

GENTILE DA FOLIGNO'S *CONSILIUM CONTRA PESTILENTIAM* AND ITS HEBREW TRANSLATION

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Abstract: Due to his first-hand experience with the Black Death, the Italian physician Gentile da Foligno (d. 1348) became a famous authority in this field. He devoted various writings to the pestilence; one of them was a *Consilium* addressed to the city of Pisa. This same *Advice on the Plague* was then rendered into Hebrew by an anonymous translator. The practical character of the *Consilium*, which contains numerous instructions and recipes to prevent contagion and treat the disease, might have aroused the interest of Jewish physicians who, excluded from academic education, were looking for useful treatments. In this paper, the Latin text and its Hebrew translation are analyzed, and in the appendix the edition of both versions is provided.

Keywords: Latin-into-Hebrew; Gentile da Foligno; Black Death; Italian medieval medicine; medical *consilia*.

I.

Mostly famous for his commentary on Avicenna's *Canon*, the Italian physician Gentile da Foligno composed numerous medical *Consilia* – short writings addressing a specific disease and its treatment.¹ The great number of *Consilia* testifies to the exceptional first-hand clinical experience of Gentile, who, in the course of his professional activity, eventually contracted the plague and

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1 On Gentile da Foligno, see THORNDIKE 1934; THORNDIKE 1959; FRENCH 2001.

died in Foligno in 1348.²

After having studied medicine in Bologna, Gentile taught in Siena, Perugia and Padua, while he also became famous at numerous lordly courts, as is testified by the dedications found in some of his *Consilia*.³ Besides the *Consilia*, he wrote several medical treatises devoted to various topics, even though the commentary on the five books of Avicenna's *Canon* is considered to be his masterpiece.⁴ Gentile's commentary covered the entire work and was used as a manual for university teaching until the 16th century. Furthermore, in the course of time, his writings on the plague became renowned due to his direct knowledge of the disease that eventually also caused his death.

Gentile da Foligno authored several *Consilia* on the pestilence, some of

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- 2 The *Consilia* are variously transmitted in the manuscript tradition as well as in prints. Numerous collections of *Consilia* are found, which do not always correspond to each other. In the codex Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III, ms. VIII.D.40, ff. 155r-223v, 218 *Consilia* are copied; and in the ms. Cortona, Biblioteca Comunale e dell'Accademia Etrusca, ms. 110, ff. 140-148; ff. 149-160, about 290 *Consilia* are found. Moreover, relevant collections of *Consilia* are included in the following manuscripts: München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 77, ff. 18r-v; 79v-80r; 117r-140bis; Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 81.4 Aug. 2^o, ff. 189r-229v; Brugge, Openbare Bibliotheek, ms. 473, ff. 244r-285r; Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 2482, ff. 1r-7v; 8v-38r; 49r-51r; 53r-70r; Pal. lat. 1264, ff. 247r-306v. The most ancient testimony, dating back to the 2nd half of the 14th century, is probably Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 2418, ff. 214r-217r; however, it contains only few *Consilia*. For the printed edition, see GENTILIS DE FULGINEO 1486; GENTILIS DE FULGINEO 1495. The list of *Consilia* transmitted by some of the above-mentioned manuscripts has been compared to that of the prints by THORNDIKE 1959.
- 3 For instance, the *Consilium ad dissenteriam* is dedicated to Francesco, the count of Urbino (see Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Ross. 974, f. 55r); the *Consilium ad cerebri humiditatem* is addressed to Francesco, the bishop of Oleno (see Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Ross. 974, f. 3v); the *Consilium ad passiones oculorum* and the *Consilium ad sibilum auris* are devoted to Francisco de Florentia, chaplain of the cardinal Giovanni Colonna (see Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Ross. 974, f. 7v; 13v); the *Consilium ad egritudines stomaci* is addressed to Giovanni da Vico, prefect of Rome (see Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 2482, f. 29v); the *Consilia ad egritudines vessice* and the *Consilium ad catarrum pectoris* are dedicated to Ubertino da Carrara, Lord of Padova, and to his sister (see Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 2482, f. 24r; ff. 44-46).
- 4 For the list of manuscripts and printed editions of the *Commentary* to the *Canon*, see CHANDELIER 2017, 527-554.

which were addressed to cities such as Genoa – where the plague wave originated in Italy – Perugia and Pisa.⁵ Other writings were not specifically associated with any city: regarding these, one could raise the question whether they should be considered different and independent texts or versions and extracts of the same *Consilium*,⁶ since the rewriting and adaption of contents is a typical feature of the literary genre of the *Consilia*.⁷

The following writings on the pestilence are transmitted under the name of Gentile:

(i) *Consilium contra pestilentiam*

Incipit: “Quoniam gloriosus et excelsus Deus de largitate sua.”

Manuscript tradition: Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1147, ff. 124r–136v; Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 90 sup. 90, ff. 63r–94r.

Early prints: Gentilis de Fulgineo, *Consilium contra pestilentiam* (Pataviae: per Laurentium Canozius, c. 1472–75); Gentilis de Fulgineo, *Consilium contra pestilentiam* (Colle in Valle Elvae: per Bonuum Gallum, c. 1478–79); Gentilis de Fulgineo, *Consilium contra pestilentiam, Tractatus de resistentiis* (Venetiis?: c. 1500).

Sudhoff raises doubts about the date of composition and suggests an earlier date with respect to the 1348 outbreak.⁸

5 On Gentile’s treatises on the Black Death, see SUDHOFF 1911(2), 332–340; FRENCH 2001, 274–296.

6 THORNDIKE 1934, 244, discusses the question.

7 See AGRIMI, CRISCIANI 1994, 44–48; CRISCIANI 1996, 10–16, 20, 31–32.

8 See SUDHOFF 1911(2), 336.

(ii) *Sumarium de peste*

Incipit: "Retificetur aer primo sue residentie."

Manuscript tradition: Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 8690, f. 152r-153r.

(iii) *Consilium in pestilentia que accidit Ianue*

Incipit: "Illustrissimis amicis nostris de Ianua."

Manuscript tradition: Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1260, ff. 96v-97r; Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1264, f. 301v; München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 77, ff. 117r-118r; Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, A.VI.6, ff. 296v-298r; Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, ms. 1178, ff. 53r-54r.

Early prints: Gentilis de Fulgineo, *Consilia* (Papiae: per Antonium Carcanum, c. 1486); Gentilis de Fulgineo, *Canon medicinae 7: De febre et aliae quaestiones*, ed. Antonius Gratarolus (Venetiis: Baptista De Tortis, 1494); *Consilia Cermisoni. Consilia Gentilis. Recepte Gentilis de febribus. Tractatulus de balneis Gentilis* (Venetiis: per O. Scottum, 1495).

(iv) *Consilium Gentilis quoad pestilentiam quod misit Pise*

Incipit: "Manifestum videtur quod causa terribilis mortis."

Manuscript tradition: Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1264, ff. 301v-302r; Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 1043, ff. 374r-v; Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, ms. 1178, f. 54r.

Early prints: Gentilis de Fulgineo, *Consilia* (Papiae: per Antonium Carcanum, c. 1486); Gentilis de Fulgineo, *Canon medicinae 7: De febre et aliae quaestiones*,

ed. Antonius Gratarolus (Venetiis: Baptista De Tortis, 1494); *Consilia Cermisoni. Consilia Gentilis. Recepte Gentilis de febribus. Tractatulus de balneis Gentilis* (Venetiis: per O. Scottum, 1495).

The title with the reference to the city of Pisa is found only in the ms. Vat. lat. 1043. In the manuscript Pal. lat. 1264, the text is introduced by the formula: “Aliud capitulum.” In the early prints, the work is entitled *Consilium aliud*. Lynn Thorndike suggests that this *Consilium* should be considered the second paragraph of the Genoese *Consilium*.⁹

(v) *Consilium in epidemia magna dum accidit Perusii*

Incipit: “Nulla videtur precessisse temporibus memorabilibus.”

Manuscript tradition: Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1260, ff. 97r-v; Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1264, ff. 302r-v; Cesena, Biblioteca Malatestiana, ms. D.XXIV.3, f. 201.

Early prints: Gentilis de Fulgineo, *Consilia* (Papiae: per Antonium Carcanum, c. 1486); Gentilis de Fulgineo, *Canon medicinae 7: De febre et aliae quaestiones*, ed. Antonius Gratarolus (Venetiis: Baptista De Tortis, 1494); *Consilia Cermisoni. Consilia Gentilis. Recepte Gentilis de febribus. Tractatulus de balneis Gentilis* (Venetiis, per O. Scottum, 1495).

In the manuscript Pal. lat. 1264, the work is divided into two parts; on f. 302v, the following incipit is found: “Gentilis de Fulgineo cum venerabili collegio magistrorum in preservationem et defensionem a tanta pestilentia.” It is not clear whether the latter text is the second paragraph of the Perugian *Consilium* or an independent *Consilium*.

⁹ See THORNDIKE 1959, 14.

(vi) *Consilium magistri Gentilis super pestilentiam*

Incipit: “Emergentis et inexcogitati considerantes eventus periculum et fragilitatis previsionis humane oportet.”

Manuscript tradition: Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2317, ff. 34v–35r.

The attribution to Gentile has been debated.¹⁰

(vii) *Prognosticatio magistri Gentilis in quadam pestilentia scilicet tempore magne mortalitatis*

Incipit: “Egritudines erunt febres continue.”

Manuscript tradition: Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1264, f. 303r.

(viii) *Considerationes aliorum medicorum circa easdem pestilencias*

Incipit: “Circa causam huius pestilencie variatur consideracio magistrorum.”

Manuscript tradition: Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.p.misc.f. 6, ff. 63r–64r.

The work gathers opinions from different physicians, Gentile is mentioned as one of them; moreover, numerous similarities with the previous *Consilia* are found.¹¹

Finally, the topic of the pestilence is treated also in the commentary on Avi-

¹⁰ See SUDHOFF 1911(2), 337.

¹¹ See SUDHOFF 1911(1), 83–87.

cenna's *Canon*, precisely in the section dealing with pestilential fevers.¹²

II.

The name of Gentile da Foligno appears in the incipit of a Hebrew translation about the pestilence, which is transmitted in the manuscript Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. hebr. 59, ff. 224v–225v.¹³ The Vienna exemplar, copied by a Sephardic handwriting, dates back to the 15th century. The text is introduced by the title *'Etzah 'al ha-dever* (*Advice on the Plague*), and its authorship is ascribed to Gentile da Foligno.¹⁴ Moritz Steinschneider hypothesized that the translator might have been Joshua the Physician from Bologna, since two other *Advices* on the plague translated from Latin are included in the same Vienna manuscript, one of which is the *'Etzah 'al ha-dever* (*Advice on the Plague*) by Francesco Zanelli of Bologna. In the colophon, Joshua from Bologna is identified as the translator.¹⁵ Apart from this reference, no other information concerning Joshua from Bologna is available.¹⁶

The title mentions that the *Advice* had been sent to Pisa, so that the writing can now be identified as the *Consilium Gentilis quoad pestilentiam quod misit Pise*. Previously, it had been suggested by Steinschneider to read *'Perugia'* instead of *'Pisa'*, possibly in order to identify the work with the *Consilium in epidemia magna dum accidit Perusii*.¹⁷ As in Latin, the incipit of the Hebrew version mentions the city of Pisa, together with Genoa and Naples, but the cities of Piombino and Massa are replaced with Catalonia:

12 Book IV, fen I, treatise 4; for the editions, see *supra*, n. 4.

13 See SCHWARZ 1925, no. 175, 193–194.

14 See STEINSCHNEIDER 1893, 791.

15 The Vienna catalogue suggests the same hypothesis; see SCHWARZ 1925, 193.

16 See ARIETI 1996, 238; PERANI 2002, 63.

17 See STEINSCHNEIDER 1893, 791.

<p>Manifestum videtur quod causa terribilis mortis, que manifesta fuit prius apud Januam, deinde venit Pisas et Plumbinum et Massam et que est nunc Neapolim, sit venenosa putredo circa partes cordis et pulmonis.</p>	<p>דבר ברור הוא ונראה המיתה האכזרית אשר נולדה בתחלה בגינואה, ובקטלוניא ואחר זה בפישה ועתה היא בנפולי, הוא עפוש ארסיי בסביבות הלב והריאה.</p> <p>[It is evident and we see that the cruel death, which originated in the beginning in Genoa and in Catalonia and after that in Pisa and which now is in Naples, is a poisonous reek around the heart and lungs.]¹⁸</p>
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As will be shown in the following, the Hebrew text found in the Vienna codex is a literal translation of the entire *Consilium Gentilis quoad pestilentiam quod misit Pise*, bearing numerous vulgarized Latin terms transcribed in Hebrew.

The same *incipit* that mentions the *Advice on the plague* sent to the city of Pisa and that is attributed to Gentile da Foligno is transmitted in a one-folio fragment, the Jerusalem, National Library of Israel, Ms. Fr. 81.2. This copy contains the entirety of the *Advice*, except for the last recipe, and corresponds to the work found in the Vienna codex.¹⁹ The fragment, written in an Italian script, includes some notes concerning other medical remedies not ascribed to Gentile. Apart from minor divergences concerning different formulations of sentences, the Jerusalem copy features various vernacular words, which in the Vienna manuscript appear to have been rendered into Hebrew.

Therefore, the fragment seems to be a witness of an earlier composition stage compared to the Vienna text, being a testimony of a working phase in

¹⁸ Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. hebr. 59, f. 224v; Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1264, f. 301v.

¹⁹ The information provided by the catalogue of the National Library of Israel, stating that this version diverges from the one kept in the Vienna codex, must therefore be corrected.

which more terms than in the final version were rendered into the vernacular language.

As will be discussed in the following, the vulgarized Latin forms and the Romance words – more frequent in the Jerusalem fragment – do not feature morphological characters allowing an unquestionable identification of the translation's geographical origin. Some clues speak in favor of an influence of Italo-Romance, more specifically of a southern or Sicilian version. Furthermore, the hypothesis that the Hebrew work might have been composed in Italy could seem plausible considering the Italian background of the *Consilium* and the possible association with Joshua of Bologna. In-depth research concerning the lexicon and the translation method of the Hebrew version of Francesco Zanelli's work is required in order to formulate more precise assumptions regarding the identification of the translator.

III.

If one relies on the information transmitted in the manuscript Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 1043, namely that the text starting with the words “Manifestum videtur quod causa terribilis mortis” has been composed to address the city of Pisa – which is confirmed also by the Hebrew copies²⁰ –, then this *Consilium* must have been written shortly after the Genoese, since it contains a relevant description of the geographical diffusion of the disease, from Tuscany to Naples.

As in Gentile's other *Consilia* on the plague, in the Pisan *Consilium*, the aetiology of the disease is explained through the poisonous putrefaction that affects part of the heart and lungs:

²⁰ See Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. hebr. 59, f. 224v.

Causa terribilis mortis [...] sit venenosa putredo circa partes cordis et pulmonis, de quibus exeunte venenoso vapore periculum est vicinantibus et conversantibus.²¹

The airborne transmission is treated also in the *Consilium magistri Gentilis super pestilentiam*²² and in the *Considerationes aliorum medicorum circa easdem pestilencias*²³ as well as in the *Perugian Advice*,²⁴ in which the centrality of the heart and lungs is stated. Analogously to these *Consilia*, the *Pisan Consilium* – a quite brief work – focuses on practical remedies and *regimina*, leaving aside the discussion regarding the remote causes, which are only mentioned in passing:

Huius autem putrefactionis, sive sit causa celestis adspetus, sive sit dispositio terrestris et aquarum, eandem habebit viam ausilii.²⁵

Indeed, the *Consilium magistri Gentilis super pestilentiam* briefly mentions the astronomical causes responsible for the corruption of the air, while it thoroughly treats the measures to be adopted,²⁶ particularly focusing on public administration, which should issue an entry ban against visitors coming from

21 See Appendix, *infra*.

22 Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2317, f. 34v: “Propter adventum aeris putridi in respiratione continua, cuius male egritudinis communicatio maxime ex aliorum infectorum contagiosa conversatione procedit.”

23 Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.p.misc.f. 6, f. 63r: “Immediata et particularis causa est quedam materia venenosa, que est circa cor et pulmonem [...] unde congregatis vaporibus venenosis per inspirationem et attractionem fit multa huiusmodi pestilentie generatio, ut fluat non solum de homine ad hominem, sed etiam de civitate in civitatem.”

24 Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1264, f. 302r: “Invenimus causam particularem immediatam fore quasdam materias venenosas que circa cor et pulmonem generatur.”

25 See Appendix, *infra*.

26 Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2317, f. 34v: “Quantum ad primum previsa astrorum erraticorum coniunctione et fixorum apparitione et eorum influenza maligna et dispositionibus temporum et elementorum varietate notata secundum omnes veridicos canones medicorum.”

an infected area.²⁷ Similarly, the *Considerationes aliorum medicorum circa easdem pestilencias* and the *Advices* to Genoa and Perugia focus on dietary instructions and recipes.

As that of the Genoese and the Perugian *Consilia*, the structure of the Pisan *Consilium* appears to be typical for its literary genre, being short and concise and concentrating on practical advices – which is different from the *Consilium contra pestilentiam*, whose division in propositions (*declarationes antecedentes*) and questions (*dubia*) reproduces the scheme of a scholastic treatise.

As the corruption of air is considered the main cause of the disease, the most important remedy includes the purification of the air with scented herbs and vinegar. Moreover, dietary guidelines to prevent the infection of healthy people and to treat sick patients are provided. Among other prescriptions, Gentile da Foligno suggests sprinkling the house with vinegar, leaving the room of the ill person often, walking in the open air and letting northern wind enter the house. Concerning the room where patients lie, it is recommended to place the sick person on a higher bed, so that their head is higher than the heads of the other people:

Infirmus ponatur in lecto alto, ut, quantum possibile est, premineat capitibus astantium.²⁸

This practice became common in the following years, as is attested by the famous image found in the printed edition of Johannes de Ketham's *Fasciculus medicine*, which depicts a man sick with plague lying on a bed in a higher

²⁷ Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2317, f. 35r: "Et propter hoc ad memoriam ducimus ut nullus aeger ex partibus contaminatis civitatem ingredi dimittatur."

²⁸ See Appendix, *infra*.

position than the practitioners visiting him.²⁹ The importance of hygienic measures is stressed, such as cleaning the house and washing hands numerous times. While herbal fumigations were a usual remedy, Gentile's advice to light a fire in the room was not considered a common measure; this practice – mentioned also in the *Consilium in pestilentia que accidit Ianue* and in the *Consilium in epidemia magna dum accidit Perusii* – is attested in the same engraving of the plague treatment in Ketham's *Fasciculum medicine*. After a brief reference to bloodletting, a few recipes for medicaments are included, precisely two purges, a pill and a potion. Concerning medicaments, the recommendation of using an old theriac is contained also in the *Consilium magistri Gentilis super pestilentiam*³⁰ as well as in the Genoese *Consilium*.³¹

In the conclusion, Gentile clearly states that the aim of his writing is to provide with instructions those who assist the invalid, in order to secure their health condition:

Spero, quod Dei auxilio cum hiis remediis adstantes poterunt infirmos secure custodire et eis servire.³²

Indeed, numerous advices are directed to the people who assist the sick, specifically concerning the way to protect themselves while taking care of the patients. Care and assistance, according to Gentile, appear to be characteristics proper to human behavior, as opposed to the conduct of the beasts:

29 JOHANNES DE KETHAM 1495.

30 Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2317, f. 35r: "Quantum ad tercium et ultimum secundi principalis utantur teriacha antiqua."

31 Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, ms. 1178, f. 53r: "Credimus tam sanis quam infirmis esse conveniens, quod utantur tiriaca magna, super qua transiverit annus."

32 See Appendix, *infra*.

Et specialiter oportet providere, ut hii, qui infirmis adstant, securius possint adesse, ne qui infirmantur propter omnem humanitatem delinquantur, et miserabilius dimittantur quam actenus, ut brutis animalibus est consuetum.³³

IV.

The choice of translating the Pisan *Consilium* into Hebrew probably reflects an interest of Jewish readers in a manual containing practical instructions for the prevention and treatment of the disease. In general, the *'Etzah 'al ha-dever* is mostly a literal translation of the Latin text, and it does not omit any recipe for medications nor does it leave out any instruction. The major discrepancy is found in the *incipit*, in which the cities of Massa and Piombino are not mentioned, being replaced by Catalonia, while the reference to Naples and Pisa is retained. Apart from this general literal correspondence, some abbreviations are observable, such as the shortening of the following sentence:

<p>Potus autem continuus sit aque ordei subtilis cum vino granatorum aut iuleb. In vino granatorum et acetositas sit, secundum quod videbitur presenti medico, maior aut minor et in pluri aut pauciori usu.</p>	<p>והמשתה תהיה תמיד מי השעורים עם עסיס מרמונים ויחומץ, כפי ראות הרופא. [And the drinking will always be barley water with pomegranates juice and vinegar, according to the view of the doctor.]³⁴</p>
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It seems that the abbreviation might not be due to a choice by the translator, but rather depends on the manuscript source or a misreading of the source; as a matter of fact, the reiteration of “vino granatorum” might have led to an omission caused by a *saut du même au même* – indeed, the ms. Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. Lat. 1264 features the same mistake.

³³ See Appendix, *infra*.

³⁴ See Appendix, *infra*.

The end of the sentence, “maior aut minor et in pluri aut pauciori usu,” is absent also in the Latin copy transmitted in the ms. Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 1043. This is not the only omission that the Hebrew version and Vat. Lat. 1043 share; indeed, both omit the following sentence:

Et specialiter oportet providere, ut hii, qui infirmis adstant, securius possint adesse, ne qui infirmantur propter omnem humanitatem delinquantur, et miserabilius dimittantur quam actenus, ut brutis animalibus est consuetum.³⁵

This resemblance could suggest a dependency of the Hebrew text on the Vatican copy; however, the evidence does not seem cogent enough to prove that the translation has been conducted on the basis of the Vat. Lat. 1043 or on its archetype.

Moreover, when compared to the Latin formulation, in the version witnessed by the ms. Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Hebr. 59 some ingredients are added in the recipe for the purgative sirup, such as asparagus, parsley and celery. It is not clear whether this discrepancy is due to an addition by the translator or by the copyist of the Vienna manuscript.

Concerning content, the two Hebrew copies diverge on one specific point, namely that Jerusalem, National Library of Israel, Ms. Fr. 81.2 omits various references to the healthy persons, so that there is no distinction between the regimen for the ill and the regimen for the healthy ones, for instance:

³⁵ See Appendix, *infra*.

Latin	Jerusalem, National Library of Israel, Ms. Fr. 81.2	Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. hebr. 59, f. 224v
Regimen sanorum est, quod utatur cibis laudabilibus [...]	היא שירגילו מאכלים מובחרים [...] [It is that they use excellent foods ...]	הנהגה הבריאים היא שירגילו מאכלים מובחרים [The regimen of the healthy ones is that they use excellent foods ...]

Latin	Jerusalem, National Library of Israel, Ms. Fr. 81.2	Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. hebr. 59, f. 224v
Regimen commune tam infirmis quam sanis est [...]	והנהגה הכללית משהם [The common regimen for them ...]	הנהגה כללית בבריאים כמו בחולים [...] [The common regimen for the healthy ones as well as for the sick ones ...]

Latin	Jerusalem, National Library of Israel, Ms. Fr. 81.2	Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. hebr. 59, f. 225r
Et hicmet potus est utilis sanis [...]	זוה המשקה הוא טוב [...] [And this potion is good ...]	זוה המשקה הוא טוב לבריאים [...] [And this potion is good for the healthy ones ...]

This difference is all the more relevant if one considers the preventive aim of Gentile's prescriptions, which are mostly directed at those who assist the sick. Therefore, according to the version of the Jerusalem fragment, the content of the *Advice* to a certain extent loses its prophylactic character and appears to deal mainly with the treatment of the disease; it is perhaps not by chance that the last sentence concerning the health of those who help sick patients is

omitted:

Latin	Jerusalem, National Library of Israel, Ms. Fr. 81.2	Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. hebr. 59, f. 225v
Spero, quod Dei auxilio cum hiis remediis adstantes poterunt infirmos secure custodire et eis servire.	ויעמוד לשרת ויבטח בו [And he will stand to serve and will be insured in it.]	ובוטח אני עם עזר האלהי כי עם אלה הרפואת המשרתים יוכלו לשרת החולה ולשרתם לצרכם. [And I trust that, with God's help, with these healings those who serve will be able to serve the sick and serve them for their needs.]

Finally, a minor discrepancy between the two Hebrew copies is that the Jerusalem fragment does not feature what can be considered the short titles for the paragraphs; these titles are missing also in Latin, and they are probably an innovation of the Hebrew translator. The fact that they are absent in the Jerusalem copy suggests that it stems from an earlier stage of the translation process, more adherent to the Latin source, while a structured text with clearer divisions between the paragraphs might denote a final composition.

The presence of foreign terms – Latin as well as Romance – in Latin-into-Hebrew medical translations is a well-known phenomenon.³⁶ Following this tradition, the *'Etzah 'al ha-dever* is characterized by the abundant presence of vulgarized Latin words, which are, unlike in other texts, not introduced by the formula בלעז, *be-la'az*; they are rather completely integrated in the Hebrew sentences – an example for this is the phrase סנדליש לבנים ואדומים,

³⁶ See ASLANOV 2013(1); ASLANOV 2013(2); BOS, MENSCHING 2005; BOS, MENSCHING, ZWINK 2017; COHEN-HANEGBI 2013; EINBINDER, McVAUGH 2013.

sandales levanim ve-'adumim (Lat. *sandalorum alborum et rubeorum*), in which the vulgarized Latin substantive is accompanied by the adjective in Hebrew. These expressions are more frequent in the fragment Jerusalem, National Library of Israel, Ms. Fr. 81.2, while in the Vienna copy some of them have been rendered into Hebrew; these differences between the two exemplars might hint at two different stages of the translation process: the Jerusalem fragment could witness an earlier phase, in which more Latin and Romance words were included, while the Vienna manuscript might come from a later stage, in which only technical terms still appeared in vulgarized Latin.

As has already been demonstrated in the case of other medical treatises, translators often did not distinguish between Latin and Romance and sometimes adopted vulgarized Latin forms.³⁷ Indeed, translators tend to transliterate Latin words according to their pronunciation rather than following a systematic correspondence between each Latin and Hebrew letter. This is observable, for instance, in the adoption of the prosthetic vowel before a pre-consonantal 's' – which, as will be shown, appears also in the *'Etzah 'al ha-dever*.³⁸ Moreover, the absence of vowels in the Hebrew transliteration complicates the identification of the regional origin of Romance and vulgarized Latin forms. A clear distinction between Latin and Romance is not noticeable within the transliterations found in the *'Etzah 'al ha-dever*, but it seems that the version transmitted in the Jerusalem fragment tends towards Romance forms more often. For instance, some of the terms in the Vienna exemplar clearly have a genitive desinence, such as קפילי וינריש (*capilli veneris*, Lat. *capillorum veneris*), but other forms are more indistinct and might be identified with Latin as much as with Romance, such as גימה (*gemma*, Lat. *gemme*) or מאנה (*manna*, Lat. *manne*). On the contrary, mostly masculine nouns feature a vul-

³⁷ See ASLANOV 2002 and ASLANOV 2003.

³⁸ For an example of this phenomenon regarding Latin terms, see ASLANOV 2013(1), 53.

garized desinence, as in the cases of אגריקו (*agarico*, Lat. *agarici*) and ריוברברו (*reubarbaro*, Lat. *reubarbarum*).

A few expressions feature a different desinence in the Vienna and in the Jerusalem texts; desinences in the earlier stage tend to be assimilated to Romance forms, such as הפילולי (*ha-pillule*, Lat. *pillularum*), while the Vienna copy transmits a Latin ending הפילולאש (*ha-pillulas*). The same is true for סנדלי (*sandali*, Lat. *sandalorum*), which appears as שנדיליש (*sandales*), probably a vulgarized version of the plural form required by the context, since the corresponding adjectives bear the plural ending: סנדליש לבנים ואדומים (*sandales levanim ve-'adumim*); alternatively, it could be read as *sandalis*, being a Latin form then but in the wrong number. A clear example for this phenomenon of the Latinization of Romance expressions is פירניצי (*pernitze*, Lat. *perdicum*), testified by the Jerusalem fragment, and the more Latinized פרדישי (*perdiši*), which is found in the Vienna witness; another example is the use of the preposition 'de' replacing a genitive form, דקסיאה (*de-cassia*, Lat. *cassie*), substituted in the later phase with קשיאה (*cassia*). The measuring unit *uncia* is spelled אונקי (*unchia*) in the Jerusalem copy, while at the later stage it loses the nasal אוקי (*uchia*) and adopts the Hebrew plural ending אוקיות (*uchiot*).³⁹

Some expressions blur the line between Latin and the vernacular by adopting the vernacular form of the noun and the Latin ending for its adjective, such as בול ארמיני (*bol armeni*, Lat. *boli armeni*). Finally, few words witnessed by the Vienna manuscript omit the desinence, possibly as a consequence of the ambiguity between Latin and the vernacular, for instance, פוליפוד (*polipod*, Lat. *polipodium*), מיטרידאט (*metridat*, Lat. *metridatum*) and אשרוף (*isirup/esirup*, Lat. *sirupus*), while the Jerusalem fragment attests the vulgarized endings פוליפודיאו (*polipodio*), המיטריטאטו (*ha-metritato*) and שירופו (*s/širupo*).

³⁹ For the same variation of spelling, see MAIMONIDES 2021, 16.

From the above-mentioned examples it becomes evident that non-Hebrew terms are found in the context of medical terminology and, more specifically, that they belong to the semantic field of botanic. Numerous ingredients listed in the pharmacological recipe adopt the vulgarized Latin forms, such as גינפרי (*ginepri*, Lat. *iuniperus*), פונגיי (*fungi*, Lat. *fungis*), אשפרגי (*asparagi*), מלישא (*melissa*, Lat. *melisse*), אנדיויאה (*indiovia*, Lat. *endivie*), קשיאה (*cassia*, Lat. *cassie*), שינא (*senna*, Lat. *sene*), גריופילי (*gariofili*, Lat. *gariofilorum*), קמפורא (*camfora*, Lat. *camphore*), טריאקא (*tiriaca*, Lat. *tiriaca*), פנוקולי (*fenuculi*, Lat. *feniculo*), כרכוס (*crocus*, Lat. *croci*). The only proper medical term is the name of the hand vein used for phlebotomy, that is, סאלוטילא (*salvatella*, Lat. *salvatellarum*) and the more generic פילולאש (*pilules*, Lat. *pillularum*). As in other medical treatises, the practical dimension of the instructions given in the *Consilium* explains the use of vernacular and Latin for ingredients, providing the physician with unequivocal information regarding medications that could easily be shared with and understood by patients.⁴⁰

In the Jerusalem fragment, even non-technical expressions appear in vulgarized forms, for instance, הספיריטואל (*ha-spiritual*, Lat. *spiritualium*), which has later been translated into Hebrew as הרוחניים (*ha-ruḥanim*); סטינטריאלי (*settentrionale*, Lat. *septentrionalis*), replaced in the Vienna copy by the Hebrew צפוני (*tsfoni*); קומוני (*comuni*, Lat. *communi*) and later turned into פשוטים (*pešutim*); מניפילי (*manipuli*), which has no correspondence in the Latin text, has been later translated as אגודה (*'agudah*); the same holds true for בקולטוררה (*be-colaturra*, Lat. *in colatura*), rendered into Hebrew as בסנון (*be-sinun*), as testified by the Vienna manuscript. The vulgarized form of a few very common ingredients was retained at first, such as רושא (*rosa*, Lat. *rose*), ציצי (*tzetzi*, Lat. *cicerum*), הלטוקי (*ha-latuche*, Lat. *lattucis*), פולפא (*pulpa*, Lat.

40 For analogous cases, see *supra*, n. 36.

pulpe), and צוקירו (*tzucchero*, Lat. *zucari*), while in the later version they were translated into Hebrew, according to the reading of the Vienna exemplar, in which they are present as ורדים (*vradim*), אפונים ('*eponim* – more properly peas than chickpeas), החזרת (*ha-ḥazeret*), לב (*lev*) and סוכרי (*sucari*).

The morphology of these terms documents the development that the vernacular had undergone after the second half of the 14th century. Linguistic phenomena typical to Romance languages are observable also in the corresponding Hebrew transliteration, such as the metathesis found in the word רקאליסיאה (*ricolisia*), from the original *liquiritia*; here, it is also possible to observe the use of the letter *samek* to render the affricate sound [ts],⁴¹ while in the spelling adopted by the Jerusalem fragment, ריקוליציאה, the letter *tzadi* is used. Another typical feature of the vulgarization of Latin is the presence of the prosthetic vowel before an impure 's', such as in אשקולופינדריאה (*iscolopendria*, Lat. *scolopendrie*), אשקורופולו (*iscurupolo*, Lat. *scrupulum*). Given the probable Italian origin of the text, the prosthetic vowel should possibly be understood as an 'i' rather than an 'e'. However, in the Jerusalem copy, these words do not feature the prosthetic vowel since they are spelled סקורופולו (*scurupolo*) and סקולפינדריאה (*scolopendria*). The term אשרוף (*isirup/esirup*) seems to include the Arabic article 'al' in its north-African and Sicilian variation 'el/il', but again, according to the spelling found in the fragment, השירופו, there is no addition of the letter *aleph*. Moreover, the addition of a transition vowel in a cluster of consonants, such as in אשקורופולו (*iscurupolo*, Lat. *scrupulum*), looks like a typical characteristic influenced by Italo-Romance. Other features are noteworthy, for instance, the addition of the letter *aleph* in the case of a vocalic hiatus, as in אנדיויאה (*indivia*, Lat. *endivie*), קשיאה (*cassia*, Lat. *cassie*), אשקולופינדריאה (*iscolopendria*), רקאליסיאה (*ricolisia*).

41 For similar uses of the letter *samek*, see ASLANOV 2013(1), 47.

As has already been attested elsewhere, there is no strict differentiation between the letters *šin* and *samek* in the transliterations of the Vienna codex⁴²; for instance, sandalwood is spelled both שַנְדִילִישׁ and סַנְדִילִישׁ, or the ending ‘-s’ is rendered both with ‘ס-’ and with ‘ש-’ in כַּרְכּוּס (*crocus*) and פִּילּוּלַאשׁ (*pillulas*). On the contrary, according to the spelling adopted by the copyist of the Jerusalem fragment, it seems that there is a distinction between the two letters, since, for instance, the city of Pisa is spelled פִּיסַא, while in the Vienna codex it is spelled פִּישַא; *senna* is spelled with the letter *šin* (שִינַא) in the latter, and with the letter *samek* (סִינַא) in the former. Finally, the soft ‘g’ is rendered by a double *yod* in the Jerusalem copy, for instance, in יִינִיבְרִי (*ginebri*) and יִימַה (*gemma*).

V.

In the course of the 14th century, a turn in the translation movement into Hebrew starts to manifest itself due to the increasing number of Latin-into-Hebrew versions, especially in the field of medicine.⁴³ This shift reflects the needs of Jewish physicians, who did not have access to the most advanced knowledge because of their exclusion from universities and their lack of proficiency in Latin.⁴⁴ The number of plague treatises translated from Latin into Hebrew in the 14th and 15th centuries demonstrates the interest in the information circulating among Christian physicians as well as the preference towards Latin rather than Arabic sources.⁴⁵ In their prefaces, translators often refer to the troubles encountered by Jewish practitioners, who were faced with accusations of ignorance for their lack of textual sources. Such allegations

42 See ASLANOV 2013(1), 46.

43 See FREUDENTHAL 2012.

44 See GARCÍA-BALLESTER, FERRE, FELIU 1990.

45 See DI SEGNI 2024.

were the motivation for translations that aimed at providing scholars with indispensable instruments to deal with the epidemics.⁴⁶

It is thus not surprising to find a Hebrew version of the work of Gentile da Foligno, a renowned master who became famous already during his lifetime. The good reputation of Gentile's production among Jewish scholars is attested by translations of his writings into Hebrew and by references to his treatises in Hebrew texts. Apart from the *Advice* on the plague addressed to the city of Pisa, other medical manuals – in most cases excerpts of them – were translated into Hebrew as well. Book IV of Gentile's famous commentary to the *Canon* was translated,⁴⁷ and some extracts of it also circulated.⁴⁸ Sections of the treatise *De balneis* were rendered into Hebrew under the title *Hamerhazaot*, and are today kept in three manuscript copies.⁴⁹ Furthermore, *compendia* of remedies and instructions ascribed to Gentile are gathered in different forms, such as in a collection according to his *Practica*⁵⁰ and in a compilation of prescriptions probably made by Bernard Alberti, which circulated under the name of Gentile da Foligno.⁵¹ As late as in the 17th century, an anthology of medical and kabbalistic prescriptions, containing remedies and charms, makes reference to the *Advice on the plague* sent to Pisa.⁵² Finally, Gentile's legacy among Jewish scholars is testified also by the circulation of medical remedies in Judeo-Italian.⁵³

46 See DI SEGNI 2024.

47 New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America, ms. 2740.

48 London, Wellcome Library, ms. hebr. A.12, ff. 2r-7v. Fragments of medical writings, possibly containing some excerpts of the commentary to the *Canon*, are kept in Montreal, Yehuda Elberg, ms. 89.

49 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. hébr. 1181, f. 11v; ms. hébr. 1182, f. 11r; Boston, Francis A. Countway Library of Medicine, Ballard 836, f. 57v.

50 Moscow, Russian State Library, ms. Guenzburg 165, f. 360r-v.

51 University of Pennsylvania, Lawrence J. Schoenberg Collection, LJS 471, ff. 1r-53v. See STEINSCHNEIDER 1878 and STEINSCHNEIDER 1893, 777.

52 London, British Library, Or. 10462, f. 40r.

53 Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. Oppenheim Add. fol. 18, f. 28v; Città del Vaticano, Biblio-

Among the authors who quoted from Gentile's writings in Hebrew, there is the Provençal scholar Judah ben Isaac Kohen, who wrote a Supercommentary on Averroes' *Middle commentary* to the *Organon*.⁵⁴ In his youth, Judah ben Isaac Kohen had studied in Bologna, and it was probably there that he became acquainted with Gentile's commentary to the *Canon*, as well as with other Italian masters mentioned in his Supercommentary. Moreover, Gentile's name appears in some sections of the Hebrew translation of Nicolaus Praepositus' *Antidotarium*.⁵⁵ Finally, two anonymous commentaries include references to Gentile da Foligno: a commentary to Avicenna's *Canon*, Book IV, fen I, kept in the manuscript Oxford, Bodleian Library, Mich. Add. 15,⁵⁶ which makes use of Gentile's commentary, and a Supercommentary to Ibn-Ridwan's commentary to the *Tegni* by Galen.⁵⁷

These pieces of evidence testify to Gentile's fame, who was considered a renowned medical authority for practical remedies – such as in the case of the *Advice on the plague* sent to Pisa or the collections of prescriptions – and also a famous commentator of Avicenna's *Canon*. The interest of Jewish physicians in Gentile's production is part of the history of the exchanges between Hebrew and Latin in medieval Europe and of the actors involved in the process. The circumstances of the Hebrew translation of the *Advice on the plague* shed light on the practice of this intercultural dynamics and elucidate certain aspects of the specific working method. To contextualize the data gathered here, especially concerning the stages of the translation process and the use of vulgarized Latin, within the broader framework of the other

teca Apostolica Vaticana, ebr. 375, f. 14r; 40r-v.

54 See STEINSCHNEIDER 1893, 734.

55 See STEINSCHNEIDER 1893, 791, 813–816.

56 See STEINSCHNEIDER 1893, 692.

57 See STEINSCHNEIDER 1893, 734. The text is found in the ms. Moscow, Russian State Library, ms. Guenzburg 1122, ff. 3v–29r.

Hebrew versions of Gentile's medical writing will probably make it possible to reconstruct Gentile's legacy in Hebrew more accurately.

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APPENDIX

Latin textual tradition

Manuscripts:

R1 = Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1264, ff. 301v-302r.¹

R2 = Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 1043, ff. 374r-v.²

L = Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, ms. 1178, f. 54r.³

Prints:

P = Gentilis de Fulgineo, *Consilia*, Antonius Carcanus (Papiae: c. 1486).

V1 = Gentilis de Fulgineo, *Canon medicinae 7: De febre et aliae quaestiones*, ed. Antonius Gratarolus, Baptista De Tortis (Venetiis: 1494).

V2 = *Consilia Cermisoni. Consilia Gentilis. Recepte Gentilis de febribus. Tractatulus de balneis Gentilis*, per O. Scottum (Venetiis: 1495).

Hebrew textual tradition

Manuscripts:

W = Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. hebr. 59, ff. 224v-225v.⁴

J = Jerusalem, The National Library of Israel, Ms. Fr. 81.2.⁵

1 On this manuscript, see SCHUBA 1981, 335-337.

2 On this manuscript, see CALDELLI 2007, 70.

3 Unfortunately, at the time of this research, the manuscript was being restored, and I was not able to consult it.

4 On this manuscript, see SCHWARZ 1925, no. 175, 193-194.

5 On this fragment, see https://www.nli.org.il/en/discover/manuscripts/hebrew-manuscripts/itempage?docId=PNX_MANUSCRIPTS990034959620205171&vid=MANUS-

CONSILIUM GENTILIS QUOAD PESTILENTIAM QUOD MISIT PISE 1348⁶

Manifestum⁷ videtur, quod causa terribilis mortis, que manifesta fuit⁸ prius⁹ apud¹⁰ Ianuam¹¹, deinde¹² pervenit¹³ Pisam¹⁴ et Plumbinum¹⁵ et Massam¹⁶, et que nunc est¹⁷ Neapolim¹⁸, sit¹⁹ venenosa putredo circa partes cordis et pulmonis, de quibus exeunte venenoso vapore periculum est²⁰ vicinantibus et conversantibus. Huius autem²¹ putrefactionis²², sive sit causa celestis adspetus, sive sit²³ dispositio terrestris et aquarum, eandem²⁴ habebit²⁵ viam ausilii, scilicet cordis et principalium membrorum²⁶ confortationem et destructionem venenose putredinis²⁷, que est prohibitio additionis eius in egris et prohibi-

[CRIPTS&scope=PNX MANUSCRIPTS](#) (last accessed 30 August 2024).

- 6 Consilium ... 1348] aliud capitulum *R1* Consilium ad pestilentiam. Consilium aliud ad idem *PV1 om. V2 add. consilium aliud pestilentia in marg. R2*
- 7 Manifestum] *add. autem V2*
- 8 fuit] *om. R2*
- 9 prius] primo *PR1V1V2*
- 10 apud] *om. PV1V2*
- 11 Ianuam] Ianue *PV1V2*
- 12 deinde] postea *PV1V2*
- 13 pervenit] venit *LPV1V2 om. R2*
- 14 Pisam] Pise *PR1V1V2*
- 15 Plumbinum] Plumbino *R1*
- 16 Massam] Massa *R1*
- 17 nunc est] *inv. L*
- 18 et Plumbinum ... Neapolim] et cetera *PV1V2*
- 19 sit] est *R2*
- 20 periculum est] *add. in PV1V2 inv. R2*
- 21 autem] *om. PV1V2*
- 22 putrefactionis] putredinis *LPR1V1V2*
- 23 sit] *om. LR2*
- 24 eandem] cum *PV1V2*
- 25 habebit] habent *L*
- 26 membrorum] *om. R1R2*
- 27 destructionem ... putredinis] venenose putredinis destructionem *L*

tio²⁸ putrefactionis²⁹ in sanis. Et specialiter oportet providere, ut hii, qui infirmis adstant, securius possiunt³⁰ adesse, ne qui infirmantur propter omnem humanitatem³¹ delinquantur³², et miserabilius dimittantur³³ quam actenus³⁴, ut³⁵ brutis animalibus est consuetum³⁶.

Regimen commune tam³⁷ infirmis quam³⁸ sanis est, quod rectificetur³⁹ aer cum continua accensione ignis elevate⁴⁰ flamme⁴¹, et pro sanis proiiciantur in ignes⁴² arbores et plante⁴³ quecumque⁴⁴ odorifere, ut est⁴⁵ iuniperus; pro infirmis vero⁴⁶ proiiciantur⁴⁷ salices⁴⁸, granata et mirti⁴⁹. Cibaria egrorum⁵⁰ sint⁵¹ de pullis et⁵² perdicibus, secundum quod videbitur medico⁵³ de indigentia casus virtutis, et potus sit vini subtilis in hora ciborum, si videtur⁵⁴ medicis presen-

28 prohibitio] prohibitionem in L prohibitionem R1 om. R2

29 putrefactionis] putredinis PV1V2 putridis L add. eius R2

30 securius possint] inv. LPV1V2 add. eis L

31 propter ... humanitatem] propter omnem inhumanitatem L per aeris malignitatem PV1V2

32 delinquantur] relinquuntur PV1V2

33 miserabilius dimittantur] inv. LPV1V2

34 quam actenus] add. et LR1 quatenus PV1 om. V2

35 ut] et nunc R1

36 Et ... consuetum] om. R2

37 tam] est R1 om. LPV1V2

38 quam] et LPR1V1V2

39 rectificetur] continue rectificere R2

40 elevate] elevantis R2

41 flamme] flammam R2

42 ignes] ignem R1

43 arbores ... plante] plante et arbores PV1V2

44 quecumque] quascumque PV1

45 est] om. R2

46 vero] non R2 om. R1

47 proiiciantur] ponantur R1

48 salices] salicem V1

49 granata ... mirti] mirthe granata PV1V2

50 egrorum] eorum LPV1V2

51 sint] sunt L

52 et] de R1 om. R1

53 medico] medicis R1

54 medico ... videtur] om. R2

tibus et⁵⁵ in hora⁵⁶ casus virtutis. Potus autem continuus⁵⁷ sit⁵⁸ aque ordei subtilis cum vino granatorum aut iuleb. In vino granatorum⁵⁹ et acetositas sit, secundum quod videbitur presenti medico, maior aut minor et in⁶⁰ pluri aut pauciori usu⁶¹. Non⁶² est enim⁶³ dubium⁶⁴, quod acetosa vehementer⁶⁵ resistunt⁶⁶ putredini, sed inquantum sunt percussiva⁶⁷ spiritualium, habent aliquam suspicionem.

Subveniatur etiam febricitantibus subito⁶⁸ cum flobotomia et⁶⁹ ventosis circa nates et loca inferiora, et⁷⁰ cum⁷¹ clisteriis trahentibus ad inferiora materiam⁷². De usu autem farmacie minus potest⁷³ dari iudicium per absentem⁷⁴ medicum⁷⁵. Consulo tamen⁷⁶, quod quam⁷⁷ citius est possibile, tentetur⁷⁸ evacuari humor⁷⁹.

55 et] *om. PV1V2*

56 hora] *horis R2*

57 continuus] *communis PV1V2*

58 sit] *om. PV1V2*

59 aut ... granatorum] *om. R1*

60 in] *om. L add. usu PV1V2*

61 maior ... usu] *om. R2 usu om. PV1V2*

62 Non] *add. autem R1*

63 est enim] *inv. R1L enim om. PV1V2*

64 dubium] *dubio R2*

65 vehementer] *convenienter PV1V2*

66 resistunt] *assistunt V2 om. R1*

67 percussiva] *repercussiva R2*

68 febricitantibus subito] *inv. R2*

69 et] *add. cum PV1V2*

70 et] *om. V2*

71 cum] *om. R1*

72 ad ... materiam] *materiam ad inferiora R2*

73 minus potest] *potest maius PV1V2 potest om. R1*

74 absentem] *absentiam V1V2 absentis R2 absententiam P*

75 medicum] *medicine PV1V2 medico R2*

76 tamen] *om. LPV1V2*

77 quod quam] *inv. R1*

78 tentetur] *temperetur V1*

79 humor] *humorum peccans R2*

Potus communis⁸⁰ omnibus⁸¹ actu⁸² egrotantibus per rectificationem putredinis⁸³, de quo debet sumi⁸⁴ semel aut bis⁸⁵ in die ieiuno stomacho⁸⁶, est hoc: Recipe aque rose libram I, vini subtilis convenientis vinosi⁸⁷ uncias IIII, ponatur in eis boli armeni⁸⁸ electi triti et⁸⁹ subtiliter⁹⁰ cribelati dimidia uncia. Dosis huius potus sit uncia II. Et si vult⁹¹ apponere⁹² de aqua communi, apponat⁹³. Et hicmet⁹⁴ potus est utilis⁹⁵ sanis ad defensionem eorum⁹⁶, si⁹⁷ detur sanis cum⁹⁸ vino puro aut parum limphato cum proportione predicta.

Regimen sanorum est, quod utatur⁹⁹ cibus laudabilibus de carnibus pullinis et¹⁰⁰ perdicum¹⁰¹ et avium¹⁰² et castrati et edi¹⁰³ lactantis, vitule¹⁰⁴ et¹⁰⁵ raro porci et ovis sorbilibus et aquis cicerum sine cortice et oleribus minutis cum¹⁰⁶ fe-

80 communis] *add.* actu V1 *add.* aptus L

81 omnibus] *add.* actus V2

82 omnibus actu] *inv.* PV1 actu *om.* L

83 putredinis] putrefactionis R2

84 debet sumi] *om.* R2

85 semel ... bis] bis aut semel PV1V2

86 stomacho] *add.* debet sumi R2

87 vinosi] *om.* PV1V2

88 boli armeni] bolliar PV1V2

89 triti et] *om.* PV1V2

90 subtiliter] *add.* pulverizati aliter PV1V2 *add.* illeg. R2

91 vult] *om.* R1

92 apponere] ponere PV1V2

93 apponat] ponat R2

94 hicmet] extimet PV1 existimes quod V2

95 utilis] communis PV1V2

96 eorum] *om.* PV1V2

97 si] sed R2

98 cum] qui R1

99 utatur] utantur LPV1V2

100 et] *om.* R2

101 perdicum] perdicis R2

102 et avium] *om.* R2

103 edi] *add.* et R1

104 vitule] vituli PV1V2

105 et] *om.* PV1V2

106 cum] et R1

niculo et petrosilio, et utantur vinis laudabilibus subtilibus¹⁰⁷, et utantur¹⁰⁸ rebus acetosis, nisi qui sint¹⁰⁹ extenuati pectoris et parati ad tusses. De piscibus¹¹⁰ autem parum¹¹¹ aut¹¹² nihil¹¹³ comedant¹¹⁴, caveant a fungis¹¹⁵, de lattucis cum aceto possent¹¹⁶ uti non continue¹¹⁷, de ficibus¹¹⁸ siccis possent¹¹⁹ comedere et passulis¹²⁰ et de¹²¹ silvestribus carnibus possent uti¹²² carne¹²³ caprioli iuvenis et aliquando porci silvestris¹²⁴.

Laudo, quod sani tendant¹²⁵ ad¹²⁶ purgationem¹²⁷, et sirupus conveniens posset¹²⁸ esse iste: Recipe radicum V liquiritie, ysopi¹²⁹ ana unciam I, melisse, capillorum¹³⁰ veneris, scolopendrie ana libram I, seminis endivie¹³¹, portulace, sandalorum¹³² alborum¹³³ et rubeorum¹³⁴ ana dimidiam unciam, zucari libram I; fiat sirupus et acetosetur cum aceto vini, secundum quod videbitur necessitas.

107 subtilibus] et assuctis R2

108 vinis ... utantur] *om.* PV1V2

109 sunt] fuerint? R2

110 De piscibus] pisces R2

111 autem parum] *inv.* R1

112 aut] *om.* PV1V2

113 parum ... nihil] nihil aut parum L nihil *om.* PV1V2

114 comedant] comedat R1 comedint R2

115 fungis] frigidis R1

116 possent] potest PV1V2

117 continue] continuo R2

118 ficibus] *add.* et passulis R2

119 possent] poterit PV1V2

120 et passulis] *om.* R1

121 de] *om.* PV1V2

122 uti] *add.* alii R2

123 carne] carnibus PV1V2 *add.* porci silvestris et R2

124 et ... silvestris] *om.* R2 silvestris *om.* PV1V2

125 tendant] intendant PR1V1V2

126 ad] *om.* LPV1V2

127 purgationem] purgationes R1 purgationibus LPV1V2

128 posset] possit R1 potest L

129 liquiritie ysopi] *inv.* PV1V2

130 capillorum] capilli PV1 capillis V2

131 endivie] *add.* scolopedrie ana libram I seminis endivie *sed del.* R1

132 sandalorum] sandalis R2

133 alborum] albis R2

134 rubeorum] rubis R2

Purgatio fiat¹³⁵ cum hoc: Recipe pulpe cassie dimidiam unciam, manne uncias II, agarici in colatura¹³⁶ vel in substantia dracmam I, salis gemme tertiam¹³⁷ partem¹³⁸ scrupuli I¹³⁹, et in quibusdam addatur reubarbarum¹⁴⁰¹⁴¹, et in quibusdam turbit et in quibusdam sene vel polipodium¹⁴². In omnibus tamen ponantur¹⁴³ medicine ducentes¹⁴⁴ virtutem solutivorum ad pectus, et ideo quibusdam erit usus conveniens¹⁴⁵ pillularum de agarico secundum Mesue.

Laudo etiam flobotomias, et¹⁴⁶ opinor flobotomias¹⁴⁷ salvatellarum¹⁴⁸ fore¹⁴⁹ multum utiles¹⁵⁰. Est¹⁵¹ etiam¹⁵² conveniens, quod¹⁵³ quilibet sanus a XIV anno¹⁵⁴ supra¹⁵⁵ sumat bis in septimana¹⁵⁶ qualibet vice dracmam I tiriace cum paucis potu vini subtilis¹⁵⁷. Pueris¹⁵⁸ autem, qui¹⁵⁹ sint¹⁶⁰ infra¹⁶¹ XIV¹⁶² annum¹⁶³,

135 Purgatio fiat] purgetur R2

136 in colatura] incolatur R1

137 tertiam] secunda R1 tertia PV1V2

138 partem] pars PR1V1V2

139 I] *om.* R2

140 reubarbarum] reubarbari PV1V2

141 et ... reubarbarum] *om.* R1

142 polipodium] polipodii R2

143 ponantur] ponatur R2

144 ducentes] ducens R1

145 usus conveniens] *inv.* R2

146 et] *add.* de salvatellis L

147 et ... flobotomias] *om.* PR1V1V2 et flobotomias opinor L

148 salvatellarum] salvatele PV1V2 *om.* L

149 fore] esse L

150 utiles] utile L

151 Est] et PV1V2

152 etiam] *add.* est PV1V2

153 quod] quia PV1

154 anno] *om.* PV1V2

155 supra] circiter PV1V2

156 septimana] *add.* pro PV1V2

157 subtilis] *add.* et R1

158 Pueris] pueri R1

159 autem qui] *inv.* R1 qui *om.* R1

160 sint] sunt PV1V2

161 infra] in PV2

162 XIV] IX LPV1V2

163 annum] anno PV1V2 annos R1L

potest dari quid¹⁶⁴ modicum, ut scrupulum I, et communiter tiriaca sit, super¹⁶⁵ quam¹⁶⁶ transuerit annus, et metridatum etiam¹⁶⁷ est conueniens¹⁶⁸.

Eodem modo illi¹⁶⁹, qui adstant infirmis, sumant omni mane toto tempore¹⁷⁰, quo adstant¹⁷¹, dimidiam dracmam tiriace cum optimo vino, et frequenter lauent sibi¹⁷² manus et facies¹⁷³ modo¹⁷⁴ cum aqua rose¹⁷⁵, modo cum¹⁷⁶ aceto¹⁷⁷, modo cum vino¹⁷⁸, et semper inter se et infirmum teneant ignem, et infirmus ponatur in lecto¹⁷⁹ alto, ut¹⁸⁰, quantum possibile est¹⁸¹, premineat¹⁸² capitibus astantium, et sepe¹⁸³ balneent¹⁸⁴ domum cum aceto, et sepe exeant cameram infirmi, et¹⁸⁵ veniant ad publicum¹⁸⁶ et apertum¹⁸⁷ aerem, et quando flat¹⁸⁸ ventus¹⁸⁹ septentrionalis¹⁹⁰, recipiant¹⁹¹ eum¹⁹² per omnes fenestras. Regantur

164 quid] *om.* R1

165 super] *supram* R2

166 quam] *quo* R1

167 etiam] *om.* R2

168 etiam ... conueniens] *est conueniens etiam* PV1V2

169 illi] *illis* L

170 toto tempore] *om.* R1

171 astant] *adsunt* PV1V2

172 sibi] *om.* R2

173 facies] *faciem* PV1V2

174 modo] *om.* R1

175 aqua rose] *aqua acetosa* LR1 *vino* PV1V2

176 modo cum] *om.* R2

177 aceto] *acqua acetosa* PV1V2

178 modo ... vino] *om.* LR2 *modo cum aceto* PV1V2

179 lecto] *loco* PV1V2

180 ut] *et* PV1V2

181 possibile est] *inv.* R2

182 premineat] *preminet* R1 *prohemineat* R2

183 sepe] *semper* PV1V2

184 balneent] *balneant* PR1V1

185 et] *ut* R2

186 publicum] *aerem* R2

187 et apertum] *distopertum* R2 *add. sive apertum* R1

188 flat] *flant* PV1V2

189 ventus] *venti* PV1V2

190 septentrionalis] *septentrionales* PV1V2

191 recipiant] *recipiunt* R1

192 eum] *eos* PV1V2

etiam¹⁹³ cibis laudabilibus¹⁹⁴ dictis supra¹⁹⁵, et spero, quod Dei auxilio¹⁹⁶ cum¹⁹⁷ hiis remediis adstantes¹⁹⁸ poterunt¹⁹⁹ infirmos²⁰⁰ secure²⁰¹ custodire et eis²⁰² servire²⁰³.

Fiat istud pomum: Recipe camphore scrupulum²⁰⁴ I, sandalorum²⁰⁵ alborum²⁰⁶ et rubeorum²⁰⁷ ana dracmam²⁰⁸ I²⁰⁹, croci dimidiam dracmam²¹⁰, garofilorum dracmam²¹¹ I²¹²; fiat pulvis et ponatur in pecia vel²¹³ informetur²¹⁴ cum laudano. Et hoc est pro²¹⁵ egris; pro sanis vero²¹⁶ fiat ex eisdem rebus²¹⁷, sed ponatur²¹⁸ dracma I croci, et²¹⁹ scrupuli²²⁰ II gariofilorum²²¹ et cetera²²².

193 etiam] *add. cum LPV1V2*

194 cibis laudabilibus] *inv. PV1V2*

195 Regantur ... supra] *om. R1*

196 auxilio] *add. astantes L*

197 cum] quod *PV1V2*

198 astantes] *om. L*

199 poterunt] *om. L*

200 infirmos] infirmis *PR1V1V2*

201 secure] *om. R2*

202 custodire ... eis] *om. PR1V1V2*

203 servire] *serviant L*

204 scrupulum] dracmam *R2*

205 sandalorum] sandalis *R2*

206 alborum] albis *R2*

207 rubeorum] rubis *R2*

208 dracmam] scrupulum *R2*

209 I] *om. R2*

210 dimidiam dracmam] libras V *R2*

211 dracmam] scrupulum *PV1V2*

212 gariofilorum ... I] *om. R2*

213 vel] et *R1*

214 informetur] informentur *L add. pomum PV1V2*

215 pro] per *R2*

216 vero] non *R2* etiam *V2* et *PV1 om. L*

217 eisdem rebus] predictis *L*

218 ponatur] addatur *L*

219 et] *om. V1V2*

220 scrupuli] libras *R2*

221 scrupuli ... gariofilorum] gariofilorum scrupuli II *PV1V2*

222 et cetera] et fiat pomum quo (quod *V2*) odoretur *PV1V2* Explicit consilium Gentilis de fulgineo ad pestilentiam *R2*

עצת²²³ מאי²²⁴ יינטיל²²⁵ דפוליני²²⁶ שלח²²⁷ בפישא²²⁸ שנת²²⁹ ק"ח כשהיה²³⁰ הדבר
הגדול הש'²³¹ ישמרנו אמן.

דבר ברור הוא²³² ונראה המיתה²³³ האכזרית²³⁴, אשר נולדה בתחלה²³⁵ בגינואה²³⁶
ובקטלוניא, ואחר זה²³⁷ בפישא²³⁸, ועתה²³⁹ היא²⁴⁰ בנפולי²⁴¹, היא²⁴² עפוש ארסיי²⁴³
בסביבות הלב והריאה, אשר מהם נמשך בכל חלק מחלקי²⁴⁴ הגוף.

הסבה²⁴⁵: סבת²⁴⁶ זה העפוש או תהיה²⁴⁷ סבה²⁴⁸ שמימית, או סבה²⁴⁹ ארציית, או
סבה²⁵⁰ מימית²⁵¹, כלם יש להם²⁵² תכלית אחד, והוא²⁵³ להמית הלב. וההנהגה

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- 223 עצת] זו היא עצת J
224 מאי] מש' J
225 יינטיל] יינטילי J
226 דפוליני] add. אשר J
227 שלח] שלחה *sed corr. W*
228 בפישא] בפיסא J
229 שנת] בשנת J
230 ק"ח כשהיה] אלף שמ"ח למנינם שנת J
231 הש אמן.] *J om.*
232 הוא ונראה] נ"ל J
233 המיתה] שהמיתה J
234 האכזרית] אכזרית J
235 בתחלה.] *J om.*
236 בגינואה] בגירואה *corr. sup. l. W* ביינובה J
237 זה.] *J om.*
238 בפישא] בפיסא J
239 ועתה] ואחר J
240 היא.] *J om.*
241 בנפולי] add. המגפה J
242 היא] הוא JW
243 ארסיי] סמיי J
244 חלק מחלקי] חלקי J
245 הסבה.] *J om.*
246 סבת] וסיבת J
247 תהיה] יהיה J
248 סבה] סבת J
249 סבה] סבת J
250 או סבה.] *J om.*
251 מימית] ושמירת J
252 יש להם.] *J om.*
253 והוא] ר"ל J

הטובה²⁵⁴ היא לחזק הלב וכל האברים הראשיים, וגם כן²⁵⁵ להכרית העפוש הארסיי מן²⁵⁶ החולים, ולשמור הבריאים.

ההנהגה²⁵⁷: הנהגה²⁵⁸ כללית²⁵⁹ בבריאים²⁶⁰ כמו בחולים היא²⁶¹ כי תמיד יחודש האויר ויתוקן התמדת האש עם שלהבת גדולה. בעבור הבריאים יוקחו²⁶² העצים ריחניים²⁶³ כמו גינפרי²⁶⁴ וזולתם, ובעבור החולים יעשה מערבה ורמון והדס. המאכל²⁶⁵ מהחולה²⁶⁶ יהיה²⁶⁷ מעופות, כאשר²⁶⁸ יורה²⁶⁹ הרופא העומד סביב²⁷⁰ החולה,²⁷¹ ובעת²⁷² נפילת הכח²⁷³. והמשתה²⁷⁴ תהיה תמיד מי השעורים²⁷⁵ עם עסיס²⁷⁶ מרמונים²⁷⁷ ויחומץ²⁷⁸, כפי²⁷⁹ ראות²⁸⁰ הרופא. אין²⁸¹ בזה²⁸² ספק כי החומץ²⁸³

254	הטובה] טובה J
255	כן] J om.
256	מן החולים] J om.
257	ההנהגה] J om.
258	הנהגה] וההנהגה J
259	כללית] הכללית J
260	בבריאים ... היא] משבהם J
261	היא] הוא W
262	יוקחו] יקחו מן J
263	ריחניים] הריחניים J
264	גינפרי] ייניברי J
265	המאכל] ומאכל J
266	מהחולה] החולה J
267	יהיה] J om.
268	כאשר] כמו J
269	יורה] שיורה J
270	סביב] סביבו J
271	החולה] J om.
272	ובעת] בעת J
273	הכח] כח J
274	והמשתה] השתייה J
275	השעורים] שעורים add. מתוקנים J
276	עסיס] יין J
277	מרמונים] רימון J
278	ויחומץ] מחמיץ J
279	כפי] כאשר J
280	ראות] ירא בעיני J
281	אין] ואין J
282	בזה] J om.
283	החומץ] החמוץ J

החזק²⁸⁴ מאד עומד כנגד²⁸⁵ הסם, אבל מפני כי הוא מרתיע²⁸⁶ הרוחניים²⁸⁷, יש מענו לגמגם בנתינתו²⁸⁸.

ההקזה²⁸⁹: מיד כשיקדיח²⁹⁰, עשה²⁹¹ ההקזה²⁹² וכוסות²⁹³ המציצה²⁹⁴ בעגבות ובמקומות²⁹⁵ התחתונות.²⁹⁶

הרגל²⁹⁷ הרפואות²⁹⁸ החדות²⁹⁹ לא נוכל לדון, וזה יעמוד לרופא שירפאנו,³⁰⁰ מ"מ אם יוכל להריק³⁰¹ החומר החוטא,³⁰² אין ספק כי הוא טוב.

משקה³⁰³ לנגב העפוש וייתה ממנו פעם או פעמים על הצום הוא³⁰⁴ זה: קח מי³⁰⁵ ורדים³⁰⁶ א' ליטר, יין דק ולבן וטוב ד' אוקיו,³⁰⁷ בול ארמיני טוב³⁰⁸ ומובחר³⁰⁹ כתוש עד³¹⁰ אשר דק ומטפה בדקות³¹¹ חצי אוקי³¹². שיעור נתינת³¹³ זה המשקה ב' אוקיו.³¹⁴

284	החזק] חזק J
285	כנגד] נגד J
286	הוא מרתיע] מתעים J
287	הרוחניים] הספיריטואל J
288	בנתינתו] בנתינתם J
289	ההקזה] om. J
290	מיד כשיקדיח] בזר? באש תקרר J
291	עשה] יעשה J
292	ההקזה] הקזה J
293	וכוסות] וכוסי J
294	המציצה] ההקזה J
295	ובמקומות] ומקומות J
296	התחתונות] תחתוניות J
297	הרגל] גם ההרגל J
298	הרפואות] מהרפואות J
299	החדות] אמרות J
300	שירפאנו] om. J
301	להריק] להאריך J
302	החושה] om. J
303	משקה] add. כללי J
304	הוא] והוא J
305	מי] מים J
306	ורדים] רוסא J
307	אוקיו] אונקי add. ושים בו J
308	טוב] אן? J
309	ומובחר] מובחר J
310	עד ... דק] om. J
311	בדקות] ? J
312	אוקי] אונקי J
313	נתינת] om. J
314	אוקיו] אונקי J

ואם תרצה, להשים³¹⁵ עמו³¹⁶ מים פשוטים³¹⁷ שים. וזה המשקה הוא טוב לבריאים³¹⁸
עם יין נקי,³¹⁹ כדרך שאמרנו.

הנהגה הבריאים³²⁰ היא³²¹ שירגילו מאכלים מובחרים,³²² מתרנגולים³²³ ועופות
אחרים,³²⁴ פרדישי,³²⁵ סריסים,³²⁶ גדי³²⁷ יונק, עגל יונק,³²⁸ ביצים³²⁹ צלויים, ומי אפונים³³⁰
וגם³³¹ האפונים³³² בלי³³³ קליפתם, עשבים קנונים עם פנוקולי ופטרושילון,³³⁴ וירגילן³³⁵
יינות מובחרים,³³⁶ דברים³³⁷ חמוצים לבר אם יש לו עוצר בחזה והמוכנים³³⁸
לשעול.³³⁹ מין הדגים יאכל³⁴⁰ מעט או לא³⁴¹ כלום, וישמר מן הכמהין הם³⁴²

315	[להשים] לשים J
316	[עמו] J om.
317	[פשוטים] קומוני J
318	[לבריאים] J om.
319	[נקי] add. או J
320	[הנהגה הבריאים] J om.
321	[היא] הוא JW
322	[מובחרים] add. מכשר J
323	[מתרנגולים] תרנגולים J
324	[אחרים] add. כגון J
325	[פרדישי] פירניצי add. ומאסאט J
326	[גדי] וגדיים J
327	[יונק] יונקים J
328	[ביצים] וביצות J
329	[אפונים] ציצי J
330	[וגם] J om.
331	[האפונים] ארופים וציצי J
332	[בלי] בלתי J
333	[ופטרושילון] ופיטרוסימילי J
334	[וירגילון] וירגיל J
335	[מובחרים] add. וירגיל J
336	[דברים] דברים J
337	[המוכנים] המוכנים J
338	[לשעול] לשיעור J
339	[יאכל] J om.
340	[לא] כמעט J
341	[כלום] add. מהם J
342	[מן ... הם] J om.

פונגי³⁴³, החזרת³⁴⁴ עם החומץ³⁴⁵ יוכל³⁴⁶ להרגיל³⁴⁷, אך³⁴⁸ לא³⁴⁹ תמיד³⁵⁰. יוכל³⁵¹
 לאכול מן התאנים³⁵² או³⁵³ מן הצמוקים, מבשר הציר יוכל להרגיל ולפעמים³⁵⁴
 מבשר³⁵⁵ חזיר יערי³⁵⁶ ומצבי³⁵⁷ רך וטוב.³⁵⁸

אשרוף³⁵⁹: משבח³⁶⁰ אני כי הבריאים ישימו מגמת פניהם אל ההרות, וזה³⁶¹
 האשרוף³⁶² הוא³⁶³ טוב: קח³⁶⁴ ה'י³⁶⁵ שרשים והם שרשי כרפס ואשפרגי ברוסי וגרמיניש
 ופטרושילי, רקאליסיאה,³⁶⁶ אזוב מ"א א' אוקי³⁶⁷, מלישא,³⁶⁸ קפילי וינריש³⁶⁹,
 אשקולופינדריאה³⁷⁰ מ"א,³⁷¹ אגודה³⁷² זרע אנדיויאה,³⁷³ זרע פורטולייגא,³⁷⁴ שנדיליש³⁷⁵

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- 343 פונגיין] מהפונגי J
 344 החזרת] והלטוקי J
 345 החומץ] *J add. illeg. sed del.*
 346 יוכל] תוכל J
 347 להרגיל] *add.* לפעמים J
 348 אך] *J om.*
 349 לא] ולא J
 350 תמיד] להתמיד J
 351 יוכל] ויוכל *add.* ג"כ J
 352 התאנים] מתאנים יבשים J
 353 או ... להרגיל] *J om.*
 354 ולפעמים] *add.* מעט J
 355 מבשר] בשר J
 356 יערי] וג"כ J
 357 ומצבין מצבי J
 358 טוב] *J om.*
 359 אשרוף] *J om.*
 360 משבח] ומשבח J
 361 וזה] הוא *add.* J
 362 האשרוף] השירופו J
 363 הוא] *J om.*
 364 קח] לזה J
 365 ה' ... ופטרושילי] *J om.*
 366 רקאליסיאה] ריקוליציאה J
 367 אוקי] *J om.*
 368 מלישא] *J om.*
 369 קפילין] וקפילווינרי ? J
 370 אשקולופינדריאה] וסקולפונדריאה J
 371 מ"א] א' *add.* J
 372 אגודה] מניפילי J
 373 אנדיויאה] אינדיביאה J
 374 פורטולייגא] פורקקאל ? J
 375 שנדיליש] סנדאלי J

לבנים ואדומים מ"א³⁷⁶ חצי אוקי',³⁷⁷ סוכרי³⁷⁸ א' ליטר.³⁷⁹ עשה³⁸⁰ אשרוף³⁸¹ ויחומץ³⁸²
עם חומץ יין כפי ההכרח.

המשלשל³⁸³: קח לב³⁸⁴ קשיאה³⁸⁵ חצי אוקי'³⁸⁶, מאנה ב' אוקיות,³⁸⁷ אגריקו בסנון³⁸⁸ או
בעצמות³⁸⁹ א' דר', מלח גימה³⁹⁰ שליש חלק מאשקורופולו, ולפעמים הוסיף
ריוברברו, ולפעמים הוסף³⁹¹ טורביד³⁹², ולפעמים³⁹³ שינא,³⁹⁴ פוליפוד.³⁹⁵ ובכל רפואה
שים מרפואות אשר כחותם להריק³⁹⁶ החזה, ועל³⁹⁷ כן לפעמים³⁹⁸ נרגיל הפילולאש³⁹⁹
מאגריקו⁴⁰⁰ לפי מאשואי.⁴⁰¹ ומשבח אני גם⁴⁰² כן ההקזה⁴⁰³ בסאלוטילא⁴⁰⁴ כי היא⁴⁰⁵
מועולה.⁴⁰⁶

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- 376 מ"א] מכא' J
377 אוקי'] אונק. add. א' ליטרו J ?
378 סוכרי] צוקירו J
379 א' ליטר] J om.
380 עשה] ויעשה J
381 אשרוף] שירופו J
382 ויחומץ] J om.
383 המשלשל] ואח"כ נקהו עם זה J
384 לב] פולפא J
385 קשיאה] דקסיאה J
386 אוקי'] אונקי J
387 אוקי'] אונקי J
388 בסנון] בקולטורה J
389 בעצמות] בעצמותו J
390 גימה] יימה J
391 הוסף] J om.
392 טורביד] מהטורביט J
393 ולפעמים] או J
394 שינא] סינה. add. או J
395 פוליפוד] פוליפודיאו J
396 להריק] להאריך J
397 ועל כן] ע"כ J
398 לפעמים] J om.
399 הפילולאש] הפילולי J
400 מאגריקו] אגאריקו J
401 מאשואי] מזואי J
402 גם כן] J om.
403 ההקזה] add. וההקזה J
404 בסאלוטילא] בסקוניניולי J ?
405 כי היא] J om.
406 מועולה] מועלת J

טריאקא⁴⁰⁷ מן ההכרח הוא⁴⁰⁸ גם כן בו כל בריא⁴⁰⁹ מי"ד שנים ומעלה⁴¹⁰ יקח⁴¹¹ ב' פעמים בשבוע א' דר' מתריאקא⁴¹² בכל פעם עם יין⁴¹³ דק. הקטנים⁴¹⁴ יותר⁴¹⁵ מזה תוכל לתת מעט פחות כמו א' אשקורופולו⁴¹⁶ ועשה שהתריאק⁴¹⁷ העבור⁴¹⁸ השנה⁴¹⁹ וגם⁴²⁰ המיטרידאט. אבל⁴²² אותם⁴²³ שעומדים⁴²⁴ לשרת⁴²⁵ החולים⁴²⁶ יקחו בכל בקר כל⁴²⁷ עוד⁴²⁸ שעומדים עליהם⁴²⁹ חצי דר' מטריאק⁴³⁰ עם יין טוב, ותמיד⁴³¹ ירחצו⁴³² פניהם, ידיהם,⁴³³ פעם עם מים מחומצים,⁴³⁵ פעם⁴³⁶ עם חומץ,⁴³⁷ פעם⁴³⁸ עם מי⁴³⁹

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- 407 טריאקא] והוא J
408 הוא] *om.* J
409 בריא] חולה J
410 ומעלה] ולמעלה J
411 יקח ... פעמים] יתפוש בב' J
412 מתריאקא] מטוריאקה J
413 יין מעט J *add. sup. l.*
414 הקטנים] ולקטנים J
415 יותר ... פחות] *om.* J
416 אשקורופולו] אשקורופו' W סקורופולו J
417 שהתריאק] שהטוריאקה J
418 העבור] יעשה J
419 השנה] השבה J
420 וגם] וכן J
421 המיטרידאט] המיטריטאטו J
422 אבל] *om.* J
423 אותם] ואותם J
424 שעומדים] העומדים J
425 לשרת] לשרתו J
426 החולים] *om.* J
427 כל] ובכל J
428 עוד] יום J
429 עליהם] על החולה לשרת J
430 מטריאק] מטוריאקה J
431 ותמיד] ופעם אחד תמיד J
432 ירחצו] ירחץ J
433 פניהם] פניניכיו J
434 ידיהם ... מים] *om.* J
435 מחומצים] בחומץ J
436 פעם] ופעם אחד J
437 חומץ] יין טוב J
438 פעם] *add.* אחר J
439 מי] מים J

ורדים⁴⁴⁰ וחומץ⁴⁴¹, פעם⁴⁴² עם יין. ותמיד יעמוד⁴⁴³ בינם⁴⁴⁴ ובין החולה אש. החולה⁴⁴⁵ יעמוד במטה גבוהה כאשר⁴⁴⁶ תוכל⁴⁴⁷ להיות⁴⁴⁸, ותמיד ירחץ הבית עם חומץ, ותמיד⁴⁴⁹ יצאו מן החדר⁴⁵⁰ אותם העומדים⁴⁵¹ לשרתו⁴⁵² כדי שיראו אויר מגולה. וכשינשב⁴⁵³ רוח צפוני⁴⁵⁴, יקבלו⁴⁵⁵ אותו⁴⁵⁶ האויר בכל החלונות.⁴⁵⁷

ינהגו⁴⁵⁸ אותם המאכלים⁴⁵⁹ אשר זכרנו למעלה⁴⁶⁰. ובוטח⁴⁶¹ אני עם עזר האלהי כי עם אלה הרפואת המשרתים יוכלו לשרת החולה ולשרתם לצרכם.

תפוח⁴⁶² להריח: קח קמפורה א' דר', סנדליש לבנים ואדומים מ"א א' אשקורופולו⁴⁶³, כרכוס חצי דר', עשה אבק, ושים בבגד, ויריח או תן לו צורת תפוח עם לאפדנו. וזה בעבור החולים, אבל בעבור הבריאים עשה עם אלו העניינים ותוסיף עליהם א' דר' כרכוס וב' אשקורו' מגריופולי. תם ונשלם.

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- 440 ורדים] רוסאטי ועם J
441 וחומץ] חומץ מעורכים יחד J
442 פעם עם יין] *J om.*
443 יעמוד] יהיה J
444 בינם] בינו J
445 החולה] והחולה J
446 כאשר] היותר J
447 תוכל] שיוכל J
448 להיות] *J om.*
449 ותמיד] ולפעמים J
450 מן החדר] מהחדר J
451 העומדים] המשרתים J
452 לשרתו ... מגולה] לתפוש אוויר J
453 וכשינשב] וכשיפרח J
454 צפוני] סטינטריאלי J
455 יקבלו] יפתחו J
456 אותו ... בכל] *J om.*
457 החלונות] לקבלו *J add.*
458 ינהגו] וינהגו J
459 המאכלים] במאכלים המעונגים J
460 למעלה] *J om.*
461 ובוטח ... לצרכם] ויעמוד לשרת ויבטח בו J
462 תפוח ... ונשלם] *J om.*
463 אשקורופולו] אשקורופו W

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