִם וְהָרַבָּה אָמַר לֹא גֵלֹו עַד
שֶׁנִּעְשֶׂה בְּמִזְרִים אִפְּי ו' יִהְיֶה לֹא
יִאֲרָבַע כִּיחֹוֹת עַל בְּנֵינִים קֹו
כָּעָם בֵּן אֲרָם שׁוֹלֵחַ אֵת אֹרְךָ
אֵל בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֵל גּוֹיִם הַמְּוֹרָדִים
אֲשֶׁר קִוְרוּ כִּיִּי אֵל גּוֹי הַמְּוֹרָד
אֲרָן כְּרֹבֵב בֵּן אֵלֵא אֵל גּוֹיִם הַמְּוֹרָדִים
אֲשֶׁר קִוְרוּ בִּי הַמָּוֶה נֹאכָרִים פְּשָׁעֵי
בִּי עַד עַכְשָׁם הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה¹⁴

¹⁴ Eze 2:3.

¹⁵ Eze 2:3.

Text 2: yTaan IV, 8 (PF II, 3) [l. p. 271–2] [G f. 35r–v] (partially illegible)

Pro iudeis uero illud est inducendum, quod scriptum est in libro taanith yerusalimj, i.e. ierosolomitani], in pereq, i.e. distinczione que incipit: be selossa paraqim: [l 272] Dixit rabi leuj: Eciam in diebus huius regni neque, i.e. romani], submittebant eis, i.e. iudei romani], duas sportas auri, et ipsi subleuabant eis, duos arietes, ultimo uero submiserunt duas sportas auri], et ipsi sustulerunt eis duos porcos. Et antequam peruenerent ad medium marj¹⁶, terre motus factus est, et concitatus porceus saliuit a terra israel per xl leucas. In hora illa in[G f. 35v]ualuerunt peccata, et cassatum est hattamid, i.e. iuge sacrificium, et diruta est domus et rupta ciuitas.

¹⁶ Lectio incerta.

¹⁷ Lectio incerta.

¹⁸ Lectio incerta.

¹⁹ Lectio incerta.

²⁰ Lectio incerta.

²¹ Lectio incerta.

²² Lectio incerta.

²³ Lectio incerta.

במסכתא
התענית
וירושלמי
בפרק בשלשה
פרקים בתלמודא ה' א' [גמרא] אפ' ל' לוי אף בימי מלכות
הישקיה הוואת הוי משלשין לון שתי קפות של
זב וזוי מעלין לון שני כבשים פסוקי שלשו לון שתי
קפות של זב והעלו להם שני חרדים ולא הניע להני המוקד
עד שנתענע ונאץ הקדי תלמי מארץ ישראל ארבעים פסוקי
באותה עשה גרמו העונות ובשל המסור והרבה הבית והדוקה הנירי

Text 3: ySanh XIII, 7 = yMakk II, 7 (PF II, 3) [l. p. 292] [G f. 44v]

Hoc autem est, quod legitur in libro cenehedrin yerusalimi, in pereq, i.e. distinczione, illu hen haggolin g: Dixit rabi samuel: Quinque res defuerunt in ultimo templo, que fuerunt in primo. Et unde probatur? Ex eo quod scriptum est in aggeo i'. c [Hag 1:8]: Ascendite in montem, et afferte lignum, et hedicafate domum, et accebabo eam, ue iqqabda, i.e. et honorabor. Ve iqqabda, scriptum est dimjnute, i.e. absque hac litera he, que significat y^{ue} res, in quibus sanctoruarium ultijum, fuit a primo dimjnutum, uidelicet ignis, archa, urim ue thumijim, i.e. rationale iudici, oleum unctiois, et spiritus sanctus.

Text 4: ySanh I, 1 (PF II, 4) [l. p. 314] [G f. 47r]

Premittendum est quoque adhuc id quod legitur in libro cenehedrin ierosolimitano, in pereq, i.e. distinczione que dicitur dine memonoth, i.e. iudicia diuiciarum c: Tradiderunt rabinj, quod cum adhuc domus, i.e. templum, non erat destructa per xl annos, ablata sunt iudicia nefassoth, i.e. animarum, de israel, i.e. iudicia mortis. In diebus rabi simeon filij yohay ablata sunt dine memonoth, i.e. iudicia diuiciarum de Israel.

במסכת סנהדרין ירושלמי
פרק אילו הן תולין ג' [א] ה' שמאל בר ה' הנאי בשם ר' אחא אפר
תמשה דברים קטר מקדש אחרון הראשון ומה פעמיה
עלו הקה והבאתם עץ ובנו
הבית והארצה בו ואבנהו ואבנהו פת' הקט
אילו הן תמשה דברים שוקט מקדש
אחרון מן הראשון ואילו הן אש ארון
אורים ותומים שמן המשחה
ורוח הקודש

במסכת סנהדרין ירושלמי פרק דיני ממונות
המו רבן קורט לארבעים ענה עד שלא
הרב בית המקדש ניטלו דיני נפשות משראלי
בימי ר' שמעון בן יוחי ניטלו דיני ממונות מקשרי

²⁴ Lectio incerta.

²⁵ Hag 1:8.

Text 10: yYom VI, 3 (PF II,8) [l, p. 370–1] [G f. 68v]

Item in talmud yerussalmi, i.e. ierosolimitano: Omnibus diebus, in quibus fuit simeon iustus subsistens, erat sors nominis, i.e. dei, ascendens in dextra, etc., ut supra: Quadrangula uero anis, cum adhuc non erat domus destructa, extingebatur lumen uespertinum, et lingua splendoris, i.e. lane rubee, rubescebat ut sanguis, et sors nominis ascendebat in sinistra, et erant porte templi aperientes se de nocte, et manicas reperiebant eas apertas. Dixitque [l 371] rabban yohanan: Templum, templum, quare obstupefacis nos? Scimus quod finis tuus, ad uastationem, et quod super te prophetauit zachariya: aperi libane portas etc.

Text 11: yBikk I, 4 (PF II,9) [l, p. 378] [G f. 70r]

In maçechtha biquirin, i.e. primiciarium: Maldauerunt uel trahiderunt in nomine rabi iuda: ger, i.e. aduena, i.e. conuersus, qui de gentilitate uenit ad fidem, ipsemet est apportans, primicias scilicet, et dicens uel legens, illud deuter. xxvi. b [Deut 26:3]: pronuncio hodie domino deo tuo, quod intraui terram quam iurauit dominus patribus nostris. Que est huius rei probatio? Non erit ultra nomen tuum abram, sed erit nomen tuum abraham, quia patrem multitudinis gentium dedi te, gen. xvij. a [Gen 17:5]. In principio fuit pater aram, et ideo uocatus est abram, finaliter uero pater totius seculi, et nomen eius abraham.

Text 12: yTaan I, 1 (PF II,10) [l, p. 402] [G f. 82v]

Adhuc quoque habetur in libro de taanith yerussalmj, i.e. ierosolimitano: Dixit rabi aha: Si essent israel, i.e. iudei, facientes penitentiam una die, statim uenisset filius dauid, i.e. messias. Que est huius rei probatio? hodie, si uocem eius audieritis [Ps 95:7].

34 Zech 11:1.
35 Gen 17:5.
36 Ps 95:7.

בכפס דייקא ירושלמי בכ' שני שיערי יום הכפורים הלכות' ה' כל ימים שהיה שמיני מצרים קיום היה נודל של שם עולה בכוח רבלי ארבעים שנה עד שלא תרב בית המקדש היה הנה מקשרי כבה' ולשון של יהודיה נאורים' ונודל של שם עולה בשבאל רדתי בלוחות הדיקל נועלין מבקרב ומשכימי ומצואן אותן פרוזות אמר רבן יוחנן בן זבאי היכל היכל לקה אותה כבהלתי ירדעו אנו שסופך ליתרם וקליד נתקבא זכריה, פתח לבטרי' יג'

במסכת בכורים ירושלמי תני בשם ר' יוחנן' ג' עצמו כביא וקרא' מה פעם כי אב המון גוים נחריד' פתחלה היה אב לארץ ושמו אברהם ולבטרי' אב לכל העולם ושמו אברהם' א' ה' ירושע הלכה כר' יוחנן'

בכפס דייקא ירושלמי פלך מאי קתי מצידין בקלכר' א' אפי' ה' אהא אלו היה שתי' עשין חשבה רום ארד היה בן רד' 'בא קה טעם היום אם בקולו חשמעו'*

Text 13: yTaan I, 1 (PF III–III,1) [l, p. 202r sub marg.]

Quod autem patet sit deus mitens, uerbum quod ipsius, i.e. filius, sit deus missus, non tamen duo dji, sed unus deus, inde colligitur, ubi in principio libri taanith yerussalmj, taliter scriptum est: Dixit rabi simeon, filius yohay: Migravit israel in babiloniam, et migratur seckina, i.e. diuinitas cum eis. Vnde probatio? Ex eo quod dicit ys. xliij. [Isa 43:14]: Propter uos, sullahij, i.e. missus sum, babela, i.e. in babiloniam.

Text 14: yAZ II, 2 (PF III–III,7) [l, p. 744] [G f. 276v–277r]

Porro nomen impositionis est, illud quod in circumcissione iudeis, et in baptismo imponitur xristianis. Et iuxta hunc modum, uno solo nomine uocatus est messias noster, quod est yessua, i.e. salus uel saluatio, sicut habetur in talmud yerussalmj, i.e. ierosolimito, in libro qui dicitur aaboda zara. Dixit rabi yohanan, filius filij rabi yehossua filij leuj: glutuerat quodam mortiferum. Et coniuuratum uel exorcizatum fuit ei, ex nomine yessua filij panterij, et sanatus est. Ex quo autem euasit, dixit pater pueri, scilicet ei, qui coniuerauerat puero in nomine ihesu xristi. Et quid dixit [G f. 277r] super eum? Ait ei: Verbum tale, uel talis. Dixit: Re-missus fuisset ei, si mortuus fuisset, et non audisset uerbum hoc. Et sic factum est ei, i.e. mortuus est puer in continenti, propter ingratiitudinem patris. Dixit rabi yoce: Factum est, quod serpens quidam momordit eleazar filium duma, uenit igitur ad eum yaacob, i.e. iacobus, uir quidam de discipulis yessua bar panterij, i.e. filij panterij, ut curaret eum, et ait ei: Dicam tibi, ex nomine yessua filij panterij, et curaberis. Dixit ei rabi yismael: Non licet hoc tibi, fili duma. Ait ei: Ego inducam probacionem, quod licitum est mihi, quod curet me. Non permisit eum inducere probacionem, donec mortuus est. Et quam probacionem poterat inducere? Illud quod scriptum est leuj. xvij. a [Leu 18:5]: Que faciet homo, et uiuet in eis.

במסכת עבודה זרה ירושלמי אפי' ה' יוחנן' כר בריה של ה' ירושע בן לוי היה ליה בלעיאה' חזי ולתע ליה בן שמא' ירושע בר פתחרי ואונש' בן נפק אפי' ליה' וקה אברה' [G f. 277r] עלוי אפי' ליה' מולת פלי' אבר' נדח היה ליה אלו היה ר'א' שמע מילתא הדיא והנה' ליה בן רבלי אפי' ה' יורי' בשם רב הסדא' מנעשה באלעזר' בן רדקא טעמך נתשעבא' יעקב איש כפר סכניא' מתלמידיו של יושע בר פתחרי' לרפואה' אפי' לו נקבא לך משם יושע' בן פתחרי' והרפא אפי' לו ה' ישמעל' א' את רשע' בן רדקא אפי' לו אני אבאי' ראיא שרפואתי לא הספיק' לקריא ראיא עד שמת' וקה היה ליה למקרי' אשר יעשה אותם האדם וחי בקה'*

37 Isa 43:14.
38 כפ' סכניא' add. in marg.
39 Lev 18:5.

Text 15: yĀaan IV, 8 (PF III–III,9) [l, p. 765–6] [G f. 292v]

Istud quoque est scriptum in talmud yerussalmj. in libro taanith, in pereq, i.e. distinctione, que incipit, bislossa paraqim: [l 766] Rabi aaqiba erat exponeus: egressa est stella ex iacob, non legas qokab, i.e. stellam, sed qozeb, i.e. falsitatem uel mendacium. Hic est rex messias.

Text 16: yBer I, 9 (PF III–III,11) [l, p. 781] [G f. 305r]

Ad idem facit optime id quod scriptum est in libro barakoth yerussalmi, i.e. ierosolimitano, in pereq, i.e. distinctione, maymathay qorin. g: Ben zuma dixit: Futuri sunt israel, non facere memoriam egressus egiptj, ad futurum uenturum, in diebus Messie. Et quid est rei huius probatio? Illud quod scriptum est iere. xxiiij. b [Jer 23:7]: propter hoc ecce dies uenientes ait dominus, non dicent ultra, ujuus dominus, qui ascendere fecit filios israel de terra miçraim etc. Dixerunt sapientes: non quod euellendum esset nomen miçraim de loco suo, sed miçraim additum super regna. Regna, i.e. mirabilia que fiunt in diebus regnorum gencium, erunt ijqcar, i.e. substantia, et miçraim erit rafa, i.e. habebit se ad modum accidentis. Et sic est dicens ge. xxxv. c [Gen 35:10]: Non uocabitur ultra nomen tuum yaacob, sed israel erit nomen tuum. Dixerunt: Non quod yaacob euellatur de loco suo, sed israel erit substantia, et yaacob appositum ei. Et sic est dicens ys. xliij. d [Isa 43:18]: Non memoretis priora. Ista sunt miçraim, i.e. egiptiaca signa scilicet. Et antica non curatis, ista sunt post egressum miçraim, i.e. egiptiorum. Ecce ego facies nouam, nunc germinabit, nonne cognoscetis eam? Jsta erit de gog, in diebus messie.

40 Jer 23:7.
41 Gen 35:10.
42 Isa 43:18.
43 Isa 43:18.
44 Isa 43:19.

זהו גם במסכת הירושלמי בפרק ח' עקבא היה הירש דרבן כובכ מיצבך אל תקרי כובכ אלא כובכ וכך היה חמי ליה לקריב בן כוזבא וזה אומר דין הוא מלכא משיחא

במסכת ברכות הירושלמי בפרק קדרין בן זוזא אמי עורדין הן ישראל שלא להזכיר יציאת מצרים לעירי לכא בימי המשיח נקרא עמבא לבן הנח מימי באים נאם יי לא יאמרו עוד הן יי אשר העלה את בני ישראל פארץ מצרים וי ישראל חמבים לא שיעקר עם מצרים ממצבתו אלא מצרים מוסק על המלכותי מקבלו וכן הוא אמרי לא יקרא שקו עוד יצבך כי אם ישראל יהיה שקמי אמרי לא שיעקר יצבך ממצבתו אלא יקבט שקל לו וכן הוא אמרי אל תזכירו ראשונותי אלו המצרים וקדמויות אל תחבנתי: אלו אחרי יציאת מצרים הני עשה תורה עקה הצמח הלא תיעזרה: ו של נגל בימי המשיח

Text 17: yYom VIII, 9 (PF III–III,13) [l, p. 819] [G f. 332r]

Non minus eciam est notandum illud quod scriptum est in libro yoma ierosolimitano, in pereq yom haqqiporim: Scriptum est Jere. xvij. c [Jer 17:13]: Mique israel dominus, i.e. congregatio israel est dominus. Quemadmodum mique, i.e. congregatio aquarum uel pelagus mundificat pollutos, ita deus sanctus et be[nedictus] erit mundans in futuro, israel. Et sic est ipse dicens eze. xxxv. e [Eze 36:25]: Et aspergam super uos aquas mundas, et mundabimini] ab omnibus immundicijs uestris, et ab omnibus spurcieijs uel iniquiamenti uestris, mundabo uos.

במסכת יומא הירושלמי בפרק יום הכיפורים ז' כתי' מקוה יתראל יי, מה המקוה משהו אה המכאים אך תקלי' וי' יהיה משהו לעירי לכווא אה ישראל וכן הוא אמרי ויקרי עליכם קום שוורים וטהרתם מפל שמואתיכם ומכל גלוליכם אמה אתכם"

Text 18: yMakk II, 7 = ySanh XIII, 7 (PF III–III,13(14)) [l, p. 826] [G f. 336v–337r]

Conuenienter adhuc predictis adiungendum uidetur id quod in libro maccoth yerussalmj in pereq illu hen haggolin taliter scriptum est: Dixit rabi pinhaç, i.e. phinees: Scriptum est in ps. xxiiij. c [Ps 25:8]: Bonus et rectus dominus, propter hoc, docebit errantes uiam uel in uia. [G f. 337r] Quare est bonus? quia rectus. Et quare est rectus? Quia bonus. Propter hoc docebit errantes uiam. Docebit siquidem uiam, per quam faciunt penitentiam. Quesitum est a sapientia: peccator, que est eius condempnatio uel sententia? Dixit eis: peccatores, persequitur malum, pro. xiiij. f [Prov 13:21]. Quesiuerunt a propheta: peccatoris que est eius condempnatio? Ait eis: eze. xvij. e [Eze 18:20]: Anima que peccauit, ipsa morietur. Interrogauerunt legem, dicentes: Que est condempnatio peccatoris? Dixit eis: Offerat sacrificium, et remittetur ei, sicut scriptum est leuj. i. b [Lev 1:4]: Et placatus erit ei, ut parcat ei. Interrogauerunt deum sanctum et benedictum: Que est condempnatio peccatoris? Dixit eis: Faciat penitentiam, et parceat ei. Et hoc est quod scriptum est ps. xviiij. c [Ps 25:8]: Bonus et rectus est dominus, propter hoc docebit errantes uel peccatores uiam uel in uia. Quia ipse est docens uel monstrans peccatoribus uiam, ad faciendum penitentiam.

45 Jer 17:13.
46 Eze 36:25.
47 Ps 25:8.
48 Prov 13:21.
49 Eze 18:4.20.
50 Lev 1:4.
51 Ps 25:8.

במסכת מכות הירושלמי בפרק אלו ין הנולד א ר פניס כתי' טוב ורשע יי על בן יורה השאים בדרך: [G f. 337r] למר הוא טוב שהוא ישר ולמה הוא ישר שהוא טוב על פן יורה להשאים הדרך שמורה הדרך שיעשו השוכחי שאלו להקביל הוואם מה הוא עתש אמרה לרם השאים הדרך: רעה" שאלו לבנואה הוואם קדווא עתש אמרה לרן הנפש הוואם הוא המוח" שאלו לעורר הוואם קדווא עתש אמרה לרן הנפש אמרה לרן כיא קרבן ומחבפר לו דכתי' ותקרי לו לכפר עליו" שאלו לתקן כתי' הוואם מה הוא עתש אמר לרם יעשה השוכה והקבפר לוי היינו כתי' טוב ורשע יי על בן יורה השאים בדרך: שהוא מורה להשאים הדרך לעשות השוכה"

Text 19: ySanh VI, 3 (PF III–III,13(14)) [I, p. 830] [G f. 340v]

Ad hoc eciam quod confessio facienda sit alterj, et non soli deo qui iam scit omnia, facit adhuc, quod scriptum est in libro çanhedrin yerussalmj, i.e. ierosolimitano, in pereq, i.e. distinctione que incipit nigmar haddin a: Omnis confitens habet partem in seculo uenturo. Sic enim inuenimus in aqan, quod dixit et iosue vij^o [Jos 7:19]: Fili mj, leua queso honorem domino deo israel, et da ei confessionem, et indica mihi uel annuncia queso, quid fecisti, non celes, a me. Et respondit aqan ad iosue et ait: vere ego peccaui, domino deo israel, et sicut istud, ac uelut istud, feci. Et unde habetur quod remissum est ei peccatum, scilicet? Ex eo quod dictum est [Jos 7:25]: Et ait iosue: Sicut turbastj nos, turbet te dominus, in die isto. In isto die es tu turbatus, sed non eris turbatus in futuro.

Text 20: yBer I, 8 (PF III–III,14(16)) [I, p. 851] [G f. 353r]

Simile hujc habetur in libro brakoth yerussalmj, in pereq meemathay qorin f: Et fuit, cum compleuit salomo orando ad dominum unjersam oracionem et deprecationem hanc, surrexit de conspectu altaris domini procumbens super genua sua, et manus eius erant expanse ad celos. Dixit rabi ayyabub: Et manus eius erant expanse ad celos, nam sicut iste crucifixus uel in cruce extansus erat stans.

³² Jos 7:19–20.
³³ Jos 7:25.
³⁴ 1 Ki 8:54.

Text 21: yBer II, 4 (PF III–III,14(16)) [I, p. 868] [G f. 369f–v]

Secundum uero est id quod in libro berakoth, i.e. benedictiones, yerussalmj in pereq haya qore: Scriptum est os. iij. e [Hos 3:5]: post uel ulijmo, conuertentur filij israel, et querent dominum deum suum. [G f. 369v] et dauid regem suum, etc. Rabbanjin, i.e. magistrj sunt dicentes: Jste rex messias, si de uijus est, dauid est nomen eius, et si de percussis, i.e. de occisis est, dauid est nomen eius. Dixit rab tanhuma: Ego dicam huius rei probacionem, illud ps. xvij. g [Ps 18:51]: Et faciens misericordiam messie suo daujd. Rabi yehossua dixit, quod cemarh, i.e. germen, est nomen eius. Rabi yoden dixit, quod menahem, i.e. consolator est nomen eius. Rabi hanina: Non sunt inuicem contrarij. Ipse namque est quod estimant isij, et quod estimant istj. Jpse quippe est dauid, ipse cemarh, et ipse menahem.

Text 22: ySanh I, 1 (PF III–III,14(16)) [I, p. 872] [G f. 372v]

Et hec omnia ita facta fuisse, inde perpenditur, ubi in libro çanhedrin ierosolimitano, in pereq dine memonoth, taliter legitur: Traditum est: Ante per xl annos, quam destruere ter domus sanctuarij, ablata sunt iudicia animarum uel personarum de israel. In diebus simeonis filij yohay, ablata sunt iudicia diuiciarum de israel.

במסכת סנהדרין ירושלמי
בפ גמרת הדין
א כל המביא את יי אליהם
הלא שכן מצונו בעין
שאמר לו יהושע בני
שמ אם כבוד הניך לא יי אלהי ישראל
וחן לו חודה והניך לא יי כה
עשרת אל תכחד ויפני יתען
עקן את יהושע ויאמר
אמנה אבי תשאני ליי אלהי
ישראל וקואת קשתי
וכני שניחפכר לו עני ויאמר
יהושע מה עפרתנו יעקרב יי
ביום הזה³² היום הזה אתה עבר
ואן אתה עובר לעשר לביא³³

במסכת סנהדרין ירושלמי
פ תמי קתי קורין י
יהי ככלות שלמה להתפלל
אל יי את כל התפלה והתקנה
הואת קם מלפני מזבח יי מפרע
על ברזיו וכפיו פרושות השמים³⁴
אין יי אייבו וכפיו פרושות
השמים כגון הדין נקדם היה עונדי³⁵

³⁵ Hos 3:5.
³⁶ Ps 18:51.

Text 23: yYom I, 1 (PF III–III,19(21)) [l, p. 897 f] [G f. 393v–394f]

Item quasi idem in talmud ierosolimitano, in libro yoma, in perseq sibath yamim: [1898] Rabi yohanan dixit: Inuenimus, quod silo non est destructum, nisi propter hoc, quia prophetauerunt sancturia, et spreuerunt sollempnitates. Et inuenimus, quod non fuit domus primitus destructa, nisi propter hoc, quod fuerunt colentes ydola, et reuelantes pudenda, et effundentes sanguines. In secunda autem domo, nouimus eos omnes fuisse laborantes in lege, et momentes seruarij precepta, et decimationes, et omnis habitus bonus fuit in eis, nisi quid erant amantes [G f. 394f] pecuniam, et odientes istj illos, odio gratis. Quoque graue est odium gratis, quod ponderat contra reuelacionem pudendorum, et ydolatriam, et effusionem sanguinis. Dicitur quod rabi azira et rabi iacob ac rabi abuna erant sedentes et dicentes amplius, quod fuit prius, fuit reedificatum, quod uero secundo, non est reedificatum. Quia priores egerunt penitenciam, secundi uero non egerunt penitenciam. Dixit rabi eleazar: Priores fecerunt penitenciam, ideo reuelatum est peccatum eorum, et reuelatus est finis eorum. Nouissimj non egerunt penitenciam, ideo non est reuelatum peccatum eorum, nec finis captiuitatis eorum. Quesierunt a rabi eleazar: Utrum generaciones nouissimorum iudeorum essent digniores, quam primorum. Dixit eis: Testimonium eorum in domo electionis. Ipsa domus arguit hoc. Patres nostrj abstulerunt idem tectum. Sed nos, funditus euulsimus parietes, sicut dictum est ps. cxxxvi. g [Ps 137:8]: Diruhte, diruhte, usque ad fundamentum in ea. Dixerunt magistrj: Omnis generacio, in cuius diebus non est edificatum domus sanctuarij, ita imputant ei, ac si ipsa destruxerit eam.

בבסי יומא ירושלמי פ' שבועה
ומים ר' יוחנן אמי קמיני שלא
הרבו שריא אלא על שהיו
התלוי הקדשים ובקבים
אח המועדות וקמיני שלא
הרב הקבא בראשיה אלא על
שהיו עובדי עב ר' הגמלי קריית
ושפכי דמים אכל כשני
מכירין אנו אותם שהיופולין
עני בתורה והיהו בפתוח
ובקשיותה וכל יוסת טובה היהא
ברון אלא שהיו אוהבים
[G f. 394f]

הקמן ושנאין אלו את אלו
שנאין חנם קשה היא שנאין
חנם שריא שקילה כנגד גזרי קריית
ועב ר' תשפוחה קמים דלקה ר'
עירא ר' יעקב ר' אבנא וקון
יתבין ואמרו ביהוה שבראשון
נבנה ובשני לא נבנה
כי הראשונים עשו תשובה
והשניים לא עשו תשובה
אמי ר' אלעזר הראשונים עשו
תשובה נתקלה עונם ונתקלה
קיצם האחרונים לא עשו
תשובה לא נתקלה עונם ולא
נתקלה קיצם
שאלו את ר' אלעזר דורוח
האחרונים בשרין כן
הראשונים אמי להם
עירוחם בבית הבחירה
הבית יוכיח אבותינו העבירו את
התקרה אבל אנו פעפעבו
את הבתלים של ערו ערו ערו
היסוד ביה אמרו רבנן כל דור
שאינו נבנה בית המקדש בקמיו
נעלים עליו כחלו הוא התייבש

Text 24: ySheq 5.1 [or bSheq 13b Schottenstein] (PF III–III,19(21)) [1918] [G f. 408v]

Iste utique diabolus permittente deo, infatuauit eos, et abstulit eis sensum quoad uertitatis intellectum, ita ut minoris intelligencie sint in diuinis scripturis quam asini, sicut scriptum est in libro seqalim, in pereq ue illu hen a: Dixit rabi hagay: Priores arauerunt, et seminauerunt et surculauerunt, et messuerunt, et arconizauerunt, et tritauerunt, et uentjauerunt, et purgauerunt, et moluerunt, et apposuerunt, et non est nobis os, ad comedendum. Rabi abba dixit: Si fuerunt antiqui filij hominis, nos sumus asini. Dixit rabi mennj: in illa hora. Eciam asine rabi pinhaç, i.e. phinees filij yair, non sumus comparandi. Huc usque in talmud.

במסכת שקלים פ' ואליו
היו הממונים אמי ר' תני הראשונים
הישו ויהו ועידו וקצרו ועמדו
הישו ויהו וברדו ושמנו ואפו ואגנו
אזי לנו פה לאכול ר' אבא אמי אם
היו קראין בני אנש אין המודין
אמי ר' בני באותה שעה אפילו לתקרתיה
הי פנתס כן יאיר לא אדמינן

Text 25: yBer II, 4 (PF III–III,21(23)) [l, p. 953] [G f. 425r]

In libro brakot yerussalmj, in perec haya qore, postea penitebunt filij israel etc. os. iij. c [Hos 3:5]. Magistrj dicentes: Ipse rex messias, si de uisus est, dauid est nomen eius. Si uero de percussis est, i.e. de mortuis, dauid est nomen eius. Dixit rabj fanhuma: ego dico huius rej probacionem esse in ps. xvij. g [Ps 18:51]: et faciens pietatem messie suo daujd.

בבסי ברכות ירושלמי פ' היה קורא
אמר יושבו בני ישראל וי' רבנן אמרו
אזן מלכא משקא אין כן היה
הוא היה שפיר ואם כן הימכיה הוא
היה שפיר אמי ר' תנחומא אמי
אמרו פעמא ותושה הסך למשיחו
לרוד

Text 26: wrong introduction; quotation: Midrash Qohelet (PF III–III,19(21)) [l, p. 898f] [G f. 394r–395r]

Premissis adiungendum est id quod in libro taanith ierosolimitano, et super planctum ieremie ij. b [Lam 2:2] uero dicitur: [1899] Destruxit dominus et non peperit [...]

במסכת תענית ירושלמי ובאמה
רבתי על בלע י' ולא תמל את כל
נאות יעקב ויבמדרש קהלה על
אם רוח המושל תעלה עליך
מקמיך אל תנחם [...]

58 Hos 3:5.
59 Ps 18:51.
60 Lam 2:2.
61 Ecc 10:4.

57 Ps 137:7.

Appendix III: Quotations and Latin Translations from the Yerushalmi
in the *Capistrum Iudeorum*

	<i>Capistrum Iudeorum</i> (part, book, and chapter)	ed. Robles Sierra ⁶²	Treatise, chapter	Chapter title according to Ramon Martí	Parallels in the Pugio fidei
1	R 2,9	78	ySanh I, 1	cenhedrin, capitulo dine mamonoth, b	## 4, 22
2	R 3,5	104/6	yTaan IV, 8	macheta de taanith yerussalmi, distincione be selos paraqin, c. VIII	
3	R 3,16	116	yTaan IV, 8	maocehta de taanith, perec beselossa paraqim, VIII capitulo	
4	R 5,17	220	yBer II, 4	mazbrachot yerussalmi, perec haya qore, d	## 21 etc.
5	R 6,6	246	ySanh XIII, 7	mahozetha de taanith yerussalmi perec seder tahamioth, a	# 3
6	R 6,19	266/8	yTaan IV, 8	maççetha de taanith yerussalmi, pereq besel-ossa paraqim	# 2; 5; 6 etc.
7	R 7,15	284/6	yShab XIV, 1	massekhta sabbat yerussalmi pereq semona saracin	# 9
8	R 7,25	304/6	yTaan I, 1	mazetha de thaanith yerussalmi pereq mathe mazqirin, c. primo	
9	N 3,13	130/2	yBer II, 4	macheta brachot, perec haya qore, d	## 21 etc.

⁶² *Raimundi Martini Capistrum Iudeorum: Texto crítico y traducción* Adolfo Roble Sierra, 2 vols., Würzburg / Altenberge 1990/93.