



SAPIENZA  
UNIVERSITÀ DI ROMA

## Giorgio Valla and Andronikos Kallistos: a Reappraisal



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E-ISSN 2531-7288  
ISSN 0394/9001



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### MEDICINA NEI SECOLI

Journal of History of Medicine  
and Medical Humanities

36/3 (2024) 95-104

Revised: 03.06.2024

Accepted: 04.09.2024

DOI: 10.13133/2531-7288/3027

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### ABSTRACT

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

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

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

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

The manuscripts from Andronikos' collection constitute, within Valla's, a very large corpus: 22 items, 20 of which are kept in Modena at the Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, 1 at the Vatican Library, and 1 at the Bodleian Library in Oxford. However, the latter two were moved away from the main group due to historical events before the group converged *en bloc* into the collection of the rulers of Ferrara<sup>1</sup>. As such, this batch of 22 manuscripts can be traced back with certainty to Kallistos insofar as they were copied and/or annotated by him<sup>2</sup>.

Strictly speaking, nothing would preclude the possibility that other manuscripts in Valla's library, devoid of Andronikos' notes, may have come from the collection of the latter anyway: a scholar does not always annotate the length and breadth of all his books. Over the years I carried out a thorough, now almost complete survey of the Greek manuscript kept in Modena and no other trace of books penned by Kallistos has turned up. I also examined manuscripts bearing Valla's *ex libris* nowadays kept at libraries other than Modena<sup>3</sup>: none of them displays annotations in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos. It is not the venue to review all 22 manuscripts. I shall only mention here that some are highly valuable, especially in the eyes of modern scholars dealing with issues of textual criticism and manuscript transmission. To mention but a few, one could introduce a handful of manuscripts which served as *Vorlagen* for the *editiones principes* by Aldus Manutius, thereby acting as a 'hinge' between manuscript and printed book traditions: this is the case, for example, with Mutin. α T.9.14 (Fig. 1), whose rich scholiastic material was used by Aldus to produce the printed text of the *Phaenomena* by Aratus. Incidentally, Greco-Latin annotations in Valla's own hand are found on the margins of several leaves of the codex.

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

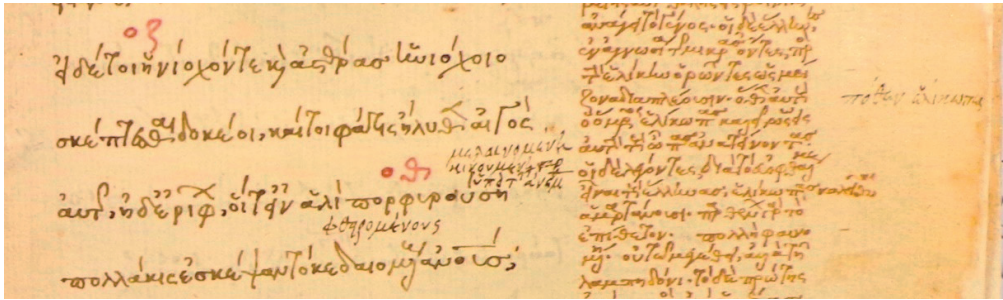


Fig. 1. Annotations in the hand of Giorgio Valla from Mutin. α T.9.14, f. 10r (copyst: Andronikos Kallistos)

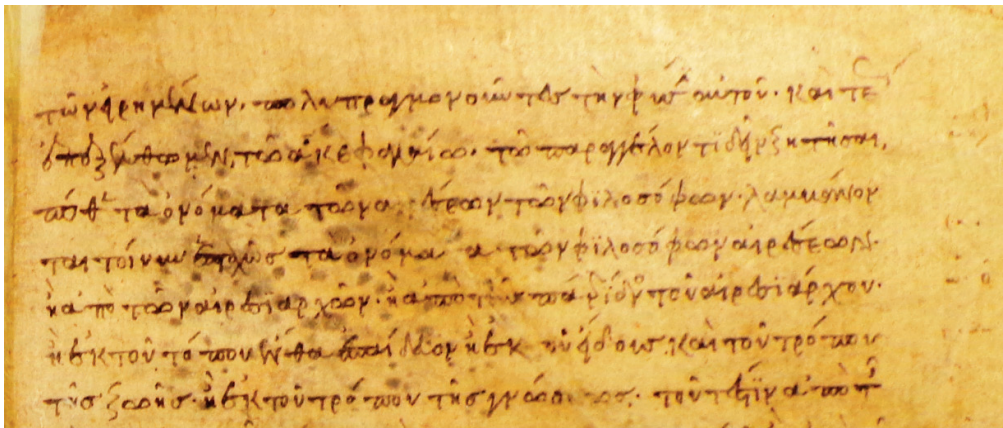


Fig. 2. Mutin. α W.2.1, f. 3r (codex unicus of Olympiodorus' commentary on Aristotle)

As for the timing of the inclusion of Andronikos' manuscripts in Giorgio Valla's collection, one shall rely on the studies of textual criticism. By shedding light on the contexts and moments of the making of copies of Kallistos/Valla manuscripts, research allows one to establish certain terms *ante quem* for the presence (or absence) of given volumes in Giorgio's collection. Some copies in the hand of Michael Suliardos – a scribe from Argos acting in the early 1490s in Northern Italy, between Florence and Venice – provide useful indications. Suliardos had on more than one occasion access to the books belonging to Valla's collection, which he took copies from<sup>5</sup>.

The entries in the private diary of Ianos Laskaris (that is, Vat. gr. 1412) referring to a batch of Andronikos' books (penned by himself [Ἀνδρονίκια γράμματα, “in Andronikos' script”; so in the words of Laskaris]) seen by Laskaris in Venice at Valla's among the latter's books (ἐν Βενετία ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Βάλλα) also date to the early 1490s<sup>6</sup>. Going back further, we can mention the case of the Mutin. α N.7.17 studied by Jean Irigoin, which is a codex containing the *Odes* of Pindar, penned by Iohannes Rhosos by 5 December 1485. A manuscript formerly belonging to Andronikos Kallistos, that is, Mutin. α T.9.14, has been identified by Irigoin as the model of Mutin. α N.7.17.

Moreover, the latter belonged to Lorenzo Loredan, Valla's pupil, and bears Loredan's *ex libris* (*in rasura*). The sum of data may indicate that by that date, i.e. 1485, Kallistos' manuscripts had already been purchased by Valla. From 1475 to 1485 a gap remained to be covered by about ten years. 1485 is, among other things, the year of the arrival of Valla in Venice, coming from Lombardy. It is therefore thought that it was in Lombardy, some time before 1485, i.e. in the early 1480s, that Valla put his hands on Kallistos' books<sup>8</sup>.

Be that as it may, the impact Andronikos' manuscript had on the Greek studies of Valla is remarkable. We shall recall here the most telling case of Valla's Latin translations of Greek texts, for which he benefitted from the use of volumes from Kallistos' collection. The translation of the peripatetic *Problemata* (attributed to Aristoteles and/or Alexander of Aphrodisias) is based on the Greek text transmitted by Mutin. α V.7.17; some passages may have been corrected with the aid of another source, i.e. another codex of Kallistos': it is Mutin. α P.5.20<sup>9</sup>. The translation of Plutarch's *Quaestiones naturales* derives likewise from Mutin. α V.7.17<sup>10</sup>. The Greek text of the aforementioned Mutin. α P.5.20 served for the translation of Galen's *De sectis*<sup>11</sup> and *De inaequali intemperie*<sup>12</sup>. Likewise, the Latin translation of Aristotle's *Poetica* stems from the Greek text found in Mutin. α T.8.3<sup>13</sup>. Finally, without mentioning the source (i.e. Nicephorus Blemmyda), Valla enriched his monumental treatise *De expetendis et fugiendis rebus* by making use of the XII-XIII century codex Oxon. Holkham Hall gr. 71<sup>14</sup>.

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

That said about the books, we shall now move on to another aspect, namely a not insignificant biographical and prosopographical clarification. Throughout the length and breadth of the specialised bibliography on Greco-Latin XV-century-Humanism, as well as in divulgation works aimed at a wider readership, one reads of a master-pupil relationship between Andronikos Kallistos and Giorgio Valla, the Byzantine master being said to have initiated Valla into Greek studies. One reads this in a number of contributions ranging from Heiberg's pioneering study<sup>15</sup> (which is still essential for a critical approach to the study of Valla's library) to more recent articles - such as Andrea Tessier's on a Venetian course on Sophocles held by Valla<sup>16</sup> - via Gianna Gardenal's account on life and works of Giorgio Valla, published in a collective volume edited in 1981 by Vittore Branca:

*Dopo aver appreso i primi rudimenti a Piacenza, all'età di quindici anni [Valla] si trasferì a Milano, ove frequentò le lezioni di lingua e filosofia greca tenute dall'umanista Costantino Lascaris. Qui rimase fino alla partenza di Lascaris da Milano, nel 1465, ed ebbe intensi contatti con intellettuali del calibro di Gian Giacomo Trivulzio. Per qualche tempo assolve l'incarico di precettore dei figli di Francesco Sforza. L'approfondimento dello studio del greco si realizza a seguito del trasferimento da Milano a Pavia: qui, infatti, egli poté attendere alle lezioni di un altro greco, Andronico Callisto<sup>17</sup>.*

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

*Nel 1465 [Valla] si trasferì a Pavia per studiare dialettica, filosofia e medicina; approfondì così la conoscenza del greco con Andronico Callisto e si dedicò agli studi scientifici sotto la guida del medico e matematico Giovanni Marliani. Da questo momento in poi la sua attività di insegnamento e i suoi interessi di ricerca si divisero equamente tra studi letterari, filosofici e scientifici in greco e latino<sup>18</sup>.*

The key element, around which the story of the alleged master-pupil relationship pivots, is the account by Ludovico da Ponte (also known, in the Latinized form of his name, as Ponticus Virunius), a humanist from Belluno and a pupil of Giorgio Valla<sup>19</sup>. In his commentary on the *Compendium* of Manuel Chrysoloras’ *Erotemata*, Ludovico da Ponte discusses the phenomenon of comparison and, with regard to the clause provided by Chrysoloras as an exemplum (Ἀνδρόνικος μείζων ἐστὶ Θεοδώρου ἐνὶ δακτύλῳ, i.e. “Andronikos is taller than Theodoros by a finger”), he allows himself to observe: *bene autem facit hanc comparationem Chrysoloras, quoniam amici erant Andronicus praeceptor nostri Georgii Vallae et Theodorus Gaza magnificus rector gymnasii Ferrariensis<sup>20</sup>*.

Building on this account, which was first acknowledged by Heiberg and remains to date the only evidence connecting Giorgio Valla with a Byzantine master named “Andronikos”, the popular notion that Valla learned Greek at the school of Kallistos originated. Yet the first problematic issue embedded in the account itself pertains to the relationship between this Andronikos and Theodoros Gazes. Ludovico speaks of Andronikos and Gazes in terms of “friends” (*amici erant*), whereas Andronikos Kallistos and Theodore Gazes were much more than friends. As we learn from other accounts, which it is not appropriate to dwell on in detail now, Andronikos was Gazes’ cousin by his mother’s side<sup>21</sup>. Of course, it could be objected in this sense that the spontaneous, mostly ‘anecdotal’ remembrance of Ponticus Virunius does not warrant ruling out altogether the possibility that he was speaking specifically of Kallistos. However, even if one were to accept this objection, one would be forced to ask: where would the contact between Kallistos and Valla have materialized? In which moment of their lives would the two have come to be in the same place?

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

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

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

As for Valla, one reconstructs his career as follows:

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

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

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

Cross-referencing data from contemporary epistolaries – above all that of Francesco Filelfo, a veritable mine of information on the movement of people and books in the fifteenth century – we are introduced to another Greek teacher, also named Andronikos, from the city of Καλλιπολις (today's Gelibolu, on the strait of the Dardanelles). Three letters from Filelfo<sup>22</sup> all dating to 1456 reveal that the addressee, a certain Andronikos Kallipolites, was active at that time in Lombardy, precisely in Pavia. Filelfo explicitly uses the words ἐν τῷ Τικίνῳ for the recipient's location; and *Ticinum* is, as is well known, the Latin name for Pavia. From Filelfo we learn that this Andronikos from Καλλιπολις was likewise a scholar cultivating grammatical and rhetorical interests and acting as a copyist and Greek teacher. Since I have been on his trail for a while, I have gathered a number of useful elements to identify him with a namesake fellow known to contemporary sources. This 'ad-

ditional' Andronikos has a peculiar surname/nickname: Kontoblakas. Andronikos Kontoblakas is remembered by his contemporaries for his surly temperament, for having come into contention with Guarino da Verona, for having maintained a friendly relationship with Filelfo<sup>23</sup>, and, finally, for having come to blows with Cardinal Bessarion, who had also supported him for long tracts of his career. If this assumption is right, we can at least hypothetically postulate the equivalence Andronikos of Kallipolis = Andronikos Kontoblakas<sup>24</sup>.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Bibliography and notes

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



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

5. I give here a summary list of instances of apographs in Suliardos' hand made from (<) Valla's manuscripts: Matr. 4612 < Mutin.  $\alpha$  T.8.3; Par. gr. 2600 < Mutin.  $\alpha$  Q.5.21; Ambr. C 32 sup. < Mutin.  $\alpha$  T.9.2 and  $\alpha$  T.9.14; Ambr. C 22 sup. < Mutin.  $\alpha$  T.9.14; Cantabr. UL Dd.XI.70 < Mutin.  $\alpha$  Q.5.20 and  $\alpha$  U.9.22; Voss. gr. Q° 33 < Mutin.  $\alpha$  U.9.22; Par. gr. 2166 < Mutin.  $\alpha$  P.5.20. In addition, there are in Modena at least other 3 manuscripts (or sections of manuscripts) belonging to Valla penned by Suliardos himself (Mutin.  $\alpha$  P.5.17;  $\alpha$  Q.5.16;  $\alpha$  T.9.6). For fresh considerations on the activity of Suliardos see the article of *Ciro Giacomelli* in : *Giacomelli C, Giorgio Valla as a translator of Aristotle. Philological remarks on his latin translation of poetics, Magna Moralia, and De Caelo. Medicina nei secoli 2024;36(2):135-152*. Regarding the copying of Greek manuscripts that took place in those years on the 'Venice-Florence axis' involving intellectuals such as *Angelo Poliziano*, *Ianos Laskaris* and his collaborators, see at least *Rollo A, Il perduto Archimede di Giorgio Valla*. In: *Fera V, Gionta D, Rollo A (eds), Archimede e le sue fortune. Atti del Convegno di Siracusa-Messina; 24-26 giugno 2008*. Messina: Centro Interdipartimentale di Studi Umanistici; 2012. pp. 99-147 and *Daneloni A, Per l'edizione critica delle note di viaggio del Poliziano*. Messina: Centro Interdipartimentale di Studi Umanistici; 2013.
6. See *Avezzù G, Ἀνδρονίκια γράμματα: per l'identificazione di Andronico Callisto copista*. Con alcune notizie su *Giano Lascaris* e la biblioteca di *Giorgio Valla*. In: *Atti e memorie dell'Accademia Patavina di scienze lettere ed arti 1989-1990; NS 102: 75-93*.
7. See *Irigoin J, Histoire du texte de Pindare*. Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck; 1952. p. 386-387.
8. The marks from the sale found in the manuscripts belonging to Kallistos, in combination with the appraisal of contemporary epistolary accounts and the discovery of new paleographic evidence (above all, the handwriting of the purchaser, *Bonaccorso da Pisa*) showed that, at the time of Valla's acquisition, the collection, until some time before tightly united, had already been dismembered when Valla was able to acquire a massive block of (at least) 22 units; see *Orlandi L, Ref. 1*. p. 134-137.
9. See *Kapetanaki S and Sharples RW (eds), Pseudo-Aristoteles (Pseudo-Alexander), Supplementa Problematorum*. Berlin: De Gruyter; 2006. p. 47.
10. See *Ieraci Bio AM, La versione latina di Giorgio Valla delle Quaestiones naturales di Plutarco*. *Galenòs 2021;15:139-173*.
11. *García Novo E (ed.), Galen. On the Anomalous Dyscrasia (De inaequali intemperie)*. Madrid: Editorial Complutense; 2010. p. 92.
12. See *García Novo E, Les éditions du traité de Galien De inaequali intemperie à la Renaissance*. In: *Boudon-Millot V and Cobolet G (eds), Lire les médecins grecs à la Renaissance. Aux origines de l'édition médicale. Actes du colloque international de Paris (19-20 September 2003)*. Paris: Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire de Médecine; 2004. pp. 187-198, in part. pp. 188-189; see also, *García Novo E, Ref. 11*.
13. See *Tarán L and Gutas D, Aristotle, Poetics. Editio Maior of the Greek Text with Historical Introductions and Philological Commentaries*. Leiden-Boston: Brill; 2012. pp. 45, 135-140. More in the paper by *Giacomelli C, Giorgio Valla as a Translator of Aristotle. Philological Remarks on his Latin Translations of Poetics, Magna Moralia, and De Caelo Medicina nei secoli 2024;36(2):135-152*.

14. Valente S, Nikephoros Blemmydes, *Epitome physica*. Untersuchungen zur handschriftlichen Überlieferung. Berlin: De Gruyter; 2021. p. 42. Annotations in the hand of Valla, which could open interesting perspectives of how he read Blemmydes' work, are e.g. at ff. 99r, 116r, 123v, 171r.
15. Heiberg JL, Beiträge zur Geschichte Georg Vallas und seiner Bibliothek. Leipzig: Nendeln; 1896 [repr. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz; 1968]. Additions are in Heiberg JL, Nachträgliches über Georg Valla. *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 1898;15:189-197.
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17. Gardenal G, Cronologia della vita e delle opere di Giorgio Valla. In: Branca V (ed.), *Giorgio Valla tra scienza e sapienza*. Florence: Olschki; 1981. pp. 93-97.
18. Raschieri AA, Valla, Giorgio. In: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 98. Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana; 2020. pp. 70-73. See also Raschieri AA, Cicero in the encyclopaedia of Giorgio Valla. *Ciceroniana on Line* 2020;4:317-335, in part. 318.
19. See Ricciardi R, Da Ponte, Ludovicus (Ponticus Virunius). In: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 32. Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana; 1986. pp. 720-723.
20. See also Rollo A, Ref. 5. p. 108 n. 1.
21. In the epistolary and archival sources from that time there is mention of Gazes as a consobrinus (cousin by mother's side), necessarius (relative, kinsman), consanguineus; see more in Orlandi L, Ref. 1. p. 3.
22. The text of these letters (with a French translation) is edited in Legrand É (ed.), *Cent-dix lettres grecques de François Filelfe*. Paris: Ernest Leroux; 1892. pp. 80-82 (epist. 41), 83-84 (epist. 43), 85-86 (epist. 44). See now the critical edition by De Keyser J, Francesco Filelfo. *Collected Letters. Epistolarum Libri XLVIII*. Alessandria: Edizioni Dell'Orso; 2015. pp. 657-658, 659-660, 665-666. I hereby correct with "three" the indication "two letters" given in Orlandi L, Ref. 1. p. 18 n. 90.
23. In the manuscript Parma, Bibl. Palatina, Fondo Parmense, 28 (ff. 37v-40v) an invective is handed down, composed by Kontoblakas against intellectuals from Brescia and Guarino Veronese. See Monfasani J, In Praise of Ognibene and Blame of Guarino: Andronicus Contoblakas' Invective against Niccolò Botano and the Citizens of Brescia. *Bibliothèque d'humanisme et Renaissance* 1990;52:309-321. Filelfo is mention as a friendly arbiter within this dispute.
24. Other elements supporting this identification are in Orlandi L, Ref. 1. pp. 18-22.
25. The text is edited (from Vat. Reg. lat. 1557 [ff. 34r-36v]) in Schmitt WO, Eine unbekannte Rede zum Lob der griechischen Sprache und Literatur. Zur literarischen Biographie des Humanisten Andronikos Kontoblakas. *Philologus* 1971;115:264-277. About the teaching activity of Kontoblakas we shall mention his (still inedited) Introduction to Greek Grammar (Εἰσαγωγή) which is handed down in two manuscripts, Vat. gr. 1822, ff. 146r-194r and Genoa, Durazzo-Pallavicini 234 (B VI 23), ff. 1r-44v. See more in Orlandi L, Ref. 1. p. 20 n. 104.
26. The text was printed in Legrand É, ref. 22, pp. 235-238 and Mohler L, Kardinal Bessarion als Theologe, Humanist und Staatsmann, vol. 3: Aus Bessarions Gelehrtenkreis. Paderborn: Schöningh; 1942 [repr. Aalen: Scientia-Verlag, 1967]. p. 561. After Bessarion's death Kontoblakas must have left Italy. The continuation of his career in Basel is known. He was also teacher of Johann Reuchlin, before the latter continued his studies of Greek in France under the guidance of Georgios Hermonymos; see Legrand É, Ref. 22. p. 238 and Schmitt WO, Ref. 25.