

2024

VOL. 36 / N. 3

MEDICINA *NEI* SECOLI



FOUR-MONTHLY
NEW SERIES

Journal of History of Medicine
and Medical Humanities

Founded by Luigi Stroppiana



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UNIVERSITÀ EDITRICE

MEDICINA nei SECOLI

Peer Reviewed Journal of History of Medicine and Medical Humanities

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Viale dell'Università 34/a - 00185 Roma, Italia - Tel. +39 06 49914033

email: medicinaneisecoli@uniroma1.it

Journal property of Sapienza University of Rome, published with the contribution of the University

Journal registered at the Civil Court of Rome at n. 391/88

Record at National Register of President of Cabinet n. 2488/88

ISSN 0394/9001

E-ISSN 2531-7288

Indexed by:

EBSCO, Historical Abstract

<http://ebscohost.com/>

EBSCO, Publishing, Inc.

INDEX COPERNICUS INTERNATIONAL

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Sapienza Università Editrice

Piazzale Aldo Moro 5 – 00185 Roma - www.editricesapienza.it - editrice.sapienza@uniroma1.it

Registry of Communication Workers registration n. 11420

Published and printed in November by Sapienza Università Editrice

<https://rosa.uniroma1.it/>

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Cover figure from: *Le immagini de i dei de gli Antichi* di Vincenzo Cartari, Venezia, 1556



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SUMMARY

Introduction

Giorgio Valla and the sources of *De expetendis et fugiendis rebus* opus

Berenice Cavarra, Marco Cilione

Galen in Giorgio Valla's encyclopedia

Anna Maria Ieraci Bio

The Theophilus of Giorgio Valla

(*De expetendis et fugiendis rebus*, Book XLVIII, Chapters 4-7)

Franco Giorgianni

Exploring the medical excerpts and opuscula in the Greek manuscript collection of the Estense Library and their connections with Giorgio Valla's œuvre –

Part 1: Mut. gr. 61, ff. 31r-33r; Mut. gr. 213, 239r-242r.

Sandro Passavanti

Exploring the medical excerpts et opuscula in the Greek manuscript collection of the Estense Library and their connections with Giorgio Valla's œuvre –

Part 2: Mut. gr. 213, ff. 235v-237r

Tamara Marti Casado

Giorgio Valla and Andronikos Kallistos: a Reappraisal

Luigi Orlandi

Varies

The Latin tradition of Galen's *Capacities of Simple Drugs* and *Capacities of Foods* from Late Antiquity to the Renaissance

Stefania Fortuna

A MID-19TH CENTURY TOOL FOR HYPNOSIS

Alessandro Porro, Giovanni Cesa-Bianchi, Carlo Alfredo Clerici, Lucie Biehler-Gomez

Theon, on the Composition of Purgative Medicines

An Unedited Text from Laur. Plut. 75.3

Elias Valiakos

Short communication

Mirroring the Mind and Brain:

Reflections on Hans Berger's EEG and the Scientific Perception of Reality

Francesco Brigo, Valentina Gazzaniga, Silvia Iorio, Mariano Martini



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E-ISSN 2531-7288
ISSN 0394/9001



MEDICINA NEI SECOLI

Journal of History of Medicine
and Medical Humanities

36/3 (2024) 5-8

Revised:

Accepted:

DOI:

Corresponding author:

Introduction

Giorgio Valla and the sources of *De expetendis et fugiendis rebus opus*

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The cultural project that Giorgio Valla carries out in his encyclopedia *De expetendis et fugiendis rebus opus*¹ (Venice, 1501), best expresses criteria and methods of an interdisciplinary and experimental vision of knowledge². The goal of gathering philosophical-literary and scientific knowledge into a unitary and coherent design and organizing it around the nature of man (*disciplinae extra nos et in nobis*)³ is in perfect harmony both with the spirit of mature Humanism and with the intellectual path of the most refined minds of the time. As a matter of fact, the comparison with the research and interpretation activity that Poliziano, Leonicensio and Barbaro conducted on Greek and Latin sources, even in his still limited critical exploration, reveals not a few lines of convergence. One for all is the one that crosses Poliziano's technical and scientific curiosities. On the recommendation of Ianos Laskaris, in fact, Angelo Ambrogini visited Giorgio Valla in Venice and was therefore able to examine his valuable collection of Greek manuscripts⁴. Literary research of the two humanists takes shape and intersects precisely through four fundamental guidelines for the cultural refoundation of the West:

1. The proposal for a new organization of knowledge that harmonizes the disciplines with the cognitive faculties of man.
2. The recovery of the Greek library that the Latin West had lost or known only in a partial or mediated form.

3. Translation as a creative act of a technical lexicon indispensable for collecting and re-proposing the legacy of the ancients⁵.
4. The stylistic refinement of a Latin that could serve as a tool for communicating knowledge which is now recovered.

Poliziano's *Panepistemon* and Valla's *De expetendis* move precisely in these directions. Both humanists also seem to pay particular attention to medicine, of which they share the definition of *naturalis philosophiae alumna* and a new and valuable source for its articulation, namely Theophilus Protospatharius⁶.

This second volume of studies dedicated to the work of Giorgio Valla, therefore, intends to propose a more capillary investigation of Greek sources which, through a dense network of personal and cultural exchange relationships and through the more or less predictable paths of manuscript circulation, allow Valla to set up the extensive exposition on medicine in his encyclopedia.

In her contribution, A.M. Ieraci Bio, who has dedicated extensive and valuable studies to Valla, his sources and his translation strategies, highlights the wide use of treatises by Galen, or attributed to Galen (to give texts of instrumental use an authoritative authorship), in *excerpta* or *in extenso*, by direct or mediated transmission (specifically by Aëtius of Amida and Paul of Aegina), for the construction of the medical contents of *De exp.* The scholar explores the cento technique of the humanist from Piacenza, which often uses texts designed to provide rapid guidance on problems of uncertain interpretation, and thus reconstructs the labyrinthine network of his *Belesenheit*, in its vastness but, at the same time, in the restitution it offers of Galen's authority and role as the first exegete of Hippocrates. The Vallian text of *De exp.* proves to be fundamental not only for understanding the translation strategies (linguistic/lexical) of the humanist, who in his encyclopedia reveals, also through exegetical annotations, a particular attention to technical language; but also for unraveling or making less thorny some issues of manuscript tradition. From this acute recognition emerges all the vastness and originality of Valla's operation in the recovery and dissemination of Galen's writings, whose fortune *De exp.* contributes to renewing.

The paper by F. Giorgianni is dedicated to another important Byzantine source of Vallian encyclopedia. The scholar analyzes the medical section of book XLVIII (III of the treatise relating to the *commoda et incommoda corporis*). The section is introduced by a cento dedicated to uroscopy and composed by drawing on Hippocrates, Paul of Aegina and Theophilus Protospatharius. In particular, the contribution focuses on chaps. 4-7, those that would seem to translate Theophilus' treatise *De urinis*. As a matter of fact, as already emerges from the study by A.M. Ieraci Bio, Theophilus does not seem to be the only source of the text constructed in Latin translation by Valla. The comparison with the Greek antigraph (Mut. gr. 61) of the text, which is contained in *De exp.*, reveals that the compilation on uroscopy also includes the treatise *De urinis*

carmen by Nikephorus Blemmydes and the ps.-Galenic *De signis ex urinis*. Vallian version in *De exp.* reveals, even in the case of uroscopic chapters, the ingenuity of a translator who is aware and devoted to the search for linguistic solutions appropriate to the context. F. Giorgianni enriches his contribution with the *specimen* of a Greek-Latin lexicon, a useful aid to a greater understanding of Valla's lexical choices.

Starting from a careful reading of the Modena manuscripts (namely, gr. 61 and gr. 213), the contributions of S. Passavanti and T. Martí-Casado reveal, in the description of Puntoni's catalogue, a generic reference to *excerpta varia ex Theophili, Galeni, Hippocratis et ceterorum medicorum operibus*, for ff. 31r-33r of Mut. gr. 61, and an equally generic title, i.e. *opuscula et excerpta medica varia*, for ff. 224v-242r. In particular, the contribution of S. Passavanti analyzes the content of ff. 31r-33r of Mut. gr. 61 and ff. 239v-242r. of Mut. gr. 213. The aim is to attempt an identification of the texts, which Puntoni indicates not in a precise manner, in order to go back to the manuscripts that transmitted them and to clarify their link with the cento constructed in Vallian *De exp.* Regardless of the results, the analysis, which is not limited to the philological and historical-textual approach, but also takes into account the medical history contents of the passages examined, represents a further valuable effort to unravel the interweaving of sources in *De exp.*

Similarly, the contribution by T. Martí-Casado, which concerns in particular the ff. 224v-239r of the Mut. gr. 213, attempts to identify a link between the medical extracts of the Modena manuscript and the Vallian encyclopedia. The analysis highlights the dependency of sections of text contained in the Mut. gr. 213 ff. 235v-236r on Aëtius of Amida (*Libri medicinales* V 3-4 Olivieri). In addition, the comparison with Olivieri's critical apparatus allows the scholar to propose some reflections on the filiation of the Modena manuscript and its link with the Parisian ms. P. Finally, the paper examines the treatise *De natura hominis* or *On the Constitution of the Universe and the Human Body*⁷, contained in Mut. gr. 213, ff. 236r, 6 – 237r, 167. The manuscript tradition, the identification of textual variants and the comparison with Valla's exposition on bodily humors theory allow us to recognize the anonymous treatise as one of the sources of the humanist, together with the ps.-Hippocratic *Epistula ad Ptolemaeum regem de hominis fabrica* (Ieraci Bio¹). The Mut. gr. 213, for obvious chronological reasons, cannot be the manuscript examined by Valla, but the humanist is supposed to have consulted a model of it.

The vast availability of sources from which Valla draws is necessarily linked to the cultural and book contribution of the Byzantine *émigrés*⁸. In this regard, L. Orlandi notes in his article that a third of the manuscripts of Andronikos Callistos flow into the Venetian library of Giorgio Valla. The author reconstructs the stages of this acquisition, cross-referencing documents and data of material philology and demonstrating how the library of Andronikos Callistos represented the main source of his *Belesenheit* and his significant activity as a translator and compiler. The contribution ends with an

acute and persuasive reflection on the study of Greek to which the humanist would have dedicated himself in Pavia under the guidance of the Byzantine master.

To sum up, the two volumes dedicated to Giorgio Valla and particularly to his specific activity as a translator of medical texts aimed to explore in all its cultural dimensions the characteristics of an author who well represents medical humanism in its articulated complexity. The in-depth reflection that emerges from this series of contributions has highlighted the virtuous interaction between humanistic culture and Greek medical literature in the reorganization of knowledge, in the creation of a modern scientific lexicon, in the construction of a canon destined to renew the fortune of Hippocratism and Galenism. The experiment of Vallian encyclopedia moves in this direction. The contributions collected here, therefore, addressing the theme from different angles and methodological approaches, respond to the hope of shedding light on the strategies that Giorgio Valla implements to realize his ambitious project. And, last but not least, they help to recognize the threads of the complex web that the material and cultural history of ideas weaves with the history of medicine.

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UNIVERSITÀ DI ROMA

Galen in Giorgio Valla's encyclopedia

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E-ISSN 2531-7288
ISSN 0394/9001



MEDICINA NEI SECOLI

Journal of History of Medicine
and Medical Humanities

36/3 (2024) 9-38

Revised:

Accepted:

DOI:

Corresponding author:

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ABSTRACT

Galen in Giorgio Valla's encyclopedia

Galen plays an important role for Giorgio Valla, who owned Galen's manuscripts and translated his works. If Hippocrates is for Valla the *auctoritas medica* par excellence, Galen *interpres* of Hippocrates is the medical author to draw on, also integrated with Arabic authors. In *De expetendis et fugiendis rebus*, Galen is the main source for the medical part of the encyclopedia, but more often he is mediated by Byzantine authors; Valla works on treatises which we now know to be pseudo-galenic and which were widely used since they were easy. In Giorgio Valla's encyclopedia Galen is, therefore, more a Byzantine and a medieval Galen. This is a little-known document of the history of Galenism in Humanism.

Keywords: Giorgio Valla - Galeno - Galenismo - Umanesimo medico

Galeno nell'enciclopedia di Giorgio Valla

Pubblicata postuma nel 1501, per le cure del figlio adottivo Gian Pietro Cademosto, in due grandi volumi in-folio per i tipi di Aldo Manuzio, l'enciclopedia *De expetendis et fugiendis rebus* (= *de exp.*) è stata composta da Giorgio Valla nell'arco degli ultimi 20 anni di vita; il primo abbozzo, l'opuscolo *Quibus rebus humana perfecta sit fœlicitas*, è infatti collocabile intorno al 1480.

L'enciclopedia valliana, articolata in 49 libri, dedica alla medicina la sezione più vasta, con ben sette libri (XXIV-XXX), ma tematiche mediche compaiono anche altrove (si vedano, per affinità d'argomento, i libri XLVII-XLVIII). I poli cronologici estremi per la composizione di questa parte sono il 1492 e il 1498, come ricaviamo dal suo epistolario¹.

Fondendo fonti greche e latine (ps.-Alessandro di Afrodisia, Celso e Plinio), Valla esordisce con una sorta di storia della medicina (*de exp.* XXIV 1 *Quomodo inventa sit et in quot partes sit distributa*) che, partendo dai primordi, quando le scoperte avvenivano senza sistematicità, legate al caso o a suggerimenti divini, prosegue con Asclepio, *vetustissimus auctor*, accolto fra gli dèi per aver raffinato quest'arte; da questo discende Ippocrate, *medicorum omnium quot sunt, quotque fuere facile princeps*, che di quell'arte costituisce il massimo compimento:

Hippocratis nimirum, cuius hodie quoque sexaginta de arte medicinae extant uolumina, doctissimus interpres fuit Galenus, quod ipsemet de se profitetur, sicut arabs Auicena se Galeni uicissim esse ait interpretem.

Di Ippocrate, del quale sono pervenuti 60 libri², è stato interprete dottissimo Galeno, come egli stesso dice di sé, così come l'arabo Avicenna dice a sua volta di essere interprete di Galeno.

Valla traccia una linea continua della medicina scientifica, che parte da Ippocrate, passa per Galeno e giunge ad Avicenna (Ibn Sīnā), legando così, attraverso Galeno, la medicina greca alla tradizione araba, in una trasmissione di saperi in cui il ruolo chiave è quello dell'*interpres*; e se la considerazione di Galeno quale fedele *interpres* di Ippocrate, ribadita più volte dal Pergameno stesso³, compare in molte prefazioni alle versioni del *Corpus galenicum* composte da Valla⁴ e nell'enciclopedia, su questa scia si colloca Avicenna, che si dichiarava 'interprete di Galeno', e come tale fu riconosciuto sino al sec. XV⁵.

Indicato come *clarissimus, praestantissimus medicus, praecellens, post Hippocratem medicorum primus*, Galeno occupa per Valla una posizione di primo piano. Di Galeno possedeva manoscritti e tradusse in latino opere⁶, così come il figlio Gian Pietro tradusse, dal Mut. *α.U.9.4*, il *De succedaneis*⁷, attribuito a Galeno.

A chiusura del secondo capitolo, dedicato alle sette mediche e composto sulla base del *De sectis* di Galeno, contro le loro false teorie Valla adduce Galeno (*hos missos putat*

Galenus faciendos post Hippocratem medicorum primus), il quale ha definito la corretta formazione del medico, che comprende la dialettica (*discendamque medico putat artem disserendi, ut tamen sophisticas oderit captiunculas, pueriles sane et ineptas, atque adeo ipsos sophistas audire non mediocre malum medico censet*), la fisiologia (*physiologiam medico ediscendam, nec enim aliter rerum causas potuerit indagare*) e, sulla scorta di Ippocrate⁸, anche l'astrologia (*praetera si ipsi divini ingenii credimus Hippocrati, medico tam necessaria cognitu astrologia est, quae quod maxime*). Il riferimento è alla dottrina esposta da Galeno nel *Quod optimus medicus sit quoque philosophus*.

Nei *libri medici* dell'enciclopedia Galeno risulta l'autore più citato (anche se più spesso la citazione era già nella fonte seguita da Valla), ma presente anche in forma mediata e nascosta, in quanto fonte di Aezio di Amida e di Paolo di Egina, autori che sono alla base dei libri XXIV-XXIX.

La ricerca, certo non esaustiva, cercherà di individuare le caratteristiche del Galeno di Giorgio Valla sulla base delle tre tipologie di ripresa di testi attribuiti al medico di Pergamo: come *excerpta* o blocchi di testo da opere più estese, ripresi direttamente o mediati; come operette intere; come integrazioni a quanto preso da altri autori.

I. *Excerpta*

In questa sezione esamino la ripresa diretta di alcune opere: due che hanno avuto molta fortuna in età medievale e che sono quasi imprescindibili per l'inquadramento della medicina, il *De sectis* e l'*Ars medica*; l'opera prognostica più importante, il *De crisibus*, unitamente forse ad un trattatello meno noto, il *De morborum temporibus*.

1. *De sectis ad eos qui introducuntur*

Valla aveva tradotto per intero, sulla base del suo Mut. α.P.5.20, il *De sectis ad eos qui introducuntur*, dedicando al nipote di Iacopo Antiquari (segretario del duca di Milano), Niccolò, allora studente in medicina, la versione dell'operetta isagogica, pubblicata in calce ad una edizione milanese di Francesco Filelfo, del 1483-1484⁹.

Il *De sectis* viene utilizzato in apertura dell'enciclopedia. Dopo l'accenno alle diverse sette mediche fatto nel primo capitolo, all'interno della breve storia della medicina tracciata sulla scorta di Plinio (per la empirica e la dogmatica, entrate in conflitto fra loro: *dissideruntque hae inter se scholae*)¹⁰ e di Celso (per la scuola metodica e la divisione dottrinale fra coloro che non volevano separare la medicina dalla scienza della natura e coloro che pretendevano di limitare la medicina ai dati dell'esperienza pratica)¹¹, Valla tratta brevemente l'argomento nel cap. XXIV 2 (*de sectis medicorum*) utilizzando i capitoli II-V del *De sectis* galenico¹², i primi due ripresi, con alcuni scorciamenti, gli altri per brevi passi (IV 1-3 ἀφ' ὧν ~ τοῖς ἐμπειρικοῖς; V 1-4 ἐπεὶ δὲ ~ οὐκ ἄλεθοῦς δέ).

La traduzione è condotta di nuovo sul suo Mutinense¹³, come mostra la seguente lezione:

de exp. 2: aliud eiusmodi aliter quorum quodlibet, aut ad commodum, aut ad detrimentum advehit

Gal., *de sect. 2:* ἢ τι τοιοῦτον ἄλλο βλάβην ἢ ὠφέλειαν φέρον

Mut. α.P.5.20, f. 63v: ἢ τι τοιοῦτον ἄλλο ὧν ἕκαστον εἰς ὠφέλειαν ἢ βλάβην ἐτελεύτα

Nell'enciclopedia, infatti, Valla non fa ricorso alla sua precedente versione, e riconverte i testi che cita, con una diversa resa di alcuni termini tecnici greci fra la versione e la ripresa nell'enciclopedia (faccio precedere il termine della versione: πάθος/πάθημα [morbus / aegritudo], θεώρημα [speculatio / theorema, praeceptum], βοήθημα [adiumentum / commodum auxilium], μήλον [pomus / pomus cydonius], προαίρεσις [electio / propositum], ἔνδειξις [ostensio / demonstratio]), dimostrando, in annotazioni di tipo esegetico, interesse per il linguaggio tecnico latino (*theorema, quod nos praeceptum dicimus; ἔρπητα serpentina, quae herpeta graeci*):

1. Gal., *de sect. 2:* συστήσασθαι δὲ τὴν τέχνην οἱ μὲν ἐμπειρικοὶ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον φασίν. ἐπειδὴ πολλὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐώρων πάθη (παθήματα Mut.) τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ ταυτομάτου γιγνώμενα νοσοῦσί τε καὶ ὑγιαίνουσιν, οἷον αἵματος ῥύσιν ἐκ ῥινῶν ἢ ἰδρωῆτος ἢ διαρροίας ἢ τι τοιοῦτον ἄλλο βλάβην ἢ ὠφέλειαν (ὠφέλειαν ἢ βλάβην Mut.) φέρον, οὐ μὴν τό γε ποιῆσαν αἴτιον αἰσθητὸν ἔχον, ἕτερα δ' ὧν τὸ μὲν αἴτιον ἐφαίνεται' οὐ μὴν ἐκ προαιρέσεως ἡμετέρας ἀλλὰ κατὰ τινα συντυχίαν ...

ad med. intr.: institutam vero hoc pacto artem empirici ferunt, quom in multos delabi morbos homines vidissent, alios quidem temere ac sponte egrescere, et sanescere animadverterunt: velut sanguinis fluxu ex naribus, aut sudore, aut alvi profluvio, aut idgenus aliorum: quorum singulis ad adiumentum, aut ad detrimentum quispiam perductus est, nec tum quod sensile est, id in causa fecerunt. Alios autem quorum morbi causa appareat: non tamen ex electione nostra, sed aliquo eventu ac fortuna ...

de exp. 2: constituisse igitur artem, hoc nimirum modo empirici perhibentur, quod cum intuerentur mortale genus casu in aegritudines labi, necnon ut casu aegrescere, ita casu sanescere, ut effluente e naribus sanguine, aut sudoribus, aut alvi profluvio, aut eiusmodi aliter, quorum quodlibet, aut ad commodum, aut ad detrimentum, nec subesse causam, quae sub sensum cadat, alia vero cernebant, quorum causa apparebat, non utique ex nostro proposito, sed eventu aliquo ...

2. Gal., *de sect. 2:* οὐ γὰρ δις μόνον ἢ τρις ἀλλὰ καὶ πλειστάκις μιμησάμενοι τὸ πρόσθεν ὠφελῆσαν, εἴτ' ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν παθῶν τὸ αὐτῷ ποιοῦν εὐρίσκοντες ὡς ἐπὶ

τὸ πολὺ τὴν τοιαύτην μνήμην θεώρημα καλέσαντες ἤδη πιστὸν ἡγοῦνται καὶ μέρος τῆς τέχνης. ὡς δὲ πολλὰ θεωρήματα τοιαῦτ' ἠθροίζετ' αὐτοῖς, ἰατρικὴ μὲν ἦν τὸ σύμπαν ἄθροισμα καὶ ὁ ἄθροισας ἰατρός. ἐκλήθη δ' ὑπ' αὐτῶν αὐτοψία τὸ τοιοῦτον ἄθροισμα, μνήμη τις οὖσα τῶν πολλὰκις καὶ ὡσαύτως ὀφθέντων. ὠνόμαζον δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ ἐμπειρίαν, ἱστορίαν δὲ τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν αὐτοῦ· τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ τοῦτο τῷ μὲν τηρήσαντι αὐτοψία, τῷ δὲ μαθόντι τὸ τετηρημένον ἱστορία ἐστίν.

ad med. intr.: nec tamen bis aut ter sed etiam sepius imitaturi profecerunt. Deinde in eisdem morbis idem faciendo invenientes plurimum eandem recordationem, speculationem nominantes iam fidem factam putaverunt et artis partem est. Postquam vero multes coiussent speculationes, medicina diceretur: ut sit medicina quidem praeceptorum huismodi aggregatio. Et qui ea aggregat, medicus. Talis autem aggregatio, sua cuiusque perspectio vocata est: quae recordatio quaedam est eorum quae saepius et identidem prospecta sint. Nominaverunt quoque hoc ipsam experientiam, eiusque ex positionem historiam: id enim ipsum per sese observanti perspectio: discenti autem quod ab alio fuerit observatum, historia est.

de exp. 2: bis siquidem aut ter, saepiusque imitati, quod prius factum iuverunt, inde in eisdem affectionibus idem facere inveniendo frequenter huismodi recordationem, theoremata, quod nos praeceptum dicimus, vocarunt artis partem, ratam esse arbitrati. Cumque multa talia praecepta sibi congregarint artem medicinam perfectam putant et qui collegerit medicum, ut tota commemoratione et historia constare videatur.

3. Gal., *de sect. 2:* ἀπὸ μὲν πάθους ἐπὶ πάθος, ὡς εἰ ἀπ' ἐρυσιπέλατος ἐφ' ἔρπητα μεταβαίνοιεν, ... ἀπὸ δὲ βοηθήματος ἐπὶ βοήθημα, ὡς ἐν διαρροίαις ἀπὸ μήλου ἐπὶ μέσπιλον.

μήλου κυδωνίου Ven. Marc. Gr. 282, sed cf. etiam Plin., *nat. hist.* XV (37) 10

ad med. intr.: a morbo quidem ad morbum, ut si ab igni sacro, in serpentina, transitus fuerit, ... ab adiumento ad adiumentum, ut in alvi profluviis, a pomo ad mespillum.

de exp. 2: a langore ad langorem, ut si a sacro igni ad serpentina transeant, quae herpeta graeci dicunt, ab auxilio ad auxiliium, ut in alvi profluviis, a pomo cydonio ad mespilum.

4. Gal., *de sect. 3:* οὕτω μὲν οὖν ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς διαθήσεως ἢ ἔνδειξις αὐτοῖς τοῦ συμφέροντος γίγνεται.

ad med. intr.: ita igitur ab ipsa affectione eis conferens efficitur ostensio

de exp. 2: hoc certe modo ab ipsa affectione commodi gignitur demonstratio

2. *Ars medica*

Altra opera di Galeno ripresa in apertura è l'*Ars medica*. Il luogo di Plinio già citato relativo alle scuole mediche entrate in conflitto fra loro (*dissideruntque hae inter se scholae*) gli serve per indicare nell'introduzione, pur senza menzionare Galeno, i fondamenti della medicina sulla scorta di due notissimi passi dell'*Ars medica*¹⁴, relativi al triplice metodo d'indagine e alla definizione della medicina come scienza (ἐπιστήμη) di ciò che è sano, malsano e neutro:

- nell'opporre agli empirici (*alii experientiam solam aiunt arti sufficere*) i logici (*alii solam rationem, qui logici sunt a graecis nominati*), i quali *ratiocinantur et conantur rerum causas perscrutari duce scientia*, Valla riporta, in forma sintetica, il passo del prologo dell'*Ars* (Ia 1, 1-4; 2)¹⁵ relativo alla riflessione galenica sui tre metodi d'insegnamento, «per analisi a partire dalla nozione di fine, per sintesi degli elementi scoperti con l'analisi, per scomposizione d'una definizione», quest'ultima (ἐξ ὅρου διαλύσεως) resa erroneamente con *ex diffinitione dissolutionis* (nelle versioni medievali *ex termini dissolutione*); Valla fraintende il nome del medico Ateneo di Attalia (Ἀθηναῖος ὁ Ἀτταλεύς) e lo rende con *Ataleus Atheniensis* (lo stesso errore nella *translatio antiqua* anonima del sec. XII e in quella di Gerardo da Cremona). Da notare, ancora, che trasforma la frase “han tentato di realizzare un tale insegnamento alcuni seguaci di Erofilo e così pure Eraclide di Eritre”, relativa al terzo metodo, in *quam proprie vocandam doctrinam Heraclides Erythraeus putat*, citando gli erofilei solo per il secondo metodo:

de exp. XXIV 1: logici vero ratiocinantur, et conantur rerum causas perscrutari duce scientia, quae triplici procedere ordine perhibetur. primo a finis notione, quae fit per resolutionem. secunda ex compositione eorum, quae per resolutionem inventa sunt. tertia ex diffinitione dissolutionis (ἐξ ὅρου διαλύσεως), quam proprie vocandam doctrinam Heraclides Erythraeus putat. eam vero, quae per compositionem, ipsi attentant Herophilii, et nonnulli Erasistratii, Ataleusque Atheniensis. ante Galenum ab ea notione, quae a fine sumeret initium nemo scripsit, unde tamen artes omnes via quadam doctrinae consistunt¹⁶.

Valla esplicita con *ante Galenum* la rivendicazione del Pergameno (οὐδεις μέντοι γε τῶν ἡμῶν ἔγραψε) di avere per primo scritto intorno al primo metodo, che trae la sua origine dalla definizione di fine a partire dalla quale tutte le arti sono costituite con metodo, e per il quale rinviava al suo *De constitutione artis medicae*.

La riflessione galenica sui tre metodi, con l'elenco dei medici antichi (e l'errore nel nome *Atheniensis Ataleus*), viene riproposta da Valla anche nel capitolo *de argumento demonstrativo* del secondo libro sulla dialettica, a commento d'un passo di Aristotele sui quattro oggetti della ricerca scientifica (τὸ ὄτι, τὸ διότι, εἰ ἔστι, τί ἔστιν), in merito all'importanza del metodo deduttivo al fine di garantire la correttezza della definizione, con l'esempio tipico dell'eclisse di luna¹⁷:

de exp. XXXV 7: quattuor igitur quaestionum genera quidam esse voluerunt, quae in duo alii recidenda putaverunt, an sit, et quid sit, et perinde locos duos dixere principium et diffinitionem. A principio duo scitent argumentorum genera, compositio, et resolutio; a diffinitione vero diffinendi ratio, quibus ad certam pervenire scientiam. ita enim Heraclides Erytreus, Herophilus, Erasistratus, Atheniensis Ataleus et plerique alii putaverunt, alii unam adiecerunt quomodo sit, quae inter illas quatuor. Una ab Aristotele posita est, quam qui duas faciunt in diffinitione positam volunt, ut an sit eclipsis, dein quid sit eclipsis, et quomodo fiat eclipsis.

- la ripresa dell'*Ars* continua nello stesso capitolo: con una frasetta di raccordo (*ac de medicinae quidem inventionem hactenus. nunc quid sit inspiciamus. hanc quidam ita diffiniunt*) è introdotto il cosiddetto secondo prologo dell'*Ars*, dove Galeno dava inizio alla illustrazione del terzo tipo di insegnamento, per scomposizione d'una definizione, attraverso la definizione di medicina come "scienza di ciò che è sano, malsano e neutro. Quanto al nome di scienza, bisogna intenderlo in senso generale e non particolare. Il sano, il malsano e il neutro si intendono ciascuno in tre modi: in tanto che corpo, in tanto che causa e in tanto che segno", considerando per ogni stato i tre elementi sui quali si applica (corpo, causa, segno):

de exp. XXIV 1: medicina scientia est, sanorum, et aegrorum, et neutrorum corporum, | ut scientiae nomen communiter, non utique peculiariter sit intelligendum. Sanum autem et aegrum et neutrum ita accipiendum, ut singula trifarie dicantur, ut corpus, ut causa, ut signum¹⁸.

Nella traduzione manca la resa della frase greca οὐ διαφέρει δὲ οὐδ' εἰ νοσερῶν τις εἶποι, che la Boudon¹⁹ afferma trasmessa da tutti i manoscritti greci, ma omessa dalla tradizione indiretta araba e latina, e per questo considerata una glossa. L'amplificazione *ita accipiendum* manca nella tradizione manoscritta greca.

Valla utilizza l'*Ars* di Galeno anche nel libro XXVI dell'enciclopedia, per il quale ha come fonte Aezio Amideno, sostituendo talora Aezio con Galeno: così, nel cap. 131 *de aequalibus distemperamentis, Galeni*, interrompe la ripresa del capitolo di Aezio relativo alle discrasie temperate (Aet., IV 52 περὶ ὁμαλῶν δυσκρasiῶν: διελθόντες ὅπως ~ τῆς ἐτέρας δυσκρasiῆς om.)²⁰, ne omette i 10 capitoli successivi (IV 53-62) relativi ai segni dei temperamenti legati alle quattro qualità (calda, fredda, umida, secca) e li sostituisce con 8 capitoli (capp. 132-139)²¹ composti con i passi dell'*Ars* relativi ai diversi stati di salute del corpo (sano, malsano, neutro) in riferimento alla migliore costituzione, quelli relativi ai segni diagnostici, ai centri direttori (cervello, cuore, fegato, testicoli), alle funzioni egemoniche del cervello legate alle facoltà intellettuali. Prosegue, quindi, con Aezio (IV 63), presentando i segni delle varie parti del corpo secondo le quattro qualità (calda, fredda, umida, secca).

La traduzione latina del testo dell'*Ars* elaborata dal Valla si differenzia dalle altre versioni latine note²² e sembrerebbe eseguita direttamente sul testo greco.

Nessuno fra i manoscritti finora collegati alla biblioteca dell'umanista contiene l'*Ars*, il che ne rende difficile l'identificazione²³. Il manoscritto dovrebbe appartenere alla famiglia A della tradizione manoscritta, segnatamente al ramo indicato da Véronique Boudon²⁴ come α', comprendente QERBon e Lat. (la traduzione medievale greco-latina anonima); in particolare, la versione di Valla presenta una aggiunta nella sede in cui la presenta Q²⁵ (= Par. suppl. gr. 634), ma nella forma più ampia (vel contra: ἢ τ<οὔμ>παλιυ) di E (= Par. gr. 2265):

Gal., *ars* II 5-6: κατὰ τὸ δεῦτερον σημαίνόμενον, ἢ τῶ περι ἔν μόριον, τὰ μὲν ἔχειν ὑγιεινά, ... ἢ τῶ περι διαφέροντα μέρη. κατὰ δὲ τὸ τρίτον σημαίνόμενον ...

ὡς ὅταν τὸ ἦπαρ εὐκρατον μὲν ἦ, μικρότερον δὲ τοῦ προσήκοντος post μέρη add. Q

ὡς ὅταν τὸ ἦπαρ εὐκρατον μὲν ἦ, μικρότερον δὲ τοῦ προσήκοντος ἢ τ<οὔμ>παλιυ post μόριον add. E

de exp. XXVI 134: in secunda significatione, vel circa partem unam, vel alia quidem habens sana vel circa differentes partes, ut cum quis iecur habuerit temperatum, at minus quam conveniat, vel contra. in tertia vero significatione ...

3. De crisibus / De morborum temporibus

Il capitoletto di *de exp.* XXIV 4 (*ad praeproperas in morbis mutationes praesagientias*), relativo alla prognosi dei mutamenti improvvisi nelle malattie, è costruito con passi tratti dal *De crisibus* di Galeno²⁶, inframmezzati dal lemma di *aph.* I 12, nella forma citata da Galeno nell'opera di prognostica e che Valla trascrive in interlinea nel manoscritto ippocratico Matritense (Matr. gr. 4634) da lui copiato.

Il primo passo è relativo ai 4 tempi delle malattie (ἀρχή / *principium*, ἀνάβασις / *ascensus*, ἀκμή / *acies*, παρακμή / *decessio*), da considerare, oltre agli epifenomeni, alla luce della tipologia della malattia, della stagione, unitamente agli altri “fattori correlativi” (σύστοιχα), con riferimento agli otto fattori che il medico deve valutare (διάθεσις/disposizione della parte, δύναμις/forza del malato, ηλικία/età e φύσις/natura del malato, ἔθος/abitudini, ἐπιτήδευμα/occupazioni, ὥρα/stagione, χώρα/natura del luogo), sui quali aveva già richiamato l'attenzione Ippocrate²⁷ e che, nella sistematizzazione di Galeno²⁸, saranno alla base del galenismo alessandrino²⁹.

A validare la teoria espressa in questo passo da Galeno³⁰, Valla inserisce, con la formula *ut ostendit Hippocratis oratio*, un aforismo prognostico di Ippocrate³¹:

de exp. XXIV 4: praeproperas in morbis si velis praesagire mutationes, necesse prius est tibi discernere, ac praesagire principium, et ascensum, et *aciem* et decessionem morbi. Haec autem praesagientur ex aegritudinis specie, annique tempore, cum adiutantibus elementis et ambituum proportionem et insuper apparentibus, ut ostendit Hippocratis oratio, cum inquit *accessiones et decessiones indicant morbi annique tempora et ambituum ad seinvicem additamenta quotidiana ... et longos et breves morbos indicant*

Il termine **additamenta** della versione di Valla non corrisponde all'ippocratico ἀνταποδόσεις (“corrispondenze”), ma alla lezione ἐπιδόσεις (“accrescimenti”)

dell' aforismo nota a Galeno³², che la spiega con gli aumenti dei fenomeni da periodo in periodo³³ e riporta l' aforismo in tal forma più volte nel *De crisibus*³⁴. Da notare che nel Matr. gr. 4634 (f. 3v), copiato a Milano da Valla, sulla lezione ἀνταποδόσεις una mano che sembra quella di Valla scrive ἐπιδόσεις.

Valla prosegue con un altro passo dell' opera prognostica di Galeno:

de exp. XXIV 4: vocant autem medici dialemma cum in discessum febris conquievit accessio, decessionem vero post aciem morbi omnem eius partem ad principium usque secundae accessionis, hoc si quis per sese capiat non incrementi non erit satis signi, proprietates saepe potius morbus comitatur, quam sit in ascensu decessio nimirum augmenti videtur esse cognitio. Consuetudo autem est medicis praesumpta vocare ante consuetam horam immittentia, *invicem namque oportere conferri ducunt accessiones, an praeoccupent, an non, et an pluri tempore, an ne, et si magis, an secus praeoccupans igitur aut nos ostendit consuetae horae accessio preoccuparit ne an subsecutum fit ... et magnitudo ipsius hoc, et mos morbi et accidentium et affectionum. Item nosse numerum qui antecessit, magnitudo igitur est, quam vocant vaehementiam, mos autem modus aegritudinis et affectionum ipsius.*

Il confronto col testo di Galeno³⁵ mostra la citazione di Ippocrate³⁶, ripresa tacitamente da Valla, e l' aggiunta finale (*magnitudo igitur ~ modus aegritudinis et affectionum ipsius*), che glossa i due termini precedenti *magnitudo* e *mos*.

In chiusura una partizione delle malattie fra ὀξεία, κατοξεία, χρόνια νοσήματα che riprende in forma abbreviata, anche nel riferimento alle stagioni, quella del commento di Galeno ad Ippocrate³⁷.

Le riprese testuali rivelano una precisa conoscenza da parte di Valla del *De crisibus*, opera che però al momento non risulta presente nei manoscritti a lui appartenuti.

Il capitolo successivo (*de exp.* XXIV 5 *praesagia medicorum clarorum alia*), è costruito nella prima parte con la traduzione di un breve testo tradito dal suo Mut. α.U.9.4 (ff. 31r-33r), ad introduzione di *excerpta* di Galeno, Ippocrate e Teofilo sul tema, e riguarda i quattro tempi della malattia³⁸ già trattati da Galeno nel *De crisibus*, ma ai quali il Pergameno ha dedicato un' opera specifica, il *De morborum temporibus* (περὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς νόσοις καιρῶν)³⁹. Tale testo, tradito dai due manoscritti gemelli di mano di Emanuele Zacharidis, il Mutinense e il Vat. Pal. Gr. 143 (f. 172rv) - anonimo nel primo, con l' intestazione Γαληνοῦ nel secondo - è una rielaborazione della dottrina galenica, anche per quanto riguarda la metafora della concezione agonistica della malattia (ἡ φύσις νικηθεῖσα) presente nel *Corpus hippocraticum*⁴⁰, seguita da Galeno⁴¹ e ripresa dai commentatori iatrosofistici⁴². Da notare che Valla offre una traduzione diversa per i termini ἀκμή / *acumen*, παρακμή / *declinatio* rispetto a quella del capitolo precedente:

de exp. XXIV 5: praetera cum morbi ut receptum iam est quattuor habeant tempora principium, ascensum, acumen et declinationem in his quaeritur principium et reliqua nam nisi morbi naturam presagiamus et temporis mutationem, non satis idoneam adhibere curam poterimus. Principium ergo morbi est cum natura non amplius opponitur superata ab ea,

quae gignit morbus materia. Ascensus est cum dolores capiunt incrementum et febris intenditur, doloresque exulcerant. Acumen cum haec omnia tempus custodiunt, neque maius, neque minus. Declinatio cum dolores difficultas anhelitus, et si ita evenit tussiscum febris in corpore diu agantur. hic intendenda medico acies in aegri pariter et morbi naturam⁴³.

Seguono il breve testo nel Mutinense⁴⁴ un passo ascritto a Galeno ancora sui quattro tempi, una selezione di *Aphorismi* ippocratici sul tema, tradotti subito dopo da Valla, inframmezzati da un altro passo similare ascritto a Galeno e chiusi da un passo sulla formazione dei sudori ascritto ad Aezio, al quale segue la *Praesagitio omnino vera expertaque* ps.-galenica, che chiude il capitolo dell'enciclopedia e di cui parleremo in seguito.

II. Operette intere

Diversi trattatelli, allora ritenuti di Galeno, su prognostica, flebotomia, polsi, urine sono stati tradotti, sugli originali o ripresi da autori bizantini, e inseriti nell'enciclopedia. Si tratta di testi d'uso strumentale più o meno brevi, composti generalmente con materiale galenico combinato con passi ippocratici (più spesso gli *Aphorismi*), di scuola iatrosofistica e/o tratti dagli enciclopedisti bizantini, in modo da formare un nuovo testo di facile uso, per il quale l'attribuzione a Galeno fungeva da 'argument d'autorité', da garanzia.

Ne esaminerò tre: *Praesagium experientia confirmatum Galeni*, *Galeni quaestiones in Hippocratem*, *De pulsibus*.

1. *Praesagium experientia confirmatum Galeni*⁴⁵

Il testo, con l'attribuzione a Galeno, è stato pubblicato da Giorgio Valla nell'edizione collectanea del 1498⁴⁶, con dedica al senatore veneto Costantino Prioli (*Magnifico Constantino Priolo Veneto Senatori*), la cui grande prudenza nella ricerca dei presagi utili nell'amministrazione della città è paragonata alla sapienza di Galeno nell'individuazione di presagi buoni o nefasti in ogni genere di malattie⁴⁷. Il testo si articola su due parti⁴⁸, *Praesagitio omnino vera expertaque* e *De venae sectione*: entrambe sono presenti di seguito nel suo manoscritto copiato da Emanuele Zacharidis, il Mut. Gr. α.U.9.4 (ff. 23r-25v; ff. 25v-28r), dove sono incorniciate da un passo ippocratico di introduzione (f. 23r οἱ γὰρ νοσέοντες ἅμα τῷ σώζεσθαι, ἢ θεοῖσι, ἢ τύχῃς [lege -χη], τὴν αἰτίαν προσνέμουσι), tratto dalla risposta di Democrito ad Ippocrate nell'epistola 17 ps.-ippocratica⁴⁹, e da uno galenico⁵⁰ di chiusura (f. 29r πλέον δέ φησι Γαληνός, εἰς τὴν θεραπείαν δύνασθαι τὴν ὅλην δίαιταν, ἢ τὰ φάρμακα), riportati nella stessa posizione da Valla nella sua versione (*Aegrotantes aut deis aut fortunae causam attribunt; Ferendum illud perpetuo est ad curam salubrem victum universum quam medicina longe praestantius esse*) ma non nell'enciclopedia. Gli stessi passi si trovano negli altri due testimoni del testo, ma in posizioni diverse: nel Vat. Pal. gr. 143, di mano di

Giorgio Mosco, il primo introduce la redazione del giuramento cristiano in versi di Ippocrate al f. 167r, il secondo è vergato nel margine basso del f. 163v, alla fine del *De venae sectione*, come nel Par. gr. 2269, di mano di Demetrio Damilàs, dove è trascritto in inchiostro rosso alla fine del *De venae sectione* (f. 121v).

1.1. Praesagitio omnino vera expertaque⁵¹

Il testo sulla prognosi oggi riconosciuto come ps.-galenico, recentemente edito dalla Garcia Novo⁵², è una compilazione da testi galenici, ippocratici e iatrosofistici; Valla ha effettuato la traduzione sul suo Mutinense, come mostra anche il passo ippocratico, presente prima del titolo, *Aegrotantes aut deis aut fortunae causam attribuunt*, traduzione del passo citato dell'*epist.* 17 ps.-ippocratica, opera presente nella biblioteca di Valla⁵³. Il testo, che nel Mutinense presenta come titolo Πρόγνωσις πεπειραμένη και παναληθής Γαληνοῦ, è inserito come *Praesagium ex Galeno* all'interno dell'enciclopedia nel cap. XXIV 5 (*Praesagia medicorum clarorum alia*), come si è detto dopo *excerpta* galenici e ippocratici (*Aphorismi*) presi dallo stesso Mut. α.U.9.4, chiusi da un passo sulla formazione dei sudori di scuola iatrosofistica⁵⁴, ascritto ad Aezio⁵⁵, che nel Mutinense compare con la stessa attribuzione in calce al giuramento cristiano in versi di Ippocrate (f. 29v)⁵⁶.

La traduzione è diversa da quella pubblicata nel volume del 1498:

Mut. (f. 23r): <δ>τι τὸν θέλοντα προγινώσκειν, οὐ μόνον τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ θανάτου, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ὥραν, σκοπεῖν χρὴ ἐν τίνι μάλιστα καιρῷ τοῦ παροξυσμοῦ βαρύνεται μεγάλως ὁ κάμνων. εἰ μὲν γὰρ κατὰ τὴν εἰσβολὴν αὐτοῦ καταψύχοιτό τε σφοδρῶς καὶ δυσεκθέριμαντος καὶ ἄχρους ἄχρι πλείστου μένοι καὶ μικρόσφυκτος γένοιτο, καὶ κινηθῆναι ναθρὸς καὶ κοιματώδης, ἢ τι τοιοῦτον ἕτερον πάσχοι, τοῦτον ὑφορᾶσθαι μάλιστα τὸν καιρόν. εἰ δ' οὗτος μέτριος μὲν εἶη, περι δὲ τὴν ἀκμὴν ἦτοι καταφερόμενον τὸν ἄρρωστον ... τοῦτον ὑποπτέειν μάλιστα τὸν καιρόν. εἰ δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ παροξυσμοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀκμῆς μετρίως γινομένης, περι δὲ τὴν παρακμὴν λειποψυχίας ... ἐπιφέροιτο ... τοῦτον ὑφορᾶσθαι μάλιστα τὸν καιρόν.

de exp. XXIV 5: *Praesagium ex Galeno*. Si velis praesagire non diem modo mortis, verum etiam, horam considerato quo tempore potissimum languens a febre vexatus sit. Nam si adventante febre, aut vaehementer refrigeratur, aut incalescit diuque ita manet pulsusque sit exiguus obdormiscatque, ignavus somnolentusque vel quidvis tale sit, id tempus in primis suspice. mediocriter habebit, si circa acumen aegrum videas deferri ... hoc tempus suspice. si in principio accessionis et acuminis mediocriter habebit, circa decessionem intercludi animam si videas ... hoc praecipue tempus suspice.

praesagium experientia confirmatum Galeni: Quicumque praesciscere libuerit mortis non diem modo sed etiam horam considerare expedit quo potissimum tempore languens ab accessione vaehementer affligatur. num inter accedendum tum impense obrigescat et aestu conflagret diuque ea permanserit intensio pulsusque sit exiguus et segniter somnum caeperit somnulentusque fuerit vel id genus aliud subierit detrimentum, id omne tempus suspectum habere oportet. vel si etiam ita mediocriter habuerit, at circa vigorem si aegrotum deiectum ... suspectum id tempus tibi esse maxime oportet. si etiam accessionis principio ac vigore sint mediocria, verum id si circa vigoris decessum fuerit, anima consternetur... id tempus expedit suspicere.

Diversa anche la resa di termini tecnici nell'enciclopedia e nella traduzione: ἀκμήν: *de exp.*: acumen; *praes.*: vigorem; παρακμήν: *de exp.*: decessionem; *praes.*: vigoris decessum.

Da notare, ancora, nella parte finale relativa ai sudori, che nel *de exp.* Valla riconosce la fonte ippocratica nella lunga sequenza di *Aphorismi* (*aph.* IV 37; 36; 38-41; 56)⁵⁷ e aggiunge rispetto al testo greco *inquit Hippocrates*:

Mut. (f. 25r): οἱ δὲ ψυχροὶ ἰδρώτες σὺν μὲν ὀξεῖ πυρετῶ γινόμενοι, θάνατον σημαίνουσιν ... καὶ ὅκου ἐν τοῦ σώματος ἰδρώς, ἐκεῖ φράζε τὴν νοῦσον καὶ ὅκου ἐν τοῦ σώματος ψυχρὸν ἢ θερμὸν, ἐνταῦθα ἢ νοῦσος καὶ ὅκου ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ σώματι μεταβολὴ καὶ ἦν τὸ σῶμα ψύχεται ἢ αὐθις θερμαίνεται ἢ χρῶμα ἕτερον ἐξ ἑτέρου γίγνηται, μῆκος νόσου σημαίνει ...

de exp. XXIV 5: *Praesagium ex Galeno*. At frigidi sudores cum acuta febre erumpentes, mortem significant proximam ... et ubi, inquit Hippocrates, est corporis sudor ibi dicito esse morbum, et ubi est corporis frigus, aut calor ibidem morbum, et ubi in toto corpore mutatio, et si corpus inalgescat, vel rursus incalescat, vel colorem alium ex alio gignat, longitudo morbi significatur ...

praesagium...: At frigidi sudores cum acuta febris erumpentes mortem subesse minitantur ... ac ubi est corporis sudor ibi quoque dicito subesse morbum, et ubi est corporis frigus aut calor ibidem est quoque morbus. Et ubi in toto corpore mutatio fueritque refrigeratum corpus aut rursus incaluerit, aut color ex alio alius emerit morbi longitudinem pronuntiat ...

Quanto alla diversa resa di termini tecnici nell'enciclopedia e nella traduzione, interessante il seguente passo:

Mut., f. 24r: σημεῖα δὲ εἰσβολῆς πυρετοῦ, χάσμα, φρῖκαι, σκορ[ο]δανισμοὶ (*lege* -δι-) (εἴτουν ἀποδιακλασμοὶ *add. in marg.*), ναυτία, καταφορὰ ὕπνου, βηχίον μικρὸν καὶ ὑπότραχυ, ἄκρων κατάψυξις καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἕξωθεν τὰ γνωρίσματα.

de exp. XXIV 5: signa accessurae febris, oscitatio, horror, tremor, nausea ... tussicula exigua et breviuscula, extremarum partium refrigeratio, atque haec foris depraeheruntur. *praesagium* ...: imminetis febris nuntius est hiatus, horror, oscitatio, nausea ... tussicula sub aspera, extremorum membrorum infrigidatio, atque haec quidem extrinsecus praesagia.

Caratteristica dell'enciclopedia è la presenza di spiegazioni linguistiche:

de exp.: aucta diductione, quam diastolem vocant Graeci, ad acumen usque perfectum *praesagium* ...: aucta diductione ad perfectum usque vigorem

Nell'enciclopedia sono omessi taluni titoletti interni del testo greco conservati nella traduzione (διὰ πόσας αἰτίας ἀνάπτονται οἱ πυρετοὶ / quot de causis succenduntur febres; περὶ σημειώσεως ἰδρώτων / de significatione sudorum).

1.2. De venae sectione

Pubblicata di seguito al *Praesagium* sia nell'edizione del 1498 (come *De sanguinis detractio ex venis*) che nel *de exp.* (XXIV 6 *de missione sanguinis*) è la seconda operazione, che nei tre manoscritti laterali del *Praesagium* lo segue come περὶ φλεβοτομίας⁵⁸.

L'operetta è composta da tre parti⁵⁹, che nel Mutinense (ff. 25v-28r) portano i seguenti titoli:

1. περί φλεβοτομίας, *excerpta* di materiale galenico⁶⁰;
2. nuovamente περί φλεβοτομίας, un passo di Paolo di Egina (VI 40);
3. Ἴπποκράτου, composto da *excerpta* dall'appendice del *De victu acutorum* del *corpus* ipocratico (3,1; 6,2-3; 7,1,1; 8,1,2-3 = pp. 69, 12-18; 70,18-71,1; 71,16-17 Joly)⁶¹.

La distinzione è conservata nell'enciclopedia (XXIV 6. *de missione sanguinis*; 7. *quid considerandum in missione sanguinis*; 8. *Hippocrates*), mentre nell'edizione del 1498, dopo il primo capitoletto (*de sanguinis detractioe ex venis*), i passi 2-3 sono riuniti sotto il titolo *de adhibenda cautione in sanguinis detractioe*, senza la segnalazione delle fonti (Paolo e Ippocrate).

Nella edizione del 1498 Valla traduce, incorporandolo al testo (*Ferendum illud perpetuo est ad curam salubrem victum universum quam medicina longe praestantius esse*), anche il luogo di Galeno citato tratto da un'opera farmacologica⁶², vergato nel Mutinense in chiusura del testo.

Le due versioni sono diverse, anche nella resa dei termini tecnici:

1. Mut. (f. 25v.): ἐν πάσῃ καὶ ἡμέρᾳ νυκτὸς ὥρα χρειᾶς κατεπειγούσης, φλεβοτόμησον, σκοπὸν ἔχων, ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν πυρεττόντων, τὴν παρακμὴν τοῦ παροξυσμοῦ.
de exp.: Vottidie (*lege* Cotidie) noctu hora opportuna properante, sanguinis missionis intentionem habens, in febricitantibus declinationem accessionis spectes.
de sang. detr. ex ven.: In omni diei noctis hora urgente necessitate sanguinem detrahit aduertendo tamen in febricitantibus vigorem cessantem accessionis.

Ma questo passo è riportato anche da Aezio Amideno, i cui libri I-VIII⁶³ costituiscono la fonte principale per i libri XXIV 22 - XXIX 100 dell'enciclopedia; Valla traduce il testo di Aezio, del quale era fonte Galeno⁶⁴, offrendo nel l. XXVI, in particolare, una nuova versione del tecnicismo τὴν παρακμὴν τοῦ παροξυσμοῦ:

- Aet. Amid., III 15: τίς καιρὸς φλεβοτομίας Γαληνοῦ. ἐν πάσῃ καὶ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ὥρα, χρειᾶς κατεπειγούσης, φλεβοτομήσεις, σκοπὸν ἔχων, ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν πυρεττόντων τὴν παρακμὴν τοῦ παροξυσμοῦ.
de exp. XXVI 14: quo tempore sit detrahendus sanguis ex Galeno. in omni diei noctisque hora urgente opportunitate, sanguinem exige, in febricitantibus paroxysmi augmentum custodiendum est.

Rispetto alla edizione del 1498, nel *de exp.* Valla aggiunge tre volte il riferimento a Galeno (*inquit Galenus*), assente nel testo greco, dando così voce a Galeno in corrispondenza di racconti di esperienze personali (il cosiddetto 'autoptic ego' di von Staden⁶⁵, pur con il rischio di una esperienza mediata) espressi nel testo in prima persona (οἶδα, κἀγώ), per evitare l'ambiguità:

- il primo, sulla provata efficacia del salasso in caso di grandi infiammazioni e forti dolori, riportato da Galeno anche nel commento agli *Aphorismi*⁶⁶:

Mut. (f. 26r): ἐν δὲ ταῖς μεγίσταις φλεγμοναῖς καὶ ταῖς ἰσχυρωτάταις ὀδύναϊς, οὐδὲν οἶδα μεῖζον βοήθημα ...

de exp. XXIV 6: at in maximis inflammationibus et vehementissimis doloribus nullum, inquit Galenus, maius hoc novi auxilium ...

de sang. detr. ex ven.: at in maximis inflammationibus validissimisque doloribus nullum novi maius adiumentum ...

- il secondo, sull'esperienza straordinaria della non pericolosità di un salasso di sei libbre di sangue⁶⁷:

Mut. (f. 26v): οἶδα γὰρ ἐπ' ἐνίων αὐτάρκως ἀφελῶν ἕξ λίτρας αἵματος

de exp. XXIV 6: vidi, inquit Galenus, aliquibus libras sex sanguinis missas

de sang. detr. ex ven.: perspexi namque in nonnullis nec plus quam sufficeret sanguinis libras sex ablatas esset

- il terzo, sull'uso personale del salasso durante una pestilenza in Asia⁶⁸:

Mut. (f. 27v) λοιμοῦ δὲ ποτε κατασχόντος ἰσχυροῦ τὴν Ἀσίαν, ὅφ' οὗ πολλοὶ διεφθάρησαν, ὅθεν κἀγὼ τῇ νόσῳ κατὰ τὴν δευτέραν ἡμέραν, ἀνέσεως μὴ γενομένης κατακνήσας τὸ σκέλος διὰ δυοῖν λίτρῶν κένωσιν ἕασα γενέσθαι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸν κίνδυνον ἀπέφυγον

de exp. XXIV 6: cum, inquit Galenus, pestilentia ingens occupasset Asiam, multique morentur, cumque ego quoque morbo biduo perpetuo vexatus essem crus secui et binis evacuationibus periculum devitavi

de sang. detr. ex ven.: cum olim pestilentia ingens Asiam occupasset qua caedebant innumeri, tum ego secundo die nulla facta remissione crus scalpendo ad binas libras sanguinis evacuationem fieri permisi et perinde devitavi periculum

La versione del *de exp.* è caratterizzata dalle consuete glosse linguistiche:

1. Mut. (f. 27r) διαφράγματα

de exp. XXIV 6: septum transversum, quod diaphragma vocant Graeci

de sang. detr. ex ven.: septo transverso

2. Mut. (f. 27v) ἡ διάθεσις, ἣν ἰδίως καλοῦμεν φρενίτην (*sic*)

de exp. XXIV 6: affectio, quam phrenesim vocant Graeci, delirium autem Latini

de sang. detr. ex ven.: affectio sit quam proprie phrenitem appellamus

Rispetto al *de sanguinis detractioe ex venis*, nel *de exp.* talune parti non vengono tradotte:

Mut. (f. 28r): γάλα πίνειν μετὰνάματος θυγατέρων ταύρων ἢ γλυκέως

de exp. XXIV 6: lac potare cum dulci vino

de sang. detr. ex ven.: lac inmittere cum hircina adipe dulci ve<I> vino

2. Galeni quaestiones in Hippocratem⁶⁹

Il testo pseudo-galenico è inserito all'interno della trattazione sulle urine che, nell'enciclopedia (*de exp.* XLVIII 1-3), precede il *De urinis* abbreviato di Teofilo (*de exp.* XLVIII 4-7), che Valla leggeva nel suo Mut. α.U.9.4⁷⁰; tale trattazione si articola in tre

capitoletti per i quali Valla utilizza un testo composito presente nella prima parte di un suo manoscritto greco vergato da Emanuele Zacharidis, l'attuale Neap. III C 2 (ff. 1r-5r)⁷¹, col titolo *Περὶ οὔρων Ἱπποκράτους*⁷².

Se il terzo capitoletto (*aliud praescriptum ex Paulo aegineta*) è dichiaratamente un passo di Paolo Egineta (II 13 = I 94 H.), che nel manoscritto napoletano (f. 4v) è indicato con ἄλλο e porta a margine l'attribuzione Παύλου, più complessa è la questione dei primi due.

Il primo capitolo, che nell'enciclopedia ha come titolo *de urinae significatione ex Hippocrate*⁷³, è costruito con il cap. 12 (1.10) del *Prognosticon*, testo alla base dell'urologia in Oriente come in Occidente, seguito da *excerpta* ippocratici e galenici relativi alle urine, al quale segue la prima parte (*ex febribus inquit porro Hippocrates praecipue morbis urinarum significatio colligitur utilissima ~ ut existiment indeterius lapsam esse valetudinem*) della *Synopsis de urinis*⁷⁴ edita come anonima da Ideler⁷⁵ (e riportata anche da Aezio⁷⁶). Da notare che in Valla chiude il primo capitolo uno scolio di Filagrio, indicato erroneamente come *Agrius Hippocratis interpret*⁷⁷, segnalato a margine nel manoscritto napoletano (F 198 Φιλαγρίου. ὅτι τὰ χολώδεα καθάρσεως δέονται), assente nella redazione di Ideler e in Aezio.

Valla aveva già tradotto nell'enciclopedia, nella parte presa da Aezio (XXVII 25-41) il testo nella redazione riportata dall'Amideno, ma qui ne fornisce una nuova versione sulla base del testo composito del suo manoscritto napoletano:

Aet. Amid., V 25-27 = II 19-21 Oliv.: ἐπὶ τῶν πυρεκτικῶν μάλιστα νοσημάτων ἢ ἐκ τῶν οὔρων σημείωσις χρησιμωτάτη καθέστηκεν ... καὶ ποιεῖ τὴν νεφέλην καὶ πλανᾶ τοὺς ἰδιώτας, ὡς ὑπολαμβάνειν ἐπὶ τὸ χειρὸν προκόπτειν τὴν νόσον

de exp. XXVII 25-27: in febrilibus maxime aegritudinibus ex urinis significatio longe utilissima est ... facitque nubeculam et fallit idiotas, ut arbitrentur indeterius delabi aegritudinem Neap., ff. 2r-3r: ἐπὶ τῶν πυρεκτικῶν μάλιστα νοσημάτων, ἢ ἐκ τῶν οὔρων σημείωσις χρησιμωτάτη καθέστηκεν ... καὶ ποιεῖ τὴν νεφέλην καὶ πλανᾶ δηλονότι τοὺς ἰδιώτας, ὡς ὑπολαμβάνειν ἐπὶ τὸ χειρὸν προβαίνειν τὴν ἀρρωστίην

de exp. XLVIII 1: ex febribus, inquit porro Hippocrates, praecipue morbis urinarum significatio colligitur utilissima ... et nebulam facit, planeque ignaros fallit, ut existiment indeterius lapsam esse valetudinem.

Nel primo capitolo viene più volte citato Ippocrate o riportato il parere di Galeno, ma il confronto col testo greco tradito dal manoscritto Neap. III C 2 qualifica queste formule come aggiunte da Valla.

È il caso del passo relativo al sedimento denso e pallido rispetto a quello sottile e scuro, che ha come fonte il commento di Galeno al *De victu acutorum* ippocratico (*app.* XIX 1 = II 434 L):

Gal., in *Hipp. de vict. acut.* IV 46-47 = p. 314 Helmreich:

Τεκμαίρεσθαι δ' ἐκ τῶν οὔρων τὸ μέλλον ἔσεσθαι ἦν μὲν γὰρ παχύτερα καὶ ὠχρότερα ἦ, βελτίω, ἦν δὲ λεπτότερα καὶ μελάντερα, πονηρότερα.

... Σωτηρίαν μὲν γὰρ δηλοῖ τὰ παχύτερα καὶ ὠχρότερα. Σαφῶς δὲ νῦν τὰ παχύτερα τοῖς λεπτοῖς παραβάλλων εἶπεν, οὐ τοῖς τὰ κατὰ φύσιν, ὡς καὶ μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν ἤξιον ἀκούειν ... Τὰ γε μὴν λεπτὰ καὶ μέλανα, χεῖριστα πρὸς γὰρ τῶν λεπτῶν μόνων γινομένων ἄπεπτον δηλοῦνται τὸ νόσημα· τὸ γὰρ ἀκριβῶς λεπτὸν ὑδατῶδες ἐστίν, ὥστε καὶ λευκὸν ... Ἦν δὲ μεταβολὰς ἔχη, χρόνον τε σημαίνει ... καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ χεῖρω καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ βελτίω τὴν ἀνωμαλίην.

Neap., f. 2r: **Τεκμαίρεσθαι δ' ἐκ τῶν οὔρων τὸ μέλλον ἔσεσθαι, ἦν τοῖσι πυρετοῖσιν ἀσώδεις. ἦν μὲν γὰρ παχύτερα καὶ ὠχρότερα ἢ βελτία, ἦν δὲ λεπτότερα καὶ μελάντερα, πονηρότερα.** Σωτηρίαν μὲν γὰρ δηλοῖ τὰ παχύτερα καὶ ὠχρότερα. Σαφῶς δὲ νῦν τὰ παχύτερα τοῖς λεπτοῖς παραβάλλων εἶπεν, οὐ τοῖς τὰ κατὰ φύσιν. Τὰ γε μὴν λεπτὰ καὶ μέλανα, χεῖριστα. Πρὸς γὰρ τῶν λεπτῶν μόνων γινομένων ἄπεπτον δηλοῦνται τὸ νόσημα. Τὸ γὰρ ἀκριβῶς λεπτὸν, ὑδατῶδες ἐστίν ὥστε καὶ λευκὸν. **ἦν δὲ μεταβολὰς ἔχη, χρόνον τε σημαίνει ... καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ χεῖρω καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ βελτίω τὴν ἀνωμαλίην.**

Valla riconosce la fonte del testo riportato dal manoscritto napoletano nel commento ippocratico di Galeno e, ad indicarne la funzione di *interpretes* di Ippocrate, segnala con la formula *hunc Hippocratis locum Galenus hoc modo interpretatur* proprio la parte indicata nel manoscritto, a margine, dalla nota ἐρμηνεία:

de exp. XLVIII 1: quod futurum quoque est ex urinis licebit coniiicere. nam si densior vel pallidior melior erit urina, si tenuior et nigrior erit deterior. Salutem namque pronuntiat, hunc Hippocratis locum Galenus hoc modo interpretatur. Manifesto nunc crassiores tenuibus comparans dixit non naturalibus at tenues et nigras pessimas ad solas tenues effectas minime concoctam significans aegritudinem integre namque tenuis aquosa est, et perinde etiam alba. Quod si mutationes habeat tempus significat et necesse morbum commutari ad inaequalitatem indeteriorem et meliorem.

Da notare che, nel lemma riportato dal manoscritto e non tradotto da Valla, la frase ἦν τοῖσι πυρετοῖσιν ἀσώδεις manca in questo luogo di Ippocrate, ma riprende un passo precedente (ὀκόσοισι δὲ πυρετοὶ ἀσώδεις εἰσὶ ...) ⁷⁸ del commento di Galeno al lemma ippocratico del *De victu acutorum* (*app.* XVIII 1 = II 432 L. ὀκόσοισι δὲ πυρετοὶ ἀσώδεις εἰσὶ ...), al quale sembrava rinviava peraltro Galeno nella parte dell' esegesi non riportata (οὐ τοῖς τὰ κατὰ φύσιν, ὡς καὶ μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν ἤξιον ἀκούειν).

Come si è detto, nel manoscritto napoletano manca il passo greco corrispondente al riferimento all' esegesi ippocratica di Galeno riportata dal testo latino di Valla (*hunc Hippocratis locum Galenus hoc modo interpretatur*), che è presente invece nel testo greco edito da Chartier (VIII 353s. ταῦτα δὲ τοῦ Ἱπποκράτους οὕτως ἐξηγεῖται ὁ Γαληνός) ripreso da Kühn (XIX 614). Il passo manca anche nel Par. gr. 2269 (f. 96r), dal quale dovrebbe averlo preso Chartier, che nelle *Concisae notae* (n° 11, p. 92) finali, come indicato da Stefania Fortuna, segnala la traduzione fatta da Giorgio Valla, che egli utilizza (con qualche modifica). Un esempio di retroversione ⁷⁹ per uniformare il testo greco alla traduzione di Valla?

Talvolta, con la sua aggiunta, Valla fa riconoscere da Galeno (*inquit Galenus*) la dottrina ippocratica:

de exp. XLVIII 1: *levem, inquit Galenus, hypostasim vocat Hippocrates, continuam et indivulsam significare volens*

Neap., f. 2r: Λείαν δὲ ὑπόστασιν Ἱπποκράτης καλεῖ, τὸ συνεχὲς καὶ ἀδιάσπαστον δηλωῶσαι βουλόμενος

(a margine: ἔρμηνεῖα. Τί λείον καὶ τί ὀμαλόν)

Oppure, in corrispondenza d'una forma interrogativa del testo, tipica della prassi didattica

Quaeramus igitur in naturali urina colorem, vel profusionis constitutionem, ... urina inconcoctionem indicet in venis esse.

(f. 2r) Ζητῶμεν οὖν ἐπὶ τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν οὔρου χροῶμα καὶ σύστασιν τοῦ χύματος ... τὸ οὔρου ἀπεψίαν τὴν ἐν ταῖς φλεψίν ἐνδείκνυται.

assegna a Ippocrate (*inquit Hippocrates*) la lunga risposta:

optima quidem, inquit Hippocrates, urina in aegrotantibus, quae simillima sanorum urinae, subviridem, vel subflavam, et albam, et levem, et aequalem habens hypostasim ...

ἄριστον μὲν ἐστὶ οὔρον ἐπὶ τῶν νοσοῦντων, τὸ τοῖς ὑγιαίνουσιν ὁμοίωτατον, ὕποχρον ἢ ὑπόξανθον καὶ λευκὸν καὶ λείαν καὶ ὀμαλόν ...

Il secondo capitolo, indicato nell'enciclopedia come *Galenī quaestiones in Hippocratem*, è la continuazione della *Synopsis de urinis* attribuita a Magno, ripresa nel primo capitolo, con la parte erotapocritica riportata anche da Aezio⁸⁰ e che ha goduto anche di una tradizione indipendente⁸¹ rispetto alla prima, teorica.

Il titolo *Galenī quaestiones in Hippocratem* manca nel manoscritto napoletano, che presenta ἔτερον Γαληνοῦ (ff. 3r-4v), e nei testimoni laterali del testo finora consultati⁸²; in particolare, il Vat. Pal. gr. 143 (ff. 173r-175v), testimone codicologicamente vicino al Mut. α.U.9.4 per il *Praesagium* ed altri *excerpta*, porta il titolo Γαληνοῦ περὶ οὔρων. Come segnalato da Stefania Fortuna⁸³, questo capitolo dell'enciclopedia è stato pubblicato per la prima volta come un'opera autonoma attribuita a Galeno nella edizione latina del 1516, curata da Pietro Antonio Rustico di Piacenza (concittadino di Valla)⁸⁴, che aveva pubblicato i due capitoli latini dell'enciclopedia (*de urinae significatione ex Hippocrate* e *Galenī quaestiones in Hippocratem*), assegnando al secondo il titolo *Quaesita in Hippocratem de urinis*⁸⁵ (III ff. V,11v-12r), dal quale lo riprende Chartier (VIII 918-919)⁸⁶ col titolo *Galeno ascripta Quaesita in Hippocratem de urinis*.

Pur se sinonimo, *Quaesita* è un titolo diverso da quello presente nell'enciclopedia, *Quaestiones*, titolo che potrebbe essere dovuto allo stesso Valla, il quale avrebbe contestualizzato il materiale d'un testo sviluppato in forma erotapocritica e impiantato sulla dottrina ippocratica delle urine interpretata da Galeno, un dato che, come abbiamo visto, sottolinea espressamente più volte. E ricordiamo che Valla conosceva bene il *Prognosticum* ippocratico, che aveva copiato a Milano per Costantino Lascaris con gli *Aphorismi* nell'attuale Matr. gr. 4634.

Valla potrebbe aver dato il titolo di questioni sulla (*in = super*) dottrina di Ippocrate ad un testo articolato didascalicamente su domande e risposte, un genere che egli riteneva particolarmente adatto a risolvere i dubbi⁸⁷ e alla conoscenza⁸⁸: Galeno *interpretes* di Ippocrate, come definito nel proemio della medicina.

3. *De pulsibus*

In questo caso la ripresa è mediata da un enciclopedista bizantino, Paolo di Egina, dal quale Valla traduce il lungo opuscolo sui polsi con l'attribuzione a Galeno⁸⁹ inserito nella parte finale dell'enciclopedia. Si tratta d'un testo costruito su materiale tratto dalle diverse operette del *corpus galenicum* dedicate a tale dottrina⁹⁰. Una redazione più ampia e in forma erotapocritica di questo testo riportato da Paolo, sempre con l'attribuzione a Galeno (περὶ σφυγμοῦ Γαληνοῦ), costituisce la prima delle interpolazioni sui polsi presenti nel libro V di Aezio in due manoscritti greci⁹¹.

A proposito della citazione di Archigene che trova nel testo di Paolo, tratta dal *De pulsibus dignoscendis* di Galeno⁹², Valla sente il bisogno di precisare la fonte primaria e la fonte diretta (*inquit Galenus et Paulus Aegineta, quemadmodum putavit Archigenes*):

Paul. Aeg., II 11 = I 87 H.: περὶ σφυγμῶν, ἐκ τῶν Γαληνοῦ ... γὰρ μικρὸς ἄγαν ὁ μυρμηκίζων, ὠσαύτως δὲ καὶ ἀμυδρότατος πάντων καὶ πυκνότατος, οὐ μὴν ταχύς, ὡς Ἀρχιγένης φέτο. παρακείται δὲ τούτου ὁ ἐκτικός
de exp. XLVII 5 *de pulsuum differentia*: est siquidem formicinans admodum parvus ... itidem et obscurissimus densissimus omnium est non utique celer, inquit Galenus et Paulus Aegineta, quemadmodum putavit Archigenes. huic sextus (*lege heticus*) adhaeret.

Da notare che Valla prende da Paolo (II 12; 14) anche i due capitoletti successivi (XLVII 6. *de sputi significatione*; 7. *de excrementis*), che avevano la loro fonte nel *De crisis* di Galeno⁹³: ancora un Galeno mediato dalla sistematizzazione bizantina.

II. Integrazioni da Galeno

Ma oltre ai testi del *corpus galenicum* indicati, ripresi per estratti o *in toto*, Galeno rappresenta la fonte principale, pur se mediata, della sezione medica dell'enciclopedia, in quanto è sotteso a gran parte dei *Libri medicinales* I-VIII di Aezio Amideno (che Valla segue nei libri XXIV 22-XXIX 100 del *de expetendis*), traditi dai due manoscritti che Valla possedeva⁹⁴, e di Paolo Egineta (III 15-VI 122 = *de exp.* XXIX 101-167), che l'umanista riprende nei libri XXIV-XXIX, pur con inserzioni da altri autori greci e latini, come ho già indicato⁹⁵.

Talvolta, consapevole che la fonte di Aezio è Galeno, sente il bisogno di precisarlo (*Galenus Aetiique sententia*⁹⁶, o *inquit Galenus pariterque Aetius*⁹⁷ o *Galenus et eius astipulator Aetius aiunt*⁹⁸, *inquit Aetius atque Galenus* (XXV 2), *inquit Aetius pariter et Galenus* (XXV 35), *novisse se aiunt Galenus, et Aetius medicus, inquit ambo*

tam Aetius quam Galenus), per evidenziare lo stretto legame fra il medico bizantino e Galeno.

Ma, talora, mette a confronto il testo di Aezio e di Galeno e integra Aezio con Galeno. Così, segue il testo di Aezio sul suo Vat. gr. 2202, ma lo integra con passi tratti dal *De simplicium medicamentorum facultatibus* di Galeno, che leggeva sul suo Mut. α.P.5.18:

Talvolta si tratta di piccole integrazioni, non segnalate:

1. sulle caratteristiche del pane da utilizzare

Gal., *de simpl. med. fac.* X 20 = XII 294 K.: ... μετ' ἄρτου καλῶς ὀπτημένου κλιβανίτου συμμέτρων ἀλῶν τε καὶ ζύμης ἔχοντος

Aet. Amid., II 112 = I 193 Ol.: ... μετ' ἄρτου καλλίστου

de exp. XXV 28: ... pane bene tosto sub clibano, vel furno, qui satis salis et fermenti habebat

2. o su un medico misio

Gal., *de simpl. med. fac.* X 26 = XII 303-304 K.: ὁ δ' ἐπὶ τῆς Μυσίας ἰατρὸς καὶ τοῖς χρονίοις κωλικοῖς αὐτὴν ἐδίδου πίνειν ... δι' οἰνομέλιτος

Aet. Amid., II 118 = I 195 Ol.: ὁ δὲ διδάξας με ἰατρὸς καὶ τοῖς χρονίοις κωλικοῖς αὐτὴν ἐδίδου δι' οἰνομέλιτος ...

de exp. XXV 34: Mysius quidam praestans medicus, quemadmodum inquit Galenus, vetustis iam colicis ipsum exhibebat cum oxymelle ...

Talvolta di passi più lunghi:

1. sul gusto aspro e amaro del prezzemolo e su una pianta così denominata in Cilicia

Gal., *de simpl. med. fac.* VIII 16 = XII 99 K.: περὶ πετροσελίνου. πετροσελίνου τὸ σπέρμα μάλιστ' ἐστὶ χρήσιμον ... ἔστι δ' ὡσπερ ἐν τῇ γεύσει δριμύ μετὰ πικρότητος ... καταμήνιά τε καὶ οὖρα προτρέπει δαψιλῶς. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄφυσον ... οἱ δ' ἐν Κιλικίᾳ πετροσελίον μόνον ὀνομάζουσιν τὸ ἐν τῷ Ἀμάνῳ γεννώμενον. ἔστι δὲ σμύρνιον μᾶλλον ἢ πετροσελίον, οὐ μὴν παραλλάττει γε πολὺ τὴν πετροσελίνου δύναμιν.

Aet. Amid., I 319 = I 121 Ol.: πετροσελίον. Τοῦτου τὸ σπέρμα μάλιστα χρησιμώτατον ... καταμήνια οὖν προτρέπει καὶ οὖρα δαψιλῆ. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄφυσον.

de exp. XXIV 22: Petroselinum, glycydium ipsum quidam nominarunt, huius semen longe utilissimum ... menstrua igitur advertit urinasque large. estque citra sufflationem. est, inquit Galenus, ut gustu apparet acutum cum amaritudine, ita re ipsa calidum et secans. in Cilicia petroselinum tantum nominant in Amano nascens, est autem smyrnium vel petroselinum nominatum nec multum potestate a petroselino differt.

2. sulla lignite, un altro tipo di pietra di Gage citata da Nicandro, del quale omette i versi

Gal., *de simpl. medic. fac.* X 10 = XII 204 K.: ... ἐκόμισα πολλὰς ἐκ τῆς κοίλης Συρίας ... ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλη τις λίθος, ἧς καὶ Νίκανδρος μέμνηται γράφων οὕτως

... ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἐξ αὐτῆς ὄφελος ἐς ἰατρικὴν οὐδ' ὁ Νίκανδρος γράφει παρὰ τὴν δυσωδίαν, ἢ τὰ θηρία θυμιάμενα διώκει.

Aet. Amid., II 24 = I 164 Ol.: ... ἐκόμισα ἐκ τῆς κοίλης Συρίας πλησίον τῆς Ἱεριχῶ ... εἶναι δὲ καὶ ὠκυτόκιον ἐπὶ τῶν δυστοκουσῶν γυναικῶν κατεχόμενον τῇ χειρὶ τῆς τικτούσης.

de exp. XXIV 47: *de gagate* ... vidi, inquit Aetius, in cavo Syrie prope Hiericho ... essetque ad celeriter parandum idoneum ubi difficulter pariant mulieres, manu tantum parientis si teneatur. est, inquit Nicander, etiam Gagates alius lapis in Thracia natus qui nullum medicinae praebet adiumentum nisi quod cum sit odoris taetri suffumigatione feras fugit.

Singolare il caso dell'ultimo capitolo sui minerali, il mercurio (*de hydrargyro, vel argento vivo*), non trattato da Aezio e per il quale Valla utilizza la breve esposizione di Galeno (che confessava di non averne esperienza), integrandola con le opinioni diverse di Avicenna (il cui *Liber canonis*, tradotto da Gherardo da Cremona, era stato dato alle stampe per la prima volta a Milano nel 1473)⁹⁹ e di ar-Râzî (*Liber medicinalis Almansoris*, tradotto da Gherardo da Cremona sul finire del sec. XII e dato alle stampe per la prima volta a Milano nel 1481)¹⁰⁰ in merito all'effetto velenoso del mercurio se ingerito, esempio concreto della linea continua greca, latina e araba della medicina scientifica ribadita in apertura:

Gal., *de simpl. med. fac.* X 32 = XII 237 K.: περὶ ὑδραργύρου. ὑδράργυρος οὐκ ἔστι τῶν αὐτοφυῶν φαρμάκων, ἀλλὰ τῶν σκευαζομένων, ὡσπερ ψιμμύθιον τε καὶ ὁ ἰδς καὶ ψωρικὸν καὶ λιθάργυρος. ἔχω δ' αὐτῆς οὐδεμίαν πείραν οὐθ' ὡς ἀναιρούσης, εἰ καταποθείη, οὔτ' ἔξωθεν ἐπιτιθεμένης.

Avic., *lib. can.* II 47, f. 11v: *de argento vivo*... est frigidum et humidum in secundo ... quod ex eo extinctum est, est medicamen pediculorum, et lendinum cum oleo rosaceo. Extinctum valet scabiei cum oleo rosaceo, aut cum medicinis scabiei, et ulceribus malis ... Eius vapor facit accidere paralysim, et tremorem ... fumus eius destruit auditum, et fumus eius facit accidere foetorem oris quum transit per ipsum ... fumus eius destruit visum ... argentum vivum sublimatum est interficiens propter vehementem incisionem. Et eius cura fortis est bibere lac et vomere. Et Gal. quidem dixit, quod non expertus est illud in ipso. Et dicunt quidam, quod extinctum interficit gravitate sua... et ipsum interficit mures, et ex fumo eius fugiuntur vermes venenosi et serpentes.

Rhaz., *ad reg. Mans.* VIII 42, f. 69rv.: *de his qui in potu sumpserunt argentum vivum vel in quorum aure fluxum fuerit vel quod sumpserunt yzifur.* Non quidem estimo ex argento vivo cum sanum bibitur, aliquo ... magnum sequitur nocumentum nisi in ventre et in intestinis dolor fortis ... Ego quoque simie quam habebam ipsum in potu dedi, nec vidi ipsam aliud incurrere accidens, nisi quod dixi ... torquebat et ventrem sepe ore mordebat, manibusque suis trahebat.

de exp. XXIV 105: *de hydrargyro, vel argento vivo.* Hydrargyros, hoc inquit Galenus, non est per se nascentium medicaminum, sed comparatorum, ut cerussa, et rubigo, et psoricum, et lithargyrus. Huius inquit **Galenus**, nullam habeo experientiam, neque quod perimat si potetur, neque si extrinsecus apponatur. **Avicenna** autem ipsum ait naturae frigidae et humidae in secundo ordine, eo perimi pediculos reliquosque vermes cum

oleo rosaceo pellere scabiem extinctum, et hulceribus purulentis mederi, fumum ipsius gignere paralyssim, et auditum, et visum laedere, et si potetur quod seceret multum morti dare, remedium esse, ut lac bibatur et vomatur. venenosa animalia eius fumo fugari. Ait **Rasis** vero: ego, inquit, simiae quae mihi erat bibendum dedi argentum vivum, nec aliud ex eo habuit incommodum quam torquebatur et ventrem saepe mordebat manibusque scalpebat. Hoc Avicennae ipsius adversatur sententiae et plane contrarium qui vel solo putat fumo animalia ita agitari et haustu perimi.

Nell'enciclopedia valliana Galeno, espressamente evocato, mediato o celato, rappresenta la fonte principale per la parte medica. Se Ippocrate è per Valla l'*auctoritas* medica per eccellenza, Galeno *interpres* di Ippocrate è l'autore medico al quale attingere, anche integrato con autori arabi come Avicenna e ar-Râzî; la connessione Ippocrate-Galeno è costante e le parole dell'uno vengono citate spesso a dimostrazione della validità del pensiero dell'altro, vicendevolmente.

Il Galeno al quale Giorgio Valla ha accesso è certo quello dei manoscritti in suo possesso, e in questo il ruolo della sua biblioteca è capitale, a supporto proprio dell'enciclopedia (e si ha l'impressione che taluni manoscritti miscelanei di *excerpta* siano stati allestiti appositamente). Mancano però alcune grandi opere per le quali oggi il Pergameno è apprezzato; così, ad esempio, per gli studi anatomici Valla rinvia all'opera del contemporaneo Alessandro Benedetti (*Historia corporis humani sive Anatomice*)¹⁰¹, che pure agli antichi si rifaceva. È tuttavia anche il Galeno mediato dai grandi compilatori bizantini (Aezio di Amida, Alessandro di Tralle, Paolo di Egina), al suo tempo pressoché sconosciuti, i quali avevano già operato la scelta e la sistematizzazione del sapere medico precedente. Ed è questa la presenza più cospicua, sebbene sotterranea, di Galeno nell'enciclopedia.

Valla ha tradotto e pubblicato diverse operette di Galeno, ma le traduce *ex novo* quando ne riporta passi nell'enciclopedia. Eppure, delle opere galeniche (come *De sectis*, *Ars*, *De crisisibus*, *De simplicium medicamentorum facultatibus*) che conosce, utilizza solo stralci qui e là, mentre riprende per intero i trattatelli - che oggi sappiamo pseudo-galenici - costruiti già nella tarda antichità su materiale galenico (ma non solo) e che godevano di diffusione per la loro facile utilizzazione.

In definitiva, l'enciclopedia si rivela come uno straordinario bacino di raccolta di un sapere multiforme, capace di creare nuove prospettive storico-culturali, un documento misconosciuto del recupero umanistico dei testi scientifici e, in particolare, della tradizione del galenismo nell'Umanesimo.

Bibliografia e note

1. *Epist.* 27 (17 febbraio 1492): **Ad vigesimum et secundum librum** iam scriptione perveni; *epist.* 13 (13 gennaio 1494): quod autem ad immensae magnitudinis opus meum pertinet, scito **quadraginta et duo** me iam peregissem volumina ad quadraginta et novem usque reliqua prosecuturum, ac ex immenso pelago iam portum prospicimus; *epist.* 21 (5 novembre 1495): quod de opere meo scribis, pridem perfectum est, ac iam **pars dimidia excripta**, ut impressoribus concedatur; iamque totum excriptum foret, nisi temporum difficultates obstitissent; *epist.* 38 (19 luglio 1498): foetura namque adhuc proxima imbecillum est, ut domo exire non audeat. Proximis namque diebus **quadragesimum et nonum**, quod ultimum est, volumen absolvimus; *epist.* 42 (2 agosto 1498): quod scribis de opere nostro expetendorum ac fugiendorum expectare, ut imprimatur, iam id confectum esset, nisi magnitudo operis et temporum molestia id facere prohibuisset.
2. La testimonianza sul *corpus ἐξηκοντάβιβλος* di Ippocrate è tradita dalla voce ‘Ippocrate’ della Suda (della quale Valla aveva a disposizione il Par. gr. 2623, nel quale compare una sua annotazione al f. 191v.) e nei *pinakes* della tradizione medievale. Dei manoscritti che riportano il *pinax* con i 60 titoli, il Marc. gr. 269 era nella biblioteca di Bessarione; il Laur. Plut. 74.1 era nelle mani di Giano Lascari: cfr. Müller KK, Neue Mittheilungen über Janos Laskaris und die Mediceische Bibliothek, in *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, I/9-10, 1884, p. 408 (66b Ἰπποκράτους ἐξηκοντάβιβλος). Manente Lentini, in una lettera a Lorenzo Lorenzi, parla del progetto di tradurre il *corpus* di Ippocrate e di Galeno (*ut sexaginta illa Hypocratis volumina totidemque Galeni opera tua lima reformata in usum latinum ederentur*). Cfr. Ieraci Bio AM, Per lo studio dell’umanesimo medico. L’Ippocrate di Giorgio Valla. In Manetti D, Perilli L, Roselli A (ed.), *Ippocrate e gli altri*. XVI Colloquio Internazionale Ippocratico (Roma, 25-27 ottobre 2018). Roma, Collection de l’École Française de Rome, 2022, p. 440.
3. Cfr. Gal., *de med. meth. ad Glauc.* I 1 = XI 1 Kühn: ... πάλαι τε πρὸς Ἰπποκράτους ὀρθῶς εἶρηται καὶ ἡμῖν δὲ ἐπ’ αὐτῶν ..τῶν ἔργων τῆς τέχνης ἰκανῶς ἐσπούδεσται; Id., *de usu part.* I 9 = III 22 K.: πάλιν οὖν, ὥσπερ ἀπὸ θεοῦ φωνῆς, τῆς Ἰπποκράτους ἀρξώμεθα λέξεως. Sugli errori degli esegeti, cfr. per i commenti: Gal., in *Hipp. epid. III comm.* I 4 = XVII A 507; 515 K. Sulla pratica dell’esegesi, cfr. Manetti D, Roselli A, Galeno commentatore di Ippocrate. In: Haase W, Temporini H (ed.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*, II, 37.2. Berlin-New York: De Gruyter; 1994. pp. 1529-2080.
4. *De praesagitura*: “succurrit Galeni ac admirandi medici Hippocratis **interpretis** doctissimi morborum praesagiturae opusculum ... latinum tibi faciendo tuum posse animum olectare ... Nam cui demum medico iam persuasum nos est Galeni praecepta omnia esse eiusmodi ut a falsimonia atque errore longissime absint: cuius post Hippocratem **a quo totus pendet**, quotquot usquam sunt medici tamquam divinitus humano generi datum numen suscipiunt, admittunt, sequuntur...?”
5. Sulla fortuna del canone di Avicenna nelle Università italiane sino al sec. XV, cfr. Siraisi NG, *Avicenna in Renaissance Italy. The “Canon” and Medical Teaching in Italian University after 1500*. Princeton: P.U.P.; 1987. Chandelier J, *Avicenne et la médecine en Italie. Le Canon dans les Universités (1200-1350)*. Paris: H. Champion; 2017.
6. Sulle versioni del *Corpus galenicum* operate da Giorgio Valla (*Ad medicinam introductorium / De sectis, De optima corporis confirmatione, De bono corporis habitu, De inaequali distemperantia/intemperie, De praesagitura / De praenotione, Praesagium experientia confirmatum, De venae sectione, Quaesita in Hippocratem*), si rinvia a Stefania Fortuna S, Savino C, Giorgio Valla and His Latin Translations of Galen. *Medicina nei secoli* 2024;36(2);57-86.

7. Kühn CG, Claudii Galeni opera omnia. Lipsiae: in officina libraria Car. Cnoblochii; 1821-1833. pp. XIX 721-747: *περὶ ἀντεμβολομένων βιβλίων*. Il testo ps.-galenico fu pubblicato come *de succidaneis* (Galen *Succidanea Iohanne Petro Valla Placentino Interprete*) nel volume collectaneo apparso a Venezia nel 1498, nella traduzione fatta dal figlio Gian Pietro Cademosto dietro suggerimento del padre e dedicata a Ludovico Bonaccioli, archiatra a Ferrara.
8. Hippocr., *de aere* 3 = p. 189,11-12 Jouanna: μάθοι δ' ἂν ὅτι οὐκ ἐλάχιστον μέρος συμβάλλεται ἀστρονομίῃ ἐς ἱητρικὴν.
9. *Francisci Philelphi equitis aurati lauratique poetae et oratoris philosophi clarissimi Orationes et nonnulla alia opera*, Mediolani, Typis Leonardi Pachel et Udalt. Scinzenzeler, 1483-1484. Ristampato più volte dal 1488 (*Brixiae per Jacobum Britannicum die 18. Junii 1488*). Cfr. Cortesi M, Fiaschi S (cur.), Repertorio delle traduzioni umanistiche a stampa (secoli XV-XVI), I. Firenze: Sismel; 2008. pp. 533-534, n. XIX. A conclusione della lettera prefatoria dell'operetta (*Galenii medici praecellentis de medicinae principiis opusculum*), Valla richiama Ammonio per la definizione di *medicina* come *ars*, presentando una partizione della medicina simile ma non del tutto uguale a quella del *De expetendis*.
10. Plin., *N.H.* XXIX 4: *alia factio ab experimentis Empirice nominata coepit in Sicilia a Creonte agrigentino Empedoclis physici autoritate commendato, dissederuntque hae scholae*.
11. Cels., *pr.* 56-57: *alii viam quandam esse aiunt medicinam, qua cognoscitur, si corpus astrictum est, digerendum esse, si laxum, continendum, si vero mixtum vitium habet, occurrendum subinde vaehementiori malo, et aliter acutis morbis medendum. Aliter vetustis aliter increscentibus aliter subsistentibus aliter iam ad sanitatem inclinantibus. aiuntque medicinam Methodon eorum, quae in morbis communia sunt inspectricem esse, quae tuum experimentis, tum ratione spectentur*.
12. Gal., *de sect.* 2 (= III 2, 12-4,8 Helmreich); 3 (=III 4,18 – 5,2; 5-6,26 H.); 4 (= III 7, 1-2 H.); 5 (= III 9, 4-7;10, 8-10 H.).
13. Il manoscritto era stato acquistato durante il suo soggiorno a Costantinopoli (c. 1297-1302) da Pietro d'Abano, che lo ha utilizzato per la sua versione; cfr. Pietrobello A, *Les manuscrits grecs de Pietro d'Abano*. Quaderni per la storia dell'Università di Padova. 2017; 50: 23-49.
14. Versione non considerata da Durling R J (*A Chronological Census of Renaissance Editions and Translations of Galen*, in *Jahrbuch of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, LXXXI 1961, pp. 230-305, in part. 250-251) e da Cortesi – Fiaschi, *Repertorio*, I, p. 485.
15. Al centro d'un vivace dibattito fra i commentatori italiani medievali: cfr. Ottosson P, *Scholastic Medicine and Philosophy*. Napoli: Bibliopolis; 1984.
16. Gal., *ars* Ia 1, 1-4 = p. 274 Boudon: *τρεις εισιν αι πασαι διδασκαλια ταξεως εχομεναι. πρωτη μεν, η εκ της τελους εννοιας κατα αναλυσιν γινομενη. δευτερα δε, η εκ συνθεσεως των κατα αναλυσιν ευρεθεντων. τριτη δε, η εξ ορου διαλυσεως, ην νυν ενισταμεθα ..*
2. ἐπεχείρησαν μὲν οὖν ἔνιοι τῶν Ἡροφίλειων τοιαύτην ποιήσασθαι διδασκαλίαν, ὥσπερ καὶ Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ἐρυθραῖος. ἐπεχείρησαν δὲ καὶ τὴν κατὰ σύνθεσιν, αὐτοὶ τε οἱ Ἡροφίλειοι, καὶ τινες τῶν Ἐρασιστρατειῶν καὶ Ἀθηναῖος ὁ Ἀτταλεύς, οὐδεὶς μὲντοι γε τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν ἔγραψε τὴν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ τελους ἐννοιας ἀρχομένην διδασκαλίαν, ἐξ ἧς αἱ τέχνηαι πασαι συνίστανται κατὰ μέθοδον: “tutti i tipi di insegnamento che si attengono a un ordine sono tre. Il primo, che muove dalla nozione del fine, ha luogo per analisi; il secondo che muove dalla sintesi di quanto si è scoperto per analisi. Il terzo, che muove

dalla scomposizione d'una definizione, oggetto di questo scritto ... Han tentato di realizzare un tale insegnamento alcuni seguaci di Erofilo e così pure Eraclide di Eritre. Han tentato anche quello per sintesi gli stessi erofilei, taluni degli erasistratei e Ateneo di Attalia. Tuttavia, nessuno di quelli che ci hanno preceduto ha esposto per iscritto l'insegnamento che muove dalla nozione del fine, sulla base della quale tutte le arti sono costituite con metodo”.

17. Arist., *anal. pr. et post.* II 2 90a15-17: ἐν ἅπασιν γὰρ τούτοις, φανερόν ἐστιν ὅτι τὸ αὐτὸ ἐστὶ τὸ τί ἐστὶ καὶ διὰ τί ἐστίν. τί ἐστὶν ἐκλειψις; .. διὰ τί ἐστὶν ἐκλειψις ...
18. Gal., *ars* Ib 1, 1-4 = p. 276 Boudon: ἰατρικὴ ἐστὶν ἐπιστήμη ὑγιεινῶν καὶ νοσῶδων καὶ οὐδετέρων. οὐ διαφέρει δὲ οὐδ' εἰ νοσερῶν τις εἴποι. τοῦ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἐπιστήμης ὀνόματος κοινῶς καὶ οὐκ ἰδίως ἀκούειν χρή. 2, 1-3: τὸ δὲ ὑγιεινὸν καὶ τὸ νοσῶδες, καὶ τὸ οὐδέτερον, τριχῶς ἕκαστον λέγεται. τὸ μὲν ὡς σῶμα, τὸ δὲ ὡς αἷτιον, τὸ δὲ ὡς σημεῖον.
19. Boudon V, Galien. Exhortation à la médecine. Art medical. Paris: Les Belles Lettres; 2000. p. 398, nota 5.
20. Del quale era peraltro fonte Galeno (*de san. tuen.* VI 2 e 3 = VI 384, 1-12; 385, 10-386,6; 389,5-11 K.).
21. *de exp.* XXVI 132 = *ars* II 1; *de exp.* XXVI 133 = *ars* II 2; *de exp.* XXVI 134 = *ars* II 3-7; *de exp.* XXVI 135 = *ars* III 1,4; *de exp.* XXVI IV 2-6; *de exp.* XXVI 136 = *ars* V 2-3; *de exp.* XXVI 137 = *ars* VI 1-2, 2,1-3; *de exp.* XXVI 138 = *ars* VI 2,3-3; *de exp.* XXVI 139 = *ars* VI 9,11-10,6.
22. La traduzione anonima del VI sec.; la traduzione anonima del XII sec.; la traduzione anonima completata da Burgundio da Pisa; la traduzione di Gerardo da Cremona: cfr. la scheda nel database *Galeno Latino. Catalogo delle traduzioni latine* (<https://www.galenolatino.com>) curato da Stefania Fortuna.
23. Diversi erano i manoscritti dell'*Ars* circolanti in Italia, uno anche copiato da Andronico Callisto, il Par. gr. 1644 (= G), che però presenta una lacuna da omoteleuto (Gal., *ars* II 4,3-7 = p. 280 Boudon σώματος ~ ὑγιεινοτάτου om. VPal JIMGF sed add. V2 J212) assente nel testo di Valla. Sul manoscritto, cfr. Orlandi L, Andronikos Kallistos. A Byzantine Scholar and His Manuscripts in Italian Humanism. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter; 2023. nr. 33, pp. 117-118; 159-160; 300-301.
24. Boudon, Art, p. 270.
25. Con Q la versione di Valla condivide talune aggiunte sue (*de exp.* 134: potest aliquid contrariarum participare affectionum: δύναται τι τῶν ἐναντίων ἅμα μετέχειν: ἅμα VQE-Bon om. Pal JI post ἅμα add. διαθέσεων Q), e i titololetti nei capp. 132-139 (de sano corpore: περὶ ὑγιεινοῦ σώματος; VPalQER; de morbo corpore: περὶ νοσῶδους σώματος; VPalQER JmgMmg; de corpore neutro: περὶ οὐδετέρου σώματος: VPalQER JmgMmg; de signis sanorum: περὶ σημείων ὑγιεινῶν καὶ [καὶ om. QM] νοσερῶν καὶ οὐδετέρων add. QER M; quot partium differentiae sint: πόσαι διαφοραὶ τῶν μορίων VQBon JM; de cerebri signis: πόσα γένη σημείων ἐγκεφάλου add. vQ JM Bon non legitur; de capite: περὶ διαπλάσεως κεφαλῆς ἤτοι μεγέθους add. QBon; de principalibus actionibus: περὶ τῶν [τῶν om. R] ἡγεμονικῶν ἐνεργειῶν QRJ Or.)
26. La dottrina esposta nel *De crisibus* (e nel *De diebus decretoriis*) da Galeno diventerà canonica e sarà ripresa, nella forma di un trattatello abbreviato, da Aezio Amideno (Aet. Amid., V 6-26 = II 9-18 Oliv.).
27. Cfr. Hippocr., *aph.*, III 1-3 = IV 486 L.; *de aere* 1 = II 12 L.
28. Cf. Gal., *de sect.* 3 = III 4-6 Helmreich; *ad Glauc.* I 1 = XI 4-5 K.; *de nat. fac.* II 8 = III 191 H.; in Hippocr. *aph.* I 6 = XVIIb 427-428 K.; *de cris.* III 4 = IX 723 K.

29. Ieraci Bio AM, *Disiecta membra della scuola iatrosostica alessandrina*. In: Garofalo I e Roselli A (ed.), *Galenismo e medicina tardoantica*. Fonti greche, latine e arabe. Atti del Seminario Internazionale di Siena (Certosa di Pontignano, 9-10 settembre 2002). Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale; 2003. pp. 9-51.
30. Gal., *de cris.* II 12 = IX 690-691 K.: τὰς ἀθρόας ἐν νόσοις μεταβολὰς εἰ βούλοιο προγινώσκειν, ἀναγκαῖον ἐστὶ σοι πρότερον ἀρχῆς καὶ ἀναβάσεως καὶ ἀκμῆς καὶ παρακμῆς εἶναι διαγνωστικός τε καὶ προγνωστικός. Ταῦτα δ' αὐτὰ διαγνώσῃ διὰ τε τῆς τοῦ νοσήματος ιδέας καὶ τῆς χώρας καὶ τῆς ὥρας τοῦ ἔτους, ἅμα τοῖς συστοίχοις αὐτοῖς, καὶ τῆς τῶν περιόδων ἀναλογίας καὶ προσέτι τῶν ἐπιφαινομένων ...
31. Hippocr., *aph.* I 12 = IV 464-466 L.: τοὺς δὲ παροξυσμοὺς τὰς καταστάσεις δηλώσουσιν αἱ νοῦσοι, καὶ αἱ ὥραι τοῦ ἔτους, καὶ αἱ τῶν περιόδων πρὸς ἀλλήλας **ἀνταποδόσεις**, ἦν τε καθ' ἡμέραν .. καὶ βραχέα καὶ μακρὰ τὰ νοσήματα, ἐπιφαινόμενα, δηλοῖ.
32. Gal., in *Hippocr. aph.* I 12 = XVIIb 387 K.: λέγει μὲν γὰρ ὁ Ἱπποκράτης οὕτω. καὶ αἱ τῶν περιόδων πρὸς ἀλλήλας ἐπιδόσεις ... εὐδὴλον δ' ὅτι ἐπιδόσεις τῶν περιόδων τὰς ἀξήσεις λέγει τῶν κατ' αὐτὰς παροξυσμῶν ...; cfr. Gal., *de cris.* I 6 = IX 569 K. καὶ αἱ τῶν περιόδων πρὸς ἀλλήλας ἐπιδόσεις ...
33. Il termine ἐπιδόσεις, in collegamento con l'inizio delle malattie, è usato da Ippocrate in *epid.* II 1,6 = V 74 L.: πρὸς τὰς ἀρχὰς σκεπτέον τῶν νοῦσων, εἰ αὐτίκα ἀνθεῖ. δῆλον δὲ τῇ ἐπιδόσει. τὰς δὲ ἐπιδόσεις, τῆσι περιόδοισιν. καὶ αἱ κρίσεις ἐντεῦθεν δηλοῖ ...; cfr. anche Hippocr., *epid.* VI 8, 14 = V 348 L.
34. Gal., *de cris.* I 4 = IX 560 K.; *de cris.* III 4 = IX 712 K.
35. Gal., *de cris.* I 3 = IX 552-553; 555-556 K.: καλῶ δὲ διάλειμμα μὲν, ἐπειδὴν εἰς ἀπυρεξίαν ὁ παροξυσμὸς παύηται. παρακμὴν δὲ τὸ μετ' αὐτὴν ἀκμὴν ἅπαν αὐτοῦ μέρος, ἕως τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ δευτέρου παροξυσμοῦ. τὸ γάρτοι προλαμβάνειν αὐτὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸ μόνον οὐχ ἰκανὸν ἀξήσεως σημεῖον ὑπάρχει, ιδιότητι πολλάκις ἐπόμενον νόσου μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ τὴν ἀνάβασιν αὐτῆς γιγνόμενον ... καὶ καλεῖν γε τοῖς ἰατροῖς ἔθος ἐστὶ τοὺς τοιοῦτους τύπους προληπτικούς .. Ἱπποκράτης .. ὅπως ἂν τις ἐκ περιόδων εὐρίσκοι νοσήματος ἐπίδοσιν, ἀλλήλοισι - φησὶ - χρῆναι παραβάλλειν τοὺς παροξυσμούς, εἰ ἐπὶ τὸ πρωϊότερον, ἢ οὐ. καὶ εἰ ἐπὶ πλείονα χρόνον, ἢ οὐ. καὶ εἰ μᾶλλον, ἢ οὐ. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρωϊότερον, ἢ οὐ, τοιόνδε δηλοῖ, εἰ τῆς συνήθους ὥρας ὁ παροξυσμὸς προὔλαβεν, ἢ ὑστέρησε .. καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ ἦθος, αὐτοῦ τε τοῦ νοσήματος καὶ τῶν ἐπιγινομένων αὐτῷ συμπτωμάτων, ἔτι τε πρὸς τοῦτοις τὸν ἀριθμὸν αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ μᾶλλον τε καὶ ἥττον νοεῖν χρὴ περιεχόμενον.
36. Hippocr., *epid.* II 1, 6 = V 74 L. ... ἐν τῆσι περιόδοισι παροξυσμοῖσιν, εἰ πρωϊότερον ἢ οὐ, καὶ εἰ ἐπὶ πλείονα χρόνον ἢ οὐ, καὶ εἰ μᾶλλον, ἢ οὐ.
37. Gal., in *Hippocr. aph.* I 12 = XVIIb 384-385; cfr. anche Id., *def. med.* 135 = XIX 387 K. = 144 Kollersch p 60.
38. Cf. Soran., *quaest med.* 98= pp. 230-231 Fischer: *quae sunt tempora aegritudinum acutatum, quas Graeci ὄζν πάθος appellant? Καιρός aut χρόνος sunt quattuor, id est initium, augmentum, status et declinatio. Initium dicunt ἀρχή vel εἰσβολή, augmentum vero dicunt ἀνάβασις seu αὔξησις, statum ἀκμή, declinationem παρακμή vocant.*
39. Secondo Irmgard Wille (Die Schrift Galens Περὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς νόσοις καιρῶν und ihre Überlieferung, Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde der Hohen Philosophischen Fakultät der Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel, Kiel 1960) nella tradizione manoscritta greca e latina l'operetta è giunta ripartita in due operette, il *De temporibus paroxysmorum* (VII 406-439 K.) e il *De totius morbi temporibus* (VII 440-462 K.).
40. Cf. Hippocr., *epid.* I 2, 5, 12 = II 636 L.; Hippocr., *progn.* 1, 14 = II 112, 2-3 L.: πρὶν ἢ τὸν ἱητρὸν τῇ τέχνῃ πρὸς ἕκαστον νοσήμα ἀνταγωνίσασθαι. Cf. J. Jouanna, *Réflexions sur*

- l'imaginaire de la thérapeutique dans la Grèce classique*, in *Aspetti della terapia nel Corpus Hippocraticum*. Atti del IXe Colloque International Hippocratique (Pisa, 25–29 settembre 1996), a c. di Garofalo I, Lami A, Manetti D, Roselli A, Firenze: Olschki, 1999, pp. 25-30.
41. Gal., *de tot. morbi temp.* = 101,4 Wille: χωρίς τοῦ νικηθῆναι μὲν τὴν φύσιν; Id., *de cris.* III 9 = IX 744, 16 K.: τῆ σφοδρότητι τοῦ παροξυσμοῦ νικηθείσης τῆς φύσεως; Id., in *Hippocr. progn. comm.* III 6 = XVIIIb 244,4 K.: ἐπειδὴ μεμαθήκαμεν αἰεὶ γίνεσθαι τὴν κρίσιν ἦτοι τῆς φύσεως ἐπικρατούσης τοῦ νοσήματος ἢ νικηθείσης ὑπ' αὐτοῦ; cfr. Aet. V 56 = II Oliv.: τῆ βίᾳ καὶ σφοδρότητι τοῦ νοσήματος νικηθείσης τῆς φύσεως.
 42. Steph., in *Gal. ad Glauc.* 226 = pp. 270-272 Dickson: οὕτως καὶ ἡ φύσις οὐκ ἀνέχεται ποιήσασθαι τὸν τοῦ νοσήματος ἀγῶνα, τῆς ὕλης ἀπέπτου τυγχανούσης ἐτι ...; Pall., in *Hippocr. VI epid.* 6, 8 = II 165,20 Dietz: μεγάλη δὲ νόσος ἐστίν, οὐχ ὡς τινὲς φασὶ πᾶσα δυσκαταγώνιστος καὶ χρόνου δεομένη ...; Steph., in *Hippocr. aph.* II 44 = I 236, 16-17 Westerink: ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνος τῆ περιουσία τῆς δυνάμεως δυσκαταγώνιστος ὄφθη τοῖς πολέμοις, οὕτω καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον πάθος δυσκαταγώνιστος ὑπάρχει τοῖς θεραπεύουσιν.
 43. Mut. a.U.9.4 (f. 31r): ἐὰν τὰ μὲν τὰ νοσήματα, ὁμολογουμένως ἔχουσι τοὺς δ' καιροὺς, ἀρχὴν ἀνάβασιν ἀκμὴν καὶ παρακμὴν, ἐπὶ τούτων ζητεῖται τί ἀρχὴ καὶ τί ἀνάβασις καὶ πότε ἀκμὴ καὶ πότε παρακμὴ. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐὰν μὴ προγινώσκωμεν τὴν φύσιν τοῦ νοσήματος, καὶ τὴν ἐναλλαγὴν τοῦ καιροῦ, οὐκ ἂν εὐλόγως θεραπεύσομεν τὴν ἀληθῆ θεραπείαν. Καὶ εἶπωμεν ἀρχὴν νοσήματος ἐστίν, ὅτε οὕτω ἦν ἡ φύσις νικηθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῆς νοσοποιοῦ ὕλης. ἢ γὰρ τρίτη τῶν ἡμερῶν ποιεῖ τὴν αὔξησιν τῆς νοσοποιοῦ ὕλης. ἀνάβασις δὲ ὅταν αἰ ὀδύνη αὐξοῦν καὶ ὁ πυρετὸς πλείον, καὶ τὰ ἀλγῆματα νυγματώδη. ἀκμὴ δέ, ὅταν ταῦτα πάντα φυλάξωσι καιρὸν καὶ οὔτε πλείονα οὔτε ἐλάττονα. Παρακμὴ δέ, ὅταν αἰ ὀδύνη καὶ τὸ βηχίον καὶ ἡ δύσπνοια μετὰ πυρετοῦ τῷ σώματι περιφέρονται. ἀμύχανον γὰρ νουσαχθεὰ φῶτα σαῶσαι καὶ νόμῳ τέχνης ἀθυμίας ἀπακέσασθ' παντοδαπάς, μὴ φύσει πρῶτον ἀρρωστημάτων ἐπισκέψοιτο δαψιλῶς καὶ τὸ ἐνιστάμενον προσπαλαίσοιτο καὶ τὸν κάμνοντα ἀνορθώσοιτο ..
 44. Nel Palatino, il primo testo è ascritto a Galeno e nel margine una mano più tarda ha scritto *Morborum tempora iiiii*^o; manca la serie di *Aphorismi* del Mutinense.
 45. Cfr. Kühn CG, Claudii Galeni opera omnia, XIX, Lipsiae: in officina libraria Car. Knoblochii; 1830. pp. 512-518; Durling A Chronological Census, nr 138, pp. 251; 293; Cortesi-Fiaschi, Repertorio, XXVIII, pp. 538s. Il *Praesagium* porta erroneamente in chiusura *Galenus de praesagitura faeliciter explicit*, con una confusione con il *De praesagitura* (dedicato a Nicola Masino Cesenate, *artium medicinaeque doctor doctissimus*).
 46. *Georgio Valla Placentino interprete. Hoc in Volumine haec continentur. Nicephori logica. Georgii Valle libellus de argumentis. Euclidis quartus decimus elementorum. Hysiclis interpretatio eiusdem libri euclidis. Nicephorus de Astrolabio ... Rhazes de pestilentia. Galenus de inequali distemperantia. Galenus de bono corporis habit. Galenus de confirmatione corporis humani. Galenus de presagitura. Galenus de presagio.. Galenus de succidaneis. Alexander Aphrodiseus de causis febrium. Pselus de victu humano*, Impresum Venetiis per Simonem Papiensem dictum Bevilaquam. 1498. Die ultimo Septembris. Il volume miscellaneo di oltre 20 versioni da autori diversi è dedicato a Guidobaldo da Montefeltro, duca d'Urbino e conte di Castel Durante (*Illustri Guidoni Duci Urbini Durantisque Comiti*), le traduzioni hanno dediche a personaggi diversi.
 47. *Cum igitur iam non maiore sapientia Galenus medicus clarissimus in omni morborum genere bona malaque praesagire videatur; quam tu tua prudentia in hac administranda civitate praesagias ...* Cfr. Heiberg, *Beiträge*, p. 21.

48. Così è presente nel terzo testimone manoscritto, il Par. gr. 2269 (ff.114r-117r; 118r-121v), diversamente dal Mut. α.U.9.4 e dal Vat. Pal. gr. 143, dove sono copiati di seguito, senza un chiaro segno di *explicit* alla fine del primo.
49. Hippocr., *epist.* 17 = IX 376-378 L. οἱ τε γὰρ νοσέοντες ἅμα τῷ σώζεσθαι τὴν αἰτίαν θεοῖσι ἢ τύχῃ προσέμουσι (“coloro che sono malati, infatti, quando guariscono lo attribuiscono alla divinità o alla fortuna”).
50. Gal., *de comp. med. sec. loc.* I 2 = XII 410, 14 K.
51. Cfr. Kühn, Claudii Galeni opera omnia cit., XIX, pp. 512-518; Durling, A chronological Census, pp. 251; 293. Cortesi-Fiaschi, Repertorio, I, XXVIII, pp. 538s.
52. Garcia Novo E, Pseudo-Galeno, Praesagitio omnino vera expertaque: primera edición crítica. Cuadernos de Filología Clásica. Estudios griegos e indoeuropeos 2021:31;107-122 (online).
53. Il Mut. α.N.8.8 di Alberto Pio, contiene le *epp.* 1-5, 11-18, 20. Riporta l'*ex libris* di Giorgio Valla (f. 137r Γεωργίου τοῦ βάλλα ἔστι τοῦτο βιβλίον) il Mut. α. U.9.3, di Andronico Callisto, che si interrompe prima, a ὠκριακῶς πάνυ (XVII = IX 350 L.): sul manoscritto, cfr. Orlandi L, AAndronikos Kallistos: A Byzantine Scholar and His Manuscripts in Italian Humanism. Berlino; De Gruyter: 2023. pp. 343-344. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111203447>.
54. Cfr. Pall., *syn. de febr.* 11,1 = I 112 Ideler; Theoph.- Steph., *de febr. diff.* 21 = pp. 23,32-24,5 Sicurus.
55. Αετίου. ἔπονται δὲ καὶ τοῖς πυρετοῖς ἰδρῶτες ποτέ, τρόπῳ τοιοῦτῳ, ὅπῳταν οἱ ἄτμοι κρατηθῶσιν ἐντὸς τοῦ σώματος.. στοχάσασθαι τοῖς ἄτμοις ἐν λούτροις. ὑδρῶτες .. κινεῖ δὲ κάγχρυν καὶ σπέρμα νάρθηκος λείον σὺν ἐλαίῳ ...ἢ λύκου ρίζαν κατὰπλαττε λείον καὶ θαυμάσης.
56. Cfr. Jouanna J, Hippocrate. Le Serment, Paris: Les Belles Lettres; 2018. pp. 124-126.
57. Valla aveva copiato a Milano per Costantino Lascaris gli ippocratici *Aphorismi* e *Prognosticum* nell'attuale Matr. gr. 4634.
58. Ps.-Gal., *de ven. sect.* = XIX 519-528 K.
59. Nell'edizione Kühn del *περὶ φλεβοτομίας* i testi 2-3 hanno come titolo Παύλου. Περὶ τῆς ἐν τῇ φλεβοτομίᾳ ἐπισκέψεως (XIX 525-527) e ἐξ Ἴπποκράτους (XIX 527-528 K.).
60. In particolare, dal *De venae sectione adversus Erasistratum* (cfr. Gal., *de ven. sect. adv. Eras.* 21; 13; 14 = XI 311-312; 289-290; 294-295 K.), già ripresi da Oribasio (Orib., *coll. med.* VII 3; 4; 6,4-7 = I 200-201; 207 R.; cfr. Orib., *syn.* I 9,1-3;11 = pp. 10-12 R.) e da Aezio (Aet. Amid., III 15 τίς καιρὸς φλεβοτομίας Γαληνοῦ; 16 περὶ ἐφαιρέσεως Γαληνοῦ = I 274-275 Ol.).
61. Per i quali il Mutinense riporta lezioni peculiari di M (= Marc. Gr. 269) V (= Vat. gr. 276): 3, 1, 3 ῥώμη A (= Par. gr. 2253): ῥώμη παρῆ αὐτέοισιν MV necnon Mut.; 6,2 πλείστοισι A: add. αὐτέων necnon Mut.; 8,1,3 ῥευμάτων A: πνευμάτων καὶ ῥ. MV necnon Mut.).
62. Gal., *de comp. med. sec. loc.* I 2 = XII 410, 14 K.: πλέον δέ φησιν (*scil.* ὁ Ἀσκληπιάδης) εἰς τὴν θεραπείαν δύνασθαι τὴν ὄλην διαίταν ἢ τὰ φάρμακα.
63. Cfr. Ieraci Bio AM, Giorgio Valla e la medicina bizantina. In: Lauritzen F (ed.), Filosofia e medicina bizantina da Oriente a Occidente. La custodia di Venezia (Venezia, 28 febbraio 2019). In corso di stampa. Valla segue il testo di Aezio di Amida dal l. XXIV 22 (*De natura simplicium*) sino al l. XXIX 100 (*De pleuretide. Galeni eligma*) dell'enciclopedia, in corrispondenza della fine del l. VIII (Γαληνοῦ ἔλιγμα πρὸς ἄλγημα χρόνιον ἐν θώρακι χωρὶς πυρετοῦ). Dei *Libri medicinales* di Aezio Valla possedeva due manoscritti contenenti i libri I-IV (+ inizio *pinax* del l. V, il Vat. gr. 2202, appartenuto poi al cardinale

- Giovanni Salviani, † 1553) e V-VIII (con la continuazione del *pinax* del l. V, il Par. gr. 2195). Cfr. A. Cataldi Palau, Su alcuni Umanisti possessori di manoscritti greci. I. Alcuni manoscritti appartenuti a Giorgio Valle. *Studi Umanistici Piceni* 1994:14;144-146.
64. Gal., *de ven. sect. adv. Eras.* 21 = XI 311 K.
65. H. von Staden, Author and Authority: Celsus and the Construction of a Scientific Self. In: Vázquez Buján ME (ed.), Tradición e innovación de la medicina latina de la antigüedad y de la Alta Edad Media. Actas del IV coloquio internacional sobre los ‘Textos medicos latinos antiguos’. Santiago de Compostela: 1994. p. 110.
66. Gal., *in Hipp. aph.* I 23 = XVIIIb 446 K.
67. Gal., *de ven. sect. adv. Eras.* 12 = XI 287 K.
68. Fonte del passo è Oribasio (*syn.* I 14,2 = p. 13 R.; *coll. med.* VII 20 = I 219, 14ss. R.).
69. Cfr. Kühn CG, Claudii Galeni opera omnia. XIX. Lipsiae: 1830. pp. 619-626; Durling K, A Chronological Census. 120; 141 pp. 255; 280; Cortesi-Fiaschi, Repertorio, I, XXIX, pp. 561-563.
70. Al f. 7v Valla corregge a margine la lezione (ἀνα)τέτταρα: γρ. τεταραγμένα.
71. Il manoscritto è passato poi alla biblioteca di Alberto Pio da Carpi. Sul f. I la nota di possesso, cassata, Γεωργίου τοῦ Βάλλα ἐστὶ τὸ βιβλίον. Tutta la trattazione sulle urine è indicata nell’indice vergato da Marco Musuro come *Hippocratis de urinis*, dal titolo iniziale Περὶ οὔρων Ἱπποκράτους. Sul manoscritto Valla opera personalmente anche alcune correzioni con inchiostro rosso: f. 2 μαίνει (-ε-sl); f. 3v διακωῶν (-αυσ-sl); f. 3v συντάξεως (-η-sl); f. 3v ἀποστάσεις (ὕ- sl).
72. Altri testimoni dello stesso sono il Vat. Pal. Gr. 143 (ff. 158r-162r Ἱπποκράτους Περὶ οὔρων) e il Par. gr. 2269 (ff. 94r-113v Περὶ οὔρων ἐκ τῶν Ἱπποκράτους καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν), quest’ultimo utilizzato da René Chartier per la sua edizione (*De urinis ex Hippocrate, Galeno et aliis quibusdam*), ripresa da Kühn: cfr. Fortuna S, René Chartier e le edizioni latine di Galeno, in René Chartier (1572-1654) éditeur et traducteur d’Hippocrate et Galien. Actes du colloque international de Paris (7-8 octobre 2010), Boudon-Millot V, Cobolet G, Jouanna J (éd.), De Boccard Edition-Diffusion. Paris: 2012. pp. 303-324. Si veda la scheda sull’operetta nel catalogo online (www.galenolatino.com) delle traduzioni latine curato da Stefania Fortuna: “nelle *Concisae notae*, n° 11, p. 921, Chartier segnala la traduzione del *De urinae significatione ex Hippocrate* di Giorgio Valla (che utilizza per i primi quattro capitoli, mentre per il resto la traduzione è sua; cfr. Fortuna 2012, 3, 321) e presenta il nuovo testo, più ampio, affermando di averlo trovato tra i manoscritti della biblioteca reale, l’attuale Bibliothèque Nationale de France. Il ms. da lui utilizzato è il Par. gr. 2269, ff. 94-101. Più avanti, in VIII 918-919, Chartier ristampa un’altra traduzione di Giorgio Valla con il titolo *Galeno ascripta Quaesita in Hippocratem de urinis* (corrispondente ai capp. 5-8 di questo stesso testo), e nelle *Concisae notae*, n° 27, p. 927, cita quanto si legge nella *Censura* delle edizioni *Giuntine*, per es. in quella del 1565, secondo cui il testo sarebbe una compilazione dei commenti di Galeno al *Prognostico* e agli *Aforismi*”. L’edizione di Kühn (XIX 609-628) ristampa il greco e il latino di Chartier (VIII 352-358), con la stessa divisione in 9 capitoli.
73. Cfr. Ieraci Bio AM, Per lo studio dell’Umanesimo medico. L’Ippocrate di Giorgio Valla. In: Manetti D, Perilli L, Roselli A (ed.), Ippocrate e gli altri. XVI Colloquio internazionale ippocratico (Roma, 25-27 ottobre 2018). Roma: École française de Rome; 2022. p. 448.
74. In taluni manoscritti (come il Bon. Gr. 3636) la *Synopsis* compare con l’attribuzione a Magno di Emesa (IV-V sec. p. C.), al quale è stata ricondotta da Marcel Richard (Richard

- M, Από φωνῆς. Byzantion 1950;20:207-212). L'attribuzione a Magno del trattato pseudo-galenico *De urinis* pubblicato da Kühn (XIX 574-601), per i capp. 1-28, 30-36 (e da Chartier, VIII 337-348), si deve a Bussemaker UC, Über Magnuss von Emesa und dessen Buch vom Harne. *Janus* 1847;2:273-297; come altra redazione del testo edito da Ideler pp. 307-316. Cfr. Petit C, Four Works on Prognostic Attributed to Galen (Kühn vol. 19): New Hypotheses on Their Authorship, Transmission, and Intellectual Milieu, in Pseudo-Galenica. Petit C, Swain S, Fischer Kl D (eds), The Formation of the Galenic Corpus from Antiquity to the Renaissance. London: The Warburg Institute; 2021. pp. 73-78.
75. Neap., ff. 2r-3r: **ἐπὶ τῶν πυρεκτικῶν νοσημάτων ~ προβαίνειν τὴν νόσον (ἀρρωστήην** Neap.) = II 310,14 -312,12 Ideler.
 76. Aet. Amid., V 28-31 = II 19-21 Oliv.: **ἐπὶ τῶν πυρεκτικῶν μάλιστα νοσημάτων ~ ὡς ὑπολαμβάνειν ἐπὶ τὸ χειρὸν προκόπτειν τὴν νόσον.**
 77. Philagr., FF 197-198 = pp. 388-389 Masullo Φιλαργίου. ὅτι τὰ χολώδεα καθάρσεως δέονται; cfr. Ieraci Bio AM, L'Ippocrate di Giorgio Valla. p. 448.
 78. Gal., in *Hipp. de vict. acut.* IV 43 = p. 312 Helmreich.
 79. Cfr. Fortuna S, René Chartier... Rif. 72. pp. 312; 321.
 80. Aet. Amid., V 31-44 = II 21-25 Oliv. Con quest'ultima redazione condivide la mancanza dell'ultimo capitoletto τί δηλοῦσι τὰ ἰχωρώδη καὶ σανδαραχίζοντα τῶν οὔρων rispetto all'edizione di Ideler.
 81. Cfr. la redazione ridotta e rimaneggiata, tradita dal Lond. Wellc. MS.MSL.60 (ff. 170r-171r e 191r) come Περὶ οὔρων Γαληνοῦ διαίρεσις, edita da Bouras-Vallianatos P, Pseudo-Galenic Texts on Urines and Pulse in Late Byzantium. In: Pseudo-Galenica cit., pp. 115-118; cfr. Petit C, Four Works on Prognostic... Rif. 74. pp. 73-78.
 82. Il titolo ἕτερον Γαληνοῦ compare anche in altri testimoni del testo, come il Par. gr. 2269 (f. 97v ἕτερον Γαληνοῦmarg); nel Vat. Pal. gr. 143 (ff. 173-175v), porta il titolo Γαληνοῦ περὶ οὔρων; nel Par. Gr. 2315 (f. 6r) compare come cap. δ' τί δηλοῖ τὸ λεπτὸν καὶ ὠχρὸν οὔρον d'un trattatello ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν οὔρων σημειώσεως (f. 4r).
 83. Cfr. Fortuna S, Galeno latino, 1490-1533. *Medicina nei secoli* 2005;17(2):478-480.
 84. Si tratta della edizione latina (*quarta impressio*) delle opere di Galeno stampata a Pavia da Giacomo Pocatela da Borgofranco nel 1515-1516 e curata da Pietro Antonio Rustico di Piacenza (conciatadino di Valla).
 85. Nelle *concisae notae* finali (n° 11, p. 921) Chartier precisa che il testo sarebbe una compilazione dei commenti di Galeno al *Prognostico* e agli *Aforismi*.
 86. Da segnalare che il testo costituiva i capitoli 5-8 del testo greco pubblicato prima da Chartier (VIII 352-358), con una incongruenza iniziale: ἕτερον iniziale, titolo del nostro trattatello, viene considerato come parte del testo, con una conseguente incomprensione della prima *erotapocrisis* (ἕτερόν τι δηλονότι τὸ λεπτὸν καὶ ὠχρὸν οὔρον .. alia quaedam omnino tenuis et pallida urina cruda ...), ripresa da Kühn (XIX 619).
 87. Valla chiude la sezione espressamente dedicata alla medicina nell'enciclopedia il l. XXX con le *Quaestiones physicae*, a testimonianza d'una considerazione delle *quaestiones* come testo compiuto. Nel breve preambolo, Valla giustifica la composizione di questo libro col proposito di integrare la discussione sulla medicina attraverso la soluzione di talune *ambiguitates naturales* che non potevano essere spiegate nei libri precedenti: *de exp. XXX. Reliquum nunc est, ut naturales quasdam ne omittamus ambiguitates, quas cognitu esse putamus necessarias, tum quod bene institutae menti convenient, tum quod vel earum non ignari vitae opem ferre suae possint. Sunt enim eiusmodi, ut neminem scisse possit poenitere, quas ut rerum Conditor maximus Optimus clarissimorum virorum*

mentibus infundit, ita nos ab eis mutuati, lingua nostra putavimus effundendas divino menti nostrae aspirante nutu, cuius lenitate haec omnia quantacumque sunt, scriptis credere potuimus.

88. *de exp.* XXXVI 1 (*dialectica* II): *neque enim ulla quaestio est, quae non aut ad cognoscendum, aut ad agendum vim habeat, ac rationem.*
89. Paul. Aeg., II 11: *περὶ σφυγμῶν, ἐκ τῶν Γαληνοῦ* = I 81-93 Heib.
90. Gal., *de puls. ad Anton.* = XIX 629-642 K.; Id., *de puls. ad tir.* 1 = VIII 453s. K.; *de puls. diff.* IV 2 = VIII 699 K.; *de caus. puls.* I 5-7 = VIII 508ss. K.; *de dign. puls.* II 1 = VIII 827 K.; *syn de puls.* 23 = IX 453 K.
91. La prima (A) delle interpolazioni sui polsi presenti nel l. V di Aezio nel manoscritto Vat. Pal. gr. 199 (e nel Par. gr. 1883, non noto ad Olivieri), dal quale lo ha pubblicato Olivieri A, Brani greci sul polso arterioso. *Memorie della Reale Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti della Società Reale di Napoli* 1938; 6:18,22-34.
92. Cfr. Gal., *de puls. dign.* II 1 = VIII 827 K.; Id., *syn. de puls.* 8 = IX 453 K.
93. Gal., *de cris.* I 5; I 11 = IX 564s.; 587s. K.
94. Valla possedeva due manoscritti di Aezio contenenti i libri I-IV (+ inizio *pinax* del l. V: il Vat. gr. 2202, appartenuto poi al cardinale Giovanni Salviati, † 1553) e V-VIII (con la continuazione del *pinax* del l. V: il Par. gr. 2195); cfr. Cataldi Palau A, *Su alcuni Umanisti possessori di manoscritti greci. I. Alcuni manoscritti appartenuti a Giorgio Valla.* *Studi Umanistici Picensi* 1994;14:144-146.
95. Cfr. Ieraci Bio, *Medicina bizantina...cit.*
96. *de exp.* XXIV 19: *Galenus Aetiique sententia;* XXV 37.
97. *de exp.* XXIV 23: *Sparto, inquit Galenus pariterque Aetius, alligantur apud nos vites ...* = Aet. Amid., I 373 = I Oliv. Σπάρτου, ᾧ παρ' ἡμῖν τὰς ἀμπέλους δεσμεύουσιν .. (cfr. Gal., *de simpl. med.* VIII 35 = XII 129 K. Σπάρτη, ᾧ τὰς ἀμπέλους παρ' ἡμῖν δεσμοῦσιν ...).
98. *de exp.* XXVI 70: *Victus in synochis. Sanguine detracto post horas binas Galenus et eius astipulator Aetius aiunt se semper praeberere ptissanae succum pauculum...*; Aet. Amid., V 73 = II 47 Oliv.: ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν φλεβοτομουμένων ἐγὼ ὡς μετὰ δύο ὥρας τῆς φλεβοτομίας ἀεὶ δίδωμι πισσάνης χυλὸν ἄγριον (ὀλίγον Par. gr. 2195, f. 39v) .. (cfr. Gal., *de meth. med.* IX 4 = X 612s. K.).
99. *Liber canonis primus, quem princeps aboali abinsceni de medicina edidit, translatus a magistro gerardo cremonensi in toleto ab arabico in latinum,* impressum Mediolani per magistrum Philippum de Lavagnia anno Christi optimi M.cccc.lxxiii die xii februarii.
100. *Abubecri Rasis filii Zacharie Liber ad Almansorem, sive Tractatus medicinae I-IX, ...* impressum Mediolani per prudentes opifices Leonardum Pachel et Uldericum Scinzceller Teuthonicos anno a nativitate domini Millesimo quadringentesimo octuagesimo primo. xvi.kalendas martias.
101. *de exp.* XLVIII 2 *At nostra tempestate insignis philosophus medicusque celebris Alexander Benedictus Veronensis, qui ut est acuti ingenii, iudicii prudentis et doctrina bene armatus, ita non minus diserteque grauter anatomice corporis humani totam cognoscendam tradidit, ad quam lectorem mittendum existimamus.* L'opera di Benedetti circolava già dal 1492 fra gli amici ed era molto attesa dagli intellettuali veneziani, prima della pubblicazione a Venezia, nel dicembre 1502, per i tipi di Bernardino Guerralda da Vercelli. Si veda l'edizione curata da Ferrari G, Alessandro Benedetti, *Historia corporis humani sive Anatomice.* Firenze: Giunti Editore; 1998.



SAPIENZA
UNIVERSITÀ DI ROMA



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E-ISSN 2531-7288
ISSN 0394/9001



MEDICINA NEI SECOLI

Journal of History of Medicine
and Medical Humanities

36/3 (2024) 39-62

Revised:

Accepted:

DOI:

Corresponding author:

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The Theophilus of Giorgio Valla (*De expetendis et fugiendis rebus*, Book XLVIII, Chapters 4-7)

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ABSTRACT

Giorgio Valla (1447-1500) was notoriously one of the most significant figures of late Humanism in recovering and spreading the ancient Greek and Byzantine scientific and medical tradition to Western culture. In this regard he was the author of an encyclopaedic work entitled *De expetendis et fugiendis rebus*, made up of several chapters devoted to the discussion of different arts and disciplines, among which there emerges a section called *De medicina*.

The focus of this paper is the medical section of Book XLVIII (corresponding to Book 3 of the treatise *De corporis commodis et incommodis*), introduced by the opusculum *De urinae significatione ex Hippocrate, Paulo Aegineta ac Theophilo*, and particularly the study of chapters 4-7 dealing with uroscopic matters according to the work of the Byzantine physician Theophilus Protospatharius titled *De urinis*. The paper aims not only to illustrate the modes and characteristic of Valla's translation, but also to examine whether and to what extent Theophilus' work was the unique source of this section of Valla's encyclopaedia. In this regard, a detailed comparison between the Valla's Latin translation and the codex *Mutinensis* α.U.9.4 (gr. 61), owned by the Italian humanist, shows that the text of *Mut.*, as demonstrated in other studies on the sources of *De expt.*, was the model of Valla's translation of the 4 above-mentioned uroscopic chapters. The study also shows how the *materia medica* that Valla draws on through the ms. *Mut.* is varied and complex, and does not only consist of Theophilus' (moreover incomplete) text of *De urinis*, but also draws on Byzantine uroscopic *excerpta* from different sources: first the so-called *De urinis carmen* attributed to Nicephorus Blemmydes (in a version that shows points of contact with the textual tradition of the ps.-Galenic *De signis ex urinis*), and finally, what has all the appearance of being a fragment of the

ps.-Galenic treatise *De urinis* (Vol. 19 ed. K.) present in a very patched-up version. The article concludes with a specimen of a short Greek-Latin lexicon by Valla, taking into account the aforementioned chapters.

Key words: Giorgio Valla translator from Greek to Latin - *De expetendis et fugiendis rebus* - Theophilus, *De urinis* - codex *Mutinensis* a.U.9.4 (gr. 61 Puntoni) - Nicephorus Blemmydes (*De urinis carmen*) - Byzantine medicine - uroscopic excerpts

1. Premise

We can get an idea of the importance of the work of Giorgio Valla (Piacenza 1447 - Venice 1500) for the transmission of medical-scientific knowledge from antiquity to the Renaissance from the following opinion by Vittore Branca, who in turn cites the opinion of Eugenio Garin¹:

La sua cultura vasta e insaziabile di testi scientifici, la sua operosità di traduttore anche di scritti rari, trova il suo approdo nella vasta enciclopedia De expetendis et fugiendis rebus, pubblicata postuma, nel 1501, proprio dal Manuzio: il più grosso volume aldino. È un'opera eccezionale ma troppo ignorata: eppure, come ha ben scritto il Garin, "la sua conoscenza dovrebbe considerarsi preliminare e indispensabile per chiunque voglia avviare un qualunque discorso e una qualsiasi ricerca sulla storia della scienza nel Rinascimento".

The biography of the humanist from Piacenza is marked, in his early years, by his meeting as student of Greek with Konstantinos Laskaris in Milan (from 1462 to 1465)², which enabled him not only to learn Greek through classical literature, but to get closer to the living language of his time. Known for his long activity as a teacher of Greek and Latin literature, in Pavia, Genoa, Milan and above all Venice, where he succeeded Giorgio Merula (Alessandria 1430 or 1431-Milan 1494) in the chair of Greek and Latin at the Scuola di San Marco, Valla was also an eclectic collector of ancient manuscripts, especially Greek ones.

All the more meritorious, therefore, was Berenice Cavarra and Marco Cilione's initiative to dedicate a specific MnS issue to "Giorgio Valla and his library"³. It allowed the various scholars to gain an up-to-date picture of the ongoing research on the Valla's library, and on Valla's role in the early Renaissance period, as a possessor of manuscripts and as a translator from Greek into Latin, in disseminating of the vast cultural, literary and scientific heritage of antiquity and the Byzantine Middle Ages.

The present study originated in the context of the above-mentioned issue, with the aim of studying the method and sources of Valla's Latin translation contained in a section of his encyclopaedic work *De expetendis et fugiendis rebus* (hereafter *De expt.*)⁴ that takes up the work of the Byzantine physician Theophilus Protospatharius (variously dated between the seventh and tenth centuries AD)⁵.

Over the past year and a half of research, I cannot say that I have become a specialist in Giorgio Valla's art of translation, but my assiduous practice has at least made me

increasingly familiar with his style as a translator and interpreter of medical-scientific texts. As I proceeded in this research, I became more and more aware of the importance of some earlier studies that still represent an inescapable starting point in the history of Valla studies, and show how relatively recent the interest in this field of study is. First of all, I refer to two recent contributions by Anna Maria Ieraci Bio: the first study (2020) highlights Valla's access, through his private library, to a rich series of Byzantine medical sources, including authors or compilers of the Byzantine middle age such as Theophanes Nonnus Chrysobalantes (10th Century) and Symeon Seth (11th Century)⁶. What is particularly relevant is that the works of these and other authors (e.g. Archimedes)⁷, until then practically ignored in the original language, were transmitted to the Western tradition through the consultation of Greek manuscripts owned by Valla, and in this way began to circulate among the scholars of the time and were the basis of the first printed editions. From this point of view, Ieraci Bio identifies in the ms. *Mutinensis* a.U.9.4 (gr. 61 Puntoni) the model of Valla's Latin translation, contained in *De expt.*, of the introductory chapters of Theophanes Crysobalantes' *De alimentis*, as well as of Seth's long treatise *Syntagma de alimentorum facultatibus*, which in the Modena ms. owned by Valla are handed down exactly one after the other. In this context, the Italian scholar provides a rich exemplification of passages and terms that illustrate Valla's method of translation from Greek, through a precise comparison between the translation of *De expt.* (Book XLII in *De oeconomia*) and the Greek text of the above-mentioned *Mutinensis* a.U.9.4⁸.

The second paper by A.M. Ieraci Bio (2021) lays the foundations for the study of Giorgio Valla's role in the panorama of late Humanism, especially in relation to the transmission and dissemination of Hippocratism, emphasising the Piacenza humanist's direct access to Greek manuscripts and his innovative contribution in terms of models, style and purpose of translation into Latin, as well as his encyclopaedic conception of the sciences⁹: a new conception of the sciences, which has emerged more and more clearly from the study of the encyclopaedic work *De expt.*

The examination of the work *De expt.* is in fact one of the most popular fields of research in recent studies on Valla¹⁰, and this basically in two directions: research into the (Greek) sources of the various sections of the Latin translation, and analysis of the humanist's working method. And in this twofold direction there moves the investigation of Berenice Cavarra and Marco Cilione, the authors of an important study (still unpublished) on the Latin translation in *De expt.* of some dietary writings of the aforementioned Theophanes Crysobalantes¹¹. The paper by B. Cavarra and M. Cilione proved to be very useful above all as a model for analysing Valla's work on the level of what is called the "translation strategy" of technical terms from Greek¹² and in general as a model for analysing Valla's work on the level of transcoding and transmitting texts from the Byzantine medical tradition to his cultivated readers.

It is to be expected that considerable new impetus for studies on the *De expt.* and the Greek sources of Valla's translation, with particular regard to the *codices Mutinenses*, may result from the publication of the researches collected in this volume¹³.

2. The role of medicine in the encyclopaedic work *De expetendis et fugiendis rebus*

The starting point for this research is the study of the Theophilus section (Book XLVIII, chapters 4-7) of the great humanist's posthumous work, *De expetendis et fugiendis rebus*, an encyclopaedic collection of all the sciences of the time, published in Venice in 1501 in two tomes by Aldo Manuzio, and edited by Valla's adopted son, Giovanni Pietro Cademosto¹⁴. The work brings together Valla's lifelong research, representing, as indeed emphasised by eminent scholars of Italian Humanism¹⁵, the summa of a true cultural, educational and scientific project.

Medicine, in particular, plays a central role in Valla's encyclopaedia¹⁶, if one considers that its treatment occupies the heart of the work, the central "hebdomad" of the seven of which *De expt.* is composed, that is, the seven books from XXIV to XXX¹⁷. In Valla's high epistemological consideration of medicine, the *ars medica* has an ontological centrality: although it is, in fact, among the arts whose object, i.e. man's health, is *extra hominem*, it concerns the human being more closely than any other, and is therefore at the same time part of the arts *in hominibus*¹⁸. This might explain why, with a somewhat unexpected placement, the treatment of medical matters returns at the end of Valla's encyclopaedia, and precisely in books XLVI to XLVIII (under the heading *De corporis commodis et incommodis*), before the work concludes (Book XLIX) with a discussion of phenomena that are brought together in the category of *externa*, comprising everything that does not depend on human "choice" (*optio*) and "ability" (*industria*).

In particular, book XLVIII opens with some chapters (the first 7 to be precise) that deal again (after the exposition of book XXVII) with uroscopic matters, and in which Valla, as has already been pointed out by Anna Maria Ieraci Bio, draws on different sources, Hippocrates (chapter 1: *De urinae significatione ex Hippocrate*), Galen (chapter 2: *Galenique quaestiones in Hippocratem*), Magnus, Paul of Aegina (chapter 3: *Aliud praescriptum ex Paulo aegineta*), as well as, for our case, Theophilus Protospatharius (chapter 4: *Theophili de urinis sententia*)¹⁹. The presentation of the uroscopic matter then extends for three more chapters, up to chapter 7: *Quae optima urina* (chapter 5); *De graviolentia urina* (chapter 6); *Quid tenuis urina* (chapter 7). In the first part of chapter 4, Valla only summarises the main contents of the proem (προοίμιον) of Theophilus' *De urinis* (Περὶ οὔρων)²⁰. In the introduction to his treatise, Theophilus acknowledges the debt owed to the great physicians of the past, firstly Hippocrates (*Prognosticum*, chapter 12 above all), then the "myriphic Galen" (the treatise Περὶ κρῖσεων is mentioned), and thirdly Magnus²¹. In what follows, the Byzantine physician set out to complete and perfect the uroscopic research of his predecessors, with

the intention of filling in, with the necessary help of God (*divino suffragante auxilio*), the gaps they had inevitably left. The exposition of the uroscopic doctrine will therefore be divided into four main parts or themes, namely the defining part of “the nature of urine”, *quid sit urina* (corresponding to Theoph., *urin.* chapter 1 ed. Ideler), “its place of origin”, *urinae locum in quo gignitur* (= chapter 2 Ideler), “that in which it is secreted” (*in quem excernatur et digeratur = ibid.*); the rest of the discussion will concern “the distinction of urine by genus and aspect” (*in genera ac species*)²². It is from this point onwards that Valla’s translation more closely follows the text of Theophilus’ *De urinis*, made, as I will show in detail below, on the model of a Greek ms. in his possession, the aforementioned *Mut.* α.U.9.4 (*gr.* 61).

3. The Greek model of Giorgio Valla’s translation (Theophilus, *De urinis*, and other medical excerpts)

Previous studies have already highlighted the frequency with which Valla resorted to the use of Greek mss. in his own possession as sources for his Latin translation in *De expt*²³. This applies to the translation of works from the middle Byzantine age (*De alimentis* by Theophanes Nonnus Crysobalantes; *Syntagma de alimentorum facultatibus* by Symeon Seth) contained in Book XLII of *De expt.* (section *De oeconomia*) for which Valla draws extensively on his *Mut.* *gr.* 61, as emerged from the aforementioned research conducted by A. M. Ieraci Bio²⁴, as well as to the translation of conspicuous parts of the two opening chapters of the third volume of the treatise *De corporis commodis et incommodis* (*De expt.*, XLVIII 1-2) entitled, as already seen, respectively *De urinae significatione ex Hippocrate* and *Galenii quaestiones in Hippocratem*, for which Valla would have used the ms. *Neapolitanus* III C 2²⁵.

The precise collation of the Greek text, which I performed on the digital copy of the codex *Mut.* α.U.9.4 (*gr.* 61 Puntoni)²⁶, with Valla’s Latin translation of *De expt.*, XLVIII 4-7, confirmed without any doubt the initial hypothesis of my research, i.e. that Valla also used the Greek manuscript in his possession as a model for the translation of this section of his work. Moreover, it cannot be excluded that Valla drew on other sources for the translation of the uroscopic chapters of *De expt.* (Book XLVIII). The possibility does not depend only on the profound knowledge of the *materia medica* on the part of the humanist of Piacenza (which allowed him to amend the text of *Mut. ex ingenio*), but above all on the observation that the Modena ms. presents several marginalia of Valla’s own hand (in Greek and Latin)²⁷, including *variae lectiones* eventually deriving from other manuscripts of the numerous in Valla’s possession.

As for its content, *Mut.*, written in the second half of the 15th Century by the hand of the copyist Emanuel Zacharides (15th-16th Century)²⁸, constitutes a miscellaneous collection of medical texts, including, in addition to Theophilus’ *De urinis* at the beginning and the already mentioned writings by Theophanes Crysobalantes and Symeon Seth

at the end of the manuscript, works by Hippocrates (an *excerptum* of *Iusiurandum*), Ps.-Galen, Aetius of Amida (an *excerptum*), and other various medical texts²⁹.

Theophilus' text of *De urinis* on which Valla translates *De expt.*, is contained in ff. 2-10^v of the ms. *Mut.* From the very beginning, the peculiar character of Valla's work is manifested, which, in the case in question, does not consist in a complete translation, so to speak, of the source text. The preface to Theophilus' *De urinis* (vol. I, pp. 261-262, 19 Ideler), for example, is not translated entirely, and Valla limits himself to a concise and selective translation, which aims to translate the substance of the medical message to the detriment of introductory matter, summarizing and connecting parts of the original text³⁰. In this way, the real beginning, mostly continuously, of the Valla's translation of *De urinis*, is placed on f. 3 of *Mutinensis* (*De expt.*, XLVIII 4 = pp. 262, 20ff. Ideler). The dependence of Valla's translation of *De urinis* on the Greek text of *Mut.* is ensured by the textual correspondence, in a practically perfect manner, as concerns the presence of common **a**) omissions, **b**) errors, **c**) additions, as well as **d**) *lectiones singulares*, in the *De expt.* on one hand, and in the source text on the other.

a) Correspondences in omission due to material error in the text transmission

On the macroscopic level, we can observe first of all the total correspondence of the wide lacuna present in the text of Theophilus' *De urinis* (from chapter 10,5, p. 273,8: Ἔστι μὲν οὖν ἡ ῥῆσις τοῦ σοφωτάτου Ἱπποκράτους ... ἧδε, to chapter 21, p. 281,8 Ideler: Εἰ δὲ καταλάβοι πυρετὸς κατὰ τὰς τοῦ σώματος τρεῖς διαστάσεις...), as handed down by *Mut.* (ff. 9^v-10), and the Latin translation of *De expt.* (XLVIII, at the end of chapter 5), in which the entire long passage is entirely omitted by Valla.

Among other concordances due to a material lacuna in the text of *Mut.*, the following are the most relevant passages:

- (*De expt.*, XLVIII 4) *Mut.* and Valla agree in the omission (of the translation) of the text ὅπερ ἐπίκειται τῇ ῥάχει ἄνωθεν ἕως κάτω (p. 263,18 Ideler), after which *Mut.* resumes with the sentence καὶ οἱ νεφροὶ προσδεξάμενοι εἰδοποιοῦσιν αὐτὸ εἰς οὖρου κατασκευήν, regularly translated by Valla (*excipientes ipsum renes in urinam comparant*);

- (*De expt.*, XLVIII 5) Valla does not translate the expression καὶ γίνεται παχεῖα καὶ ἔστιν (p. 264,30 Ideler), and this is because it is missing in the text of *Mut.*;

- (*De expt.*, XLVIII 5) The entire sentence Ἡ μὲν οὖν λεπτή καὶ λευκὴ σύστασις τοῦ οὖρου πολλὰ σημαίνει (p. 265,10f. Ideler) is erroneously omitted in *Mut.*, and consequently Valla's translation is missing;

- (*De expt.*, XLVIII 5) omission of a long passage from p. 265,31 (οὖρα λεπτὰ καὶ λευκὰ) until p. 266,5 Ideler (οὖρον ὁμοίως ἐλθὸν ἐν καυσώδει πυρετῶ...) in the *Mut.* text, which finds precise correspondence in the absence of the translation in *De expt.*

b) Agreements in error

Particularly indicative are the rather numerous cases in which an error in the textual transmission of *De urinis* according to *Mut.* finds a precise correspondence in Valla's translation. Only a representative selection is given below:

- (*De expt.*, XLVIII 4) the reading τριχοειδεῖς of *Mut.* (τροχο- p. 263,11 Ideler) corresponds to the form *staminosos* of Valla's translation;

- (*De expt.*, XLVIII 5) there is total correspondence between the period διαβίτην σημαίνει, ἣν οἱ σοφοὶ τῶν ἰατρῶν διάρροϊαν οὔρου ἐκάλεσαν (with erroneous attribution of the relative pronoun in the feminine gender to the morphologically abnormal term διαβίτης) and Valla's translation *diabiten significat, quam praestantes medici diarrhaeam urinae vocitarunt* (to be compared with the text edited by Ideler, p. 265,20f.: διαβίτην σημαίνει, ὃν οἱ σοφοὶ τῶν ἰατρῶν εἰς ἀμίδα διάρροϊαν ἐκάλεσαν; cf. the corresponding Italian trans.: “[*Urina tenue, bianca, emessa in grande quantità e di continuo,*] *sta ad indicare diabete, che i medici saggi chiamavano flusso da pitale [...]*”³¹). It should be noted that the agreement in error between *Mut.* and the translation of *De expt.* in this passage is threefold: διαβίτην, in conjunction with the feminine pronoun, as well as τοῦ οὔρου, which is a trivialization of the expression εἰς ἀμίδα, i.e. “in the chamber-pot”.

- (*De expt.*, XLVIII 5) the reading χρονημένου of *Mut.* (χρωννυμένου p. 266,8 Ideler) finds a precise correspondence in Valla's translation *diuturna (sublacione)*, whereas *Mut.* and Valla both omit the previous τοῦ οὔρου (μὴ χρωννυμένου: p. 266,8 Ideler);

- (*De expt.*, XLVIII 5) both *Mut.* and Valla agree in error with *ex fontibus* = ἐκ πηγῶν (cf. p. 267,27 Ideler ἐκ τῶν πηγῶν);

- (*De expt.*, XLVIII 5) there is agreement in error (probably due to a wrong reading of letters in minuscule script) between *Mut.* κληθῆς and Valla's translation (*exploratum*) instead of ἀληθῆς (p. 271,4 Ideler);

- (*De expt.*, XLVIII 6) at the beginning of the section “on smelling urine” (*De gravolentia urina*) there is relevant agreement between the erroneous reading of *Mut.* χοιρώδους and Valla's translation *suil(l)i*, the correct form being ἰχωροειδοῦς (cf. p. 282,18 Ideler)³².

c) Additions to the text (ed. Ideler) shared by *Mut./Valla*

Also, particularly indicative of the dependence of Valla's translation on *Mut.* are those numerous instances of the addition of a portion of text (compared to Ideler's standard edition) due to the particular state of transmission of the text of Theophilus' *De urinis*; these are quite different from the cases of additions to the text of the Latin translation that correspond, so to speak, to Valla's project of translating the Greek source, and which I will examine in the next section.

- (*De expt.*, XLVIII, 4) Valla translates *apparent urinae quandoque crassae et albae* exactly according to the text of *Mut.* φαίνονται (*scil.* τὰ οὔρα), ποτὲ δὲ **παχέα καὶ λευκά** (cf. p. 263,27f. Ideler: τὰ οὔρα [...] φαίνεται, ποτὲ δὲ παχέα...);

- (*De expt.*, XLVIII 5) at the end of *De urinis*, chapter 3 (p. 264,16f. Ideler), *Mut.* presents syntactical irregularities (τοῦ μὴ κατὰ φύσιν γίνεσθαι λέγειν..., in comparison with Ideler's text: ταῦτα μὴ κατὰ φύσιν λέγομεν γίνεσθαι) as well as the addition of the following portion of text (...**ἀλλὰ παρὰ φύσιν καὶ νόθον**), which finds a precise correspondence in Valla's translation (*neutique naturales dicendae sunt sed illegitimae*);
- (*De expt.*, XLVIII 5) on p. 265,9 Ideler, between the words πρότερον and λεπτήν *Mut.* adds a long sentence (λευκὸν χρῶμα μετὰ καὶ λεπτῆς δηλονότι συστάσεως, καὶ εἴπωμεν κατὰ πόσους νοεῖται τρόπους τὸ) that finds its exact correspondence in Valla's translation (*colorem album cum tenui constitutione ac dicamus quot modis*);
- (*De expt.*, XLVIII 5) on p. 265,27ff. Ideler, Valla's translation regularly incorporates the additions/interpolations found in his model, *Mut.*: in his source he finds the sentence Καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς **παρὰ φύσιν** δὲ ψυχροτέρας κράσεως τοῦ ἥπατος (παρὰ φύσιν is omitted by Ideler), which corresponds precisely to Latin (*In frigida vero iecoris contra naturam temperatione*), and even further (p. 265,30f. Ideler) *Mut.* offers a text (καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ὑδρωπικῶν διὰ τὸ πλεονάζον αἴτιον **τοιαῦτα ἐξέρχονται**) which matches Valla's translation (*In hydropicis quoque ex superfluenti causa tales evadunt*).

d) Lectiones singulares

Equally considerable in number are the agreements between the text of *Mut.* and Valla's translation in *lectiones singulares*, a short selection of which will now be provided:

- (*De expt.*, XLVIII 5) in the sentence καὶ **μᾶλλον** εἰ ἐστὶν οἶνος ἐξίτηλος (cf. p. 265,13f. Ideler: καὶ μάλιστα εἰ ἐστὶν ὁ οἶνος ἐξίτηλος) there is correspondence between the text of *Mut.* (μᾶλλον) and Valla's translation (*magis*);
- (*De expt.*, XLVIII 5) there is a precise correspondence between the text of *Mut.* (**ἔστι δ' ὅτε** ἐκ τῆς καθολικῆς ἀσθενείας καὶ ἀδυναμίας) and Valla's version *Est etiam cum ex universali imbecillitate et infirmitate* (cf. p. 265,15f. Ideler: οὗρον τοιοῦτον ἐλθὸν σημαίνει ἀσθένειαν δυνάμειως);
- (*De expt.*, XLVIII 5) both *Mut.* and Valla agree in reading respectively ἵκτερον **ἀπιλεῖ** (*sic*) and *arquatium minitatur morbum* (cf. p. 270,31 Ideler: ἵκτερον σημαίνει).

3.1 On the trail of Valla's model beyond Theophilus' *De urinis*

The agreement between the translation of the here discussed section of the *De expt.* and its model, the ms. *Mut.*, continues even beyond the text of Theophilus' *De urinis*: indeed, this stops in *Mut.* at the end of f. 10^v (and precisely on p. 282.29 Ideler)³³ to which in Valla's translation there corresponds the beginning of chapter 6 *De gravio-lentia urina* (περὶ δυσώδους οὔρου); in comparison to his source, Valla goes forward to the end of *De urinis* proceeding in a rather desultory manner, and especially deliberately omitting a large concluding part of Theophilus' work³⁴.

From here on (and up to f. 11^v) *Mut.* continues, without any apparent break, with the copying of another text, different from Theophilus' *De urinis*: it appears to be a rather disjointed fragment of a uroscopic treatise entitled Κανὼν εἰς τὰς κρίσεις τῶν ὑαλίῳ τῶν δεκατριῶν τῶν θεωρουμένων ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀσθενείαις (in Latin known as *De urinis carmen*)³⁵ variously attributed by ms. tradition, now and more likely to the monk Nicephorus Blemmydes, a learned polymath of the 13th Century³⁶, and now to Maximus Planudes (1260-1310)³⁷. The treatise, which falls properly into the category of the so-called "*Gebrauchstexte*" circulating in the Byzantine milieu, is based on the classification of the so-called "glasses" or "crystals" for urine collection (plur. ὑέλια or ὑάλια but also ὑελία)³⁸ into 13 types to which specific diagnostic characteristics are attributed with description of the resulting therapy. It should be remembered that the absolute peculiarity of the text in question is that it presents the uroscopic subject matter in the form of a liturgical song (said "canon") traditionally structured in (3) tropers and (8) odes³⁹.

Without being able to enter here into the question of the attribution or the specific nature of the text handed down in *Mut.*, as these are issues that deserve separate discussion and to which I intend to return elsewhere, it can be stated with some probability that the Modena ms. transmits the text of *De urinis carmen* in the form of an *excerptum*. The textual comparison I have so far conducted on the text of *Mut.* and *De urinis carmen* (ed. Kousis), albeit partial, allows us to recognise the marked textual proximity of the *excerptum* handed down in *Mut.* and the uroscopic *carmen* attributed, among others, to Nicephorus Blemmydes. More specifically, the textual proximity applies to certain pericopes of *De urinis carmen* handed down in *Mut.*, and in particular to the third "glass", and to those from the sixth to the ninth, of the 13 described by the Byzantine source. And it is precisely with the mention of the third glass that the *excerptum* contained in *Mut.* begins, and at the same time so does Valla's translation, which again follows its Greek model with a few exceptions in a continuous and methodical manner. As an illustration of what has just been said, a comparison of the initial part of the text quotation in *Mut.*, the *incipit* of the third ὑέλιον from *De urinis carmen*, and Valla's corresponding translation is worthwhile:

(*Mut.* f. 10^v): εἰς δὲ τὸ οὖρον ῥόδιον ἢ, γίνωσκε ὅτι ξανθὴ χολὴ πλενάζει (sic) καὶ εἰς ἔστιν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ νεφέλη μέλαινα, ἔστι θανάσιμον· [...]

(*Carmen de urinis*, ed. Kousis)⁴⁰: Τὸ τρίτον ὑέλιον τὸ ῥοδονίζον, ξανθῆς γὰρ ἀπὸ χολῆς συνέβη τοῦτο· καὶ πάννυ γε ὁ πάσχων κατεθερμάνθη· εἰ μαῦρον νέφος δὲ μέσον προσκρέμεται ἀληθεία γίνωσκε τοῦτο θανάσιμον.

(Valla's translation: *De expt.*, XLVIII 6): *Si urina sit rosacea, significat flavam bilem redundare, ac si in medio nubecula sit nigra, lethale est*: [...].

It must also be said that, in addition to the text of *De urinis carmen*, the uroscopic *excerptum* handed down by *Mut.* also presents significant textual and lexical points of contact with certain passages of the ps.-Galenic treatise *De signis ex urinis* (ed.

Moraux)⁴¹. As an example, the following is the passage from the ps.-Galenic treatise which corresponds to the above description of the “third glass”⁴²:

(Ps.-Galen, *De signis ex urinis*, p. 72,130-132 Moraux): σημείον ξανθῆς χολῆς καὶ διὰ ταύτην μαρασμοῦ χρώμα ῥόδου τῷ χύματι μετὰ μέλανος ἐναιωρήματος, δι’ ὧν δηλοῦται ὁ θάνατος.

In the middle of f. 11^v, the copy of the uroscopic *excerptum* in question is interrupted, and from here onwards there begins a new section, in rubricated letters, devoted to the definition of “soft urine” (λεπτὸν οὔρον) and its diagnostic relevance. In a manner entirely consistent with this transition, Valla’s translation continues with a new chapter entitled *Quid tenuis urina* (*De expt.*, XLVIII 7), with which ends the uroscopic section of Book *De corporis commodis et incommodis*, which had opened with chapter 1 (*De urinae significatione ex Hippocrate*). The following sheets of *Mut.* (ff. 11^v-13^v) contain a rather patched-up *excerptum* of the initial part of the ps.-Galenic treatise *De urinis*, handed down in a version probably adapted for school use, since it is set up in an erotapocritical way, and therefore is fundamentally different from the text edited by Kühn⁴³. From beginning to end, once again, Valla in his translation of the ps.-Galenic *excerptum* follows the text of *Mut.* continuously⁴⁴, with the exception of the systematic omission, certainly deliberate on the part of the humanist, of all the erotapocritical elements present in the model. The following, again by way of example, is the initial passage of Valla’s translation of the *excerptum* compared with the corresponding text of *Mut.* (f. 11^v):

(*Mut.*) Τί δηλοῖ τὸ λεπτὸν οὔρον. Ἔστι μὲν κατὰ πρώτην σύστασιν, δύσπεπτον, καὶ γίνεται λευκόν. Τί ἐστι σύστασις: ποιότης πέμψεως διακριτικὴ ἢ ποιότης τοῦ ὑποκειμένου πράγματος κατὰ πάχος. Εἰς πόσα διαιρεῖται ἡ σύστασις τοῦ οὔρου· εἰς τρία· εἰς λεπτότατον, παχύτατον, καὶ εἰς σύμμετρον (cf. vol. 19, p. 574,8-11 K.).

(*De expt.*, XLVIII, beginning of the chapter 7): *Est tenuis ex prima substantia difficilis concoctu fitque alba. Est autem substantia, ut hic accipitur, seu constitutio concoctionis qualitas discretrix, seu subiectae rei per crassitudinem qualitas haec in tria dividitur in tenuissimum crassissimum et temperatum; [...].*

In the plan of the encyclopaedic work, it can be assumed that the sequence of the uroscopic texts, as they have been handed down in the extant *Mut.*, lent itself well in Valla’s intentions to taking up and concluding the topics dealt with at the beginning of the section (respectively chapter 1: *De urinae significatione ex Hippocrate*, and chapter: 2 *Galenii quaestiones in Hippocratem*).

4. Annotations on Valla’s translation method

The following remarks are intended to illustrate the main features of Giorgio Valla’s method of translation in a concise but hopefully sufficiently indicative manner. My attention will first focus on Valla’s degree of competence as a translator of medical texts,

and then examine in more detail some essential features of his translation method, and from this point of view it will be necessary to dwell as much on aspects of syntactic as morphological rendering and the use of the lexicon chosen for the translation.

It must be said that Valla seems to have measured himself with the translation of the uroscopic section of *De expt.* as a good connoisseur of the medical subject⁴⁵. In this sense, the citation of two textual cases, set out below, may suffice; the first example is the passage, quoted just above, with which the ps.-Galenic *excerptum* of the *De urinis* opens in *Mut.*:

(*Mut.*) Τί δηλοῖ τὸ λεπτόν οὔρον. Ἔστι μὲν κατὰ πρώτην σύστασιν, δύσπεπτον, καὶ γίνεται λευκόν. Τί ἐστι σύστασις· ποιότης **πέμψεως** διακριτικὴ ἢ ποιότης τοῦ ὑποκειμένου πράγματος κατὰ πάχος. Εἰς πόσα διαφεῖται ἡ σύστασις τοῦ οὔρου· εἰς τρία· εἰς λεπτότατον, παχύτατον, καὶ εἰς σύμμετρον (cf. Vol. 19, p. 574,8-11 K.).

(*De expt.*, XLVIII, beginning of chapter 7): *Est tenuis ex prima substantia difficilis concoctio fitque alba. Est autem substantia, ut hic accipitur, seu constitutio concoctionis qualitas discretrix, seu subiectae rei per crassitudinem qualitas haec in tria dividitur in tenuissimum crassissimum et temperatum; [...].*

Excluding the terms that appear crossed out in the Greek text quoted above, which Valla deliberately omits (because they are part of the erotapocritical style of his source, in which the humanist is not interested in the Latin rendering), Valla's translation can be said to be complete and entirely consistent with the sense of the original. Apart from the double rendering of the term σύστασις (a phenomenon I will return to later) as *substantia seu constitutio* (this is a term that is much rarer in Valla's rendering), what is most important here is that the humanist easily does justice in the Latin translation to the error in the Greek text (πέμψεως), thus correctly translating *concoctionis*, because we deal with coction (πέψεως) and its opposite (ἀπεψία) here.

If in fact here the correction of πέμψεως handed down in *Mut.* may appear quite palmar, Valla's adequate knowledge of uroscopic matter emerges with greater evidence in the translation of another passage (taken from the beginning of the *excerptum* of *De urinis carmen*) in which once again the text handed down in *Mut.* is erroneous.

(*Mut.*) [...] σὺν τῷ ἥπατι χρῆσι, ἀποκρουστικὰ ἐπιθέματα, οἶον πτισάνης ἀλεύρου καὶ ψυλλίω σὺν ὠοῦ **τὸ λεπτόν** (mg. manu Vallae **λευκόν**)·

(*De expt.*, XLVIII 6): *iecori epithemata extrudentia adhibeant, ut farinae ordeaceae et psyllium quam ἢ necandis pulibus, quidam dixere herbam pulicariam†, cum ovi albumine [...].*

In the case at hand, against the inflammation of the bile, which results from the pinkish appearance of the urine in the *matula*, “expelling poultices” (ἀποκρουστικὰ ἐπιθέματα) are prescribed to be applied in the liver, made of barley flour and pulice grass (ψυλλίω) together with the white of an egg. This is a recipe evidently known to the translator, who having annotated the reading λευκόν in his own hand in the margin of the ms. (f. 11), has no difficulty in correcting the text of his model, i.e. σὺν ὠοῦ τὸ

λεπτόν, of course a trivialization due to the fact that the passage speaks of the “soft urine” (λεπτὸν οὔρον). The example is also indicative of another relevant and very frequent feature of Valla’s translation method, namely the fact that the humanist does not simply translate Greek technical terms, but when necessary and possible, explains them with exegetic additions, certain to please his readers⁴⁶. Here he explains the term ψύλλιον (‘flea-wort’) with the phrase I have placed between crosses, and translates and interprets it correctly as flea-grass (*herba pulicaria*), explaining its etymology from the fact that this plant, which is still used today for its phytotherapeutic qualities, was traditionally used to drive away and kill fleas (*a necandis pulibus*)⁴⁷.

At other times, however, one may think that Valla found himself in difficulty when faced with the translation of Greek technical terms for which there was not (yet) a specific Latin rendering, or in front of terms taken from common and everyday language, for which he had probably not been able to find valid mother-tongue ones. In the first case, one can observe the frequency with which Valla (at least in the part of the text of *De expt.* examined here) uses Latin calques, and more rarely morphological neologism, for his translation.

The following cases (a selection) are part of the first category: *stelenchiaea* (στελεγχιαια) for the *vena portae* (*De expt.*, LXVIII 3); *in sima iecinoris partel/in simis posita iecinoris locis* (κατὰ σιμὰ τοῦ ἥπατος) for indicating the cavities of the liver (chapter 3); *diabites* (for διαβίτην, chapter 5); *hypostasis* (once *hypostesis*) for indicating the sediment of the urine (occurring several times in chapters 5 and 6). Among the neologisms it is possible to include the form *dipsacum* for the term διψακός, a kind of diabetes (chapter 5).

As for the second type of possible translation aporias mentioned above, Valla seems to have found himself in some difficulty when faced with the term τζύπα (also τζίπα, τζήπα or τσίπα) which according to the lexicons of late, Byzantine and modern Greek, technically indicates the formation of a veil, a patina or film⁴⁸. The term within the section of *De expt.* here considered is present twice, and in both cases it is included in the *excerptum* from *De urinis carmen* (XLVIII 6). We are firstly in the framework of the “third glass” (τρίτον ὑέλιον), the one that provides for the presence of pinkish urine; if the nebula (νεφέλη) in the central part of the *matula* is black, the patient will die, whereas, if it is not dark, and there is present “as an oily film” (ὡς τζύπα ἐλαίου) on the top of “the deposit” (τὸ παρυφιστάμενον), this indicates acute inflammation of the bile diffused throughout the body:

(*Mut.*, f. 11): [...] ἦν δ’ οὐκ ἔστι μαύρη, ἀλλὰ κατὰ κεφαλῆς τοῦ παρυφισταμένου ὡς τζύπα ἐλαίου, γνῶθι ὅτι ἡ χολὴ ὑπεροπτήσαν ὄλον τὸ σῶμα [...]⁴⁹.

(*De expt.*, XLVIII 6): [...] *quod si atra non sit, sed aliter noris esse tostam bilem in toto corpore [...]*.

It is evident that in this case Valla circumvents the difficulty of translating the expression ὡς τζύπα ἐλαίου, by means of the generic formula *sed aliter*, i.e. “if things are otherwise”.

In a second passage, in the context of the analysis of urine similar in colour to water (maybe corresponding to the “ninth glass” of *De urinis carmen*), the difference is given by the purity or otherwise of the deposit. In both cases, whether the deposit is as clear as water or not, the diagnosis for the patient is in any case inauspicious; the disease is due to a cold, and must be treated “with poultices” (δι’ ἐμπλάστρον) applied to the stomach; what is decisive for diagnostic purposes is the presence of “a circular film on the surface” (τζύπαν ἐπάνω περικαλύπτουσαν τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν) of the “liquid” (τὸ χύμα) contained in the *matula*, and the purity of the liquid itself: the murkier the liquid, the quicker the outcome will be for the patient.

(*Mut.*): Γνωθι ὅτι διὰ ψυχρότητος τοῦτο τὸν ἄρροστον, καὶ δὴ λοιπὸν περιποιεῖσθαι δι’ ἐμπλάστρον τὸν στόμαχον· ἐὰν δὲ ποιήσῃ τζύπαν ἐπάνω περικαλύπτουσαν τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν, τὸ δὲ χύμα ἢ καθαρὸν, θνήσκει δι’ ἡμερῶν ε’ ἢ ἰ’.

(*De expt.*, XLVIII 6): *Scito hanc aegritudinem ex frigiditate exortam, et perinde stomachus emplastris obvolvendus sin superne obtegentem obduxerit pannum et profusio sit pura intra dies quinque morietur, [...].*

In the latter case, Valla does not refrain from translating the term τζύπα, but in a way (*pannus*) that is probably not appropriate to its proper meaning, which is “film” or “veil”, and this in accordance with previous usage.

Apart from sporadic difficulties of this kind, Valla belongs to a generation of Italian humanists (the ones active in the 1490s), including, among others, Angelo Poliziano, Ermolao Barbaro and Niccolò Leonicensi, who profoundly innovated the traditional modes of the translation of medical and scientific texts from Greek. Availing themselves of an encyclopaedic culture, they sought to break free, and largely succeeded in doing so, from the methods in use by medieval translators; their work thus appears marked by continuous efforts to find a Latin translation of the Greek terms that is both appropriate and also enjoys the approval of other scholars. In their complex and lengthy operation of cultural and scientific transcoding, they also drew on the tradition of classical and post-classical literary and scientific Latin⁵⁰.

The main purpose of their translation work was to capture the substance of the models to be translated precisely and clearly, adapting the forms of presentation of scientific contents to the knowledge and taste of the public. In the frame of Valla’s *De expt.*, the cases of translation of single terms with several words or even with periphrastic expressions, which are equivalent to real explanatory glosses, go in the direction of clarity, such as:

- (*De expt.*, XLVIII 3) *in vena, quae stelenchiaea appellatur* for translating ἐν τῇ στελεχιαία φλεβί (cf. p. 262,26 Ideler);
- (chapter 4) *in sublime elevatur* for ἀνωφερές (cf. p. 262,31 Ideler);
- (chapter 4) *per venam, quae in medio sinu* corresponding to διὰ μέσης τῆς κοίλης φλεβός (cf. 263,1f. Ideler);
- (chapter 5) *Hanc humiditatem plerique sapientes medici corporis humorem vocitarunt, ut sunt biles et sanguis*, where the sense of χυμός is further clarified by the addition of the

subsequent relative for translating the period ταύτην δὲ τὴν ὑγρότητα πολλοὶ τῶν σοφῶν ἱατρῶν χυμὸν ἐκάλεσαν of *Mut.* (cf. 264,23-25 Ideler).

Valla and his colleagues were dealing with a translation method that needed to be re-founded, and that still lacked common terms for the translation of technical and, in the specific case, of medical lexicon. This probably explains the relative fluidity with which in *De expt.* some terms are rendered; thus, for example, Valla oscillates in the translation of the term ἀσθένεια, so that he shortly translates the noun first *imbecillitas* (in the same context as ἀδυναμία, translated *infirmitas*) and then (when used alone) *infirmitas*:

(*De expt.*, XLVIII 5): *Est etiam cum ex universali imbecillitate et infirmitate, ut in sene naturali, longae autem aegritudinis infirmitatem significat, [...].*

(*Mut.*; cf. p. 265,16ff. Ideler) ἔστι δ' ὅτε ἐκ τῆς καθολικῆς ἀσθενείας καὶ ἀδυναμίας, ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν γήρους, σημαίνει δὲ ἀσθενείαν χρονίου νοσήματος, [...].

This instability also applies to the translation of verbs⁵¹, as illustrated in the following case, in which the presence of a double author translation for ἐμποδισθῆ left a trace in the same printed edition (*frustrata sit/fuerit impedita*):

(*De expt.*, XLVIII 5): [...] *sin casu aliquo vis sanguinis effectrix frustrata sit eius quominus opus absolvatur fuerit impedita, [...].*

(*Mut.*; cf. p. 263,24f. Ideler) εἰ δὲ κατὰ τινα ἀποτυχίαν ἢ αἵματος ποιητικῆ δύναμις ἐμποδισθῆ τὸ ἔργον αὐτῆς τελειῶσαι, [...].

Finally, equally important for illustration of the characteristic features of Valla's translation method is also to dwell on what Valla does *not* translate of his model, and possibly on the reasons for the omissions. *De expt.* is in fact neither a complete nor a literal translation of its model. In this way Valla systematically renounces the translation of all the connecting, summarising but also propaedeutic parts of his source, as if deliberately omitting the didactic purposes of the Greek originals. For example, I have already shown that in the case of the translation of the ps.-Galenic *excerptum* of *De urinis*, all the erotapocritical sections are omitted in his translation.

In other similar cases, his choice also seems to depend on the peculiar conditions of the manuscript tradition of the text Valla's work is modelled on: this is the case of our *Mut.* (or of its model), which has completely omitted to hand down the tradition of images and graphic diagrams (so-called διαγράμματα), which on the basis of the transmitted text of *De urinis* were to be an integral part of Theophilus' original work. Indeed, at the beginning of chapter 8 of *De urinis*, Valla omits the entire introductory part of the chapter up to the mention of the diagram (ἐπὶ διαγραμμάτος) representing the various colours of soft urine⁵²:

(*Mut.*; cf. p. 269,22-27 Ideler) Ἐπειδὴ πᾶσας τὰς συμπλοκάς τῆς λεπτῆς συστάσεως [...] καὶ ἐπὶ διαγράμματος αὐτὸ ἐξεθέμεθα. Μεταβῶμεν λοιπὸν καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς συμπλοκάς τῆς παχείας συστάσεως, καὶ εἰπόμεν μετὰ ποίων χρωμάτων δύνανται συμπλακῆναι.

(*De expt.*, XLVIII 5): *Nunc reliqua prosequamur. Complexus aperiamus crassae substantiae dicamusque quibus cum coloribus connectantur.*

5. A short Greek-Latin lexicon according to Valla's translation (*De expt.*, XLVIII, 4-7)

Below, I offer a brief and non-systematic specimen of some lexical choices made by Valla in the translation of the uroscopic section of his Book XLVIII, *De corporis commodis et incommodis*, chapters 4-7.

- ἀκατάστατος: *instabilis* (chapter 5);
 ἀνάγκη: *necesse est* (chapter 7);
 ἀνάδοσις: *digeritur* (chapter 7: here a noun is translated by means of a verb);
 ἄπεπτος: *inconcoquibilis* (but also *crudus/inconcoctus*);
 ἀπεψία: *inconcoctio* (also present in chapter 7, twice)/*cruditas*;
 βαφή: *infectio* (chapter 5, several times);
 δακνῶδες: *vellicans et urens* (said of the urine, at the beginning of chapter 6);
 διακρίνομαι: *dispescor* (chapter 5);
 διακριτικός (-ή): *discretrix* (chapter 7);
 διαφορά: *corruptio* (concerning smelling urine, at the beginning of chapter 6);
 διχῆ: *bifariam*;
 δύναμις: *potestas* (commonly), but also *vires* (chapter 7);
 δυσκατέργαστον: *concoctu difficillimum* (in plural, chapter 7);
 δυσκρασία: *distemperantia* (chapter 5);
 ἔμπλαστρον: *emplastrum* (pl., chapter 6);
 ἔμφραξις: *opilatio/obstructio* (chapter 7; the second term is more frequent);
 ἐμφράττω: *obstruere* (chapter 7: twice, one time in the passive form);
 ἔμφυτος: *insitus naturalisque* (chapter 5; or simply *naturalis*);
 ἐναιώρημα: *fluxus sanguinis* (at the beginning of chapter 6; = in fact it indicates matter in suspension);
 ἐξαιμάτωσις: *sanguinescit* (chapter 7: here a noun is translated by means of a verb);
 ἐπικράτεια: *imperium* (chapter 7, said of the prevalence of phlegm);
 ἐπισήπομαι: *tabescere* (chapter 7, at the end);
 ἐπίτασις: *intensio* (chapter 7: twice);
 ἐπιχρώννυμι: *colorescere* (chapter 7, used in the passive form);
 θάνατος: *interitum* (chapter 5 and 6, at the beginning);
 ἴκτερος (εἶναι): *arquatus (fore)*;
 κάκοσμος: *taetri odoris* (said of urine, beginning of chapter 6);
 καταπνίγομαι: *suggilari* (chapter 7: said of the *dynamis* of the elders);
 κατηγορία: *praedicamentum* (plur., chapter 7);
 καυσώδης: *causodes (febris, chapter 7)*;

κεφαλαλγία: *capitis dolor* (chapter 5);
 κουφότης: *levitas* (chapter 7, at the end);
 κρᾶσις: *temperatio* (chapter 5);
 κρίσις: *crisis* (chapter 6);
 κρυμνώδης (κρι-)/κρυμνός: *praeruptus* (chapter 5, at the end);
 μετάστασις: *destitutio* (chapter 7);
 μίγμα: *mixtura* (chapter 7);
 μικτός (particularly, μικτή): *mediocris* (chapter 5);
 οἰνωπός: *oenopes* (*idest vini faciem habens ad atrum tendentis*, chapter 5);
 ὀλίγον (part. κατ' ὀλίγον: *pauxillatim*, chapter 5);
 ὀμφακέλαιον: *omphocelaeum* (chapter 6; cf. *De urinis carmen*);
 οὐσία: *essentia* (passim, esp. chapter 5 and 7);
 παρακοπή: *vacillatio* (scil. *mentis*, i.e. delirium, beginning of chapter 6);
 πάχος: *crassitudo* (chapter 7);
 πῆξις: *colliquifactio* (chapter 5);
 πίτυροι: *furfures* (chapter 5, at the end);
 πλῆθος: *affluentia* (*sanguinis*, chapter 6);
 ποιότης: *qualitas* (chapter 7);
 πομφόλυξ: *bul(l)a* (plur., chapter 5);
 πυ(ρ)ρός: commonly *rutilus* or *fulvus*, but twice (chapter 7) *ex igni/ignitus* (the same is valid for the compound ὑπόπυρ(ρ)ος, translated as *subrutilus/subigneus*);
 σεμίδαλις: *siligo* (chapter 6);
 σῆψις: *putrefactio* (chapter 6, at the beginning);
 συνίσταμαι: *cum al. quo constare* (chapter 5);
 σύνταξις: *atritio* (chapter 5, at the end)/*colliquifactio* (chapter 6, at the beginning);
 σύστασις: *substantia* (passim)/*constitutio* (chapter 7: cf. ps.-Galenic *De urinis*);
 τρυγῶδες (αἷμα): *fex* (chapter 7);
 τζύπα: *pannus* (chapter 6; cf. *De urinis carmen*); the first time untranslated;
 ὑπερόπτησις αἵματος (chapter 5)/ἔξυπερόπτησις (chapter 7): (*e sanguine*) *tostol/(magna) tostura* (*sanguinis*) (several times in the context of the same chapter); (*copiosa*) *tostura/tosta vis* (chapter 7, and three times close to one another in the same chapter, without the mention of αἷματος); *tostus* (chapter 7);
 ὑπόλευκος: *subalbicans* (esp. chapter 7, but also previously occurred);
 ὑπόστασις (= sediment): *hypostasis* (chapter 5, at the end, and three times, but also chapter 6 several times)/*hypostesis* (once at the end of chapter 5);
 ὑφεσις: *remissio* (chapter 7, twice);
 ὑφιζάνω (rare verb, chapter 6): *subsideo* (*subsicens*);
 φλέγμα(τα): *pituitas* (chapter 5);
 φρενίτις (-της): *delirium* (chapter 7, at the end);
 χῦμα: *profusio* (chapter 6);

χυμός; (*corporis*) *humor* (several times and always in chapter 5, plur. *humores*); *sucus* (said in reference to plants, chapter 6); *melancholicus humor* (chapter 7);

6. Conclusions

The study carried out has not only confirmed the importance of Giorgio Valla in the panorama of the Italian and European humanism of the late 15th Century, but has also made it possible to add some new knowledge and new details regarding the model as well as the method of translation of a significant section of *De expt.* (Book XLVIII, chapters 4-7)⁵³. In this case too, indeed, the close relationship between Valla's translation and edition work and the possession of a very rich private library of medical, scientific and literary manuscripts has emerged. Careful textual analysis has shown that the model of Valla's translation is the current ms. *Mutinensis* α.U.9.4 (gr. 61 Puntoni), already known by other scholars as an antigraph copy of the translation of other sections of Valla's encyclopaedic work, especially with medical content. What is more relevant in this case study, is that Valla's translation consistently and continuously takes into account different texts, the sequence of which is handed down by the codex *Mutinensis*: first a significant portion of Theophilus' *De urinis*, then two excerpts of uroscopic content, and precisely an *excerptum* of *De urinis carmen* attributed to Nicephorus Blemmydes (13th-14th Century), and a fragment, moreover a patched-up one, of the initial part of the ps.-Galenic book *De urinis*.

The comparison between the text of *Mut.* and the Latin of *De expt.* has also made it possible to enrich our knowledge of Valla's translation methods and choices: he proves to be a translator not entirely faithful *to the letter* of his sources, but no less devoted to a profound innovation of the general sense of the works to be translated. The latter, mainly medical, but also philosophical, mathematical and historical-literary works, take on new life thanks to Valla's translation and exegetical efforts, making him one of the most important interpreters of the crucial transition from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance.

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 2. On Giorgio Valla's Greek apprenticeship as well as his relations with Laskaris cf. Martínez Manzano T, Constantino Láscaris. *Semblanza de un humanista bizantino.* Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas; 1998. p. 21-25. On the biography of the humanist, see Raschieri AA, s.v. Valla, Giorgio. In *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani.* Vol. 98. Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana; 2020: 70-73. Still fundamental, for the quantity of sources cited, even unpublished ones, is Heiberg JL, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Georg Valla's und seiner Bibliothek*, *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 1896;16:1-129. It

- is unclear whether during the short period of Andronikos Kallistos' Milanese stay, Valla attended his Greek lectures, cf. Orlandi L, *Andronikos Kallistos: a Byzantine Scholar and his Manuscripts in Italian Humanism*. Berlin-Boston: de Gruyter; 2023. p. 46 with n. 234.
3. Conference "Giorgio Valla e la sua Biblioteca" (Modena, 31 marzo-1 aprile 2023, Accademia Nazionale di Scienze, Lettere e Arti).
 4. Book XLVIII, volume III, sixth of the last group of seven books, the so-called "hebdomad", chapters 4-7.
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 12. Cavarra B, Cilione M, Ref. 10. p. 9ff. deal particularly with the Latin translation of the adjective εὔχρημος.
 13. I refer specifically not only to this paper but also to the studies of Thibault Miguet and Tamara Martí Casado and Sandro Passavanti.
 14. The work was therefore published a year after Valla's tragic death, due to the consequences of his brief but decisive period of imprisonment in 1496 following his clashes with the Sforza family, as illustrated with crime novel touches by Michele Lodone in his contribution in this volume. It should be noted that several of the medical *opuscula* contained in *De expt.* were later reprinted separately by the physician Henricus Sybold(us) in Strasbourg at an unspecified date between 1528 and 1530 (cf. Ieraci Bio AM, Ref. 8. p. 3), and this applies in particular to the book that interests us here, entitled *De corporis commodis et incommodis*.
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16. Valla had already approached medicine, like physics, the mathematical and natural sciences, during his years of study in Pavia (from 1465) under the guidance of the mathematician and physician Giovanni Merliani, cf. Raschieri AA, Ref. 2.; Ieraci Bio AM, Ref. 8. p. 23.
 17. The order of the medical books (XXIV-XXX) in the central hebdomad is as follows: *Quomodo inventa medicina et in quot partes distributa*; *De natura partium animalium* (books XXV-XXVI); *De urinarum significatione prius quid nos earum natura commonefaciat ac doceat* (XXVII 25) and *Quaenam sit optima in aegrotantibus urina* (XXVII 26), where chapters up to 41 deal with urine, from 42 onwards with excrements; *De natura oculorum* (XXVIII, a total of 65 chapters); collection of recipes (XXIX); *De quaestionibus physicis* (XXX).
 18. Ieraci Bio AM, Ref. 8. p. 12; Cavarra B, Cilione M, Ref. 10. p. 2; on the peculiar place of medicine within the Vallian classification of sciences see also Magnani N, Ref. 9. p. 3.
 19. Ieraci Bio AM, Ref. 8. p. 25.
 20. The reference edition for Theoph., *urin.* is still that of Ideler JL, *Physici et Medici Graeci Minores. Volumen I. Berolini: Reimer; 1841 (repr. Hakkert: Amsterdam, 1963). pp. 261ff.*
 21. Magnus (here incorrectly named *Magnes*) was a physician of dubious temporal location, who possibly lived around the 7th century, cf. Cavarra B, *Medicina e uroscopia fino al VII d.C.* In: Angeletti LR, Cavarra B, Gazzaniga V (eds), *Il De urinis di Teofilo Protospatario. Centralità di un segno clinico. Medicina nei Secoli, n.s., supplemento 2009:35-60. p. 53.*
 22. The following is the text of the Vallian translation of the proem of Theophilus' *De urinis*: **Scripturus de urinis Theophilus medicus** author sane celebris ait primum **Hipocratem coum** de urinarum proprietate dinoscenda praecepta posteris reliquisse speciosa, deinde **Galenum medicum mirificum**, tertio loco **Magnetem**, hosque praecipuos et magnopere laudandos, hanc tamen cognitionem ipsos non absolvisse opinatur, neque rem totam, ut par fuit, attigisse multaque scitu necessaria praetermisisse, quae divino suffragante auxilio se perfectura pollicetur, ut *primum quid sit urina*, deinde *urinae locum in quo gignitur*, post *in quem excernatur et digeratur*, moxque *eruentam doctrinam in genera ac species ad differentias distribuendam* (*De expt.*, XLVIII 4, *De corporis commodis et incommodis* 3, sixth of the last hebdomad, chapter 4, c. RR3v).
 23. For an up-to-date picture on the matter see Fortuna S, *Biblioteche dei traduttori di testi medici (secolo XV-1525)*. *Medicina mentis. Essays in Honour of Outi Merisalo*. *Nordic Journal of Renaissance Studies* 2024;22:87-102, pp. 91-93 and 97f. with particular reference to Latin translations of medical texts and their Greek sources.
 24. Ieraci Bio AM, Ref. 6.
 25. Fortuna S, René Chartier e le edizioni latine di Galeno. In Boudon-Millot V, Cobolet G, Jouanna J. (eds), René Chartier (1572-1654) éditeur et traducteur d'Hippocrate et Galien. *Actes du Colloque international de Paris (7-8 octobre 2010)*. Paris: Bibliothèque interuniversitaire de santé; 2012. pp.303-324, p. 322; Ieraci Bio AM, Ref. 8. p. 25 with n. 57, cf. Fichtner G †, *Corpus Galenicum. Bibliographie der galenischen und pseudogalenischen Werke. Erweiterte und verbesserte Ausgabe*. Berlin: Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften; 2023. N. 129 (online). Dating from the end of the 15th Century, the Ms. *Neapolitanus* C III 2 was partly (ff. 55-100) copied by Iohannes Rhosos from Crete.
 26. I thank Dr. Grazia Maria De Rubeis, former Director of the Estense University Library in Modena, very much for having kindly provided me with the digital copy of the Ms.

27. For some examples of these first-hand marginalia by Valla see the tables contained in the study by Ieraci Bio AM, Ref. 6. pp. 273 and 275f.
28. Cf. Gamillscheg E, Harlfinger D, Hunger H (eds), RGK. 1. Teil. Wien: ÖAW; 1981. p. 114; RGK. 2. Teil. Wien: ÖAW; 1989. p. 146; RGK. 3. Teil. Wien: ÖAW; 1997. p. 1989.
29. For an updated description of the ms. see the entry in Pinakes – Πίνακες. Textes et manuscrits grec, available online (<https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/presentation.html>), which, however, as I will have the opportunity to illustrate later, presents relevant imprecision in the indication of the content of ff. 10v-14.
30. The Latin version of Theophilus' preface is given above at n. 21.
31. The Italian reference translation is the one edited by Angeletti LR, Cavarra B, Gazzaniga V (eds), *Il De urinis di Teofilo Protospatario. Capitolo V. Traduzione del testo. Medicina nei Secoli, n.s., supplemento 2009:101-123.* p. 105.
32. This is one of the not too rare cases in which the Sybold edition (1530?) of Valla's book *De corporis commodis et incommodis* corrects the text of *De expt.* edited in 1501: here *suili* becomes *suilli*.
33. Although Theophilus' text continues for more than another twenty lines, that is until p. 283,9 Ideler.
34. Thus, Valla completely omits the translation of the part of the text corresponding to *De urinis*, chapter 23 (p. 282.1-16 Ideler, from Καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν τοιούτων... (line 1) to ... συνελθεῖν οὐ δύναται (l. 16).
35. Edited by Kousis AP, *Les œuvres médicales de Nicéphore Blémmydès selon les manuscrits existants.* Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ακαδημίας Αθηνῶν 1944:19;56-75. p. 60ff.
36. On the medical work of Nicephorus see Hunger H, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner.* II. Band. München: Beck; 1978. p. 311; the scholar has no reasonable grounds to question the attribution to Nicephorus, cf. also Kousis P, Ref. 33. p. 74.
37. The work is attributed to Maximus Planudes in the version edited by Ideler JL, *Physici et Medici Graeci Minores.* Volumen II. Berolini: Reimer; 1842. pp. 318-322, but there was also no lack of attributions to the patriarch Photius (9th cent.) and to the physician Meletius (9th cent. ?).
38. The term, used by John Zacharias Actuary (13th-14th Century) in the title of chapter 34 of his "Excellent Treatise on the Urines by Avicenna" (Πραγματεία περὶ οὔρων ἀρίστη), is translated "urina" by Lamagna M (ed.), Giovanni Attuario. *L'eccellente trattato sulle urine di Avicenna.* Introduzione, testo critico, traduzione e note al testo. Cuenca: Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha; 2017. p. 66,2 with translation p. 102. According to the *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität (LBG).* Wien: ÖAW, s.v. *ύλιον* (online), it means technically "*Urinprobe (im Glas)*".
39. Kousis P, Ref. 33. p. 60. Far from constituting a reason for talking of blasphemy, this compositional choice has been explained with the convenience of more easily memorizing the medical text by relying on the rhythm of song and music, cf. Hunger H, Ref. 34. p. 311.
40. Kousis AP, Ref. 33. p. 60. The text edited by Kousis is based on the ms. *Vindobonensis medicus Graecus* 45, cf. Pinakes, Ref. 29 (<https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/bibliographie/BTPG35SY/>). There is no reference to the manuscript tradition of Nicephorus Blemmydes' medical work in Diels, H, *Die Handschriften der antiken Ärzte.* II. Teil: Die übrigen griechischen Ärzte ausser Hippokrates und Galenos. Berlin: Königliche Akademie der Wissenschaften; 1906.
41. Moraux P, *Anecdota Graeca Minora VI. Pseudo-Galen, De signis ex urinis.* Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik 1985:60;63-74. p. 68ff.

42. On the textual relationships between the *De urinis carmen*, the *De signis ex urinis* and the *excerptum* contained in *Mut.*, I promise to conduct a specific study in the near future.
43. Kühn KG, *Medicorum Graecorum opera quae exstant*. Volume XIX. Continens Claudii Galeni t. XIX. Lipsiae: Cnoblochii; 1830. pp. 574-601. From an examination which is not yet exhaustive, the portion of text transmitted in *Mut.* corresponds approximately to the following part of the K. edition of the ps.-Galenic *De urinis*: pp. 574,8-578,8.
44. On f. 13v of *Mut.* the copy of the ps.-Galenic *excerptum* ends; the scribe Zacharides continues on f. 14 his copying work with Galen's *De succedaneis* (Περὶ ἀντιβαλλομένων); between the two texts there is a (yet to be identified) excerpt from Theophilus, as can be inferred from the first-hand annotation (Θεοφίλου) in the margin of the ms.
45. On Valla's translation experience of medical works see Fortuna S, Ref. 22. pp. 92ff.
46. See the long list of examples from the Latin translation of Symeon Seth's *Syntagma de alimentorum facultatibus* quoted by Ieraci Bio AM, Ref. 6. pp. 267ff.
47. It should be noted that in the parallel passage from the ps.-Galenic *De signis ex urinis* (p. 72,134f. Moraux: [...] χρεία καταπλάσματος ἀπὸ λευκοῦ ὠοῦ καὶ † ψιλέου) the editor considered the *locus desperatus*, evidently because he did not know the parallel from *De urinis carmen*.
48. LBG (online), Ref. 36, s.v. τζίπα, translates "*Haut; Faser; Schleier*"; cf. Du Cange Ch du Fresne, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae Graecitatis*. Vol. II, s.v. τζήπα: *Membrana, Vena, Musculus, Pellicula*; *Dizionario Greco moderno-Italiano*. ISSBI Lexicon. Roma: GEI, 1993, s.v. τσίπα: "velo; velo del latte; pudore, vergogna"; according to *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*. A Digital Library of Greek Literature. University of California, Irvine (online edition), s.v. τζύπα, the highest number of the first occurrences is attested in the *Tractatus meteorologicus* by Eustratius of Nicaea (11th-12th Century); also relevant is the occurrence of the term in *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Odysseam* 19,233 (ed. Dindorf) to illustrate the meaning of the term λοπός] τὸ λέπος, ὃ λέγομεν τζύπαν. It should be noted that Photius, *Lex.* (9th Century) had explained the same term as δέρμα λεπτόν.
49. Cf. [Gal], *De signis ex urinis*, p. 72,131f. Moraux: σημεῖον χολῆς ἐκκαυθείσης ὑμῆν ἐλαιώδης ἄνω τοῦ ὑέλου. There is also a perfect correspondence between the expressions ὡς τζύπα ἐλαίου and ὑμῆν ἐλαιώδης.
50. Particularly regarding the Valla's (and Poliziano's) method of translation of Greek technical terms see Marrone D, *Gli umanisti e il greco della medicina*. Teofilo Protospatario (in Hipp. aph. comm. 1, 1) tra Angelo Poliziano e Giorgio Valla. In: Ead. (ed.), *Sulla logica e sulla convenienza del tradurre*. Umanisti traduttori dal greco fra scienza e letteratura (secc. XV-XVI). Schede umanistiche, n.s.:2023;XXXVII/2:193-208. pp. 203-205.
51. For other cases of possible alternative translations of the same term, I refer to the short Greek-Latin lexicon by Valla in the next section of this study.
52. The same happens in all other passages in which the presence of figurative schemes is mentioned: Theoph., *urin.* p. 269,9; 271,25 and 30 Ideler.
53. Many thanks to both anonymous reviewers for their helpful comments and suggestions.



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UNIVERSITÀ DI ROMA



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E-ISSN 2531-7288
ISSN 0394/9001



Exploring the medical *excerpta* and *opuscula* in the Greek manuscript collection of the Estense Library and their connections with Giorgio Valla's *œuvre* – Part 1: MUT. GR. 61, ff. 31^r-33^r; MUT. GR. 213, 239^r-242^r.

MEDICINA NEI SECOLI

Journal of History of Medicine
and Medical Humanities

36/3 (2024) 63-76

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Accepted:

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ABSTRACT

The catalogue of the Greek codices preserved at the Biblioteca Estense in Modena (compiled in 1896 by V. Puntoni, eventually revised by E. Mioni in 1965) records within Mut. gr. 61 (ff. 31-33) and Mut. gr. 213 (ff. 224-242) some unspecified *excerpta* and *opuscula medica*: excerpts of works on medical topics, taken from various authors and gathered in an apparently disorganised manner. The study of these folios has shed more light on their content, revealing well-known texts alongside with composite writings still difficult to identify, conspicuous reworkings from other authors, and uncollected witnesses of treatises attested elsewhere.

In this paper, I will give the first overview of two unedited anonymous writings – a fragment on the phases of diseases (Περὶ καιρῶν, Mut. gr. 61, ff. 31^r, 1 -31^v, 2) and a short treatise on bloodletting (Περὶ φλεβοτομίας, Mut. 213, ff.239^v-242^r) – along with an overall examination of the texts contained in Mut. gr. 61, ff. 31^v, 2 – 33^r, 7 (a selection of Hippocrates' *Aphorisms* from the indirect tradition, interpolated with texts allegedly from Galen and Theophilus). The inquiry will pave the way to the investigation of possible links between these writings and Giorgio Valla's scientific production.

Keywords: Estense Library - *Mutinenses Graeci* - Mut. gr. 61 - Mut. gr. 213 - Giorgio Valla's *De expetendis et fugiendis rebus* - Ancient Greek and Byzantine medicine - Renaissance medicine - Medical Humanism

We owe the Greek manuscripts catalogue of the Estense Library to the Italian philologist Vittorio Puntoni (1859-1926) who, over a few months in 1895, compiled his roughly 170-page *Indice dei codici greci della Biblioteca Estense di Modena* (Bologna, 1896). Although carried out on the grounds of some notes taken in the first half of that year, “under conditions far from being propitious to systematic and uniform work”, “at intervals and [...] in spare moments”, as Puntoni himself modestly warned¹, this achievement remains today the main means of access to the Greek *Mutinenses*. Despite some inexactitude in the dating of the codices and in the identification of their content, the *indice* is counted still today among those old Italian library catalogues that may serve as a starting point for further philological and textual investigations². This is particularly the case with Puntoni’s description of two manuscripts, the *Mutinenses graeci* 61 (III B 19 = α.U.9.4) and 213 (III G 9 = α.G.3.12), whereby we find two similarly loose headings pointing out portions of text of medical content. In Mut. gr. 61, ff. 31^r-33^r, Puntoni reported “various excerpts from the works of Theophilus, Galen, Hippocrates, and other medical authors” (*excerpta varia ex Theophili, Galeni, Hippocratis et ceterorum medicorum operibus*); in his description of Mut. gr. 213, he listed under the heading “various medical minor works and excerpts” (*opuscula et excerpta medica varia*) a lengthy sequence of *incipits* of the medical writings contained in ff. 224^v-242^r. Apart from what figured in his headings, Puntoni added no further information about the *excerpta* transmitted in the manuscripts: in total, we are left with forty pages that would thus have every reason to elude scholarly investigation, and whose precise content is therefore almost entirely unknown.

Although to different degrees of certainty and relevance, both manuscripts can be related to the making of Valla’s encyclopaedical work *De expetendis et fugiendis rebus*, published by his adopted son Pietro Cademosto a year after the author’s death in 1501. Only the Mut. gr. 61 undoubtedly belonged to Valla, as we know from the possession note on f. 1^v. That the Mut. gr. 213 was once owned by the humanist has long been claimed after an assumption made by Vivian Nutton in his monograph on the English physician John Caius³. Yet, some years ago, Caroline Petit argued that the Mut. gr. 213 could be dated to the years 1525-1530 – thus excluding any direct connection with Valla, who died in 1500 – and held that this manuscript, along with four others penned by the same scribe, could have been exploited by the Modenese physician Agostino Gadaldini for the Giunta’s edition of Galen (Venice, 1565)⁴. However, Petit’s arguments do not rule out that the *content* of Mut. gr. 213 could be known to Valla: its model(s) (as with other Modenese medical manuscripts) is still unknown, and Valla – both in the *De expetendis* and in some of his translations – demonstrates knowledge of at least two of the texts contained there.

The hypothesis that the antigraph(s) of 213 may have been owned or consulted by Valla will be considered in more detail by Tamara Martí Casado in the following paper. For the moment, we will stop on a close-up analysis of these sets of folios

grouped by Puntoni as medical *excerpta* and *opuscula*. In this paper, I will deal with Mut. gr. 61, ff. 31^r-33^r and Mut. gr. 213, ff. 239^v-242^r. Tamara Martí Casado will examine the content of Mut. gr. 213, ff. 224^v-239^r in the following contribution. Our aim is to shed light on these excerpts to enrich our knowledge of the codices in which they are transmitted, looking for the connections they may reveal with the work of Giorgio Valla as a translator and compiler of medical texts.

1. MUT. GR. 61 ff. 31^r, 1-12 – 31^v, 2

The Anonymi medici *De morborum temporibus* and its (partial) translation by Valla

The first text we encounter upon when opening the Mut. gr. 61 at folio 31^r is a short, anonymous (and unedited) text running for twenty-six lines over a little more than a folio. We entitle it *Anonymi medici de morborum temporibus* after the Latin heading added *in margine* in the only other known witness of this writing (Vat. Pal. gr. 143, f. 172^v), concurrently identified by Thibault Miguet in his enquiry on our Mutinensis⁵. The collation of the two witnesses (penned by the same copyist) does not allow to fully address the corrupted state of this text. Since a thorough edition would be beyond the scope of this paper, we will focus on those points of the writing that appear sufficiently firm, both conceptually and textually, not to be in patent danger of being challenged by future conjectural emendations. First, its overall content, as we may gather it from the beginning of the fragment, the only part which is sufficiently well preserved: a summary — or, rather, an unprecedented variant, as we will shortly see — of the medical doctrine concerning the four “phases” (*kairoí* or *chrónoi*) in which, according to the so-called Methodical sect, the diachronic progression of diseases must be subdivided. This theory, a development of the typically Hippocratic attentiveness to disease chronobiology, played a major impact in the Imperial period, when the Methodists reached the height of fame and success in the Roman world⁶. It was widely adopted in medical theory and practice in Late Antiquity and beyond, even after the demise of Hellenistic medical schools. In Ancient evidence, the doctrine of *kairoí* invariably splits every disease into 1) “onset” (*archē, initium*), 2) “increase” or “ascent” (*auxēsis, anábasis, epídosis, augmentum*), 3) “paroxysm” or “crisis” (*akmē, status, superpositio*), and 4) “decline” (*parakmē, declinatio*), and links every phase to specific dietetic and therapeutic measures⁷. Our text does not move away from this usual division. Yet it expresses it through unparalleled and suggesting phrasings, focuses on aspects overlooked or omitted in extant evidence, and even displays some doctrinal eccentricity. Let us therefore read it⁸:

Πάντα μὲν τὰ νοσήματα ὁμολογουμένως ἔχουσι τοὺς δ' καιροὺς: ἀρχήν, ἀνάβασιν, ἀκμὴν καὶ παρακμὴν. Ἐπὶ τούτων ζητεῖται· τί ἀρχή, καὶ τί ἀνάβασις, καὶ πότε ἀκμή, καὶ πότε παρακμή. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἂν μὴ προγινώσκωμεν τὴν φύσιν τοῦ νοσήματος, καὶ τὴν ἐναλλαγὴν

τοῦ καιροῦ, οὐκ ἂν εὐλόγως θεραπεύσομεν τὴν ἀληθῆ θεραπείαν. Καὶ εἴπωμεν ἀρχὴ νοσήματος ἐστίν, ὅτε οὐπω ἦν ἡ φύσις νικηθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῆς νοσοποιοῦ ὕλης· ἡ γὰρ τρίτη τῶν ἡμερῶν ποιεῖ τὴν αὐξῆσιν τῆς νοσοποιοῦ ὕλης. Ἀνάβασις δὲ ὅταν αἱ ὀδύνη αὐξῶσιν, καὶ ὁ πυρετὸς πλείον, καὶ τὰ ἀλγύματα νυγματώδη. Ἀκμὴ δὲ ὅταν ταῦτα πάντα φυλάξωσι καιρόν, καὶ οὔτε πλείονα οὔτε ἐλάττονα. Παρακμὴ δὲ ὅταν αἱ ὀδύνη καὶ τὸ βηχίον καὶ ἡ δύσπνοια μετὰ πυρετοῦ τῷ σώματι περιφέρωνται. Ἀμήχανον γὰρ νουσαχθεῖα φῶτα σαῶσαι.

1 Πάντα V : Ἐὰν τὰ M || ἔχουσι V : ἔχωσι M || 2 προγιγνώσκωμεν V : προγιγνώσκομεν M || 4 ἦν *scripsi* : ἦν VM || 5 αὐξῶσιν *scripsi* : αὐξουν VM || 7 περιφέρωνται V : περιφέρονται M.

All diseases, as commonly agreed, have the four phases: onset, increase, peak, and decline. Of these, it is examined [here]: what is the onset, what the increase, when the peak occurs, and when the decline. For unless we know beforehand the nature of the disease and the phase in which the patient is, we will not pursue reasonably the correct therapy. And we say: the onset of the disease is when the nature [of the patient] has not yet been overcome by the disease-causing matter (for the third day produces the increase of the disease-causing matter). The increase is when the pains intensify, the fever even more, and the pains are pricking. The peak is when all these things persist over time, neither greater nor lesser. The decline occurs when the pains, accompanied by a slight cough and difficulty in breathing with fever, spread throughout the body. It is impossible then to save the man burdened by the weight of the disease (my transl.).

It is known that our knowledge of Methodism relies almost entirely on indirect, and generally hostile, sources⁹. And this is all the more true when it comes to the doctrine of the four *kairoí*, whose main attestations, in Ancient literature, are to be found in the production of Galen, the most inimical amongst ancient witnesses on the *secta*. But if we cannot expect exhaustive and objective reports from such informants, it remains that our text, against this background, stands out for the attention it pays to the *symptomatic* features which characterise and make recognisable every *kairós*. The author thus downplays the more usual connection between the orderly succession of phases and the therapies to be adopted for each of them, and proceeds to a thick overview of the patient's conditions chiefly through the lens of symptomatology¹⁰. This point is at times touched upon in Classical sources, but never explored in detail. The author of the Pseudo-Galenic *Introductio sive medicus*, for instance, hastily alluded to the “significant appearances” (*episēmasiai*) to examine in each phase of the disease, while Galen, in his *De crisibus*, lays stress on the importance of the *epiphainómena* of pathologies in view of correctly pinpointing their different stages¹¹. But it is only in Byzantine medical writings, as we will see later, that we may recognize a focus on symptomatology somehow comparable to what appears in our text, where this issue is made explicit and developed, at least as regards the three last *kairoí*.

The first, the *archē*, is defined without symptomatologic concerns as the period in which the “nature” (*physis*) of the patient “has not yet been overcome (*nikētheisa*) by the disease-causing matter”¹². The image of the pathologic process as a “fight” between the patient and the disease is rooted already in the Hippocratic *Aphorisms*,

although expressed differently through military metaphors. But, interestingly, similar phrasings recur in medical literature often in connection with this work (as it is also the case with our fragment, as we will see in next paragraph)¹³.

The passage to the second phase is defined by the increase of the *materia peccans* that takes place on the third day after the onset of the disease: this corresponds to what, from Methodist jargon onwards, was called *diatriton/diatritus*, and designated in Classical sources the three-day period at the end of which the disease turns to paroxysm¹⁴. But here, conversely, this threshold leads to the intermediary phase of *anabasis*, when sufferings and fevers intensify, and “pains [become] pricking” (*algēmata nygmatōdē*): once again, we are dealing with a standard expression in medical language¹⁵, relatively frequent in Greek medical literature in connection to pleurisy, cough, fever, and dyspnea¹⁶. In our fragment, such symptoms characterize the “decline” of the disease (*parakmē*) and are not mentioned with reference to *anabasis*, where it would be more natural to find them. However, this is not the last of the oddnesses one may spot in these few lines. The *akmē*, against all expectations, is not described as the climax of the disease’s strength, as it was the case since the Hippocratic writings, but as the phase in which the symptoms of the *anabasis* stabilise and do not vary either in nature or in intensity. It is instead in the *parakmē* that the patient’s conditions are said to worsen, at the opposite of what we find in other medical texts. Take, for instance, the definition of *parakmē* given by Aëtius of Amida: “The decline is when some or all of the aforementioned symptoms begin to *diminish*, and the pulses return to a certain extent to regularity”¹⁷. Quite a different picture from the one we find described in our anonymous text, where we read that pains spread all over the body as fever, cough and difficulty of breathing arise. The author also makes use of a sophisticated language to express in these lines the hopelessness of the patient’s situation: “it is impossible to save the man burdened by the weight of the disease” (ἀμήχανον γὰρ νοσηχθέα φῶτα σαῶσαι). Here he assembles the compound νοσηχθέα φῶτα, attested so far only in Oppian’s didascallic poem *Halieutica*, with the Homeric infinitive σαῶσαι¹⁸.

I will attempt a complete edition of this text in a further study since what follows the section quoted *supra* appears corrupted and uncertain to the point of being unintelligible in several points. All in all, it is not easy to frame our excerpt within a precise context. Its focus on symptoms makes it surely closer to Byzantine developments on the ancient doctrine of *kairoí* than to Classical sources on the same topics¹⁹. Still, as far as we can judge from Medieval medical literature in Greek, its content and style, and the theoretical variations it displays if compared to other sources enable us to consider it as an unexplainable exception: how might the *akmē* of a disease be something different from its peak? How could its decline be the moment in which symptoms are most significant? We are left with the doubt that the text simply lacks consistency, and that his doctrinal and stylistic extravagances are nothing but the reveries of a medical student lately ended up under the eyes of an inadvertent copyist.

However, Valla's judgment on this text (that he reads directly in the Mut. gr. 61) must have been different, since we find a Latin translation of it in his *De expetendis et fugiendis* immediately after a short section on the prognosis of diachronic development of diseases²⁰. His version stops at roughly the same point where we had to interrupt the transcription of the handwritten text, most likely for the same reasons. He entitles the text *Præsagia medicorum clarorum alia* ("other prognostic signs according to some renowned physicians"):

Præterea cum morbi ut receptum iam est quatuor habeant tempora principium, ascensum, acumen, et declinationem in his quaeritur principium et reliqua. Nam nisi morbi naturam praesagiamus et temporis mutationem, non satis idoneam adhibere curam poterimus. Principium ergo morbi est cum natura non amplius opponitur superata ab ea, quæ gignit morbum materia. Ascensus est cum dolores capiunt incrementum et febris intendit, doloresque exulcerant. Acumen cum hæc omnia tempus custodiunt, neque maius, neque minus. Declinatio cum dolores difficultas anhelitus et si ita evenit tussis cum febris in corpore divagantur. Hic intendenda medico acies in ægri pariter et morbi naturam.

The theoretical strangenesses of the passage seem to have gone unnoticed by its translator, who chooses to polish its textual asperities without questioning its content. Valla resolves fluently the *errata lectio* of his codex (ἐὰν τὰ μὲν τὰ νοσήματα, 31^r, 1), perhaps suspecting a mutilated *incipit*, and renders the remainder of its source with no significant variations. He leaves aside the literary-fashioned *iunctura* at 31^r, 15 (ἀμήχανον γὰρ etc.), replacing it with a maxim-like sentence ("the physician must pay attention to both the nature of the patient and that of the illness") which is probably an attempt to make sense of a mangled clause running from 31^r, 22 to 31^v, 2, whose substance is attributed there to Galen. Then, he skips almost completely the lines between 31^r, 15 and 31^v, 2, also far from being clear, and leaps directly to the next readable section of his manuscript. We will walk in step with Valla, taking briefly into account what follows the *De morborum temporibus* in the Mut. gr. 61 and in the *De expetendis et fugiendis rebus*.

2. MUT. GR. 61 ff. 31^v, 4 – 32^r, 4 and 32^r, 20 – 33^r, 7

a. Hippocratic *Aphorisms* and other *excerpta*

Another feature linking our fragment on the phases of diseases to Byzantine medical erudition is its close connection to the Hippocratic *Aphorisms*. In some cases, notably in Theophilus Protospatharius, the doctrine of *kairoí* works as a hermeneutical tool for elucidating and commenting those aphorisms emphasising the diachronic progression of pathologies and, consequently, the therapy to be administered in each case: the Methodic typology of the four phases gives an exact shape in which to enclose the aphoristic empiricism of Hippocrates²¹. Although reversed, a similar pattern is recognizable in the layout of the folios we are dealing with. Here, after two sentences supposedly rephrasing the teachings of Galen and Hippocrates (31^r, 22 – 31^v, 4), the text of which

is mostly nonsensical as we read it, we find a lengthy selection from the *Aphorisms*, not preceded by any heading or subtitle, alternating with texts attributed *in margine* to other authors. Yet, in lieu of a commentary on single aphorisms clarifying the original text through the rule of the four phases, as usual in other sources, we have here an unconventional account of this doctrine followed by a sequence of some thirty extracts.

It is difficult to discern a common thread in this anthology. The reading of the excerpts shows that only four of them deal with moments or degrees of disease, namely the first quoted in the series (which reads here *ὁκόταν γὰρ ἀκμάζη τὸ νόσημα, τότε λεπτοτάτη διαίτη ἀναγκαῖον χρέεσθαι*, 31^v, 4-6, “it is when the disease is at its height that it is necessary to use the most restricted regime”, *Aph.*, I, 8, transl. Jones]), while any evident compilatory logic seems to lie behind the choice of the following ones, taken from four over the seven *tmēmata* (“sections”) of which the whole work is divided into²². Besides, other details indicate that the text we read here does not come from the direct tradition of the *Aphorisms* but from those witnesses assembling in text form the lemmas taken from later commentary²³. It shows similarities with variants attested in the lemmas of later commentaries to the work²⁴, and, most importantly, it includes in its selection a spurious aphorism attested only in Theophilus’ commentary²⁵. Only a rigorous comparison of these lines with the other witnesses related to the indirect tradition from the commentaries could indicate a possible antigraph of these folios in Mut. gr. 61. Nevertheless, we have now more elements to confirm the relation of the fragment *De morborum temporibus* with Theophilus we already noticed from different points of view.

Other short excerpts are also included in these pages. A note apparently by the same hand in the left margin on f. 31^v, approximately at lines 4-5, indicates the presence of an excerpt from Philumenos (Φιλουμένου). This attribution can be confirmed. The text running from lines 7 to 9 corresponds to a quotation of this author made by Aëtius on nosebleeds in fevers²⁶. On f. 32^r, 4 a margin note ascribes to Theophilus a portion of text (ll. 4-13) lacking any relevant correspondence with other extant works, while at lines 14-19 a text attributed *in margine* to Galen turns out to be a further quotation from Philumenos transmitted by Aëtius (it is a text describing the “appropriate timing” (*kai-rós*) for the administration of “cold compresses” in the therapy of *kausos* – namely, the *akmē*)²⁷. From this point onwards, the anthology from the *Aphorisms* continues until the end of the section of Mut. gr. 61 that we intended to analyse here (33^r, 7).

b. Valla’s translation of the Aphorisms

In the *De expetendis*, Valla makes follow his rendering of *De morborum temporibus* by a translation of the *Aphorisms* contained in the next folios. Untitled and separated from what precedes simply by a full stop, this version covers half-page (the sixth) in the paragraph *Præsagia medicorum clarorum alia*. Valla’s interest along these pages of his codex goes primarily to the *Aphorisms*, even if he does not always distinguish

what is genuinely Hippocratic from what it is not, unless when pointed out in the margins of his manuscript. But, as we already know, not every part of the text unrelated to the *Aphorisms* was marked as such by the copyist, and the sequence of the excerpts was thematically coherent enough to mislead anyone not fully acquainted with the style and language of the work. This was probably the case with Valla, as he merged the obscure wording of the alleged paraphrases of Hippocrates at f. 31^v 2-4 with the text of the *Aph.* I, 8 immediately following (4-6), attempting to give meaning and structure to those muddled lines:

Ἴπποκράτης δὲ τὴν ἀκμὴν ὀπάζειν ζαμενῶς λεπτὴν τροφήν καὶ χνοώδη, μὴ ποιούσαν ἄραδον ἐν ταῖς πέψεσιν· ὀκόταν γὰρ ἀκμάζει τὸ νόσημα, τότε λεπτοτάτη διαίτη ἀναγκαῖον χρέεσθαι.

Hippocratis in continuis tenuissimum victum esse oportere ducit, ne qua inter concoquendum perturbatio orta, augeat morbum.

Later, he omits to translate a few words that could have had all the appearance of a mutilated aphorism and moves then on to what we have already recognised as a variant reading of a sentence from Theophilus (at least in the form we read it today in Aëtius)²⁸. Valla's version, however, misses the point of the passage, where it is stated precisely that nosebleeds in feverish people on the fourth day of illness are a dangerous and bad sign (σφαλερόν τε καὶ κακ[ι]όν). Which he renders instead as follows:

Quarto die in febricitantibus e naribus stillans sanguis, tam malum, quam bonum potest portendere.

Accepting the authorships suggested in the margin notes on f. 32^r, Valla similarly skips lines 4-20 (on which see *supra*) and continues his translation from the resumption of the text of the *Aphorisms* (l. 20). A global analysis of Valla's translation of this anthology is another of the points I hope to return to in a future study, along with the identification of the sources of the continuation of the chapter *De praesagia aliorum clarorum medicorum*, in which, along with Hippocrates', are mentioned the names of Aëtius and Galen.

3. MUT. GR. 213, ff. 239^r, 3 – 242^r, 15.

Anonymi opusculum *De Phlebotomia*

We now leave the Mut. gr. 61 having probed its novel relationships with Valla's *De Expetendis*, and we turn to the analysis of Mut. gr. 213, ff. 239^v, 3 – 242^r, 15. In his catalogue, Puntoni reported the title, the incipit, and the desinit of the *opusculum* on bloodletting contained in these folios (Ἑρμηνεία τῆς φλεβοτομίας · καὶ ὅσαι φλέβες εἰσὶν ἐν τῷ σώματι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου *inc.* Ὁ ἀνθρώπος ἔχει φλέβας δύο ὀπίσω εἰς τὰ ὠτία *des.* καὶ μακρὰ γίνεται ἡ ζωὴ · καὶ πρὸς ὑγίαν τῶν ταύτην ἐν καιρῷ πρὸς φερομένων

ἑαυτοῖς). At least four further witnesses of this treatise are already known, as a simple search in the *incipitaire* of the database *Pinakes* may reveal²⁹.

The text is a short compendium of venesection, in which a few anatomical rudiments on the number and location of veins in the human body are accompanied by descriptions of phlebotomy techniques, indications on the preparation of remedies to revive the patient in the event of fainting or for the treatment of inflamed or swollen incisions. The author urges attention to the individual condition of patients – age, sex, general disposition, and temperament – and concludes his text with an optimistic commendation of the beneficial effects of bloodletting:

Τί δὲ ἔστι τὸ ὄφελος ἐκ τοῦ φλεβοτομεῖσθαι ; καθαρίζονται φρένες, ληθαργία παύει, καθαρίζεται κύστις, μυελοὶ κεφαλῆς καὶ πάντων τῶν ὀστέων θερμαίνονται, ἡ ἀκοὴ ἀνοίγει, τὰ δάκρυα σφίγγει, ἀνορεξία παύει, ὁ στόμαχος καθαίρεται, ἡ κοιλία προτρέπεται, ἡ φωνὴ ἀνορθοῦται, ἡ νόησις ὀξύνει, οἱ ἦχοι τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῶν ὠτῶν παύονται, ἡ δίψα σβέννυται, τὸ καθαρὸν καὶ ἀρμόδιον αἷμα τρέφεται, τὸ ἀλλότριον διώκεται· καὶ μακρὰ γίνεται ἡ ζωὴ καὶ πρὸς ὑγίαν τῶν ταύτην ἐν καιρῷ προσφερομένων ἑαυτοῖς.

1 πάβεται V || 2 θερμαίνεται V || 3 σβεννύεται M A P Ps || 4 τὸ ἴδιον αἷμα V || 4-5 διώκεται. ἡ ζωὴ πρὸς ὑγίαν τῶν ταύτην αἰρούντων V.

What is the benefit of undergoing venesection? The mind is cleansed, lethargy ceases, the bladder is cleared, the marrow of the head and all the bones are warmed, hearing opens, tears cease, inappetence stops, the stomach is cleared, the abdomen is stimulated, the voice is restored, thinking sharpens, noises in the body and in the ears cease, thirst is quenched, the pure and well-balanced blood is nourished and the superfluous is expelled. Life is prolonged, and [oriented] towards the health of those who conduct it with moderation for their own benefit³⁰.

A search for the contents of this text in Valla's *De expetendis* produced no results. Valla dealt with venesection in a dozen of chapters of his *De Medicina*, gathering knowledge allegedly from Hippocrates, Galen, Aëtius, and Antyllus, though without accurate references to his sources³¹. Apart from unspecific resemblances due to general character of the topic, the comparison of these chapters with the *opusculum* contained in Mut. gr. 213 did not highlight any parallels: Of course, the lack of any relationship between Valla's work and our *Hermeneia tēs phlebotomías* does not prove that the Italian humanist did not know the manuscript(s) from which the Mut. gr. 213 would be copied two or three decades after his death. He could have compiled his chapters on bloodletting from far more reliable and prestigious authorities than from an anonymous (and rather trivial) treatise, and this choice would certainly need no further justification. Be as it may, once brought to its end our share of this exploration of the *excerpta et opuscula medica* reported by Puntoni, we leave the inquiry on the links between the works contained in Mut. gr. 213 and Valla's encyclopedia to the following paper by Tamara Martí Casado.

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1. See foreword to the anastatic reimpression of Puntoni's *Index* in: Samberger C (hrsg. v.), *Catalogi codicum Graecorum qui in minoribus bibliothecis Italicis asservantur*. In duo volumina collati et novissimis additamentis aucti. Indicem adiecit Dino Raffin. (*Catalogi codicum Graecorum lucis ope reimpressi*) Lipsiae: Zentral-Antiquariat der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik; 1965-1968. p. 295.
2. Cfr. Maniaci M, *La catalogazione dei manoscritti greci conservati in Italia: stato e prospettive*. In: Crisci E, Maniaci M, Orsini P (coord.), *La descrizione dei manoscritti: esperienze a confronto*. Cassino: Università degli Studi di Cassino, Dipartimento di Filologia e Storia; 2010. p. 117-120.
- 3.. Nutton V, *John Caius and the manuscripts of Galen*. Cambridge: The Cambridge Philological Society (Supplementary Volume) 1987;13:40.
4. Petit C, *Les manuscrits de Modène et la tradition de l'Introductio sive medicus du Pseudo-Galien*. In: Boudon-Millot V, Garzya A, Jouanna J, Roselli A (a cura di), *Ecdotica e ricezione dei testi medici greci*. Atti del V Convegno Internazionale, Napoli, 1-2- ottobre 2004. Napoli: D'Auria; 2006; *Ead.*, *Gadaldini's Library*. *Mnemosyne* 2007;60(1):132-138.
5. See Miguet T, in this volume.
6. See Magdelaine C, *Histoire du texte et édition critique, traduite et commentée, des Aphorismes d'Hippocrate*. Thèse de doctorat, Université de Paris IV; 1994. vol. I, pp. 17-20 for the distinction of different phases of diseases in Hippocratic *Aphorisms*.
7. See Gourevitch D, *Le vie della conoscenza. La medicina nel mondo romano*. In: Grmek MD (a cura di), *Il pensiero medico occidentale*. 2007 [1993]. pp. 121-165, pp. 133-134; Nutton V, *Ancient Medicine*. London and New York: Routledge; 2013. p. 195; Pellegrin P, *Ancient Medicine and its Contribution to the Philosophical Tradition*. In: Gill ML, Pellegrin P (eds), *A Companion to Ancient Philosophy*. Oxford etc: Blackwell; 2006. pp. 664-685, p. 676.
8. I edit this section of the *De morborum temporibus* after the collation of both witnesses Mut. gr. 61 (M), f. 31r, 1-14 and Vat. Pal. gr. 143 (V), f. 172r, 10 – 172v, 2.
9. The only Methodist works fully preserved until our time are Caelius Aurelianus' *Celeres et tardae passiones*, a 5th-century Latin enhanced paraphrasis of a lost treatise on acute

- and chronic diseases written by the 2nd-century Greek physician Soranus of Ephesus, and the extant gynecological œuvre by this latter, the *Gynaecia*.
10. For the essential connection between the phases of disease and the phases of treatment, which the Methodists seem to have conceived in terms of plain identity, see [Gal.], *Opt. sect.*, XXXV-XXXVI (Kühn I: 195, 8 – 197, 2 = fragm. 279 Tecusan, ll. 17-41, esp. ll. 35-38: “The phase of the disease and the phase of remedy is one and the same. For it is possible to speak, in one sense, about the phase of the disease [...], and, in a different sense, about the phase of the remedy”, transl. in: Tecusan M, *The fragments of the Methodists. Volume One: Methodism outside Soranus*. Leiden-Boston: Brill; 2004. pp. 724-725), and [Gal.], *Intr.*, XIII, 7 (ed. in Petit C, Galien. *Le médecin*. Introduction. Paris: Les Belles Lettres [CUF]; 2009. pp. 49, 24-50, 1 = K XIV: 731, 9-12): Οἱ δὲ καιροὶ τῶν βοηθημάτων ἐν τε ὄλῳ τῷ νοσήματι καὶ ταῖς μερικαῖς ἐπισημασίαις εἰσὶ τέσσαρες, ἀρχή, ἐπίδοσις, ἀκμή, παρακμή, “The phases [for the administration] of the remedies, both in the entire disease and in the symptoms relating to its parts, are four: onset, ascent, peak, and decline” (my transl.; see also *ivi*: XIII, 10 for differences in the treatment of *causis* depending on whether the disease is in its *archē* or *akmē*, and similarly Cael. Aur., *Chron.*, III, 1, 11 [ed. in: Bendz G, Pape I, Cælii Aureliani Celerum Passionum libri III Tardarum Passionum libri V. Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR (*Corpus Medicorum Latinorum* VI. 1). Berlin: 1990. p. 684, 32-33] as regards the treatment of different *tempora* in asthma).
 11. [Gal.], *Intr.*, XIII, 7 (ed. Petit C, see previous note); Gal., *Cris.*, I, IX (Kühn IX: 582, 18 = Alexanderson 1967: 90 = fragm. 143 Tecusan, l. 4).
 12. I think that the notion of *physis* should be understood here in line with its Hippocratic meaning of “individual innate complexion of a patient”, as opposed to its momentary variations (see Jouanna J (éd.), *Hippocrate. De l’ancienne médecine*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres [CUF]; 1990. p. 167).
 - 13.. On the imagery of the disease as a “fight” in the *Aphorisms*, see on this Magdelaine M (see ref. note 6). vol. I, p. 14. In Galen’s *De symptomatum causis*, the syntagm φύσις νικηθεῖσα indicates the lethal unbalance of a patient’s complexion caused by feverish rigours (it is a gloss on *Aph.* IV, 46: Kühn VII: 190, 6-11: λέγει οὖν ὁ Ἱπποκράτης ἐν ἀφορισμοῖς, ἦν ῥίγος ἐμπύπτῃ πυρετῷ μὴ διαλείποντι, ἥδη ἀσθενεῖ ἐόντι, θανάσιμον. ἐν γὰρ τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ῥίγεσιν ὄρμησε μὲν ἡ φύσις ἐπὶ τὸ διώσασθαι τὰ λυποῦντα, νικηθεῖσα δὲ καταπίπτει καὶ κατασβέννυται, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐστὶν ὀλέθριον τὸ σύμπτωμα, “thus Hippocrates, in the *Aphorisms*, said: ‘If in a continued fever without intermission a rigor attacks someone already weak, it is fatal sign’. For in such rigors, the *nature* [of the patient] sets in motion distressing things for the purpose of expulsion but, *having been overcome*, it collapses and is quenched, and because of this the symptom is fatal”, transl. in Johnston I (ed.), *Galen. On Diseases and Symptoms*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 2006. p. 258 with slight modifications). In Theophilus Protospatharius, the doctrine of the four *kairoí* serves retrospectively to elucidate an *Aphorism* by Hippocrates (I, 8) on the necessity of following a light regime when the disease reaches its height (*akmázei*). Theophilus writes that the *archē* occurs “when the nature fights against (*agōnizetai*) the disease”, conveying the same thought of the anonymous author of our fragment with negligible variations. See Theoph. Protosp., *In Hipp. Aph.*, Dietz: II, 267, 35 – 167, 1 8 (on which cfr. *infra*). See also Io. Act., *De urinis*, IV, 15, 1 (though without any reference to the *Aphorisms*): ἡ φύσις [...] τῷ πλήθει [χυμῶν] νικηθεῖσα. Another variant in Steph. Med., *In Gal. Ad Glau.*, Dietz: I, 343, 1-2: ἡ φύσις οὐκ ἀνέχεται ποιήσασθαι τὸν τοῦ νοσήματος ἀγῶνα.

- The phrasing may also echo religious figures of speech, see notably Io. Dam., *Fid.*, III, 20 (Kotter, p. 162, 64, 15: ἡ φύσις ἡ πάλαι νικηθεῖσα), where it designates the human “nature”, “overcome” by the sin, before being redeemed by the Christ.
14. On the *diatritus* see Leith D, The *diatritus* and therapy in Graeco-Roman medicine. *Class Q.* 2009;2:581-600.
 - 15.. See Paul. Aeg., III, 22, 26, 4 (carcinoma); *ibid.*, IV, 18, 8, 9; Sor., *Gyn.*, III, 37, 5; *Id.*, *Sign. fract.*, 15, 1, 4-5; Orib., *Coll. med.*, VII, 13, 9, 2; *Id.*, *Syn. ad Eusth.*, IX, 7, 2, 3; [Orib.], *Eclog.*, 149, 2, 4; Gal., *De cur. rat. per ven. sect.*, XXIII (Kühn xi: 316, 2); *Id.*, *In Hipp. Aph.*, VI, 5 (Savino: 92, 12-13 = Kühn xviii: 14, 1-2 [τὸ ἀλγημα... μηδὲ νυγματῶδες]); Aët., VII, 11, 24; VIII, 34, 39 (Olivieri: 263, 30; 447, 24); XVI, 75, 11 (Zervos: 120, 7); [Gal.], *De rem. parabil.*, I, *Prooem.* (Kühn xiv: 314, 12-14).
 16. See Paul. Aeg., VI, 96, 1, 7-9 (no mention of fever); Sor., *De sign. fract.*, 17, 1, 3; Alex. Trall., *Therap.*, VI, 1 (Puschmann: II, 229, 6-9); Gal., *De constit. artis med.*, 14 (Kühn i: 274, 5-6 = Fortuna: 98, 28-29); *Id.*, *De loc. aff.*, II, 5, 11 (K VIII: 86, 9 = Gärtner: 324, 22); II, 8, 35 (Kühn VIII: 110, 15 = Gärtner: 352, 22-23), II, 10, 4 (Kühn VIII: 121, 15 = Gärtner: 366, 6); *De cris.*, I, 2 (Kühn IX: 554, 6-8) and I, 5, (Kühn IX: 563, 13-14); *Id.*, *In Hipp. Aph.*, I, 12 (Kühn xviii: 399, 13-15).
 17. Aët. med., V, 14, 1-3 (= Olivieri: 12, 5-7): παρακμὴ δὲ ἐστὶν ἀρχομένων μειοῦσθαι τινων ἢ πάντων τῶν εἰρημένων συμπτωμάτων καὶ τῶν σφυγμῶν ποσῶς εἰς ἐταξίαν ἐρχομένων.
 18. Cfr. Opp., *Hal.*, I, 298.
 19. See for instance Anon. Schol. *In Hipp. Aph.*, I, xii (Vind. med. gr. 28, ed. in Dietz: II, 273); Theoph. Protop., *In Hipp. Aph.*, II, i (Dietz: II, 294-295); *ivi*: II, xxx (Dietz: II, 324).
 20. Valla G, *De expetendis et fugiendis rebus opus*. Venice: Manutius; 1501. vol. II, lib. xxiv = *De Medicina I*, 5 (pages are not numbered). Credit for the finding goes to Tamara Martí Casado.
 - 21.. Cfr. the examples *supra*, n. 14.
 - 22.. The aphorisms quoted here are: I 8, VII 84 (dubious, see *infra* n. 30), IV 49, IV 46, IV 50, IV 52, VI 22, VI 54, VII 1, VII 4, VII 42, IV 48, IV 29, IV 30, IV 31, VII 59, I 86, IV 35, IV 43, IV 53, IV 54, IV 55, IV 58, IV 57, IV 59, IV 60, IV 61, IV 63, IV 65, IV 66, IV 67, IV 82.
 - 23.. See Magdelaine C (see ref. n. 6 and 13): I, 162-196 for the *Aphorisms*’ indirect tradition stemming from Galen’s and Theophilus’ commentaries. The Mut. gr. 61 was not collated by Magdelaine in her edition. It is nevertheless of no value for the edition of the text.
 24. See for instance f. 31v, 18-19: Ὅσα ἀλγήματα καὶ ῥήγματα ἐκ τοῦ νότου εἰς τοὺς ἀγκῶνας καταβαίνει, φλεβοτομή λύει = Hipp., *Aph.*, VI 22 (cfr. ed. Magdelaine 1994: II, 452, 9-10: ὁκόσα ῥήγματα ἐκ τοῦ νότου ἐς τοὺς ἀγκῶνας καταβαίνει, φλεβοτομή λύει – The reading ὅσα is attested only in the lemmas of Galen’s commentary [specifically in Marc. Gr. 278 and Scorial. Φ III], while ἀλγήματα καὶ ῥήγματα, besides in the oldest witness of the direct tradition of the *Aphorisms*, the Par. Suppl. gr. 446, in two codices containing the commentary of Theophilus’ [Vat. gr. 283 and Vat. Urb. gr. 64]; cfr. ed. Magdeleine: II: *ad loc* and ed. Savino: 116).
 - 25.. Ed. Dietz: II, 422, 30: τὰ ἐν ἀρτίησι ἡμέρησι κρινόμενα δύσκριτα καὶ φιλυπόστροφα (*om. ἡμέρησι M*). Cfr. *ad loc.*: *hic aphorismus in vulgatis nostris editionibus omittitur*.
 - 26.. Cfr. Aët., V, 128 (Olivieri: 103, 26-28): Ἐκ τῶν Φιλουμένου (*Mmg Φιλουμένου*). τὴν ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐν πυρετοῖς γιγνομένην ἐκ τῶν ρίνων στάξιν τοῦ αἵματος κάκιστον σημεῖον (*M ἐν τοῖσι πυρεταίνουσι καὶ ἐκ τῶν ρίνων γιγνομένην ἀπόσταξιν αἵματος, καὶ σφαλερόν τε καὶ κάκιον*) Ἴπποκράτης λέγει.

- 27.. Aët., V, 78 (Olivieri: 54, 10-15): καιρὸς δὲ τῶν ἐμψυχόντων ἐπιθεμάτων καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων ἢ ἀκμῇ τῆς ἐπισημασίας. κατὰ γὰρ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ἐπιδόσεις τῶν παροξυσμῶν, ἀνωμάλως ἔτι τοῦ σώματος (M ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος) διακειμένου καὶ τῆς θερμασίας περὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα συνεδρευούσης, προσαγόμενα ταῦτα διαχέει μὲν τὴν αἴσθησιν ἐπ' ὀλίγον, ἀποκρουόμενα (M ἀποκρουόμενον) δὲ τὸ θερμὸν εἰς (M ἐς) τὸ βάθος πλείονος βλάβης αἴτια γίνονται.
- 28.. F. 31v, 6: Περὶ τῶν ἐν πυρετοῖς ρεουσῶν αἷμα ἐκ τῶν ῥινῶν, cfr. *Aph.*, VII 84 Magdelaine: ὁκόσοισιν ἂν ἐν τοῖσι πυρετοῖσι τεταρταίοισιν ἐοῦσιν αἷμα ἐκ τῶν ῥινῶν ῥυῆ, πονηρόν. The title-like line in MUT. GR. 61 could nonetheless have served as the heading of Philumenos paragraph quoted after (it reads as follows in Aëtius: Θεραπεία ἐφ' ὧν στάξις αἵματος ἀπὸ ῥινῶν ἐν πυρετοῖς παρακολουθεῖ, V, 128, Olivieri: 103, 25).
29. Laur. Ant. 101 ff. 71r, 1 – 74r, 12 [= A], Par. gr 2303 ff. 79r, 1 – 82r, 13 [= P], Par. Suppl. gr. 1193 ff. 1r, 1 – 6r, 5 [= Ps], Vat. Gr. 293 ff. 79r-84v [= V]). I have collated all the witnesses with a view to an eventual edition of the treatise.
30. My translation (the last period is most likely incomplete and my translation therefore tentative).
- 31.. Valla 1501: Liber XXIV (= *De medicina*, I), VI. *De missione sanguinis*. VII. *Quid considerandum in missione sanguinis*, VIII. *Hippocrates*. Liber XXVI (= *De medicina*, II), IX. *De sanguinis detractioe per venas quam græci phlebotomiam vocant ex eisque Galenus scripsit & Aetius*. Cap. X. *De mensura detractioe* Cap. XI. *Quae sint secundae venae*. Cap. XII. *De concisionis magnitudine, ex Antylo (sic)*. Cap. XIII. *De figura concisionis* Cap. XIV. *Quo tempore sit detrahendus sanguis ex Galeno*. Cap. XV. *De detractioe ex Galeno*. Cap. XVI. *De arteriæ sectione ex Galeno*. Cap. XVII. *De astrictione arteriaca*.



SAPIENZA
UNIVERSITÀ DI ROMA



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E-ISSN 2531-7288
ISSN 0394/9001



MEDICINA NEI SECOLI

Journal of History of Medicine
and Medical Humanities

36/3 (2024) 77-92

Revised:

Accepted:

DOI:

Corresponding author:

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Exploring the medical *excerpta et opuscula* in the Greek manuscript collection of the Estense Library and their connections with Giorgio Valla's *œuvre* – Part 2: MUT. GR. 213, ff. 235^v-237^r

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ABSTRACT

Following up on the scope of the previous paper, this study will focus on two medical texts contained in MUT. GR. 213, ff 235^v-237^r mostly through the lens of their textual transmission. My analysis has identified in the first text (f. 235^v) a brief twofold compilation based on Aetius of Amida's *Libri Medicinales* on the prognosis of favourable and unfavourable signs in diseases (*a. Περί προγνωστικῶν σημείων υγείας τε καὶ ζωῆς τῶν ἄρρώστων, b. Σημεία θανάτου*), while the second text offers a new witness of the short anonymous treatise *De constitutione mundi et hominis* (Περὶ τῆς κατασκευῆς τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου) already edited in 1841 by J. L. Ideler (partly) and in 2006 J. Jouanna, used by Valla as a source in his encyclopedia *De expetendis et fugiendis rebus opus* (1501).

Keywords: Estense Library - *Mutinenses Graeci* - Mut. gr. 213 - Giorgio Valla's *De expetendis et fugiendis rebus* - Ancient Greek and Byzantine medicine - Renaissance medicine - Medical Humanism

The previous study on the Mut. gr. 213, folios 239^r-242^r, conducted by Sandro Passavanti has enlightened some unknown medical excerpts, however, no specific correspondence could not be established with Giorgio Valla's work. This paper is another attempt to connect other medical extracts of the mutinensis with the œuvre of the humanist.

The codex Mut. gr. 213 contains medical extracts on folios 235-237 that had not been identified to this day. Unnoticed in Puntoni's catalog, they appear under the heading: *excerpta varia ex Theophili, Galeni, Hippocratis et ceterorum medicorum operibus*¹. Analyzing the nature of these medical texts, their sources, and their possible reading by Giorgio Valla in his treatise *De medicina* (included in his encyclopedia *De expectendis et fugiendis rebus opus*, 1501), can clarify certain aspects of the history of the Mutinensis manuscript and the sources used by the humanist when composing his magna opera.

1. MUT. GR. 213, ff. 235^v, 11 – 236^r, 5

A compendium on prognostic signs from Aetius of Amida

After a selection of passages on urines from the Hippocratic treatise *De natura hominis* and the so-called *Diaeta salubri*² (*Nat. hom. 15-24*, from f. 224^v), the Mut. gr. 213 contains a short text on the signs announcing the good or bad resolution of diseases (Περὶ προγνωστικῶν σημείων ὑγείας τε καὶ ζωῆς τῶν ἀρρώστων, followed by a section on Σημεία, θανάτου).

This text, hitherto gone unnoticed in philological literature, proves to be an abridgment from chapters 3 (Τίνα ἐστὶν ἀγαθὰ σημεῖα) and 4 (Τίνα ἐστὶ φαῦλα σημεῖα) from the fifth book of Aetius of Amida's *Libri Medicinales*³. I provide here below the transcription of the text contained in the Mut. gr. 213 alongside its source, underlining the parallels and adding in footnotes some variants indicated by Olivieri⁴.

Mut. gr. 213, 235^v, 17-23

Περὶ προγνωστικῶν σημείων ὑγείας τε καὶ ζωῆς τῶν ἀρρώστων:

Εὐχρουν πρόσωπον· καὶ αἱ ἐν αὐτῷ αἰσθήσεις οὐσαι κατὰ φύσιν· ἅμα ἀναπνοὴ καὶ διαλέκτω, ἀγαθόν· ἀγαθὸν δὲ, καὶ εὐσχημος κατάκλισις, ὡς μάλιστα εἶθιστο καὶ ὑγειαίνων· τρέφεσθαι δὲ ραδίως, τὸ σῶμα πᾶν· καὶ ἄδιψον εἶναι τὸν νοσοῦντα· καὶ εὖ ἔχειν, περὶ τὰ προσφερόμενα·

Aet. V, ch. 3, 20-24 (ed. Olivieri)

Τίνα ἐστὶν ἀγαθὰ σημεῖα.

εὐσμον⁵ πρόσωπον· δυνήση γὰρ κάκ τοῦ προσώπου μόνου βεβαίαν καὶ πιστὴν πρόγνωσιν λαβεῖν, πρὶν ἄψασθαι τοῦ νοσοῦντος, λέγω δὴ ἐκ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ αἰσθήσεων, ὕψεως ἀκοῆς ὀσφρήσεως· πρὸς τοῦτοις δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀναπνοῆς, ἧς χωρὶς ζῆν οὐχ οἶόν τε, δηλούσης ἡμῖν ὅπως ἡ καρδιά διάκειται. πάρεστι δὲ ἐν τῷ προσώπῳ καὶ τὸ διαλεκτικὸν ὄργανον τῆς γλώττης ἐμφαῖνον ἡμῖν τὴν ῥώμην τε καὶ ἀρρωστίαν τοῦ λογιστικοῦ μορίου τῆς ψυχῆς. ἀγαθὸν δὲ καὶ ἡ εὐσχίμων κατάκλισις, ὡς μάλιστα εἶθιστο ὑγαιῶν⁶ ἐπιστρέφεται⁷ ραδίως. Εὐφορόν τε καὶ τὸ σῶμα πᾶν ὁμαλῶς θερμὸν εἶναι, ἄδιψον ὡς οἶόν τε ὑπάρχειν καὶ τὸ ἐρρῶσθαι τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ εὖ

ἔχειν πρὸς τὰς προσφορὰς ἀγαθόν. ἀγαθὸν δὲ καὶ ἡ εὐπνοία καὶ ἡ εὐταξία τῶν σφυγμῶν· ἐκ τούτων γὰρ καὶ τῶν λεχθησομένων γνωσόμεθα τὴν ῥώμην τε καὶ ἀρρωστίαν τῶν τριῶν ἐνεργειῶν τῆς ψυχῆς· τὸ γὰρ ἐρρῶσθαι τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ τὸ μὴ καταρρεῖν ἐπὶ πόδας, δηλοῖ τὸν ἐγκέφαλον κατὰ πάντα ἐρρῶσθαι· τὸ δὲ εὐανθὲς τοῦ προσώπου τὸν ἐγκέφαλον κατὰ πάντα ἐρρῶσθαι· τὸ δὲ εὐανθὲς τοῦ προσώπου καὶ ἡ εὐπνοία καὶ ἡ εὐσφυξία δηλοῖ τὴν καρδίαν ἐρρῶσθαι. ἔστι γὰρ ὅτε εὐανθὲς γίνεται τὸ πρόσωπον μετὰ δυσπνοίας, ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν περιπνευμονικῶν· τὸ δὲ ἄδιψον εἶναι καὶ εὐ ἔχειν πρὸς τὰς προσφορὰς, τὴν φυσικὴν δύναμιν ἐν τε τῷ ἥπατι καὶ ἐν παντὶ τῷ σώματι ἐρρῶσθαι δηλοῖ.

ἀγαθὸν δὲ, καὶ ὕπνοι χρηστοὶ· καὶ ἰδρώτες, ὅλου τοῦ σώματος εὐκρατοὶ· καὶ ὁμαλοὶ, καὶ σύμμετροι· καὶ ἐν τῷ δέοντι καιρῷ, ἐπιφαινόμενοι· ὑποχόνδριον, ἀνώδυνον, καὶ εὐβαφές· καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἔτι διαχώρημα κοιλίας τῆ καὶ οὐρῶν, καὶ πτυσμάτων ἀπαραπόδιστα, καὶ χρηστὰ φερόμενα· πένεως, γνωρίσματα·+

Mut. gr. 235^v, 23-236^r, 5

Σημεῖα, θανάτου:

Κροτάφων, σύμπτωσις· ὀφθαλμοὶ, πεπηγότης καὶ κοῖλοι· δάκρυον, ἀκούσιον· καὶ τὰ λευκὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ἀποφαινόμενα μὴ εἰθισμένως οὕτω καθέουδειν· κατάκλισις, πονηρὰ· ἐὰν αἱ ρίνες δξύνονται· ἐὰν ὁ εἰς ὀφθαλμὸς, σμικριθῆ· ἐὰν κάρωσις τοῦ ἡμίσεως προσώπου γένηται· ἐὰν ὁ θώραξ ῥέγχι· ἐὰν μελανθῶσι τὰ ἄκρα· ἐὰν οἱ ὄνυχες γρυπώσωσιν· ἐὰν ἄφωτραπή ὁ νοῦς· ἐὰν τὰ διαχωρήματα ὑγρὰ καταρχόμενα, λίγδας ἔχουσιν ἐλεοειδεῖς· ἢ μελαγχολικὸς ἔμετος, ὡς διαχώρημα γένηται.

Ἀγαθὸν δὲ καὶ ὕπνοι χρηστοὶ καὶ ἰδρώτες δι' ὅλου τοῦ σώματος εὐκρατοὶ τε καὶ ὁμαλοὶ καὶ σύμμετροι καὶ ἐν τῷ δέοντι καιρῷ ἐπιφαινόμενοι· ὑποχόνδριον ἀνώδυνον τε εἶναι καὶ εὐβαφές καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἔτι τὰς διαχωρήσεις κοιλίας καὶ οὐρῶν καὶ πτυσμάτων ἀπαραποδίστους τε εἶναι καὶ χρηστὰ τινα πένεως φέρειν γνωρίσματα·

Aet. V, ch. 4, 1-4 (ed. Olivieri)

Τίνα ἐστὶ φαῦλα σημεῖα.

Προσώπου παντὸς καὶ κροτάφων σύμπτωσις, ὀφθαλμοὶ πεπηγότες καὶ κοῖλοι, δάκρυον ἀκούσιον, τὰ λευκὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐν τοῖς ὕπνοις⁸ ὑποφαινόμενα⁹ μὴ ἔχουσιν ἔθους¹⁰ οὕτω καθέουδειν, καὶ τὸ σῶμα καταρρεῖν γε ἐπὶ πόδας καὶ τὸ πρηγῆς¹¹ κεῖσθαι ...

As we can see in this synopsis, the author of our compendium omitted most of the signs carefully listed in his source, but he retained the final mentions of sleep, sweats, and digestion. This could be due either to the particular scope of the compilation or to material issues such as a loss of text during its former transmission. Another point of interest in this reworking is the conclusion of the subsection on the signs announcing the death of the patient, a text that has no parallels either in Aetius or elsewhere. Some lexical elements may suggest it to be a genuine Byzantine addition, as γρυπώσωσιν, ἄφωτραπή, or λίγδας¹².

Other clues lead us to affirm that the excerpts come from a fairly old version of Aetius' work. The comparison with the variants pointed out by Olivieri in his critical edition

shows that our excerpt contains readings from two different branches of the tradition and shares variants with two witnesses: the *Palatinus graecus* 199 (Px, 13th-14th century, φ family branch according to Olivieri), and the *Parisinus graecus* 2228 (Cp, 14th-15th century, χ family branch according to Olivieri).

More can be revealed on the nature and the purpose of this text through research on its transmission, since I was able to find further copies of it in other manuscripts. The *Parisinus graecus* 2303 and the *Laurentianus Antinori* 101, both dated around the 15th century, share filiation links with our *Mutinensis*, as they contain roughly the same treatises in a similar order¹³.

Par. gr. 2303 (15th c.)	Laur. ant. 101 (15th c.)	Mut. gr. 213 (16th c.)
79-82 ^v De venae sectione varia	70 ^v -74 De venae sectione varia	Opera Galenica
82 ^v -87 De natura hominis varia = Περί τῆς κατασκευῆς τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου	74-79 De natura hominis varia = Περί τῆς κατασκευῆς τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου	218-224 ^v De alimentis (Theophanes Chrysobalantes)
87-90 ^v De urinis carmen (Nicephorus Blemmides)	79-84 De urinis carmen (Nicephorus Blemmides)	224 ^v -235 ^v Nat. Hom. 15-24 (de urinis + diaeta salubri)
90^v-91 Exc. Aetius	84-v Exc. Aetius	235^v Exc. Aetius
91-97 De alimentis (Theophanes Chrysobalantes)	84 ^v -92 ^v De alimentis (Theophanes Chrysobalantes)	236-237 De natura hominis varia = Περί τῆς κατασκευῆς τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου
97-107 ^v Medica, De venae sectione varia (Tit. Ὅπως δεῖ τὰς φλεβοτομίας ποιεῖν)	92 ^v – 106 ^v Medica, De venae sectione varia (Tit. Ὅπως δεῖ τὰς φλεβοτομίας ποιεῖν)	237 Genitura varia
110-170 ^v (107 ^v -110: pinax) Theophanes Chrysobalantes, Epitome de curatione morborum	106 ^v -113 ^v Nat. Hom. 15-24 (De diaeta salubri)	239-242 De venae sectione varia

Our excerpt is positioned between texts on urines (namely Nicephorus Blemmides' *De urinis carmen*) and nutrition (the final part of the Hippocratic *De natura hominis* and the *De alimentis* by Theophanes Chrysobalantes), except that in the Modena manuscript the excerpt from Aetius is followed by a treatise also transmitted in the two other witnesses from the 15th century, the *Περί τῆς κατασκευῆς τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* (on which see *infra*). No results were yielded by research on other manuscripts already linked in scholarship to Mut. gr. 213, or on further witnesses of Nicephorus' *De urinis carmen* and Chrysobalantes' *De alimentis*¹⁴. The comparison of the versions of our text transmitted in these three *codices* shows only minimal variant readings and allows us to identify the Parisian manuscript (P) as the archetype for the versions of the Laurentianus (A) and the Mutinensis (M).

Tit. Προγνωστικὰ σημεῖα περὶ ζωῆς καὶ θανάτου (add. Περί ζωῆς in marg. ext. P) P A
Περί προγνωστικῶν σημείων ὑγείας τὲ καὶ ζωῆς τῶν ἀρρώστων M || κατάκλησις P M,
κατάστασις (post corr. κατάκλισις) A || ὑγιαίνων P A ὑγειαίνων M || σμικρινθῆ P A σμικριθῆ
M || διαχωρήματα P M διαφωρήματα A || κατερχόμενα P A καταρχόμενα M || ἐλαιοειδεῖς P
L ἐλεοειδεῖς M

Giorgio Valla included in his *De Medicina* (publ. 1501) two brief chapters on favourable and unfavourable signs of disease (*Quae nam sunt signa bona* and *Quae sint mala signa*). However, we can easily recognize in it not our abridged writing *On prognostic signs* but its original source Aetius.

2. MUT. GR. 213, ff. 236^r, 6 – 237^r, 16

Anonymi *De natura hominis* or *On the Constitution of the Universe and the Human Body*¹⁵.

The excerpt from Aetius is followed by a short treatise on the relations between the universe and such features of the human body as humors, ages, or properties (Περὶ τῆς κατασκευῆς τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου). It was already published by Ideler in *Physici et medici graeci minores* (1841, vol. I, p. 303-304), who, however, did not report which manuscript he relied on for his edition. In 2006, Jouanna published a new partial edition after collating two further witnesses, the Ambrosianus F 23 sup. E and the Parisinus graecus 2303. He also mentions the existence of another manuscript (Zurich C 136) that he could not consult (information provided by K.-D. Fischer)¹⁶.

The text we read in our Mutinensis is lengthier than that edited by Ideler. After consulting the database Pinakes and the information it provides from several manuscript catalogs, as well as the codices themselves, whenever possible, I could identify a total of fifteen witnesses of the treatise. Among the ten codices I consulted directly (dating mostly from the 14th to the 16th century) some report a long version of the text (α), some a short one (β)¹⁷.

Περὶ τῆς κατασκευῆς τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου (On the Constitution)	Direct consultation ?	Long version (α) (<i>Des. ταχέως, πολιῶς ἐκ βάλλοντα</i>)	Short version (β) (<i>Des. καὶ ἕως γήρους</i>)
Laur. Plut. 75.19, ff. 27-31, 14 th c.	Yes	x	
Vindonbonensis med. gr. 40, ff. 125-127, 14 th c.	Yes	x	
Parisinus gr. 2303, ff. 82 ^v -83, 15 th c.	Yes	x	
Laur. ntinori 101, ff. 74-75 ^v , 15 th c.	Yes	x	
Mutinensis gr. 213, ff. 236-237, 16 th c.	Yes	x	
Parisinus 2318, ff. 81-86 ^v , 14 th c., a. 1383-1384	Yes		x
Ambrosianus F 023 sup (M-B 331), ff. 134-137 ^v , a. 1486	No		x
Monacensis gr. 521, ff. 1-3, 15 th c.	No		x
MS.MSL 60, ff. 46-48, 15 th c.	Yes		x
Parisinus gr. 2315, ff. 72-76 ^v , 15 th c.	Yes		x
Ricciardanus 0071, ff. 113-114, a. 1428	No		x
Vat. gr. 1759, ff. 234-238, 15 th c.	Yes		x
Ideler (edit. 1840), 303-304	Yes		x
Philipps 1583 (180), ff. 94v-101, 15 th c.	No		
Zurich C 136, ff. 118 ^{ar-v} , 15 th c.	No		

Some connections between these manuscripts are unquestionable. As for group β , the Par. gr. 2318 is the archetype of 2315. With regard to α , we may surmise that Par. gr. 2303 and Mut. gr. 213 stem from the same archetype, while Laur. ant. 101 is undoubtedly a copy of the Parisinus, since the latter shows variant readings typical of α which are omitted by the former, as we will see *infra*. I will therefore present next the text of the treatise *On the Constitution of the Universe and the Human Body* as we read it in Mut. gr. 213 together with the variant readings from the other manuscripts. What follows is a diplomatic transcription of the text and is not a new edition of the treatise. However, the analysis of the relationships between the manuscripts and the review of their variant readings is a first step for potential research and editions, as well as the study of their possible relations with Valla.

For the sake of clearness, I have adapted the structure of the treatise to the layout (declarative sentence followed by a list of elements or characteristics) presented in Jouanna's important research on late period witnesses transmitting the theory of the four humors¹⁸.

Collated manuscripts

Manuscript	Abbreviation	Group
Vindonbonensis medicus graecus 40, 14 th c. (ff. 125-128)	W	α
Laurentianus Plut. Gr. 75.19, 14 th c. (ff. 27-28 ^v)	L	α
Parisinus graecus 2303, 15 th c. (ff. 82 ^v - 83 ^v)	P	α
Laurentianus Antinori 101, 15 th c. (ff. 74-75 ^v)	A	α
Mutinensis graecus 213, 16 th c. (ff. 236- 237)	M	α
Parisinus graecus 2318, 14 th c., <i>a.</i> 1383-1384 (ff. 81-82 ^v)	C	β
MSL 60, 15 th c. (ff. 46-v)	Q	β
Parisinus graecus 2315, 15 th c. (ff. 72-73 ^v)	D	β
Vaticanus graecus 1759, 15 th c. (ff. 234-238)	V	β
Ideler (ed. 1806), p. 303-304	ID.	β

On the Constitution of the Universe and the Human Body (M with variant additions)

Ὁ [om. ὁ ID.] κόσμος οὗτος, [add. ὁ μέγας Q] συνέστη [συνέστηκεν β ID. W L] ἐκ τεσσάρων [δ' L] στοιχείων·

- ἐκ [add. τε L] θερμοῦ·
- ψυχροῦ·
- ξηροῦ·
- καὶ ὑγροῦ·

ἤγουν,

- ἐξ ἀέρος·
- πυρρός·

- γῆς·
- [add. και β ID.] ὕδατος

- και ὁ μὲν ἀήρ, ἔστι θερμὸς και ὑγρὸς· [transp. και ὁ μὲν αἰθήρ ἐστὶ θερμὸς και ξηρὸς L]
- τὸ δὲ πῦρ, θερμὸν και ξηρὸν· [transp. ὁ ἀήρ, θερμὸς και ὑγρὸς L]
- ἡ δὲ γῆ, ψυχρὰ και ξηρὰ· [transp. τῷ ὕδωρ, ψυχρῶν και υγρόν L]
- τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ, ψυχρὸν και ὑγρόν· [transp. ἡ δὲ γῆ, ξηρὰ και ψυχρὰ L]

[add. θῶμεν δὲ και τὴν συγγενειαν αὐτῶν, ἐπὶ διαγράμματος· cum diagramma L]

ὠσαύτως δὲ [om. δὲ β ID W] και ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ὁ μικρὸς κόσμος, συνέστηκεν ἐκ τεσσάρων στοιχείων· [“Οὕτως μὲν οὖν ἡ τῶν καθόλου στοιχείων συμπλοκή και συγγένεια· ἔλθωμεν διη και ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς, τοῦ μικροῦ τούτου κόσμου, ὅπερ και οὗτος ἐκ τεσσάρων στοιχείων σύγκειται L]

- ἐκ θερμοῦ [add. λέγω L]·
- ψυχροῦ·
- ὑγροῦ· [ξηροῦ β ID P A L]
- και ξηροῦ· [και ὑγροῦ β ID P A L]

ἦγουν [om. ἦγουν ID.]

- ἐξαίματος·
- χολῆς ξανθῆς,
- και [χολῆς D C V L ID.] μελαίνης·
- και φλέγματος·

- και τὸ μὲν αἷμα, ἔοικεν τῷ ἀέρι, θερμὸν [add. ὄν L] και ὑγρὸν· [hic transp. -- τὸ δὲ φλέγμα, ἔοικε τῷ ὕδατι, ψυχρὸν και ὑγρὸν W]
- ἡ δὲ [om. δ. L] ξανθὴ χολή, [ἡ χολή ἡ ξανθὴ β ID P A W.] ἔοικεν [ἀναλογεῖ L] τῷ πυρὶ, θερμὴ [add. οὕσα L] και ξηρὰ· [hic transp. -- τὸ φλέγμα, ἔοικε τῷ ὕδατι ψυχρὸν και ὑγρὸν· β]
- ἡ δὲ [om. δ. L] μελαίνα χολή, [ἡ χολή ἡ μελαίνα ἔοικεν β ID P A W.; add. ἔοικε L] τῇ γῆ, ψυχρὰ και ξηρὰ [add. οὕσα L]:
- τὸ δὲ [om. δὲ ID.] φλέγμα, [add. ἔοικεν P A ID.; add. ἀναλογεῖ L] τῷ ὕδατι ψυχρὸν και ὑγρὸν [τ. ὑ. ψυχρῶ ὄντι και ὑγρῶ L]

- Καὶ τὸ μὲν αἷμα, πληθύνεται [πληθύνεται D] εἰς τὸ ἕαρ [τῷ ἔαρι L]·
- ἡ δὲ [om. δ. L] ξανθὴ χολή, [ἡ χολή ἡ ξανθὴ, πληθύνεται (om. πληθύνεται ID.) P A W β ID.] εἰς τὸ θέρος [τῷ θέρει L]·
- ἡ δὲ χολή [om. δ. χ. L] μελαίνα, [ἡ χολή ἡ μελαίνα πληθύνεται (om. πληθύνεται ID.) β ID P A W] εἰς τὸ φθινόπωρον· [μετόπωρον P A, ἐν φθινόπωρον β, τῷ φθινοπώρῳ L]
- και τὸ φλέγμα, [add. πληθύνεται PA] εἰς τὸν χειμῶνα [ἐν χειμῶνι W L β ID.]·

- [add. και W β ID.] ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν [om. οὖν W β ID.] τῆς παιδικῆς ἡλικίας τὸ αἷμα πληθύνεται [πληθύνεται D] ἕως ἐτῶν ἰδ' [δεκατεσσάρων W β], και ἔστι θερμὸν και [om. και W] ὑγρὸν και γλυκὺ·
- ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν νεανίσκων, ἡ χολή ἡ ξανθὴ πληθύνεται [ἡ ξανθὴ χολή L], ἕως ἐτῶν εικοσιοκτῶ, [κη' P A L ID] και ἔστι θερμὴ και ξηρὰ, και πικρὰ [om. κ. ἐ. - πικρὰ L]·
- ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς τελείας ἡλικίας, ἡ χολή ἡ μελαίνα [ἡ μελαίνα χολή L ID.] πληθύνεται [om. πλ. L] ἕως ἐτῶν μβ' [τεσσαρακονταδύο W β, μρ' ID.]· και ἔστι ψυχρὰ και ξηρὰ· και ὀξώδης· [om. κ. ἐ. - ὀξώδης L]·

- ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν γερόντων, τὸ φλέγμα πληθύνεται, ἕως ἐτῶν π' [ὀγδοήκοντα W β], καὶ ἔστιν ψυχρὸν καὶ [om. καὶ W] ὑγρὸν καὶ [om. κ. ID.] ἄλμυρόν [ἄλμηρόν P A] [om. κ. ἐ.- πικρὰ L].
- Καὶ τὸ μὲν αἷμα ἔστιν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ· καὶ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ [κ. ἐ. αὐτῇ L] τὸ πνεῦμα·
- ἡ χολή ἢ ξανθὴ [ἡ ξ. χ. L] ἐν τῷ ἥπατι, καὶ ἐν τῷ στομάχῳ·
- ἡ χολή ἢ μέλαινα [ἡ μ. χ. L], ἐν τῷ σπληνί, καὶ ἐν τῇ ψυᾷ [ψοᾷ W L β, spat. vac. ID.].
- καὶ [om. κ. L] τὸ φλέγμα, ἐν τῷ ἐγκεφάλῳ, καὶ ἐν τῇ κύστει [καὶ τῇ κύστει (-ει C V ID.) W β]

Πόθεν οἱ μὲν τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰσὶ [Ἀπορία (in marg. ext.): Ἐκ τῆς αἰτίας τῶν τοιούτων στοιχείων, οἱ μὲν τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰσὶ L]

- χαριεντικοὶ, [χαρίεντες L]
- καὶ πέζωσι [παίζωσι P A Q, γελῶσι W D C V L ID.]
- καὶ γελῶσιν· [παίζουσιν W L ID. παίζουσιν C V πέζουσιν D]

- οἱ δὲ εἰσὶ στυγγοὶ [στυγνοὶ P A W L β ID.] καὶ σκυθρωποὶ [νοθοὶ L], καὶ κατηφεῖς·
- οἱ δὲ, ὀργίλοι καὶ πικροὶ [om. κ. π. L], καὶ μανιώδεις· [μανιώδης P Q]
- οἱ δὲ, ῥάθυμοι, καὶ ὀκνηροὶ, καὶ ὀλιγόψυχοι :

ἡ αἰτία [ἐτία D], αὕτη ἔστιν [ἡγοῦν αἰτία, ἔστιν αὕτη· W ; transp. ἔστιν αὕτη β ID.] ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων [δ' P A ID.] στοιχείων [om. ἡ αἰτία – στοιχείων, add. Λήσις in marg. ext. L]

- οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐξαίματος καθαρωτάτου [-οι W, καθαροῦ L] τυγχάνοντες, [τυχόντες P A] οὗτοι [om. οὔτοι β ID.] εἰσὶ πάντοτε [om. π. L] χαρίεις, καὶ [om. κ. L] πέζωσι [παίζωσι A W Q C V, παίζουσι L ID.] καὶ [τε καὶ L] γελῶσι· καὶ [add. τῷ Q L] σώματι [-τά ID.] εἰσὶ ῥοδινοὶ, καὶ ὑπόπυροι, [ὑπόπυρι P ὑπόπυρροι ID.] καὶ καλόχροοι [καλλίχροοι ID., κ. τῷ χρώματι κάλλιστοι L].
- ὅσοι [οἱ L] δὲ ἀποξανθῆς χολῆς [χολῆς ξανθῆς P] τύχωσιν [τύχάνουσιν W β ID., om. τ. L], οὗτοι εἰσὶν ὀργίλοι, καὶ πικροὶ, καὶ εὐτολμοὶ· καὶ [add. τῷ L] σώματι [-τά ID.] εἰσὶν ὕπαυροι, καὶ ξανθόχροοι [ὑπαυροὶ καὶ ξανθίχροοι (ξανθήχροοι β) W β] :
- ὅσοι δὲ ἀπὸ χολῆς [om. χ. L] μελαίνης [μελένης P, transp. μ. χ. W β ID.] τύχωσιν [τύχάνουσιν W β ID.], οὗτοι εἰσὶ ῥάθυμοι· καὶ ὀλιγόψυχοι, καὶ φιλάσθενοι· καὶ σώματι [-τά ID., κ. τῷ χρώματι L] εἰσὶ μελανόψιοι, καὶ μελίτριχοι [μελάντριχοι β ID.; εἰσὶ - μελίτρ. : εἰσὶ μελάνες, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ κόμη L].
- ὅσοι δὲ ἀπὸ αἵματος [φλέγ- cogt. in marg. ext.] [φλέγματος P A W L β ID.] τύχωσιν [τύχάνουσιν W β ID.], οὗτοι εἰσὶ λυπηροὶ, καὶ ἀμνήμονες· καὶ τῷ σώματι εἰσὶ λευκόχροοι·
- ὅτι μὲν οὖν τὰ παῖδια [Τὰ μὲν οὖν παῖδια ὅτι εἰσὶν β ID.] ἐκ τοῦ αἵματος εἰσὶ χαριεντικά [χαριεντικά L], καὶ παίζωσι [πέζωσι P A παίζουσι L ID.] καὶ γελῶσι· καὶ διατοῦτο [transp. διατ. κ. L] ὅταν κλαύσωσιν, τάχιστα [μάλιστα W β ID.] μεταλάσσονται [μεταλλάσσονται A W Q μεταλλάσσονται C V ID., transp. μεταλλάσσονται τάχ. L].
- οἱ δὲ νεανίσκοι ἐκ τῆς ξανθῆς χολῆς, εἰσὶ πικροὶ καὶ ὀργίλοι, καὶ μανιώδεις· [μανιώδης P] καὶ διατοῦτο, ὅταν τι [om. τι W L β ID.] πικρανθῶσι, βραδύ [-δέως W Q C V ID. -δαίως D] μεταλάσσονται· [μεταλλάσσονται A Q D, μεταλλάσσονται C V L, λάσσονται ID.].
- οἱ δὲ τέλειοι [τέλειοι P] ἄνδρες, ἐκ τῆς μελαίνης [μελένης P] χολῆς [add. ὄντες L] εἰσὶ ῥάθυμοι, [add. καὶ ID.] ὀλιγόψυχοι· καὶ ὀκνηροὶ· [ὀκνηροὶ P] καὶ διατοῦτο ὅταν μαίνονται, [saut de même à même, add. εἰσὶν (εἰσὶ W Q C V L ID.)] δυσμετάβλητοι·
- οἱ δὲ γέροντες εἰσὶν ἐκ [εἰς ID.] τοῦ φλέγματος λυπηροὶ [πολυπηροὶ ID.] καὶ (om. καὶ W) στυγγοὶ καὶ ἀμνήμονες· καὶ διατοῦτο ὅταν μαίνονται P A W L β ID.] ἀμετάβλητοι διαμένωσι [διαμένωσιν A διαμείνουσι L ID.].

[add. ὑπὸ Q D C, ὅτι L] τῶν τεσσάρων [δ' A L] στοιχείων ἔστιν [εἰσι W] ἡ αἰτία, καὶ τοῦ κόσμου, [om. ἡ - κόσμου W] καὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου· καὶ διαταῦτα [διατοῦτο L; om. ἔστιν - διαταῦτα Q D C] ὁ κόσμος, γαληνᾶ [γαληνὰ D], καὶ ἀκαταστατεῖ· καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὑγειαίνει [ὑγיאίνει P A W Q D C L] καὶ ἀσθενεῖ: [om. ὑπὸ τῶν τεσσάρων - καὶ ἀσθενεῖ V ID.]

ἔχουσι δὲ τινὰ τόπον ἴδιον [ἴδιον ID.] κατὰ μέρος, ἕκαστον τούτων

- τὸ αἶμα, διὰ ῥίνος πνέη [πνέει A W β ID.]·
- ἡ χολῆ ἢ ξανθὴ [ἢ ξανθὴ (add. ἢ β) χολῆ W β ID.], διὰ τῶν ὠτων [add. πνέει W β ID.]·
- ἡ μέλαινα [μελένα P] χολῆ [om. χ. ID.], διὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν [add. πνέει W β]·
- καὶ τὸ φλέγμα, διὰ τοῦ στόματος [add. ἐκχέει W β ID.]·

μερίζονται δὲ οἱ χυμοὶ, διὰ [add. τὸν ID.] τεσσάρων· [δ' ID.]

- αὐτῇ [ἐν τῇ W β ID.] πρώτη [α' ID.] ἡλικία, [add. καὶ W] κυριεύει [κυριεύη P] τὸ αἶμα, ἕως ἐτῶν ἰδ' [δεκατεσσάρων W β]·
- ἐν τῇ δευτέρῃ [β' P ID.], ἢ ξανθὴ χολῆ, ἕως ἐτῶν, κη' [εἰκοσιοκτὼ W β]·
- om. [saut de même à même, add ἐν τῇ γ' (τρίτη A W β) ἢ μέλαινα (μέλαινα A W β ID.) χολῆ [om. χ. ID.] ἕως ἐτῶν μβ' (τεσσαρακονταδύο W β) P A W β ID.]

ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ [δ' P ID.] τὸ φλέγμα, ἕως ἐτῶν π' [ὀγδοήκοντα W β]· καὶ ἕως γήρους [om. ἔχουσι δὲ τινὰ τόπον ἴδιον - καὶ ἕως γήρους L]

[β om. seq. tex.]

ἔχουσι δὲ [add. καὶ P L] ἰδίαν γνώμην·

- τὸ αἶμα, ποιεῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον [om. ἀνθ. L] ὄλον καλὸν· [add. ἡγουν τῷ εἶδει· οἶον, γρήγορον· ἀνυπερήφανον W] ἀπλοῦν [om. καλ. ἀπλ. L]· χαριεντικὸν [χαριέντα L]· παίζοντα, καὶ γελῶντα·
- ἡ χολῆ ἢ ξανθὴ [transp. ἢ ξ. χ. L], ποιεῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὄλον [om. ὁ. L] πικρὸν· [add. καὶ W] ὀργίλον· κακὸχρῶν· [add. μανιάρην· P, μηνιάρην A, (add. καὶ L) μνησικάκον W L]
- ἡ μέλαινα χολῆ [om. χ. L], [add. ποιεῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον P A W L] ὄλον ἐπίβουλον· φθονερόν [transp. φθ. ἐ. L]· πολυμέριμον [om. π. L]· [add. κ. L] πολύθλιβον·
- τὸ δὲ [om. δὲ P A L] φλέγμα, ποιεῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὄλον [om. ὁ. L] καλὸν τῷ εἶδει· [add. ἐγρήγορον (γρήγορον W) ἀνυπερήφανον (ἀκενόδοξον L)· P A W L] [add. καὶ W L] ταχέως, πολιάς ἐκ βάλλοντα [βάλλει W]·

[add. ἐν οἷς εὐρ' γσεις τοῦτο· καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς νέοις· ὅτι ἀπὸ τοῦ ψυχροῦ φλέγματος τυγχάνουσι καὶ αἱ τρίχες τούτων, λευκαί· W; add Σώματι μὲν ἔοικεν ὁ κόσμος· καὶ ὥσπερ τὸ σῶμα ἐνὸς τινὸς ὁποιοῦδήποτε πλεονάσαντος χυμοῦ ἀνώμαλον γίνεται καὶ οἶον τρέπεται καὶ νοσοῦνται, οὕτω καὶ τὸ περιέχον ἡμᾶς περιγείον, ἐν τῷ μάχεσθαι τὰ στοιχεῖα ἐνὸς τινὸς πλεονάσαντος, ἢ ἀνωμαλία τοῦ περιέχοντος γίνεται·- L]

Evident chronological reasons rule out that Valla could have consulted the Mut. gr. 213¹⁹, even though it cannot be excluded that he could have read the treatise in its model. The analysis of Valla's *De medicina* provides nevertheless several clues to Valla's knowledge of the treatise *On the Constitution of the Universe and the Human Body*. We will give two examples, concerning respectively Valla's arrangement of humoral theory and the influence of the sky on the human body. One should not forget

that our anonymous opus is a composite text compiled assembling different sources. When exploring the possible linkages among Valla's text and *On the Constitution*, the individualization of its sources must be addressed to avoid confusion with, and to exclude, other similar medical treatises.

On folio Sii^v of Valla's encyclopedia, we find a text about humors, ages, and places of production and exhalation:

Sane augetur sanguis in humano corpore ad annos usque xiiii. Flaua bilis ad annos usque xxii. Atra bilis ad xlii. Pituita lxxx usque habetque sanguis receptaculum cor respirationem nares. Flaua bilis uesiculam in qua fel ipsum. Spiracula aures, atra bilis receptaculum splenem et sinistrum latus, spiraculacculos. Pituita receptaculum uesicam urinae, spiraculum os potissimum, sed et alias aliquando occupat partes.

In this passage, the theory of the four humors is arranged along two axes:

1. The humors predominating in the body according to age (*Ita in reliquos, ubi humor aliquos abundarit*)

- Sane augetur sanguis in humano corpore ad annos usque xiiii.
- Flaua bilis ad annos usque xxii.
- Atra bilis ad xlii.
- Pituita lxxx usque

2. The places where the humors are located and from where they are exhaled.

- habetque sanguis receptaculum cor respirationem nares.
- Flaua bilis uesiculam in qua fel ipsum. Spiracula aures
- atra bilis receptaculum splenem et sinistrum latus, spiraculacculos.
- Pituita receptaculum uesicam urinae, spiraculum os potissimum, sed et alias aliquando occupat partes.

This scheme is consistent with the theory of the four humors as it was developed in late Antiquity and beyond. An analysis of Valla's possible sources would be of great help in understanding his *modus operandi* and in verifying whether a model for the Mut. gr. 213 could have been used by the humanist in his encyclopedic work.

Jouanna highlighted in an article from 2005 a set of sources in which humors are related to human temperaments. We add to this list the anonymous *On the Constitution of the Universe and the Human Body*²⁰:

- Letter of Vindicianus (Latin)
- Pseudo-Soranus (Latin)
- Pseudo-John of Damascus (Latin, *Quid est homo?*)
- The treatise *On the Pulse and Human Temperament* (Greek)
- Anonymous *On the Constitution of the Universe and the Human Body* (Greek)

Let us start with the location of the humors and their exhalation. Valla could have built on Vindicianus and Pseudo-Soranus as well as *On the Constitution*.

Valla's text	Vindicianus	Ps-Soranus	Ps-John Dam.	<i>On the Pulse and Human Temperament</i>	<i>On the Constitution</i>
habetque sanguis receptaculum cor respirationem nares.	x (A and B)	x			x
Flaua bilis uesiculam in qua fel ipsum. Spiracula aures	x (B)	x			x
atra bilis receptaculum splenem et sinistrum latus, spiraculacculos.	x (A and B)	x			x <i>part.</i>
Pituita receptaculum uesicam urinae, spiraculum os potissimum, sed et alias aliquando occupat partes.	x (A and B)				x

Valla's account of the relations between humours and ages of life shows strong similarities both with Ps. John of Damascus' *Quid est homo*, *On the Pulse and Human Temperament* and with *On the Constitution of the Universe*. On the other hand, the Letter of Vindicianus assigns two humors to each age, while Pseudo-Soranus follows a different order of exposition. Here are parallels and variations between Valla, the treatise *On the Pulse*, and *On the Constitution*.

Humor	Valla	Ps-John Dam.	<i>On the Pulse</i>	<i>On the Constitution of the Universe</i> ²¹
Blood	XIV	ιδ'	ιδ' (A)	ιδ'
Yellow bile	XXII	κη'	κη'	κη'
Black bile	XLII	ν'	μβ' (A), ν' (P)	μβ', μρ' (ID.)
Phlegm	LXXX	γέρουζ	π'	π'

Ps. John of Damascus can therefore be removed from the list of the possible sources of Valla for this section, being the only one in which the age of eighty years in relation to phlegm is not explicitly mentioned. It still remains that the treatise *On the Constitution* is the outcome of the assembly of different sources²². The most influent among them is *On the Pulse and Human Temperament*, on which (the end of) *On the Constitution* seems to be moulded. In Valla's Latin adaptation we may recognize the influence of John of Damascus and other sources with regard to the section on humours and ages, while the section on the locations of humours and their exhalation shows parallels with the Letter of Vindicianus and Pseudo-Soranus: since this is the same pattern of *On the Constitution of the Universe*, it is likely that Valla followed this text without consulting any other of the aforementioned Greek sources.

Further clues point to the same conclusion. After a rendering of the pseudo-Hippocratic treatise *Epistula ad Ptolemaeum regem de hominis fabrica*²³, Valla returns on the connections between the elements of the universe and humors in the body in a collection of texts toward the end of the compilation, gathered under the heading *De corporis commodis et incommodis* (folio QQ^v, chapter ii):

De caeli cum nostris corporibus affinitate

Anni tempora quatuor, cum elementis affinitatem habent: aer cum uere est siquidem mediocriter humidus, et mediocriter calidus, et intemperie saluberrimus, respicitque pueritiam; aestas aetatem iuuenilem, ignis faciem refert, qui pariter calidus, et aridus autumnus confinis terrae est, quae arida, et frigida, sicut aquae hyems, quae frigida et humida grandiolem aetatem respiciens. Haec ipsa tempora humores suis singula augent: sanguine muer, bilem flauam aestas auget et amaram, autumnus acrem et atram, pituitam hyems. Verum tamen tempora tam mixta sunt...

The title of this section, *On the sky and its affinities with our bodies*, strongly echoes the *Περὶ τῆς κατασκευῆς τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*. The link was already highlighted by A. M. Ieraci Bio, who identified the *Epistula ad Ptolemaeum regem de hominis fabrica* as Valla's source for these two chapters of the second book of *De corporis commodis et incommodis* (Book 48 of the encyclopedia)²⁴. But the parallel between the *Epistula* and the development of Valla's chapter stops at *τροπαὶ δὲ ὡσαύτως ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ τέσσαρες: ἔαρ, θέρος, μετόπωρον καὶ χειμῶν* ("The seasons of the year are also four: spring, summer, autumn, and winter", ed. Ermerins p. 289, 7), whereas the pseudo-Hippocratic writing continues with the connection of the seasons with properties and humors (289, 9-15). Valla, instead, goes on pointing out the properties related to taste and ages of life, a topic which is not mentioned in the *Epistula*. Here, he provides two systematizations. According to the first, the four elements of the Universe – air, fire, earth, and water – are to be linked to the seasons, life stage, and their properties:

Element	Season	Life stage	Property
Air	Spring	Childhood	Moist, warm
Fire	Summer	Youth	Warm, dry
Earth	Autumn	(Adult)	Dry, cold
Water	Winter	(Adult)	Cold, moist

Afterwards, he discusses the humors in relation to the seasons, in some cases associating them to a particular taste:

Humor	Season	Taste quality
Blood	Spring	
Yellow bile	Summer	Bitter
Black bile	Autumn	Pungent/sour
Phlegm	Winter	

Another possible source then could be the anonymous treatise *On the Constitution of the Universe and the Human Body*. Both Valla and our anonymous author present the elements of the universe in a different order from that of the pseudo-Hippocrates writing. For instance, when linking humors, seasons, and taste, the *Epistula* provides a list where humors are connected with tastes (279, 7-9), and mentions only briefly the four seasons (289, 7-8):

Valla	<i>On the Constitution</i>	<i>Epistula</i> , Ps.-Hipp. (general presentation)	<i>Epistula</i> , Ps.-Hipp (relation with humors) ²⁵
Aer	ἀήρ	πῦρ	αἷρ (blood)
Ignis	πῦρ	ἀήρ	ῥῥῥῥ (phlegm)
Terra	γῆ	ῥῥῥῥ	πῦρ
Aqua	ῥῥῥῥ	γῆ	γῆ

We can also compare the order of humors in Valla's description with the *Epistula* and the *on the Constitution*:

Valla	On the Constitution	<i>Epistula</i> , Ps.-Hipp.
Blood	αἷμα	αἷμα
Yellow bile	χολή ξανθή	φλέγμα
Black bile	μέλαινα χολή	χολή ξανθή
Phlegm	φλέγμα	μέλαινα χολή

In conclusion, these parallels show that Valla also drew on our anonymous treatise also in this part of his compilation. We adhere to Ieraci Bio's opinion on the identification of the source of the first chapter (*De corporis*) in the pseudo-Hippocratic *Epistula*, a text that he could have consulted in a manuscript of his library, the MUT. GR. A.P.5.17²⁶. But the following chapter (*De caeli nostris corporibus affinitate*), although showing strong similarities with the second part of the *Letter to Ptolomaeus*, has to be considered as an insertion from the treatise *On the Constitution of the Universe*²⁷.

The collection of Greek codices at the Estense library contains a large part of the books that belonged to Giorgio Valla. As for the Mut. gr. 213 manuscript, it is evident that due to asynchrony, Valla would not have been able to consult it. However, his knowledge of the treatise *On the Constitution*, as our research suggest, could indicate that he could have had access to the copy model. The research conducted has allowed us, however, to explore in depth a part of the content overlooked in Puntoni's catalog and to address more precisely the textual history of the analyzed excerpts.

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2. The hypocratic *Diaet. Sal.* deals with the regim of life and administrating a proper nutrition.
3. Ed. Olivieri (1935).
4. The text from the manuscript Mut. gr. 213 is a diplomatic transcription.
5. εὐσχημον Cp, Px, X, ω; εὐχρο(v)ον ψ (...σχήμον supra scrips. m. 1a T).
6. Ante υγ. add. και Ιχψ (exc. T).
7. ἐπιστρέφεται Ι στρέφεσθαι χ ψ ω.
8. κατὰ τοὺς (κατ' Px) ὕπνους Cp Mo ω.
9. ἐπιφ. Px.
10. ἔχ. εθ.] εἰθισμένον (...νω Cp ...νοι Px) γε (om. Cp) Px ω.
11. τὸ πρην.] ἄσημον ἐπὶ γαστέρα τε Cp ἄσημος κατάκλις ε. γαστρὸς δὲ Px ἀσχήμων κατάκλις ἐπὶ γαστέρα τε A P T.
12. The words γρυπόσωσιν, ἄφνωτραπή (possibly an error from ἄγνωτραπή) and λίγδας seem to be hapax legomena – the first one attested in the *Book of Job* (39:30), ἄγνωτραπή in the *Orphic Hymns* (60.1), and the third one in Aristophanes' *The Wasps* (line 1202). Regarding the use of λίγδας in a medical context, see also the "Epitome of the Kriaras Dictionary" (greek-language.gr), https://www.greek-language.gr/greekLang/medieval_greek/kriaras/search.html?lq=%CE%BB%CE%AF%CE%B3%CE%B4%CE%B1.
13. According to Sonderkamp 1987 the Par. gr. 2303 is the archetype of the Laur. ant. 101, and probably also of the Mut. gr. 213 (a view confirmed from what follows here).
14. I have consulted the following manuscripts where our excerpt does not appear: Phillips 1587 (180), Ricc. 0071, Monac. gr. 521, Par. Gr. 2315, Par. Gr. 2318.
15. Also referred as *On the Constitution* in this paper.
16. Jouanna J, La postérité du traité hippocratique de la Nature de l'homme: la théorie des quatre humeurs. In: Müller CW, Brockmann C and Brunschön CW (eds), *Ärzte und ihre Interpreten: Medizinische Fachtexte der Antike als Forschungsgegenstand der Klassischen Philologie.* Berlin, Boston: B. G. Teubner; 2006. p. 123, reports that Ideler's edition is the outcome of Dietz's collation.
17. Another differentiating phenomenon identified is the title of the treatise that follows *On the constitution*. Containing the same text about the human generation (the treatise was edited by Ideler in 1841 I, 294, Περὶ γενήσεως ἀνθρώπου καὶ γονῆς), α presents the heading Περὶ συλλήψεως ἀνθρώπου, while β has Περὶ γονῆς.
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On the Constitution of the Universe and the Human Body is mentioned in Jouanna J, La théorie des quatre humeurs et des quatre tempéraments dans la tradition latine (Vindicien, Pseudo-Soranos) et une source grecque retrouvée. *Revue des Études Grecques*, tome 118. Paris: Les Belles Lettres; 2005 and Jouanna, J, Anonyme, Sur les quatre éléments (Laur. plut. 75.19, fol. 26v-26r): Publication d'un nouveau témoignage sur la chronobiologie quotidienne des quatre humeurs. *Galenos* 2009;3:81 and note 9. In the latter, Jouanna provides a sort of guide to variant readings after collating Ideler's edition with the Laur. Plut. 75.19.

19. See on this Passavanti S. in this volume.
20. Jouanna J, Ref. 16, also covers a section of the *On the Constitution of the Universe and the Human Body* relating it to the previously mentioned sources in order to analyse, in particular, the theory of the four humours.
21. *On the Constitution of the Universe* presents on two occasions the links between humors and ages. In both cases, the ages coincide.
22. Jouanna J, Ref. 18. pp. 81-82, states that the treatise *On the Constitution of the Universe and the Human Body* is heterogeneous, with the second source being *On the Pulse and Human Temperament*.
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25. In this case, the order of the elements is modified following the order of the humors: blood, phlegm, yellow bile, black bile. Furthermore, we note that the manuscript Laur. Plut. Gr. 75.19 presents a variant with this order (see collation of *On the Constitution of the Universe and the Human Body*, page XX).
26. Ieraci Bio A M, Ref. 24.
27. The text of the *Epistula* would resume again towards the middle of the chapter: *Vernum tempus igitur calidum et humidum, nisi atra aliorsum trahant, ob hoc sanguinis est in corpore augmentum. Aestas calida...*



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UNIVERSITÀ DI ROMA

Giorgio Valla and Andronikos Kallistos: a Reappraisal



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E-ISSN 2531-7288
ISSN 0394/9001



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MEDICINA NEI SECOLI

Journal of History of Medicine
and Medical Humanities

36/3 (2024) 93-102

Revised:

Accepted:

DOI:

Corresponding author:

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ABSTRACT

The paper draws on insights from recent studies about the relationship between Giorgio Valla and the Byzantine scholar Andronikos Kallistos, whose Greek manuscripts ended up largely in Valla's Venetian collection. A few clarifications on the context of the sale of Andronikos' books will be briefly outlined. In addition, light will be shed on the highly problematic nature of an alleged master-pupil relationship between Kallistos and Valla, and a different outcome will be envisaged.

Keywords: Byzantine Scholarship - Greek Paleography - Greek Codicology - Italian Humanism - Renaissance Studies

1. The Link: The Fate of Andronikos Kallistos' Books and the Library of Giorgio Valla

In studying the Greek manuscript collection of Giorgio Valla and delving into his scholarly interests, the need to focus on the destiny of Andronikos Kallistos' books arises due to the mere fact that roughly one-third of Kallistos' manuscript collection – which was rich in valuable books inasmuch as it was possessed, annotated and corrected by a learned man – flowed into Valla's Venetian collection. This was to contribute not a little to the mythification of Valla's library and to the broadening of the cultural horizons of the humanist from Piacenza.

The manuscripts from Andronikos' collection constitute, within Valla's, a very large corpus: 22 items, 20 of which are kept in Modena at the Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, 1 at the Vatican Library, and 1 at the Bodleian Library in Oxford. However, the latter two were moved away from the main group due to historical events before the group converged *en bloc* into the collection of the rulers of Ferrara¹. As such, this batch of 22 manuscripts can be traced back with certainty to Kallistos insofar as they were copied and/or annotated by him².

Strictly speaking, nothing would preclude the possibility that other manuscripts in Valla's library, devoid of Andronikos' notes, may have come from the collection of the latter anyway: a scholar does not always annotate the length and breadth of all his books. Over the years I carried out a thorough, now almost complete survey of the Greek manuscript kept in Modena and no other trace of books penned by Kallistos has turned up. I also examined manuscripts bearing Valla's *ex libris* nowadays kept at libraries other than Modena³: none of them displays annotations in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos. It is not the venue to review all 22 manuscripts. I shall only mention here that some are highly valuable, especially in the eyes of modern scholars dealing with issues of textual criticism and manuscript transmission. To mention but a few, one could introduce a handful of manuscripts which served as *Vorlagen* for the *editiones principes* by Aldus Manutius, thereby acting as a 'hinge' between manuscript and printed book traditions: this is the case, for example, with Mutin. α T.9.14 (Fig. 1), whose rich scholiastic material was used by Aldus to produce the printed text of the *Phaenomena* by Aratus. Incidentally, Greco-Latin annotations in Valla's own hand are found on the margins of several leaves of the codex.

A unique piece of its kind is, for other reasons, Mutin. α W.2.1 (Fig. 2), a twelfth-century manuscript, *codex unicus* for Olympiodorus' *Prolegomena* to Aristotle's *Logic*. Besides the introduction of single pieces, what has long remained (and to some extent still remains) unsettled is the determination of the timing and ways of Valla's purchase of Andronikos Kallistos' batch of books. In other words, how many and which transitions can we envisage between the sale of Kallistos' collection, which took place in Milan in <1475>⁴, and the accession to Valla's collection in Venice? Two/three elements may help us answer this question.

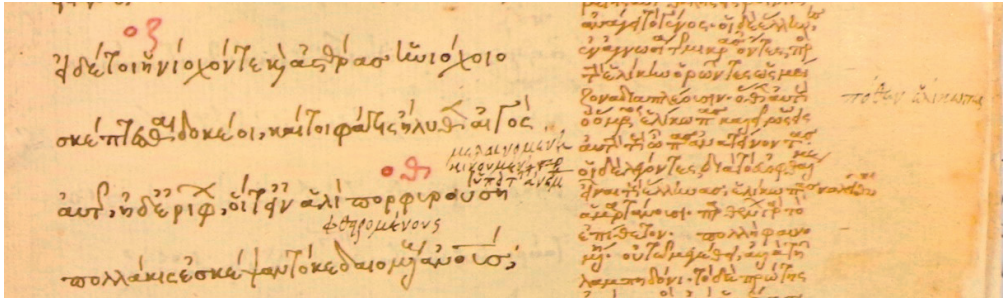


Fig. 1. Annotations in the hand of Giorgio Valla from Mutin. α T.9.14, f. 10r (copyst: Andronikos Kallistos)

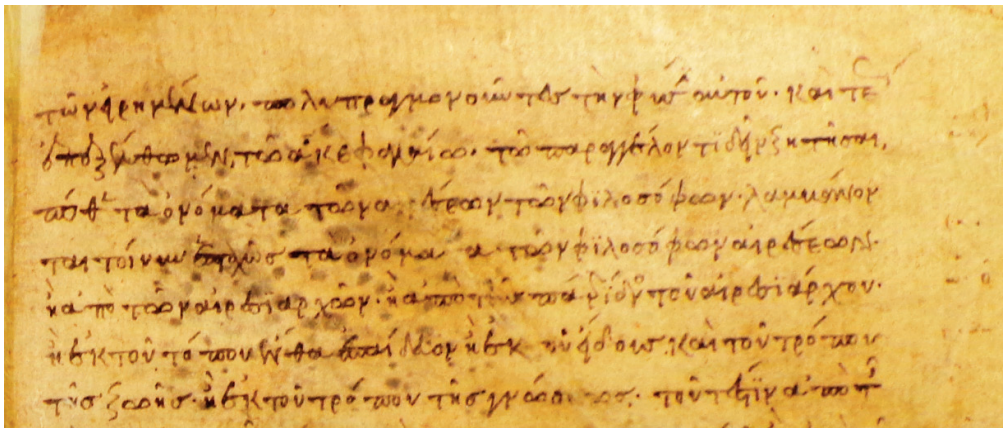


Fig. 2. Mutin. α W.2.1, f. 3r (codex unicus of Olympiodorus' commentary on Aristotle)

As for the timing of the inclusion of Andronikos' manuscripts in Giorgio Valla's collection, one shall rely on the studies of textual criticism. By shedding light on the contexts and moments of the making of copies of Kallistos/Valla manuscripts, research allows one to establish certain terms *ante quem* for the presence (or absence) of given volumes in Giorgio's collection. Some copies in the hand of Michael Suliardos – a scribe from Argos acting in the early 1490s in Northern Italy, between Florence and Venice – provide useful indications. Suliardos had on more than one occasion access to the books belonging to Valla's collection, which he took copies from⁵.

The entries in the private diary of Ianos Laskaris (that is, Vat. gr. 1412) referring to a batch of Andronikos' books (penned by himself [Ἀνδρονίκια γράμματα, "in Andronikos' script"; so in the words of Laskaris]) seen by Laskaris in Venice at Valla's among the latter's books (ἐν Βενετία ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Βάλλα) also date to the early 1490s⁶. Going back further, we can mention the case of the Mutin. α N.7.17 studied by Jean Irigoien, which is a codex containing the *Odes* of Pindar, penned by Iohannes Rhosos by 5 December 1485. A manuscript formerly belonging to Andronikos Kallistos, that is, Mutin. α T.9.14, has been identified by Irigoien as the model of Mutin. α N.7.17.

Moreover, the latter belonged to Lorenzo Loredan, Valla's pupil, and bears Loredan's *ex libris* (*in rasura*). The sum of data may indicate that by that date, i.e. 1485, Kallistos' manuscripts had already been purchased by Valla. From 1475 to 1485 a hole remained to be covered by about ten years. 1485 is, among other things, the year of the arrival of Valla in Venice, coming from Lombardy. It is therefore thought that it was in Lombardy, some time before 1485, that is, in the early 1480s, that Valla put his hands on Kallistos' books⁸.

Be that as it may, the impact Andronikos' manuscript had on the Greek studies of Valla is remarkable. We shall recall here the most telling case of Valla's Latin translations of Greek texts, for which he benefitted from the use of volume from Kallistos' collection. The translation of the peripatetic *Problemata* (attributed to Aristoteles and/or Alexander of Aphrodisias) is based on the Greek text transmitted by Mutin. α V.7.17; some passages may have been corrected with the aid of another source, i.e. another codex of Kallistos': it is Mutin. α P.5.20⁹. The translation of Plutarch's *Quaestiones naturales* derives likewise from Mutin. α V.7.17¹⁰. The Greek text of the aforementioned Mutin. α P.5.20 served for the translation of Galen's *De sectis*¹¹ and *De inaequali intemperie*¹². Likewise, the Latin translation of Aristotle's *Poetica* stems from the Greek text found in Mutin. α T.8.3¹³. Finally, without mentioning the source (i.e. Nicephorus Blemmyda), Valla enriched his monumental treatise *De expetendis et fugiendis rebus* by making use of the XII-XIII century codex Oxon. Holkham Hall gr. 71¹⁴.

2. The Puzzle: Was Valla a Student of Kallistos?

That said about the books, we shall now move on to another aspect, namely a not insignificant biographical and prosopographical clarification. Throughout the length and breadth of the specialised bibliography on Greco-Latin humanism, as well as in divulgation works aimed at a wider readership, one reads of a master-pupil relationship between Andronikos Kallistos and Giorgio Valla, the Byzantine master being said to have initiated Valla into Greek studies. One reads this in a number of contributions ranging from Heiberg's pioneering study¹⁵ (which is still essential for a critical approach to the study of Valla's library) to more recent articles - such as Andrea Tessier's on a Venetian course held on Sophocles by Valla¹⁶ - via Gianna Gardenal's account on life and works of Giorgio Valla, published in a collective volume edited in 1981 by Vittore Branca:

Dopo aver appreso i primi rudimenti a Piacenza, all'età di quindici anni [Valla] si trasferì a Milano, ove frequentò le lezioni di lingua e filosofia greca tenute dall'umanista Costantino Lascaris. Qui rimase fino alla partenza di Lascaris da Milano, nel 1465, ed ebbe intensi contatti con intellettuali del calibro di Gian Giacomo Trivulzio. Per qualche tempo assolve l'incarico di precettore dei figli di Francesco Sforza. L'approfondimento dello studio del greco si realizza a seguito del trasferimento da Milano a Pavia: qui, infatti, egli poté attendere alle lezioni di un altro greco, Andronico Callisto¹⁷.

Lastly, the entry “Valla, Giorgio” edited in 2020 by Amedeo Raschieri in the *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* – i.e. a reference work for whoever may need to draw to mind the intellectual profile of the Italian Renaissance scholars – reads as follows:

Nel 1465 [Valla] si trasferì a Pavia per studiare dialettica, filosofia e medicina; approfondì così la conoscenza del greco con Andronico Callisto e si dedicò agli studi scientifici sotto la guida del medico e matematico Giovanni Marliani. Da questo momento in poi la sua attività di insegnamento e i suoi interessi di ricerca si divisero equamente tra studi letterari, filosofici e scientifici in greco e latino¹⁸.

This key element, around which the story of the alleged master-pupil relationship pivots, is the account by Ludovico da Ponte (also known, in the Latinized form of his name, as Ponticus Virunius), a humanist from Belluno and a pupil of Giorgio Valla¹⁹. In his commentary on the *Compendium* of Manuel Chrysoloras’ *Erotemata*, Ludovico da Ponte discusses the phenomenon of comparison and, with regard to the clause provided by Chrysoloras as an exemplum (Ἀνδρόνικος μείζων ἐστὶ Θεοδώρου ἐνὶ δακτύλῳ, i.e. “Andronikos is taller than Theodoros by a finger”), Ludovico da Ponte allows himself to observe: *bene autem facit hanc comparisonem Chrysoloras, quoniam amici erant Andronicus praeceptor nostri Georgii Vallae et Theodorus Gaza magnificus rector gymnasii Ferrariensis*²⁰.

Building on this account, which was first acknowledged by Heiberg and remains to date the only evidence connecting Giorgio Valla with a Byzantine master named “Andronikos”, the popular notion that Valla learned Greek at the school of Kallistos originated. Yet the first problematic issue embedded in the account itself pertains to the relationship between this Andronikos and Theodoros Gazes. Ludovico speaks of Andronikos and Gazes in terms of “friends” (*amici erant*), whereas Andronikos Kallistos and Theodore Gazes were much more than friends. As we learn from other accounts, which it is not appropriate to dwell on in detail now, Andronikos was Gazes’ cousin by his mother’s side²¹. Of course, it could be objected in this sense that the spontaneous, mostly ‘anecdotal’ remembrance of Ponticus Virunius does not warrant ruling out altogether the possibility that he was speaking specifically about Kallistos. However, even if one were to accept this objection, one would be forced to ask: where would the contact between Kallistos and Valla have materialized? In which moment of their lives would the two have come to be in the same place?

First of all, it is worth noting that – unlike what happened to other pupils of Kallistos (such as Angelo Poliziano, who came into possession of books that had previously belonged to the master) – for the books of Kallistos that ended up in Valla’s library there is no case of a donation nor of direct transfer that can be dated and located before the sale in Milan in any of the times and places when Andronikos was teaching Greek language and literature. That said, whether the steps of Kallistos’ biography could intersect in any way with those of Valla remains to be seen. And the answer is

no. We should recall preliminarily that Valla was born in 1447; therefore, no form of teaching given to him could have taken place before the mid-1460s. Here are the steps of Kallistos' Italian stay:

1453-1455	Bologna (at Bessarion's);
1455-1462	Padua-Bologna-Ferrara-Bologna (mostly at Palla Strozzi's);
1462-1466	Bologna (as teacher of Greek);
1466-1471	Rome (at Bessarion's);
1471-1474	Florence (as teacher of Greek);
1475	Milan (short sojourn).

As for Valla, one reconstructs his career as follows:

<i>ante</i> 1460	Piacenza;
early 1460s	Milan (education);
1465-1485	Pavia (teaching activity, with short-term periods at Genua [1476-1479] and Milan [1481-1482]);
1485-1500	Venice.

As we can observe, there is apparently nowhere where the two, Valla and Andronikos Kallistos, could have met. Furthermore, Pavia certainly plays a key role in the life Valla, whereas we are not told of any stay of Kallistos therein.

We wonder now whether a mistaken indication can be in any way useful in order to get out of the misunderstanding and begin at least to point the spotlight of research elsewhere. The city of Pavia in this sense may be a clue to turn our attentions to some other Byzantine scholar named Andronikos who was likewise wandering around Italy in the third quarter of the XV century. If on the one hand it is evident, I think, from what has been posited, that we are not dealing with Andronikos Kallistos in the account of Ludovico da Ponte, there is nothing to prevent us from still believing that Virunius was simply referring to some other Andronikos, a "friend" of Theodoros Gazes, who was, he, a tutor of Giorgio Valla.

Cross-referencing data from contemporary epistolaries – above all that of Francesco Filelfo, a veritable mine of information on the movement of people and books in the fifteenth century – we are introduced to another Greek teacher, also named Andronikos, from the city of Καλλιπόλις (today's Gelibolu, on the strait of the Dardanelles). Three letters from Filelfo²² all dating to 1456 reveal that their addressee, a certain Andronikos Kallipolites, was active at that time in Lombardy, precisely in Pavia. Filelfo explicitly uses the words ἐν τῷ Τικίνῳ for the recipient's location; and *Ticinum* is, as is well known, the Latin name for Pavia. From Filelfo we learn that this Andronikos from Καλλιπόλις was likewise a scholar cultivating grammatical and rhetorical interests and acting as a copyist and Greek teacher. Since I have been on his trail for a while, I have gathered a number of useful elements to identify him with a namesake fellow known to contemporary sources. This 'ad-

ditional' Andronikos has a peculiar surname/nickname: Kontoblakas. Andronikos Kontoblakas is remembered by his contemporaries for his surly temperament, for having come into contention with Guarino da Verona, for having maintained a friendly relationship with Filelfo²³, and, finally, for having come to blows with Cardinal Bessarion, who had also supported him for long tracts of his career. If this assumption is right, we can at least hypothetically postulate the equivalence Andronikos of Kallipolis = Andronikos Kontoblakas²⁴.

Hence, if we summarize the stages of the intellectual biography of this lesser-known Andronikos Kontoblakas, we shall gradually go on to rediscover the figure of a master who:

1. resided in Pavia, Lombardy, as early as the mid-1450s;
2. must have had connections (and problems) with Guarino and the Ferrara milieu (*terminus ante quem* is 1460, i.e. the date of Guarino's death; we shall recall in this regard the testimony of Ponticus Virunius mentioning Gazes and the *milieu* of Ferrara);
3. practiced as a copyist and a teacher of Greek (his is also an *Oratio in laudem litterarum graecarum* addressed to an audience of Venetian patricians)²⁵;
4. was in contact with important Greek and Italian humanists of the time: Bessarion, Filelfo.

We wonder therefore whether the Greek master of Valla acting in northern Italy in the 1450s-1460s may have been this Andronikos Kallipolites/Kontoblakas instead of Kallistos.

The profile seems to match and the names of the characters involved are, after all, the same: Filelfo, Gazes, Bessarion. Kontoblakas' relations with Cardinal Bessarion would over time drastically deteriorate. In a letter to Guillaume Fichet sent from Rome on 13 February 1472, Bessarion would say of Kontoblakas:

*Andronicus ille Contoblas, monstrum naturae, ut omnium ignarissimus contemnendus est. Nihili homo est, et non minus indoctus quam ingratus, quandoquidem parum id quod scit domi nostrae didicit et nostro pane nutritus. Valeat cum ingratitude sua!*²⁶

In sum, it is to be hoped that from future studies something more will come out about this Andronikos, so that the identification hypothesis fielded here will find definitive confirmation. Crucial in this regard would be the discovery of Kontoblakas' Greek script. By finding it in the manuscripts, his scholarly personality would definitely come to the surface. At the moment, we have to content ourselves with the fact that, despite his irascible character, his ingratitude and his *monstruositas*, it would seem at least possible to be grateful to him for having initiated into Greek studies such a versatile and prolific humanist as Giorgio Valla.

Appendix: Some Recent Identifications of Greek Scribes in Modena (in and out of Valla's Library)

While working on Greek manuscripts kept in Modena, I collected some recent findings about books penned and/or annotated by well- and lesser-known Greek hands. Here is a list (Valla's books are marked with an asterisk):

Alessandro Bondino (ex <i>Anonymus Harvardianus</i>)	=	Mutin. α M.5.25 (gr. 61), <i>marg.</i> f. 185r
Anonymus scribe	=	Mutin. α P.5.19 (gr. 110)*, f. 200rv Mutin. α T.9.11 (gr. 46)*, ff. 57r-66v Mutin. α V.7.1 (gr. 173)*, ff. 80v-86r, 87r-104v Mutin. α V.7.13 (gr. 152)*
Anonymus 28 Harlfinger	=	Mutin. α P.7.26 (gr. 26)*, ff. 1r-20r
Anonymus 38 Harlfinger	=	Mutin. α T.9.11 (gr. 46)*, ff. 1r-56r
Konstantinos Laskaris	=	Mutin. α P.7.26 (gr. 26)*, f. 1r-1v lin. 1-14; <i>marginalia</i>
Lauro Quirini	=	Mutin. α M.5.25 (gr. 61), <i>marginalia</i>
Manuel (pupil of K. Laskaris)	=	Mutin. α P.7.26 (gr. 26)*, ff. 21r-58v
Markos Musuros	=	Mutin. α V.8.13 (gr. 189), <i>marginalia</i>

Bibliography and notes

1. See now Orlandi L, Andronikos Kallistos: A Byzantine Scholar and His Manuscripts in Italian Humanism. Berlin-Boston: De Gruyter; 2023. pp. 138-149.
2. I give here the list: Mutin. α P.5.19 (Homer); α P.5.20 (miscellany); α P.6.13 (scholia to Apollonius Rhodius); α Q.5.20 (scholia); α Q.5.21 (miscellany); α T.8.3 (Ps.-Demetrius Phal.; Aristotle; Plutarch); α T.8.13 (Apollonius Rhodius); α T.8.20 (John Actuarius); α T.9.1 (Aristotle); α T.9.2 (miscellany); α T.9.14 (Aratus, Pindar, Lycophron); α U.5.1 (Homer); α U.9.3 (miscellany); α U.9.10 (miscellany); α U.9.18 (Nemesius); α U.9.22 (scholia); α V.7.1 (miscellany); α V.7.17 (miscellany; Xenophon); α W.2.1 (Olympiodorus; Porphyry); α W.5.5 (lexicographical miscellan); Oxon. Holkham Hall gr. 71 (Nicephorus Blemmyda; Aristotle); Vat. gr. 1314 (miscellany).
3. It is: Ambr. A 119 sup.; C 235 inf; L 41 sup.; M 51 sup.; Vat. gr. 1316; Vat. gr. 2201; Vat. gr. 2241; Barb. gr. 186; Ott. gr. 371; Neap. III.C.2; Par. gr. 2195; Par. Suppl. gr. 387; Par. Suppl. gr. 556; Flor. Landau-Muzzioli 22C.
4. Details on the sale are in Orlandi L, ref. 1. pp. 133-138. We take this opportunity to correct an essential fact about the sale. On several occasions (pp. 131, 134-135, 155 n. 85) the monograph mentions the year 1476 as that in which the sale must have taken place. Michele Bandini - whom I warmly thank - points out to me per litter as that, on closer inspection, certain clues lead one to backdate with confidence the time when the sale took place to <1475>. In Andronikos' letter from London addressed to Georgios Disypatos Palaiologos (dated 3 March 1476), Andronikos speaks of the imprisonment of Georgios Hermonymos, mentioning that the latter had spent three months in prison and that he, Andronikos, had already visited him in prison on several occasions. We must infer Andronikos had been in London for at least several weeks, perhaps already a few months.

Therefore his arrival in London must necessarily be placed in 1475 and the completion of the sale must a fortiori be even earlier (between spring and summer). As for Kallistos' biography, a further consequence of this reconsideration concerns the length of his stay in Milan, which one must now imagine as a very short period.

5. I give here a summary list of instances of apographs in Suliardos' hand made from (<) Valla's manuscripts: Matr. 4612 < Mutin. α T.8.3; Par. gr. 2600 < Mutin. α Q.5.21; Ambr. C 32 sup. < Mutin. α T.9.2 and α T.9.14; Ambr. C 22 sup. < Mutin. α T.9.14; Cantabr. UL Dd.XI.70 < Mutin. α Q.5.20 and α U.9.22; Voss. gr. Q^o 33 < Mutin. α U.9.22; Par. gr. 2166 < Mutin. α P.5.20. In addition, there are in Modena at least other 3 manuscripts (or sections of manuscripts) belonging to Valla penned by Suliardos himself (Mutin. α P.5.17; α Q.5.16; α T.9.6). For fresh considerations on the activity of Suliardos see the article of Ciro Giacomelli in this volume. Regarding the copying of Greek manuscripts that took place in those years on the 'Venice-Florence axis' involving intellectuals such as Angelo Poliziano, Ianos Laskaris and his collaborators, see at least Rollo A, *Il perduto Archimede di Giorgio Valla*. In: Fera V, Gionta D, Rollo A (eds), *Archimede e le sue fortune. Atti del Convegno di Siracusa-Messina; 24-26 giugno 2008*. Messina: Centro Interdipartimentale di Studi Umanistici; 2012. pp. 99-147 and Daneloni A, *Per l'edizione critica delle note di viaggio del Poliziano*. Messina: Centro Interdipartimentale di Studi Umanistici; 2013.
6. See Avezzù G, *Ἀνδρονίκια γράμματα*: per l'identificazione di Andronico Callisto copista. Con alcune notizie su Giano Lascaris e la biblioteca di Giorgio Valla. In: *Atti e memorie dell'Accademia Patavina di scienze lettere ed arti 1989-1990*; NS 102: 75-93.
7. See Irigoín J, *Histoire du texte de Pindare*. Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck; 1952. p. 386-387.
8. The marks from the sale found in the manuscripts belonging to Kallistos, in combination with the appraisal of contemporary epistolary accounts and the discovery of new paleographic evidence (above all, the handwriting of the purchaser, Bonaccorso da Pisa) showed that, at the time of Valla's acquisition, the collection, until some time before tightly united, had already been dismembered when Valla was able to acquire a massive block of (at least) 22 units; see Orlandi L, Ref. 1. p. 134-137.
9. See Kapetanaki S and Sharples RW (eds), *Pseudo-Aristoteles (Pseudo-Alexander), Supplementa Problematorum*. Berlin: De Gruyter; 2006. p. 47.
10. See Ieraci Bio AM, *La versione latina di Giorgio Valla delle Quaestiones naturales di Plutarco*. Galenòs 2021;15:139-173.
11. García Novo E (ed.), *Galen. On the Anomalous Dyscrasia (De inaequali intemperie)*. Madrid: Editorial Complutense; 2010. p. 92.
12. See García Novo E, *Les éditions du traité de Galien De inaequali intemperie à la Renaissance*. In: Boudon-Millot V and Cobolet G (eds), *Lire les médecins grecs à la Renaissance. Aux origines de l'édition médicale. Actes du colloque international de Paris (19-20 September 2003)*. Paris: Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire de Médecine; 2004. 187-198, in part. pp. 188-189; see also, García Novo E, Ref. 11.
13. See Tarán L and Gutas D, *Aristotle, Poetics. Editio Maior of the Greek Text with Historical Introductions and Philological Commentaries*. Leiden-Boston: Brill; 2012. pp. 45, 135-140. More in the paper by Giacomelli C, *Giorgio Valla as a Translator of Aristotle. Philological Remarks on his Latin Translations of Poetics, Magna Moralia, and De Caelo*. *Medicina nei secoli* 2024;36:139-156.
14. Valente S, *Nikephoros Blemmydes, Epitome physica. Untersuchungen zur handschriftlichen Überlieferung*. Berlin: De Gruyter; 2021. p. 42. Annotations in the hand of Valla,

which could open interesting perspectives of how he read Blemmydes' work, are e.g. at ff. 99r, 116r, 123v, 171r.

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19. See Ricciardi R, Da Ponte, Ludovicus (Ponticus Virunius). In: Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani, 32. Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana; 1986. pp. 720-723.
20. See also Rollo A, Ref. 5. p. 108 n. 1.
21. In the epistolary and archival sources from that time there is mention of Gazes as a consobrinus (cousin by mother's side), necessarius (relative, kinsman), consanguineus; see more in Orlandi L, Ref. 1. p. 3.
22. The text of these letters (with a French translation) is edited in Legrand É (ed.), Cent-dix lettres grecques de François Filelfe. Paris: Ernest Leroux; 1892. pp. 80-82 (epist. 41), 83-84 (epist. 43), 85-86 (epist. 44). See now the critical edition by De Keyser J, Francesco Filelfo. Collected Letters. Epistolarum Libri XLVIII. Alessandria: Edizioni Dell'Orso; 2015. pp. 657-658, 659-660, 665-666. I hereby correct with "three" the indication "two letters" given in Orlandi L, Ref. 1. p. 18 n. 90.
23. In the manuscript Parma, Bibl. Palatina, Fondo Parmense, 28 (ff. 37v-40v) an invective is handed down, composed by Kontoblakas against intellectuals from Brescia and Guarino Veronese. See Monfasani J, In Praise of Ognibene and Blame of Guarino: Andronicus Contoblakas' Invective against Niccolò Botano and the Citizens of Brescia. Bibliothèque d'humanisme et Renaissance 1990;52:309-321. Filelfo is mentioned as a friendly arbiter within this dispute.
24. Other elements supporting this identification are in Orlandi L, Ref. 1. pp. 18-22.
25. The text is edited (from Vat. Reg. lat. 1557 [ff. 34r-36v]) in Schmitt WO, Eine unbekannte Rede zum Lob der griechischen Sprache und Literatur. Zur literarischen Biographie des Humanisten Andronikos Kontoblakas. Philologus 1971;115:264-277. About the teaching activity of Kontoblakas we shall mention his (still inedited) Introduction to Greek Grammar (Εἰσαγωγή) which is handed down in two manuscripts, Vat. gr. 1822, ff. 146r-194r and Genoa, Durazzo-Pallavicini 234 (B VI 23), ff. 1r-44v. See more in Orlandi L, Ref. 1. p. 20 n. 104.
26. The text was printed in Legrand É, ref. 22, pp. 235-238 and Mohler L, Kardinal Bessarion als Theologe, Humanist und Staatsmann, vol. 3: Aus Bessarions Gelehrtenkreis. Paderborn: Schöningh; 1942 [repr. Aalen: Scientia-Verlag, 1967]. p. 561. After Bessarion's death Kontoblakas must have left Italy. The continuation of his career in Basel is known. He was, among other things, teacher of Johann Reuchlin, before the latter continued his studies of Greek in France under the guidance of Georgios Hermonymos; see Legrand É, Ref. 22. p. 238 and Schmitt WO, Ref. 25.

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E-ISSN 2531-7288
ISSN 0394/9001



The Latin tradition of Galen's *Capacities of Simple Drugs* and *Capacities of Foods* from Late Antiquity to the Renaissance

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MEDICINA NEI SECOLI

Journal of History of Medicine
and Medical Humanities

36/3 (2024) 105-126

Revised:

Accepted:

DOI:

Corresponding author:

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ABSTRACT

Galen's *Capacities of Simple Drugs* and *Capacities of Foods* were both known by Latin authors in Late Antiquity, as Gargilius Martialis shows, and the *Capacities of Simple Drugs* seem to have got a Latin translation at that time or a little later. They were not included in the Alexandrian Canon of Galen's sixteen works, and in the Middle Ages it is not surprising that they were entirely translated into Latin from Greek rather late: the *Capacities of Foods* by William of Moerbeke in Viterbo in 1277, the *Capacities of Simple Drugs* by Nicholas of Reggio in Naples in the early fourteenth century. Before, the first five or six books of the *Capacities of Simple Drugs* were partly translated into Latin from Arabic by Gerard of Cremona: the translation of the sixth book, which is incomplete, is transmitted anonymously in few manuscripts, and has been attributed to Gerard based on the style. The *Capacities of Foods* have no Latin translation from Arabic, but there is a Latin translation of what seems to be a compendium of this work, which was done by Accursius of Pistoia in 1200, in Bologna, and is transmitted under the title of *De dissolutione continua*. These medieval Latin translations were replaced by new ones in the 1530s, the translation of the *Capacities of Simple Drugs* by Thodore Gerard of Ghent, and those of the *Capacities of Foods* by Joachim Martins of Ghent and by Martin Grégoire of Tours. In this article I shall present the Latin translations of both Galen's *Capacities of Simple Drugs* and *Capacities of Foods* from Late Antiquity to the Renaissance, and reconstruct some aspects of their reception.

Key words: Galen - Capacities of Simple Drugs - Capacities of Foods - Latin Tradition

Galen said that “often a single matter possesses the capacity for both food and medicine,¹” and wrote two works, one dedicated to the *Capacities of Foods* (= *CF*) and the other to the *Capacities of Simple Drugs* (= *SD*)². They are different in terms of volume and commitment, but also similar and connected in content³. *SD* consists of eleven books: the first five concern the theory of drugs, their properties and classification; the other following books deal with individual drugs listed in alphabetical order and divided into plants (VI-VIII), minerals (IX), and animals (books X-XI). *CF* consists of three books: after an introduction to the theory and history of nutrition, foods are treated according to their nutritional value: cereals and legumes (I), green plants (II), animals and fish (III).

These two works also share many aspects concerning their tradition, although *SD* generally attracted more interest. This article will reconstruct the Latin tradition of both *SD* and *CF* from Late Antiquity to the Renaissance, focusing in particular on their Latin translations and some aspects of their reception⁴.

1. *Antiquity and Late Antiquity*

Galen became very famous during his lifetime. He was a renowned scientist and clinician in Rome, where he took care of distinguished patients, in particular Marcus Aurelius and other emperors. He also wrote extensively on philosophy and medicine, providing authoritative copies of his works for dissemination throughout the Roman Empire.

His contemporaries and immediate successors, above all Greek philosophers and rhetoricians, both pagan and Christian, referred to him in medical and philosophical matters. Among them was a Latin author, Gargilius Martialis (d. 260), originally from Auzia (today in Algeria), who held important military and political positions in North Africa, and who wrote various works on rural economy, botany, medicine, and veterinary medicine. In his preserved treatise *Medicines Based on Vegetables and Fruits*, the main source is Pliny the Elder, but also Galen and Dioscorides are mentioned. As regards Galen’s works, *Health* in six books has only one citation, while *SD* and *CF* have at least fifteen and nine citations respectively⁵.

One century later, Oribasius of Pergamum (ca. 320-403), who was the doctor and friend of emperor Julian (361-363) marked what has been called “the triumph of Galen”⁶. At the behest of Julian, who planned to restore pagan culture against the spread of Christianity, Oribasius composed an encyclopaedia, the *Medical Collections* in seventy books, based on the works of earlier physicians, especially Galen, with the aim of collecting and making easily available all the medical knowledge of the past. He also wrote two other compendia: the *Synopsis for Eustathius*, his son, in nine books, and the *Euporista for Eunapius*, a friend of his, in four books, both of which were translated into Latin probably in the fifth or sixth centuries⁷. These translations are transmitted in two versions, both of which are not always close to the Greek origi-

nal and include other texts. However, they contain quotations of *SD* and *CF*, as can also be assumed from the preserved books of the *Medical Collections*⁸.

Oribasius studied in Alexandria, where a school of medicine was active for several centuries, until the Arabs conquered the city in 641⁹. This school provided a theoretical teaching based on the works of Hippocrates and especially on those of Galen, very similar to what was done with the works of Plato and Aristotle in the philosophical schools of the period. The teachers, known as iatrosophists, were devoted to commenting on, summarizing, and reducing Galen's works to tables, in order to simplify and adapt them to school use, and at the same time to developing Galenism in a way that was later transmitted to the Arabs and the West. For teaching purposes, they selected a special group of Galen's works, which became known as the Alexandrian canon of sixteen works, encompassing every field of medicine for both beginners and advanced students: biology, physiology, anatomy, pathology, diagnosis, hygiene, and therapy. Regarding diet and therapy, *Health* and the *Therapeutic Method* in fourteen books were included, whereas *SD* and *CF* were excluded.

Another medical school, modelled on that of Alexandria, must have been based in Ravenna, in the fifth or sixth centuries¹⁰. A ninth-century Latin manuscript, Milan, Ambrosian Library 108 inf., contains four commentaries on Galen's introductory works of the Alexandrian canon: *Sects for Beginners*, the *Art of Medicine*, the *Pulse for Beginners*, and the *Therapeutic Method to Glaucon*. The first three commentaries were written by Simplicius, who reported what the iatrosophist Agnellus explained in his lectures in Ravenna, as Simplicius himself testifies in the subtitles. The commentary on the *Therapeutic Method to Glaucon* is different from the other three and cannot belong to Agnellus, but all four have the same structure as Alexandrian commentaries. The lemmata mentioned in the commentary on *Sects for Beginners* come from a translation entirely preserved in a fifteenth-century manuscript, Vatican Library, Pal. lat. 1090, and also transmitted in an abridged version with a commentary attributed to John of Alexandria and other iatrosophists in manuscripts and in print until 1528¹¹. The lemmata of the commentary on the *Therapeutic Method to Glaucon*, by contrast, do not come from a translation preserved in numerous manuscripts and printed until 1528¹². Thus, the origin of this second translation is uncertain, while that of *Sects for Beginners* seems to be located in Ravenna, which must also have been a translation centre for Hippocrates' and Oribasius' works.

Only these translations of Galen's *Sects for Beginners* and *Therapeutic Method to Glaucon* have come down to us from Late Antiquity or the Early Middle Ages. In addition, there are the Latin lemmata of the *Art of Medicine* and the *Pulse for Beginners* mentioned in the Ravenna commentaries¹³. Finally, some Latin passages of two pharmacological treatises of Galen, *SD* and the *Composition of Drugs according to Places* in ten books, survived through the indirect tradition¹⁴. It is difficult to say whether there ever were complete translations of these large works of Galen in Late Antiquity.

At the time, generally Galen's genuine corpus was reduced to a small extent or had almost disappeared in the West, while short therapeutic compilations or collections of recipes were attributed to him and became more popular¹⁵.

2. Middle Ages

Galen's return to the West started in the eleventh century, when Constantine the African (ca. 1020-1098) provided the first medical translations from Arabic into Latin¹⁶. He was born in Carthage (today in Tunisia), and after legendary travels and adventures he arrived in Salerno, then in Monte Cassino, where he became a monk and lived a long life translating medical works with a team of erudite confreres. Constantine's translations had their first reception in Salerno, where they decisively contributed to a revival of learned medicine and to a creation of an academic curriculum¹⁷. At the end of the eleventh century, in Salerno, the *Articella* had already been formed, a collection of ancient medical texts mainly translated by Constantine, which would change over time and be adopted by all European universities until the sixteenth century¹⁸.

One of the most important translations by Constantine was that of the *Complete book of the Medical Art* by the Persian physician 'Alī ibn 'Abbās (930-994), known as *Pantegni*. It was a synthesis of Greek medicine, which had to overcome Hippocrates' obscurity and Galen's prolixity, as affirmed in the prologue, where the Alexandrian canon is mentioned and the sixteen works of Galen are listed¹⁹. This selection of Galen's works influenced the translation production of Constantine, as well as the translators of the following century, both from Arabic and from Greek, Burgundio of Pisa (ca. 1110-1193) and Gerard of Cremona (1114-1187).

It is not surprising that *SD* and *CF*, which were not included in the Alexandrian canon, were entirely translated into Latin late. The Dominican friar William of Moerbeke (1215-1288), who became archbishop of Corinth, completed his translation of *CF* during his stay at the papal court of Viterbo on 22 October 1277, and dedicated it to the doctor Rosello of Arezzo²⁰. This is the single medical translation by William, who rather translated many philosophical and scientific works, especially of Aristotle. Like other translators of the thirteenth century, William had a literal translation style; he however avoided transliterations and a strictly word-for-word translation in favour of a more readable Latin.

William's translation was appreciated by *CF* editors and considered *codicis instar*²¹. In fact, it is useful for reconstructing the Greek text, because it does not depend on any of the preserved Greek manuscripts. William had access to or owned numerous Greek manuscripts, but few of these are known and none contains Galen's works²².

The first complete Latin translation of *SD* was done by Nicholas of Reggio, who was active at the Angevin court of Charles II and Robert of Naples in the first half of the fourteenth century, at least from 1308 to 1345²³. He was the last medieval translator of medical Greek texts and the most prolific. In fact, he translated over fifty works of

Galen and five of Hippocrates in a pre-humanistic project to replace previous translations from Arabic, as they were unreliable, and to make all of Galen available in Latin. Nicholas adopted a very literal translation style, including transliterations, the same as that by Burgundio da Pisa, especially in the early period of his activity. His translations are always important textual witnesses, because they reproduce the Greek originals, which were precious South Italian and Constantinopolitan manuscripts that seem to have been lost. They are even crucial, when Galen's works have not survived in Greek, as in the case of *Problematical Movements*, *Containing Causes*, *Antecedent Causes*, the *Parts of the Art of Medicine*, and the *Outline of Empiricism*.

As regards *SD*, no modern critical editions have yet been done. However, its tradition was partly studied and Nicholas' translation was deemed useful for reconstructing the Greek text²⁴. On the basis of a stylistic examination, this translation splits into two parts, books I-V and books VI-XI²⁵: books I-V were translated by Nicholas in the early years of his activity, whereas books VI-XI turned out to be close to the subsequent translations. Nicholas's style changed in a few years, already before 1314, and this means that the translation of *SD* I-V could not have been done much earlier than that of books VI-XI.

The reception of the two translations by William and Nicholas was different. The translation of *CF* by William is contained in twenty-seven manuscripts, some of them from the end of the thirteenth century. They show that it was part of the so-called New Galen, a variable selection of Galenic works used for advanced university studies²⁶; then it entered the complete Latin editions of Galen printed from 1490 to 1528. In contrast, the translation of *SD* by Nicholas is fully preserved in a single manuscript, Vatican City, BAV, Urb. Lat. 248 of the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries. It is an illuminated manuscript, which belonged to Benedetto Reguardati (1398-1469), a professor of medicine in Perugia and Pavia, as evidenced by the Reguardati family coat of arms in the first folio²⁷; later on, Benedetto's son donated it to duke Frederick of Montefeltro. Six manuscripts contain only books VI-XI of the *SD* translation by Nicholas, and four of these contain books I-V in Gerard's translation, a combination that made the entire work available. There is also the manuscript Paris, BnF, Lat. 9331 of the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries, which contains books I-VI in Gerard's translation, and books VII-XI in Nicholas' translation. The complete Latin editions of Galen, from 1490 to 1528, printed Galen's *SD* likewise, publishing the translations of Gerard (books I-VI) and Nicholas (books VII-XI) together.

Gerard moved from Cremona to Toledo cathedral, where he translated from Arabic about seventy works of philosophy, science, mathematics, and medicine, which had a great impact on Western culture²⁸. In particular, Gerard translated ten works of Galen, generally listed in the Alexandrian canon. After Gerard died in 1187, his *socii*, students, wrote a laudatory account of his life with a list of his translations, including *SD* I-V²⁹. However, also *SD* VI was translated by Gerard, as shown by linguistic and stylistic features of this translation³⁰. It is missing from the list of his *socii* probably

because it is incomplete. Gerard's translation of *SD* I-V was well known and used in medical education of European universities as part of the New Galen, as shown by the numerous manuscripts that hand it down, more than fifty, some from the late thirteenth century. In contrast, the translation of *SD* VI is preserved in only four manuscripts.

As regards *CF*, no Latin translation was done from Arabic in the Middle Ages, although there was an Arabic translation of this work.³¹ It is worth pointing out that a Latin translation of a work on foods, ascribed to Galen, was done from Arabic by Accursius of Pistoia in Bologna, in 1200, and was known with various titles, *De dissolutione continua*, *De virtute cibariorum*, *De cibis*, or *Liber regiminis*. This translation is preserved in eighteen manuscripts from the late thirteenth century onwards, some of which contain a New Galen collection. Then it was printed in all complete Latin editions of Galen, from that by Diomedeo Bonardo in 1490 to the Graeco-Latin edition by René Chartier (1572-1654) in 1638³².

Bonardo published the *Continuous Dissolution* unusually specifying that it was not a genuine work of Galen (vol. I, cc. zz3v-6v): "*Explicit liber de dissolutione continua qui a quibusdam attribuitur Galieno.*" The humanist physician Agostino Gadaldini (1515-1575), who edited the Giuntine editions from 1541-2 to 1565, agreed with Bonardo, but expressed a positive opinion on this text in his 1550 Giuntine edition, suggesting that the *Continuous Dissolution* would be based on two following works of Galen, *CF* and *Good and Bad Humours* (*ascripti libri*, c. 71r): "*Pleraque ex libris de alimentis et de cibis boni et pravi succi in hunc librum a aliquo longe post Galeni tempora tracta videntur; inest tamen in hoc libro nonnihil absurdi.*" Chartier printed the *Continuous Dissolution* after *CF* in vol. VI; in his notes he labeled it as book IV of *CF*, and claimed that it appears to be a very good conflation of Galenic works, without identifying the precise sources (vol. VI, pp. 548-549):

In librum Galeno ascriptum De dissolutione continua seu de alimentorum facultatibus quartum.

Hic liber, Galeno ascriptus, de dissolutione continua seu de continuo substantiae effluvio inscriptus est, qui, quanquam de alimentorum facultatibus liber agat, quartus additus et partim ex libris Galeni superioribus, partim ex subsequentibus conflatus videatur, in eo tamen multa verba vera et perpauca absurda deprehenduntur.

The Arabic original of the Latin *Continuous Dissolution* is non preserved, but a Hebrew translation of chapters 1-14 was done by Zerahyah ben Isaac ben She'altiel Hen, who was active in Rome between 1277 and 1291. It is contained in a single manuscript, Paris, BNF, Hébr. 1175, ff. 60a-62b, written by an Italian hand in the sixteenth century, with the title of *The Book of the Regimen by Galen, translated by Zerahyah ben Isaac, from the translation by Hunayn*. Gerrit Bos, who edited the Hebrew translation together with the Latin *Continuous Dissolution*, chapters 1-14, by Ivan Garofalo, claimed that this text is a summary of original Galenic material, and may have as its source a *CF* summary reportedly produced by Hunayn Ibn Ishāq (808-873), the famous physician and translator of Galen³³.

It is uncertain that the *Continuous Dissolution* goes back to Ḥunayn, whereas it is certain that it contains material from Galen's works, including *CF*, as Gadaldini had already stated³⁴. However, the identification of the other sources requires further investigations. As regards the indirect Latin tradition of *SD* and *CF* in the Middle Ages, much was done for the former, as already less for the latter³⁵.

3. Renaissance

In the last decades or two of the fifteenth century, medical humanism developed in Italy, and new translations of Galen and other ancient physicians were done from Greek originals into a Latin similar to that of classical authors such as Pliny, Celsus, and Cicero³⁶. In 1492, Niccolò Leonicensino (1428-1524), a professor of logic, mathematics, philosophy, and medicine in Ferrara, published *Pliny's Errors* in the form of a letter to the famous poet and humanist Angelo Poliziano (1454-1494), which is to be considered the manifesto of medical humanism³⁷. In this pamphlet, Leonicensino criticised Latin and Arabic authors, Pliny, Avicenna, Serapion, as well as medieval commentators, for misinterpreting Greek texts especially on botany and pharmacology, i.e. the works of Dioscorides, Theophrastus, and Galen, including *CF* and *SD*. He strongly emphasised that contemporary medicine would progress by returning to the ancient Greek originals. Leonicensino consistently collected numerous Greek medical and scientific manuscripts and produced eleven Latin translations of Galen's works³⁸. At the same time, other humanist physicians or humanists with medical interests translated works by Galen from Greek into Latin such as Giorgio Valla (1447-1499), Lorenzo Lorenzo (ca. 1460-1502), Demetrius Chalcondyles (1423-1511), and shortly after Thomas Linacre (1460-1524), and Wilhelm Kopp (1463-1532)³⁹. All these pioneering humanist translators, who made use of Greek manuscripts, generally translated works by Galen that had already been translated in the Middle Ages, and the same works several times: the *Uneven Bad-Mixture* was translated by Valla, Leonicensino, and Linacre; the *Art of Medicine* and the *Commentary on Hippocrates' Aphorisms* were translated by Leonicensino and Lorenzi; the *Distinct Types of Disease* and *Causes of Diseases* were translated by Leonicensino and Kopp.

As regards diet and drugs, Linacre translated the *Health* and the *Therapeutic Method*, but *CF* and *SD* did not immediately have new Latin translations. In his *Pliny's Errors* Leonicensino translated few quoted passages from *SD*⁴⁰. He actually possessed a Greek manuscript of this work, as did Valla and Ermolao Barbaro (1453-1493), the latter a great humanist, translator, and commentator of the *Medical Matter* by Dioscorides⁴¹. Leonicensino also possessed a Greek manuscript of *CF*, but probably after writing *Pliny's Errors*, in which he quoted William's medieval translation⁴².

A landmark in the history of Latin translations of Galen was the first Greek edition, in five folio volumes, printed by the heirs of Aldus Manutius in Venice in 1525-1526. This edition was an extraordinary undertaking in terms of investment and commitment, providing a large number of texts, more than a hundred, about half of which

had never before been translated into Latin. From then on, and especially until the mid-sixteenth century, Galen's works were translated into Latin from the Aldine edition by many authors, both well- and less known, from all over Europe. Some of his works received several translations, but this was not the case for his more voluminous treatises. Nicholas' medieval translation of the *Function of the Parts of the Body*, a work on anatomy and physiology in seventeen books, was revised, but never replaced. The new Latin translations of *SD* and *CF* were both published by the same printer, Simon de Colines, in Paris in the same year, 1530. Their authors, respectively Theodoric Gerard of Gouda (d. 1529/30), known as Gaudanus, and Joachim Martens of Ghent (fl. 1527-1540), are quite obscure. They came from the same region, perhaps both belonged to Erasmus' circle, if they were not in touch with each other.

In 1529 Gaudanus published his translations of two medical works: *Bloodletting* of Galen, and *Leeches*, ascribed to Galen, but actually a collection of excerpts mainly from Oribasius⁴³. In his dedicatory letter to his friend and doctor Michael Monticellus, otherwise unknown, who had invited him to translate *Bloodletting*, Gaudanus talked about his translation work: the Aldine edition, which he used as the corrupt Greek original; the medieval Latin translation, with which he corrected the Greek text; the great translator Linacre, whom he took as a model editor. He also spoke of his health problems, which must have been serious.

In August 1530, Gaudanus' translation of *SD* was published, when he was already dead⁴⁴. This edition was promoted by the German pedagogue Johannes Sturm (1507-1589), who had connections with many humanists throughout Europe, including Erasmus. Sturm wrote a dedicatory letter to the bishop of Noyon Jean de Hangest (1501-1577), in which he said that Gaudanus had done the translation of *SD* for himself, for the study and understanding of the Greek text, and had given it to his friends when he was dying; however, its importance and high quality convinced Sturm to publish it. Apart from the dedicatory letters mentioned, not much is known about Gaudanus. Born in Gouda, where Erasmus was also born or at least spent his early years, in 1510 he started studying medicine at the university of Leuven, which Sturm also attended.

As regards the translator of *CF*, Martens is known mainly through his correspondence with Erasmus⁴⁵. Born in Ghent, he matriculated at the university of Montpellier in May 1527, and in summer or early autumn of 1528 he was in Carpentras with Jacopo Sadoletto (1477-1547), then bishop of the city, a prominent figure in the Catholic world conciliating with Protestants, who was in contact with both Sturm and Erasmus. At the end of the same year, Martens had to move to Paris, where he lived and worked for several years. Later on, in August 1532, he visited Erasmus in Freiburg, and shortly after he returned to Ghent. Martens only published his translation of *CF*, dedicating it to Sadoletto, bishop of Carpentras. In his letter to the reader he spoke of his Greek original, the Aldine edition: it provided a corrupted text, which he tried to correct in various ways, including on the basis of the medieval translation.

The two translations by Gaudanus and Martens had different fates. The translation of *SD* was unrivalled and reprinted several times with revisions until the 1826 edition by Karl Gottlob Kühn, vol. XI⁴⁶. The translation of *CF* had few reprints, because it was replaced by another translation, that by Martin Grégoire (d. 1552) of Tours, published in Paris in 1538 and then reprinted until the 1823 edition by Kühn, vol. VI.

Not much is known about Grégoire's life and work⁴⁷. Since 1544, he made investments in Tours, documented by notarial deeds, as well as a will in favour of his wife in 1552, shortly before his death. As regards his production, it was centred on Galen's works. It began with a revision of Nicholas' translation of the *Function of the Parts of the Body*, published in 1537, in collaboration with Jacques Dubois (1478-1555), known as Sylvius, a famous professor of medicine in Paris, teacher of Andreas Vesalius (1514-1564), staunch promoter and defender of Galen's anatomy⁴⁸. In the same year and by the same printer, Chrétien Wechel, Grégoire published a translation of Galen's *Pulse for Beginners*; in the following year, 1538, two other translations, those of *CF* and the *Slimming Diet*, and a revision of Linacre's translation of the *Therapeutical Method*, the latter by another printer, Claude Chevallon's widow. Finally, in 1549, he published a French translation of the *Composition of Drugs according to Kind*, I-IV, a pharmacological work of Galen in seven books.

The translation of the *Slimming Diet* was not a true translation, because the Greek text was not available, but rather a revision of Nicholas' translation, like that of the *Function of the Parts of the Body*, which was however printed under the name Grégoire. The *CF* translation is also a revision of Marten's translation, as shown in the following passage:

Galen , <i>CF</i> I 1: 22, 20-23, 7 W (VI 478, 11-479, 3 K)	Joachim Martens Paris: Simon de Colines, 1530, 10r	Martin Grégoire Paris: Chrétien Wechel, 1541, 10
<p>ὄλως γὰρ οὐδὲν οἶόν τ' ἐστὶ τῆ πείρα βασανίσαι προσηκόντως ἄνευ τοῦ τῷ λόγῳ πρότερον εὐρεῖν ἀκριβῶς τὴν διάθεσιν, ἣ προσφέρεται τὸ βασανιζόμενον ἥτοι σιτίον ἢ ποτὸν ἢ φάρμακον.</p> <p>ὅλη γὰρ ἐστὶ βοθημάτων ἢ τῶν τοιοῦτων γῶσις, οὐκ αὐτὰ τὰ βοηθήματα.</p> <p>ἐπεὶ δ' ἀδύνατον ἄνευ τοῦ γινώσκειν ἀκριβῶς τὰς δυνάμεις τῶν ὑλῶν, αἷς χρώμεθα, βοηθεῖν τοῖς δεομένοις αὐτῶν,</p> <p>ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν, ὥσπερ ἐτέρωθι περὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς φαρμάκοις δυνάμεων, οὕτως ἐνταῦθα περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ τροφῇ διελεθεῖν.</p>	<p>Omnino enim nullius rei vires experientia commode indagabis, nisi prius per rationem ad unguem compertum habueris affectum cui applicatur quod exploras, sive id cibus, sive potio, sive medicina sit.</p> <p>Quippe talium cognitio est materia auxiliorum, non autem ipsorum auxiliorum cognitio.</p> <p>Quoniam vero nisi exacte rerum quibus utimur, vires calleamus, illarum ope egentibus succurrere haud valebimus:</p> <p>necesse est ut alibi de medicaminum, ita hoc quoque loco de alimentorum facultatibus disserere.</p>	<p>Omnino enim nullius rei vires experientia commode explorabis, nisi prius per rationem ad unguem compertum habueris affectum cui applicatur quod exploras, sive id sit cibus, sive potus, sive medicamentum.</p> <p>Quippe affectuum cognitio, est materia remediorum, non ipsorum remediorum cognitio.</p> <p>At quoniam feri non potest, ut, nisi quis materiarum, quibus utimur, facultates exacte calleat, illarum ope egentibus succurrat: necesse est ut alibi de pharmacorum, ita hoc quoque loco de alimentorum facultatibus disseramus.</p>

Grégoire changed the construction of only one sentence compared to Martens' translation (*At quoniam fieri non potest ...*), generally shifted a few verbs or adverbs (*sit* and *exacte*), and above all replaced some terms with synonyms: *indagabis* with *explorabis*, *potio* with *potus*, *medicina* with *medicamentum*, *auxiliorum* with *remediorum* (twice), *vero* with *at*, *vires* with *facultates* (once, although the term *vires* occurs twice in Marten's translation of this passage), *medicaminum* with *pharmacorum*. The first and the last substitutions were suggested by the Greek text (*explorabis* and *pharmacorum*), as was that of *rerum* with *matariarum* (τῶν ὑλῶν). As regards *affectuum* instead of Marten's *talium* (τῶν τοιοῦτων), it is an interpretation or correction of Grégoire. However, it is evident that Grégoire relied on Martens' translation, although the latter's name disappeared in Galen's editions after 1531.

4. Conclusions

Galen's two works *SD* and *CF* had a Latin tradition with some aspects in common, although generally *SD* attracted more interest than *CF*. In Late Antiquity, both were quoted in Gargilius Martialis' s Latin treatise *Medicines Based on Vegetables and Fruits*, as well as reasonably in the Latin translations of Oribasius' *Synopsis* and *Euporista*. Both were also excluded from the Alexandrian canon, the selection of sixteen works of Galen that encompassed every field of medicine and had great influence in Late Antiquity and in the Middle Ages.

Therefore, their first complete medieval translations, both from Greek into Latin, were done late: William of Moerbeke translated *CF* in 1277, and Nicholas of Reggio translated *SD* in two stages, around 1310 and a little later. In the meantime, Gerard of Cremona had already translated *SD* I-VI from Arabic into Latin in the second half of the twelfth century, and in 1200 Accursius of Pistoia had translated the *Continuous Dissolution*, an Arabic compilation on nutrition and foods based directly or indirectly on works by Galen, including *CF*. Of all these translations, Gerard's, the oldest, was the most widespread, as shown by the more than fifty manuscripts that hand it down, while Niccolò's translation, the most recent, is preserved in its entirety by only one manuscript.

Medical humanism started mainly on botany and pharmacology, on the works of Dioscorides and Galen used in their Greek originals. Dioscorides' *Medical Matter* was early translated into the new Latin and commented on by Ermolao Barbaro and was also published in Greek by Aldus Manutius in 1499. The Greek edition of Galen's works was then published in 1525, and new translations of *SD* and *CF* were both published by Simon de Colines in Paris in 1530. Their authors were respectively Theodoric Gerard, known as Gaudanus, and Joachim Martens, from the same region and the same circle of Erasmus. These translations were both revised in the sixteenth century, but never completely redone. In fact, what Martin Grégoire published in 1538 was not a new translation of *CF*, but a revision of Martens'.

A generation after Nicolò Leonicensino, who promoted a return to Galen and Greek medicine, their overcoming already began in several fields. As regards botany, drugs, foods, and diet, Antonio Musa Bravascosa (1500-1555), an erudite physician, disciple of Leonicensino, clinician, and professor at the university of Ferrara, wrote a partly preserved biography of his master, an impressive index of Galen's works published in the Giuntine editions from 1550 onwards, as well as the *Examination of Simple Drugs*, in which he claimed the supremacy of observation over ancient texts, and a commentary on Hippocrates' *Regimen in Acute Diseases*, in which he criticised certain ancient foods. He also found a botanical garden in Ferrara, in Belvedere island, with the aim of learning first-hand about traditional and new plants⁴⁹.

Despite the supremacy of observation, the arrival of new medicinal plants from distant lands, and the revolutionary introduction of novel drugs by iatrochemistry, Galen's works long remained the standard medical culture in the early modern period. Commentaries on *SD* were published in the sixteenth century and seventeenth centuries, and at the same time *SD* and *CF* were printed in complete and single editions of Galen in Latin, as well as in the vernacular⁵⁰. They were also mentioned by different physicians, both clinicians, such as Amatus Lusitanus (1511-1568) in his *Therapies*, and botanists, such as Andrea Bacci (1524-1600) in his *Natural History of Wines*. What and how much of *SD* and *CF* were mentioned still require further investigation.

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 30. See Díaz Marcos M, Problemas de autoría en la traducción latina medieval del libro VI del *De simpl. med. fac.* de Galeno. *Anuari de Filologia. Antiqua et Mediaevalia* 2021;11,2:43-51; Ventura I, Ref. 4. pp. 404-406.
 31. See Ullmann M, *Die Medizin im Islam*. Leiden: Brill; 1970. p. 47 n° 45.
 32. See Fortuna S, René Chartier (1572-1664) e le edizioni latine di Galeno. In: Boudon-Millot V, Cobolet G, Jouanna J (eds), René Chartier (1572-1654) éditeur et traducteur d'Hippocrate et de Galien. Paris: Editions De Boccard; 2012. p. 320.
 33. Bos G, Garofalo I, A Pseudo-Galenic Treatise on Regimen. The Hebrew and Latin Translations from Ḥunayn Ibn Ishāq's Arabic Version. *Aleph* 2007;7:43-95, p. 46. On the summary of *CF* by Ḥunayn see Degen R, The Oldest Known Syriac Manuscript of Ḥunayn b. Ishāq. In: Graffin F, Guillaumont A (eds), *Symposium Syriacum 1976*. Rome: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum; 1978. pp. 63-71. An Italian translation of the complete *Continuous Dissolution* is in Poggi G, *Uno spurio galenico De dissolutione continua*. Traduzione e commento (Università degli Studi di Roma, Scuola di Perfezionamento in Storia della Medicina). Rome: Arti grafiche Cossidente; 1968.
 34. In his edition of the *Continuous Dissolution* first part on nutrition, Bos provided some references to Galen's *Health* (Bos G, Garofalo I, Ref. 33). The second part of this text, not edited by Bos and Garofalo and concerning several foods (Galenus, *Opera*. Venice: Filippo Pinzi; 1490. Vol. I, cc. zz4v-6v), contains, e.g., nine passages on milk that have mostly parallels, though not literal, with *CF*, in which there is a long chapter on milk (III 14: 199-206 W = VI 682-689 K); however, these passages also show similarities with other works by Galen, *the Slimming Diet*, *Foods Productive of Good and Bad Humours*, *SD*, and probably with works on the same topic by other authors.
 35. See note 4.
 36. See Fortuna S, The Prefaces to the Medical Translations of the First Humanists. *Traditio* 2007;62:317-335; Petit C (ed.), *Revisiting Medical Humanism in Renaissance Europe*. *Arts et Savoirs* 2021;15. On the humanist Latin translations of Galen see Fortuna S, *Editions and Translations of Galen from 1490 to 1540*. In: Bouras-Vallianatos P, Zipser B (eds), *Brill's Companion to the Reception of Galen*. Leiden: Brill; 2019. pp. 437-452.
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versity Press; 2016. pp. 45-76; Fortuna S, Savino C, Giorgio Valla and His Latin Transla-
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 40. See Leonicenus, De Plinii, et plurium aliorum medicorum in medicina erroribus. Ferrara:
Giovanni Mazzocchi, 1509. c. 20v: *Haec enim sunt verba Galeni III de simplicibus medi-
caminibus liber sic. Cicuta hominem quidem interficit ob meatuum latitudinem et calori-
s abundantiam, ac propter magnam quam habent arteriae in attrahendo vim, pollens
adhuc pertingit ad cor. Non exanimat autem sturnos ex contrariis causis* (Galen, XI 600,
7-11). The translations by Gerard and Nicholas are very different; see Vatican City, BAV,
Urb. Lat. 248, f. 96r (Nicholas' translation); Galenus, Ref. 34. Vol. II, c. s1v (Gerard's
translation).
 41. Leoniceno's manuscript of *SD* was Paris, BnF, Grec 2157; see Mugnai Carrara D, Rif. 38
(1990). p. 111 (A16). This manuscript was annotated by the Anonymous Harvardianus, now
identified with Alessandro Bondino; see Orlandi L, Al fianco di Aldo, per Galeno e Aristote-
le. L'identità dell' "Anonymus Harvardianus" (tavv. VI-X). *Italia Medievale e Umanistica*
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baro's manuscript of *SD* was Vatican City, BAV, Pal. gr. 31; see Vendruscolo F, Per la bib-
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D, Harlfinger D, Valente S (eds), *Griechisch-byzantinische Handschriftenforschung. Tradi-
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 42. Leoniceno's manuscript of *CF* was Paris, BnF, Grec 1883; see Mugnai Carrara D, Rif.
38 (1990). p. 116 (A 32). For a quotation of the *CF* medieval translation by William
see Leonicenus, Rif. 40. c. 86r: *Galenus tamen libro secundo de alimentis, capite de
sericis idest zinzifis, vel iuiubis, ingenue fatetur se non habere aliquid in ipsis testificari
ad sanitatis conservationem, aut aegritudinum curationem. Sunt enim (ut inquit) cibus
mulierum, et puerorum effrenatorum, paucique alimenti, et indigestibiles, simul cum hoc,
quod neque eustomachum est alimentum, palam, quod et ipsum dant paucum corpori* (= *Galenus*,
Rif. 34. Vol. II, c. k3v; Galen, VI 614, 11-16 K).
 43. On Gaudanus and his translations of *Bloodletting* and *Leeches* see Calà I, Theodoricus
Gerardus Gaudanus traduttore di Galeno. *Medicina nei Secoli* 2013;25:1091-1101. For-
tuna S, Niccolò da Reggio e il *Vat. gr.* 283. Il caso dello pseudo-galenico *De hirudinibus*,
revulsione, cucurbitula, incisione et scarificazione con edizione del testo greco e della
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44. See Petit C, Ref. 24, pp. 1079-1083.
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SAPIENZA
UNIVERSITÀ DI ROMA



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E-ISSN 2531-7288
ISSN 0394/9001



MEDICINA NEI SECOLI

Journal of History of Medicine
and Medical Humanities

36/3 (2024) 127-138

Revised:

Accepted:

DOI:

Corresponding author:

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A mid-19th Century tool for hypnosis

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ABSTRACT

The authors examine a hypnosis instrument marketed in the 1860s by prominent Parisian instrument maker, Joseph Frédéric Benoît Charrière (1803-1876). This instrument holds significant historical value and warrants preservation for museological purposes. Serving as a tangible proof of the hypnotic “setting”, it represents a critical link between late mesmerism and early development of modern hypnosis.

Preserving such artifacts is crucial for understanding the evolution of hypnotic practices and the broader historical context of medical instrumentation. Charrière’s contributions to surgical tools are well-documented, and this instrument exemplifies the intersection of his work with the burgeoning field of hypnotism. The instrument not only illustrates the technological advancements of the period, but also reflects the shifting paradigms in therapeutic practices from mesmerism to modern hypnosis. As such, it is an invaluable piece for both historical and educational displays, offering insights into the practical applications and theoretical underpinnings of hypnosis in the nineteenth century.

Key Words: Hypnosis - Instruments - Joseph Frédéric Benoît Charrière (1803-1876)

Introduction

In the tumultuous ocean of neuroscience, can hypnosis be evaluated in terms of scientific evidence acquisition¹? To what extent²? And how comparably with other disciplines, entirely or partially neuroscientific^{3,4}, that have developed in recent decades⁵? In the history of hypnosis and the history of medicine, can points of contact be identified that diverge (in other words, that show unique characteristics), in any aspect, from the fields of psychotherapy or psychology *lato sensu*?

In the early 1990s, a volume emerged aiming to outline a general history of hypnosis⁶. This volume was received with mixed reactions, starting with the choice of the term “Hypnotism” instead of the more modern “Hypnosis”; nonetheless, it was considered a significant historiographical contribution.

In more recent times (2017), the Royal Society dedicated a special issue of its “Notes and Records” to the topic of hypnosis, demonstrating that the interest in this subject deserved reinforcement with interpretations appropriate to historiographical evolution. For instance, geographical emphasis on Italy⁷ correlated the two main schools of thought of the late 19th century—the Parisian school⁸ and the Nancy school⁹—while also necessitating an analysis of the long-term impact of their dichotomous scientific positions¹⁰. The leading figures of these schools were Jean-Martin Charcot (1825-1893) at the Salpêtrière for the Parisian school, and Ambroise-Auguste Liébeault (1823-1904) and Hippolyte Bernheim (1837-1919) for the Nancy school. Summarizing the evolution of theories and practices related to hypnosis, it is noted that the Nancy school considered hypnosis a normal psychological phenomenon interpretable through suggestion, whereas the Parisian school viewed hypnosis as a hysterical neurosis¹¹.

The evolution of hypnosis, from the period marking the transition from the Mesmeric concept of *animal magnetism*, starting from the 1840s, highlights specific applications. Firstly, in the surgical field, related to the development of anesthetic practices. In Europe, the first systematic ether anesthesia practices began in the spring of 1847. There was an immediate technical challenge in creating apparatuses suitable for controlled administration of anesthetic gas, requiring years of study and experimentation to resolve. In France, Joseph Frédéric Benoît Charrière (1803-1876) stood out in this activity^{12,13}.

However, the applications of hypnosis in surgery preceded the introduction of ether anesthesia (and later chloroform anesthesia). In April 1829, in France, Jules Germain Cloquet (1790-1883) performed a mastectomy on a patient using hypnotic anesthesia. Staying within the Mesmeric context, simultaneously with the spread of anesthetic practices, James Esdaile (1808-1859) successfully conducted surgical operations using hypnosis-induced anesthesia¹⁴. Esdaile was a pupil of John Elliotson (1791-1868), who also performed successful surgical operations with hypnosis-induced anesthesia within the Mesmeric context¹⁵.

The second domain could be what we now term *psychotherapeutic*.

Hypnosis and the History of Medicine

One could argue that even for historians of medicine (and not just those of psychology, psychotherapy, or science), the subject has long been and remains of considerable interest. This interest extends beyond the classic search for roots linked to Franz Anton Mesmer (1734-1815) and the transcendence of his ideas.

One notable work is the monographic issue of *ACTAS CIBA*, published in 1946 and dedicated to *Mesmerism*¹⁶. This issue was written by the Swiss physician René Edgar Kaech (1909-1989), who also held leadership roles in the *Union Mondiale des Écrivains Médecins*.

The monograph on Mesmerism was subsequently published in several languages: English, French, German, Spanish, Portuguese, Flemish, Swedish, and Italian. Typically, the reference texts for these monographic issues were simply translated into various languages and published at different times, with any additions being limited to brief *Complementary notes* specific to each country. For this analysis, the Italian edition was consulted¹⁷. This publication laid the groundwork for a profound historiographical analysis of the precursors to hypnosis within a historical-medical dimension, underscoring the significance of Kaech's historiographical reflections.

In relatively more recent times, two contributions on this topic by Loris Premuda (1917-2012) can be highlighted^{18,19}.

Regarding the editorial context, the journal curated by the CIBA pharmaceutical company of Basel remains a reliable historiographical reference. The Italian edition of the journal was directed by Luigi Belloni (1914-1989), a distinguished historian of medicine at the University of Milan²⁰.

Luigi Belloni, along with Moshè (Moisé) David Chaim (Arturo) Castiglioni (1874-1953) of the University of Padua, the aforementioned Loris Premuda, his successor at Padua, Piero Capparoni (1868-1947), and Adalberto Pazzini (1898-1975), can be considered among the foremost medical historians of the 20th century.

While the vast scientific literature on hypnosis is characterized by its biographical dimensions, disciplinary analysis, the updating of therapeutic proposals, and social repercussions (it is not the intention of the authors to address these issues specifically, even though they are of considerable importance^{21,22}), less historiographical attention has been given to the peculiar characteristics of the hypnosis "setting". This includes the instruments used by practitioners during hypnosis sessions.

This area is also of interest to museology, particularly in the preservation and valorization of medical instruments and objects as valuable historical sources. We therefore concur with the views expressed in 1949 by physician and medical historian Walter Artelt (1906-1976)²³, who underlined this value.

The instruments of hypnosis have not been particularly considered by neuroscientific historians or museologists sensitive to these themes²⁴. In a classic work²⁵ by Clark Leonard Hull (1884-1952) in 1929, a detailed and traditional description of the

Mesmeric “setting” is provided, related to the psychological aspects of its practice. Even in relatively recent times, the role of the “setting” has been analyzed, highlighting the relationships between the hypnotic and psychoanalytic “settings”²⁶, without specifically referring to the instruments used.

However, in Hull’s text, a brief mention is made of the tool wielded and used by Mesmer:

*[...] At the psychological moment, Mesmer would appear on the scene garbed in a brilliant silk robe. He would pass among the patients, fixing his eyes upon them, passing his hands over their bodies and touching them with a long iron wand [...]*²⁷

From this citation, we can begin to ask whether, after the Mesmeric iron wand, other instruments have been used in hypnotic practice. The answer is affirmative, and we encounter another prominent figure: the Scottish surgeon James Braid (1795-1860). He is credited with distinguishing Hypnotism from Mesmerism. Without delving into the broader debates regarding his role in the overall evolution of hypnosis, which could risk anachronism, we aim to highlight his proposal for using specific instruments in hypnotic techniques.

Clark Leonard Hull also writes:

*[...] Braid is, likewise, notable for having developed a special technique for inducing the trance, a method still extensively used. His procedure was to have the subject look fixedly at some bright object which was held near and slightly above the eyes in such a way that the eye muscles were under a certain amount of strain. This technique was usually combined with verbal suggestion [...]*²⁸

Clark Leonard Hull provides insight into Braid’s method. Braid induced hypnosis by having subjects fixate on a bright object placed at a short distance from their eyes, without specifying a particular shape:

*[...] I now proceed to detail the mode which I practise for inducing the phenomena. Take any bright object (I generally use my lancet case) between the thumb and fore and middle fingers of the left hand; hold it from about eight to fifteen inches from the eyes, at such position above the forehead as may be necessary to produce the greatest possible strain upon the eyes and eyelids, and enable the patient to maintain a steady fixed stare at the object [...]*²⁹

Object, instrument, cultural heritage artifact

It seems we have returned to a starting point where the characterization of hypnosis instruments, if it ever existed, gradually faded even from historiographical memory. However, one source reminds us that a mid-19th-century hypnosis instrument can be recognized not only as an object or cultural heritage artifact to be preserved but also as an example of the development and generalization of hypnotic practice.

This source is a catalog from a Parisian company producing surgical instruments, featuring the iconography of an *Appareil à Hypnotisme (modèle Charrière)*. The claim of a model associated with the activities of Maison Charrière suggests the apparatus may have been patented.

Before detailing the instrument, we must define the relevance of the source we consulted, and the individuals connected to it. The source type consists in catalogs of industrial production of surgical (or medical) instruments: objects of use and consumption³⁰, with varied presence in public preservation institutions. Regarding the singularity or homogeneity of these industrial production catalogs of surgical (or medical) instruments, the former is a value, not a limitation. Although seemingly similar, each catalog possesses specificities that sometimes go beyond the commercial and technical choices of individual producers. Beyond compiling or consulting the catalogs for practical use, one can and should engage in a comparative analysis of these catalogs to derive methodological³¹, cultural, and technical insights.

This comparative analysis makes these volumes even more valuable; they represent a crucial link between experimentation and the dissemination of surgical (or medical) theories and practices³².

The key figures of interest are Joseph Frédéric Benoît Charrière and his son Jean Jules Charrière (1829-1865), the leading French surgical instrument makers of the 19th century. Joseph Frédéric Benoît Charrière is universally known for the catheter measurement scale bearing his name, but his contributions to the construction and improvement of surgical tools were immense in both quality and quantity^{33,34,35}.

The specific catalog we consulted is of great interest because the *Appareil à Hypnotisme* is highlighted and illustrated among those presented at the International Exhibition of 1862 in London, or Great London Exposition. It was recognized as a specific creation of Maison Charrière and not merely the realization of an instrument previously detailed by others³⁶.

The instrument

In Charrière's catalog, the *Appareil à Hypnotisme* is described as follows:

[...] *Il se compose d'une petite gaine en cuir verni, dans laquelle s'engage une pince à pression continue, en acier, qui reçoit une tige d'acier garnie de deux boules d'acier poli ; la tige s'incline à tous les degrés [...]*³⁷.

It is evident that the instrument derives from the description proposed by James Braid, as previously mentioned. However, by the time Charrière's catalog was published, Braid had already passed away, suggesting that this description was likely a specific development by others.

How can we identify the possible authorship of this elaboration?



Fig. 1. *Appareil à Hypnotisme (modèle Charrière)*. One might wonder about the identity of the depicted figure: he vaguely resembles Jean Nicolas Demarquay

A contemporary, chronologically organized repertory related to the scientific literature on hypnosis published in France may provide valuable assistance³⁸. This repertory was compiled by Alexis Dureau (1831-1904), a physician who served as the librarian of the *Académie de Médecine* in Paris starting in 1886. In it, a work by Jean Nicolas Demarquay (1814-1875) and Félix Giraud-Teulon (1816-1887), published in 1860³⁹, was cited and praised as follows: *Excellente étude, faits bien observés*⁴⁰.

This work thus answers our question, as the two authors are the creators of the instrument, which was specifically made for them by Charrière. They reaffirm the reference to James Braid and provide a detailed description of their instrument and its construction process:

[...] *Nous attendions donc les résultats d'une vérification qui devait sans doute se faire sur une grande échelle, quand un des chirurgiens les plus considérés des hôpitaux, M. le docteur Demarquay, voulut bien nous offrir de prendre part à ses propres essais sur la nouvelle méthode. Les dix-sept observations dont nous donnons ci-dessous les résumés essentiels, ont été recueillies, cette semaine même (8-15 décembre), sous les yeux du personnel scientifique de la Maison municipale de santé, dans le service de M. Monod. Les essais ont*

été faits, le premier jour, en se servant, pour objet brillant, d'un ophthalmoscope ; mais les jours suivants, afin d'écartier l'influence du regard de l'expérimentateur, obligé, pour maintenir l'instrument, d'avoir les yeux fixés sur ceux du sujet en observation, pour se dégager de l'élément volonté, fascination, suggestion de l'observateur, qui jouent un si grand rôle dans la rédaction du docteur Braid, M. Demarquay a apporté à l'instrumentation la modification suivante.

Sur ses indications, M. Charrière nous a fait préparer une boule brillante en acier de 1 centimètre et demi de diamètre, montée sur une tige qui glisse elle-même, à frottement doux, dans une monture à charnière fixée sur un frontal ou diadème qu'une petite courroie assujettit autour de la tête. Par-là, les yeux du malade, amenés dans la convergence indiquée, n'étaient plus dérangés par aucune intervention extérieure pendant toute la durée des expériences : inutile d'ajouter quels résultats sont demeurés les mêmes, sur les mêmes sujets, par l'une et l'autre méthode expérimentale [...]⁴¹.

Regarding the mention of the ophthalmoscope and its use in the specific hypnotic context, Giraud-Teulon had developed a binocular ophthalmoscope model, marketed by the Parisian manufacturer Nachet.

The instrument by Jean Nicolas Demarquay and Félix Giraud-Teulon generated immediate interest upon its publication. Joseph Pierre Durand de Gros (1826-1900), under the pseudonym *Docteur. J. P. Philips*, reported on their instrument in 1860, quoting directly (at least in part) their words:

[...] je crois utile de donner ici la description d'un appareil de mire imaginé par MM: Demarquay et Giraud-Teulon. Cet instrument consiste en une boule brillante en acier d'un centimètre et demi de diamètre, montée sur une tige qui glisse elle-même, à frottement doux, dans une monture à charnière fixée sur un frontal ou diadème qu'une courroie assujettit autour de la tête [...]⁴².

It appears, without a doubt, that this is the instrument reproduced in the *Notice des instruments de chirurgie humaine et vétérinaire, appareils et coutellerie, de la Maison Charrière présentée à MM. les membres du Jury International de l'Exposition Universelle de Londres (1862)*.

This instrument of interest could be used both for inducing hypnosis for anesthetic purposes and for psychotherapeutic applications.

However, during the heated debate between the Nancy and Paris schools in the 1880s, while an instrument like the one produced by *Maison Charrière* might have lost its theoretical centrality, it could still retain a practical role.

The position of the *Appareil à Hypnotisme* in the history of hypnosis

How can we position this *Appareil à Hypnotisme* in the history of hypnosis? Is it just one of many (or few) proposed devices? If we are to acknowledge a special role for it, what might justify this attribution of uniqueness? An important figure from that era, George Gilles de la Tourette (1857-1904), can assist in this discussion. In 1887, he proposed an analysis of the hypnosis phenomenon, aligning with the Paris school and summarizing

procedures while emphasizing the importance of the “setting” (to use a modern term). In his description, we find a passage about the instrument we are analyzing:

[the traditional Egyptian operators] [...] *font tout bonnement de l'hypnotisme et du somnambulisme, à la manière de M. Braid, en faisant fixer le regard du sujet dans une boute de cristal; et, comme ils n'ont pas un Charrière pour leur confectionner quelque joli appareil, ils se contentent d'une de ces boules qui servent, dans certaines maisons, de lampe, en y mettant de l'huile [...]*⁴³.

This harsh criticism nonetheless confirms the role and importance played by *Maison Charrière* in disseminating Braid's practice of hypnosis, as Gilles de la Tourette's observation was made in 1887, twenty-seven years after its original formulation.

However, Gilles de la Tourette is not the author of the phrase. We can better contextualize this quote, as it is taken from a letter sent from Cairo by Elia Rossi Bey (1816-1891), personal physician to Halim Pasha (1831-1894)⁴⁴, to Jean Nicolas Demarquay and Félix Giraud-Teulon. This letter was published in their 1860 volume⁴⁵.

Indeed, Rossi Bey, a Ferrarese Jew, Mazzinian, and Carbonari, who was also a Freemason reaching the rank of Grand Master of the Rite of Memphis [46], reported that the Egyptian tradition had a procedure very similar to that proposed by Braid. Rossi, who also authored a work on medical geography⁴⁷, provided observations that, although critical, were contemporary with those of Demarquay and Giraud-Teulon.

The inclusion of the *Appareil à Hypnotisme* in the production line of *Maison Charrière* underscores its importance and diffusion (and commercialization). It was a significant validation of the instrument and the associated practice by France's leading manufacturer of surgical instruments.

What other instruments for hypnosis can we find in the literature?

The challenge is to find validated sources, not just authors' descriptions proposing individual instruments for early scientific evaluations. Often overlooked or undervalued in historical terms, dictionaries or encyclopedic collections can be helpful, especially when recognized as the result of critical elaborations and evaluations. In the entry *Hypnotisme et Mesmérisme*⁴⁸ from Charles Robert Richet's (1850-1935) *Dictionnaire de Physiologie*, authored by Julian Leopold Ochorowicz (1850-1917), of great interest *per se* and for the reconstruction of the history of hypnosis, we find an enumeration of methods for inducing hypnosis and instruments, one of which resembles the instrument of our interest: *le miroir rotatif de Luys*.

Julian Leopold Ochorowicz, active in psychology with spiritualist and occultist (which would be defined today as parapsychologic) interests between Varsavia, Lviv (Lemberg), and Paris, described Luys' instrument, which Papus (pseudonym of Gérard Encausse (1865-1916), physician and esotericist) also detailed:

[...] *Miroir rotatif. L'emploi du miroir rotatif du D^r Luys, est, à notre avis, préférable à tous les autres moyens comme sécurité et rapidité. Nous conseillons surtout le miroir à une seule*

*tête et recouvert de cuivre nickelé. Le constructeur est M. robillard. On place le miroir à hauteur des yeux du sujet et à environ 0m50 d'éloignement, en s'assurant que le scintillement lumineux passe bien devant les yeux [...]*⁴⁹.

The reference is to hunting decoys called *specchietti per le allodole*, which relied on the rotation of mirrors reflecting sunlight⁵⁰.

Jules Bernard Luys (1818-1897) made significant contributions to neuroanatomy and neuropsychiatry⁵¹.

Among the methods and instruments cited by Ochorowicz, we also find the *bouchon de carafe* used by Braid as a reflective object:

[...] Un fil de platine rougi par l'électricité de Strohl, le bouchon de carafe de Braid, le disque hypotaxique de Durand De Gros, le miroir rotatif de Luys, les pentagrammes droits et renversés de Papus, la pression sur le vertex de Charcot, la plaque chauffée de Berger, la machine électrostatique avec faradisation unipolaire de Weinhold, le courant galvanique de Eulenburg, l'aimant caché dans la poche de Maggiorani et les applications iso et éthcronomes de Durville [...] [52]

The heated platinum wire was the basis for the functioning of the thermocautery, invented by Claude André Paquelin (1836-1905), commonly used in surgery at the time.

Conclusions

What further reflections can we propose regarding the instrument made by *Maison Charrière*, from an operational and instrumental perspective?

One aspect could be the necessity for the operator to have both hands free for certain procedures requiring illumination, such as laryngoscopy and otorhinolaryngology surgeries. Another consideration could be the availability of a light source with specific characteristics (e.g., pinpoint focus) that is easily maneuverable; in this specific case, note the unconventional initial use of the ophthalmoscope. In all these situations, fixing the instrument with a headband not only solved operational problems but also allowed for particularly effective visual contact, leaving the operator's hands free for other concurrent actions. The vulcanization of rubber or the tanning of leather made it possible to create a durable and suitable headband.

Additionally, the inclusion of the *Appareil à Hypnotisme* in the production and commercialization context of medical-surgical instruments underscores its significance. Unfortunately, we do not have data on the production and sales of Charrière's *Appareil à Hypnotisme*; however, the explicit claim of the elaboration (*modèle Charrière*) suggests that it was more than just a mere prototype.

Finally, in analyzing the evolution of disciplines related to what we now term *hypnosis*, it is essential to consider material sources as cultural heritage to be preserved and valued, as well as testimonies of stages, ideas, moments, practices, and methodologies.

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SAPIENZA
UNIVERSITÀ DI ROMA



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E-ISSN 2531-7288
ISSN 0394/9001



Theon, on the Composition of Purgative Medicines An Unedited Text from Laur. *Plut.* 75.3

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MEDICINA NEI SECOLI

Journal of History of Medicine
and Medical Humanities

36/3 (2024) 139-166

Revised:

Accepted:

DOI:

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ABSTRACT

An unedited text from Laur. *Plut.* 75.3

Among the treatises in the codex *Plut.* 75.3 of the Laurentian Library (Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana) in Florence, there exists a text entitled: “Theon, On the composition of purgative medicines” (Θέωνος, Περὶ τῶν καθαρόντων φαρμάκων). There is limited information available about a physician named Theon. Photios (9th century), in his work “*Bibliotheca*”, mentions a Theon from Alexandria, who authored a medical treatise called “*Man*” (Ἀνθρῶπος).

The text in codex *Plut.* 75.3 comprises two distinct parts: In the first section, eight plants are described in detail: colocynth, flax-leaved daphne, white hellebore, caper spurge, aloe, scammony, dodder, and black hellebore. The second part contains eight recipes, including antidotes for the liver and spleen, as well as unguents for scabies, dropsy, and kidneys. All pharmaceutical recipes presented are unique and cannot be found in any other text. In this article, we are publishing this text for the first time.

Keywords: Theon - Purgative medicines - Byzantine medicine

1. Introduction

The codex Plut. 75.3, of the Laurentian Library of Florence contains medical texts by various authors. The manuscript was first described by A. M. Bandinius in 1770¹. He titled the codex *Libri medicinales varii* (Βιβλία ἰατρικὰ ποικίλα), and mentioned the following content:

I.	f. 1 ^r	Anonymi brevis tractatus de pulsibus
II.	f. 4 ^r	Ἀλάτιον τοῦ Εὐαγγελιστοῦ Λουκᾶ.
III.	f. 4 ^v	Ex Metrodora de morbis muliebribus uteri. (Ἐκ τῶν Μητροδώρας περὶ γυναικείων παθῶν τῆς μήτρας)
IV.	f. 33 ^v	Anonymi uberrimus de antidotis, emplastris et unguentis
V.	f. 229 ^v	De ponderibus et mensuris
VI.	f. 233 ^r	De urinis secundum naturam optimis et de praenotionibus ex ipsis faciendis. Tractatus anonymi
VII.	f. 238 ^v	Duae occurrunt tabellae, notas ponderum et mensurarum compendiarias
VIII.	f. 239 ^v	Prognosticon (Προγνωστικὰ Ἴπποκράτους)
IX.	f. 255 ^r	Manu diversa
X.	f. 256 ^r	De succedaneis
XI.		

However, upon closer examination, the codex contains several anonymous texts, and the content changes as follows:

I.	f. 1 ^r	Definitiones pulsuum (Ὅροι σφυγμῶν)
II.	f. 1 ^r	De anima (Περὶ ψυχῆς)
III.	f. 1 ^r –4 ^r	De pulsibus et theoria medicorum (Περὶ σφυγμῶν καὶ θεωρία τῶν ἱητρῶν)
IV.	f. 4 ^r –4 ^v	Praescriptiones variae <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Ἀλάτιον τοῦ Εὐαγγελιστοῦ Λουκᾶ² Μασθούς ὀρθούς φυλάξαι Ἄλλον ὀρθούς καὶ μικροὺς διαβῆναι Ἄλλον Μασθῶν ὄγκους παῦσαι, ἔστιν δὲ καὶ ὀμφαλικόν
V.	f. 4 ^v –33 ^v	Ex Metrodora, De morbis muliebribus uteri (Ἐκ τῶν Μητροδώρας περὶ γυναικείων παθῶν τῆς μήτρας)
VI.	f. 33 ^v –180 ^v	Anonymi uberrimus de antidotis, emplastris et unguentis (Ἄνωνύμου) ³
VII.	f. 180 ^v –186 ^r	Theonis, De compositione medicamentorum cathartica (Θέωνος, Περὶ συνθέσεως τῶν καθαιρόντων φαρμάκων)
VIII.	f. 186 ^r –186 ^v	Selectio ex Alexandro libri, Caput Theta (Ἐκλογὴ Ἀλεξάνδρου βιβλος Κε<φάλαιον> Θ<ῆτα>) ⁴

- IX. f. 187^r-187^v Alexandri, Quae in medicamentis semen generant et excitant (Ἀλεξάνδρου, Ὅσα ἐν φαρμάκοις γεννᾶ σπέρμα καὶ παρορμᾶ)⁵
- X. f. 187^v-191^v <Alexandri> De paresi, Liber X (<Ἀλεξάνδρου> Περὶ παρέσεως, Βιβλίον Γ')⁶
- XI. f. 191^v-193^r Procli Patriarchae Constantinopolitani, Antidotum podalicum. (Πρόκλου Πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, Ἀντίδοτος ποδαλγική)
- f. 193^r-229^v Anonymus, Praescriptiones variae (continuatio) (Ἄνωνύμου)
- XII. f. 229^v-230^v De ponderibus et mensuris (Περὶ σταθμῶν καὶ μέτρων)
- XIII. f. 230^v-231^v De mensuris et ponderibus <Hippocratis> (Περὶ μέτρων καὶ σταθμῶν <Ἱπποκράτους>)
- XIV. f. 231^v-233^v De mensuris et ponderibus secundum alphabetum (Περὶ μέτρων καὶ σταθμῶν κατ' ἀλφάβητον)
- XV. f. 233^r-236^r De urinis secundum naturam optimis (Περὶ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν ἀρίστων οὔρων)
- XVI. f. 236^r-238^v Quot differentiae sunt unguentorum et quid significant (Πόσαι διαφοραὶ τῶν ἐλαιωδῶν οὔρων καὶ τι σημαίνουσιν)
- XVII. f. 238^v-239^r Scriptura signorum (Γραφή τῶν σημείων)
- XVIII. f. 239^v-255^r Prognostica Hippocratis (Προγνωστικά Ἱπποκράτους)
- XIX. f. 255^r-255^v Manus diversa - Praescriptiones variae
- a. Περὶ πόνον καρδίας ἐὰν κρούετε
- b. Ἀντίδοτος Μιθριδάτιος καὶ στομαχικοῖς
- XX. f. 256^r-263^v Manus diversa - De succedaneis (Ἄντεμβαλλόμενα τῶν εἰδῶν)

As discerned, codex *Plut.* 75.3 comprises a collection of prescriptions encompassing numerous texts of medical content, transcribed from various sources. Among the texts within the manuscript, familiar ones include Hippocrates' Prognosticon (Προγνωστικόν)⁷, the two treatises on urine, *De urinis secundum naturam optimis* (Περὶ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν ἀρίστων οὔρων)⁸ and *Quot differentiae sunt unguentorum et quid significant* (Πόσαι διαφοραὶ τῶν ἐλαιωδῶν οὔρων καὶ τι σημαίνουσιν)⁹, as well as the abridged version of Pseudo-Galenus' treatise *De pulsibus ad Antonium disciplinae studiosum ac philosophum*¹⁰, Metrodora's *De mulierum morbis uteri* (Περὶ τῶν γυναικείων παθῶν τῆς μήτρας)¹¹, and Alexander of Tralles' chapter *De paresi* (Περὶ παρέσεως)¹², have long been recognized.

In contrast, lesser-known or anonymous authors contribute to other texts. Notably, a text extending from folia 180^v to 186^r, titled "Theon's, On the Composition of

Purgative Medicines” (Θέωνος, Περὶ συνθέσεως καθαιρόντων φαρμάκων), stands out. Despite extensive searches, no other copies of this treatise were located in any other codex or library. Until now, texts or scripts from a physician named Theon have been deemed lost or non-existent¹³.

The discovery of this text, even in its fragmentary state, holds significant importance, prompting further investigation into the identity of Theon within this preserved passage. It also raises questions about whether he can be associated with any person previously mentioned in literature and, ultimately, during which period he lived.

2. The Codex Laur. Plut. 75.3

The Codex is written on parchment dated to the 10th century, with ff. 263 and a dimension of 110X170mm¹⁴. The manuscript has absorbed moisture at the upper edges, which results in the parchment being damaged and letters or entire rows being erased. In the manuscript, we distinguish three scribes¹⁵. The first, who we could also call the master copyist, copied ff. 1^r-255^r with special care. Each folio contains between 25 and 27 rows. The second copyist copied pharmacological recipes on folia 255^r-255^v. The third copyist copied on ff. 256^r-263^v, *De succedaneis*¹⁶.

Theon’s text is found on ff. 180^v-186^r; it was copied by the first copyist, and he comes from the Saint Nile’s School¹⁷. His writing and the colors he uses in the capital letters, which are painted in green, red and yellow, are characteristic features of South Italy¹⁸. Based on its form and writing, the codex is dated to the end of the 10th century **or the beginning of the 11th century**, mainly around 980¹⁹, while the area of northern Calabria is placed as the place of writing²⁰.

In the codex, we find notes in the margins. Of great interest are those found on ff. 225^r and 256^r where an owner of the manuscript wrote personal notes.

In f. 225^r, we read:

φεβρ<ουαρίου> β’ τοῦ , ςχζ’ ἔτ<ους> ἐπὶ βασιλε<ίας> Ἀλεξίου.
February 2nd, of the 6607 [1099] year, in the reign of Alexios.

while in f. 256^r is noted:

μηνὶ Ἰουλίου εἰς τοὺς ιε’ ἡμέρα τετράδι ὄρα α’ ἰνδ<ικτιῶνος> ε’ τοῦ ςχε’ ἔτ<ους> ἐπὶ βασιλείας Ἀλεξίου
In the month of July, on the 15th, day Wednesday, at the 1st hour, indiction 5th, in the year 6605 [1097], during the reign of Alexios

Both notes refer to Alexios I., the Emperor of the Byzantine Empire, while the years 1099 and 1097 are noted respectively. This means that an owner of the codex wrote personal notes at the end of the 11th century. The codex, before ending up in the Laurentian library, was part of the collection of the monastery of San Salvatore *de Lingua Phari* in Messina, Italy²¹.

Of particular interest are two Latin words that are partially written in Latin characters and are in the middle of the recipes. These are the words *salpia* (f. 122^r) and *mercuriale* (f. 148^r). Both words were written by the hand of the same copyist and are not an addition, but a continuation and integral part of the text. Why these words were written in Latin is questionable and as a question remains unanswered²². In these words, the corresponding Latin letters were used for those letters that do not exist in the Greek alphabet. One would expect letters from the Beneventan script used by the Campania-Calabria region at the time to be used here. But the copyist used letters of older writing that refer to those of Capitalis and Unziale²³. This indicates that the ancestor of the text is much older, at a time when the specific letters were in widespread use, and that time is no other than the late 6th or early 7th century²⁴. In addition, the names that are mentioned in the codex confirm this. None of the persons mentioned here, lived after the 6th century²⁵.

3. The physician Theon

The name *Theon* seems to have been widespread. More than three dozen individuals with this name have left their mark in history and are referenced in literature²⁶. Others held positions as bishops and representatives of the church²⁷, sophists, rhetors and philosophers²⁸, artists and painters²⁹, others mathematicians and astronomers³⁰, while only two are mentioned as related to health³¹. *Theon the Gymnast* or *Theon of Alexandria* was a contemporary of Galen (2nd century). These two men, Theon and Galen, disagreed about Hippocrates' views and theories. In Galen's book entitled *Hygiene* (De sanitate tuenda libri VI; Ὑγιεινῶν λόγοι στ³²) it is stated that *Theon* wrote four speeches entitled: *On particular exercises* (Περὶ τῶν κατὰ μέρος γυμνασίων):

...ὁ τε κάλλιστα μεταχειρισάμενος ὅλην τὴν πραγματείαν Θεῶν ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς τέτταρα γὰρ οὗτος ἔγραψε βιβλία περὶ τῶν κατὰ μέρος γυμνασίων, ἃ πάντα κάμοι λέγειν ἐξῆν ἄμεινόν γε ἐρμηνεύειν ἐκείνου δυναμένῳ καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν μνημονεύειν γυμνασίων ἔργοις κοινῶν...³³

...and making the most of the entire discourse, Theon of Alexandria, for he, having written four books on particular exercises, all of which he was able to explain better than I, and also, besides, he mentions many other exercises in common practice...

Here *Theon* deals with the training of athletes. Whenever Galen refers to him, he calls him sometimes as *Theon the Gymnast* (Θέων ὁ Γυμναστής)³⁴ and sometimes as *Theon from Alexandria* (Θέων ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς)³⁵. Galen notes that *Theon* was a “self-taught gymnast” and a supporter of the views of Hippocrates. However, although he calls *Theon* “admirable”, he considers his work incomplete because he does not specify the quality or number of athletic activities:

...ὁ δὲ θαυμάσιος Θεὸν εὐθὺς τοῦτο πρῶτον ἔσφαλται, μήτε τὴν δύναμιν εἰπὼν ποτε τῆς συμμετρῶν κατὰ ποιότητα τρίψεως μήτε τὴν χρείαν, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ παρερχόμενος αὐτὴν ὥσπερ οὐκ οὕσαν...³⁶

...but the remarkable Theon immediately errs in this first point, neither mentioning the power of symmetrical quality of friction nor the necessity, but always passing it by as if it were non-existent...

From these references, it is clear that *Theon* was a *Gymnast*, and the author of a work on exercise, which Galen also mentions under the title *Gymnastica* (Γυμναστικά³⁷). Note also that in Galen's book, *Hygiene*, it is nowhere mentioned that *Theon* had anything to do with medicine or that he was a doctor or that he prepared any medicine or that he wrote medicinal prescriptions. Galen does not refer from *Theon* in connection with the preparation of any pharmaceutical recipe³⁸.

The physician Archigenes (1st – 2nd c. AD) also refers *Theon*³⁹. Here he is referred to a medicinal prescription of a lozenge. The recipe bears the name of the plant *tree heath* (*Erica* spp.) in its title:

Ἄλλος τροχίσκος καὶ αὐτὸς θαυμαστὸς ὁ δι' ἐρείκης καὶ αὐτὸς ὀνομαζόμενος τοῦ Θεώνος. ἔχει δὲ οὕτως· ἐρείκης καρποῦ, ἰτέας φλοιοῦ ἀνὰ Γο α', καππάρεως φλοιοῦ Γο α', ἀμμωνιακοῦ θυμιάματος Γο α', ναρδοστάχου ἐξάγιον α', ἐν ὧν σκιλλητικῶ ποιεῖ τροχίσκον καὶ δίδου ὡς προείρηται ἐπὶ τοῖς ἑτέροις τροχίσκοις. εἰ δὲ βούλει, θές καὶ εὐφορβίου ὅσον ἐξάγιον α'...⁴⁰

Another wonder-working wheel is also attributed to *Theon*, made from heather and also known as *Theon's wheel*. It is composed as follows: heather fruit, willow bark, each oz.⁴¹ one, caper bark oz. one, ammoniac incense oz. one, spikenard hexagon⁴² one, in Scyllian vinegar he signs a troche and give as it said before; on the other troches, if it wants, put also euphorbium as much as hexagon one...

Here we are informed that a person named *Theon* prepared this particular recipe. Although the profession of the manufacturer of this medicine is not specified, he was nevertheless apparently a physician. In this recipe, heather fruit, willow and caper barks, spikenard plant and finally the inorganic material ammonium salt are used as ingredients.

Although the works of Archigenes have been lost⁴³ and only a few fragments of him have survived in books by later writers⁴⁴; the mention here of a recipe derived from a *Theon* is noteworthy and impressive. Also worthy of attention is the phrase:

...καὶ αὐτὸς <ὁ τροχίσκος> ὀνομαζόμενος τοῦ Θεώνος...
...and this <troche> is called from *Theon*...

This reference suggests that Archigenes knew other recipes that *Theon* had prepared. A further reference to a physician *Theon* is found in *Eunapios* (4th century), who mentions a person from Gaul with this name⁴⁵, but he does not give us any other clue concerning to his life:

...καὶ Θεῶν δὲ τις ἐν Γαλατία κατὰ τούτους τοὺς καιροὺς πολλῆς δόξης ἐτύγχανεν...⁴⁶
 ...and a certain Theon in Galatia was highly esteemed during those times...

In the literature, it is mentioned that a physician by the name of *Theon*⁴⁷ who was active in Gaul in Asia Minor may be indicated here, since in the previous paragraph there is a reference to the doctor Ionikos of Sardeis. However, this cannot be said with certainty⁴⁸ since there is no other clarifying information in Eunapios' text.

In Aetios from Amida (6th c.)⁴⁹ we find a reference to a physician named *Theon*, who records a prescription apparently belonging to a physician:

Ἐκ τῶν Θεῶνος· οἴνου καθαρτικοῦ χολῆς σκευασία.
 Κασσίας Γο α΄, σκαμμονίας Γο α΄ οἴνου ξε ε΄, ταῦτα λειότατα γενόμενα ἐμβαλλέσθω ὀθονίῳ
 καὶ ἀκριβῶς περισφιγθὲν τὸ ράκος ἀποκρεμάσθω εἰς τὸν οἶνον καὶ ἐάσθω βρέχεσθαι
 ἡμέρας ε΄, εἶτα ἐκ τοῦ οἴνου τούτου δίδου πρὸ τροφῆς κρᾶσιν τελείαν σὺν ὕδατι θερμῷ·
 πεπίστευται χολὴν καθαίρειν...⁵⁰

From Theon; preparation of a wine-based purgative of the bile.

Cassia, oz. one; scammony, oz. one; wine, xestes⁵¹ five; these well-prepared, put in a linen cloth, and the sack being tightly tied, let it hang in the wine and allow it to soak for five days, then from this wine give a complete mixture before meals with warm water; it is believed to cleanse bile....

It should be noted that the above recipe is found in Aetios handbook, in the chapter *Method of composition of cathartic medicines* (Μέθοδος συνθέσεως τῶν καθαιρόντων φαρμάκων). According to the above medicinal recipe, we are informed that a certain *Theon*, who was apparently a physician, prepared it. Here this specific preparation treats the problems of the bile with the wine being a purgative. In this recipe, cassia and scammonia are added to the wine as ingredients. The following are the instructions for the preparation of the medicine and the dosage for administration to the patient. The reference to the recipe ...ἐκ τῶν Θεῶνος..., and much more the plural of the article, refers us to the fact that there were other medicinal recipes from this particular *Theon*.

The Dictionary of Souida⁵² (10th c.) includes eight different individuals with the name *Theon*. All of them were sophists, but none was a physician, nor is it mentioned that any of them wrote a medical book⁵³. This most likely indicates that the texts of the physician bearing the name *Theon* were either not survived, or they were considered of lesser importance and did not receive proper attention so that they would be copied and disseminated.

3.1. The reference of Photios

The most detailed report about *Theon* the physician is in the book of *Myriobiblos* (Μυριοβιβλος) or *Bibliotheca* (Βιβλιοθήκη)⁵⁴ of Photios (9th century). Here, we find a reference to a leading physician in Alexandria named *Theon*, who wrote a medical book with the title *Man* (Ἄνθρωπος)⁵⁵. It is interesting that the specific report recorded by Photios, numbered 220, follows that of Oribasios (number 219) and precedes that of Aetius (number 221).

Theon, addressed his book to *Theoctistos* (Θεόκτιστος). In fact, the report is extremely clear and cannot be misinterpreted:

...ἀνεγνώσθη Θεώνος ἀρχιητροῦ Ἀλεξανδρέως ἰατρικὸν βιβλίον, ὃ ἐπιγράφει Ἴανθρωπον. Θεοκτίστῳ μὲν τὸ σύνταγμα προσφωνεῖ...

...a medical book by Theon, chief physician of Alexandria, was read, which he entitled 'Man'. He addresses his composition to Theoctistos...

This book is divided into three sections:

The first part starts with the treatment of the ailments of the head and, following an anatomical order, includes all parts of the body and ends up with the ailments of the feet.

...ἀπάρχεται δὲ τῆς θεραπείας ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς καὶ διήκει μέχρι ποδῶν, πάντων τῶν πεπονθότων μορίων τοῦ σώματος θεραπείας τινὰς ἀναγράφων...

...it commences the treatment from the head and proceeds to the feet, detailing treatments for all parts of the body that have suffered...

However, the author does not elaborate on nature and the detailed characteristics of each disease.

...οὔτε δὲ τὴν τοῦ νοσήματος φύσιν πλὴν ἐπὶ γε βραχέων ἐκδιδάσκει, οὔτε τοῖς πρέπουσι προσδιορισμοῖς, περὶ ὧν προάγεται λέγειν, τὴν διδασκαλίαν ὑπάγει...

...nor does it teach about the nature of the disease, except briefly, nor does it provide appropriate definitions, about which it should speak first, it proceeds with the teaching...

According to Photios, *Theon* describes firstly the recipes for gout and arthritis, and then he proceeds with the simple purgative, explaining to some extent the reasons for using them. Simple, is meaning medicines with one ingredient:

...μετὰ δὲ γε τὸ γράψαι τῶν ποδαγρικῶν καὶ ἀρθριτικῶν παθῶν ἰάματα, διέξεισι μὲν περὶ τῶν ἀπλῶν καθαρτικῶν φαρμάκων, πειρᾶται δὲ καὶ αἰτίας τινὰς ἀποδιδόναι...

...after writing about remedies for gout and arthritis, he proceeds to discuss simple purgative medicines, and he also attempts to assign certain causes...

Finally, in the third part, he deals with the composition of various remedies indicated for the diseases mentioned in the first part of the book, and he describes the preparation of plasters, soothing remedies (ἄκοπα), collyria, as well as several recipes together with the names of the physicians who described them for the first time. Photios notes:

...περὶ συνθέσεως παντοδαπῶν διαλαμβάνει φαρμάκων, ὅσα τε αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰ προειρημένα τῶν νοσημάτων ἰκανὴν παρέχεται τὴν χρεῖαν καὶ πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα τοῦ σώματος πάθη, ἃ παρῆκε τὴν κατὰ τὰ πεπονθότα μόρια θεραπείαν ἀναγράφων, ἐμπλάστρους τε καὶ ἄκοπα καὶ κουλλούρια καὶ ἀντιδότους διαφόρους ἐκ διαφόρων ἀνδρῶν κατεσκευασμένας ἀναγράφει...

... concerning the composition of various medicines, those which provide sufficient for the aforementioned diseases, and for all other afflictions of the body, for which he describes remedies for various conditions, including plasters, unguents, poultices, and various antidotes prepared by different individuals...

It is apparent that Photios does not particularly appreciate the content of the work:

...οὐκ ἔμοιγε δοκοῦν ὀρθῶς οὐδὲ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐξημμένως, δι' ἃς τὴν καθαρτικὴν δύναμιν ἢ τῶν φαρμάκων ἐπιδείκνυσι φύσις...

...it does not seem to me correct, nor is it extracted from the truth, the nature of which demonstrates the purgative power of medicines...

Nevertheless, he considers it similar -in terms of its content- to the book *Synopsis* of Oribasios⁵⁶:

...ἔστι μέντοι τὴν χρεῖαν τὸ βιβλίον ταῖς τοῦ Ὀρειβασίου συνόψεσι παρεχόμενον παραπλησίαν...

...however, the usefulness of the book is similar to the summaries of Oreibasius...

From the above references of Photios we find that Theon's book entitled *Man* was divided into three parts: 1. *Treatments from head to toe*, 2. *On simple purgatives* and 3. *On the synthesis of all medicines*.

Therefore, the question arises as to whether this book of *Theon*, as Photios tell us, is the source from which the recipes of Archigenes and Aetios originated. Although the bibliography considers the identification of Aetios' reference with that of Photios as given, nevertheless, we are struck by the complete omission of the reference to Archigenes' prescription to the physician *Theon*. The only exception is the note by Mavroudis that Archigenes probably refers to some unknown *Theon*⁵⁷. Although Mavroudis does not explain his opinion, his position could be correct if we accept that Archigenes is referring to a different physician than Photios: One lived before Archigenes or was his contemporary, around the 1st century, and the second one lived after the 4th century.

4. The content of the text

Theon's text, *On the composition of purgative medicines*, (Περὶ συνθέσεως τῶν καθαιρόντων φαρμάκων) can be divided into two parts: In the first part, eight plants are listed: colocynthis, (*Citrullus colocynthis*), flax-leaved daphne (*Daphne gnidium*), white hellebore (*Veratrum album*), caper spurge, (*Euphorbia lathyris*), aloe, (*Aloe vera*), scammony (*Convolvulus scammonia*), dodder (*Cuscuta epithimum*), black hellebore (*Helleborus niger*). The double mention of the plant *colocynth*, in places 1 and 6, puzzle us, and we wonder if perhaps the copyist here may have accidentally written the word twice instead of colocynth (κολοκυνθίς, *Citrullus colocynthis*) and cucurbita (κολοκύνθη, *Cucurbita pepo*). From the description of the properties of the plants, we understand that the first reference probably refers to the colocynth and the second to the cucurbita. A detailed description of the nature and quality of these plants is done, concerning their "hot" or "cold" properties. Additionally, the author gives an account of their use in the treatment of diseases.

The influence and acceptance of the theories of Hippocrates and Galen in *Theon's* work are evident. The theory of the four humor (*blood, black bile, phlegm, yellow*

bile), formulated in the *Corpus Hippocraticum*, particularly in the treatise: “*On the nature of Man*”, where is noted that properties are in a dynamic equilibrium of opposing pairs: “hot vs. cold” and “wet vs. dry”. According to this theory, it is believed that any deviation from this dynamic equilibrium can deteriorate health. Therefore, the internal qualities of food and medicinal herbs, in terms of “hot”, “cold”, “wet” or “dry”, contribute to the body’s health, according to the principle of the theory of the opposites (θεραπεία διὰ τῶν ἀντιθέτων)⁵⁸. These theories were further developed and supported by Galen, who added that each internal quality could be present in four different grades of strength. In the second part, in *Theon’s* text, eight recipes are recorded: one for the liver, two for the spleen, one for an ointment for scabies, and four composite drugs; two for dropsy and two for kidney diseases. There is a clear connection between the two parts of the text, as *Theon* mentions that he will refer to them in the last paragraph of the first part:

... Ὅρα δὲ μοι τῶν πονηθέντων καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ ἐξευρεθέντων τὴν ὕλην ἐκτίθεσθαι καὶ πρῶτον μὲν προκεχειρίσθω· τίνα καὶ ποία τῶν φαρμάκων· ποίους καὶ τίνας χυμοὺς καθαίρειν πέφυκεν· δεύτερον δὲ ἐκ ποίων τόπων ἔλκειν τὴν περὶ οὐσίαν τῶν χυμῶν πεπίστευται...
 ... See how those who have toiled and those who have been discovered over a long period of time present their material; and first let it be determined: what and what kind of medicine; what kinds of juices it is accustomed to cleanse; secondly, from what places the essence of the juices is believed to be drawn...

All the remedies mentioned here are original and have not been recorded in any other known or published text until today.

It is also noteworthy, that in the first eight recipes there are plant names, such as “onoceria” (ὄνοκαιρία), “salica” (σάλικα), “martaca” (μάρτακα) and the verb “psam-mopoio” (ψαμμοποιῶ: turning the kidney stone into sand), which are encountered for the first time in a Greek text and that this is potentially the earliest surviving witness. The word *salica* clearly comes from the Latin word *salix*, which is identified in Greek with the willow plant (ἰτέα).

5. The dating of the text

The dating of the text attributed to *Theon* can be deduced by using his references to Galen:

There are two references to Galen in folia 181^v and 182^r:

f. 181^v ... ἐν γοῦν τοῖς ἀπλοῖς τοῦ θαυμασιωτάτου Γαληνοῦ φανεροῦς καὶ διαρρήδην μαθεῖν ἐστὶ τὸ λεγόμενον...

... indeed, in the simple writings of the most marvelous Galen, it is clearly and explicitly learned what is said...

and

f. 182^r ... δι’ ὃ καὶ ἐκκοπρωτικὴν αὐτὴν Γαληνὸς οἶδεν·

... which even Galen also knows as eccoprotic...

These references to Galen suggest that the text of *Theon* preserved in codex *Plut.* 75.3 was written after the 2nd century. Furthermore, as previously mentioned, the comparison of Theon's work with Oribasios' *Synopsis*⁵⁹, made by Photios, indicates a composition date of compilation for the handbook *Man* that cannot be earlier than the 4th century. From the above, a valid argument can be made supporting the view that *Theon* mentioned by Aetios, and perhaps that of Eunapios, is identical as that of Photios, and that he lived and wrote his book after the 4th century, a fragment of which we have in codex *Plut.* 75.3. This text is the only surviving fragment of Theon's medical book. Based on the content, structure and the arrangement of the manuscript text, we judge that this excerpt can be identified with what mentioned by Photios.

The writing style of the surviving fragment suggests an author who dealt with the humor theory. Although many other medical writers dealt with and written about this specific topic. But here the composition of the text and the approach to the theory of the humors seem problematic. These issues seem to confirm the remarks of Photios, who did not particularly appreciate Theon's work:

...οὔτε δὲ τὴν τοῦ νοσήματος φύσιν πλὴν ἐπὶ γε βραχέων ἐκιδιδάσκει, οὔτε τοῖς πρέπουσι προσδιορισμοῖς, περὶ ὧν προάγεται λέγειν, τὴν διδασκαλίαν ὑπάγει...
 ...nor does he teach the nature of the disease except briefly, nor does he provide suitable definitions, about which he ought to speak, he leads the teaching...

In the manuscript text, after the mention of the examination of plants, follows a paragraph that leads us to the next section, the mention and recording of prescription. This paragraph seems to be the link of the transition from one chapter to the next, specifically from simple to complex drugs. The prescriptions of complex drugs found here are original and recorded for the first time. After the end of Theon's text on f. 186^r of manuscript *Plut.* 75.3, there is a reference from the book of Alexander, apparently of Tralles, where nine prescriptions are recorded.

f. 186^r Ἐκλογὴ Ἀλεξάνδρου βιβλὸς κε<φάλαιον> θ´
 Collection of Alexander's book chapter 9

This title is an indication that here ends Theon's book, and a passage from Alexander's book begins.

6. The publication

6.1. Characteristics of the copyist

Examining the writing characteristics of the copyist, we observe that the orthography is corrupted due to the confusion of homophonous vowels and diphthongs, especially itacisms: ι for η in words like ῥίγματα, ἐπιμίκη and δίγματα; υ for οι in κυλίαν and κυλιακοῦς; ι for υ in κολοκίνθης; η for ει in words like ἠλεώδεσιν and τριφθῆσιν;

ο for ω in μετόπω and ρόννυσιν, or ω for ο in ἀντιδώτου; ε for αι in πεωνίας, or αι for ε in μακαιδονικοῦ. Double consonants are sometimes avoided, as in κόμεως or ἀμωνιακοῦ, and sometimes added, as in κόκκων, even when single consonants are expected, like κίσσηρος or πιννομένη or πυρρέσσουσιν. Assimilation is not expressed, as in συνλειωθέντα; ἐνβάψας; συνχριόμενον; γίνομαι is more common than γίγνομαι. Furthermore, μάραθρον is found alongside μάραθρον and μάλαθρον; κασία and κασσία; ἀμμωνιακόν and ἀμωνιακόν; μολόχη is more common than μαλάχη, and ἀφουνίτρον more common than νίτρον ἀφροῦ or ἀφρουνίτρον; ὀρυγγίου or ἐρυγγίου instead of ἠρυγγίου. The copyist himself corrects errors he noticed in his source. For example, he changed ἐργασίαν in the superscript to ὕγρασίαν, similar to the changes from νωσώδης to νωσώδης; δυσκατάλωτα to δυσκατούλωτα; ποδαλγήση to ποδαλγάση; λιθιοῦντας to λιθιῶντας; κηρῶ to κηροῦ; μονοκλάδου to πολυκλάδου, etc. The grave accent is placed even before the punctuation mark, such as ἐστὶν· or χυμὸν·. The circumflex is sometimes used correctly and sometimes incorrectly in the same word, as in οὔτως and οὔτωσ. The acute accent is often incorrectly noted in infinitives like κρατεῖσθαι; κινεῖσθαι or θερμανθῆναι. The final sigma in prepositions is not marked, and instead, the sigma is placed to connect words even if they are not complex as in ὡσὰν; ὡσεῖρηται or ἰσαπόλυτον instead ὡς ἂν; ὡς εἴρηται or εἰς ἀπόλυτον. The iota subscript is not indicated.

6.2. The edition

The text of *Theon* has been edited following the rules of a critical edition. Errors related to iotacism's, accent or pronunciation errors are tacitly corrected. Beyond spelling, no other errors were corrected.

The punctuation marks, except the high dot, are rarely indicated, while the dot appears infrequently. The placements of punctuation marks are random. At the end of each prescription or title, often arrangements of four dots “:.” appear instead of a period. The punctuation marks appearing in the manuscript have been retained in the edition. The original words in the manuscript are given in the footnotes.

Ἀρχὴ φόρμας

Abbreviation

[.....]	missing letters in the gap
<>	Supplement or change
<	Drachme
∫	half

f. 180^v

ΘΕΩΝΟΣ'

ΠΕΡΙ ΣΥΝΘΕΣΕΩΣ ΚΑΘΑΙΡΟΝΤΩΝ ΦΑΡΜΑΚΩΝ

1 α' Περί κολοκυνθίδος

Ἡ κολοκυνθίς πικρά τὴν φύσιν ἐστίν· ἐδείχθη δὲ ποιότης αὐτῆς ἐκ θερμοῦ καὶ ξηροῦ τὴν γένεσιν ἔχουσα ταύτῃ τῇ δυνάμει ἀντίκειται καὶ τὰ μὲν τὰς δραστικὰς ποιότητας ἢ ψυχρὰ καὶ ὑγρὰ τουτέστιν τὸ φλέγμα κατὰ δὲ τὴν γευστὴν ἦν ἄποιος· τὸ γὰρ ἄποιον τῷ πεποιωμένῳ ἐστὶν ἐναντίον ὥστε καὶ κατὰ τὰς δραστικὰς ποιότητας καὶ τὰς γευστὰς εἶη ἂν ἐναντίον τῇ κολοκυνθίδι.

2 β' Περί κνιδίου κόκκου

10 Πάλιν δὲ ὁ κνίδιος κόκκος δριμύς καὶ καυστικός τὴν φύσιν ἐστίν· ἐδείχθη δὲ ὅτι πάντα τὰ δριμύα θερμὰ καὶ ξηρὰ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ οὕτως πεπίστευται τὸν φλεγματικὸν χυμὸν ἐκκαθαίρειν· ἐκκαυθέντα γοῦν τὰ σώματα ὑπὸ τοῦ προκειμένου φαρμάκου εἰς ἀνάψυξιν τῶν ἐναντίων· ἐστὶν δὲ οὕτως κατὰ τὰς ἀπτάς καὶ γευστὰς ἐναντίως τῷ φλέγματι.

f. 181^r

3 γ' Περί λευκοῦ ἐλλέβορου

15 Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ λευκὸς ἐλλέβορος· ἐκκαθαίρειν πέφυκε τὸν φλεγματικὸν χυμὸν· καὶ γὰρ καὶ οὗτος δριμύς καὶ πικρὸς τὴν δύναμιν ἐστίν· πάντα γὰρ τὰ δριμύα καὶ πικρὰ θερμὰ καὶ ξηρὰ τὴν φύσιν ἐστίν· ἵνα τὴν μὲν δριμύτητα ποδηγεῖ εἰς τὸ βάθος· καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐσχάτην ἐπιφάνειαν μετενεγκεῖν δυνήσεται τὴν πικρὰν ποιότητα· τῇ δὲ πικρότητι ἐκκαθαίρει τὸν φλεγματικὸν χυμὸν· χρώμεθα γοῦν αὐτῷ πρὸς ἐπειδὰν ἐφ' ὧν συναληθιμμένον καὶ συμπεφυσιωμένον καταλάβωμεν τὸν φλεγματικὸν χυμὸν ὑπάρχοντα ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ σώματι· λέγω δὴ τὸν παχὺν καὶ γλίσχρον καὶ ἰξώδη καὶ εἰς ἀπόλυτον· ἦτις γοῦν ὠμίλησεν τοῖς ἔργοις τῆς τέχνης· καὶ διὰ τῶν ἔργων ἐβασάνισε τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ θείου φαρμάκου.

4 δ' Περί λαθυρίδος

f. 181^v

25 Ἡ μέντοι λαθυρίς· οὐ διὰ τῶν ἐναντίων / τὴν κάθαρσιν ποιεῖται τοῦ φλεγματικοῦ χυμοῦ· ἀλλὰ διὰ τῶν ὁμοίων πίστις τοῦ λεγομένου· τοῦτο τὸ σπέρμα γλυκὺ μετρίως τοῖς γενομένοις φαίνεται· ἐδείχθη δὲ τὰ μετρίως γλυκέα· ψυχρὰ καὶ χλιαρὰ· ἐν γοῦν τοῖς ἀπλοῖς τοῦ θαυμασιωτάτου Γαληνοῦ φανερώς καὶ διαρρήδην μαθεῖν ἐστὶ τὸ λεγόμενον· ἀκούσωμεν τοῖνον τῆς λέξεως αὐτοῦ· τὰ δὲ γλυκέα μόνον ἅπαντα· κατὰ πόσον τῆς γλυκύτητος εὐθύς· καὶ τῆς θερμότητος μετέχει· ὥστε οὐδὲν μὲν τῶν γλυκῶν· ψυχρὸν εἶη
30 δ' ἀντὶ μετρίως· γλυκὺ ψυχρὸν· ἐπειδὰν τὸ πλεῖστον ταύτης τοῦ σώματος οὐσίας ὕδατῶδες· ἢ ὡς τὸ στρυφνὸν ἰκανῶς ἢ ὀξύ· ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ πρόσθεν ποῦ λέλεκται περὶ τῶν χλιαρᾶς θερμασίας μετεχόντων· οὕτω μὲν οὖν ἡ λαθυρίς καὶ κατὰ τὰς δραστικὰς καὶ τὰς γευστὰς καὶ κατὰ τὸν βαθμὸν τῷ φλέγματι ἐξομοῖται· τὸ γοῦν ὀρῶδες τοῦ φλέγματος τὸ χλιαρὸν ὡς ἂν τις εἴπῃ· καὶ μετρίως γλυκὺ καθαίρει.

f. 182^r

35 5 /<ε'> Περί ἀλόης

Ἡ μέντοι ἀλόη· ἔχει μέντοι καθαρτικόν· ἀλλὰ κόπρου· δι' ὃ καὶ ἐκκοπρωτικὴν αὐτὴν Γαληνὸς οἶδεν· εἰ δὲ τις ἐνιστάμενος πρὸς τὴν δόξαν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς φασκεῖ· μὴ εἶναι αὐτὴν ἐκκοπρωτικὴν· ἀλλὰ χολῆς καθαρτικὴν· ἴσως ἀπορίαν τινὰ κινήσει ἐν τῷ λόγῳ· οἱ γοῦν προστάται τοῦ δόγματος· τοιαῦτα φασίν· κατὰ τινὰ λόγον τῆς κολοκυνθίδος· πικρὰς οὐσης· καὶ τῆς ἀλόης οὐχ ὁμοίως· <ύ>π' ἀμφοτέρων· ὁ φλεγματικὸς χυμὸς ἐκκαθαίρεται· ἀλλ' ὑπὸ μὲν τῆς κολοκυνθίδος τὸ φλέγμα· ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς ἀλόης ἢ χολῆ· ἐδείχθη δὲ ἐν τοῖς

2 καθαίρων τῶν | 4 κολοκύνθις | τὴν | ἐστίν· | 5 τῇ | ἀντίκειται | 6 τουτέστιν | γευστὴν | 8 κολοκυνθίδη | 10 ἐστίν· | 11 ξηρὰ· | οὕτως | φλεγματικὸν | 12 ἀνάψυξιν | 13 οὕτως | 15 φλεγματικὸν | χυμὸν· | 16 ἐστίν· | 17 ἐστίν· | ποδηγεῖ | 18 μετενεγκεῖν | δυνήσεται | πύοτητα | 19 φλεγματικὸν | χυμὸν· | ἐφῶν | ἐπειδὰν | συναληθιμμένον | 20 καταλάβωμεν | φλεγματικὸν | ὑπάρχοντα | ὅλω | 21 τῷ | τὸ | παχὺ | ἰξώδη | ἰσαπόλυτον | ὀμίλησεν | 22 διάτων | 24 λάθυρις | φλεγματικοῦ | 25 λεγομένου | 26 χλιαρὰ· | γοῦν | 27 Γαληνοῦ | διαρρήδην | λεγόμενον | 29 τὸν superscr. τῶν | 30 ψυχρὸν· | ἐπειδὰν | πλεῖστον | ταύτης | 31 ὀξύ· | τὸν superscr. τῶν | 32 χλιαρὰς | λαθυρίς | 33 γοῦν | τὸ | τοῦ | 34 ὡσάν | 35 ἀλώης | 36 ἀλώη | καθαρτικὸν· | ἐκκοπρωτικὴν | 37 γαλινός | φακεῖ | φασίν· | 38 ἐκκοπρωτικὴν· | χολῆς | καθαρτικὴν· | ἀπωρείαν | ἐν | ἀλώης | γοῦν | 39 προστάται | τοιαῦτα | ἀμφοτέρων | πικρὰς | οὐσης | 40 ταμφοτέρων | φλεγματικὸς | ἐκκαθῆρεται | 41 γολῆ·

- περὶ ὕλης· ἡ ἀλόγη· ἐκ πικρᾶς καὶ στυφούσης συγκειμένη δυνάμει· ἵνα ἐκ μὲν τῆς στυφούσης τὸ ῥωστικὸν καὶ εὐστόμαχον ἔχη· ἐκ δὲ τῆς πικρᾶς τὸ ῥυπτικόν· ὡς εἶναι τὴν τάξιν αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν ἀναλογίαν· καὶ τὸν βαθμὸν πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν χολήν· τῇ οὖν
- f. 182^v 45 ὁμοιότητι οὐ τῇ ἐναντιότητι· ὡς ἡ κολοκύνθης τὴν ὀλκὴν τῆς χολῆς ἡ ἀλόγη ποιεῖται· εὐστόμαχος γοῦν ὑπόκειται τὴν φύσιν· καὶ / εἰ κα[...+6...] χολῆ τῇ ἔπ<ε>ιτα· ἔντερα κατιούση· αὕτη γὰρ εἰς ἐρεθισμὸν καὶ ἔκκρισιν τῶν περιττῶν ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως δεδημιούργηται· καλῶς τοιγαροῦν οἱ ἀρχαῖοι διὰ τὴν ὁμοιότητα τὴν πρὸς τὴν χολήν ἐκκοπρωτικὴν αὐτὴν ἔφασαν· τίνα γὰρ ἡ ὁμοιότητι ἡ ἐναντιότητι κενοί.
- 506 <ς'> Περὶ κολοκυνθίδος
Ἡ μέντοι κολοκυνθίς· ὡς θερμωτάτη καὶ ξηρωτάτη· τρίτης τάξεως ἐστὶν κατὰ τὸ θερμαίνειν καὶ ξηραίνειν· πρὸς ἔστι δ' αὕτη καὶ πυρῶδης οὐσία· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο εἰς κρᾶσιν τὰ σώματα καταστήσασα· ὡς καὶ τὰ δηλητήρια ἀναγκάζειν τῶν ἐναντίων ἐφίεσθαι.
- 7 <ς'> Περὶ σκαμμωνίας
55 Ἐξεταζέσθω δὲ ὁ λόγος καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς σκαμμωνίας· καὶ ἐκ παραλλήλου γυμναζέσθωσαν οἱ λόγοι οἱ τε τῆς κολοκυνθίδος καὶ οἱ τῆς σκαμμωνίας· ἐδείχθη γὰρ διὰ τῆς πείρας χολῆς καθαρτικὴν δυνάμιν ἔχουσα· ἡ σκαμμωνία· αὐτῆς γευσασμένην τὴν φύσιν· ἐστὶν ἄποιος· ἐξ ἐναντίων μέντοι δυνάμεων σύγκειται· ὡς καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ καθαρτικά· ἡ μὲν γὰρ τῷ τῆς ὀλκῆς λόγῳ προσέχοιμεν· εὐρήσομεν αὐτὴν / θερμὴν καὶ ξηρὰν τῆς πρώτης τάξεως εἶναι τὴν ἔλκτικὴν δυνάμιν· ἐξ ἀερώδους δὲ οὐσίας τὴν λεπτομερίαν αὐτῆς· διὰ τοῦτο γοῦν καὶ ἔλκτικη τυγχάνει· καὶ μάλα γε εἰκότως· τῆς πρώτης τάξεως εἶναι τὴν ἔλκτικὴν δυνάμιν· ἐπὶ τῆς σκαμμωνίας ἡ τὰ πάντα ἀρίστη φύσις· ἡπίστατο γὰρ· οὐ βιαίας ὀλκῆς· δεῖσθαι δεῖ τὴν χολὴν ἐπιπόλαιον οὖσαν· καὶ κοῦφον· καὶ πυρὶ ἀναλογοῦσαν· ἐπὶ μέντοι τῆς κολοκυνθίδος· βιαιοτέρας ἐδείχθη ἡ φύσις τῆς ὀλκῆς· γλίσχρον γὰρ χυμὸν καὶ ἐνιζηκότα
- f. 183^r 60 ἐκμοχλεῦειν ἡπείγεται· διὰ τοῦτο τοιγαροῦν τῆς τρίτης τάξεως τῶν θερμαίνοντων καὶ ξηραίνοντων τὴν κολοκυνθίδα πεποιήκεν· τὴν μέντοι σκαμμωνίαν τῆς πρώτης ὡς εἴρηται· ψυχρὰ μέντοι καὶ ὑγρὰ τῆς πρώτης τάξεως ἐστὶν· κατὰ τὰς δραστικὰς ποιότητας· καὶ οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν· καὶ γὰρ ἡ ἀλόγη ἐκ ψυχρᾶς καὶ θερμῆς κράσεως ἐστὶν· καὶ ἐκ πυκνωτικῆς καὶ ἀραιωτικῆς εἰ γοῦν ἐν μνήμῃ λάβοις τὴν πικρὰν καὶ στυφουσαν δυνάμιν·
- f. 183^v 70 πάντως ὑπομνησθήσει ἐξ ἐναντίων αὐτὴν κερά<ννυ>σθαι δυνάμει· οὐδὲν οὖν ἄτοπον καὶ τὴν σκαμμωνίαν / οὕτως ἔχειν φύσεως· ὥστε διὰ μὲν τὴν ὀλκὴν· θερμὴν αὐτὴν καὶ ξηρὰν· τῆς πρώτης τάξεως εἶναι· ἐνυπάρχει δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ ἀερώδη τὴν οὐσίαν· ἥτις αὐτὴν τὴν λεπτομέρειαν ὡς ἐργάζεται· ἡ μέντοι ἄποιος· δηλοῖ τὸ ψυχρὸν καὶ ὑγρὸν τῆς κράσεως· τοιαύτης τοίνυν οὖσα φύσεως· εἶτα ἐμπροσθεῖσα τῷ ἡμετέρῳ σώματι· θερμῶ τὴν φύσιν ὄντι· ἐπιψύχει μέντοι τὸ πάθος· πέφυκε δὲ τὰ καθαρτήρια κρατεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ κρατεῖσθαι· εἶτα τῶν σωμάτων κατὰ τὸ συνεχές· ψυγόντων ἔφεσις τῶν ἐναντίων γίνεται· οἱ δὲ ψυγόντες θερμανθῆναι ποθοῦσι· οὕτω μὲν καὶ ἡ σκαμμωνία τὴν χολὴν καθαίρει· ἐστὶν γὰρ καὶ κατὰ τὸ δραστικὸν καὶ κατὰ τὰς γευστικὰς δυνάμεις τῇ χολῇ ἐναντία, τὸ γὰρ ἄποιον· κἀναυθὰ τῷ πεποιομένῳ ἐστὶν ἐναντίον.
- 808 <η'> Περὶ ἐπιθύμου καὶ μελανοῦ ἔλλεβόρου
Ἔλθωμεν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἐπιθύμον καὶ τὸν μέλαινα ἔλλεβόρον· ταῦτα γὰρ καθαρτικά εἶναι τοῦ μελαγχολικοῦ χυμοῦ πεπίστευται· θερμὰ δὲ καὶ ξηρὰ τῇ κράσει ἐστὶν· νόει δέ μοι τὸ

42 πικρᾶς | 43 ἔχει | πικρᾶς | ῥυπτικόν· | ὡσεῖναι | 44 χολήν· | 45 ἐναντιότητι | κολοκυνθῆς superscr. κολοκίνθης | ποιεῖται | 46 γοῦν | κατιούση | 47 αὕτη | περιττὸν superscr. περιττῶν | δεδημιούργηται | 48 τοῖ γὰρ οὖν | 51 κολοκυνθῆς· | 52 αὕτη | πυρῶδης | κράσιν | 53 κατὰστήσασα | δηλητήρια | 55 ἐπὶ | 58 ἐξἐναντίων | καθαρτικά· | 56 πρὸς ἔχοιμεν | εὐροῖσωμεν | 58 εἰ | 59 πρὸςἔχοιμεν | εὐροῖσωμεν | 62 ἡπίστατο | γὰρ· | βιαίας | 64 βιαιοτέρας | γλίσχρον | ἐνηζηκότα | 65 ὑπῆγετο | τοῖ γὰρ οὖν | 67 ὡσεῖρηται | ἐστὶν· | πῖότητας | 68 ψυχρᾶς | ἐστὶν· | 69 πυκνωτικῆς | ἀραιωτικῆς | ἤγουν | 70 ὑπομνησθήσει | ἐξἐναντίων | καὶ ῥᾶσθαι | 71 ὀλκῆν· | 72 ξηρὰν· | ἐν ὑπάρχει | 73 λεπτομερίαν | 74 τοιαύτης | ἐμπροσθεῖσα superscr. ἐμπροσθεῖσα | 75 μᾶλλον | 76 κρατεῖσθαι | συνεχές· | 77 θερμανθῆναι | 79 τὸ | πεποιοῦμένο | 81 μέλαινα | 82 μελαγχολικοῦ | κράση | ἐστὶν· |

- f. 184^r / ξηρὸν διχῶς· τὸ μὲν πυρῶδες· τὸ δὲ γεῶδες τοῦτο τὸ πυρῶδες· ἐνυπάρχει ἐν τοῖς
 85 προειρημένοις φαρμάκοις λεπτομερῶς δὲ τῇ φύσει ἐστίν· τὰ δὲ λεπτομερῆ δέδεκται· καὶ
 τὰ θραυστικὰ καὶ διαιρητικὰ καὶ παχύτης τμητικὰ ἀντίκειται· τοιγαροῦν ὁ μέλας
 ἑλλέβορος καὶ τὸ ἐπίθυμον ἅτε δὴ θερμὰ καὶ λεπτομερεῖ τῇ φύσει ὄντα τῇ ψυχρᾷ καὶ
 γεῶδει οὐσία· τοῦτ' ἔστιν τοῦ μελαγχολικοῦ χυμοῦ γενήσεται· τοιγαροῦν ἡ κάθαρσις ἐκ
 τῶν ἐναντίων φαρμάκων· οὕτως ἄρα πανταχοῦ τὰ κατηριθμημένα φάρμακα· ἢ διὰ τῶν
 90 ἐναντίων ἢ διὰ τῶν ὁμοίων τὴν κάθαρσιν ποιεῖτε· ἴστε μέντοι τὴν ἑλκτικὴν δύναμιν
 συμπεπαῖχθαι ταῖς δραστικαῖς ποιότησιν· λαβομένη γὰρ ἡ δραστικὴ ποιότης τοῦ ὁμοίου
 χυμοῦ· κεκραθεῖσα διόλου τῇ ἑλκτικῇ δυνάμει· ἐξοχετεύει ἐκείνη τὸν χυμὸν ἐπίγεται·
 ἐπὶ μέντοι τοῦ ἐναντίου διττὴ ὀλκὴ γίνεται· πῆ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἐναντιοτήτων ἀθρόως εἰς
 ἄμετρον δυσκрасίαν ἐκτραπέντων τοῦ δεξαμένου τοῦ φάρμακον σωμάτων· πῆ δὲ ἐκ
 f. 184^v τῆς ἐνυπαρχούσης αὐτῷ ἑλκτικῆς δυνάμεως· / διὰ τοῦτο τοιγαροῦν καὶ βιαιότερα ἐκ τοῦ
 95 ἐναντίου φαρμάκου γίνεται κάθαρσις· ὑπόλοιπον δὲ ζητεῖν κατὰ τινὰ τὴν αἰτίαν· τὰ μὲν
 τὴν ἄνω κοιλίαν καθαίρει· τὰ δὲ τὴν κάτω· ὅσα θερμὰ καὶ ξηρὰ τοῦ φαρμάκου μετὰ
 πυρῶδους καὶ πνευματικῆς οὐσίας σύγκειται· ταῦτα αἱματικά τυγχάνει· διὰ τοῦτο τὴν
 ἄνω φορὰν κινεῖσθαι· ὡς ὁ λευκὸς ἑλλέβορος·
 Ὅσα γεῶδους οὐσίας μετέχει· καὶ πέφυκε τὴν κάτω φορὰν κινεῖσθαι· ταῦτα διὰ
 100 τῆς κάτω κοιλίας τὴν κάθαρσιν ποιεῖται· ὡς ἡ λεπίς τοῦ χαλκοῦ δέδεκται δὲ πάντα τὰ
 βαρῆα τὴν κάτω φορὰν κινούμενα· ὅσα δὲ μικτῆς ἐστὶν ἐκ πνευματικῆς καὶ ἀερώδους καὶ
 βαρέας καὶ κατωφεροῦς ταῦτα καὶ ἄνωθεν καὶ κάτωθεν τὰς καθάρσεις ποιεῖται· ὅτι δὲ ἡ
 κολοκυνθὶς τὴν κεφαλὴν καθαίρει· ἡ πείρα μαρτυρεῖ· κοῦφον γὰρ καὶ ἀερώδη τὸ
 γναφαλῶδες τῆς κολοκυνθίδος· ὅτι δὲ πάντα τὰ κοῦφα τὴν ἄνωφορὰν κινεῖται· παντὶ ποῦ
 105 δῆλον· δραγμὴ γὰρ ἐπιπαστήσα μελικράτῳ· ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς φλέγμα ἐκκαθαίρειν πεπι-
 στευται· / τοσαῦτα μὲν οὖν ἡμῖν κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν ἦτι ὀλογεῖσθω περὶ τῶν καθαιρουμένων
 φαρμάκων·
 Ὅρα δέ μοι τῶν πονηθέντων καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ ἐξευρεθέντων τὴν ὕλην
 ἐκτίθεσθαι· καὶ πρῶτον μὲν προκεχειρίσθω· τίνα καὶ ποῖα τῶ φαρμάκῳ· ποίους καὶ τίνας
 110 χυμοὺς καθαίρειν πέφυκεν· δευτέρον δὲ ἐκ ποίων τόπων ἔλκειν τὴν περὶ οὐσίαν τῶν
 χυμῶν πεπίστευται.
 1 Ἀντίδοτος ἡπατικὴ πεπειραμένη
 Κόστων ἀνατολικόν· ξηροζινζίβεριν· πύρεθρον· τρεῖς ἐννέα κόκκους πεπέ<ρεως>
 κύμινον καὶ πλατοκύμινον, ἀνά < α' > κενταυρείου, χεῖραν μίαν· δαφνόκοκκα· < α' >
 115 κοκκία θερμῶν πικρῶν· < α' > ἄλῳς, < α' > σμύρναν· μακεδονησίου σποράν· ὄνοκαιρίαν·
 γεντιανὴν, ἀνά < α' > ταῦτα κόψας καὶ σήσας καὶ ἀποτριτώσας μετὰ οἴνου· δίδου πιεῖν·
 ἀπυρέτοις μετὰ οἴνου ἐν λουτρῷ· πυρέσσουσιν δὲ μετὰ ὕδατος.
 2 Πρὸς σπλήναν
 Μυρικής καρπὸν καὶ τὴν ρίζαν ἐκξεσον οἴνῳ παλαιῷ· ἐπὶ πολὺ δίδου δὲ πιεῖν νήσται· εἰ
 120 δὲ μαθεῖν θέλῃς τὴν ἀκρίβειαν· δὸς πιεῖν χοίρῳ ἢ προβάτῳ καὶ θύσας οὐ θεωρεῖ σπλήναν.
 f. 185^v 3 Ἄλλο<v>
 Τὸν φλοῦν τῆς ἰτέας ἢ ἐστὶν σάλικα καὶ γ' ποτήρια ὄξους δριμύως· ἐψησας ἀποτριτώσων
 καὶ δὸς τῷ νοσοῦντι νήσται καὶ σὺν Θ<ε>ῶ ἰᾶται.
 4 Ἄλειμμα πρὸς ψώρα<v>
 125 Ὑδράργυρον, < α' > καὶ μάρτακαν καὶ βάλε ἔλαιον καὶ φύρασον τὸν ὑδράργυρον καὶ τὴν

84 ἐστίν· | 85 τοῖ γὰρ οὖν | 86 λεπτομερῆ | ψυχρᾷ | 87 γεῶδη | μελαγχολικοῦ | τοῖ γὰρ οὖν | 88 οὕτως | ἄρα
 | κατὰριθμημένα | 89 ποιεῖτε | 90 συνεπεπαῖχθαι | πιότησιν | πιότησι | 91 καὶ κραθῆσα | 92 πι | 94 τοῖ γὰρ οὖν
 | 95 ὑπόλοιπον | 96 κοιλίαν | ὅσα superscr. ὅσα | 98 φορὰν | κινεῖσθαι | 99 κινεῖσθαι | 100 κοιλίας | ποιεῖται |
 ὡσει | 101 βαρῆα | 102 ποιεῖται | 103 κολοκυνθῆς | τῷ | 104 κολοκυνθίδος | 106 τοσαῦτα | 108 ἐξ
 εὐρεθέντων | 112 ὑπατικῇ | 113 ξηροζινζίβεριν | 115 ἄλῳς | μακαιδωνισίου | 116 σίσας | ἀποτριτώσας | 117
 οἴνου scr. οἶδωρ | 119 πιεῖν | ἢ | 120 μαθῆν | πιεῖν | χεῖρω | οὐθε ὀρεῖ | 122 δριμύως | ἀπὸ τρίτωσον | 124
 Ἄλειμμα

- μάρτακαν καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο βάλε ὄξους δριμὺ καὶ ζύγε ἔλαιον.
- 5 Ὑδρωπικὸν θαυμαστόν
Χαμαιλέοντος· πετροσελίνου, ἀνὰ < η´· δίδου, κοχλιάριον ἔν· μεθ´ ὕδατος θερμοῦ.
- 6 Ὑδρωπικὸν ἐπίθεμα· ἐξιποτικὸν ὕδερων·
- 130 Ἀσβέστου ζώσης· κηροῦ, ἀνὰ < μη´· φρυκτῆς· πιτυίνης, ἀνὰ < ης´· χαλβάνης, < μ´·
ἀρσενικοῦ· στυπτηρίας σχιστῆς, ἀνὰ < ις´· ἐλαίου παλαιοῦ, < μη´· τὰ ξηρὰ ὄξει λειώσας
καὶ λύσας τὰ τικτά· ἔψε ἕως ἀναλήψεως καὶ χρῶ.
- 7 Νεφριτικὸν θαυμαστόν· ἐμποιοῦν ἐπὶ τῶν πυορροούντων καὶ αἷμα καὶ πόνον κύστεως·
Συκίου ἡμέρου σπέρμα, < ιβ´· ὑοσκυάμου σπέρμα, < ζ´· λαπάθου σπέρμα, < γ´· κωνίου
- 135 σπέρμα· στροβίλου πεφρυγμένου· ἀμυγδάλων πικρῶν· καρῶν Ποντικῶν, ἀνὰ < γ´·
f. 186^r / φυσαλλίδος, κόκκους κε´· δίδου ἀπυρέτοις δι´ οἴνου γλυκέως, τοῖς λοιποῖς δι´ ὕδατος.
- 8 Νεφριτικὸν ἐπαινούμενον· θρύπτει γὰρ τοὺς λίθους καὶ ψαμμοποιεῖ διδομένη· ὠφελεῖ
δὲ καὶ κωλικοῖς· σπληνικοῖς· στομαχικοῖς·
Πεπέ<ρεως>· Γο β´· ἀρκευθίδων σαρκῶν· παιωνίας ρίζης· σχίνου ἄνθους· πετροσελίνου·
- 140 ἄμεως σπέρματος· λιβανωτίδος· ἀνίσου· ἀσάρου· μέου· νάρδου στάχους, ἀνὰ Γο α´·
μέλιτος ἀττικοῦ τὸ ἀρκοῦν· δίδου κυάμου Ποντικοῦ τὸ μέγεθος.

128 Χαμαιλέοντος | πετροσελίνου | μεθύδατος | 129 ἐξιποτικὸν | 130 φρυκτῆς | 131 σχιστῆς] * | λιώσας |
133 ἐμποιοῦν | ποιοροῦν των | 134 κωνίου | 135 καρῶν | 136 φυσαλλίδος | λυποῖς | 137 ψαμμοποιεῖ |
διδωμένη | 138 κωλικοῖς | 139 πεωνίας | 140 λιβανωτίδος

Translation

THEON, ON THE COMPOSITION OF PURGATIVE MEDICINES

1. About colocynth

The colocynth has a bitter nature; its quality has been shown to originate from heat and dryness by this power, it opposes both active qualities, such as cold and moist, i.e., phlegm. However, concerning its taste, it is insipid. For insipidity is contrary to what is produced, so it would be contrary to both the active qualities and the tastes of the cucumber.

2. About flax-leaved daphne

Once again, flax-leaved daphne is a harsh and caustic substance by nature; it has been shown that all harsh, warm and dry substances are believed to purge the phlegmatic humor; once the bodies have been heated by the administered medicine, they are refreshed by its opposites; this operates contrary to both the senses of touch and taste, opposing the nature of phlegm.

3. About white hellebore

Moreover, white hellebore also purges the phlegmatic humor; this substance is also harsh and bitter in its potency. All harsh and bitter (substances) are indeed hot, dry, and penetrating in nature. Thus, its harshness penetrates deeply, while its bitterness is capable of reaching the outermost surface. Through its bitterness, it purges the phlegmatic humor. Therefore, we employ it when we need to remove the phlegmatic humor pervading the entire body, particularly the dense, viscous, and sticky, even to the point of saturation. This is indeed the substance that conversed with the arts of the craft and through its works tested the potency of the divine drug.

4. About caper spurge

The caper spurge, however, does not cause purging of the phlegmatic humor through opposites, but rather through similarities, as is commonly believed. This seed appears moderately sweet to those who taste it. It has been shown that moderately sweet substances are cold and tepid. Indeed, it is clearly and openly learned from the simple teachings of the most marvelous Galen. Let us listen, therefore, to his words: All sweet substances are entirely sweet, instantly sweet in their sweetness, and participate in warmth. So, none of the sweet substances are cold, but rather moderately so. Sweetness is cold when the essence of the body is mostly watery. Or it may be somewhat sharp or pungent, as discussed previously concerning tepid temperatures. Therefore, lettuce seed resembles phlegm both in its properties and its taste, and in its degree of similarity to phlegm. Thus, the tepid quality of phlegm is visible, as one might say, and lettuce seed moderately sweet purges it.

5. About aloe

Aloe indeed possesses purgative properties, but it is manure. Therefore, Galen himself knows it as a purgative. However, someone who opposes the reputation of this man might claim that it is not purgative but bile purgative. This might perhaps raise some confusion in the argument. Supporters of the doctrine say such things concerning the nature of both substances: that there is a certain analogy to the bitterness of the colocynth, but not equally so for aloe. The phlegmatic humor is purged by both substances, but by colocynth, it is the phlegm, while by aloe, it is the bile. This was demonstrated in discussions about their properties: Aloe contains a mixture of bitter and harsh powers, so that it possesses the digestive and stomachic power from the harshness and the purgative power from the bitterness. This is to maintain its order and proportion, and its degree compared to our bile. Therefore, its similarity is not in opposition, but in likeness, just as aloe creates the attraction of bile, so it is suitable for the stomach's nature. And if it reaches the bile, it stimulates the intestines. For it has been created by nature for irritation and the expulsion of excess. Thus, the ancients rightly considered it purgative due to its similarity to bile, for what emptiness is there in similarity or opposition?

6. About colocynth

Colocynth, indeed, is extremely hot and dry; it belongs to the third order in terms of heating and drying. It possesses a fiery substance and, for this reason, it brings about heating in the bodies, even forcing the contrary humors to flow towards it, just as poisons compel the opposites to adhere to them.

7. About scammony

Let us examine the matter also regarding scammony, and let us exercise comparison with colocynth, as both have been demonstrated through experience to possess a purgative power. Scammony, to one who tastes it, appears tasteless; however, it is composed of opposite forces, just like other purgatives. For when we focus on its drawing power, we find it to be hot and dry of the first order, its drawing power coming from an airy substance. Therefore, it is also drawing, and quite rightly so, being of the first order in drawing power. Concerning scammony, it has the best nature of all; it is moderate, not violent in its drawing. Bile should be superficial when drawing it out; it should be light and analogous to fire. However, concerning colocynth, nature required a more violent drawing, for it urgently seeks to remove the slimy and congealed juice. Therefore, nature has made colocynth of the third order of heating and drying. Scammony, however, as previously stated, is cold and moist of the first order, according to its active qualities, and there is nothing surprising about it. For aloe, too, is made from a cold and hot mixture and, from a thickening and thinning substance, if one takes into consideration its bitter and congealing power, one will surely remember its opposite forces. Therefore, it is not at all inappropriate for scammony to have such a nature. Thus, due to its drawing

nature, it is hot and dry, being of the first order. It also possesses an airy substance, which works its fine details. However, it appears tasteless, indicating the cold and moist nature of its mixture. Such is its nature, and then, when it encounters our body, being naturally warm, it stimulates the passion. It tends more to hold the purgatives than to be held by them. Then, according to the continuity of bodies, when the opposites are cooled, a release of the opposites occurs. Those who are cooled desire to be warmed. Thus, scammony also purges bile, for it is contrary to bile both in its active and in its gustatory powers. For the tasteless is opposite to bile, and here too, what is tasteless is contrary to what is made.

8. About dodder and black hellebore

Let us now discuss dodder and black hellebore, for these are believed to be purgatives of black bile. They are hot and dry in temperament. However, understand that dryness can be twofold: one is fiery, and the other is earthy. This aspect exists in the aforementioned remedies, but it is intricate in nature; it has been finely divided. In addition, it is opposed to what is fragile, divisive, and conducive to density. Black hellebore and dodder, being hot and finely detailed in nature, consist of cold and earthy substance. This is how the generation of black bile will occur. Therefore, purgation comes from opposite medicines. Thus, everywhere, medicines listed either effect purgation through opposites or through similars. However, know that the drawing power is contrary to the active qualities. For when the active quality of similar humor is taken, it completely overwhelms the drawing power. Hence, it primarily draws out that humor. Nevertheless, when contrary action is taken, there is a twofold drawing. In one case, by the accumulation of opposites, bodies are diverted into immoderate dyscrasia. In the other case, it occurs through the inherent drawing power. Hence, a more violent purgation occurs from the contrary medicine. The remaining cause should be sought in some respect: some purify the upper belly and some the lower. Whatever medicines consist of hot and dry substances, along with a fiery and pneumatic substance, cause sanguineous purges. Therefore, the upper passage is stimulated, like white hellebore. Those composed of an earthy substance naturally stimulate the lower passage. These effect purgation through the lower belly, as shown by the purification of brass filings. Whatever consists of a mixture of pneumatic, airy, heavy, and descending substances, effects purgation both from above and below. As for the fact that colocynth purges the head, experience attests to this. For the light and airy nature of colocynth is well known. Also, it is evident that all light things stimulate upward passage. For example, when a mustard plaster is applied, phlegm is believed to be cleared from the head. Therefore, as much as possible, let us reason out the materials of purging medicines.

Look at what has been tested and discovered over a long time and present the essence of the humors that the medicine purges. Secondly, let us consider from which parts of the body it draws the essence of the humors.

1. Hepatic antidote, experienced

Eastern costus, dry ginger, pellitory, three nine grains of pepper, cumin and long cumin, each one drachma; one hand of centaury; bayberries, one drachma; grains of bitter lupine, one drachma, and a half; aloe, one drachma; myrrh; macedonian seed; onoceria; gentian; each, one drachma. Give these after cutting, pounding, and sifting with wine. Administer to drink. For patients without fever, give wine in the bath; for those with fever, give water.

2. For the spleen

Extract the fruit and root of tamarisk with old wine. Give plenty to drink fasting. But if you want to know exactly: give to a pig or a sheep to drink, and if it doesn't observe spleen, it is not effective.

3. Another

The bark of the willow, which is salica, and three cups of strong vinegar. Boil, strain, and give to the patient to drink while fasting, and with God's help, he will be healed.

4. Ointment for scabies

Mercury, one drachma; and martaca mix with oil and rub mercury and martaca and after that put in strong vinegar and mix with oil.

5. Remarkable hydropic

Chamaeleon; parsley; each one drachma; give one spoonful with warm water.

6. Hydropic suppository, diuretic water

Lime poultice; wax; each one drachma; resin; pine; each ninety-six drachmas; galbanum, forty drachmas; arsenic; astringent; each sixteen drachmas; old oil, forty-eight drachmas; grind the dry ingredients with vinegar, dissolve and use as needed.

7. Remarkable remedy for kidneys; Induces flow in those with urinary discharge, blood, and bladder pain.

Seeds of figs, a dozen of drachmas; seed of henbane, six drachmas; seeds of monk's rhubarb, three drachmas; conium seed; pine roasted; bitter almonds; Pontic walnuts; each, three drachmas; bladder, seeds twenty-five; for patients without fever give sweetly wine; for the others, give water.

8. Praised nephritic remedy; for crushes stones and sands given; it also benefits those with colic, spleen, and stomach issues

Pepper; juniper-berry flesh; peony root; safflower flower; parsley; ajowan seed; frankincense; anise; asarum; spignel; spike nard spike; each, one oz.; sufficient Attic honey; give in the size of a Pontic bean.

Conclusions

A long-forgotten text within the codex *Plut. 75.3* of the Laurentian Library (*Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana*) in Florence gave us the opportunity to make an inquiry on *Theon*, an Alexandrian physician. The text itself contains medical prescriptions,

which most probably belong to the lost book *Man* (Ἀνθρωπος) of *Theon*. The text and the recipes do not match with any other literary source, according to our investigation. Photios (9th century), refer to a leading physician in Alexandria named *Theon*, who wrote a medical book. According to Photios, *Theon* describes recipes of purgative medicines with a single ingredient, explaining to some extent the reasons for using them. Finally, he deals with the composition of various remedies and he describes the preparation of patches, soothing remedies, collyria. All pharmaceutical recipes reported here seem to be original. It is worth noticing that some plant names, such as “onoceria” (ὄνοκαιρία), “salica” (σάλικα), “martaca” (μάρτακα), and the verb “psam-mopoiō” (ψαμμοποιῶ) are encountered for the first time in a Greek text.

The text in the *Plut.* 75.3 is not found anywhere else, or in any other published treatise, work or text, and therefore, it is original and unique. The nature of the extant passage refers to the writer *Theon*, who grappled with the nature of the theory of humors. Although many other medical authors have dealt with and written about the specific topic, it seems that both the composition of the text and the way of dealing with it and theorizing it are problematic. After the examination of the eight plants follows a paragraph that refers us to a section that precedes the list of recipes. It seems that this paragraph is the connecting link of the transition from one chapter to the next. Both the content, the quality of the text and its entire form seem to confirm the writings of Photios, who did not particularly appreciate *Theon*'s work.

The finding and publishing medical texts like this of *Theon* gives us information about the evolutionary course of medicine in the Middle Byzantine era.

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 24. These remarks were informed to me by Prof.emer. Dr. Dr. Peter Schreiner and Hab. med. Dr. phil. Isabel Grimm-Stadelmann.
 25. Many persons are mentioned in the codex Laur. *Plut.* 75.3, such as the physicians Hippocrates (5th/4th century BC), Dioscorides (1th c. AD), Galen (2th c.), Oribasios (4th c.), Aetios of Amida (6th c.), Alexander of Tralles (6th c.), and the Roman Emperors Hadrian, Diocletian, Julian, dut also Innocent (5th c.) probably the Pope of Rome.
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 27. Wissowa G, Kroll W (RE), Ref. 26. Theon [#26], [#28], [#30], [#31], [#32], [#33], [#34].
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33. Koch K, Ref. 32. 80,25-29, (De san. tuenda, **III** 3.7-8).
34. Koch K, Ref. 32. 44,10 (De san. tuenda II 3.19).
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40. Brescia C, Ref 39. p.12.5-10; Mavroudis A, Ref. 39. p. 321
41. Ounce.
42. Unit of weight one sixth of the ounce, esp. in pharmaceutical doses.
43. Mavroudis A, Ref. 39. p. 52.
44. Ibid, p. XXX. Here Mavroudis notes that Brescia publishes four chapters that some manuscripts attribute to Paulos from Aegina [=Heiberg IL (ed.), Paulus Aegineta, vol. I-II, Leipzig/Berlin 1921-1924], but only the codex Vat Pal. gr. 199 attributes them to Archigenes. Of these chapters, only the section On the spleen, (Paulos, VII, 3.49), is the same. The rest of the text, published by Brescia, and attributed to Archigenes, is original prototype. In addition, Paulos does not mention Theon anywhere in his book.
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50. Ibid., **III** 58; and **II** 287.16-20.
51. Xestes is an unit of volume.
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SHORT COMMUNICATION



SAPIENZA
UNIVERSITÀ DI ROMA



© Author(s)
E-ISSN 2531-7288
ISSN 0394/9001



MEDICINA NEI SECOLI

Journal of History of Medicine
and Medical Humanities

36/3 (2024) 169-172

Revised:

Accepted:

DOI:

Corresponding author:

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Mirroring the Mind and Brain: Reflections on Hans Berger's EEG and the Scientific Perception of Reality

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ABSTRACT

This year marks the 100th anniversary of the invention of the EEG (electroencephalogram) by Hans Berger (1873–1941), who is widely recognized as the first to record electrical brain waves in humans. While brainwaves recorded on photographic paper served as an effective example of what Berger called *Hirnspiegel* (“brain-mirror”), his early drawings provide a unique insight into the workings of his mind—and, by extension, those of any researcher.

On July 6, 1924, Berger, a German psychiatrist based in Jena, Germany, successfully recorded electrical oscillations from the exposed cortex of a 17-year-old boy named Zedel, who had undergone palliative trepanation with a trephine opening by neurosurgeon Nikolai Guleke (1878–1958). What he observed would later be identified as the first human EEG recording¹. Over the years, Berger meticulously refined his techniques, eventually reducing interference from factors such as skin conductance, muscle contractions, vessel pulsations, and eye movements. Since then, the EEG has become one of the most important tools for diagnosing neurological disorders, including consciousness impairment, coma, sleep disorders, and epilepsy, and is widely used in research.

However, Berger's journey toward the invention of the EEG was far from straightforward. His diary entries from 1928, just months before he submitted his first article on the EEG (published in 1929), reveal that he almost abandoned his research due to persistent doubts. In one entry, he wrote: "Plans! I feel the need for creative scientific work.

For many years I have worked in vain on the presumed EEG. What now? Abandon EEG!"². But soon after, on September 28, 1928, he confirmed the validity of his findings, exclaiming in his diary: "Eureka! I've got it, I've found it!, just when I had already given up the matter in despair!"³.

Berger began his research on cerebral electrophysiology in 1910, using a string galvanometer, initially the Einthoven model designed for recording electrocardiograms. After 1924, he adopted the more sensitive Edelmann models². The string galvanometer, a sensitive instrument for measuring tiny electric currents, operated by suspending a fine filament of wire, often made of quartz or metal, within a powerful magnetic field.

When an electric current passed through the filament, it moved in response to the magnetic forces. A strong light source, directed at the filament, and an optical system magnified these movements, which were then recorded photographically. This setup allowed for precise measurements of electrical activity.

All the EEG traces published in Berger's 14 articles between 1929 and 1938, which described the EEG and its clinical applications, were recorded using a moving-coil galvanometer. These recordings, captured as black-on-white curves on photographic paper, provided objective evidence. Notably, a recording from October 19, 1925, made with the string galvanometer, has survived [Borck, 2018]. In this case, Berger redrew the cerebral waves in white ink, depicting a regular fluctuation that, in hindsight, appeared too regular to be accurate. Later brainwave recordings on photographic paper revealed a much more irregular pattern. This seemingly minor discrepancy past prompts important reflections on the role of perception and interpretation in scientific observation.

Our perception of reality is not direct or unfiltered; it is shaped by our preconceptions, beliefs, and prior knowledge, which serve as lenses through which we interpret the world. We do not experience reality as a blank slate (*tabula rasa*), passively receiving knowledge from perception alone.

Even the process of induction - drawing general conclusions from specific observations through experimentation - is not purely objective. Our minds actively organize and interpret the information we gather, consciously and unconsciously.

Berger's redrawing of cerebral waves, projected by light and magnified through the optical system, offers a fascinating example of this cognitive process.

Although he ultimately succeeded in developing a tool that provided objective, measurable neurophysiological correlates of brain function, his initial observation of brainwaves, unrecorded by photographic equipment, reflects the dynamic interplay between subjectivity and objectivity in scientific research.

Berger drew not only what he saw but also what he *believed* he was seeing: a continuous, regular sinusoidal wave pattern. His perception was not comparable to the mechanical capture of an image by a camera; it was an active process of interpretation, an attempt to make sense of phenomena appearing before him for the first time. While brainwaves recorded on photographic paper served as an effective example of what Berger called *Hirnspiegel* ("brain-mirror"), his early drawings provide a unique insight into the workings of his mind—and, by extension, those of any researcher.

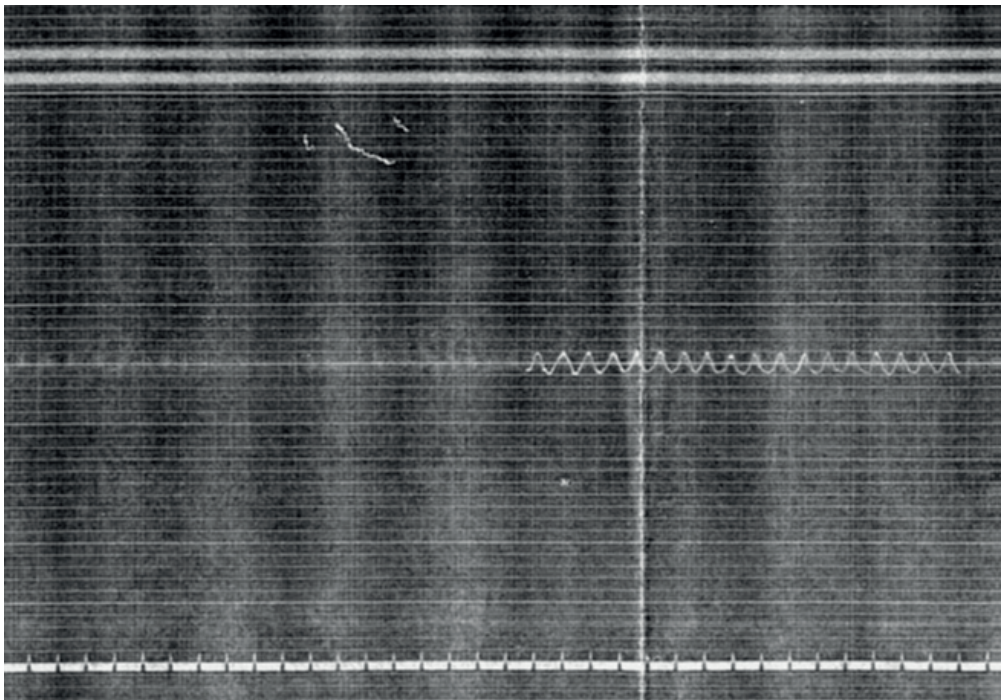


Fig. 1. Brainwave recording from October 19, 1925, generated using a string galvanometer. The bottom of the image shows the time scale, with each vertical bar representing one second. The center displays the brainwaves, as redrawn by Berger in white ink on the right half of the image, depicted as a continuous and regular sinusoidal pattern.

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