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UNIVERSITÀ DI ROMA



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E-ISSN 2531-7288
ISSN 0394/9001



Giorgio Valla and His Latin Translations of Galen

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MEDICINA NEI SECOLI

Journal of History of Medicine
and Medical Humanities

36/2 (2024) 59-90

Received: Febbraio 2024

Accepted: Aprile 2024

DOI: 10.13133/2531-7288/2981

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ABSTRACT

By means of his Latin translations Giorgio Valla contributed to the rediscovery of ancient Greek medicine in the Renaissance. In particular, he was the first to publish humanist translations of Galen ahead of his contemporaries Niccolò Leonico (1428-1524) and Lorenzo Lorenzi (ca. 1460-1502). In 1483 Valla published the translation of *De sectis*, followed by those of *De inaequali intemperie*, *De optima corporis constitutione*, *De bono corporis habitu*, *Praesagium experientia confirmatum*, *De venae sectione*, and *De praenotione* in 1498. After his death, two other translations by Valla were printed in the fourth complete edition of Galen of 1515-16, namely those of the ps.-Galenic *Quaesita in Hippocratis de urinis* and *De urinae significatione ex Hippocrate*. These last two translations came from Valla's encyclopedia *De expetendis et fugiendis rebus*, posthumously published by Aldo Manuzio in 1501, which contains translations of Galenic and ps.-Galenic works, or sections of them, including the aforementioned *De sectis*, *Praesagium experientia confirmatum*, and *De venae sectione*. This article presents Valla's translations of the Galenic *corpus* and their impact in the complete editions of Galen; moreover, it identifies the Greek sources of the translations, that is manuscripts owned by Valla (Modena, BEU α .P.5.20 = Puntoni 109, α .U.9.4 = Puntoni 61, and Naples, BN III.C.2); finally, it analyses linguistic and stylistic features in Valla's translations, especially in those attested in two redactions, aiming to shed light on the chronological relations among them.

Key words: Giorgio Valla - Galen - Latin Translations - Medical Humanism - Medical Libraries

Giorgio Valla contributed to the rediscovery of ancient medicine in the Renaissance with both his Latin translations of Greek and Byzantine medical texts and his encyclopedia *De expetendis et fugiendis rebus*, nine books of which were dedicated to medicine: XXIV-XXX and XLVII-XLVIII. In particular, he was the first to publish humanist translations of Galen, even before his contemporaries Niccolò Leonicensi (1428-1524) and Lorenzo Lorenzi (ca. 1460-1502)¹. Between 1483 and 1515-16, nine translations by Valla of the following Galenic and ps.-Galenic works were published: *De sectis*, *De inaequali intemperie*, *De optima corporis constitutione*, *De bono corporis habitu*, *Praesagium experientia confirmatum*, *De venae sectione*, *De praenotione*, *Quaesita in Hippocratis de urinis*, and *De urinae significatione ex Hippocrate*. Few of these translations were studied mainly by scholars who edited the original Greek text. The present article aims to 1) present all the translations of Galen and ps.-Galen made by Valla and deal with their impact in Latin printed editions; 2) reconstruct or identify their Greek sources; and 3) analyse their linguistic and stylistic characteristics.

1. Translations

In 1483 Valla published his translation of *De sectis* in an edition containing Francesco Filelfo's *Orations*, printed in Venice by Leonhard Pachel and Ulrich Scinzenzeler, with a dedicatory letter to Iacopo Antiquario, secretary of the duke of Milano². *De sectis* is an introductory work of Galen on three different methods of medicine, which had already been translated into Latin in late antiquity and by Burgundio of Pisa (d. 1193) in the Middle Ages³. The anonymous late antique translation of *De sectis* appeared in the first complete edition of Galen, edited by Diomedes Bonardo and printed by Filippo Pinzi in Venice in 1490, and was reprinted in the subsequent complete editions of Galen until 1528⁴. Valla's translation was instead reprinted several times in editions of Francesco Filelfo, but only once in a complete edition of Galen, the Gabiane of 1528. In 1498, in Venice, the printer Simone Bevilacqua published several translations of Greek texts by Valla, including six Galenic and ps.-Galenic works: *De inaequali intemperie*, *De optima corporis constitutione*, *De bono corporis habitu*, *Praesagium experientia confirmatum*, *De venae sectione*, and *De praenotione*. The pathological treatise of Galen, *De inaequali intemperie*, on the humoral theory, had already been translated by Gerard of Cremona (1114-1187) from Arabic, and by Peter of Abano (ca.1250-1316) and by Nicholas of Reggio (fl. 1308-1345) from Greek⁵. Gerard's translation, which was widespread in manuscripts, was printed in the complete editions of Galen from 1490 to 1528. Valla then dedicated his translation to Antonio Visconti, a collaborator of the duke of Milan.

The two works of Galen, *De optima corporis constitutione* and *De bono corporis habitu*, generally share a common tradition: both were translated by Peter and Nicholas, and Nicholas's translations were printed in the complete editions of Galen from 1490 to 1528⁶. The *Praesagium experientia confirmatum* is a ps.-Galenic work on prog-

nosis, translated by Valla for the first time together with *De venae sectione*, a brief text on bloodletting, and dedicated to Costantino Prioli, senator of Venice⁷. As for *De praenotione*, it is an excerpt of *De constitutione artis medicae*, an introductory work by Galen summarising the different parts of medicine, which Valla translated with a dedicatory letter to Nicola Masini, a physician of Cesena⁸. Before him, Nicholas had translated it in the first half of the 14th century⁹.

All these translations by Valla were added to the complete editions of Galen from the fourth one, edited by Pietro Antonio Rustico of Piacenza and printed by Giacomo Pocatela in Pavia in 1515-16, until the 1528 editions. In this fourth complete edition of Galen two other ps.-Galenic texts on urine translated by Valla were published, those of *Quaesita in Hippocratis de urinis* and *De urinae significatione ex Hippocrate*, both coming from Valla's encyclopedia *De expetendis et fugiendis rebus*, completed by Valla himself in 1498 and published posthumously by Aldo Manuzio in Venice in 1501¹⁰. This encyclopedia contains several translations of Galenic and ps.-Galenic works or chapters of them, including the above mentioned *De sectis* (chpts. 2-3), *Praesagium experientia confirmatum*, and *De venae sectione*¹¹.

Valla's translations were generally not printed in the complete editions of Galen after 1528, because other humanist translations were preferred to his. Only the translations of *Praesagium experientia confirmatum*, *De venae sectione*, *Quaesita in Hippocratis de urinis*, and *De urinae significatione ex Hippocrate* were reprinted in the later Latin editions of Galen, in the spurious books section, and also in the Greek-Latin editions by René Chartier (vol. VIII, Paris, 1639) and Karl Gottlob Kühn (vol. XIX, Leipzig, 1830)¹². However, they did not attract much attention from scholars. In conclusion, Valla translated more ps.-Galenic works than Galenic ones, which had generally already been translated, and his translations did not circulate for long.

2. Sources

Giorgio Valla was a collector of Greek manuscripts and put together a remarkable library, comparable to that of another translator of Galen, Niccolò Leonicensino, a professor of medicine at the university of Ferrara and in contact with him¹³. Valla's collection of Greek manuscripts is currently mainly stored in Modena, at the Estense Library (= BEU).

In her edition of Galen's *De inaequali intemperie*, Elsa García Novo argued that Valla used the Greek manuscript Modena, BEU α .P.5.20 = Puntoni 109 (= U) for his translation¹⁴. This manuscript, written in the 13th-14th centuries, arrived in Italy with Peter of Abano, who bought it in Constantinople and used it for his translations, before 1310¹⁵; later it actually belonged to Valla, who bought it from Andronikos Kallistos¹⁶. In addition to the initial passage quoted by García Novo, where U presents an omission shared by Valla's text, other common readings between U and the translation (= VaInI) can be mentioned, as follows¹⁷:

146,13 GN: τὰ διαλείμματα] διαστήματα U VaInI (*intervalla*)

148,2 GN: δυσκρασίαν U VaInI (*distemperantiam*)] κρᾶσιν cett.

154,15 GN: post τὰ σώματα add. διὰ τοῦτο γίνονται αἱ ὀδύνας U VaInI (*ob hoc etiam gignuntur dolores*)

154,20 GN: κρᾶσιν] φύσιν U VaInI (*natura*)

154,22 GN: μελαγχολικὸν ἢ φλεγματῶδες] φλεγματῶδες ἢ μελαγχολικὸν U VaInI (*pituitosus, melancholicus*)

168,3 GN: διψῶσι] πυρέττουσι U VaInI (*febricitant*)

U contains other works of Galen translated by Valla, *De sectis*, *De optima corporis constitutione* and *De bono corporis habitu*, and it can be shown that it was used by him for these translations as well. In fact, they have common readings with the manuscript; for *De sectis* see a conspicuous transposition of the text shared by U and Valla's translation (= VaS) at the beginning of chpt. 2, with the omission of τι τοιοῦτον ἄλλο βλάβην ἢ ὠφέλειαν φέρον (2,16-17 H) and the repetition of τι τοιοῦτον ἄλλο ὄν ἕκαστον εἰς ὠφέλειαν ἢ βλάβην ἐτελεύτα (2,22-24 H):

2,16-24 H: τι τοιοῦτον ἄλλο βλάβην ἢ ὠφέλειαν φέρον, οὐ μὴν τό γε ποιῆσαν αἴτιον αἰσθητὸν ἔχον, ἕτερα δ' ὄν τὸ μὲν αἴτιον ἐφαίνεται', οὐ μὴν ἐκ προαιρέσεως ἡμετέρας ἀλλὰ κατὰ τινα συντυχίαν, οἷον συνέβη πεσόντος τινὸς ἢ πληγέντος ἢ ἄλλως πως τρωθέντος αἷμα ῥυῆναι καὶ πιεῖν ἐν νόσῳ χαρισάμενον τῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ ἢ οἶνον ἢ τι τοιοῦτον ἄλλο ὄν ἕκαστον εἰς ὠφέλειαν ἢ βλάβην ἐτελεύτα:

τι τοιοῦτον ἄλλο ὄν ἕκαστον εἰς ὠφέλειαν ἢ βλάβην ἐτελεύτα. οὐ μὴν τό γε ποιῆσαν αἴτιον αἰσθητὸν εἶχον, ἕτερα δε ὄν τὸ μὲν αἴτιον ἐφαίνετο, οὐ μὴν ἐκ προαιρέσεως ἡμετέρας ἀλλὰ κατὰ τινα συντυχίαν, οἷον συνέβη πεσόντος τινὸς ἢ πληγέντος ἢ ἄλλως πως τρωθέντος αἷμα ῥυῆναι καὶ πιεῖν ἐν νόσῳ χαρισάμενον τῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ ἢ οἶνον ἢ τι τοιοῦτον ἄλλο ὄν ἕκαστον εἰς ὠφέλειαν ἢ βλάβην ἐτελεύτα U:

id genus aliorum: quorum singulis ad adiumentum: aut detrimentum quispiam perductus est: nec tamen quod sensile est id in causa fecerunt alios autem quorum morbi causa appareat non tamen ex electione nostra: sed aliquo eventu: ac fortuna sicut evenerit aliquando lapsus aliquem: aut percussus: aut quoquo modo sautum sanguinem profundere, necnon cupiditate victum in morbo bibere frigidam aquam: aut vinum: aut huiusmodi quidpiam aliud: quorum singulis ad commodum: aut incommodum perducatur VaS

As for *De optima corporis constitutione*, already the title shows that Valla's translation depended on U. This manuscript added ἡμῶν after *περὶ ἀρίστης κατασκευῆς τοῦ σώματος*, and consequently Valla translated *De optima nostri corporis confirmatione*. The pronoun ἡμῶν is an addition, because Galen mentioned this work in his *De ordine librorum suorum* with the title *περὶ ἀρίστης κατασκευῆς τοῦ σώματος*, without the pronoun (CUF I 94,7 BM). See the following other readings shared by U and Valla's translation (= VaOCC):

8,11 H: εἶτε σχέσιν om. U m VaOCC

9,15 H: ἔξεως] εὐεξίας U m VaOCC (*boni habitus*)

9,19 H: κατωρθωμένων] κατωρθωμάτων U VaOCC (*actionum*)

10,7 H: αὐτάρκως om. U m VaOCC

10,8 H: ante εἴη add. τίς ἡ ἀρίστη κατασκευὴ τοῦ σώματος U T VaOCC (*quae optima corporis confirmatio*)

10,15 H: χαλεπῶς] ἀπλῶς U m VaOCC (*simpliciter*)

U and Valla's translation (= VaBCH) share some readings also for *De bonu corporis habitu*, as follows:

17,7 H: pro ἐπίτασιν hab. ὀνομάζου (sic) U VaBCH (*ipso nomine*)

18,2 H: post ἦκη add. παραγίγνεσθαι U VaBCH (*advenire ierit*)

18,2-4 H: σφαλεράν usque ad ἦκειν om. U VaBCH

18,13 H: οὐκέθ' ἀπλῶς πῆχυς, ἀλλ' ὄλον τοῦτο μέγας πῆχυς om. U VaBCH

18,14-15 H: οὐκέθ' ἀπλῶς χοῖνις, ἀλλ' ὄλον τοῦτο χοῖνις ἄδικος om. U VaBCH

19,5 H: διεξιόντος] ἐπιδεικνόντος U VaBCH (*indicante*)

19,9 H: πολιτικός] τῆς πολιτείας U VaBCH (*rei publicae*)

In her edition of *Praesagium experientia confirmatum*, Elsa García Novo claimed that Valla used the Greek manuscript Modena BEU, α.U.9.4 = Puntoni 61 (= M) for his translation¹⁸. It was written by Emmanuel Zacharides in the fifteenth century and belonged to Valla, as his notes show¹⁹. Anna Maria Ieraci Bio already argued that Valla translated the work of the Byzantine scientist Symeon Seth *Syntagma de alimentorum facultatibus* from it²⁰. In addition to the common readings between M and Valla's translation (= VaP) cited by García Novo, see the following²¹:

116,24 GN: διχῆ] διχῶς M VaP (*dupliciter*)

115,12 GN: μετρίως] μετρίας M, cf. VaP (*mediocria*)

117,30 GN: ὁ ... χιτῶν μαλακός] *tunica atra* VaP

In the last example M has ὁ ... χιτῶν μαλακός, but in μαλακός the spelling -ακ- is not clear and can be misread as μελανός, as Valla did by translating it *atra*.

In manuscript M, after *Praesagium experientia confirmatum* (ff. 23r-28r), Valla found *De venae sectione* (ff. 28r-29r) as a continuous text and translated it together with the former. Valla's translations *De urinae significatione ex Hippocrate* and *Quaesita in Hippocratem de urinis*, extracted from his encyclopedia *De expetendis et fugiendis rebus*, depended on the Greek manuscript Naples, BN III.C.2 (= N), written by Emmanuel Zacharides, the same copyist as M²². Anna Maria Ieraci Bio identified this source on the basis of a reference in Valla's translation of *De urinae significatione ex Hippocrate* (XIX 619,1 K): *inquit Agrius, Hippocratis interpretis*²³. She interpreted *Agrius* as Philagrius, a commentator of Hippocrates, whose scholium is preserved in manuscript N and published by Rita Masullo (fr. 198)²⁴. The same scholium is contained in another manuscript, Paris, BnF, Grec 2269, ignored by Masullo, and the same Philagrius is also present in the manuscripts cited by Masullo in fr. 197, which have the same text as N²⁵. In sum, the edition by Musullo published two fragments of Philagrius instead of one, but N is the source of Valla's translations, because this manuscript belonged to him.

Both Valla's translations of *De urinae significatione ex Hippocrate* (= VaUSH) and *Quaesita in Hippocratem de urinis* (= VaQHU) have many omissions, but they also share omissions and readings with N; see the following:

XIX 612,1-2 K: ὀκόσοισιν ἢ αἷμα ἢ πῦον οὐρῆ τῶν νεφρῶν ἢ τῆς κύστιος ἔλκωσιν σημαίνει om. N VaUSH

XIX 612,15-16 K: πονέει. ἦν δὲ αἷμα καὶ πῦον οὐρέη καὶ λεπίδας καὶ ὀδμὴ βαρεῖη τῆς κύστεως om. N VaUSH

XIX 619,18 K: πυρρὸν οὖρον] πυρρὸν N VaQHU (fulvum)

XIX 621,1 K: κεφαλαλγία] κεφαλαλγ- N VaQHU (capitis dolor)

XIX 621,13 K: διηθούμενον τὸ οὖρον] διορθούμενον τὸ οὖρον N VaQHU (urina directu)

XIX 623,10-15 K: εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐν περαιοῖς φανεῖη τοιοῦτον οὖρον, τοῦ παντὸς σώματος δηλοῖ τὸ πάθος εἶναι· εἰ δὲ μή, τῶν νεφρῶν μόνων καὶ πάλιν εἰ μὲν ἐστὶν ἀπεψία τῶν οὖρων, ὅλου τοῦ σώματος ἐστὶ τὸ κακὸν εἰ δὲ πέψις μὲν ἦ καὶ ὀροβοειδεῖς ὑποστάσεις ἐκκρίνει τῶν νεφρῶν τὸ πάθος δηλοῖ] καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν νεφρῶν εἴη καὶ πεπεμμένον πάντως ἐστὶν καὶ ὀροβοειδεῖς ἀποστάσεις ἐκκρίνει, εἰ δὲ ἀπεπτον, ὅλου τοῦ σώματος τὸ κακὸν N VaQHU (*ac si ex renibus fuerit urina et concocta est, et eruosas exernit hypostases, si cruda totius corporis est malum*)

See also the following two passages, where Valla's errors can be explained by a misreading of the Greek manuscript N:

XIX 613,18 K: οὐρέη] *non fluat* VaUSH

XIX 625,7 K: χρωμα] *corpus* VaQHU

Valla's translation of *De praenotione* is the only one of which the Greek original is not preserved²⁶. In the Estense Library there is the Greek manuscript Modena, BEU α.G.13.12 = Puntoni 213, which contains *De praenotione*, not recorded in the Puntoni catalogue and reported by Caroline Petit in an article of 2005²⁷. However, she also convincingly showed that this manuscript was written by a copyist active in the years 1525-1530 and could not belong to Valla, but rather was owned by a later translator and editor of Galen, Agostino Gadaldini (1515-1575)²⁸.

Valla published translations of some works of Galen that were also translated in his encyclopedia *De expetendis et fugiendis rebus: De sectis*, chpts. 2-3, *Praesagium experientia confirmatum*, and *De venae sectione*. These translations are all based on the same sources as the published ones, but differ in language and style. What is the relationship between them? Is it the same for all of them? The answer will be provided in the following section.

3. Style and vocabulary

This section provides an analysis of style and vocabulary of Valla's Galenic translations drawing on the method developed by L. Minio-Paluello for the Latin translations of Aristotle and applied to the translations of Greek medical texts first by

Richard Durling, later on by others²⁹. This method primarily relies on comparing the Latin renderings of Greek syncategorematic parts – that is, particles, conjunctions, adverbs, adjectives, and pronouns – in which the translator’s choice is supposed to be less conscious, hence more personal and recognizable. The comparison may also concern other textual elements of vocabulary and syntax, aiming to highlight distinctive features in translating. While involving several versions by the same translator, the method proves to be effective to outline the evolution of his style and clarify chronological relationships among the versions under inquiry. Surely, the method is most effective for translations of the Middle Ages, which are quite literal, and more challenging for translations of the Renaissance, as humanists could vary or embellish the text. Nonetheless, some humanists have been studied so far³⁰, and Anna Maria Ieraci Bio has studied Valla’s translations of Symeon Seth and Plutarch³¹. The present study serves as an extension of the previous searches, aiming to enhance and reinforce the collected findings by delving into Valla’s Galenic translations.

The first section (3.1.) focuses on comparing Valla’s translations with two redactions, *De sectis, Praesagium experientia confirmatum* and *De venae sectione*, respectively published in the editions of 1483 (VaS¹) and 1498 (VaP¹ and VaVS¹) and in the encyclopedia *De expetendis et fugiendis rebus* of 1501 (= *De exp.*), book XXIV, chpt. 2 (VaS², corresponding to *De sectis* 2-3), chpt. 5 (VaP²), and chpts. 6-8 (VaVS²). In particular, the comparison concerns the incipits of these translations, which show linguistic and stylistic differences. The second section (3.2.) highlights compositional and editorial features of the translations included as chapters in *De exp.*: VaS², VaP², VaVS², and also *De urinae significatione ex Hippocrate* (VaUSH) and *Quaesita in Hippocratem de urinis* (VaQHU; 3.2.). The third section (3.3.) analyses the vocabulary and peculiar renderings in Valla’s Galenic translations in general. The last section (4) draws conclusions, including comments about the syncategorematic parts, which are collected in three tables in the Appendix.

3.1. Translations VaS¹, VaP¹, VaVS¹ vs De exp. (VaS², VaP², VaVS²)

The translations of *De sectis, Praesagium experientia confirmatum* and *De venae sectione* differ greatly in the two extant redactions. The difference – that does not stem from the Greek manuscripts used by Valla, the *Mutinenses* U and M (see above, chpt. 2) – encompasses several elements, including vocabulary, *ordo verborum*, constructions, and syncategorematic parts. This can be seen from their respective *incipit*, which are reported below.

3.1.1. *De sectis*

2,12-13 H: Συστήσασθαι δὲ τὴν τέχνην οἱ μὲν ἐμπειρικοὶ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον φασίν

VaS ¹	VaS ²
<i>Institutam vero hoc pacto artem empirici ferunt</i>	<i>Constituisse igitur artem hoc nimirum modo empirici perhibentur</i>

Peculiar and distinctive features leap out from the two redactions, VaS¹ and VaS². We shall consider in particular two items that can be somehow regarded as syncategorematic parts, that is δέ and τόνδε τὸν τρόπον. The particle δέ has been translated *vero* in VaS¹ and *igitur* in VaS². Both renderings have been compared with other renderings of δέ occurring in seven sample translations chosen for this very case, i.e., the two redactions of *De sectis, Praesagium experientia confirmatum* and *De venae sectione* and the translation of *De inaequali intemperie*. The following table displays the results:

		VaS ¹	VaS ²	VaP ¹	VaP ²	VaVS ¹	VaVS ²	VaInI
δέ	<i>autem</i>	8	2	5	2	6	9	10
	<i>vero</i>	4	2	2	3	4	2	13
	<i>at</i>	-	2	6	1	8	2	11
	<i>verum</i>	-	-	2	-	1	1	1
	<i>-que</i>	1	-	-	-	-	-	4
	<i>igitur</i>	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
	<i>demum</i>	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
	<i>quoque</i>	1	-	-	-	-	1	1
	<i>sed</i>	1	-	1	-	-	-	1
	<i>namque</i>	-	1	-	-	-	1	-
	<i>rursus</i>	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
	<i>nempe</i>	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
	<i>etiam</i>	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
	<i>porro</i>	-	-	-	-	1	2	
	<i>et</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
	<i>necnon</i>	-	-	-	-	1	-	
	<i>ceterum</i>	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
	<i>dein</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
	<i>non vertit</i>	9	7	4	14	13	19	21
	<i>deest</i> ³²	-	8 ³³	-	1	1	-	3

Some patterns emerge. First, Valla is keen to vary, just as other humanists such as Lorenzo Lorenzi. Second, in most cases Valla do not translate δέ at all. Three, when he does, he prefers *autem* and *vero*, which are attested in all the selected translations. The rendering *at* becomes frequent only after the completion of VaS¹. On the other hand, *igitur* is attested only once, in VaS². In fact, *igitur* occurs rarely in these selected translations, and when it does, it serves as a rendering of other Greek particles or conjunctions, above all οὐν and μὲν οὐν:

		VaS ¹	VaS ²	VaP ¹	VaP ²	VaVS ¹	VaVS ²	VaInI
<i>igitur</i>	οὐν	2	2	-	-	1	-	-
	μὲν οὐν	1	-	1	-	2	-	2
	δέ	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
	οὔκουν	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
	ἄρα	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
	γάρ	-	1	-	-	-	1	-

The table above highlights that *igitur* is not a standard rendering of δέ in Valla's style, and this suggests that VaS² could represent a rather free translation.

In the case of τόνδε τὸν τρόπον, both Latin renderings adopted by Valla, *hoc pacto* in VaS¹ and *hoc (nimirum) modo* in VaS², are quite common. The first one, *hoc pacto*, does recur once in VaS¹ as a rendering of οὔτω; VaS¹ though displays slightly different renderings to translate adverbs of manner with an analogous meaning, such as πῶς / πῶς. Moreover, we came across variants of *hoc pacto*, such as *quo pacto* and *aliquo pacto*, also in VaP¹ and VaInI:

		VaS ¹	VaS ²	VaP ¹	VaP ²	VaVS ¹	VaVS ²	VaInI
<i>hoc pacto</i>	τόνδε τὸν τρόπον	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
	ποιῶ... τρόπῳ	-	-	2 (<i>quo... pacto;</i> <i>quonam... pacto</i>)	-	-	-	-
	πῶς / πῶς	2 (<i>quonam pacto;</i> <i>quo pacto</i>)	-	-	-	-	-	2 (<i>quo pacto;</i> <i>aliquo pacto</i>)
	πῶ	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (<i>aliquo pacto</i>)
	οὔτω	1	-	-	-	-	-	-

On the other side, the rendering *hoc (nimirum) modo* is attested just once in VaS². Still, similar adverbial locutions displaying *modo* recur in the same translation, and also in VaS¹ and VaInI:

		VaS ¹	VaS ²	VaP ¹	VaP ²	VaVS ¹	VaVS ²	VaInI
<i>hoc (...)</i> <i>modo</i>	τόνδε τὸν τρόπον	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
	καθ' ὃν τινα... τρόπον	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (<i>quodam... modo</i>)
	ὡσαύτως	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (<i>eodemque modo</i>)

		VaS ¹	VaS ²	VaP ¹	VaP ²	VaVS ¹	VaVS ²	VaInI
	πως	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (<i>aliquo modo</i>)
	ἄλλως πως	2 (<i>quoquo modo</i>)	2 (<i>quoquo modo</i>)	-	-	-	-	
	οὕτω	-	1	-	-	-	-	
	πῶς	-	1 (<i>quo... modo</i>)	-	-	-	-	

Thus, the rendering *hoc pacto* (or analogous forms), which undoubtedly represents a *lectio difficilior*, is attested in three translations edited by Valla (VaS¹, VaP¹, VaInI); while the rendering *hoc modo* (or analogous forms), which is a much more common locution, can be found in texts both edited by Valla (VaS¹, VaInI) and published posthumously (VaS²).

As for *nimirum* in VaS² – which does not correspond to any word in the Greek – it occurs only twice in the selected translations: more precisely, one in VaVS¹ as a rendering of γάρ, another in VaInI as a rendering of οὖν:

XIX 522,14 K: γάρ *nimirum* VaVS¹
 160,20 GN (see app.): οὖν *nimirum* VaInI

This hints again at VaS² displaying inconsistencies or other odd features in comparison to VaS¹ and the other translations edited by Valla in 1498.

3.1.2. Praesagium experientia confirmatum

115,2-4 GN: [ῥτι] τὸν θέλοντα προγινώσκειν, οὐ μόνον τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ θανάτου, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ὥραν, σκοπεῖν χρῆ ἐν τίνι μάλιστα καιρῷ τοῦ παροξυσμοῦ βαρύνεται μεγάλως ὁ κάμνων

VaP ¹	VaP ²
<i>quicumque praesciscere libuerit mortis non diem modo, sed etiam horam considerare expedit quo potissimum tempore languens ab accessione vehementer affligatur</i>	<i>si velis praesagire non diem modo mortis, verum etiam horam, considerato quo tempore potissimum languens a febre vexatus sit</i>

In these two *incipits* we also see many differences concerning vocabulary, *ordo verborum*, verbal modes, and syntax. We shall focus on the rendering of τὸν θέλοντα in VaP¹, that is *quicumque ... libuerit*. It seems that there is only one occurrence of *libet* in all the Galenic translations made by Valla:

18,6 H: ἄν ἐθέλη *libuerit* VaBCH.

Still, adjectives and pronouns in *-libet* are quite frequent. Actually, these seem distinctive of Valla's style, as they show up in many translations, even if not demanded by the Greek; see the survey:

- 3,2 H: τὸ δ' αὐτοσχέδιον *sui autem cuiuslibet* VaS¹
 3,16 H: τι τοιοῦτον ἄλλο *eiusmodi aliter quorum quodlibet* VaS²
 142,5 GN: καθ' ἕν ὅτιοῦν *in quolibet* VaInI
 156,19 GN: ἐκάστῳ *cuilibet* VaInI (also 172,2 GN)
 112,16 F: ἐκάστου *cuiuslibet* VaPrae (also 112,17 F)

On the other hand, the rendering *si velis* of VaP² represents a less formal allocution addressing the interlocutor in the second person. The same could be said for the imperative *considerato* as a rendering of σκοπεῖν χρή – opposite to *considerare expedit* in VaP¹.

With respect to this *incipit*, thus, we can say that the first redaction of *Praesagium experientia confirmatum*, VaP¹, translates the Greek text with a higher degree of literalness than VaP², in consideration of: 1. respect of the *ordo verborum*, cf. ἐν τίνι μάλιστα καιρῷ *quo potissimum tempore* VaP¹ vs *quo tempore potissimum* VaP²; 2. rendering of meaning-bearing elements, cf. βαρύνεται μέγਾਲως *vehementer affligatur* VaP¹ vs *vexatus sit* VaP² (i.e. μέγਾਲως non vertit); 3. more precise (and consistent) translation of technical terms, cf. τοῦ παροξυσμοῦ *ab accessione* VaP¹ vs *a feбри* VaP²; consider that παροξυσμός does recur shortly afterwards and this time it is translated with *accessio* in both redactions (115,11-12 GN: τοῦ παροξυσμοῦ *accessionis* VaP¹ and VaP²).

3.1.3. De venae sectione

XIX 519,1-4 K: Ἐν πάσῃ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ (om. M) νυκτὸς ὥρα χρείας κατεπειγούσης φλεβοτομήσεις σκοπὸν ἔχων ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν πυρεττόντων τὴν παρακμὴν τοῦ παροξυσμοῦ, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν εἴτε δι' ὀφθαλμίαν ἢ δι' ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτον etc.

VaVS ¹	VaVS ²
<i>In omni die noctis ora, urgente necessitate sanguinem detrahito advertendo tamen in febricitantibus vigorem cessantem accessionis, in aliis autem sive ex lippitudine: sive ex alia ratione etc.</i>	<i>Quotidie, noctu, hora opportuna properante, sanguinis missionis intentionem habens. In febricitantibus declinationem accessionis spectes. In lippitudine, vel eiusmodi alio etc.</i>

These two *incipits* look different inasmuch VaVS¹ offers a literal translation (the ablative absolute *urgente necessitate* goes back to the genitive absolute χρείας κατεπειγούσης; *tamen* and *autem* are literal renderings of the particles μὲν and δέ), while VaVS² rephrases the Greek. More precisely, VaVS² makes an adverb out of ἐν πάσῃ ἡμέρᾳ (*quotidie*); translates χρείας as an adjective referred to ὥρα (*hora opportuna*), which serves here as a subject of the aforementioned genitive absolute (*hora ... properante*); and dissolves the connection between ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν πυρεττόντων and ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν (established by the connecting particles, which are not translated here), placing them in different sentences (*In febricitantibus / In lippitudine*) – with the first sentence displaying a verb, which does not depend from the Greek (*spectes*).

It can be said, thus, that VaVS² – likewise VaS² and VaP² – reflects a non-literal approach and a creative freedom in the translation technique, which can be understood in light of their use and context, that is the encyclopedia *De exp.*

3.2. Characteristics of the chapters of *De exp.*

Analysing the style of Valla's translations, we have to reconsider two characteristics previously noticed by Ieraci Bio in the translation of Plutarch's *Quaestiones naturales*, that is reductions and expansions³⁴.

3.2.1. Reductions

First of all, it must be considered that omissions already detected in VaUSH and VaQHU may represent deliberate reductions³⁵. Besides, we have hinted at reductions in VaS² and VaP² above, by collecting the renderings of δέ (see *deest*)³⁶. More in detail, in translating *De sectis*, Valla makes two major reductions featuring the chapter of *De exp.*, VaS², namely:

3,15-27 H: (καὶ ὁ ἄθροισας ἰατρός). ἐκλήθη δ' ὑπ' αὐτῶν αὐτοψία τὸ τοιοῦτον ἄθροισμα, μνήμη τις οὖσα τῶν πολλάκις 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. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ νοσήμασι τισιν ἐνετύγχανον ἔστιν ὅτε πρόσθεν οὐχ ἑωραμένοις ἢ τισιν ἐγνωσμένοις μὲν ἀλλ' ἐν χωρίοις, ἐν οἷς οὐκ ἦν ἰαμάτων εὐπορία τῶν διὰ τῆς πείρας τετηρημένων, ὄργανόν τι βοθημάτων εὐρετικὸν ἐποίησαντο τὴν τοῦ ὁμοίου μετάβασιν, ἧ χρώμενοι πολλάκις καὶ ἀπὸ πάθους ἐπὶ πάθος ὅμοιον τὸ αὐτὸ βοήθημα.

VaS ¹	VaS ²
(<i>et qui aggregat ea medicus</i>). <i>Talis autem aggregatio sua cuiusque perspectio vocata est: quae recordatio quaedam est eorum quae saepius et identidem perspecta sint: nominaverunt autem hoc ipsum quoque experientiam eiusque expositionem historiam. Id enim ipsum per sese observanti perspectio discenti autem quod ab alio fuerit observatum historia est. Sed quoniam in morbos aliquos inciderunt est quando non pervisis: aut quibusdam cognitiss quidem utantur: sed in locis in quibus medelarum copia non erat. Tum ad experientiam se convertunt auxiliarium observationum sibi aliquod invenientes instrumentum ad similis rei transitum: quo utentes saepenumero etiam a morbo ad morbum ut simile idem adiumentum.</i>	(<i>et qui collegerit medicum</i> .) <i>ut tota commemoratione et historia constare videatur. At quoniam in minus cognitos morbos quandoque incidunt a simili auxilium petunt.</i>

4,8-19 H: ἀλλ' ἡνίκ' ἂν τὸ ἐλπισθὲν εἰς πείραν ἀχθῆ, πιστὸν ἤδη τὸ μαρτυρηθὲν ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἐστὶν οὐδὲν ἤττον ἢ εἰ πλειστάκις καὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχον ἐτετήρητο. τὴν δὲ πείραν ταύτην τὴν ἐπομένην τῇ τοῦ ὁμοίου μετάβασει τριβικτὴν καλοῦσιν, ὅτι χρὴ τετρίφθαι κατὰ τὴν τέχνην τὸν μέλλοντά

τι οὕτως εὐρήσειν· αἱ δ' ἔμπροσθεν ἅπασαι πείραι αἱ πρὸ τῆς ἐμπειρίας, ὧν εἰς σύστασιν ἐδεῖθ' ἡ τέχνη, καὶ περὶ τὸν τυχόντα δύνανται γενέσθαι. τοιαύτη μὲν ἢ διὰ τῆς πείρας πρὸς τὸ τέλος τῆς τέχνης ὁδός. Ἡ δὲ διὰ τοῦ λόγου φύσιν ἐκμαθεῖν παρακελεύεται τοῦ τε σώματος.

VaS ¹	VaS ²
<p><i>Sed cum quod speratum fuerat ad experientiam perductum est ab ea testimonio iam fides facta. hoc nihilotamen minus utcunque pluries ac identidem ita habere fuerit observatum experientiam similis transitum secutam exercitationem vocant: quod eum qui hanc habiturus sit inventionem ita arte exercitatum esse oporteat. Cunctaque experimenta ante experientiam invenisse quibus ad se confirmandam ars indigebat: et quae circa evenientia fieri potuere. haec nempe ab experimento ad artis finem est via. Quae rursus ratione duce perficitur: ea corporis cui mederi investigat naturam iubet ediscere.</i></p>	<p><i>Cum idem saepius fuerit observatum exercitationem, et industriam vocant. At qui ratione adducti sola naturam iubent edisci corporis, cui mederi temptaverint.</i></p>

Apparently, reductions and abridgments of the Greek text of *De sectis* reflect the intentions and the goals Valla pursued in building his encyclopedia. This can also explain the reductions spotted in the translations VaP², VaUSH and VaQHU, and also of Plutarch's *Quaestiones naturales*.

3.2.2. Expansions

Expansions are likewise placed by Valla in the chapters of *De exp*. In general, they appear in connection to technical terms that are borrowed from the original Greek; see for instance:

XIX 522,9-10 K: ἐπὶ δὲ πλευρᾷς πεπονθῦας ἢ πνεύμονος ἢ διαφράγματος

VaVS ¹	VaVS ²
<p><i>in latere autem languente aut pulmone aut saepto transverso</i></p>	<p><i>si latus dolet, aut pulmo aut saeptum transversum, quod diaphragma vocant graeci</i></p>

116,7 GN: τῆς διαστολῆς

VaP ¹	VaP ²
<p><i>diductione</i></p>	<p><i>diductione, quam diastolen vocant graeci</i></p>

In this second case, the term διαστολή is translated with *diductio* in both redactions of *Praesagium experientia confirmatum*, except that VaP² adds an expansion introducing the transliteration *diastolen*. The Greek term recurs further in the text (117,29 GN) and this occurrence is translated as *diductio* in VaP¹, as *diastolen* in VaP². Another example is:

4,3 H: ὡς εἰ ἀπ' ἐρυσιπέλατος ἐφ' ἔρηπτα μεταβαίνουσιν

VaS ¹	VaS ²
<i>ut si ab igni sacro in serpentina transitus fuerit</i>	<i>ut si a sacro igni ad serpentina transeant, quae herpeta graeci dicunt</i>

In both redactions, Va S¹ and VaS², ἐρυσίπελας is translated with *ignis sacer*, an expression that belongs to classical Latin, while ἔρπης is translated with *serpentina*. VaS², however, provides for *serpentina* an expansion displaying the transliteration of the Greek term *herpeta*. It is interesting that ἐρυσίπελας and ἔρπης occur twice in *De inaequali intemperie*: here ἐρυσίπελας is always translated with *erysipelas* (142,6 e 170,13 GN), while ἔρπης is translated with *serpis* (sic; 142,8 GN) and with *herpis* (170,13 GN). This suggests that Valla first avoided transliterations of the Greek terms, then made use of them.

Similar cases introducing transliteration of Greek terms also come up in the translation of *De urinae significatione*, which is also a chapter of *De exp.* (XIX 613,15-16 K: τὰ ἀποστήματα *abscessus: quae Graeci apostemata vocant* VaUS), as well as in the translations published by Valla, such as *De inaequali intemperie* and *De bono habitu*:

146,4 GN: ἐξ ἰνῶν *capillamentis quae ines appellantur* VaInI

150,16 GN: ὑπὸ τὰς μήνιγγας *sub chartillaginibus meninges vocitatis* VaInI

150,19 GN: ὑπὸ τὸν ὑμένα *subter... tuniculam hymenem appellatam* VaInI

19,15 H: ἡ εὐχymία *bonus humor qui a graecis euchymia nominatur* VaBCH

In VaS² there is an interesting expansion with transliteration of the Greek term and a new Latin rendering:

3,12-13 H: τὴν τοιαύτην μνήμην θεώρημα καλέσαντες ἤδη πιστὸν ἡγοῦνται καὶ μέρος τῆς τέχνης

VaS ¹	VaS ²
<i>eandem recordationem: speculationem nominantes iam fidem factam putaverunt.</i>	<i>huiusmodi recordationem, theorema, quod nos praeceptum dicimus, vocarunt artis partem, ratam esse arbitrati.</i>

The Greek term θεώρημα is translated with *speculatio* in VaS¹, while is transliterated (*theorema*) and accompanied by the gloss *praeceptum* in VaS². It can be noticed that another occurrence of θεώρημα appears a little further in the text (3,14 H), and this is translated *tout court* with *praeceptum* in VaS², while VaS¹ displays again *speculatio*. The term θεώρημα also appears in *De praenotione* and its rendering is *praeceptum* (120,6 F), which probably was Valla's preferred choice at the time.

A different type of expansion in the chapters of *De exp.* concerns the quotations from ancient authorities, particularly Galen, see:

XIX 521,8 K: οἶδα γὰρ ἐπ' ἐνίῳν

VaVS ¹	VaVS ²
<i>perspexi namque in nonnullis</i>	<i>vidi, inquit Galenus, aliquibus</i>

VaVS² contains two more similar passages, in which the reference to Galen (*inquit Galenus*) is included: XIX 520,11; 524,3 K.

A further type of expansions seems to be related to Valla's mastery of scientific knowledge, which surely profited from working at his encyclopedic work *De exp.* One case is of particular interest:

4,5-6 H: ἀπὸ μήλου ἐπὶ μέσπιλον

VaS ¹	VaS ²
<i>a pomo ad mespilum</i>	<i>a pomo cydonio ad mespilum</i>

Here again, the rendering of VaS¹ is literal, while VaS² adds an element, i.e., *cydonius*, 'Cretan'. With Cretan orchards long praised by the Greeks, it does not surprise that this adjective was employed by the ancient authors to designate a fruit, namely the quince (*cydonia oblonga* or *pyrus cydonia*). The properties of quince are often mentioned by Galen, for instance in *De alimentis* (VI 602,1 ff. K) and *Methodus medendi*, where quince juice is prescribed as a remedy against diarrhoea due to indigestion (X 576,3 ff. K). The passage of *De sectis* also refers to effective remedies against diarrhoea, but the Galenic text only conveys ἀπὸ μήλου – even in the *Mutinensis* U (f. 64r, l. 21). Thus, the rendering *a pomo cydonio* must be an expansion placed by Valla in VaS².

This might be linked to the compilation of *De exp.*, where the *cydonius* turns out to be often mentioned, e.g. in XLII 7, among the remedies called *stomachum confirmantia*, and particularly in XLII 40, a chapter translated from Symeon Seth³⁷. At some point, collecting and translating passages on the topic, Valla must have known properties and applications of the μήλου κυδώνιον well enough to consider it as a good remedy against diarrhoea, even better than the μήλον: Galen himself explains in *De alimentis* that all apples are astringent (VI 595,6-7 K: ἀναμνησθεῖς οὖν ἐκείνων, ὅσα μὲν στύφει μῆλα), but among all, quinces have the most astringent action (VI 602,1 ff. K: Περὶ κυδωνίων. Ἐξαίρετόν τι παρὰ τᾶλλα μῆλα τούτοις ὑπάρχει στῦψίν τε etc.).

3.2.3. Revisions

Reductions and expansions found in the chapters of *De exp.* suggest that they represent reworked texts, created later than the edited translations. This seems to be confirmed by readings only attested in these chapters, that imply a reconsideration of the Greek source. Three passages can be pointed out:

- 1) 116,5-9 GN: καὶ ἐν μὲν τῇ εἰσβολῇ κατεπεῖγει μᾶλλον ἢ συστολὴ τοῦ σφυγμοῦ κατὰ τινος ἀνωμαλίας καὶ σμικρότητος

VaP ¹	VaP ²
<i>ac in iectione quidem cum impensior correptio frigitque cum aliquanta inaequalitate atque exiguitate.</i>	<i>et in accessu festinat magis correptio horroris quadam inaequalitate et exiguitate.</i>

Consider herein ἡ συστολή τοῦ σφυγμοῦ: VaP¹ translates it with *correptio*, overlooking τοῦ σφυγμοῦ, while VaP² offers a larger, nonetheless bizarre, rendering, that is *correptio horroris*. This cannot be explained by translating from any manuscript of *Praesagium experientia confirmatum*, according to what García Novo recorded. Nevertheless, a reconsideration of the *Mutinensis* M is at least suggestive: in this manuscript, indeed, the handwriting τοῦ σφυγμοῦ is unclear and even misleading, as the first two letters σφ are overlapping, maybe to make up for a previous omission of one or another; moreover, the vertical line crossing φ sketches a sort of loop above the circle of the letter, which makes it similar to φρ in cursive script. Besides, the γ in small capital leans on the next μ, which is linked with the ο on the right side, so that this sequence of letters could have been easily mistaken for φρμκ- (that is, φρμκ-)³⁸. This would explain the rendering *horroris* in VaP², as Valla's standard rendering for φρική turns out to be *horror*, see: 116,2 GN: φρῖκαι *horror* VaP¹ VaP². It is convincing that Valla worked on VaP² after VaP¹: after having checked the Greek manuscript at his disposal, that is M, Valla should have realized the presence of τοῦ σφυγμοῦ in the text, whence arose the erroneous addition of *horroris* in VaP².

In other cases, Valla succeeded in revising his translation, for instance:

- 2) 117,30 GN: τῆς ἀρτηρίας χιτῶν μαλακός

VaP ¹	VaP ²
<i>arteriae tunica atra</i>	<i>arteriae tunicula mollis</i>

The misreading *atra* in the first redaction had been already noticed above (see ch. 2). Once again, the *Mutinensis* does have here the correct reading μαλακός, but the handwriting could have been mistaken for μελανός, as Valla must have done at first. Later on, however, he must have checked the manuscript and revised his interpretation.

- 3) XIX 526,14-17 K: ὡς ἐπὶ συναγχοῦ πάθους, ἐγκαρσίως ἐκτέμνομεν φυλαττόμενοι τὴν σφίγξιν. τινὲς δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐν τοῖς μεγάλοις κανθοῖς διαφανεῖς φλέβας, ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ

VaVS ¹	VaVS ²
<i>ut in anginae morbo oblique dissecamus astrictionem observando quemadmodum et in capite</i>	<i>velut in morbo anginae obliquas secamus vitando ne exhulceratio fiat. Verum sunt etiam qui in oculorum angulis, magnas et insignes secant venas, ut capitis</i>

In this passage from *De venae sectione*, the first redaction skips from φυλαττόμενοι τὴν σφίγγιν (*astriktionem observando*) to ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ (*quemadmodum et in capite*), omitting the words in between. In the second redaction, however, the omission is supplied (*verum sunt etiam qui... venas*).

3.3. Vocabulary and distinctive pattern

In his Galenic and ps.-Galenic translations Valla avoids the strict literalness that medieval translators had applied³⁹. Rather, he shares the humanistic aspiration to use Latin as a classical language. The previous analysis of translations which are preserved in two redactions, namely those of *De sectis*, *Praesagium experientia confirmatum* and *De venae sectione*, and the subsequent comparison show that Valla varied and revised his renditions, in terms of *ordo verborum*, constructions and lexicon, depending on the text type and its purpose, notably for his encyclopedic work *De exp.* In regard to vocabulary, Valla possessed a rich Latin lexicon that allowed him to adopt several renderings for a single Greek term; here are a few examples:

πεῖρα *experientia* VaS¹ (4,8 H + 5) VaS² (3,7 H) *experimentum* VaS¹ (4,14 H + 2) VaS² (4,8 H)
 πόρος *spiramentum* VaS¹ (26,14 H + 3) VaInI (146,15 GN) *meatus* VaS¹ (27,20 H) VaP¹ VaP²
 (116,27 GN) *corpus* VaS¹ (28,15 H)
 προαίρεσις *electio* VaS¹ *propositum* VaS² (2,20 H)
 εὐκρατος *temperatus* VaOCC (7,2 H + 6) VaS¹ (6,16 H + 1) VaS² (6,16 H) VaVS¹ VaVS²
 (XIX 520,16 K) *optimae complexionis* VaOCC (-ότατος 15,15 H)
 παρακμή *vigor cessans* VaVS¹ *declinatio* VaVS² (XIX 519,3 K) *vigoris decessus* VaP¹
decessio VaP² (115,12 GN)
 σφίγγις *astrictio* VaVS¹ *exhulceratio* VaVS² (XIX 526,15 K)
 εισβολή *iectio* VaP¹ (116,6 GN) *iniectio* VaInI (168,2 GN) *accessus* VaP² (116,6 GN) *accedendus*
 VaP¹ (115,4 GN) *accessurus* VaP² (116,2 GN) *advantans* VaP² (115,4 GN) *imminens*
 VaP¹ (116,2 GN)
 προγινώσκειν *praesciscere* VaP¹ *praesagire* VaP² (115,2 GN); VaPrae (120,7 F)

A more extended observation of the adopted renderings, especially of Greek technical terms, enables further consideration of Valla's lexicon. First of all, in some cases Valla adopts renderings that are on the verge of inconsistency; see for example, in the translation of *De inaequali intemperie*, the odd use of *tabes* as a rendering of σῆψις (154,16; 162,15; 162,18 GN) but also of ἠπίαλος (168,9 GN)⁴⁰. On the other hand, in spite of variety, Valla does have preferences, which stand out as remarkable, refined words or expressions, well-attested in his Galenic translations; and these should be regarded as distinctive features of his style.

This is the case with *langor*, a Latin term used by a few classical authors for “faintness, weakness”. As for *De sectis*, the noun *langor* is used by Valla in both redactions to translate πάθος and ὀδύνη, while the related participle *languens* is used to translate κάμων:

- 4,2 H: ἀπὸ μὲν πάθους ἐπὶ πάθος *a langore ad langorem* VaS²
 7,16-17 H: ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν παθῶν *in eisdem langoribus* VaS¹
 5,11 H: ὀδύνην *langorem* VaS¹
 5,21 H: κάμνοντος *languentis* VaS¹ VaS²
 7,12 H: τῷ κάμνοντι *languenti* VaS¹

In addition, *langor* is used to translate νόσημα in the first redaction of both *Praesagium experientia confirmatum* and *De venae sectione*, while *languens* translates again κάμνων in VaP¹ e VaP², but also the participle of πάσχω in VaVS¹ and VaVS²:

- 117,21 GN: νόσημα *langor* VaP¹
 K: (XIX 520,2 K:) νοσήματος *languoris* VaVS¹
 115,4 GN: κάμνων *languens* VaP¹ VaP²
 XIX 521,14 K: πασχόντων *languentium* VaVS¹ VaVS²
 522,4 K: πάσχοντος: *languentis* VaVS¹ VaVS²
 522,9 K: πεπονθῆσθαι *langente* VaVS¹ si ... dolet VaVS²
 522,16 K: πεπονθότων *languentibus* VaVS¹ *languentis* VaVS²
 523,4 K: τῷ πάσχοντι *languentis* VaVS¹ *languenti* VaVS²

In the translation of *De urinae significatione* two occurrences of πάσχω are translated by *languens* and the infinitive *languere* (XIX 617,16 K: πεπονθότων *languentibus* VaUS; 617,18-618,1 K: προπεπονηκέναι *languere* VaUS).

The noun *langor*, the related participle *languens* and other verbal forms of *languere* are all attested in the edited translations of *De inaequali intemperie* and *De praenotione*:

- 142,7 GN: κάμνον *langente* VaInI
 146,20 GN: πεπονθότος *languentis* VaInI
 148,15 GN: νόσημα *langor* VaInI
 152,15 GN: πεπονθότι *langenti* VaInI
 156,16 GN: πάσχοι *langent* VaInI
 158,12 GN: κάμνουσιν *languentibus* VaInI
 162,4 GN: κάμνοντι *langenti(que)* VaInI
 112,31 F: τὸν κάμνοντα *langente* VaPrae

The translation of *De praenotione* also features *oblanguesco*; see 120,24 F: τῶν πασχόντων *eos qui oblanguescant* VaPrae; 128,9 F: πεπονθῆσθαι *oblanguentis* VaPrae. In brief, the rendering *langor* (together with *languere*) is already employed by Valla in the first redaction of *De sectis*; yet it remains adopted in the other translations, in spite of the text type, standing out as a valid choice to cover a set of Greek words within the semantic area of affection.

Finally, to exemplify a distinctive pattern of Valla's style, a passage of *De sectis* can be illuminating:

- 2,17-20 H: οὐ μὴν τό γε ποιῆσαν αἴτιον αισθητὸν ἔχον (εἶχον U), ἕτερα δὲ ὧν τὸ μὲν αἴτιον ἐφαίνετο, οὐ μὴν ἐκ προαιρέσεως ἡμετέρας.

VaS ¹	VaS ²
<i>nec tamen quod sensile est id in causa fecerunt, alios autem quorum morbi causa appareat non tamen ex electione nostra.</i>	<i>nec subesse causam quae sub sensum cadat, alia vero cernebant, quorum causa apparebat, non utique ex nostro proposito.</i>

The two redactions of *De sectis* have different renderings of τό γε ποιῆσαν αἴτιον αἰσθητόν. VaS¹ translates the Greek expression with *quod sensile est id in causa*, which is next both to the late antique translation (*effectivam causam sensibilem*) and to the medieval one made by Burgundio (*facientem causam sensibilem*)⁴¹. VaS² translates it with *causam quae sub sensum cadat*, which is most remarkable. The rendering *sub sensum cad(o)* recurs elsewhere in *De exp.*, at least in I 14 (*De tota mathematica*), V 7 (*Quemadmodum in primis animae...*), and XLVI 1 (*De anima*). Moreover, it shows up twice in the translation of *De inaequali intemperie* to translate ἀναίσθητος (158,12; 162,4 GN). It can be assumed then that the expression *sub sensum cad(o)* became a preference of Valla at a certain point, at the time of *De exp.* and VaInI.

Before *causam quae sub sensum cadat* VaS² displays an infinitive *subesse*, which does not correspond to any word in the Greek. In the context, it evokes locutions employed in the Greek literature containing (αἴτιος) ὑπάρχειν and designating the underlying (of a cause); in Galen alone, we may find several occurrences, for instance in *De temp.* (82,3-5 H: καὶ αὐτό γε τοῦτο πολλάκις αἴτιον ὑπάρχει τοῖς ζώοις τῆς ἐν ταῖς σαρξίν ὑγρότητος) and in *An. adm.* (273,6-7 G: [scil. τὸν μὲν] ταπεινῆς προσαγωγῆς αἴτιον ὑπάρχοντα τῷ βραχίονι). Latin does have an equivalent expression featuring *subesse*, frequently in connection with *causa*; consider for instance Cicero *Off.* 1,38: *causas subesse oportet easdem*; *De fin. bon. mal.* 5,29: *intellegatur aliquam subesse eiusmodi causam*; *Ad Att.* 1,10,2: *sed quia nullam video gravem subesse causam*. It seems plausible that Valla was influenced by Greek and Roman literature while inserting *subesse* in VaS².

Interestingly, the infinitive *subesse* is twice attested in the first redaction of *Praesagium experientia confirmatum*, without being requested or related to the Greek text:

117,37 GN: θάνατον σημαίνουσι *mortem subesse minitantur* VaP¹: *mortem significant proximam* VaP²

117,5 GN: ἐκεῖ φράζε τὴν νοῦσον *ibi quoque dicito subesse morbum* VaP¹: *ibi dicito esse morbum* VaP²

4. Conclusions and comments on the syncategorematic parts

Giorgio Valla was the first humanist to translate Galen before his contemporaries Niccolò Leonicensio and Lorenzo Lorenzi. Between 1483 and 1498 he published his translations of seven Galenic and ps.-Galenic works: *De sectis*, *De inaequali intemperie*, *De optima corporis constitutione*, *De bono corporis habitu*, *Praesagium experientia confirmatum*, *De venae sectione*, and *De praenotione*. As Greek sources he used manuscripts of his own and now preserved in Modena, BEU: α.P.5.20 (Puntoni

109) for the first four translations, VaS, VaInI, VaOCC, VaBCH; and *a.U.9.4* (Puntoni 61) for the other two, VaP and VaVS; the Greek source of VaPrae seems to have been lost instead. Two other translations of the ps.-Galenic *Quaesita in Hippocratis de urinis* and *De urinae significatione ex Hippocrate* were published posthumously in 1515-16 complete edition of Galen, both dependent on the Greek manuscript Naples, BN III.C.2, which also belonged to Valla. VaQH and VaUS were both extracted from Valla's encyclopedia *De expetendis et fugiendis rebus*, published posthumously in 1501, as chapters in book XLVIII. This monumental work contains other Galenic or ps.-Galenic texts in book XXIV, such as VaS² (chpts. 2-3), VaP² and VaVS².

Generally, Valla's translations concerned Galenic works already translated in late antiquity or in the Middle Ages and did not have much impact on Galen's reception, because they were printed in few complete editions of Galen until 1528. Later on, only the ps.-Galenic translations VaP, VaVS, VaQHR and VaUSH were reprinted in Galen's complete editions, in the spurious books section, without attracting scholarly attention. However, Valla stands out in the rediscovery of ancient Greek medicine and in the elaboration of a new Latin technical language for his contributions beyond Galen. Valla's Galenic and ps.-Galenic translations display differences in relation to style, construction, and vocabulary. The comparison of the translations preserved in two redactions shows that the chapters of *De exp.*, book XXIV, VaS², VaP² and VaVS², are reworked texts for the special context of the encyclopedia, completed after the published translations, VaS¹, VaP¹ and VaVS¹, and revised on the basis of the Greek manuscript, at least for VaP² and VaVS². In addition, VaS², VaP² and VaVS² share features with the translation VaInI for both distinctive patterns (see the use of *qui sub sensum cadit* for αἰσθητός attested in VaS² and VaInI) and transliterations of Greek terms, which appear also in VaPrae and VaBCH. The latter was made together with VaOCC, because they are presented as two books of the same work in their Greek source. In light of this, it is plausible that the translations VaS², VaP², VaVS², VaInI, VaOCC, VaBCH and VaPrae were made at the same time, in Valla's maturity – or when he was experimenting with new renditions anyway – after the translation of VaS¹, published in 1483.

This chronological reconstruction is confirmed by the renderings of the syncategorematic parts, although they are of little use for translations that are not strictly literal, such as the humanist ones (see the tables in the Appendix). A selection of the syncategorematic parts, already applied to other translations, let Valla's preferences and distinctive patterns emerge. Most interesting is *non dubium* for δῆλον, which recurs in VaS¹, VaP¹, VaP² and VaOCC. The more common rendering *manifestum* for δῆλον appears in VaQH, which is a chapter of *De exp.*, book XLVII, composed after book XXIV; however, *non dubium* for εὐδελον is still used in VaUS, which immediately precedes VaQH in *De exp.* Other preferences of Valla are less distinctive inasmuch shared with various translators, such as *cum* for ὅταν, *ita* for οὕτω(ς), *quemadmodum* for ὡσπερ, *talis* and *huiusmodi/eiusmodi* for τοιοῦτος, as well as the omissions of γε and mostly of δή. It can be noted that ὅτι is

generally translated with *quod* in Valla's published translations (table 1), while it is either not translated or differently translated in the chapters of *De exp.* (table 3), which are re-worked texts in syntax, besides vocabulary, as already said.

Among Valla's published translations, it seems that VaS¹ displays peculiar renderings: *ut* for ὡστε, while VaInI, VaOCC and VaBCH prefer *et perinde*; *enim* for μὲν γάρ, while VaInI, VaOCC and VaPrae prefer *namque* and *nam*; also *quoniam* for ἐπεὶ, while VaP, VaVS and VaPrae prefer *cum*. These peculiarities of VaS¹ can be seen as clues of its anteriority to the other translations.

Appendix

Sigla of Valla's Galenic and ps.-Galenic translations

VaS⁽¹⁾ = *De sectis*, 1483

VaInI = *De inaequali intemperie*, 1498

VaOcc = *De optima corporis constitutione*, 1498

VaBCH = *De bono corporis habitu*, 1498

VaP⁽¹⁾ = *Praesagium experientia confirmatum*, 1498

VaVS⁽¹⁾ = *De venae sectione*, 1498

VaPrae = *De praenotione*, 1498

VaUS = *De urinae significatione ex Hippocrate*, 1515-16

VaQH = *Quaesita in Hippocratis de urinis*, 1515-16

VaS² = *De sectis* (chpts. 2-3) from *De expetendis et fugiendis rebus*, 1501

VaP² = *Praesagium experientia confirmatum* from *De expetendis et fugiendis rebus*, 1501

VaVS² = *De venae sectione* from *De expetendis et fugiendis rebus*, 1501

Tab. 1. Giorgio Valla, edited translations 1483-1498

	VaS	VaInI	VaOCC	VaBCH	VaP+VaVS	VaPrae
γε	om. 11 (50%)	om. 7	om. 3	om. 2	-	om. 9
γοῦν	<i>igitur</i> 1 <i>quippe</i> 1 <i>nempe</i> 1	<i>enim</i> 1 <i>saltem</i> 1 om. 1	<i>igitur</i> 1 <i>itaque</i> 1	-	-	-
δῆ	om. 10 <i>certe</i> 3 <i>itaque</i> 1 <i>et fere</i> 1 <i>enimvero</i> 1 (καὶ μὲν δῆ καὶ) <i>porro</i> 1 (μὲν δῆ) <i>sane</i> 1 (γὰρ δῆ) <i>nam</i> 1 (δῆ ποτε) <i>nempe etiam</i> 1 (μὲν δῆ καὶ)	om. 3 <i>certe</i> 2 (μὲν δῆ; δῆ καὶ) <i>etiam</i> 2 (μὲν δῆ καὶ) <i>enimvero</i> 1 (δῆ καὶ) <i>demum</i> 1 (δῆ καὶ) <i>quidem</i> 1 (καὶ δῆ)	om. 2 <i>certe</i> 1 <i>profecto</i> 1 <i>prorsus</i> 1	om. 3 <i>utique</i> 2 (γὰρ δῆ; μὲν δῆ)	<i>utique</i> 1 (καὶ δῆ καὶ)	om. 2 <i>profecto</i> 1 <i>igitur</i> 1 <i>enimvero</i> 1 (καὶ δῆ καὶ) <i>quippe</i> 1 (μὲν δῆ καὶ)
δῆλον	<i>non dubium</i> 1 om. 2	om. 1	<i>non dubium</i> 1	-	<i>non dubium</i> 1	-
διό (± καὶ)	<i>quamobrem</i> 1	-	-	-	<i>ideo</i> 1	-

	VaS	VaInI	VaOCC	VaBCH	VaP+VaVS	VaPrae
ἐπει(περ)	<i>quoniam</i> 3 <i>quando quidem</i> 1	<i>ubi</i> 1	<i>quoniam</i> 1	-	<i>cum</i> 1	<i>cum</i> 2
ἔτι	om. 4 <i>adhuc</i> 3 <i>etiam</i> 2 <i>amplius</i> 1	<i>etiam</i> 2 <i>adhuc</i> 1 <i>amplius</i> 1 om. 1	<i>adhuc</i> 1	<i>insuper</i> 1	<i>adhuc</i> 1 <i>etiam</i> 1 om. 1	om. 3 <i>adhuc</i> 1 <i>amplius</i> 1 <i>sed insuper</i> 1 <i>praeterea</i> 1 (ἔτι δὲ δῆ)
μὲν γάρ	<i>enim</i> 3 <i>nam</i> 1 <i>namque</i> 1 <i>quidem</i> 1 <i>siquidem</i> 1 <i>certe</i> 1 <i>nempe</i> 1 <i>profecto</i> 1 om. 4	<i>namque</i> 4 <i>enim</i> 2 <i>nam</i> 1 <i>quidem</i> 2 <i>siquidem</i> 1 om. 1	<i>namque</i> 4 <i>nam</i> 1 <i>nam quidem</i> 1 <i>enim</i> 1	-	<i>iter</i> (sic) 1	<i>nam</i> 2 <i>siquidem</i> 1 <i>etenim</i> 1
μὲν οὖν	<i>igitur</i> 2 <i>itaque</i> 1 om. 1	<i>igitur</i> 2 <i>itaque</i> 1 <i>demum</i> 1 om. 1	<i>igitur</i> 2	<i>quidem</i> 1 <i>quidem ita</i> 1	<i>igitur</i> 3 <i>perinde</i> 1	<i>igitur</i> 1 <i>utique</i> 1
οἷον	<i>velut(i)</i> 4 <i>ut</i> 3 <i>verbi causa</i> 2 <i>sicut</i> 1 <i>quemadmodum</i> 1 <i>tanquam</i> 1 om. 1	<i>ut</i> 2 <i>sicut</i> 1 (καθ' οἷον)	<i>velut</i> 1	-	<i>ut</i> 1 <i>qualis</i> 1 om. 1	<i>quale</i> 1
ὅταν	<i>cum</i> 5 <i>quando</i> 1 <i>ubi</i> 1	<i>cum</i> 6	-	<i>cum</i> 2	<i>cum</i> 6 om. 1	<i>cum</i> 2 <i>ubi</i> 1 <i>quod</i> 1
ὅτι	<i>quod</i> 6 <i>sicut</i> 1 (50%)	<i>quod</i> 6	-	-	om. 2 <i>quin</i> 1	<i>quod</i> 4
οὕτω(ς)	<i>ita</i> 14 <i>tam</i> 1 <i>huiusmodi</i> 1 <i>hoc pacto</i> 1 (50%)	<i>ita</i> 9 <i>necnon</i> 1 om. 3	<i>ita</i> 7 <i>ita demum</i> 2 <i>et perinde</i> 1 om. 1	<i>ita</i> 6	<i>ita</i> 5 <i>tam</i> 1	<i>ita</i> 13 om. 1
πάλιν	om. 3 <i>rursus</i> 1 <i>contra</i> 1 <i>ita quidem</i> 1	<i>porro</i> 2 <i>rursus</i> 1	-	-	-	<i>igitur</i> 1
πάντως	<i>omnino</i> 3 <i>profecto</i> 1 <i>continuo</i> 1	-	-	-	<i>omnino</i> 1 <i>prorsus</i> 1	-
τοιούτος	<i>huiusmodi</i> 9 <i>talis</i> 8 <i>hic</i> 4 <i>is</i> 1 <i>idem</i> 1	<i>talis</i> 4 <i>eiusmodi</i> 1 <i>huiusmodi</i> 1	<i>talis</i> 3 <i>eiusmodi</i> 2 <i>huiusmodi</i> 1 <i>is</i> 1 om. 1	<i>talis</i> 1	<i>talis</i> 2 <i>id genus</i> 1 om. 2	<i>huiusmodi</i> 1 <i>eiusmodi</i> 1 <i>talis</i> 1 <i>hic</i> 1 <i>id genus</i> 1

	VaS	VaInI	VaOCC	VaBCH	VaP+VaVS	VaPrae
ὅσπερ	<i>quemadmodum</i> 9 <i>utpote</i> 1 <i>ut etiam</i> 1 <i>velut</i> 1 <i>tanquam</i> 1	<i>quemadmodum</i> 1 <i>sicut</i> 1	<i>quemadmodum</i> 1 <i>qualis</i> 1	<i>quemadmodum</i> 3	<i>quemadmodum</i> 2 <i>sicut</i> 1 <i>ut iam</i> 1	<i>quemadmodum</i> 4 <i>sicut</i> 2 <i>perinde</i> 1 om. 1
ὅστε	<i>ut</i> 5 <i>proinde</i> 1 <i>itaque</i> 1	<i>et perinde</i> 2 <i>proinde</i> 1 <i>ut</i> 1	<i>et perinde</i> 2 <i>proinde</i> 1 <i>itaque</i> 1 <i>sicuti</i> 1	<i>et perinde</i> 1 <i>ut</i> 1 om. 1	-	-

Tab. 2. Giorgio Valla, translations with two redactions

	VaS ¹	VaS ²	VaP ¹	VaP ²	VaVS ¹	VaVS ²
γε	om. 2	om. 2	-	-	-	-
γοῦν	-	-	-	-	-	-
δῆ	-	-	-	-	<i>utique</i> 1 (καὶ δῆ καί)	<i>nam</i> 1 (καὶ δῆ καί)
δῆλον	<i>non dubium</i> 1 om. 1	om. 1	<i>non dubium</i> 1	<i>non dubium</i> 1	-	-
διό (± καί)	-	-	-	-	<i>ideo</i> 1	<i>ideo</i> 1
ἐπεὶ(περ)	<i>quoniam</i> 1	<i>quoniam</i> 1	<i>cum</i> 1	<i>cum</i> 1	-	-
ἔτι	<i>amplius</i> 1 om. 2	<i>adhuc</i> 1 om. 1	om. 1	om. 1	<i>adhuc</i> 1 <i>etiam</i> 1	<i>interim</i> 1 <i>quoque</i> 1
μὲν γάρ	<i>nam</i> 1	<i>nam</i> 1	<i>iter</i> (sic) 1	<i>nam</i> 1	-	-
μὲν οὖν	<i>igitur</i> 2 <i>itaque</i> 1	<i>certe</i> 1 <i>at</i> 1 om. 1	<i>perinde</i> 1	<i>igitur</i> 1	<i>igitur</i> 3	<i>ergo</i> 2 <i>igitur</i> 1
οἷον	<i>velut</i> 1 <i>verbi causa</i> 1 <i>sicut</i> 1 <i>quemadmodum</i> 1	<i>ut</i> 3 <i>velut</i> 1	<i>ut</i> 1 <i>velut</i> 1 <i>qualis</i> 1 om. 1	<i>ut</i> 2 <i>qualis</i> 1 <i>quasi</i> 1 <i>si</i> 1	-	-
ὅταν	<i>cum</i> 2	<i>cum</i> 2	<i>cum</i> 5	<i>cum</i> 3 om. 2	<i>cum</i> 1 om. 1	<i>cum</i> 2
ὅτι	<i>quod</i> 2 om. 1	om. 2 <i>ut</i> 1	om. 2 <i>quin</i> 1	om. 2 <i>quin</i> 1	-	-
οὕτω(ς)	<i>ita</i> 3 <i>hoc pacto</i> 1	<i>hoc modo</i> 1 <i>perinde</i> 1 <i>porro</i> 1 om. 1	<i>ita</i> 3	<i>ita</i> 3	<i>ita</i> 2 <i>tam</i> 1	<i>ita</i> 2 <i>tam</i> 1
πάλιν	-	-	-	-	-	-
πάντως	-	-	-	-	<i>prorsus</i> 1 <i>omnino</i> 1	<i>prorsus</i> 1 om.1
τοιούτος	<i>talis</i> 2 <i>huiusmodi</i> 2 <i>hic</i> 2 <i>is</i> 1 <i>idem</i> 1	<i>talis</i> 2 <i>huiusmodi</i> 1 <i>is</i> 1 <i>eiusmodi</i> 1 om. 3	<i>talis</i> 1 <i>id genus</i> 1	<i>talis</i> 2	<i>talis</i> 1 om. 2	<i>eiusmodi</i> 1 <i>is</i> 1 om. 1

	VaS ¹	VaS ²	VaP ¹	VaP ²	VaVS ¹	VaVS ²
ὡσπερ	-	-	<i>quemadmodum</i> 1	<i>quemadmodum</i> 1	<i>quemadmodum</i> 1 <i>sicut</i> 1 <i>ut iam</i> 1	<i>sicut</i> 2 <i>quemadmodum</i> 1
ὥστε	-	-	-	-	-	-

Tab. 3. Giorgio Valla, translations as chapters of *De exp.*

	VaS ²	VaP ²	VaVS ²	VaUS	VaQH
γε	om. 2	-	-	om. 1	-
γοῦν	-	-	-	-	<i>itaque</i> 1
δῆ	-	-	<i>nam</i> 1 (καὶ δῆ καί)	-	-
δῆλον	om. 1	<i>non dubium</i> 1	-	<i>non dubium</i> 1 (εὐδῆλον)	<i>manifestum</i> 1
διό (± καί)	-	-	<i>ideo</i> 1	-	-
ἐπεὶ(περ)	<i>quoniam</i> 1	<i>cum</i> 1	-	-	-
ἔτι	<i>adhuc</i> 1 om. 1	om. 1	<i>interim</i> 1 <i>quoque</i> 1	<i>adhuc</i> 1 om. 2	<i>utique</i> 1
μὲν γάρ	<i>nam</i> 1	<i>nam</i> 1	-	<i>namque</i> 1 <i>nam</i> 1 om. 1	<i>namque</i> 1
μὲν οὖν	<i>certe</i> 1 <i>at</i> 1 om. 1	<i>igitur</i> 1	<i>ergo</i> 2 <i>igitur</i> 1	<i>igitur</i> 1 <i>quidem</i> 1 <i>subinde</i> 1 om. 1	<i>igitur</i> 1 <i>ergo</i> 1 <i>itaque</i> 1 om. 1
οἷον	<i>ut</i> 3 <i>velut</i> 1	<i>ut</i> 2 <i>qualis</i> 1 <i>quasi</i> 1 <i>si</i> 1	-	<i>ut</i> 1 <i>tamquam</i> 1 <i>cumque</i> 1 om. 3	<i>ut</i> 1 om. 1
ὅταν	<i>cum</i> 2	<i>cum</i> 3 om. 2	<i>cum</i> 2	<i>cum</i> 3	<i>cum</i> 4
ὅτι	<i>ut</i> 1 om. 2	<i>quin</i> 1 om. 2	-	<i>quin</i> 1 om. 1	om. 2
οὕτω(ς)	<i>hoc modo</i> 1 <i>perinde</i> 1 <i>porro</i> 1 om. 1	<i>ita</i> 3	<i>ita</i> 2 <i>tam</i> 1	<i>ita</i> 1 <i>hoc modo</i> 1	<i>ita</i> 1

	VaS ²	VaP ²	VaVS ²	VaUS	VaQH
πάλιν	-	-	-	-	om. 1
πάντως	-	-	<i>prorsus</i> 1 om.1	-	<i>omnino</i> 1
τοιούτος	<i>talis</i> 2 <i>huiusmodi</i> 1 <i>is</i> 1 <i>eiusmodi</i> 1 om. 3	<i>talis</i> 2	<i>eiusmodi</i> 1 <i>is</i> 1 om. 1	<i>is</i> 1 <i>quicumque</i> 1 om 3	<i>talis</i> 2 <i>idem</i> 2 <i>huiusmodi</i> 1 om. 1
ὡσπερ	-	<i>quemadmodum</i> 1	<i>sicut</i> 2 <i>quemadmodum</i> 1	<i>tamquam</i> 1	-
ὥστε	-	-	-	<i>proinde</i> 1	<i>ut</i> 2

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1. On the first humanist translations, see Fortuna S, *Editions and Traditions 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; ead., *The Prefaces to the Medical Translations of the First Humanists*. *Traditio* 2007;62:317-335.
 2. On this translation of Valla, as well as on the other translations of Galen, see the online catalogue by Fortuna S (ed.), *Galenus latino. Catalogo della tradizione latina di Galeno: manoscritti ed edizioni*. Clion srl; 2021 (1st edn, Scuola Normale Superiore of Pisa; 2015; www.galenolatino.com), which aims to contain a description of all witnesses (manuscripts and printed editions) of Latin translations of Galenic and ps.-Galenic works, or Latin texts attributed to Galen.
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5. The reference Greek edition of *De inaequali intemperie* is by García Novo E, Galen, *On the Anomalous Dyskrasia (De inaequali intemperie)*. Madrid: Editorial Complutense; 2010, with references on the translations by Gerard (pp. 51-67), Peter (pp. 73-80), and Nicholas (pp. 80-91). On Gerard's translation, see the edition by McVaugh M, The Latin Translation from Arabic by Gerard of Cremona. In: Bos G, McVaugh M, Schatzmiller J (eds), *Transmitting a Text through Three Languages: The Future History of Galen's Peri anomalou dyskrasias* (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 104, 5). Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society; 2014. pp. 9-24. On Nicholas' translation and its relative date, see Fortuna S, Niccolò da Reggio and his Latin Translation of Galen's *Simple Drugs*. *Archives Internationales d'Histoire des Sciences* 2020;70:216-237, pp. 222-230.
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7. The reference Greek edition of *Praesagium experientia confirmatum* is by García Novo E, Pseudo-Galenus, *Praesagitio omnino vera expertaque*: primera edición crítica. *Cuadernos de Filología Clásica, Estudios griegos e indoeuropeos* 31;2021:107-122. The reference Greek edition of *De venae sectione* is by Kühn CG, *Claudii Galeni Opera omnia*. Vol. XIX. Leipzig: Knobloch; 1830. pp. 519-528. See the article of Anna Maria Ieraci Bio in the next volume of MnS (3.2024).
8. The reference Greek edition of *De constitutione artis medicae* is by Fortuna S, Galeno, *A Patrofilo Sulla costituzione della medicina* (CMG V 1, 3). Berlin: Akademie Verlag; 1997. On Valla's translation, see pp. 34-35.
9. *Ibidem*, pp. 32-34, on Nicholas' translation, which is transmitted anonymously by manuscripts. On the attribution of this translation to Nicholas and its relative date, see Fortuna S, Le traduzioni di Niccolò da Reggio: nuove attribuzioni e datazioni. *Galenos* 2014;8:79-103.
10. On the composition of *De expetendis et fugiendis rebus*, see the article of Anna Maria Ieraci Bio in the next volume of MnS (3.2024). The reference Greek edition for *Quaesita in Hippocratis de urinis* and *De urinae significatione ex Hippocrate* is by Kühn CG, Ref. 7. where both are chapters of *De urinis ex Hippocrate, Galeni et aliis quibusdam* (XIX, 609-628 K): chpts. 1-4 (XIX, 609-619,8 K) contain *De urinae significatione ex Hippocrate*, chpts. 5-8 (XIX, 619,9-626,17 K) contain *Quaesita in Hippocratis de urinis*. Both texts were translated into Italian: Mitaritonna O, *Il trattato spurio galenico Sul significato delle orine da Ippocrate*. *Medicina nei Secoli* 1968;5:36-45; Carracci PG, *Quaesita in Hippocratem*. In: *Miscellanea* (Collana di pagine di storia della medicina 12). Roma: Istituto di Storia della medicina dell'Università di Roma; 1966. pp. 25-37. On Valla's encyclopedia *De expetendis et fugiendis rebus* as source of *De urinae significatione ex Hippocrate* and *Quaesita in Hippocratis de urinis*, see Ieraci Bio AM, *Lo studio dell'umanesimo medico. L'Ippocrate di Giorgio Valla*. In: Manetti D, Perilli L, Roselli A (eds), *Ippocrate e gli altri. Atti del XVI Colloquio internazionale ippocratico* (25-27 ottobre 2018). Rome:

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11. See Landucci Ruffo P, Le fonti della 'Medicina' nell'enciclopedia di Giorgio Valla. In: Branca V (ed.), Giorgio Valla tra scienza e sapienza. Firenze: Olschki; 1981. pp. 55-68, pp. 59-60.
 12. Valla's translation of *Quaesita in Hippocratis de urinis* is not present in the edition by Kühn CG, Ref. 7. In fact, Chartier first printed *De urinis ex Hippocrate, Galeni et aliis quibusdam* in Greek and in Latin in vol. VIII, 352-358. He used the Greek manuscript Paris, BnF, Grec 2269, Valla's translation for *De urinae significatione ex Hippocrate*, and translated the other text himself. Moreover, he printed Valla's translation of *Quaesita in Hippocratis de urinis* in vol. VIII, 918-919, which was not reprinted by Kühn. On Latin sources of Chartier's edition, see 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. Paris: De Boccard Édition-Diffusion; 2012. pp. 303-324. On ps.-Galenic texts in the editions of Galen, see Fortuna S, Pseudo-Galenic Texts in the Editions of Galen (1490-1689). *Medicina nei Secoli* 34;2020:117-138.
 13. On Valla's library see Heiberg JL, Beiträge zur Geschichte Georg Valla's und seiner Bibliothek (Beiheft zum Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen 16). Leipzig: Harrassowitz; 1896; Di Pietro Lombardo P, I codici greci e orientali di Alberto III Pio da Carpi. In: Rossi M (ed.), Alberto III e Rodolfo Pio da Carpi collezionisti e mecenati. Atti del Seminario internazionale di studi (Carpi, 22-23 novembre 2002). Tavagnacco (UD): Arti grafiche friulane; 2004. pp. 215-226. On libraries of humanist translators of Greek medical texts, see Fortuna S, Biblioteche dei traduttori di testi medici greci (secolo XV-1525). *Nordic Journal of Renaissance Studies* 2024;22:87-102.
 14. García Novo E, Ref. 5. pp. 92-93. See Nutton V, John Caius and the Manuscripts of Galen (The Cambridge Philological Society, suppl. vol. 13). Cambridge: University Press; 1987. p. 25, who rightly suggested that U was the source of several translations by Valla.
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 16. On manuscript U, Puntoni V, Indice dei codici greci della Biblioteca Estense di Modena. *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica* 1896;4:381-526, p. 454, reported Valla's notes of ownership. It contains also notes of Andronikos Kallistos; on Valla and Andronikos Kallistos, see Orlandi L, Andronikos Kallistos: A Byzantine Scholar and his Manuscripts in Italian Humanism. Berlin: De Gruyter; 2023; also his article in the next volume of MnS (3.2024).
 17. A new collation of U has been done for the present article.
 18. García Novo E, Ref. 7. p. 111.
 19. See Puntoni V, Ref. 16. p. 427.
 20. Ieraci Bio AM, Symeon Seth, *Syntagma De alimentorum facultatibus*: la versione latina misconosciuta di Giorgio Valla. *Galenos* 2020;14:257-276. On Valla's translation of Theophilus, *De urinis*, which depends on M, see the article of Franco Giorgianni in the next volume of MnS (3.2024).
 21. A new collation of M has been done for the present article.
 22. During the conference on Giorgio Valla and his library held in Modena, Ciro Giacomelli and Luigi Orlandi suggested to identify the copyist of N with Emmanuel Zacharides.
 23. Ieraci Bio AM, Ref. 10. p. 25.

24. Masullo R, Filagrìo, Frammenti. Napoli: Bibliopolis; 1999. p. 389.
25. Idibem, pp. 388-389.
26. See Fortuna S, Ref. 8. pp. 34-35.
27. Petit C, Un nouveau témoin du *De constitutione artis medicae* de Galien: *le Mutinensis gr. 213* (ff. 149v-154r). *Revue des Études Grecques* 2005;118:266-270.
28. Petit C, Gadaldini's Library. *Mnemosyne* 2007;60:132-138; Ciro Giacomelli agrees with Petit about the date of the manuscript and also believes that it might have been written by the same copyist of *Par. gr. 1657* and others that he studied, see Giacomelli C, *Per i Graeca* di Giovanni Calurnio. Codici, postillati e alcune nuove attribuzioni. *Archivum Mentis* 2020;9:85-139; see in particular p. 131 n. 99.
29. Minio-Paluello L, *Opuscula*. The Latin Aristotle. Amsterdam: Hakkert; 1972, in particular, pp. 42-52; 206-214; the introductions in: Durling RJ, Burgundio of Pisa's Translation of Galen's *Περὶ κρᾶσεων*, *De complexionibus*. Galenus Latinus I. Berlin-New York: De Gruyter; 1976; and id., Burgundio of Pisa's Translation of Galen's *Περὶ τῶν πεπονηθῶτων τότων*, *De interioribus*. Galenus Latinus II. Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag; 1992. See also, e.g., Fortuna S, Urso AM, Burgundio da Pisa traduttore di Galeno: nuovi contributi e prospettive. Con un'appendice di P. Annese. In: Garofalo I, Lami A, Roselli A (eds), *Sulla tradizione indiretta dei testi medici greci*. Atti del Seminario internazionale (Siena 18-19 settembre 2009). Pisa-Roma: Serra; 2010:147-177; Fortuna S, Galeno e le traduzioni medievali: il *De purgantium medicamentorum facultate*. *Medicina nei Secoli* 2010;22:297-341; ead., Rif. 9; ead., Niccolò da Reggio e la traduzione del commento al *Prognostico* di Ippocrate. *Medicina nei Secoli* 2018;30:737-768; ead., *Hippocrates' Law in the Middle Ages with the Edition of the Latin Translation and the Revision*. *Early Science and Medicine* 2018;23:299-329; and recently ead., 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 traduzione latina. *Micrologus* 223:31;345-383, in particular 357-358.
30. See Savino C, La traduzione latina di Lorenzo Lorenzi del *Commento* di Galeno agli *Aforismi* di Ippocrate (un caso di plagio?). In: Garofalo I, Fortuna S, Lami A, Roselli A (eds), *Sulla tradizione indiretta dei testi medici greci: le traduzioni latine di Galeno*. Atti del V seminario internazionale (Sirolo 31 maggio 2011-1 giugno 2012). *Medicina nei Secoli* 2013;25:1037-1076; ead., *Il medico di Utopia*. Udine: Forum; 2020:105-107.
31. Ieraci Bio AM, Ref. 20; ead., La versione latina di Giorgio Valla delle *Quaestiones naturales* di Plutarco. *Galenos* 2022;15:139-173.
32. With *deest* it is meant that the translation has an omission of a passage, hence the rendering cannot be collected.
33. On omissions in VaS² see the paragraph below, 3.2.
34. Ieraci Bio AM, Ref. 31. p. 150 f. Besides, while browsing *De exp.*, it happens to come across many other examples; one can be seen in a Galenic chapter excerpted by Aetius, *De exp.*, XXV 2 (= Aet. II 85): *καὶ εὐποριστότερα πρὸς ἕκαστον πάθος. ἐφυλαττόμην δὲ καὶ γοητείας δόξαν ἀπενέγκασθαι* non vertit Va. This passage is not omitted in any manuscript of the tradition according to Olivieri A, *Aetii Amideni Libri medicinales I–IV* (CMG VIII 1). Leipzig, Berlin: Teubner; 1935. p. 180, pp. 3-4 (see app.); for the manuscripts of Aetius owned by Valla, that is *Vat. gr. 2202* (books I-IV) and *Par. gr. 2195* (books V-VIII), see Cataldi Palau AC, *Su alcuni umanisti possessori di manoscritti greci I. Alcuni manoscritti appartenuti a Giorgio Valla. II. Un nuovo manoscritto appartenuto a Marco Musuro*. *Studi umanistici piceni* 1994;14:141-155.w

35. See above, chpt. 2.
36. See above, chpt. 3.1.1 n. 34; for the only omission found in VaVS¹ see below in this paragraph.
37. Ieraci Bio AM, Ref. 20. in particular p. 267.
38. Compare φρίκαι in the *Par. gr.* 2269, f. 114v, l. 25 (cf. 116,2 GN).
39. Ieraci Bio AM, Ref. 31. p. 151 f.
40. In the translation of *De inaequali intemperie* Valla fails to transfer the Greek expression into Latin; consider for instance the words ταῖς ἀνατομικαῖς ἐγχειρήσεσιν, designating Galen's *Anatomical Procedures*, mistranslated twice as *resectionibus manuariis* (46,5; 156,7 GN). A set of mistranslations in Valla's translation of Plutharch, *Quaestiones naturales* has been collected by Ieraci Bio AM, Ref. 31. p. 154. See also 10,20 H: δυσπαθέστατον *optime digestum* VaOCC;17,8 H: οἱ παλαιοὶ *multi* VaBCH; and the already mentioned mistranslations: *non fluat* for οὐρέη in VaUSH (XIX 613,18 K); *corpus* for χρώμα in VaQHU (XIX 625,7 K); *horroris* for τοῦ σφυγμοῦ, which he misread τῆς φρίκης, in VaP².
41. See ch. 1.3. For the late antique translation, see Palmieri N, Ref. 3. p. 67. Burgundio's translation is witnessed by seven manuscripts, see <https://www.galenolatino.com/traduzioni.php?id=57>; *Malatestianus* D.XXV.1, f. 7vA, ll. 21-22, has been checked.

