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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 Garin<sup>1</sup>:

*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)<sup>2</sup>, 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"<sup>3</sup>. 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.*)<sup>4</sup> that takes up the work of the Byzantine physician Theophilus Protospatharius (variously dated between the seventh and tenth centuries AD)<sup>5</sup>.

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)<sup>6</sup>. What is particularly relevant is that the works of these and other authors (e.g. Archimedes)<sup>7</sup>, 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.9.4<sup>8</sup>.

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 sciences<sup>9</sup>: 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 Valla<sup>10</sup>, 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 Crysobalantes<sup>11</sup>. 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 Greek<sup>12</sup> 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 volume<sup>13</sup>.

## 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 Cademosto<sup>14</sup>. The work brings together Valla's lifelong research, representing, as indeed emphasised by eminent scholars of Italian Humanism<sup>15</sup>, the summa of a true cultural, educational and scientific project.

Medicine, in particular, plays a central role in Valla's encyclopaedia<sup>16</sup>, 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 XXX<sup>17</sup>. 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*<sup>18</sup>. 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: *Galenī quaestiones in Hippocratē*), 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*)<sup>19</sup>. 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)<sup>20</sup>. 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 Magnus<sup>21</sup>. 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*)<sup>22</sup>. 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*<sup>23</sup>. 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 Bio<sup>24</sup>, 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 2*<sup>25</sup>.

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)*<sup>26</sup>, 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)<sup>27</sup>, 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 15<sup>th</sup> Century by the hand of the copyist Emanuel Zacharides (15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> Century)<sup>28</sup>, 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 texts<sup>29</sup>.

Theophilus' text of *De urinis* on which Valla translates *De expt.*, is contained in ff. 2-10<sup>v</sup> 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 text<sup>30</sup>. 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: Ἐστὶ 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<sup>v</sup>-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 οὔρου 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 οὔρου 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 (οὔρα λεπτὰ καὶ λευκὰ) until p. 266,5 Ideler (οὔρον 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 [...]*”<sup>31</sup>). 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 (sublitione)*, 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)<sup>32</sup>.

## 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 εἰπόμεν 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 ἴκτερον **ἀπιλεῖ** (*sic*) and *arquatam* minitatur *morbum* (cf. p. 270,31 Ideler: ἴκτερον 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<sup>v</sup> (and precisely on p. 282.29 Ideler)<sup>33</sup> 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' work<sup>34</sup>.



From here on (and up to f. 11<sup>v</sup>) *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*)<sup>35</sup> variously attributed by ms. tradition, now and more likely to the monk Nicephorus Blemmydes, a learned polymath of the 13th Century<sup>36</sup>, and now to Maximus Planudes (1260-1310)<sup>37</sup>. 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)<sup>38</sup> 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) odes<sup>39</sup>.

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<sup>v</sup>): 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)<sup>40</sup>: Τὸ τρίτον ὑέλιον τὸ ῥοδονίζον, ξανθῆς γὰρ ἀπὸ χολῆς συνέβη τοῦτο· καὶ πάντῳ 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)<sup>41</sup>. As an example, the following is the passage from the ps.-Galenic treatise which corresponds to the above description of the “third glass”<sup>42</sup>:

(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<sup>v</sup>, 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<sup>v</sup>-13<sup>v</sup>) 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 Kühn<sup>43</sup>. From beginning to end, once again, Valla in his translation of the ps.-Galenic *excerptum* follows the text of *Mut.* continuously<sup>44</sup>, 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<sup>v</sup>):

(*Mut.*) Ἐ-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 πῶσα 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 subject<sup>45</sup>. 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 ὡοῦ **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 ὡοῦ 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 readers<sup>46</sup>. 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*)<sup>47</sup>.

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 film<sup>48</sup>. 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, γινώθι ὅτι ἡ χολὴ ὑπεροπτήσαν ὄλον τὸ σῶμα [...]<sup>49</sup>.

(*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 Latin<sup>50</sup>.

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 verbs<sup>51</sup>, 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 διαγράμματος) representing the various colours of soft urine<sup>52</sup>:

(*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);  
 ἰκτερικός (εἶναι): *arquatius* (fore chapter 5);  
 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);  
 ὕφεσις: *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)<sup>53</sup>. 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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1. Branca V, *L'Umanesimo veneziano alla fine del Quattrocento. Ermolario Barbaro e il suo circolo.* In: Arnaldi G, Pastore Stocchi M (eds), *Storia della cultura veneta. Dal Primo Quattrocento al Concilio di Trento.* Vol. III 1. Vicenza: Neri Pozza; 1980: 123-175, p. 164.
  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.
  5. For a summary of the positions on this subject, I refer to my Giorgianni F, *Tradizione e selezione del Corpus Hippocraticum nel De corporis humani fabrica di Teofilo*. In: Garofalo I, Lami A, Roselli A (eds), *Sulla tradizione indiretta dei testi medici greci*. Atti del II Seminario Internazionale di Siena (Certosa di Pontignano, 19-20 settembre 2008). Pisa-Roma: Fabrizio Serra; 2009: 43-77, p. 43f. with n. 5 and 6.
  6. Ieraci Bio AM, Symeon Seth, *Syntagma de alimentorum facultatibus: la versione latina misconosciuta di Giorgio Valla*. *Galenos* 2020;14:257-276.
  7. Cf. Rollo A, *Il perduto Archimede di Giorgio Valla*. In: Fera V, Gionta V, Rollo A (eds), *Archimede e le sue fortune*. Atti del Convegno di Siracusa-Messina (24-26 giugno 2008). Messina: Centro Internazionale di Studi Umanistici Università degli Studi di Messina; 2014: pp. 99-147.
  8. Ieraci Bio AM, Ref. 6. pp. 267-271.
  9. Ieraci Bio AM, *Per lo studio dell'umanesimo medico. L'Ippocrate di Giorgio Valla*. In: Manetti D, Perilli L, Roselli A (eds), *Ippocrate e gli altri*. Roma: Collection de l'École française de Rome; 2021. pp. 437-460 (quoted here according to the sections of the online edition).
  10. See also, on the structure and sources of the book *De poetica in De expt.*, the study by Magnani N, *L'enciclopedismo di Giorgio Valla fra umanesimo e scienze esatte: struttura e fonti del "De exptendis et fugiendis rebus"*. In: Casadei A, Fedi F, Nacinovich A, Torre A (eds), *Letteratura e Scienze*. Atti delle sessioni parallele del XXIII Congresso dell'ADI - Associazione degli Italianisti (Pisa, 12-14 settembre 2019). Roma: Adi; 2021. pp. 1-9 (<https://www.italianisti.it/publicazioni/atti-di-congresso/letteratura-e-scienze/Magnani.pdf>).
  11. Cavarra B, Cilione M, *Some dietary annotations in the work of Theophanes Chrysobalantes and his readers. Theoretical models between continuity and change*. In: Giorgianni F, Steger F, et alii (eds), *Medicine and philosophy. Health and Disease from Hippocrates to Byzantium*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner (forthcoming).
  12. Cavarra B, Cilione M, Ref. 11. 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. 9. p. 3), and this applies in particular to the book that interests us here, entitled *De corporis commodis et incommodis*.
  15. In addition to the aforementioned Branca V, Ref. 1, and Magnani N, Ref. 10, see also Branca V (ed.), *Giorgio Valla tra scienza e sapienza*. Firenze: Olschky; 1981; Raschieri



- AA, Giorgio Valla, Editor and Translator of Ancient Scientific Texts. In: Olmos P (ed.), *Greek Science in the Long Run: Essays on the Greek Scientific Tradition* (4th c. BCE-16th c. CE). Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing; 2012. pp. 127-149.
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. 9. 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. 9. p. 12; Cavarra B, Cilione M, Ref. 11. p. 2; on the peculiar place of medicine within the Vallian classification of sciences see also Magnani N, Ref. 10. p. 3.
  19. Ieraci Bio AM, Ref. 9. 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. 9. 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. 189.
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. 22.
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. 35. 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. 35. 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. 36. p. 311.
40. Kousis AP, Ref. 35. 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. 23. 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 † ψιλίου) the editor considered the *locus desperatus*, evidently because he did not know the parallel from *De urinis carmen*.
48. LBG (online), Ref. 38, 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 ὑμὴν ἐλαιώδης ἄνω τοῦ ὑέλου. There is also a perfect correspondence between the expressions ὡς τζύπα ἐλαίου and ὑμὴν 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.

