

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 died in Foligno in 1348.²

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

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

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 which were addressed to cities such as Genoa – where the plague wave originated in Italy – Perugia and Pisa.⁵ Other writings were not specifically

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.

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

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 Canozium, 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

(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*

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.

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* (Pavia: 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 febris. 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* (Pavia: 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 febris. 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 febris. 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*.

(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

⁹ See THORNDIKE 1959, 14.

¹⁰ See SUDHOFF 1911(2), 337.

(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 Avicenna’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

¹¹ See SUDHOFF 1911(1), 83–87.

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

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

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:

<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 בפייסה 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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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.

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

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 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

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.

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 etiology of the disease is explained through the poisonous putrefaction that affects part of the heart and lungs:

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*

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

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."

*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 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

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.”

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

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 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

²⁸ See Appendix, *infra*, *.

²⁹ JOHANNES DE KETHAM 1495.

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:

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

³⁰ Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2317, f. 35r: "Quantum ad tertium 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*, *.

³³ See Appendix, *infra*, *.

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 ordeii 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. 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

³⁴ See Appendix, *infra*, *.

³⁵ See Appendix, *infra*, *.

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:

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 משבהם [The common regimen for them...]	הנהגה כללית בבריאים כמו בחולים... [The common regimen for them...]

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

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

³⁷ See ASLANOV 2002 and ASLANOV 2003.

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 preconsonantal '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 vulgarized 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 (*pernice*, lat. *perdicum*), testified by the Jerusalem fragment, and the more Latinized פרדישי (*perdiši*),

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

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 אונקיי (*unchia*) in the Jerusalem copy, while at the later stage it loses the nasal אוקיי (*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 פוליפודיאן (*polipodio*), המיטריטאטו (*ha-metritato*) and שירופו (*s/širupo*).

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 (*indivia*, lat. *endivie*), קשיאה (*cassia*, lat. *cassie*), שינא (*senna*, lat. *sene*), גריופילי (*gariofili*, lat. *gariofilorum*), קמפורה (*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

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

unequivocal information regarding medicaments 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 סטינטריאלי (*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 רוסא (*rosa*, lat. *rose*), ציצי (*ceci*, lat. *cicerum*), הלטוקי (*ha-latuche*, lat. *lattucis*), פולפא (*pulpa*, lat. *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

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

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

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*, *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 אנדייאה (*indivia*, lat. *endivie*), קשיאה (*cassia*, lat. *cassie*), אשקולופינדריאה (*iscolopendria*), רקאליסיאה (*ricolisia*). 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 שנדיליש and סנדליש, or the ending '-s' is rendered both with 'ס-' and with 'ש-' in כרוס (*crocus*) and פילולאש (*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 פיסא, while in the Vienna codex it is spelled פישא; *senna* is spelled with the letter *šin* (שינא) in the latter, and with the letter *samek* (סינא) in the former. Finally, the soft 'g' is rendered by a double *yod* in the Jerusalem copy, for instance, in יינברי (*ginebri*) and יימה (*gemma*).

⁴² See ASLANOV 2013(1), 46.

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 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 *Ha-merḥazaot*,

⁴³ See FREUDENTHAL 2012.

⁴⁴ See GARCÍA-BALLESTER, FERRE, FELIU 1990.

⁴⁵ See DI SEGNI 2024.

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.

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

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

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

⁵⁴ See STEINSCHNEIDER 1893, 734.

⁵⁵ See STEINSCHNEIDER 1893, 791, 813-816.

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 add 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 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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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.

APPENDIX

Latin textual tradition

Manuscripts:

R1 = Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1264, ff. 301v-302r.⁵⁸

R2 = Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 1043, ff. 374r-v.⁵⁹

L = Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, ms. 1178, f. 54r.⁶⁰

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.⁶¹

J = Jerusalem, The National Library of Israel, Ms. Fr. 81.2.⁶²

⁵⁸ On this manuscript, see SCHUBA 1981, 335–337.

⁵⁹ On this manuscript, see CALDELLI 2007, 70.

⁶⁰ Unfortunately, at the time of this research, the manuscript was being restored, and I was not able to consult it.

⁶¹ On this manuscript, see SCHWARZ 1925, no. 175, 193–194.

⁶² On this fragment, see https://www.nli.org.il/en/discover/manuscripts/hebrew-manuscripts/itempage?docId=PNX_MANUSCRIPTS990034959620205171&vid=MANUSCRIPTS&scope=PNX_MANUSCRIPTS (last visited on 29/10/2022).

Gentilis de Fulgineo

CONSILIUM GENTILIS QUOAD PESTILENTIAM QUOD MISIT PISE

1348⁶³

Manifestum⁶⁴ videtur, quod causa terribilis mortis, que manifesta fuit⁶⁵ prius⁶⁶ apud⁶⁷ Ianuam⁶⁸, deinde⁶⁹ pervenit⁷⁰ Pisam⁷¹ et Plumbinum⁷² et Massam⁷³, et que nunc est⁷⁴ Neapolim⁷⁵, sit⁷⁶ venenosa putredo circa partes cordis et pulmonis, de quibus exeunte venenoso vapore periculum est⁷⁷ vicinantibus et conversantibus. Huius autem⁷⁸ putrefactionis⁷⁹, sive sit causa celestis adspectus, sive sit⁸⁰ dispositio terrestris et aquarum, eandem⁸¹ habebit⁸² viam ausilii, scilicet cordis et principalium membrorum⁸³ confortationem et destructionem venenose putredinis⁸⁴, que est prohibitio

⁶³ Consilium ... 1348] aliud capitulum R1 Consilium ad pestilentiam. Consilium aliud ad idem PV1 om. V2 add. consilium aliud pestilentia in marg. R2

⁶⁴ Manifestum] add. autem V2

⁶⁵ fuit] om. R2

⁶⁶ prius] primo PR1V1V2

⁶⁷ apud] om. PV1V2

⁶⁸ Ianuam] Ianue PV1V2

⁶⁹ deinde] postea PV1V2

⁷⁰ pervenit] venit LPV1V2 om. R2

⁷¹ Pisam] Pise PR1V1V2

⁷² Plumbinum] Plumbino R1

⁷³ Massam] Massa R1

⁷⁴ nunc est] inv. L

⁷⁵ et Plumbinum ... Neapolim] et cetera PV1V2

⁷⁶ sit] est R2

⁷⁷ periculum est] add. in PV1V2 inv. R2

⁷⁸ autem] om. PV1V2

⁷⁹ putrefactionis] putredinis LPR1V1V2

⁸⁰ sit] om. LR2

⁸¹ eandem] cum PV1V2

⁸² habebit] habent L

⁸³ membrorum] om. R1R2

⁸⁴ destructionem ... putredinis] venenose putredinis destructionem L

additionis eius in egris et prohibitio⁸⁵ putrefactionis⁸⁶ in sanis. Et specialiter oportet providere, ut hii, qui infirmis adstant, securius possiunt⁸⁷ adesse, ne qui infirmantur propter omnem humanitatem⁸⁸ delinquantur⁸⁹, et miserabilius dimittantur⁹⁰ quam actenus⁹¹, ut⁹² brutis animalibus est consuetum⁹³.

Regimen commune tam⁹⁴ infirmis quam⁹⁵ sanis est, quod rectificetur⁹⁶ aer cum continua accensione ignis elevate⁹⁷ flamme⁹⁸, et pro sanis proiiciantur in ignes⁹⁹ arbores et plante¹⁰⁰ quecumque¹⁰¹ odorifere, ut est¹⁰² iuniperus; pro infirmis vero¹⁰³ proiiciantur¹⁰⁴ salices¹⁰⁵, granata et mirti¹⁰⁶. Cibaria egrorum¹⁰⁷ sint¹⁰⁸ de pullis et¹⁰⁹ perdicibus, secundum quod videbitur medico¹¹⁰ de indigentia casus virtutis, et potus sit vini subtilis in hora ciborum, si videtur¹¹¹

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- 85 prohibitio] prohibitionem in *L* prohibitionem *R1 om. R2*
86 putrefactionis] putredinis *PV1V2* putridis *L add. eius R2*
87 securius possint] *inv. LPV1V2 add. eis L*
88 propter ... humanitatem] propter omnem inhumanitatem *L per aeris malignitatem PV1V2*
89 delinquantur] relinquantur *PV1V2*
90 miserabilius dimittantur] *inv. LPV1V2*
91 quam actenus] *add. et LR1 quatenus PV1 om. V2*
92 ut] et nunc *R1*
93 Et ... consuetum] *om. R2*
94 tam] est *R1 om. LPV1V2*
95 quam] et *LPR1V1V2*
96 rectificetur] continue rectificere *R2*
97 elevate] elevantis *R2*
98 flamme] flammam *R2*
99 ignes] ignem *R1*
100 arbores ... plante] plante et arbores *PV1V2*
101 quecumque] quascumque *PV1*
102 est] *om. R2*
103 vero] non *R2 om. R1*
104 proiiciantur] ponantur *R1*
105 salices] salicem *V1*
106 granata ... mirti] mirthe granata *PV1V2*
107 egrorum] eorum *LPV1V2*
108 sint] sunt *L*
109 et] de *R1 om. R1*
110 medico] medicis *R1*
111 medico ... videtur] *om. R2*

medicis presentibus et¹¹² in hora¹¹³ casus virtutis. Potus autem continuus¹¹⁴ sit¹¹⁵ aque ordei subtilis cum vino granatorum aut iuleb. In vino granatorum¹¹⁶ et acetositas sit, secundum quod videbitur presenti medico, maior aut minor et in¹¹⁷ pluri aut pauciori usu¹¹⁸. Non¹¹⁹ est enim¹²⁰ dubium¹²¹, quod acetosa vehementer¹²² resistunt¹²³ putredini, sed inquantum sunt percussiva¹²⁴ spiritualium, habent aliquam suspensionem.

Subveniatur etiam febricitantibus subito¹²⁵ cum flobotomia et¹²⁶ ventosis circa nates et loca inferiora, et¹²⁷ cum¹²⁸ clisteriis trahentibus ad inferiora materiam¹²⁹. De usu autem farmacie minus potest¹³⁰ dari iudicium per absentem¹³¹ medicum¹³². Consulo tamen¹³³, quod quam¹³⁴ citius est possible, tentetur¹³⁵ evacuari humor¹³⁶.

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- 112 et] *om. PV1V2*
 113 hora] *horis R2*
 114 continuus] *communis PV1V2*
 115 sit] *om. PV1V2*
 116 aut ... granatorum] *om. R1*
 117 in] *om. L add. usu PV1V2*
 118 maior ... usu] *om. R2 usu om. PV1V2*
 119 Non] *add. autem R1*
 120 est enim] *inv. R1L enim om. PV1V2*
 121 dubium] *dubio R2*
 122 vehementer] *convenienter PV1V2*
 123 resistunt] *assistunt V2 om. R1*
 124 percussiva] *repercussiva R2*
 125 febricitantibus subito] *inv. R2*
 126 et] *add. cum PV1V2*
 127 et] *om. V2*
 128 cum] *om. R1*
 129 ad ... materiam] *materiam ad inferiora R2*
 130 minus potest] *potest maius PV1V2 potest om. R1*
 131 absentem] *absentiam V1V2 absentis R2 absententiam P*
 132 medicum] *medicine PV1V2 medico R2*
 133 tamen] *om. LPV1V2*
 134 quod quam] *inv. R1*
 135 tentetur] *temperetur V1*
 136 humor] *humorum peccans R2*

Potus communis¹³⁷ omnibus¹³⁸ actu¹³⁹ egrotantibus per rectificationem putredinis¹⁴⁰, de quo debet sumi¹⁴¹ semel aut bis¹⁴² in die ieiuno stomacho¹⁴³, est hoc: Recipe aque rose libram I, vini subtilis convenientis vinosi¹⁴⁴ uncias III, ponatur in eis boli armeni¹⁴⁵ electi triti et¹⁴⁶ subtiliter¹⁴⁷ cribelati dimidia uncia. Dosis huius potus sit uncia II. Et si vult¹⁴⁸ apponere¹⁴⁹ de aqua communi, apponat¹⁵⁰. Et hicmet¹⁵¹ potus est utilis¹⁵² sanis ad defensionem eorum¹⁵³, si¹⁵⁴ detur sanis cum¹⁵⁵ vino puro aut parum limphato cum proportione predicta.

Regimen sanorum est, quod utatur¹⁵⁶ cibus laudabilibus de carnibus pullinis et¹⁵⁷ perdicum¹⁵⁸ et avium¹⁵⁹ et castrati et edi¹⁶⁰ lactantis, vitule¹⁶¹ et¹⁶² raro porci et ovis sorbilibus et aquis cicerum sine cortice et oleribus minutis

137 communis] *add.* actu V1 *add.* aptus L
138 omnibus] *add.* actus V2
139 omnibus actu] *inv.* PV1 actu *om.* L
140 putredinis] putrefactionis R2
141 debet sumi] *om.* R2
142 semel ... bis] bis aut semel PV1V2
143 stomacho] *add.* debet sumi R2
144 vinosi] *om.* PV1V2
145 boli armeni] bolliar PV1V2
146 triti et] *om.* PV1V2
147 subtiliter] *add.* pulverizati aliter PV1V2 *add.* illeg. R2
148 vult] *om.* R1
149 apponere] ponere PV1V2
150 apponat] ponat R2
151 hicmet] extimet PV1 existimes quod V2
152 utilis] communis PV1V2
153 eorum] *om.* PV1V2
154 si] sed R2
155 cum] qui R1
156 utatur] utantur LPV1V2
157 et] *om.* R2
158 perdicum] perdicis R2
159 et avium] *om.* R2
160 edi] *add.* et R1
161 vitule] vituli PV1V2
162 et] *om.* PV1V2

cum¹⁶³ feniculo et petrosilio, et utantur vinis laudabilibus subtilibus¹⁶⁴, et utantur¹⁶⁵ rebus acetosis, nisi qui sint¹⁶⁶ extenuati pectoris et parati ad tusses. De piscibus¹⁶⁷ autem parum¹⁶⁸ aut¹⁶⁹ nihil¹⁷⁰ comedant¹⁷¹, caveant a fungis¹⁷², de lattucis cum aceto possent¹⁷³ uti non continue¹⁷⁴, de ficibus¹⁷⁵ siccis possent¹⁷⁶ comedere et passulis¹⁷⁷ et de¹⁷⁸ silvestribus carnibus possent uti¹⁷⁹ carne¹⁸⁰ caprioli iuvenis et aliquando porci silvestris¹⁸¹.

Laudo, quod sani tendant¹⁸² ad¹⁸³ purgationem¹⁸⁴, et sirupus conveniens posset¹⁸⁵ esse iste: Recipe radicem V liquiritie, ysopi¹⁸⁶ ana unciam I, melisse, capillorum¹⁸⁷ veneris, scolopendrie ana libram I, seminis endivie¹⁸⁸, portulace, sandalorum¹⁸⁹ alborum¹⁹⁰ et rubeorum¹⁹¹ ana dimidiam unciam, zucari libram

-
- 163 cum] et R1
 164 subtilibus] et assuctis R2
 165 vinis ... utantur] *om.* PV1V2
 166 sunt] fuerint? R2
 167 De piscibus] pisces R2
 168 autem parum] *inv.* R1
 169 aut] *om.* PV1V2
 170 parum ... nihil] nihil aut parum L nihil *om.* PV1V2
 171 comedant] comedat R1 comedint R2
 172 fungis] frigidis R1
 173 possent] potest PV1V2
 174 continue] continuo R2
 175 ficibus] *add.* et passulis R2
 176 possent] poterit PV1V2
 177 et passulis] *om.* R1
 178 de] *om.* PV1V2
 179 uti] *add.* alii R2
 180 carne] carnibus PV1V2 *add.* porci silvestris et R2
 181 et ... silvestris] *om.* R2 silvestris *om.* PV1V2
 182 tendant] intendant PR1V1V2
 183 ad] *om.* LPV1V2
 184 purgationem] purgationes R1 purgationibus LPV1V2
 185 posset] possit R1 potest L
 186 liquiritie ysopi] *inv.* PV1V2
 187 capillorum] capilli PV1 capillis V2
 188 endivie] *add.* scolopedrie ana libram I seminis endivie *sed del.* R1
 189 sandalorum] sandalis R2
 190 alborum] albis R2
 191 rubeorum] rubis R2

I; fiat sirupus et acetosetur cum aceto vini, secundum quod videbitur necessitas.

Purgatio fiat¹⁹² cum hoc: Recipe pulpe cassie dimidiam unciam, manne uncias II, agarici in colatura¹⁹³ vel in substantia dracmam I, salis gemme tertiam¹⁹⁴ partem¹⁹⁵ scrupuli I¹⁹⁶, et in quibusdam addatur reubarbarum¹⁹⁷¹⁹⁸, et in quibusdam turbit et in quibusdam sene vel polipodium¹⁹⁹. In omnibus tamen ponantur²⁰⁰ medicine ducentes²⁰¹ virtutem solutivorum ad pectus, et ideo quibusdam erit usus conveniens²⁰² pillularum de agarico secundum Mesue.

Laudo etiam flobotomias, et²⁰³ opinor flobotomias²⁰⁴ salvatellarum²⁰⁵ fore²⁰⁶ multum utiles²⁰⁷. Est²⁰⁸ etiam²⁰⁹ conveniens, quod²¹⁰ quilibet sanus a XIV anno²¹¹ supra²¹² sumat bis in septimana²¹³ qualibet vice dracmam I tiriace cum

192 Purgatio fiat] purgetur R2
193 in colatura] incolatur R1
194 tertiam] secunda R1 tertia PV1V2
195 partem] pars PR1V1V2
196 I] om. R2
197 reubarbarum] reubarbari PV1V2
198 et ... reubarbarum] om. R1
199 polipodium] polipodii R2
200 ponantur] ponatur R2
201 ducentes] ducens R1
202 usus conveniens] inv. R2
203 et] add. de salvatellis L
204 et ... flobotomias] om. PR1V1V2 et flobotomias opinor L
205 salvatellarum] salvatele PV1V2 om. L
206 fore] esse L
207 utiles] utile L
208 Est] et PV1V2
209 etiam] add. est PV1V2
210 quod] quia PV1
211 anno] om. PV1V2
212 supra] circiter PV1V2
213 septimana] add. pro PV1V2

pauco potu vini subtilis²¹⁴. Pueris²¹⁵ autem, qui²¹⁶ sint²¹⁷ infra²¹⁸ XIV²¹⁹ annum²²⁰, potest dari quid²²¹ modicum, ut scrupulum I, et communiter tiriaca sit, super²²² quam²²³ transuerit annus, et metridatum etiam²²⁴ est conveniens²²⁵.

Eodem modo illi²²⁶, qui adstant infirmis, sumant omni mane toto tempore²²⁷, quo adstant²²⁸, dimidiam dracmam tiriace cum optimo vino, et frequenter lauent sibi²²⁹ manus et facies²³⁰ modo²³¹ cum aqua rose²³², modo cum²³³ aceto²³⁴, modo cum vino²³⁵, et semper inter se et infirmum teneant ignem, et infirmus ponatur in lecto²³⁶ alto, ut²³⁷, quantum possibile est²³⁸, premineat²³⁹ capitibus astantium, et sepe²⁴⁰ balneent²⁴¹ domum cum aceto, et

214 subtilis] *add. et R1*
215 Pueris] *pueri R1*
216 autem qui] *inv. R1 qui om. R1*
217 sint] *sunt PV1V2*
218 infra] *in PV2*
219 XIV] *IX LPV1V2*
220 annum] *anno PV1V2 annos R1L*
221 quid] *om. R1*
222 super] *supram R2*
223 quam] *quo R1*
224 etiam] *om. R2*
225 etiam ... conveniens] *est conveniens etiam PV1V2*
226 illi] *illis L*
227 toto tempore] *om. R1*
228 astant] *adsunt PV1V2*
229 sibi] *om. R2*
230 facies] *faciem PV1V2*
231 modo] *om. R1*
232 aqua rose] *aqua acetosa LR1 vino PV1V2*
233 modo cum] *om. R2*
234 aceto] *acqua acetosa PV1V2*
235 modo ... vino] *om. LR2 modo cum aceto PV1V2*
236 lecto] *loco PV1V2*
237 ut] *et PV1V2*
238 possibile est] *inv. R2*
239 premineat] *preminet R1 proheminat R2*
240 sepe] *semper PV1V2*
241 balneent] *balneant PR1V1*

sepe exeant cameram infirmi, et²⁴² veniant ad publicum²⁴³ et apertum²⁴⁴ aerem, et quando flat²⁴⁵ ventus²⁴⁶ septentrionalis²⁴⁷, recipiant²⁴⁸ eum²⁴⁹ per omnes fenestras. Regantur etiam²⁵⁰ cibus laudabilibus²⁵¹ dictis supra²⁵², et spero, quod Dei auxilio²⁵³ cum²⁵⁴ hiis remediis adstantes²⁵⁵ poterunt²⁵⁶ infirmos²⁵⁷ secure²⁵⁸ custodire et eis²⁵⁹ servire²⁶⁰.

Fiat istud pomum: Recipe camphore scrupulum²⁶¹ I, sandalorum²⁶² alborum²⁶³ et rubeorum²⁶⁴ ana dracmam²⁶⁵ I²⁶⁶, croci dimidiam dracmam²⁶⁷, garofilorum dracmam²⁶⁸ I²⁶⁹; fiat pulvis et ponatur in pecia vel²⁷⁰ informetur²⁷¹

-
- 242 et] ut R2
243 publicum] aerem R2
244 et apertum] distopertum R2 *add.* sive apertum R1
245 flat] flant PV1V2
246 ventus] venti PV1V2
247 septentrionalis] septentrionales PV1V2
248 recipiant] recipiunt R1
249 eum] eos PV1V2
250 etiam] *add.* cum LPV1V2
251 cibus laudabilibus] *inv.* PV1V2
252 Regantur ... supra] *om.* R1
253 auxilio] *add.* astantes L
254 cum] quod PV1V2
255 astantes] *om.* L
256 poterunt] *om.* L
257 infirmos] infirmis PR1V1V2
258 secure] *om.* R2
259 custodire ... eis] *om.* PR1V1V2
260 servire] serviant L
261 scrupulum] dracmam R2
262 sandalorum] sandalis R2
263 alborum] albis R2
264 rubeorum] rubis R2
265 dracmam] scrupulum R2
266 I] *om.* R2
267 dimidiam dracmam] libras V R2
268 dracmam] scrupulum PV1V2
269 garofilorum ... I] *om.* R2
270 vel] et R1
271 informetur] informantur L *add.* pomum PV1V2

cum laudano. Et hoc est pro²⁷² egris; pro sanis vero²⁷³ fiat ex eisdem rebus²⁷⁴,
sed ponatur²⁷⁵ dracma I croci, et²⁷⁶ scrupuli²⁷⁷ II gariofilorum²⁷⁸ et cetera²⁷⁹.

272 pro] per R2

273 vero] non R2 etiam V2 et PV1 om. L

274 eisdem rebus] predictis L

275 ponatur] addatur L

276 et] om. V1V2

277 scrupuli] libras R2

278 scrupuli ... gariofilorum] gariofilorum scrupuli II PV1V2

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

עצת²⁸⁰ מאי²⁸¹ יינטיל²⁸² דפוליני²⁸³ שלח²⁸⁴ בפישא²⁸⁵ שנת²⁸⁶ ק"ח כשהיה²⁸⁷ הדבר הגדול השי²⁸⁸

ישמרנו אמן.

דבר ברור הוא²⁸⁹ ונראה המיתה²⁹⁰ האכזרית²⁹¹, אשר נולדה בתחלה²⁹² בגינואה²⁹³ ובקטלוניא,
ואחר זה²⁹⁴ בפישא²⁹⁵, ועתה²⁹⁶ היא²⁹⁷ בנפולי²⁹⁸, היא²⁹⁹ עפוש ארסיי³⁰⁰ בסביבות הלב והריאה, אשר
מהם נמשך בכל חלק מחלקי³⁰¹ הגוף.

עצת] זו היא עצת J	280
מאי] מש' J	281
יינטיל] יינטילי J	282
דפוליני add. [אשר J	283
שלח] שלחה W sed corr.	284
בפישא] בפיסא J	285
שנת] בשנת J	286
ק"ח כשהיה] אלף שמ"ח למנינם שנת J	287
הש אמן] J om.	288
הוא ונראה [נ"ל]	289
המיתה] שהמיתה J	290
האכזרית] אכזרית J	291
בתחלה] J om.	292
בגינאה [בגירואה] corr. sup. l. W ביינובה J	293
זה] J om.	294
בפישא] בפיסא J	295
ועתה] ואחר J	296
היא] J om.	297
בנפולי add. [המגפה J	298
היא] הוא JW	299
ארסיי] סמיי J	300
חלק מחלקי] חלקין J	301

הסבה³⁰²: סבת³⁰³ זה העפוש או תהיה³⁰⁴ סבה³⁰⁵ שמימית, או סבה³⁰⁶ ארציית, או סבה³⁰⁷ מימית³⁰⁸, כלם יש להם³⁰⁹ תכלית אחד, והוא³¹⁰ להמית הלב. והנהגה הטובה³¹¹ היא לחזק הלב וכל האברים הראשיים, וגם כן³¹² להכרית העפוש הארסיי מן³¹³ החולים, ולשמור הבריאים. ההנהגה³¹⁴: הנהגה³¹⁵ כללית³¹⁶ בבריאים³¹⁷ כמו בחולים היא³¹⁸ כי תמיד יחודש האויר ויתוקן התמדת האש עם שלהבת גדולה. בעבור הבריאים יוקחו³¹⁹ העצים ריחניים³²⁰ כמו גינפרי³²¹ וזולתם, ובעבור החולים יעשה מערבה ורמון והדס. המאכל³²² מהחולה³²³ יהיה³²⁴ מעופות, כאשר³²⁵ יורה³²⁶ הרופא העומד סביב³²⁷ החולה³²⁸, ובעת³²⁹ נפילת הכח³³⁰. והמשתה³³¹ תהיה תמיד מי השעורים³³² עם עסיס³³³

<i>J om.</i> [הסבה]	302
<i>J</i> [סבת וסיבת]	303
תהיה [יהיה]	304
<i>J</i> [סבת]	305
<i>J</i> [סבה]	306
או סבה. <i>J om.</i>]	307
<i>J</i> [מימית] ושמירת	308
יש להם. <i>J om.</i>]	309
והוא] ר"ל <i>J</i>	310
הטובה] טובה <i>J</i>	311
<i>J om.</i> [כן]	312
<i>J om.</i> [מן החולים]	313
<i>J om.</i> [הנהגה]	314
הנהגה] והנהגה <i>J</i>	315
כללית] הכללית	316
בבריאים ... היא] משבהם <i>J</i>	317
הוא] <i>W</i>	318
יוקחו] יקחו מן <i>J</i>	319
ריחניים] הריחניים <i>J</i>	320
גינפרי] ייניברי <i>J</i>	321
המאכל] ומאכל <i>J</i>	322
מהחולה] החולה <i>J</i>	323
יהיה. <i>J om.</i>	324
כאשר] כמו <i>J</i>	325
יורה] שיורה	326
סביב] סביבו <i>J</i>	327
החולה] <i>J om.</i>	328
ובעת] בעת <i>J</i>	329
הכח] כח <i>J</i>	330
המשתה] השתייה	331
השעורים] שעורים. add. מתוקנים	332
עסיס] יין <i>J</i>	333

מרמונים³³⁴ ויחומץ³³⁵, כפי³³⁶ ראות³³⁷ הרופא. אין³³⁸ בזה³³⁹ ספק כי החומץ³⁴⁰ החזק³⁴¹ מאד עומד כנגד³⁴² הסם, אבל מפני כי הוא מרתיע³⁴³ הרוחניים³⁴⁴, יש מענו לגמגם בנתינתו³⁴⁵.
ההקזה³⁴⁶: מיד כשיקדיח³⁴⁷, עשה³⁴⁸ ההקזה³⁴⁹ וכוסות³⁵⁰ המציצה³⁵¹ בעגבות ובמקומות³⁵² התחתונות.³⁵³

הרגל³⁵⁴ הרפואות³⁵⁵ החדות³⁵⁶ לא נוכל לדון, וזה יעמוד לרופא שירפאנו,³⁵⁷ מ"מ אם יוכל להריק³⁵⁸ החומר החוטא,³⁵⁹ אין ספק כי הוא טוב.

א' ליטר, יין דק ולבן ורדים³⁶³ זה: קח מי³⁶² לנגב העפוש וישתה ממנו פעם או פעמים על הצום הוא³⁶¹ משקה³⁶⁰ זה שיעור נתינת³⁷⁰. חצי אוקי³⁶⁹ אשר דק ומטפה בדקות³⁶⁸ כתוש עד³⁶⁷ ומובחר³⁶⁶ בול ארמיני טוב³⁶⁵ ³⁶⁴, וטוב ד' אוקיו

מרמונים] רימון J	334
ויחומץ] מחמיץ J	335
כפי] כאשר J	336
ראות] ירא בעיני J	337
אין] ואין J	338
בזה]. J om.	339
החומץ] החמוץ J	340
החזק] חזק J	341
כנגד] נגד J	342
הוא מרתיע] מתעים J	343
הרוחניים] הספיריטואל J	344
בנתינתו] בנתינתם J	345
ההקזה]. J om.	346
מיד כשיקדיח] בזור? באש תקרר J	347
עשה] יעשה J	348
ההקזה] הקזה J	349
וכוסות] וכוסי J	350
המציצה] ההקזה J	351
ובמקומות] ומקומות J	352
התחתונות] תחתוניות J	353
הרגל] גם ההרגל J	354
הרפואות] מהרפואות J	355
החדות] אמרות J	356
שירפאנו]. J om.	357
להריק] להאריך J	358
החושה]. J om.	359
משקה]. J add. כללי J	360
הוא] והוא J	361
מי] מים J	362
ורדים] רוסא J	363
אוקיו] אונקי add. ושים בו J	364
טוב] אן? J	365
ומובחר] מובחר J	366
עד ... דק]. J om.	367
בדקות] ? J	368
אוקי] אונקי J	369
נתינת]. J om.	370

³⁷⁶, עם יין נקי שים. וזה המשקה הוא טוב לבריאים ³⁷⁵ מים פשוטים ³⁷⁴ עמו ³⁷³ ואם תרצה, להשים ³⁷² ³⁷¹. המשקה בי אוקיו כדרך שאמרנו

הנהגה הבריאים ³⁷⁷ היא ³⁷⁸ שירגילו מאכלים מובחרים, ³⁷⁹ מתרנגולים ³⁸⁰ ועופות אחרים, ³⁸¹ פרדישי, ³⁸² סריסים, גדי ³⁸³ יונק, ³⁸⁴ עגל יונק, ביצים ³⁸⁵ צלויים, ומי אפונים ³⁸⁶ וגם ³⁸⁷ האפונים ³⁸⁸ בלי ³⁸⁹ קליפתם, עשבים קנונים עם פנוקולי ופטרושילו, ³⁹⁰ וירגילו ³⁹¹ יינות מובחרים, ³⁹² ודברים ³⁹³ חמוצים לבר אם יש לו עוצר בחזה והמוכנים ³⁹⁴ לשעול. ³⁹⁵ מין הדגים יאכל ³⁹⁶ מעט או לא ³⁹⁷ כלום, ³⁹⁸ וישמר מן הכמהין הם ³⁹⁹ פונגיי ⁴⁰⁰, החזרת ⁴⁰¹ עם החומץ ⁴⁰² יוכל ⁴⁰³ להרגיל ⁴⁰⁴, אך ⁴⁰⁵ לא ⁴⁰⁶ תמיד. ⁴⁰⁷ יוכל ⁴⁰⁸ לאכול מן

אוקיו] אונקי J	371
להשים] לשים J	372
עמו. J om.]	373
פשוטים] קומוני J	374
לבריאים] J om.	375
נקי add. [אוי]	376
הנהגה הבריאים] J om.	377
היא] הוא JW	378
מובחרים] add. מכשר J	379
מתרנגולים] תרנגולים J	380
אחרים] add. [כגון]	381
פרדישי] פירניצי add. ומאסאט J	382
גדי] וגדיים J	383
יונק] יונקים J	384
ביצים] וביצות J	385
אפונים] ציצי J	386
וגם] J om.	387
האפונים] ארופים וציצי J	388
בלי] בלתי J	389
ופטרושילו] ופיטרוסימילי J	390
וירגילו] וירגיל J	391
מובחרים] add. וירגיל J	392
ודברים] דברים J	393
והמוכנים] המוכנים J	394
לשעול] לשיעור J	395
יאכל] J om.	396
לא] כמעט J	397
כלום] add. מהם J	398
מן ... הם] J om.	399
פונגיי] מהפונגיי J	400
החזרת] והלטוקי J	401
החומץ] add. illeg. sed del. J	402
יוכל] תוכל J	403
להרגיל] add. לפעמים J	404
אך] J om.]	405
לא] ולא J	406
תמיד] להתמיד J	407
יוכל] add. ויוכל J	408

התאנים⁴⁰⁹ או⁴¹⁰ מן הצמוקים, מבשר הציר יוכל להרגיל ולפעמים⁴¹¹ מבשר⁴¹² חזיר יערי⁴¹³ ומצב⁴¹⁴ רך וטוב.⁴¹⁵

אשרוף⁴¹⁶: משבח⁴¹⁷ אני כי הבריאים ישימו מגמת פניהם אל ההרקות, וזה⁴¹⁸ האשרוף⁴¹⁹ הוא⁴²⁰ טוב: קח⁴²¹ ה'⁴²², שרשים והם שרשי כרפס ואשפרגי ברוסי וגרמיניש ופטרושילי, רקאליסיאה,⁴²³ אזוב מ"א א' אוקי⁴²⁴, מלישא,⁴²⁵ קפילי וינריש⁴²⁶, אשקולופינדריאה⁴²⁷ מ"א,⁴²⁸ אגודה⁴²⁹ זרע אנדיויאה,⁴³⁰ זרע פורטולייגא⁴³¹, שנדיליש⁴³² לבנים ואדומים מ"א⁴³³ חצי אוקי,⁴³⁴ סוכרי⁴³⁵ א' ליטר.⁴³⁶ עשה⁴³⁷ אשרוף⁴³⁸ ויחומץ⁴³⁹ עם חומץ יין כפי ההכרח.

התאנים] מתאנים יבשים <i>J</i>	409
או ... להרגיל] <i>J om.</i>	410
ולפעמים add. [מעט]	411
מבשר [בשר]	412
יערי] וג"כ <i>J</i>	413
ומצבי] מצבי <i>J</i>	414
וטוב. <i>J om.</i>]	415
אשרוף] <i>J om.</i>	416
משבח [ומשבח <i>J</i>	417
וזה] הוא <i>J add.</i>	418
האשרוף [השירופו]	419
הוא] <i>J om.</i>	420
קח] לזה <i>J</i>	421
ה' ... ופטרושילי <i>J om.</i>]	422
רקאליסיאה [ריקוליציאה]	423
אוקי] <i>J om.</i>	424
מלישא. <i>J om.</i>]	425
קפילי] וקפילווינרי? <i>J</i>	426
אשקולופינדריאה [וסקולפונדריאה]	427
מ"א] א' <i>J add.</i>	428
אגודה] מניפילי <i>J</i>	429
אנדיויאה] אינדיביאה <i>J</i>	430
פורטולייגא] פורקקאל? <i>J</i> ⁴³¹	431
שנדיליש [סנדאלי]	432
מ"א] מכא' <i>J</i>	433
אוקי' [אונק add. א' ליטר ו] ?	434
סוכרי] צוקירו <i>J</i>	435
א' ליטר <i>J om.</i>]	436
עשה] ויעשה <i>J</i>	437
אשרוף] שירופו <i>J</i>	438
ויחומץ. <i>J om.</i>]	439

המשלשל⁴⁴⁰: קח לב⁴⁴¹ קשיאה⁴⁴² חצי אוקי⁴⁴³, מאנה ב' אוקיות,⁴⁴⁴ אגריקו בסנון⁴⁴⁵ או בעצמות⁴⁴⁶ א' דר', מלח גימה⁴⁴⁷ שלישי חלק מאשקורופולו, ולפעמים הוסיף ריוברברו, ולפעמים הוסף⁴⁴⁸ טורביד⁴⁴⁹, ולפעמים⁴⁵⁰ שינא,⁴⁵¹ פוליפוד.⁴⁵² ובכל רפואה שים מרפואות אשר כחותם להריק⁴⁵³ החזה, ועל⁴⁵⁴ כן לפעמים⁴⁵⁵ נרגיל הפילולאש⁴⁵⁶ מאגריקו⁴⁵⁷ לפי מאשואי.⁴⁵⁸ ומשבח אני גם⁴⁵⁹ כן ההקזה⁴⁶⁰ בסאלוטילא⁴⁶¹ כי היא⁴⁶² מועולה.⁴⁶³

טריאקא⁴⁶⁴ מן ההכרח הוא⁴⁶⁵ גם כן בו כל בריא⁴⁶⁶ מיי"ד שנים ומעלה⁴⁶⁷ יקח⁴⁶⁸ ב' פעמים בשבוע א' דר' מתריאקא⁴⁶⁹ בכל פעם עם יין⁴⁷⁰ דק. הקטנים⁴⁷¹ יותר⁴⁷² מזה תוכל לתת מעט פחות כמו א'

המשלשל] ואח"כ נקהו עם זה <i>J</i>	440
לב] פולפא <i>J</i>	441
קשיאה] דקסיאה <i>J</i>	442
אוקי] אונקי	443
אוקי] אונקי	444
בסנון] בקולטוררה <i>J</i>	445
בעצמות] בעצמותו <i>J</i>	446
גימה] יימה <i>J</i>	447
הוסף] <i>J om.</i>	448
טורביד] מהטורביט <i>J</i>	449
ולפעמים] או <i>J</i>	450
שינא] סינה <i>add.</i> או <i>J</i>	451
פוליפוד] פוליפודיאו <i>J</i>	452
להריק] להאריך <i>J</i>	453
ועל כן] ע"כ	454
לפעמים.] <i>J om.</i>	455
הפילולאש] הפילולין	456
מאגריקו] אגאריקו <i>J</i>	457
מאשואי] מזואי <i>J</i>	458
גם כן.] <i>J om.</i>	459
ההקזה <i>add.</i>] וההקזה <i>J</i>	460
בסאלוטילא] בסקונינולי? <i>J</i>	461
כי היא.] <i>J om.</i>	462
מועולה] מועלת <i>J</i>	463
טריאקא] והוא <i>J</i>	464
הוא.] <i>J om.</i>	465
בריא] חולה <i>J</i>	466
ומעלה] ולמעלה <i>J</i>	467
יקח ... פעמים] יתפוש בב' <i>J</i>	468
מתריאקא] מטוריאקה <i>J</i>	469
יין] מעט <i>J. l. add. sup.</i>	470
הקטנים] ולקטנים <i>J</i>	471
יותר ... פחות.] <i>J om.</i>	472

אשקורופולו⁴⁷³ ועשה שהתריאק⁴⁷⁴ העבור⁴⁷⁵ השנה⁴⁷⁶ וגם⁴⁷⁷ המיטרידאט.⁴⁷⁸ אבל⁴⁷⁹ אותם⁴⁸⁰
שעומדים⁴⁸¹ לשרת⁴⁸² החולים⁴⁸³ יקחו בכל בקר כל⁴⁸⁴ עוד⁴⁸⁵ שעומדים עליהם⁴⁸⁶ חצי דר' מטריאק⁴⁸⁷ עם
יין טוב, ותמיד⁴⁸⁸ ירחצו⁴⁸⁹ פניהם,⁴⁹⁰ ידיהם,⁴⁹¹ פעם עם מים מחומצים,⁴⁹² פעם⁴⁹³ עם חומץ,⁴⁹⁴ פעם⁴⁹⁵
עם מי⁴⁹⁶ ורדים⁴⁹⁷ וחומץ⁴⁹⁸, פעם⁴⁹⁹ עם יין. ותמיד יעמוד⁵⁰⁰ בינם⁵⁰¹ ובין החולה אש. החולה⁵⁰² יעמוד
במטה גבוהה כאשר⁵⁰³ תוכל⁵⁰⁴ להיות,⁵⁰⁵ ותמיד ירחץ הבית עם חומץ, ותמיד⁵⁰⁶ יצאו מן החדר⁵⁰⁷ אותם

אשקורופולו [אשקורופו W סקורופולו]	473
שהתריאק [שהטוריאקה J]	474
העבור [יעשה J]	475
השנה [השבה J]	476
וגם [וכן J]	477
המיטרידאט [המיטריטאט J]	478
אבל [J om.]	479
אותם [ואותם J]	480
שעומדים [העומדים J]	481
לשרת [לשרתו J]	482
החולים [J om.]	483
כל [ובכל J]	484
עוד [יום J]	485
עליהם [על החולה לשרת J]	486
מטריאק [מטוריאה J]	487
ותמיד [ופעם אחד תמיד J]	488
ירחצו [ירחץ J]	489
פניהם [פניניכיו J]	490
ידיהם ... מים [J om.]	491
מחומצים [בחומץ J]	492
פעם [ופעם אחד J]	493
חומץ [יין טוב J]	494
פעם [אחר J add.]	495
מי [מים J]	496
ורדים [רוסאטי ועם J]	497
וחומץ [חומץ מעורכים יחד J]	498
פעם עם יין [J om.]	499
יעמוד [יהיה J]	500
בינם [בינו J]	501
החולה [והחולה J]	502
כאשר [היותר J]	503
תוכל [שיוכל J]	504
להיות [J om.]	505
ותמיד [ולפעמים J]	506
מן החדר [מהחדר J]	507

העומדים⁵⁰⁸ לשרתו⁵⁰⁹ כדי שיראו אויר מגולה. וכשינשב⁵¹⁰ רוח צפוני,⁵¹¹ יקבלו⁵¹² אותו⁵¹³ האויר בכל החלונות.⁵¹⁴

ינהגו⁵¹⁵ אותם המאכלים⁵¹⁶ אשר זכרנו למעלה⁵¹⁷. ובוטח⁵¹⁸ אני עם עזר האלהי כי עם אלה הרפואת המשרתים יוכלו לשרת החולה ולשרתם לצרכם.

תפוח⁵¹⁹ להריח: קח קמפורה א' דר', סנדליש לבנים ואדומים מ"א א' אשקורופולו⁵²⁰, 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.

העומדים] המשרתים <i>J</i>	508
לשרתו ... מגולה] לתפוש אוויר <i>J</i>	509
וכשינשב] וכשיפרח <i>J</i>	510
צפוני] סטינטריאלי	511
יקבלו] יפתחו <i>J</i>	512
אותו ... בכל] <i>J om.</i>	513
החלונות] לקבלו <i>J</i> add.	514
ינהגו] וינהגו <i>J</i>	515
המאכלים] במאכלים המעונגים <i>J</i>	516
למעלה. <i>J om.</i>]	517
ובוטח ... לצרכם] ויעמוד לשרת ויבטח בו <i>J</i>	518
תפוח ... ונשלם] <i>J om.</i>	519
אשקורופולו] אשקורופו <i>W</i>	520

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