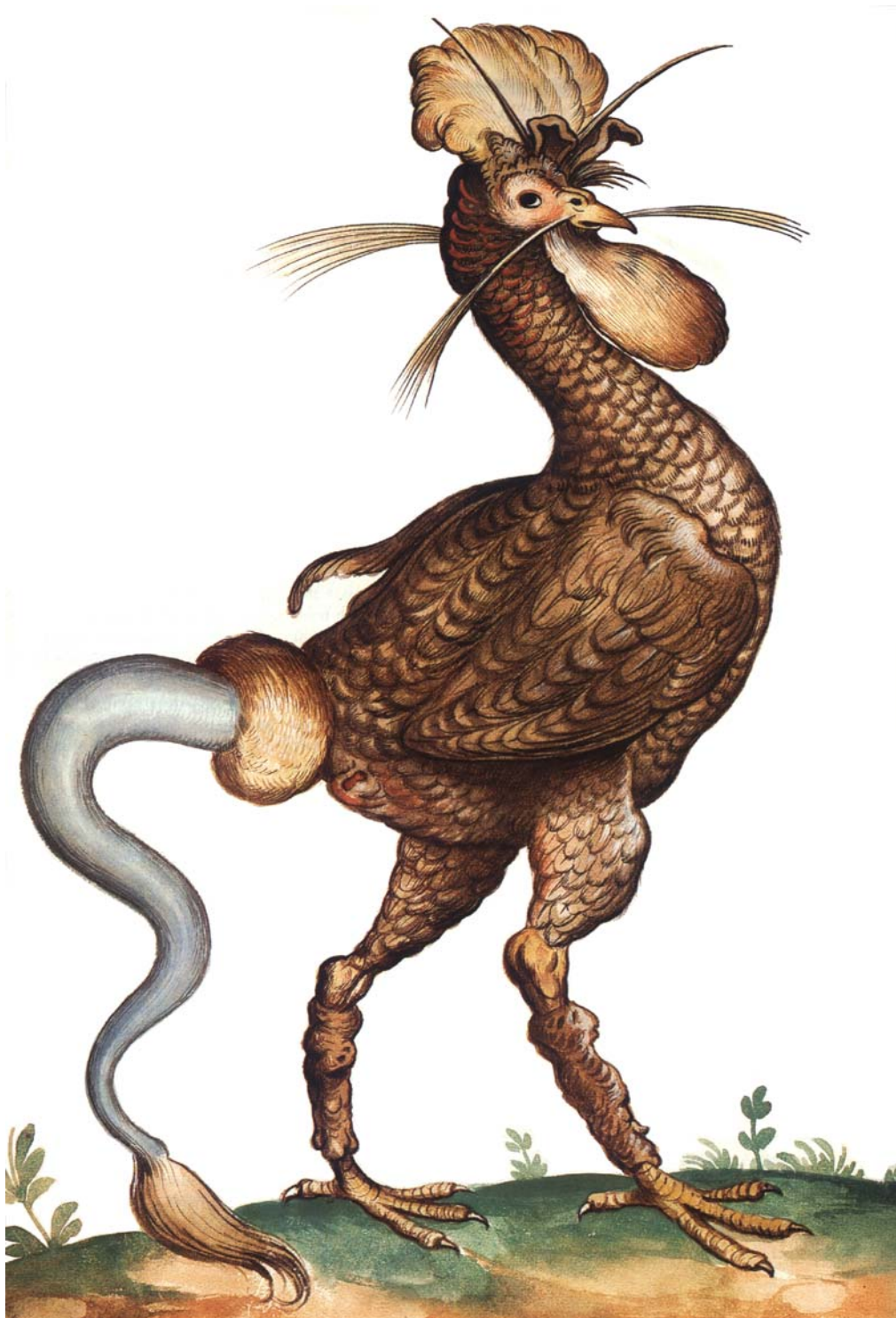


Elio Corti

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ALDROGALLUS



*Divo
Alberto Teutonico
atque
Gallinaceo generi
dicatus*

**Transcribed
by
Fernando
Civardi**

**Translated
by
Elio
Corti**

The Chicken of Ulisse Aldrovandi

April 26 - 2009

[183]
ULYSSIS ALDROVANDI
PHILOSOPHI, ET MEDICI
BONONIENSIS
ORNITHOLOGIAE
Liber Decimusquartus.
QUI EST
DE PULVERATRIBUS DOMESTICIS.

[183]
ULYSSES ALDROVANDI
PHILOSOPHER AND PHYSICIAN
OF BOLOGNA
FOURTEENTH BOOK OF
ORNITHOLOGY
CONCERNING
DOMESTIC DUST BATHING FOWLS

The translation began on Monday July 7 - 1997
 Planning of the job: Sunday July 7 - 2003
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 Reviewed by Roberto Ricciardi from page 183 to page 243
 Latin text transcribed by Fernando Civardi - 1996
 Reviewed by Elio Corti - 2009

The errors are only partly of typographical nature
 being quite a lot those of conceptual sort.
 948 is the total of the errors identifiable through the character {
 1,196 is the total of the errors identifiable through the character <
 1,072 is the total average number of the errors

The Greek text here reported doesn't correspond to the typographical one
 being the latter crammed with mistakes
 and that's why it has not been included in the computation
 whose total would result very higher.

Total of the Latin words: 87,385
 Percentage of the Latin errors: 1.226%

**The * - asterisk - following a word refers to the item present in Lessico of
www.summagallicana.it**

DE GALLO GALLINACEO
& GALLINA. Cap. I.

Claras, ni fallimur, easque satis efficaces rationes in primordio huiusce operis adduximus, cur a Pavone potius, quam a Gallinaceo genere exorsi fuerimus, tametsi hoc in omni avium familia, quae ad mensae usum requiruntur, apud omnes ferme authores, quotquot hactenus scripserunt, primas obtinere videatur. Placuit autem, ut id obiter dicamus, Plinium hac in re, tanquam ducem, authoremque sectari. Hic enim subinde a Pavonibus ad Gallinaceos sermonem convertit, dum ait: *Proxime gloriam sentiunt, et hi nostri vigilēs nocturni, quos excitandis in opera mortalibus, rumpendoque somno natura genuit: {novit} <norunt>*¹

CHAPTER I
THE COCK AND THE HEN

At the beginning of this work I brought forward clear, if I am not mistaken, and also rather valid reasons why I started from peacock rather than from gallinaceous genus, although the latter, among the whole class of birds sought for table, seems to hold the first place among almost all authors who have thus far written on them. I can say incidentally that in this respect I have chosen to follow Pliny* as guide and as reliable source. And precisely, from peacocks, he directly changes his subject to the fowls, when saying: *Nearly likewise - the peacocks - are longing for glory also these our nightly guardians Nature created for arousing mortals to their labor and for breaking their slumber: they are acquainted with the stars* etc. Meanwhile, I realize that somebody won't

¹ *Naturalis Historia* X, 46: *Norunt sidera. - Proxime gloriam sentiunt et hi nostri vigilēs nocturni, quos excitandis in opera mortalibus rumpendoque somno natura genuit. Norunt sidera et ternas distinguunt horas interdū cantu. Cum sole eunt cubitum quartaque*

sidera etc. Haud me fugit interim, non defutura cuiquam sua argumenta, quibus Gallinaceum hocce genus in multis, praecedentibus avibus praeferat. Veruntamen cum hae volucres prorsus domesticae sint, illae vero sylvestres, quae domesticis meo iudicio sunt praestantiores, vel saltem ita vulgo habentur, itaque Gallinaceam hanc familiam in hunc librum, qui privatim de ea tantum aget, reiecit.

Plurimi sane has alites veteres fecisse, maxime Gallos, vel ex hoc² Ciceronis constat, qui *non minus delinquere eum*, dixit, *qui Gallum Gallinaceum, cum non opus fuerit, occiderit, quam eum, qui patrem suffocaverit*. Nec ab re ita scripsit Tullius, cum praecipue hac ave prisci Graeci, et Romani in bello uterentur, et sacris suis adhiberent. Non minorem laudem meretur eius animositas, splendorque et amor erga suos, caeteraque eius dotes, quibus sese verum nobis egregii, laudabilisque patrisfamilias exemplar praebet.

Quantum vero ex hoc Gallo, eiusque coniugibus, ac liberis emolumenti humano generi, cum ad victum tam sanis, quam aegrotis suppeditandum, tum etiam ad quoscunque ferme morbos propulsandos cedat, id tam clarum cuius esse arbitramur, ut demonstratione prorsus non egeat. Quis etenim tam internus, quam externus corporis affectus, qui non hinc sua hauriat remedia?

Sed de hisce post suo loco: iam ad historiam more nostro accedamus: in qua tradenda illud fere in singulis rubricis observabimus: quae utriusque sexui communia sunt, praeferemus: hinc quae mari, ultimo quae faeminae soli conveniunt adducemus, omnem ubique quoad licuerit, confusionem evitaturi. De Capo vero separatim agere visum est, cum quod is, etsi ex Gallo factus veluti utriusque sexum complexus, et ceu hermaphroditus factus, medius scilicet inter Gallum, et Gallinam videatur, tum quia ad mensae vel sanorum, vel aegrorum usum duntaxat natus sit: Gallus vero, et Gallina soboli studentes genus suum natura duce aeternum reddant.

lack the arguments by which to place this gallinaceous genus before several previous birds. In spite of that, being these birds completely domestic, and being the other ones without doubt wild, which in my opinion are superior to the domestic ones, or at least are usually so considered, therefore I placed this gallinaceous family in this book which deals with it quite exclusively.

Without any doubt it is turning out evident that ancients highly esteemed these birds, overall the cocks, like it turns out from this passage of Cicero*, who said: *He was no less at fault who killed a rooster when there was no need to do so than he who choked his father*. And Tullius didn't write thus without a reason, since ancient Greeks and Romans mainly used this bird in warfare and assigned it to their sacred ceremonies. No less praise are deserving its courage and its magnificence, and the love toward its owns, and other its qualities by which it offers us itself as true example of matchless and praiseworthy family father.

No proof is required, for to whomever it is clear, how much benefits are arising for mankind from the rooster and from its females as well as from its offspring, not only by furnishing plentifully food for both healthy and sick humans, but also in holding off almost any kind of illness. And precisely, what body's illness both internal and external does not obtain its remedies hence?

But I shall speak of this matter later in its proper place: now according to my usual procedure I enter into the research: and in giving its account I will subdivide it practically in subchapters: I will begin with those things which are in common with both sexes: next I will report on what is concerning the male, and last the female alone, endeavoring anywhere to avoid as far as possible any confusion. It seemed wise to me to deal separately with the Capon, since, although created from the rooster, it almost seems to include both sexes and that it turned into a hermaphrodite, that is, something in between the cock and the hen, and moreover because it is born merely for the use at the table of both healthy and sick humans: so that cock and hen, devoting themselves to the offspring, can make eternal their progeny under the leadership of Nature.

castrensi vigilia ad curas laboremque revocant nec solis ortum incautis patiuntur obrepere diemque venientem nuntiant cantu, ipsum vero cantum plausu laterum.

² Cicero, *Pro Murena* 61: nec minus delinquere.

[184] AEQUIVOCA.

AMBIGUITIES

Ἄλεκτωρ, Ἀλεκτρυών Graecis, uti etiam Latinis Gallus, vox est aequivoca, et multa significat. Alector, teste Eustathio³, filius fuit Epei Regis Elidis. Eiusdem nominis filium dicitur habuisse Argea Pelopis filius, et Hegesandrae filiae Amiclae, cuius filia Iphiloche, vel Echemelus Megapenthi filio Menel^{e}ai nupta fuit, ut idem Eustathius tradit. Quidam Alectryon nomine tyrannidem quondam gessit, et Persis primus imperasse dicitur, etiam antequam vel Darius, vel {Megabyzus⁴} <Megabazus>: unde etiam Gallus, ut post dicemus, ales Persica appellatur⁵. Alectryon item nomen ducis est Philippi Regis, qui a Chare<te> Atheniensi interemptus fuisse fertur: at num cum superiori idem fuerit, vel, quod magis credo, diversus, non ausim affirmare: docet autem historia, hunc Charetem saepius, et nimis arroganter istius facti verba apud populum Atheniensem fecisse, adeo ut hinc postmodum natum sit proverbium Φιλίππου ἀλεκτρυών, id est *Philippi Gallus*⁶: ubi quis de levi quopiam facinore perinde ut maximo se iactaret. {Alectryon} <Electryon> quoque dicebatur {Amphitryonis} <Amphitryonis> {pater, filius} <patruus, frater> vero Alcei, cuius meminit Hesiodus⁷.

Ἄλεκτωρ Eustathio⁸ coniugem significat pro ὁμόλεκτρος, quasi ὁμόλεκτος, litera alpha

Aléktor, *alektryon* for Greeks, as also *gallus* for Latins, is an ambiguous term and means many things. Alector, according to the testimony of Eustathius*, was the son of Epeus*, king of Elis*. Argeios*, son of Pelops* and Hegesandra, daughter of Amicla*, is said to have had a son of the same name, whose daughter - of Alector - Iphiloche* or Echemela was bride of Megapenthes*, son of Menelaus*, as Eustathius of Thessalonica himself hands down. Once, someone named Alectryon ruled as tyrant, and they say that he has been the first ruling the Persians, even before both Darius* and Megabazus*: whence the rooster is also called the Persian bird, as I shall later say. Alektryon is the name of a commander of king Philip 2nd* too, about whom they say he was killed by the Athenian Chares*: whether he was identical with the former or, as I incline to believe, was a different person, I do not dare to assert: on the other hand history shows that this Chares related about this event too much often and with too much arrogance to Athenian people, so much so that subsequently hence arose the saying *Philippou alektryon*, to wit, *Cock of Philip*: when somebody was bragging about a trivial undertaking as though it was the biggest one. Was ~~also~~ called Electryon* the uncle of Amphitryon*, the former being brother of Alceus*, mentioned by Hesiod*.

Aléktor means wife in Eustathius, instead of *homólektros* - bedmate, equivalent to *homólektos*, the letter alpha

³ s. v. *Aléktor*, ad *Iliadem* II 615, p. 303; ad *Odysseam* IV 3-10, p. 1479, 21. Vedi W. H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griech. u. rom. Mythologie*, s.v. *Alektor*.

⁴ La notizia che un certo *Alektryon* fu tiranno dei Persiani prima di tutti, anche di Dario e di Megabazo - e non di Megabizo* -, viene dalla commedia di Aristofane *Gli uccelli*, 483. È probabile che Aldrovandi abbia dedotto l'errore dal testo di Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 404: Alectryon olim tyrannidem gessit, et Persis primus imperavit, etiam ante Darium et Megabyzum: unde etiamnum ab illo imperio Persica avis appellatur, Pisthetaerus apud Aristoph. in Avibus. - A sua volta Gessner potrebbe aver dedotto l'errore da qualche testo come quello di Aldo Manuzio del 1498 che riporta: *πρῶτον πάντων δαρείου καὶ μεγαβύζου*. - In *Aves* 481 sgg. si dice semplicemente che in origine gli uccelli regnavano sugli uomini, e Pistetero mostrerà immediatamente il gallo (*tὸν alektryóna*), come regnava sui Persiani, prima di tutti i Dari e i Megabazi, cosicché il gallo è chiamato "uccello persiano".

⁵ È il lessico Suida* che chiama *Persikós órnis* le *Alektorides*.

⁶ Confronta Zenolio, VI 34; Apostolio, 17, 86 A; Ateneo, *Deipnosophistai* XII,43,532e. In Ateneo si dice che Carete, che fu stratego ateniese e nel 337 aC combatté a Cheronea, fu l'uccisore di Adeo detto Alectryon, generale dei mercenari di Filippo.

⁷ Grande bagarre! Elettrione e Alceo erano fratelli, figli di Perseo. Anfitrione era figlio di Alceo, quindi era nipote di Elettrione, quindi Elettrione era zio di Anfitrione per via paterna - *patruus* in latino. Nello *Scudo* di Esiodo troviamo Elettrione Ἠλεκτρυών e sua figlia Alcmena, che talora va sotto il nome di Ἀλκμήνη, talora sotto quello di Ἠλεκτρυώνη, cioè Elettriona, la figlia di Ἠλεκτρυών. - Si emenda *pater* con *patruus* e *filius* con *frater*. - La fonte dello svarione è Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 404: Electryon memoratur Amphitryonis pater et filius Alcei, ut testis est Hesiodus in Aspide.

⁸ ad *Odysseam* IV 10, p. 1479, 29-30. - Aldrovandi dimostra, stavolta, un po' più di buona volontà linguistica rispetto a Gessner, il quale è invece più sintetico e non risulta pertanto esaustivo. Vediamo prima la questione linguistica degli omografi, poi citeremo lo sbrigativo Gessner. - *Aléktor* con alpha copulativa significa moglie, con alpha privativa significa vergine. Lo stesso accade per *álochos*: con alpha copulativa è la compagna di letto, la moglie, talora la concubina, con alpha privativa significa vergine, che non ha generato. - Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 402: Ἄλεκτωρ poetis uxorem significat, ἡ ὁμόλεκτρος, Eustathius: ut et ἄλοχος, item virginem lectum sive coniugium non expertam. sic Minervam ἀλέκτορα legimus, Idem. Pompeianus sophista cum Panathenaea festa celebrarentur Athenis, in quibus iudicia cessant, dixit: [...].

significante ὁμοῦ. Eadem vox alpha privandi vim habens innuptam significat, quare Minervam ἀλέκτορα dictam legimus apud Athenaeum⁹, ubi Pompeianus sophista cum Panathenaea festa celebrarentur, in quibus iudicia cessant dicebat: γενέθλιός ἐστι τῆς ἀλέκτορος Ἀθηνᾶς, καὶ ἄδικος ἡ τῆτες ἡμέρα.

Apud Ionem¹⁰ αὐλὸς, hoc est, tibia, ἀλέκτωρ vocatur, quod propter soni dulcedinem auditores a cubili revocet, vel dormire non sinat. Unde etiam sol Homero ἠλέκτωρ¹¹ nuncupatur, quia homines ἄλεκτρούς facit, sive a lecto discedere, vel potius quod ipse ἀλέκτρως, id est, pervigil sit, hoc est nunquam cubet, ac quiescat.

Ἀλέκτωρ denique Plinio¹² gemma est, de qua post in denominatis: nam alii codices Pliniani legunt ἀλέκτορας; alii ἀλεκτορείας.

Gallus, ut scriptum reliquit Quintilianus¹³, vox pariter ambigua est; *Utrum enim, inquit, avem, an gentem, an nomen, an fortunam corporis significet incertum est.* Galli in primis vocabantur decantati illi sacerdotes, qui praesto erant sacris Cybele<i>is. Hos archigallos Iulius Firmicus¹⁴ vocabat teste Brodae. Romae epitaphium videre est in Divo Martino, ubi quoque archigalli dicuntur. Id autem est huiusmodi: D. M. C. CAMERIUS CRESCENS ARCHIGALLUS {MARTIS} <MATRIS> DEUM MAGNAE ID<A>EAE¹⁵, ET ATTIS PO. RO. etc. Meminit huius epitaphii

signifying *homoû* - together. When this same word has an alpha with privative meaning, indicates *unmarried*, that's why we read in Athenaeus* that Minerva* is called *aléktor* in the passage where Pompeianus the sophist, being that the Panathenaic* festival was celebrated when law court trials are suspended, was saying: *ghenéthliós esti tês aléktoros Athênâs, kai ádikos ë têtes hêméra* - it is the birthday of Athena* *aléktoros* - the virgin - and this is an unjust day.

By Ion of Chios* the *aulôs*, i.e. the flute, is called *aléktor* because through the sweetness of the sound it calls from their bed those who hear it, that is, does not allow them to sleep. Hence also the sun is called *êléktor* - shining sun - by Homer*, because it makes men *álektrous*, i.e. it causes them to leave their bed, or better, because the sun itself is *aléktros*, that is, always vigilant, i.e. never going to bed nor resting.

Finally, *aléktor* is a gem* in Pliny*; about what I shall speak later under the paragraph *Denominations*: because some codices of Pliny read *aléktoros* and others *alektoρείας*.

As Quintilian* left written, also *gallus* is an ambiguous word; he says: *It is uncertain whether it means a bird, a people, a personal name*, or a state of the human body.* First of all were called *Galli* those extolled priests* devoted to the worship of Cybele*. As testified by Jean Brodeau*, Iulius Firmicus* called them *archigalli*. At Rome one can see an epitaph in St. Martin's church*, and here too they are called *archigalli*. It runs as follows: D. M. C. CAMERIUS CRESCENS* ARCHIGALLUS MATRIS DEUM MAGNAE IDAEAE ET ATTIS* PO. RO. etc. Giglio Gregorio Giraldi* mentioned this epitaph, who also reports Tertullian's* words about a certain chief of the priests of Cybele. On

⁹ *Deipnosophistai* III,53,98b.

¹⁰ I assume that Aldrovandi is speaking of Ion of Chios here, but I can find nothing about the flute in the testimonia on Ion carefully collected by Felix Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, III B (Leiden, Brill, 1950), 276-84, XV. Chios 392. Ion of Chios, nor in the fragments of his poems in E. Diehl *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca* I (1936) 83-87. The reference is found in Athenaeus, 4. 184b: Ion in his *Phoenix* or *Caeneus* (*Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* 740, ed. by A. Nauck). (Lind, 1963) - Il frammento di Ione di Chio si trova in TGF (*Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*) 740N², riportato correttamente da Lind. - Lind avrebbe potuto evitare questa laboriosa ricerca se avesse avuto tra le mani Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 402: Ion Tragicus tibiam quoque ἀλέκτορα dixit, quod propter soni eius suavitatem auditores λέγεσθαι, id est dormire nolint, Eustathius.

¹¹ Lorenzo Rocci (*Vocabolario Greco-Italiano*): *êléktor* significa il sole in *Iliade* 6,513. Quindi Lind cade in errore traslitterando il testo di Aldrovandi relativo a *êléktor* in *aléktor*, una traslitterazione che non gli permette così di reperire il riferimento all'*Iliade* citato correttamente da Aldrovandi: «Homer *Battle of the Frogs and the Mice* 191-92: "I lay sleepless, my head aching, until the cock crowed." This is the only use of the word *alektor* in Homer and nothing is said in reference to the sun. (Lind, 1963)».

¹² *Naturalis Historia* XXXVII,144: Alectorias vocant in ventriculis gallinaceorum inventas crystallina specie, magnitudine fabae, quibus Milonem Crotoniensem usum in certaminibus invictum fuisse videri volunt.

¹³ *Institutio oratoria* VII, 9,II: Singula adferunt errorem cum pluribus rebus aut hominibus eadem appellatio est (<h>onymia dicitur), ut "gallus" avem an gentem an nomen an fortunam corporis significet incertum est, [...] (www.thelatinlibrary.com)

¹⁴ *De errore profanarum religionum* 27.8.

¹⁵ IDA: alta catena dell'Asia Minore, che dalla Frigia si estende attraverso la Misia (quindi anche attraverso la Troade); la sua vetta più alta, detta Gargara, era celebre per il culto di Cibebe. IDAEUS: dell'Ida. La *Idaea mater* o *parens deum* (*deorum*) era Cibebe. IDA: antico nome del monte Kazdağ (1774 m), nella Turchia nord-occidentale, 60 km a SE di Troia, da cui nascono i fiumi Scamandro e Simoenta. Vi sorgeva un tempio famoso alla dea Cibebe, detta anche Idea. Secondo la mitologia vi avvennero il rapimento di Ganimede e l'episodio del giudizio di Paride.

{Grysaldus} <Gyraldus>¹⁶, qui Tertulliani¹⁷ etiam verba de quodam Archigallo¹⁸ repetit{:}<.> Caeterum Galli sacerdotes ita dictos volunt a flumine eiusdem nominis, cuius tam admirandam vim esse commenti sunt prisci, nimirum quod parce potus et cerebrum purget, et insaniam tollat: contra largiori manu haustus lymphaticos, et insanos reddat. Plinius¹⁹ quidem hos sacerdotes ab hoc fluvio nomen traxisse scribit: sed tam admirandae facultatis minime meminit. Alii sacerdotes illos mox a potu eiusmodi aquae furore correptos fuisse memorant, atque se ipsos castravisse, id vero citra vitae dispendium facere non potuisse, nisi Samia testa uterentur. Meminit Ovidius²⁰:

*“Cur igitur Gallos, qui se excidere vocamus{?}<.>
Cum tantum a Phrygia Gallica distet humus?”
“Inter” ait “viridem Cybelen, altasque {Selenas}
<Celaenas>*

Amnis it insana nomine Gallus aqua.

*Qui bibit inde, furit: procul hinc discedite, queis est
Cura bonae mentis, qui bibit inde furit.”*

Quidam²¹ Gallum puerum putaverunt, qui contracta offensa Deae se executerit, et simul fluvio nomen fecerit. Fluvium illum in Sangarium evolvi nescius non sum: at minime credam tam noxiam fluminis vim fuisse, ut homines, vel furibundos redderet, vel enecaret. Quantum vero virium semper habuerint ad

the other hand the *Galli* priests claim to be so called from a river of the same name* whose strength the ancients imagined to be so extraordinary because just a very small drink of it both purges the brain and dispels insanity: on the contrary, a drink done with more generous hand makes furious and mad. Pliny indeed writes that these priests have drawn the name from this river, but he does not in the least mention a such amazing power. Others are relating that those priests were immediately seized by fury in drinking such a water, and that they castrated themselves, but they could not have done this without losing their life, unless they had used a Samian* earthenware pot. Ovid* said:

*“Why then we call Galli those who castrate themselves,
being that the Gallic land is so far from Phrygia?**

“Between the green mount Cybele” she says “and the lofty - town
of - Celaenas**

flows a river named Gallus whose water is deranging.

*He who drinks from it goes mad: get far away from here you to
whom*

*it does matter to have a sound mind, he who drinks from it becomes
frantic.”*

Some people thought that Gallus was a boy who, having offended the Goddess, castrated himself, and at the same time gave his name to the river. I am quite aware that that river is pouring into the Sangarius*: but I am not inclined at all to believe that the strength of the river was so evil to make men incensed or to kill them. Whoever is ignorant of how many importance had the empty superstitions for

¹⁶ Giglio Gregorio Giraldi, *Historiae Deorum Gentilium* Syntagma IV (Basileae, Oporinus 1548) pag.191: {Epitaphium} <Epitaphius> est Romae in S. {Martina} <Martino> in montibus, dignum ut hic ascribatur: D. M. C. Camerius Crescens Archigallus Matris Deum Magnae Idaeae et Attis Po. Ro. Vivus Sibi Fecit et Camerio Eucrati<a>no Lib. Suo. C{a}eteris autem Libertis Utriusque Sexus Loca Singula Sepulturae Causa. H.M.H.<E.>N.S. [...] Ridet Tertullianus <Apologeticus 25,5> his verbis eum qui pro Caesare precabatur, qui iam defunctus erat. M. Aurelio, inquit, apud Sirmium reipublicae exempto, die XVI. Kalend. April. Archigallus ille sanctissimus die nono Kalend. earundem, quo sanguinem impurum lacertosque castrando libabat, pro salute Imperatoris Marci iam intercepti. - D.M. sta per Dis Manibus, cioè, agli dei Mani*. - Il testo dell'iscrizione riferito da Aldrovandi e quello di Giraldi è stato emendato grazie al Professor Andrea Pellizzari (Grava - AL) che ha tratto dal *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum** VI, Pars I (1876), No. 2183 quanto segue: C(aius) Camerius Crescens Archigallus Matris Deum Magnae Idaeae et Attis populi Romani vivus sibi fecit et Camerio Eucrati<ano> lib(erto) suo ceteris autem libertis utriusque sexus loca singula sepulturae H.M.H.E.N.S. [h(oc) m(onumentum) h(eredem) e(xternum) n(on) s(equetur)] - Atti era un pastore frigio amato da Cibebe.

¹⁷ *Apologeticus* 25,5: Scilicet ista merces a Romanis deis pro gratia expensa est. Sterculus et Mutunus et Larentina provexit imperium. Peregrinos enim deos non putem extraneae genti magis fautum voluisse quam suae, et patrium solum, in quo nati, adulti, nobilitati sepultique sunt, transfretanis dedisse. Viderit Cybele, si urbem Romanam ut memoriam Troiani generis adamavit, vernaculi sui scilicet adversus Achivorum arma protecti, si ad ultores transire prospexit, quos sciebat Graeciam Phrygiae debellatricem subacturos. Itaque maiestatis suae (scilicet Cybelis) in urbem conlatae grande documentum nostra etiam aetate proposuit, cum Marco Aurelio apud Sirmium subito interempto die sexto decimo Kalendarum Aprilium archigallus ille sanctissimus die nono Kalendarum earundem, quo sanguinem impurum lacertos quoque castrando libabat, pro salute Marci iam intercepti solita aequae imperia mandavit.

¹⁸ Il vocabolo ha il significato di “capo di sacerdoti di Cibebe”, non è un nome proprio di persona.

¹⁹ *Naturalis Historia* V,147: Attingit Galatia et Pamphyliae Cabaliam et Milyas qui circa Barim sunt et Cyllanicum et Oroandicum Pisidiae in ea praeter iam dicta Saggarium et Gallus, a quo nomen traxere Matris deum sacerdotes.

²⁰ *Fasti* IV, 361-366: ‘Cur igitur Gallos qui se excidere vocamus,|cum tanto a Phrygia Gallica distet humus?’|‘Inter’ ait ‘viridem Cybelen altasque Celaenas|amnis it insana, nomine Gallus, aqua.|Qui bibit inde, furit: procul hinc discedite, qu<e>is est|cura bonae mentis: qui bibit inde, furit.’ (www.thelatinlibrary.com)

²¹ Stefano Bizantino, s. v. *Gállos*, Erodiano, *Peri mon. lèx.* I 11.2, Suida, Strabone, Platone ecc. - Erodiano: storico greco (Siria sec. II-III). Visse a Roma e compose una storia dell'impero dalla morte di Marco Aurelio a Gordiano III (180-238), in 8 libri.

homines dementandos vanae superstitiones qui nescit, is alienus non modo ab omni historiarum lectione, sed vitae etiam communis usu. Unde etiam proverbialiter dicimus²² Γάλλους τί τέμνεις, id est, Gallos quid execas²³, pro quid actum agis.

A quibus sacerdotibus quam bene Baptista Pius, ut id obiter dicamus, Gallos populos per {convitium} <convicium> Romanorum nomen fuisse adeptos colligat, ipse viderit: quasi scilicet, quod exectorum hominum nomina haberent.

Quis obsecro [185] tam vecors, tam communis sensus expers, ut sic cogitet Gallos perpetuo Romani nominis hostes nomen sibi, vel accipere, vel retinere voluisse, quod hostium contumelia imposuisset? Quod si tamen quis ita sentiat, ego eum non testiculis profecto, sed cerebro carere dixerim. Neminem interim latere existimo, Gallos Europae populos a candore dictos a Gala, quae vox lac Latinis dicitur. Nam montes, et rigor Caeli ab ea parte Solis ardorem excludunt, ut eorum corpora non {colerentur} <colorentur>²⁴.

Persarum milites Cares Gallos nuncupabant²⁵, ob conos, quibus galeas ornatas habebant, eaque de causa {Artoxerses} <Artaxerses> hominem e Caria, qui {Cirum} <Cyrum> iaculo vulnerasse creditus est, eo cohonestavit praemio, ut Gallum aureum in lancea praefixum ante aciem ferret. Verum Athenaeus²⁶ Gallos scribit in Perside primum

driving men crazy is unacquainted not only with reading historical works - with the lesson coming from historical events, but also with a common experience of life. Hence also in a proverb we say *Gállous tí témneis*, i.e., why do you castrate the Galli* - priests, instead of saying why do you do something already done.

To say it incidentally, everyone might judge how correctly Baptista Pius* is concluding that the peoples of the Gauls* had obtained the name from these priests by an insult of the Romans: that is, so to speak, because they had the name of castrated men.

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Please, who is so silly, so devoid of common sense, as to suppose that Gauls*, always enemies of the Roman people, should have wished either to accept or to retain a name that had attached to them an insult by enemies? If somebody is however thinking in such a way, I should take the liberty of saying that without any doubt he is lacking not testicles, but brain. Anyway I think that no one is in ignorance of the fact that European peoples of Gauls are so called from the snowy whiteness, from *gála*, a word which in Latin is said *lac* - milk. For the mountains and the harsh climate keep away the fierce heat of the sun from those regions, so that their bodies don't get tanned.

Persian soldiers called roosters the Carians* because of the crests by which their helmets were adorned, and for this reason Artaxerxes II* honored a Carian man, believed to have wounded Cyrus the Younger* with a javelin, by such a reward that he was carrying in front of the battle line a golden cock stuck on the top of a staff. On the contrary Athenaeus* writes that the cocks first originated in Persis* and thus perhaps the Persians got

²² Conrad Gessner in *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 402, riporta, come è logico, *Gállous* con la iniziale maiuscola, per cui correggiamo Aldrovandi che stavolta usa la minuscola. Si vede che la G maiuscola la usava solo per termini latini, generando così confusione quando in alcuni passi è problematico identificare il gallo o i Galli - i Francesi - oppure i Galli - i sacerdoti di Cibele - e chi più ne ha più ne metta.

²³ *Gállous tí témneis* (cfr. Leutsch-Schneidewin, *Appendix Proverbiorum*, in Leutsch-Schneidewin *Paroemiographi Graeci* I 67, *Gallisti témnein*).

²⁴ Questa etimologia è del tutto infondata: *gallus*, *Gallia*, derivano da una radice che ha i suoi esiti linguistici nell'irlandese *gall*- 'straniero', nel cimbrico *gall*- (idem), nel gallico *gallus*, *Gallia*.

²⁵ Plutarco*, *Artaxerses* 10,3. - [10] Dinon then affirms that, after the death of Artaxerses, Cyrus, furiously attacking the guard of Artaxerxes, wounded the king's horse, and so dismounted him, and when Teribazus had quickly lifted him up upon another, and said to him, "O king, remember this day, which is not one to be forgotten," Cyrus, again spurring up his horse, struck down Artaxerxes. But at the third assault the king being enraged, and saying to those near him that death was more eligible, made up to Cyrus, who furiously and blindly rushed in the face of the weapons opposed to him. So the king struck him with a javelin, as likewise did those that were about him. And thus Cyrus falls, as some say, by the hand of the king; as others by the dart of a Carian, to whom Artaxerxes for a reward of his achievement gave the privilege of carrying ever after a golden cock upon his spear before the first ranks of the army in all expeditions. For the Persians call the men of Caria cocks, because of the crests with which they adorn their helmets. (translated by John Dryden)

²⁶ *Deipnosophistai* XIV,70,655a - Si tratta di un'ennesima dimostrazione di come le citazioni propinate da Aldrovandi siano aleatorie e capaci di costringere a dichiarare che quanto affermato da Ateneo non esiste. Infatti Lind così si esprime: No such reference appears in Athenaeus so far as I can discover, although the rooster is called the Persian bird in 9. 374d. Aristophanes is the more

ortos, ideoque fortasse cognomentum id Persae acceperint, vel ab Alectryone, quem eis primum imperasse paulo ante diximus²⁷: Unde et Aristophanes, ut eius est mos omnes illudere, Gallum ait Persis olim praefuisse, atque hinc cristatos adhuc gerere cassides: verba Aristophanis alias citabo.

Gallus item quidam Centaurus fuit, a quo secundum Pincernam regum eximie amatum fuisse author est {Nicander}²⁸ <Aelianus>. Nunquid autem Centaurus idem fuerit cum Centoarato, de quo sic meminit Aelianus²⁹: Antiochi equus, ut dominum suum ulcisceretur, Gallo nomine Centoarati, qui Antiochum in pugna interfecerat, necem intulit, difficile est iudicare. Est etiam Gallus Imperatoris nomen, cui Constantius magni Constantini filius Caesaris dignitatem concessit. Sed cum comperisset, hunc regnum adfectare, ad tyrannidem proruere, nihil non moliri, quo voti compos fieret, omni conatu eius anteverso, caput ei praecidi curavit: deinde Galli fratrem, porcum illum foetidum, Iulianum corona Cesarea cohonestavit, ut narrat Constanti<n>us Manasses³⁰. Alii vero Gallum illum longe antiquiorem faciunt, et simul cum Volusiano Decio in imperio

that nickname, or from Alectryon, who, as I said shortly before, has been their first ruler: whence Aristophanes*, as it is his custom to mock everyone, says that once a cock ruled Persians, and that's why they are still wearing crested helmets: I shall quote Aristophanes words another time.

Alike there was a cock called Centaur*, by which, according to Nicander* Aelian*, a servant royal cup bearer was uncommonly loved. On the other hand it is difficult to judge whether the Centaur* was corresponding to Centoarates* mentioned by Aelian as follows: the horse of Antiochus I Soter*, in order to avenge his master, slew a Gaul - a Galatian - named Centoarates who had killed Antiochus in battle. Gallus Constantius* is also the name of an emperor, to whom Constantius II*, son of Constantine the Great*, bestowed the Caesar's dignity. But when he learned that he was endeavoring in order to achieve the supremacy and that he was throwing himself into the tyranny, that anything was plotting in order to see his aspirations realized, Constantius, after he got the upper hand over any attempt of him, arranged his head cut off: then he honored with the Caesar's crown the brother of Gallus, that stinking pig Julian Apostate*, as Constantinus Manasses* relates. To tell the truth others are thinking that that Gallus was far more ancient - Trebonianus* -

likely source. (Lind, 1963) § Aldrovandi ha tratto la citazione da Gessner cambiando *natos* in *ortos*, amputando però Menodoto di Samo, che è indispensabile se vogliamo localizzare la Perside in Ateneo, salvo conoscere Ateneo a memoria. Vediamo prima Gessner e poi Ateneo. Ci accorgeremo che Lind ha pienamente ragione. § Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 381: Gallinaceos (*alektryónas*, pro toto genere) aiunt in Perside primum natos, atque inde alio deportatos esse, Menodotus Samius apud Athenaeum. § Ateneo *Deipnosophistai* XIV,70,655a: Μηνόδοτος δὲ Σάμιος ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Σαμίας Ἥρας φησὶν 'οἱ ταοὶ ἱεροὶ εἰσὶ τῆς Ἥρας. καὶ μήποτε πρῶτιστοι καὶ ἐγένοντο καὶ ἐτράφησαν ἐν Σάμῳ καὶ ἐντεῦθεν εἰς τοὺς ἔξω τόπους διεδόθησαν, ὡς καὶ οἱ ἀλεκτρυόνες ἐν τῇ Περσίδι καὶ αἱ καλούμεναι μελεαγρίδες ἐν τῇ Αἰτωλίᾳ.' - Menodoto di Samo nel trattato relativo alle cose che riguardano il tempio di Era di Samo dice: "I pavoni sono consacrati a Era. E forse i primi fra tutti ebbero origine e furono allevati in Samo e da qui si diffusero all'estero, come anche i galli in Perside e le cosiddette meleagridi in Etolia." (traduzione di Elio Corti, 2007) - Menodotus the Samian also, in his treatise *On the Treasures in the Temple of the Samian Hera*, says: "The peacocks are sacred to Hera; and perhaps Samos may be the place where they were first produced and reared, and from thence it was that they were scattered abroad over foreign countries, in the same way as cocks were originally produced in Persia, and the birds called guinea-fowl (μελεαγρίδες) in Aetolia." (translated by C.D.Yonge, 1854)

²⁷ A pagina 184.

²⁸ The reference to Nicander is a false one since there is no mention of Gallus in the latest edition of his *Theriaca* and *Alexipharmaca* by A. S. F. Gow and A. F. Scholfield (Cambridge University Press, 1953); both stories of Gallus and Centoarates are in Aelian. (Lind, 1963) - Infatti non è Nicandro, bensì Eliano, *La natura degli animali* XII 37, la fonte del gallo di nome Centauro: Un gallo di nome Centauro si innamorò del coppiere di un re (il re era Nicomede di Bitinia). Questa storia ci è stata tramandata da Filone. (traduzione di Francesco Maspero) - La causa dell'errata citazione attribuita a Nicandro è Gessner, ma la causa prima è Lodovico Ricchieri*, come possiamo desumere da Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 385: Auctor Nicander est, Secundum, qui pincerna regius fuit in Bithynia, a gallo amatum eximie cui nomen foret Centaurus, Caelius.

²⁹ *La natura degli animali*, VI,44. - Cfr. Plinio, *Naturalis historia* VIII,158: Phylarchus refert Centaretum e Galatis, in proelio occiso Antiocho, potitum equo eius conscendisse ovantem, at illum indignatione accensum domitis frenis, ne regi posset, praecipitem in abrupta isse exanimatumque una.

³⁰ Constantius [Constantinus] Manasses (c. A.D. 1143-80), Byzantine historian. The first edition of his *Annales* (ed. by J. Leunclavius) was published at Basle in 1573. The same author's *Historiae* were edited by I. Bekker in the *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* at Bonn in 1837. As the *Synopsis of History (Compendium Chronicum)*, they also appear in *Patrologia Graeca*, Vol. 127 (J. P. Migne, 1857), chapter 49 (ed. by J. Leunclavius). (*Patrologia Graeca* is hereafter cited as *P. G.*) (Lind, 1963)

successisse scribunt, imperioque biennium et menses octo potitum fuisse.

Quidam cognomento Milo Gallus dicebatur, qui Caroli Calvi temporibus floruit, et ad eum ipsum quae de sobrietate carmina conscripsit, misit. Condidit et Sancti Amandi{s} vitam, cuius caenobii ipse Antistes fuit anno post partum salutiferum 880. Est et Gallus Sancti Confessoris nomen, ut refert Beda³¹, cuius vita plena virtutibus conscripta habeatur. Erat autem beati martiris Ignatii diaconus, qui episcopus factus viam magistri pius imitator sequutus, pro commendato grege, Christi amato<r> occubuit. Fuit et Gallus alius Columbani abbatis discipulus. Hic et Hildeboldus diaconus pisciculos, quos de flumine reticulo traxerant in solitudine assaturi, ignem concinnabant, cum interim ursus mirae magnitudinis <qui> propius accedens diaconum quidem terrisset, iubente Gallo, ut ligna igni inferret, obedivit, ut Marcus Marulus Spalatensis³² memoriae prodidit. Quod sane hic referendum duximus, ut qui praepositis suis reniti audent, tali exemplo magis confundantur, quando, et sylvestres ferae iussa sanctorum revereantur, et observent.

Hermolaus³³ iubas, et capillos Graecis alectoridas dici asserit. Et mola matricis Sylvatico³⁴ Gallus matricis dicitur, forte ob similitudinem. Nam et Amatus Lusitanus³⁵ meminit cuiusdam mulieris, quae geminos

and write that he succeeded to the empire together with Volusianus* Decius* [?] and that he seized power for two years and eight months.

Someone, who stood out in the time of Charles the Bald*, was named Milo Gallus* and just to him he dedicated the poetry he had written on sobriety. He also wrote a life of Saint Amandus*, of whose monastery he himself was prior in the year 880[?] after the rescuer delivery - of Mary. As Bede* tells us, Gallus* is also the name of a holy confessor, whose biography would be overflowing of virtuous acts. In fact - Heron* - was deacon of the blessed martyr Ignatius*, and when became bishop he followed the way of his master as a scrupulous imitator, and being fond of Christ he fell for the flock entrusted to him. And another Gallus* was pupil of abbot Columbanus*. He and the deacon Hildebold were building the fire in a lonely place to roast some little fish they had pulled out from a river by a small net; at that moment a bear of uncommon size, who in approaching frightened the deacon, obeyed Gallus who was ordering to him to add wood to the fire, as Marcus Marulus* from Spalato has recorded. We have referred that just at this point, in order that those who dare to set themselves against their superiors should more be troubled by such an event, since also wild animals observe the biddings of saints and follow them.

Hermolaus Barbarus* asserts that manes and hair are called *alectoridas** by Greeks. Also the uterine mole* - maternal mole* - is called uterine cock - maternal cock - by Matthaues Sylvaticus*, perhaps because of a similarity. For also Amatus Lusitanus* - alias João

³¹ *Martyrologium*. (Aldrovandi) - Per motivi pratici - e per non creare eccessiva confusione - si emenda solo parzialmente il testo di Aldrovandi: *amator* invece di *amato*. Sta di fatto che il testo di Aldrovandi dà vita a un nuovo santo: San Gallo, ex diacono di Sant'Ignazio vescovo di Antiochia. Questo novello San Gallo, anch'egli vescovo di Antiochia, non è mai esistito. Per la discussione relativa a questa trovata di Ulisse si rimanda alla voce Erone* del lessico. Ecco il testo di Beda - inspiegabilmente amputato da Aldrovandi - tratto dal *Martyrologium* e contenuto in *Patrologia Latina* curata da Jacques-Paul Migne (Parigi, 1850, pag. 1074, vol. 94): B. XVII Calend. Novemb. - Depositio sancti Galli confessoris, cujus vita plena virtutibus conscripta habetur. Apud Lugdunum beati Antiochi episcopi. Apud Viennam sancti Theodati episcopi, item Heronis, qui post beatum Ignatium Antiochenam rexit Ecclesiam. Erat enim hic beati martyris Ignatii diaconus; qui episcopus factus, viam magistri pius imitator sequitur, et pro commendato grege amator Christi occubuit.

³² Marco Marulo of Spalato in Dalmatia (A.D. 1450-1524) was the chief Renaissance humanist of the region; his Slavic name is Marulić He wrote much on religion in Latin; his *De Institutione Bene Beateque Vivendi* was published in 1506 and edited by D. Agricola at Basle in 1513. The *De Obedientia Servanda* does not appear as a separate title in the *British Museum Catalogue of Printed Books*. (Lind, 1963) -Probabilmente il IV libro del *De Institutione Bene Beateque Vivendi* parla proprio dell'obbedienza.

³³ Hermolaus Barbarus (A.D. 1454-93), patriarch of Aquileia and a friend of Pico della Mirandola, boasted that he had corrected five thousand errors in the text of Pliny, whose text he edited in 1489, with subsequent editions in 1497, 1511, 1518, 1525, 1536, 1669, 1778. He wrote *Castigationes Plinianas* (Rome, 1492; Cremona, 1497; Rome? 1500? and Basle, 1534). He also edited Aristotle and Dioscorides, among other authors. (Lind, 1963)

³⁴ Matthaues Sylvaticus *Opus Pandectarum Medicinae* (Mantua, 1474, 1475; Venice, 1480, 1488, 1498, 1499, 1511; Turin, 1526; Leyden, 1534, 1541). The many editions indicate the popularity of this work and others cited by Aldrovandi. (Lind, 1963)

³⁵ L. 1 *curat. med.* (Aldrovandi) - Amatus Lusitanus: a pseudonym for João Rodriguez do Castello [Castelo] Branco, who wrote *Curationum Medicinalium Centuria Secunda*, Venice, 1552; *idem, Centuriae Quatuor*, etc., Basle, 1556; various editions: Venice, 1557; Leyden, 1564, 1570; Bordeaux, 1620; Venice, 1653; *Index Dioscoridis*, Antwerp, 1536; *In Dioscoridis de medica materia libros quinque enarrationes*, Strassburg, 1554; Venice, 1557; Leyden, 1558. See footnote below on P. A. Matthiolus' edition of Dioscorides and its accompanying attack on Amatus Lusitanus. (Lind, 1963)

utero gestans quinto mense abortivit, et tertia a primo abortu die frustum quoddam carnis emisit, Galli cristae cum rostro Gallinaceo simile.

Piscis quidam ad oceanum Germanicum Gobiis congener, Germanis ut audio Seehan³⁶, id est, Gallus marinus dicitur. Verum et bina alia aquatilia animantia eiusdem nominis reperio, piscem nempe alium, et quoddam genus e crustaceis. Piscis enim Plinio³⁷ Ζ<a>eus dictus, et Faber, Hispanis, et Monspelensibus, teste doctissimo Rondoletio, Gal appellatur, Santonibus, et Baionensibus Iau, id est, Gallus a dorsi {pennis} <pinnis> surrectis, quemadmodum Gallorum Gallinaceorum cristae erigi solent. Romani hodie citulam dicunt et piscem Sancti Petri, quia iubente Christo D. Petrus hunc piscem ceperit, et in eius ore numisma pro tributo reperit: unde digitorum impressorum vestigia in medio corpore relicta fuerint. Recentioribus item Graecis χρυσόφρυς dicitur, aiuntque D. Christophorum, dum Christum humeris gestans mare trajiceret, piscem hunc apprehendisse et impressa digitorum vestigia reliquisse. Est autem piscis iste ex sententia Rondoletii {χαλκείς} <χαλκίς> Athenaei³⁸ a Chalcide dissidens, ut Deo dante suo loco aliquando docebimus. Donavit mihi nuperrime hunc piscem exiccatum admodum Rever. P. Ambr. Morandus Bonon. sacrae Theol. doctor eximius, Congreg. S. Salvatoris Gener. mihi que amicissimus. Praetera Gallum marinum idem Rondoletius, et Petrus Bellonius vocari asserunt illud animal crustaceum, quod,

Rodriguez do Castelo Branco - mentioned a certain woman who aborted in the fifth month while pregnant with twins, and on the third day after the first abortion she brought forth a piece of flesh resembling a cock's comb with a chicken's beak.

As I hear, a certain fish of the same genus of the gobies* and living in the neighborhood of Germanic Ocean - North Sea, is called *Seehahn* by Germans, i.e., sea cock. However I'm finding also two other aquatic animals of the same name, and precisely one of them is a fish, and - the other - a certain genus of crustaceans. Well, the fish called *zaeus** by Pliny*, as well as *faber* - smith, according to the very learned testimony of Guillaume Rondelet* is called *gal* by the Spaniards and the people of Montpellier, and by the Santones* and the people of Bayonne* it is called *iau*, i.e. cock, from the - fore - dorsal fin sticking up like the roosters' combs are used to stand up. Today the Romans call *citula** also the fish of Saint Peter, because at Christ's bidding Saint Peter would have caught this fish and found in its mouth a coin for tribute*: hence have been left the prints of fingers' pressure in the middle of its body. And furthermore it is called *chrysóphrys* - gilthead* - by modern Greeks, and they assert that Saint Christopher*, while crossing the sea carrying Christ on his shoulders, caught this fish and there left fingerprints impressed. In the opinion of Rondelet this fish is the pilchard* of Athenaeus which is not corresponding to the chalcis* - *chalcis*, fish - as sooner or later I shall show in its proper place, God willing. Very recently the Very Reverend Father Ambrosio Morando [Morandi?] from Bologna, distinguished doctor of theology, General of the Congregation of the Saint Saviour and a very good friend of mine, gave me as a gift this dried fish. Furthermore Guillaume Rondelet and Pierre Belon* are stating that is called sea cock that crustacean animal

³⁶ Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 404: Piscis quidam ad Oceanum Germanicum, gobiis congener, ex pictura coniiio, vulgo Seehan, id est gallus marinus vocitatur. - Gessner dà la sua interpretazione del perché il ghiozzo è detto gallo di mare, *Seehahn*: perché si presenta screziato - *ex pictura conijcio* - come è screziato il mantello di piume di certi polli. In questo caso accade l'esatto contrario di quanto avviene per il pollo dal piumaggio barrato. Nel caso del *Seehan* citato da Gessner il pesce, il ghiozzo (*Gobius niger*), diventa un gallo di mare screziato, *speckled* o *mottled* in inglese. Nel caso della variante *crele* del piumaggio barrato del pollo, è invece il pollo a diventare un pesce, cioè il *pollo sgombro*, in quanto il termine *crele* fa proprio riferimento a un pesce, e precisamente allo sgombro comune - *Scomber scombrus* - che ha diversi sinonimi: scombros, lacerto, maccarello. Paragonando i due sgombri conosciuti - l'altro è lo sgombro spagnolo (*Scomberomorus maculatus*), che è maculato e non barrato - è proprio il maccarello a essere dotato della barratura trasversale migliore, e maccarello in tedesco suona in modo del tutto simile a *crele*, almeno nella grafia: *Makrele*. - Per ulteriori dati e per l'iconografia si veda *Summa Gallicana* III,4,6 al paragrafo *Crele**; III,1,5.8 al paragrafo *Screziato/Speckled**; III,4,5 al paragrafo *Pomellato/Mottled**.

³⁷ Pliny IX,68. The fish is also called John Dory. (Lind, 1963)

³⁸ VII,137,328cdf. - In questo passo di Ateneo *chalkides* sono le sardine, mentre l'orata (*chrysóphrys*) è stata menzionata prima. La parola *chalkéis* riportata da Aldrovandi non è attestata. - Guillaume Rondelet, mentioned below, was a French physician and naturalist (1507-66); he set up the anatomical theater at Montpellier in 1556. He wrote a large work on fish: *De piscibus marinis* (Lyons, 1554); *Universae aquatilium historiae pars altera* (Lyons, 1556); *Opera Omnia Medica* (ed. by J. Crocquer, Geneva, 1628). (Lind, 1963)

Aristoteles ἄρκτον³⁹, Latini similiter ursum ab actionibus, et moribus, quos exercet, appellant: ut nonnulli existimant: alii vero a figura ita dici volunt, nimirum, quod exterior forcicis pars Galli Gallinacei figuram referat⁴⁰.

Hesychius, et Varinus⁴¹ Upupam ἀλεκτρούνα vocarunt, haud dubio ob cristam, quam in capite gerit, ob quam etiam a Liguribus Gallus Martii dicitur, eo quod illo mense apud ipsos primum appareat.

[186] Et Persae, ut Hermolaus nescio quo auctore scribit, Corvos Alectoridas dicunt. Ornithologus⁴² mendum subesse existimat. Sed forte Hermolaus ex Pausania⁴³ id decerpserit qui Gallos quidem Gallinaceos quosdam Coraxos⁴⁴, id est atro Corvorum colore in Boeotia esse dixit.

Significat denique Gallus quaedam artificialia, ac in primis navem quandam praetoriam, de qua eiusmodi ad Misenum {epitaphium} <epitaphius> legitur: D.M.C. IULIO QUARTO VET. EX {,} PR.<, > N. GALLO, M. C<A>ECILIUS. FELIX<S> { S.} <ET>

which Aristotle* calls *árkton** - bear, and the Latins likewise call bear from movements and behaviour: as some people think: on the contrary others claim that it is so called from the shape, because the extremity of its claw just reminds the shape of a rooster.

Hesychius* and Varinus* called the hoopoe *alektryóna** - cock, no doubt because of the crest it bears on head, owing to which it is called rooster of March also by Ligurians, because it first appears among them in that month.

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And the Persians, as Hermolaus Barbarus* writes, I don't know on what source, call crows as *alectoridas** - hens. The Ornithologist - alias Conrad Gessner - believes that underneath there is an error. But possibly Hermolaus had drawn it from Pausanias*, who said that in Boeotia there are some *coraxoí* roosters, that is, they are of the crows' black color.

Finally, *gallus* signifies certain things made by technical processes, and first of all a certain admiral's ship, about which such an epitaph can be read at Cape Misenum*: D.M.C. IULIO QUARTO VET. EX PR., N. GALLO, M. CAECILIUS FELIX ET NONIA HERACLIA S. ET S. A dialogue by the very brilliant writer Lucian* is entitled

³⁹ *Árktos* in greco denota in prima istanza l'orso, ma in Aristotele *Historia animalium* 5,17,10 viene così chiamata una sorta di granchio di mare.

⁴⁰ Conrad Gessner ci fa sapere, grazie a Pierre Belon, che dovrebbe trattarsi del granchio di Eraclea. Ecco il testo di *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 404: Cancer Heracleoticus vulgo apud Italos gallus marinus, gallo de mare, nominatur, quod eius chelae cristam galli referant, Pet. Bellonius. - Ma solo grazie a Rondelet possiamo sapere che il granchio di Eraclea di Belon corrisponde in effetti a quel granchio che Aristotele chiamava *orso*, ἄρκτος, però Belon non lo dice assolutamente. Se non bastasse, il granchio di Eraclea di Rondelet non ha quasi nulla da spartire con l'omonimo di Belon che invece è il sosia del granchio orso di Rondelet a sua volta sosia del granchio orso di Aristotele (quasi certamente la *Calappa granulata*, sottordine *Brachyura*). Aldrovandi ha fatto di ogni erba un fascio, oppure ha scandagliato a fondo la problematica. È più verosimile che abbia preso un ennesimo granchio, facendo dire a Belon ciò che mai scrisse: che cioè il suo granchio gallo di mare, o granchio di Eraclea, corrispondeva al granchio orso di Aristotele. - Se non credete alle mie considerazioni, che una volta di più squalificano Aldrovandi, date uno sguardo ai testi originali di Belon e Rondelet riportati alla voce Granchio di Eraclea* del lessico.

⁴¹ Hesychius' lexicographical work is edited by M. Schmidt (Jena, 1858-61), in two volumes; by Kurt Latte, new edition, I (1953) at Copenhagen. Varinus (Favorinus, Phavorinus), bishop of Nocera Camelana [Corti: today Nocera Umbra (PG), the old *Nuceria Camellaria*], published his Greek lexicon at Rome, 1523. Its Greek title can be translated thus: *The Large and Very Helpful Lexicon Which Garinos Phavorinus Kamers... Collected from Many Different Books and Set Down Alphabetically; at the Press of Zacharios Kalliergos*. There is an edition by J. Camerarius (Basle, 1538-41), and another by A. Bortoli, (Venice, 1712).

⁴² Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 404: Persae etiam corvos alectoridas vocant, Hermolaus nescio quo auctore. Pausanias quidem in Boeotia gallinaceos quosdam coraxos, id est atro corvorum colore esse scribit.

⁴³ Se ne riparlerà a pagina 192. - Pausania *Periegesi della Grecia* IX, BEOZIA, 22. 4. "Here [in Tanagra] there are two breeds of cocks, the fighters and the blackbirds, as they are called. The size of these blackbirds is the same as that of the Lydian birds, but in colour they are like crows [like a crow - *kóráki* = to a crow], while wattles and comb are very like the anemone. They have small, white markings on the end of the beak and at the end of the tail." (translation by W.H.S. Jones) - "Qui [a Tanagra] ci sono due razze di galli, i combattenti e i merli, come sono chiamati. Le dimensioni di questi merli sono le stesse di quelle degli uccelli [dei polli, delle galline] della Lidia, ma nel colore essi sono simili a un corvo[*kóráki*], mentre i bargigli e la cresta sono molto simili all'anemone; essi posseggono dei piccoli segni bianchi sulla punta del becco e all'estremità della coda." (traduzione di Elio Corti) - "Ἔστι δὲ καὶ γένη δύο ἐνταῦθα ἀλεκτρούωνων, οἱ τε μάχιμοι καὶ οἱ κόσσυφοι καλούμενοι. Τούτων τῶν κοσσύφων μέγεθος μὲν κατὰ τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἔστιν ὄρνιθας, χροὰ δὲ ἐμφερῆς κόρακι, κάλλαια δὲ καὶ ὁ λόφος κατὰ ἀνεμώνην μάλιστα: λευκὰ δὲ σημεῖα οὐ μεγάλα ἐπὶ τε ἄκρῳ τῷ ῥάμφει καὶ ἐπὶ ἄκρας ἔχουσι τῆς οὐρᾶς.

⁴⁴ L'aggettivo greco *koraxós* significa del colore del corvo, di colore nero. Il sostantivo *kórax*, genitivo *kórakos*, denota il corvo.

{I}NONIA HERACLIA S. ET{.} S.⁴⁵ {Gallus et somnium} <Somnium vel Gallus> inscribitur quidam Luciani luculentissimi authoris dialogus⁴⁶, quo divitiarum, atque potentiae incommoda, molestiasque prosequitur, ostendens, quam contra tranquilla res paupertas sit, si modo sua sorte sit contenta. In posteriore autem parte Gallus, qui ex Pythagora in avem transformatus cum hero suo Micyllo colloquens introducit, divitum cum privatorum, ac civium, tum regum, ac potent<i>um molestias, curas, et pericula recenset, quae illis et belli, et pacis temporibus, praeterea etiam circa valetudinem, quam luxur istae et crapulae labefactant, accidere solent.

Postremo, ut et de Gallinis aliquid dicamus, rustici Pleiades stellas Graecis dictas, et Atlantides, Latinis Vergilias, Gallinas vocant, et plerique {Butrionem} <Botryonem>, Angli nempe, id est, Gallinam habentem pullos vulgo Bruothenn. Hanc constellationem Hebraei זגתא Zaghta vocant, et Galli la {Poussiniere} <Poussiniere>. In dictionario trilingui עיש aysch, vel עוש pro eodem sidere legitur. Gallina nigra apud chimicos est argentum vivum.

SYNONYMA

Varias quidem nomenclaturas, quibus apud Graecos potissimum, ac Hebraeos Gallus Gallinaceus venit, est reperire. שכוי Secheui in primis legitur apud D. Iob⁴⁷. ubi dicitur: *Quis dedit Secheui intelligentiam?* Sanctes Pagninus in bibliis maioribus Ven. anni 1515. לשכוי Lasecheui legi scribit, et in nostris aliis exemplaribus Michel esse. Sonat imaginationem in mente {caelatum} <celatam>, cogitationem, intellectum. Plerique

The dream or the cock, where he is dealing with inconveniences and troubles following wealth and power, demonstrating on the contrary how much the poverty is a peaceful situation, if only it is satisfied with its state. Moreover in the late part - of the dialogue - the cock, turned into a bird starting from Pythagoras*, is set conversing with his master Micyllos and looks into troubles, cares, and dangers of rich men, not only of private citizens and subjects, but also kings and powerful men, things which are in the habit of happening in war and in peace time, moreover, also apropos of health, which luxury and those drunkenness are damaging.

Finally, to say something about hens too, peasants call hens the stars called *Pleiades** by Greeks, and *Atlantides* - Daughters of Atlas, *Vergiliae** by Latins, and many people, of course English - Angles*, call them *Botryo**, that is, hen having chicks, commonly called *Bruothenn** - brooding-hen. The Hebrews call this constellation *Zaghta*, and the French *la Poussiniere* - Chicks' incubator. In the trilingual dictionary *aysch*, or *awsch*, is read for the same star. The black hen among chemists is the quicksilver - the mercury.

SYNONYMS

Truly, it is possible to find various terms by which the *Gallus Gallinaceus* is appearing, especially among Greeks and Hebrews. First of all in Saint Job* we read *secheui*, where is said: *Who has given intelligence to Secheui?* Sanctes Pagninus* in *Biblia Maiora*, published in Venice in the year 1515, writes that *Lasecheui* is to be read, and that in our other copies it is Michel. It indicates imagination hidden in the mind, thought, intelligence. Most of the interpreters ascribe it to the heart. Rabbi* David asserts that it is deriving from the fact of looking at, seeing, and

⁴⁵ Si emenda in base a quanto dedotto dal Professor Andrea Pellizzari (Grava - AL) dal *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum** X, Pars I, No. 1759. D. M. C. Iulio Quarto vet(erano) ex pr(aetorio), n(atione) Gallo, M. Caecilius Felix et Nonia Heraclia s(ibi) et s(uis). - D. M. sta per Dis Manibus, cioè, agli dei Mani*. - Circa l'abbreviazione N. esiste un'evidente discordanza d'interpretazione fra Aldrovandi e il *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. Infatti Aldrovandi interpreta N. = *nave/navi*, mentre il CIL lo interpreta con *natione*. A mio avviso si tratta di un'ennesima boutade di Aldrovandi, una boutade che potrebbe anche non essere frutto della sua mente, ma dedotta da un qualche epigrafo. È probabile che questo Giulio Quarto fosse un veterano del pretorio* di stirpe gallica. La soluzione definitiva del rebus la lascio nelle mani dei competenti.

⁴⁶ *Il sogno ovvero il gallo - Óneiros ë alektryon* - 15 - GALLO. Perché non conosci, Micillo, ed è questo il motivo per cui tu come la maggioranza delle persone vi sbagliate quanto ai ricchi. Questi ultimi, sappilo, vivono una vita molto più disgraziata della nostra. Te lo dico io che sono stato più di una volta sia povero che ricco, e ho avuto esperienza diretta di ogni genere di vita: ma fra un attimo tu pure sarai al corrente di tutto. 23 - GALLO. I ricchi, invece, vittime di una vita sregolata, hanno tutti i malanni, nessuno escluso; gotta deperimento pleurite ritenzione di liquidi sono conseguenza diretta di quei lauti banchetti. (traduzione di Claudio Consonni) - Ecco la brevissima citazione del dialogo di Luciano fatta da Conrad Gessner in *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 407: Gallus in Somnio Luciani fingit se olim Euphorbum, deinde Pythagoram fuisse.

⁴⁷ Vulgata, Job 38,36: Quis dedit gallo intelligentiam? - Giobbe 38,36: "Chi ha messo nelle nubi la sapienza, o chi ha dato alle meteore l'intelligenza?" (*La Sacra Bibbia*, Edizioni Paoline, 1958)

interpretes traducunt cordi. Rabbi David⁴⁸ ab aspiciendo, et videndo derivari asserit; et alibi, *Doctores*, inquit, *Hebraeorum exponunt etiam Gallo*; quod etiam Rabbi Simeon filius Lakisch tradidit, teste Ioanne Reuclino; atque ita D. Hieronymus vertit. Septuaginta vero, *Quis dedit mulieribus texturæ sapientiam, aut variegatam scientiam?* Targhum, *Quis dedit cordi intelligentiam?* Alterum Targhum, *Quis dedit Gallo Sylvestri intelligentiam, ut laudet dominum suum?* Rab Abraham, *Cordi?* Rab Levi, *intellectui?* Rab Mosech, *quis dedit Gallo intelligentiam, ut media nocte surgere doceret hominem ad laudandum Deum?* Ita quidem ille hæc profert ex quodam Targhum Ierosolimitano in hunc locum, atque suis Rabbiniis, sed de corde eos magis congruere asseverat. Sunt, inquit, Ornithologus ex quodam alio⁴⁹, apud Hebraeos, qui vocem Sekui Tarnegul (hanc vocem Chaldaicam⁵⁰ esse conijcit) cuius ultima syllaba Germanic<a>e Galli nomenclaturæ, nempe Gul congruit, id est, Gallum interpretantur⁵¹. Forte vero ita Gallus dictus fuerit vel ab animositate, quæ in corde sedem suam potissimum habet, vel a visu, quem semper simul sursum Milvorum, et aliarum avium rapacium evitandarum causa, et deorsum ad victum intentum habet.

In lexico trilingui pro Gallo etiam legitur סכוי Sikui, et pro Gallina סכויא Sakuia, quæ postrema vox in Syrochaldaico dictionario Gallus exponitur, ex Vaic. rab. cap. 26. Pro ברבור barbur in libro Regum⁵², ubi legitur { } <: > *Excepta venatione cervorum, caprearum, atque bubalorum, et ברבורים אבוסים* barburim avusim, id est, *altilium saginatorum in stabulis, hoc est, stabulantium*. David Kimhi ex magistrorum sententia, transfert aves, quæ afferuntur ex Barbaria. Rab Salamon Gallos pingues, Kimhi addit castratos, Iosephus volatilia, D. Hieronymus aves altiles, septuaginta {ἐκλεκτός}

elsewhere he says: *The Doctors of the Hebrews explain it also by cock*; also Rabbi Shimon ben Lakish* reported this, as John Reuchlin* testifies; and Saint Jerome* translated it so. Really, the Septuagint* says: *Who has given women the skill of weaving, or a multiform expertise?* The Targum*: *Who has given intelligence to the heart?* The Second Targum: *Who has given intelligence to the wild cock, in order that it may praise its master?* Rabbi Abraham: *To the heart?* Rabbi Levi: *To the intellect?* Rabbi Mosech: *Who has given the cock intelligence, so to teach man to rise at middle of the night to praise God?* So, this man without doubt brings forth at this point these words from some Targum of Jerusalem, and from his Rabbis*, but he affirms that they are mainly agreeing on *heart*. The Ornithologist says, making reference to somebody else, that among Hebrews there are some who translate the word *Sekui* into *Tarnegul*, i.e. *Gallus*, (this word he conjectures to be Chaldean*) whose last syllable, precisely *Gul*, in German nomenclature agrees with the word *Gallus*. Really perhaps the cock could be so called either from the courage, which has its location chiefly in the heart, or from its eyesight, which it has always simultaneously turned upwards in order to escape kites* and other birds of prey, and downwards for finding food.

In the trilingual lexicon with regard to *Gallus* it can be read also *sikui*, and for *Gallina sakuia*, and the latter word in Syro-Chaldaic dictionary is reported as *Gallus*, from Vaic. rab., chapter 26. For *barbur**, in the First Book of Kings*, where we read: *To say nothing of hunting deer, goats, and antelopes, and barburim avusim, i.e., poultry fattened in barns, i.e. those which are staying in barns*; David Kimhi*, according to the opinion of the experts, translates with *birds which are brought from Barbary**. Rabbi Salamon translates with fat cocks, Kimhi adds castrated, Josephus with flying creatures, Saint Jerome with birds to be fattened, the Septuagint with *eklektôn*, i.e., chosen - excellent, as if they had read *barur*, the Chaldean - Syro-Chaldaic dictionary? - with fat or to be fattened bird.

⁴⁸ *In libro radicum*. (Aldrovandi)

⁴⁹ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 380: Quis posuit in renibus sapientiam, aut quis dedit cordi (ut Munsterus vertit Iob. 38. Hebraice legitur שכוי, sekui) intelligentiam? Sunt (inquit Munsterus) apud Hebraeos, qui vocem sekui, tarnegul (תרגול, vocem Chaldaicam esse conijcio, cuius ultima syllaba Germanicæ galli nomenclaturæ congruit) id est gallum interpretantur. - Vedere il lessico alla voce Münster Sebastian* per la sua biografia.

⁵⁰ Confronta *tarlugallu*, 'gallo' (dal sumerico *dar-lugal* 're screziato'), che è voce assira. (Walde-Hoffman)

⁵¹ È difficile capire: 'gallo' in tedesco si dice *Hahn*, quindi *-gul* con quale parola tedesca concorda?

⁵² I Reges 5,2: Decem boves pingues et viginti boves pascales et centum aves, excepta venatione cervorum, caprearum atque bubalorum et avium altilium. - Dieci buoi grassi, venti buoi da pascolo, cento pecore senza contare i cervi, i caprioli, i daini e gli uccelli ingrassati. - Secondo la Volgata* e i Settanta - come viene annotato da Aldrovandi - si tratta del Terzo Libro dei Re, cioè 3, cap.4.

<ἐκλεκτῶν>⁵³, id est, electus, quasi legerint barur, Chaldaeus avem saginatam vel alilem.

זרזר Proverbiorum 30⁵⁴ varie exponunt: quidam, ut David Kimhi docet, canem leporarium cursu velocem: alii *nemer*, id est, pardum, alii speciem avis immundae, D. Hieronymus Gallum, septuaginta interpretes secutus, qui ἀλέκτορα reddiderunt. Nam R. Ioseph dicit nomen animantis esse, quod inter Gallinas ambulet. גבר gaber apud Esaiam D. Hieronymus vertit Gallus Gallinaceus: Septuaginta⁵⁵, et plerique Hebraeorum vir, uti et Caldaeus pro גברה Gabera. I. Drusius⁵⁶ ita vertendum esse et non aliter omnino contendit, hunc in modum scribens. Verba sunt Isaiae ex versu septimo, et decimo capituli 22⁵⁷. *Ecce Dominus transportabit te Taltela Gaber*, quae verba D. Hieronymus edoctus ita, ut ipsemet testatur, ab Hebraeo praeceptore suo, alia ratione quam interpretes, qui ante ipsum, exposuit.

They explain *Sarsir* of Proverbs* 30,31 in various ways: some, as David Kimhi shows, a greyhound quick in running; others *nemer*, that is, a male panther - a leopard, others a kind of filthy bird, Saint Jerome the cock, having followed the Septuagint translators, who had translated with *aléktora*. For Rabbi Joseph says that it is the name of a living being inasmuch as it walks among hens. *Gaber* in Isaiah* Saint Jerome translates it with *Gallus Gallinaceus*: the Septuagint, and most of the Hebrews, with man, as the Syro-Chaldaic dictionary also does for *gabera*. Johannes Drusius* claims that absolutely it should be so translated and in no other way, writing as follows: They are words of Isaiah drawn from the seventeenth verse of the paragraph 22. *Lo, the Lord will transport you Taltela Gaber*, words that Saint Jerome, as he himself testifies, has interpreted in this way, otherwise than the interpreters - Septuagint - who there were earlier than him, inasmuch as he was instructed by his Hebrew teacher.

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Cum [187] enim alii omnes Gaber virum exposuissent: ipse unus Gallum interpretatus est, hac sententia: *sicut Gallus Gallinaceus humero portatoris de alio loco {tuo} <te> leviter asportabit*. Ego autem idem verbum eodem modo expositum, post offendi a Salamone Iario: neque sane Camius eam expositionem silentio praeterit, quam citat inter alias ex Dras. Ac ne illud quidem pigebit admonere, apud Salomonem⁵⁸, ubi in vulgata lectione latina legitur, *viam viri in adolescentula*, expositum similiter legi in Medras Misle de Gallo Gallinaceo: idque mihi mirum in primis esse visum. Nam quod sequitur in adolescentula, eam expositionem, nisi animi fallor, plane convellit. Ego sane, quod bona eorum interpretum venia dictum sit, id verbum nusquam eam vim habere arbitror: praesertim cum praecedat verbum *Taltela*, quod formam

For while all others translated *Gaber* as man, he alone - St. Jerome* - translated it as *gallus* by this maxim: *like a Gallus Gallinaceus on the shoulder of the bearer he will easily carry you away from another place*. Afterwards in my turn I bumped into the same word rendered alike by Salomon Iarius: and truly nor did Camius pass over in silence that interpretation, which he quotes among others from Dras. And neither it will be shameful to remind what in Salomon* - book of Proverbs* - where in the Vulgate's* Latin version we read *the way of the man in a maid*, I have read similarly interpreted in Medras Misle about rooster: and this at first seemed strange to me. In fact what afterwards it happens in the maid, if I am not mistaken, quite overthrows that interpretation. Truly, speaking with the benevolent approval of those interpreters, I believe that never that word has such a meaning: overall because the word *taltela* comes before, and, as the grammarians

⁵³ Riportano ἐκλεκτῶν sia la versione dei Settanta 3Re 2:50 che Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 380: Hieronimus avium altilium, Septuaginta ἐκλεκτῶν, (quasi legerint, barur, id est electus:) Chaldaeus avem saginatam vel alilem.

⁵⁴ Proverbi 30,31: gallus succinctus lumbos, “il gallo, che passeggia spavaldo fra le galline, il caprone, che marcia in testa al suo gregge, il re, quando arringa il suo popolo.” (*La Sacra Bibbia*, Edizioni Paoline, 1958) - Settanta: καὶ ἀλέκτωρ ἐμπεριπατῶν θηλείας εὐψυχος καὶ τράγος ἡγούμενος αἰπολίου καὶ βασιλεὺς δημηγορῶν ἐν ἔθνει.

⁵⁵ Isaia cap. 22. (Aldrovandi)

⁵⁶ *Observationes* cap. 8. (Aldrovandi)

⁵⁷ In Isaia 22,17-18 si legge: *Ecce Dominus vehementer te apprehendens. In globum te convolvit glomerans; quasi pilam mittet te in terram latam et spatiosam.*

⁵⁸ Liber Proverbiorum cap. 30. (Aldrovandi) - Confronta Proverbi 31,19: *Viam viri in adolescentula* - Il sentiero dell'uomo in una giovane.

habet nominis, ut grammatici loquuntur, absoluti. Iam illud quoque nonnihil est, quod Hebraeos peritiores aliter accipere eum locum constat. David certe Camius, qui, quae lingua aliarum linguarum princeps est, eius ipse linguae princeps inter suos interpretes censetur, in commentariis ad eum locum, Meo animo, inquit, Gaber est positum in casu vocativo, et est ordo, ac sensus: o vir ecce Dominus transportabit te transportatione. Vocat autem eum virum propter superbiam ac fastum. Hactenus I. Drusius. Verum praeterquam quod ipse fatetur, Salomonem Iarium ita vertisse, et Camium eandem expositionem ex Dras citare, quidam etiam alii תרנגולא *tarnegula*, id est, Gallum Gallinaceum exponunt, teste David Kimhi, Thargum Ierosolimitanum pro מעציון גבר ויסעו *Vaishu mhesion gaber*, id est, *Et profecti sunt de Etzion gaber*, quod legitur Numer. 33.⁵⁹ habet ונתלו מכיר ותרנגולא *Vunetalu micherach tarnegola*, id est, *Et profecti sunt autem ab arce Galli*, ut legere est in dictionario Syrochaldaico Guidonis Fabricii Boderiani: Itaque meo iudicio et Gallus, et vir traduci possit, cum vir a virtute, seu robore dicatur, et animi vigore, quo Gallus inter sui generis volucres egregie praeditus est.

Pro Gallo item in dictionario trilingui legitur הבור *habur*, et נרגל *nergal*, quarum vocum prior ad Gaber accedit, posterior ad Tarnegul תרנגולא *tarnegula*, pro qua voce Syre legitur תרנגולא *tarnagola* Gallus avis: Job. 3. Matth. 26. Marc. 14. et Ioan. 18. et דדהבא תרנגולא *Tarnagela dedava*, Gallus aureus, Ester. 1. in Thar. Ierosol. et תרנגולד *Tarnegoled* Gallina, et תרנגולא *Tarnegola bara*, Gallus sylvestris<, > idem תרנגולא *tarnegol bara*, Job. 38. et Psal. 50. et תרנגולת תיבר *tarnegoled thibur*, Gallus Gallinaceus in plurali<, > תרנגולין מקרחרין *tarnegolin mecharcherin*, Galli crocitantés⁶⁰. דוכיפת *duchifad* vox Hebraica in dictionario Syrochaldaico, ex quo pleraque nomina istaec excerpimus, Gallus sylvestris exponitur. אכבא *acava* idem est, quod *tarnegul*, id est Gallus, aut secundum alios est זקן *zakan*, id est vetulus canis, sive <a>elaps⁶¹ canis venaticus Proverb. 30⁶²

say, has the form of an absolute* noun. Certainly it is also of some importance that, as far as it is known, the most learned Hebrews do interpret otherwise that passage. Certainly David Camius who, like that language is the more authoritative among all languages, he himself is reckoned the most distinguished interpreter of that language, in the commentaries on this passage he says: in my opinion *gaber* is in the vocative case, and there is a sequence and a meaning: *O man, lo the Lord will transport you by migration*. On the other hand he calls him man on account of pride and haughtiness. Thus far Iohannes Drusius*. But besides the fact of declaring that Salomon Iarius translated in this way, and that Camius quotes from Dras the same interpretation, also certain others do translate *tarnegula*, i.e., roosters, as David Kimhi* testifies, the Targum* of Jerusalem, instead of *Vaishu mhesion gaber*, i.e. *And they set forth from Etzion gaber*, which is read at Numbers* 33, reports *Vunetalu micherach tarnegola*, i.e., *And on the contrary they set forth from the citadel of the rooster*, as it is possible to read in Syro-Chaldaic dictionary of Guy le Fèvre de la Boderie*: thus in my opinion it could be translated either cock or man, since man - *vir* - takes the name from the strength - *virtus*, or from the robustness - *robur* = oak, and from the strength of the spirit, with which the rooster among birds of its species is uncommonly endowed.

Likewise in the trilingual dictionary for *gallus* is read *habur* and *nergal*, whose words the first one is similar to *gaber*, the next to *tarnegul*, for which noun in Syriac is read *tarnagola*, the bird rooster: Job 3, Matthew 26,<34>, Mark 14,<30> and John 18,<27>, and *tarnagela dedava*, golden rooster, Esther* 1 in the Targum of Jerusalem and *tarnegoled* hen, and *tarnegola bara*, wild rooster, the same Targum *tarnegol bara*, Job* 38 and Psalms* 50, and *tarnegoled thibur*, rooster in the plural, *tarnegolin mecharcherin* croaking roosters. The Hebrew word *duchifad* in the Syro-Chaldaic dictionary, from which we have taken most of these nouns, is interpreted as wild rooster. *Acava* is the same as *tarnegul*, i.e. rooster, or according to others it is זקן *zakan* i.e. a rather old dog, or *laelaps** a hunting dog in Proverbs 30 of *Complutensian Polyglot Bible**. *Aura*, which Aruc interprets as *das*, name of a wild beast. *Nagar tura* is translated with wild rooster, or, as Rabbi Serira Ghaon says, mountain's rooster, or, like others, hoopoe. Somebody reported that the cock, in

⁵⁹ In Numeri 33 si indicano le sorti degli Ebrei in fuga dall'Egitto: nella Vulgata il nome che più si avvicina a Etzion sembra in 33,30: profectique de Hesmona, oppure 35: egressique de Ebrona.

⁶⁰ Il passo è introvabile. In Job 38,41 si legge: quando pulli eius (scilicet corvi) clamant.

⁶¹ Laelaps: the name of a dog in Ovid *Metamorphoses* 3..211; 7.771. (Lind, 1963)

⁶² Confronta Proverbi 30,31 gallus succinctus.

Compluten⁶³.<.> אורא aura, quod Aruc דס das exponit bestiae nomen. נגור תורא nagar tura Gallus sylvestris vertitur, vel, ut R. Serira Ghaon ait, Gallus montanus, vel ut alii, Upupa. Saracenis, Gallum, quidam hodie Dic appellari literis prodidit, Gallinam vero eisdem Tefese dici alicubi legimus. Avicennae caput 296. lib. 2. inscribitur *Giaziudiuch*, ubi interpres vertit de Gallinis, et Gallo. *Aducasugeg* Sylvatico, vel, ut vetus Avicennae Glossographus habet, *Aduzaruzegi*, velut Gentiles⁶⁴ legit, *Aducarucegi* (hinc vel inde enim eam vocem hausisse videtur) Gallus, vel Gallina est. *Furogi* vero, vel *Furogigi* Gallus tantum. Sed forte ea vox mustelae sylvestri, quam Galli *furo*⁶⁵ dicunt potius conveniet, quasi *furo gige* (ad quam vocem, quae eidem Sylvatico Gallum, vel Gallinam significat posteriores duae syllabae *gigi* nempe non male accedunt) id est furans sive insidians Gal<l>inis quod et animali quasi proprium est. Alibi etiam apud eundem legitur *Digegi*, ut apud Serapionis interpretem *Digedi*. *Alfrach* Arabice non est commune ad omnes pullos, et quandoque dicitur de Gallina iuvene, quae nondum ova peperit, teste Andrea Bellunensi, sed absolute prolatum significat pullum Colombinum, qui nondum volare potest. Et alibi scribit *Alpheti*⁶⁶ Gallinas esse secundum expositores Arabes, esseque eas, quae nondum pepererunt ova.

Quod ad Graecam nomenclaturam attinet, ea, ut subinde patebit, varia admodum est, etsi apud vetustissimos Graecos nomen nullum peculiare inveniamus, sed communi ὄρνιθες vocabulo hanc speciem significasse, unde etiam Myrtilus apud Athenaeum⁶⁷ solas Gallinas ὄρνιθας, et ὄρνιθια appellat. Quia tamen apud recentiores, qui post Aristotelem floruerunt, multa, ut dixi, synonyma reperiantur, visum est ea ordine alphabetico prosequi, ut omnis vitetur confusio.

Saracen* - Arabic - characters, is said *dic*, and elsewhere we have read that in the same characters the hen is said *tefese*. The chapter 296 of the second book of Avicenna* is entitled *Giaziudiuch*, where the translator translates *Concerning the hens and the rooster*. In Matthaeus Sylvaticus* *aducasugeg*, or, as the ancient glossographer of Avicenna reports, *aduzaruzegi*, or *aducarucegi* like Gentiles reads (in fact it seems that he has derived such a word from this or from that one) is the cock or the hen. But *furogi*, or *furogigi* is only the rooster. But perhaps this word will be more appropriate to beech marten* - to wild weasel*, which they call *furo* of cock, as if *furo gige* (a word to which, meaning cock or hen for Sylvaticus himself, the two last syllables, just *gigi*, are not inappropriately approaching) i.e. thief or attacker of hens, what in addition, so to speak, is characteristic of the animal. Elsewhere in the same Sylvaticus also *digegi* is read, as *digedi* in the interpreter of Serapion* - Gerard of Cremona*? Andreas Bellunensis*?. *Alfrach* in Arabic is not commonly used for all chicks, and sometimes it is said apropos of a young hen which has not yet laid eggs, as Andrea Alpago is testifying, but said in an unlinked way - without connection with the phrase - it means chick of pigeon which cannot yet fly. And elsewhere he writes that according to the Arabic interpreters *alpheti* are the hens, and those which not yet laid eggs.

As far as Greek nomenclature is concerned, like soon after will be clear, it is quite varied, although among the most ancient Greeks we find no distinctive term, since they indicated this species with the common noun ὄρνιθες, which is why also Myrtilus in Athenaeus* calls only the hens ὄρνιθας and ὄρνιθια - birdies. However, as I said, being that many synonyms are found among more recent Greeks who flourished after Aristotle*, it seemed proper to me to set down them in alphabetical order so that any confusion is

⁶³ Verosimilmente si tratta della *Bibbia Poliglotta Complutense** edita in Spagna a *Complutum* - Alcalá de Henares - grazie a Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros*.

⁶⁴ In *expositione verborum*. (Aldrovandi) - Impossibile trovare nel web una qualsivoglia citazione di quest'opera di Giuseppe Giusto Scaligero.

⁶⁵ Sappiamo che il classico ladro di polli è rappresentato da un mustelide: la faina. Qui Aldrovandi si abbandona quasi scherzosamente a un gioco di parole, senza però alcun intento etimologico, riguardo a quell'altro mustelide che è il furetto*. Il sostantivo *furo*, *furonis*, solo in Isidoro* significa furetto, la cui etimologia ci è fornita appunto da Isidoro in *Etymologiae* XII,2: "Furo a furvo dictus; unde et fur. Tenebrosos enim et occultos cuniculos effodit, et eicit praedam quam invenerit. - Furetto trae il nome da tenebroso, da cui deriva anche ladro. Infatti scava delle gallerie tenebrose e nascoste, e stana la preda che vi abbia trovato." Le argomentazioni etimologiche di Isidoro potrebbero essere contestate in alcuni punti, ma non è questa la sede per farlo. Ciò che conta è che l'antico e classico nome latino per il furetto è *viverra*, *ae*, come per esempio in Plinio *Naturalis historia* VIII, 217.

⁶⁶ cfr. anche Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 415: Gallinae alfethi, secundum expositores Arabes, sunt gallinae quae nondum pepererunt ova, Andrea Bellunen.

⁶⁷ IX,15,373a

Aristoteles, eumque secuti alii ὄρνιν, vel ὄρνιθα communiter de quavis volucre dicunt: nonnulli vero recentiores Graeci privatim de Gallo, Gallinaque. Aristoteles Gallum ἀλεκτρούνα vel ἀλέκτορα vocat, Gallinam ἀλεκτορίδα. Aristophanes ἀλέκτορας, qui mares sint, ἀλεκτρούαινας, quae faeminae, ἀλεκτρούνας utrumque continere ludens in comedia monstravit⁶⁸.

avoided.

Aristotle, and others who followed him, commonly say ὄρνιν or ὄρνιθα for any bird: but some more recent Greeks say so especially for cock and hen. Aristotle calls the rooster *alektryóna* or *aléktora*, the hen *alektorída*. Aristophanes*, in jesting, showed in a comedy that *aléktoras* are the males, *alektryáinas* the females, and that *alektryónas* is including both.

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Socrates sane apud eundem Aristophanem⁶⁹, Strepsiadem reprehendere [188] videtur, quod ἀλεκτρούνα in utroque sexu proferat, itaque iubet, eum faeminam ἀλεκτρούαιναν vocare ficto vocabulo, et poëtico, ut a λέων fit λέαινα, marem vero ἀλέκτορα. Videtur autem, inquit Scholiastes, vulgaris haec consuetudo tum fuisse, faeminam quoque ἀλεκτρούνα nominandi, ut patet ex hisce Aristophanis verbis⁷⁰:

Γύναι τί τὸ ψόφημα ἐστὶ; Ἡ ἀλεκτρούων
τὴν κύλικα καταβέβληκεν. Οἰμωξουσάγε.
Et in Platonis D<a>edalo⁷¹: ἐνίστε πολλάι τῶν
ἀλεκτρούων ὑπηνέμια βία τίκτουσι ὡά

In Aristophanes* it seems that Socrates* is quite scolding Strepsiades* because he says *alektryóna* for both sexes, and so he bids to call the female *alektryáinan* by a newly coined and poetic word, likewise *léaina* - lioness - is coming from *léon* - lion, but the male is *aléktora*. The scholiast* says that on the other hand it seems that then there was this common practice to call also the female *alektryóna*, as is evident from these words of Aristophanes:

*Gýnai tí tò psóphëma estí? Hë alektryon
Tën kýlika katabéblëken. Oimoxouságe.
O woman what's this noise? It's the hen
That knocked down a cup. She wailed.*

And in *Daedalos** of comedy writer Plato*: ἐνίστε πολλάι

⁶⁸ LE NUVOLE di Aristofane - traduzione di Ettore Romagnoli - Lesina = Strepsiade - Tirchippide = Fidippide - [...] SOCRATE: Altro devi imparar, prima di questo: quali sono i quadrupedi di genere mascolino! LESINA: Eh, lo so, che sono scemo? Il capro, il becco, il toro, il cane, il pollo... SOCRATE: Vedi che ti succede? Chiami pollo la femmina ed il maschio, al modo stesso! LESINA: E come? SOCRATE: Come? Dici pollo e pollo! LESINA: Pel Dio del mare! e adesso, come devo chiamarli? SOCRATE: L'uno pollo, e l'altra polla! LESINA: Corpo dell'aria, bene! Polla! Voglio riempirti la madia di farina sol per questo problema! SOCRATE: Siam daccapo! Il problema, ch'è maschio, me lo fai diventar donna! [...] LESINA (Esce tenendo un pollo in ciascuna mano; e mostra l'un d'essi a Tirchippide): Vediamo! Tu come lo chiami, questo? TIRCHIPPIDE: Pollo! LESINA: Benone. E questa? TIRCHIPPIDE: Pollo! LESINA: Un nome per tutti e due? Vuoi farti canzonare! Non ci cascare più, d'ora in avanti: questo chiamalo pollo, e questa, polla! TIRCHIPPIDE: Polla! E codesta bella roba, sei stato ad imparare da quei trogloditi? [...] PASCIONE (Al testimonio): Che credi che farà? Che pagherà? LESINA (Torna con un pollo in mano): Dov'è quello che vuole i miei quattrini? (Mostra a Pascione il pollo) Dimmi, questo che è? PASCIONE: Che è? È un pollo! LESINA: E mi chiede quattrini, un uomo fatto a questo modo? Una polla la chiami pollo? Tu non li vedi i miei quattrini!

⁶⁹ Aristophanes *Clouds* 662-63. (Lind, 1963) - In greco ὁ ἀλεκτρούων è il gallo, ἡ ἀλεκτρούων la gallina, ὁ ἀλέκτωρ è il gallo, anche il marito; dal primo vocabolo, per coniazione comica, Aristofane in *Nuvole* 666 riporta ἡ ἀλεκτρούαινα, che viene tradotto con gallessa.

⁷⁰ Aristophanes *Amphiaraus**, Fragment I (ed. by A. Meineke) in *Fragmenta Comicorum Graecorum* II, 2 (Berlin, 1840), 953; F. W. Hall and W. M. Geldart, Oxford text of Aristophanes, *Fragment* 18; edition of the *Clouds* by W. J. M. Starkie (London, 1911), 159. (Lind, 1963)

⁷¹ Plato *Comicus*: in A. Meineke, *op. cit.*, 619. (Lind, 1963) - Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 401: Et in Platonis (Aristophanis, Athenaeus. positum est καὶ πλάτων, pro καὶ πάλιν a librarijs) Daedalo, Ἐνίστε πολλάι τῶν ἀλεκτρούων ὑπηνέμια βία τίκτουσι ὡά πολλάκις. Ὁ δὲ παῖς ἔνδον τὰς ἀλεκτρούνας σοβεῖ. - Quindi si tratterebbe, secondo Ateneo, di una commedia di Aristofane e non di Platone.

⁷² Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 401: Sed locus, quod ad authorum citationes, non recte distinctus emendari potest ex Athenaeo, cuius verba subieci.

⁷³ IX,15,373e-16,374d.

⁷⁴ Forse il testo di Ateneo letto da Aldrovandi aveva effettivamente *koridia*, fanciulle, diminutivo di *korē*, ragazza; ma il testo receptus è *choiridia*, diminutivo di *choiros*, scrofa (*cho*<*i*>*ridia*). - Si può tuttavia presumere con quasi assoluta certezza che si tratta di un errore tipografico oppure di uno scorretto *download* praticato sul testo di Gessner, visto che Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 401 riporta: item Strattis, Αἱ δ'ἀλεκτρούονες ἅπασαι καὶ τὰ χοιρίδια τέθνηκεν.

πολλάκις. Ὁ δὲ παῖς ἔνδον τὰς ἀλεκτρούνας σοβεῖ. Attici quidem etiam Gallinas sic vocabant{,}<.> Et Theopompus: Vocant vero Gallinam etiam ἀλεκτρούαναν. Haec Scholiastes: sed locus quo<d>⁷² ad authorum citationes non recte distinctus emendari potest ex Athenaeo⁷³, apud quem ita legitur. Cratinus, inquit, ἀλεκτρούνα in faeminino genere dixit. Item Strattis Αἰ δ'ἀλεκτρούνες ἄπασαι καὶ τὰ {κορίδια}⁷⁴ <χοιρίδια> τέθνηκεν. Et Anaxandrides Rhodius {Comicus} <Comicus> Ὀχευομένας τὰς ἀλεκτρούνας θεωροῦσιν ἄσμενοι. Et Theopompus⁷⁵ Ἄχθομαι δ'ἀπολωλεκῶς ἀλεκτρούνα τίκτουςαν ἴφά πάγκαλα. Et Aristophanes⁷⁶ Ὁῖόν μέγιστον τέτοκεν, ὡς ἀλεκτροῶν.

Thomas {magister} <Magister>⁷⁷ quoque annotat, vocem ἀλεκτροῶν significare marem, et faeminam, et Hesychius⁷⁸ veteres ἀλεκτρούνας Gallinas vocare scribit. Gallus etiam dicitur ἀλέκτωρ, a quo fit, ἀλεκτορίς, Gallina, quam posteriorem vocem Varinus, et Thomas Magister poetice esse dicunt: ἀλέκτωρ vero vocabulum esse ἀδόκιμον. Verum cum Aristoteles⁷⁹ ἀλεκτορίδα etiam nominet, ac Galenus⁸⁰ ἀλεκτρούνος καὶ ἀλεκτορίδος αἷμα dicat: itaque ego vocem ἀλεκτρούαναν prorsus ἀδόκιμον, ἀλέκτωρ vero poetice {tantum}⁸¹ contra illos esse dixerim; qui cum ἀλεκτορίς poetice faciant, poetae nullius testimonium adducunt, et ego quoque

τον ἀλεκτρούονον ὑπὲνέμια βία, τίκτουςι οὐά πολλάκις. O δὲ παῖς ἔνδον τὰς ἀλεκτρούνας σοβεῖ. - Sometimes many hens lay wind-eggs - sterile - against their will. The boy drives the hens inside. In fact the Attic inhabitants* called in this way also the hens. And the comic writer Theopompus* says: But they call the hen also ἀλεκτρούαναν. This is what the scholiasts says. But the passage, not too much accurate regarding the quotation of various authors, can be emended on the basis of Athenaeus*, where we read as follows. He says: Cratinus* used ἀλεκτρούνα in the feminine gender. Likewise Strattis* Αἰ δ'ἀλεκτρούνες ἄπασαι, καὶ τὰ χοιρίδια τέθνηκεν - All hens and little sows are died. And the comic poet Anaxandrides of Rhodes* Ὀχευομένας τὰς ἀλεκτρούνας θεωροῦσιν ἄσμενοι - Delighted, they gaze at hens being mounted. And the comic writer Theopompus: Ἀχθῶμαι δ'ἀπολωλεκῶς ἀλεκτρούνα τίκτουςαν οὐά πάγκαλα - I feel sorry to have lost the hen which was laying very fine eggs. And Aristophanes: Ὁῖόν μέγιστον τέτοκεν, ὡς ἀλεκτροῶν - She has laid a very large egg, like a hen.

Also Thomas Magister* annotates that the word ἀλεκτροῶν means the male and the female, and Hesychius* writes that the ancients called ἀλεκτρούνας the hens. The rooster is also called ἀλέκτωρ, whence ἀλεκτορίς, the hen, is formed, and the latter word Thomas Magister and Varinus* say is poetic: but ἀλέκτωρ is a derogatory word. But being that also Aristotle* uses the word ἀλεκτορίδα and that Galen* says ἀλεκτρούνος καὶ ἀλεκτορίδος αἷμα - blood of cock and hen: then, in opposition to them - Varinus and Magister, I would say that the word ἀλεκτρούαναν is quite ἀδόκιμον, derogatory, while ἀλέκτωρ is poetic: they, when setting out ἀλεκτορίς as poetic, adduce the testimony of no poet, and I also don't remember any poet who used this word, and really no one said ἀλεκτοῶν in prose, but some poets, Aristophanes,

⁷⁵ In Pace. Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 401: Et Theopompus in Pace, Ἄχθομαι δ'ἀπολωλεκῶς ἀλεκτρούνα τίκτουςαν ἴφά πάγκαλα.

⁷⁶ From Aristophanes' *Daedalus*; the fragment is found in A. Meineke, *op. cit.*, 1016 [in *Fragmenta Comicorum Graecorum*]; it is quoted also by Eustathius, 1479-1528 and by Photius, 624-28. Aldrovandi wrongly refers it to the *Peace*. (Lind, 1963) - Come giustamente rileva Lind, Aldrovandi ha commesso un semplicissimo ma grave errore: nella nota a bordo pagina appone il riferimento in Pace come appartenente ad Aristofane, mentre non fornisce alcun riferimento per il comico Teopompo, al quale, stando a Gessner, appartiene Pace.

⁷⁷ Thomas Magister, ed. by F. Ritschl (Halle, 1832). (Lind, 1963)

⁷⁸ Hesychius, I, 16; see note 23 and Latte's edition, I, 101. (Lind, 1963)

⁷⁹ Aristotle *History of Animals* 6. 1, 558b 27. (Hereafter referred to as Aristotle *H. A.*) (Lind, 1963)

⁸⁰ Galen *De Simplicium Medicamentorum Temperamentis et Facultatibus in Medici Graeci* (ed. by C. G. Kuehn, Leipzig, 1821-33); first Paris edition, 1530; another at Leyden, 1561. (Hereafter cited as Galen *De Simpl.*) (Lind, 1963)

⁸¹ Questo *tantum* è riportato a casaccio da Aldrovandi, rendendo oltretutto indaginosa la traduzione. Infatti nel testo di Gessner - da cui è stato praticato il download - *tantum* è in correlazione con *et*. Invece nel testo di Aldrovandi bisognerebbe associare *tantum* a *poeticam* oppure a *contra*. - Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 401: Itaque ego vocem ἀλεκτρούαναν prorsus ἀδόκιμον dixerim, ἀλέκτωρ vero poetice tantum contra Varinum et Thomam Magistram: qui cum ἀλεκτορίς poetice faciant, poetae nullius testimonium proferunt, et ego quoque nullum ex poetis hac voce usum memini.

nullum ex poëtis hac voce usum memini, ἀλέκτορα vero in prosa nemo dixit, sed poëtae aliquot, Aristophanes, Theocritus, Cratinus, aliique⁸².

Ἀλεκτορίς vero Athenaeo non Gallina est, sed Gallus. *Usus*, inquit, *nostro tempore obtinuit, ut Gallinae ὄρνιθες, et ὄρνιθια dicantur, Galli vero ἀλεκτρούνες, et ἀλεκτορίδες*. Apud Varinum ἀλεκτρίς pro Gallina legitur, sed forte impressoris culpa pro ἀλεκτορίς, ut videtur. Reperitur et ἀλεκτόριος pro ἀλεκτόρειος. Ἀλέκτωρ vero Gallus dicitur, quod nos, ut apud Athenaeum⁸³ est, ἐκ τοῦ λέκτρον, id est e cubili excitet. Ille, ut videtur, intelligit esse ex alpha privativo, et λέκτρον, quod nos ἄλεκτρος faciat. Eustathius vult esse ex alpha privativo, et verbo λέγω, id est cubo; ut videlicet sit λέκτωρ, deinde praefixo alpha privativo ἀλέκτωρ: unde ἀλεκτορίσκος. Caeterum etiamsi ἀλέκτωρ ex α privativo, et λέγω deducamus, ἀλεκτρούων, quod idem est, quod ἀλέκτωρ⁸⁴, Gallus nempe, et interdum etiam Gallina, ut mox ex Aristophane diximus, et Athenaeo, ex α privativo, et λέκτρον potius fieri dicendum est. Hanc vocem nempe ἀλεκτρούων Homeri saeculum, teste Varino non agnovit. Utebantur nimirum antiquitus, ut diximus paulo ante, tantum voce ὄρνις de Gallo in genere masculino, de Gallina in faeminino. Cum vero ἀλεκτρούων nomen viri est, cuius Homerus⁸⁵ meminit, servat o magnum in genitivo, secundum Varinum, secundum vero Eustathium mutat⁸⁶.

Βοσκὰς ὀρταλὶς Nicandro⁸⁷ gallina est domestica, sive altilis. Βρητὸς apud Hesychium, et Varinum gallus anniculus. Ἡϊκανός⁸⁸ gallinaceus, ut iidem interpretantur. Ἰππαλεκτρούων dicitur magnus gallus apud

Theocritus*, Cratinus and others.

In Athenaeus *alektorís* is not the hen but the cock. He says: *In our times the custom obtained that the hens are called ὄρνιθες - birds - and orníthia -birdies, the cocks on the contrary alektryónes and alektorídes*. In Varinus *alektrís* is read for hen, but perhaps, as it seems, in place of *alektorís* owing to the printer. There is also found *alektórios* instead of *alektóreios* - gallinaceous. Really, the cock is called *aléktor* because, as we find in Athenaeus, *ek toû léktron*, that is, it brings out of the bed. He, as it seems, is thinking that it comes from an alpha privative and *léktron* - nuptial bed, being that it makes us *álektrós* - without marriage. Eustathius of Thessalonica* wants that it is coming from an alpha privative and the verb *légo* - to fall to lie, i.e. I lie; that is like it were *léktor* and then, with an alpha privative placed before, *aléktor*: whence *alektorískeos* - cockerel. On the other hand, although we derive *aléktor* from privative alpha and *légo*, *alektryon*, which is the same as *aléktor*, and precisely the cock and sometimes also the hen, as we have just told from Aristophanes and Athenaeus, we must say that they come rather from an alpha privative and *léktron*. Homer's* age, according to Varinus, did not know this word, i.e. *alektryon*. In ancient time, as I said a short while ago, they just used only the word *órnis* in the masculine gender for rooster and in the feminine gender for hen. But when *alektryon* is the name of a man, mentioned by Homer, according to Varinus it keeps the letter omega in the genitive, on the contrary according to Eustathius is changing it - into omicron.

Boskás ortalis - fatted young hen - in Nicander* is a domestic hen, or a battery hen. *Brētòs* in Hesychius and Varinus is a year-old rooster. *Ēīkanós* is the cock, as the same authors understand. In Aristophanes a large rooster is called *hippalektryon** - *horsecock*, fabulous animal. For the same authors in Hesychius

⁸² Se crediamo a Gessner - e conviene crederci - questi *altri* sono i Settanta* in Proverbi 30,31 (che è un libro poetico dell'Antico Testamento) e Kiranide*, ammesso che si tratti di Kiranide e che il suo testo fosse considerato poesia. - Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 401: ἀλέκτορα vero in prosa nemo dixit, sed poetae aliquot, Aristophanes, Theocritus, Cratinus. item Septuaginta Prov. 30. et Kirañ. - Proverbi 30,31: gallus succinctus lumbos, "il gallo, che passeggia spavaldo fra le galline, il caprone, che marcia in testa al suo gregge, il re, quando arringa il suo popolo." (*La Sacra Bibbia*, Edizioni Paoline, 1958) - Settanta: καὶ ἀλέκτωρ ἐμπεριπατῶν θηλείας εὐψυχος καὶ τράγος ἡγούμενος αἰπολίου καὶ βασιλεὺς δημηγορῶν ἐν ἔθνει.

⁸³ IX,16,374d.

⁸⁴ Eustazio, pag. 182,11 (ad Iliadem II 103); pag. 1479,28 (ad Odysseam I 10): ἀπὸ τοῦ λέγο λέκτορ e aléktor.

⁸⁵ There is a marginal reference to Homer *Iliad*, Book 17; this must be to line 602: "great-hearted son of Alectryon," the only reference in Homer to the word for chicken in Greek, although a proper name here. (Lind, 1963)

⁸⁶ Eustazio, pag. 1120,12 (ad Iliadem XVII 602): Ὅτι Alektryon kýrion keítai entaútha ou phylásson tò θ en tē, genikē, hos Ēlektryon.

⁸⁷ *Alexipharmaca*, 293.

⁸⁸ Forse da *ēos*, l'uccello che canta al mattino. - Perhaps from *ēos*, the bird singing in the morning.

Aristophanem⁸⁹. Κέρκνος iisdem Hesychio, et Varino scilicet, vel Accipiter est, vel Gallinaceus, sed Accipiter potius meo iudicio<ο>, isque Circus: uti etiam Κῆρυξ, quae vox Suidae pariter, et Varino Accipitris genus est, et Gallinaceus. Κίκιρρος Gallinaceus, Hesychius, et Varinus. Κικκός oxytonum, Gallinaceus, paroxytonum vero parva cicada⁹⁰, et Κίκα paroxytonum, Gallina, Iidem. Videtur autem vox per onomatopoeiam facta. Κοκκοβόας ὄρνις⁹¹ de Gallinaceo accipiendum videtur apud Sophoclem⁹², ut vult Eustathius⁹³, nimirum quoque a voce, de qua verbum κοκκίζειν Graeci usurpant: videtur itaque epitheton esse.

Κόρκορα ὄρνις, Pergaeis Hesychius, et Varinus. Κορυθῶν ἀλεκτρυῶν, αἱ νεανίδες{.}<,> Iidem. Forte autem sic nominatus fuerit Gallus, quod κόρυθα⁹⁴ id est, cristam gerat: et eadem ratione fortassis etiam κορυθεύς apud eosdem, sed quae vox eis etiam cophinum et calathum significat. Κόσκικοι, οἱ κατοικίδιοι Ὀρνιθες{.}<,> Iidem. Apparet autem priorem vocem a κικκός formari. Κοττοί, Gallinacei a crista capitis sic dicti apud eosdem in Προκόττα, quod est, κεφαλῆς τρίχωμα. Κόττος, ὄρνις, sed equum quoque aliqui sic vocabant{.}<,> Iidem. Et rursus Κοττοβολεῖν τὸ παρατηρεῖν τινὰ ὄρνιν. Κοττυλοῖοι κατοικίδιοι ὄρνεις: sed Varinus legit κοττυλιοί per iota in penultima. Hesychius vocem κόττος alibi in dictione κόττη generaliter pro qualibet ave accipi scribit, proprie vero esse Gallinaceum. Κοτίκας Gallus{.}<,> Iidem. Κροκίας apud Plutarchum⁹⁵ Gallus est,

fabulous animal. For the same authors, i.e. Hesychius and Varinus, *kérkenos* is either the hawk* or the cock, but rather the hawk in my judgment, and precisely the *circus**: as also *kéryx* - the herald, a word that, alike in both Suidas* and Varinus is a kind of hawk and the cock. *Kíkirro*s - cock - for Hesychius and Varinus is the cock. *Kikkós* oxytonum is the cock, paroxytonum on the contrary is a small cicada, and *kíkka* paroxytonum is the hen, for the same authors. And it seems and onomatopoeic words. It seems that in Sophocles* *kokkobóas órnīs* must be taken as referring to the rooster, like Eustathius thinks, without doubt also from the song, from which the Greeks take the verb *kokkízein* - to go boo, or to crow a cock-a-doodle-doo: therefore it seems to be an epithet.

Kórkora is a bird for the inhabitants of Perge*, according to Hesychius and Varinus. *Korythōn alektryōn, ai neanides* - the rooster standing up, the young girls - the same authors. But perhaps the rooster was so named because it bears the *kórytha*, i.e. the comb: and probably for the same reason is also called *keorytheús* by the same authors, but for them this word also means big basket and hamper. *Kóskikoi, hoi katoikídioi órnithes* - *Kóskikoi*, the domestic birds, the same authors. But it seems that the first word is made from *kikkós* - the cock. In the same source the roosters are called *kottoi* because of the comb they have on head, when they are dealing with *prokótta*, which is *kephalēs tríchōma* - head hair. *Kóttos órnīs*, - *kóttos*, a bird -, but somebody called in this way also the horse, the same authors. And again *Kottoboleîn, to paratēreîn tinà órnin* - *Kottoboleîn*, to observe a bird. *Kottylioí katoikídioi órneis* - *Kottylioí* domestic birds: but Varinus reads *kottylioí* with an iota in the penultimate syllable. Hesychius writes that the word *kóttos* - the fish *Cottus gobio**-elsewhere in the form *kóttē*, is

⁸⁹ *Ranae* 937 ecc.

⁹⁰ κίκους = giovane cicala = young cicada.

⁹¹ *kókky* = *cucù*, voce del cuculo + *boáo* = mando un grido - *kókky* = *cuckoo*, the voice of the cuckoo + *boáo* = to bawl.

⁹² Sophocles, *Fragment* 900; F. Ellendt, *Lexicon Sophocleum* (sec. ed. by H. Genthe, 1872; photographic reprint, 1958), 390; A. C. Pearson, *The Fragments of Sophocles*, III (1917), 34, *Fragment* 791. (Lind, 1963)

⁹³ *ad Odysseam* IV 10 (1479,44).

⁹⁴ Il sostantivo femminile κόρυς, genitivo κόρυθος, significa elmo, casco.

⁹⁵ Il sostantivo maschile κροκίας in Plutarco *De Iside et Osiride* 375e significa color zafferano, riferito al gallo. - Plutarco, *Moralia*, *Iside e Osiride* 61 - 375d-e: Ὁ δὲ Ὀσίρις ἐκ τοῦ ὀσίου <καὶ> ἱεροῦ τοῦνομα μεμιγμένον ἔσχηκε· κοινὸς γὰρ ἐστὶ τῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ τῶν ἐν ἄδου λόγος· ὦν τὰ [375e] μὲν ἱερά, τὰ δὲ ὅσα τοῖς παλαί ἔθος ἦν προσαγορεύειν. Ὁ δ' ἀναφαίνων τὰ οὐράνια καὶ τῶν ἄνω φερομένων λόγος Ἄνουβις, ἔστι δὲ ὅτε καὶ Ἑρμάνουβις ὀνομάζεται, τὸ μὲν, ὡς τοῖς ἄνω, τὸ δὲ, ὡς τοῖς κάτω προσήκων. Διὸ καὶ θύουσιν αὐτῷ τὸ μὲν λευκὸν ἀλεκτρυόνα, τὸ δὲ κροκίαν, τὰ μὲν εἰλικρινῆ καὶ φανὰ, τὰ δὲ μικτὰ καὶ ποικίλα νομίζοντες. - Sic ergo Osiris nomen habet ex *hosio* et *hierio* (quod est *sancto* et *sacro*) conflatum: communis enim est ratio eorum quae in coelo et apud inferos sunt, quorum altera hiera, altera hosia veteres nuncupabant. Jam qui coelestia ostendit Anubis, superiorum quasi ratio (*ano* enim supra est), aliquando etiam Hermanubis usurpatur: altero nomine superioribus, altero inferis scilicet conveniente: itaque ei immola{ba}nt alias album, alias flavum gallum: supera sincera et manifesta, infera mixta et varia esse docentes. (Plutarchi *Scripta Moralia tomus primus*, Frederic Dübner, Parisiis, Editore Ambrosio Firmin Didot, 1868) - Osiride ha ricevuto il nome dall'unione di *hósios* (santo) e *hierós* (sacro): infatti il modo di

quem Hermanubidi immolari solere tradit. Κύμβαι ὄρνιθες. Idem. Videntur autem aves simpliciter intelligendae, quoniam cymbateutae etiam Varino sunt aucupes.

fish *Cottus gobio**-elsewhere in the form *kóttē*, is generally interpreted for whatever bird, but that properly it is the cock. *Kotikas* is a cock, the same authors. In Plutarch* *kerokías* - saffron* colored - is a rooster, and he tells it is custom to sacrifice it to Hermanubis*. *Kýmbai ὄρνιθες* - birds cymba*. The same authors. But it seems that they must be simply meant as birds, since also in Varinus *cymbateutae* are bird catchers.

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Κώκαλον⁹⁶ genus [189] quoddam Gallinacei{.}<,> Idem. Et Κώκαλος, Varino quoque proprium nomen est. Μηδικοί, aves Medicae, Gallinacei{.}<,> Idem. Aristophanes⁹⁷ μῆδον avem facere videtur. Scholiastes Gallinaceum accipiendum suspicatur. Alibi quidem dubitat, an ulla avis recte μῆδος appelletur. Caelius⁹⁸ a Medis dici asserens, *etiamsi*, inquit, *in latinis literis Medicum de procuratore {pronunciari} <pronuntari> animadvertimus a verbo μῆδομαι*, idest *curo*. Sed cum Gallinaceus ab eodem comico etiam Persica avis dicatur, Medum quoque, vel Medicam avem pro Gallinaceo accipi ab eo verisimile est.

Kokalos is a kind of chicken, again Hesychius* and Varinus*. And *kokalos* also for Varinus is a proper name. *Mēdikoí*, Median* birds, they are the roosters, the same authors. It seems that Aristophanes* is considering *mēdon* as a bird. The scholiast* suspects that a rooster must be meant. But elsewhere he doubts that some bird is correctly called *mēdos* - from Media. Lodovico Ricchieri *, when affirming that it takes the name from the Medes, says: *although we realize that in Latin Medicus - doctor - is said of one who cares for somebody, from the verb mēdomai, that is I take care of*. But being that by this comic writer the cock is also said Persian bird, it is likely that also the Median bird, or *Medicus* bird, is meant by him as cock.

Ὀλόφωνος Hesychio Gallinaceus est, sic dictus vel a lopho, id est crista, vel ab eo quod inter canendum in sublime se erigat, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν τῷ ἄδειν ὄλον αἴρεσθαι καὶ μετεωρίζεσθαι. Ὀρταλὶς Nicandro Gallinam significat. Ὀρνιθα casu recto Graecis hodie vulgo Gallina est. Ὀρθοβοάν⁹⁹ Gallum dicebat Alexarchus Cassandri Macedonum Regis frater, qui Uranopolim aedificavit, quique peculiare dicendi formas invexit, nimirum quod inter canendum se erigat, unde et ὀλόφωνον, dictum quidam conijciunt, ut diximus nisi quasi ὀρθοβοάν potius a matutino cantu¹⁰⁰, sic

Olóphonos - wholly voice - is the rooster in Hesychius, so called either from *lōphos**, i.e. comb, or from the fact that he straightens up when crowing, *apò tou en to, ádein ólon aíresthai kai meteorízesthai* - because when crowing he raises whole himself and becomes proud. *Ortalís* - young hen - in Nicander* means hen. *Ornitha*, in the nominative case, today among Greeks is commonly meaning hen - in modern Greek it is *kotta*, or *órnis*. Alexarchus*, the brother of Cassander* king of the Macedonians*, who founded Uranopolis, and who brought in peculiar forms of speech, called the rooster *orthobóan*, just because it stretches up while crowing, whence some infer that it is also called *olóphonos*, as we said, unless we prefer to think that it

esprimere le cose che stanno in cielo e agli inferi è equivalente; e gli antichi avevano l'abitudine di chiamare *bienà* (sacre) le prime, *bósia* (sante) le seconde. Siccome Anubi è colui che svela le cose celesti e la spiegazione razionale delle cose che si muovono verso l'alto, e talvolta è anche chiamato Ermanubi, in quanto il primo nome riguarda ciò che sta in alto, il secondo ciò che sta in basso. Per cui gli immolano anche un gallo bianco nel primo caso, nel secondo caso uno color zafferano, volendo significare nel primo caso le cose pure e pulite, nel secondo caso le cose mescolate e multiformi. (traduzione di Elio Corti - revisione di Roberto Ricciardi) - Aldrovandi ne riparlerà a pagina 256.

⁹⁶ Κώκαλος: κώκαλον: πάλαιον καὶ εἶδος ἀλεκτρούνοσ, Hesych. This Hesychian gloss is corrupt and obscure; but there may underlie it the Italian *cocàl, cocale, cucale*, common words along the Adriatic (Venice, Trentino, Ancona) for a Sea-gull, - κώκαλον τὸν λάρον (?). - (D'Arcy W. Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds*, 1966 (1895))

⁹⁷ *Glì ucelli* 277: ὄνομα τούτῳ Μῆδος ἐστὶ. (D'Arcy W. Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds*, 1966 (1895))

⁹⁸ Aldrovandi trae verosimilmente la notizia dal libro X, capitolo 13 di *Lectiones antiquae* di Lodovico Ricchieri.

⁹⁹ *Orthós* = dritto + *boào* = mando un grido - *orthós* = straight + *boào* = to bawl.

¹⁰⁰ Ateneo *Deipnosophistai* III,54,98e.

appellatum placeat. Ὀρτάλιχος¹⁰¹ vox poëtica tum Gallum ipsum, tum pullum Gallinaceum significat, sed pullum frequentius, ut post dicemus¹⁰². Boeotice tamen ipsi Gallinacei etiam sic dicuntur apud Aristophanem¹⁰³, ut referunt Scholiastes, et Varinus. Ὀρθριοκόκυγα¹⁰⁴ Sophocles habet pro Gallina, ni fallor¹⁰⁵. Περσικός ὄρνις Persica avis Gallinaceus dicitur propter cristam. Unde Aristophanes¹⁰⁶: *Multos pueros deceperunt amatores, alius Coturnice, alius Persica ave, aliave donata*: Ubi Scholiastes *Pretiosa*, inquit, *omnia quibus solus Persarum rex utebatur, Persica vocabantur*, et hoc in loco avis Persica non certam

olóphnon, as we said, unless we prefer to think that it is so called as being an *orthrobóan* - *órtros* = dawn, from its morning song. The poetic word *ortálichos* means both the cock itself and a young chicken, but more often chick, as I shall say later on. Nevertheless, as the scholiast and Varinus report, in Boeotia* the gallinaceous themselves are so called in Aristophanes. Unless I am mistaken, Sophocles* has *orthriokókyga* for the hen. *Persikós órnīs*, Persian bird, is said the rooster because of the comb. Whence Aristophanes: *Lovers have deceived many young boys, one with a quail*, another one with a Persian bird, or presenting with another one*: the scholiast says on this subject: *All precious things*

¹⁰¹ Diminutivo di *ortalís* = gallina giovane - diminutive of *ortalís* = young hen.

¹⁰² Ateneo *Deipnosophistai* XIV,15,622a.

¹⁰³ Aristophanes *Acharnians* 871; see W. J. M. Starkie's edition (London, 1909), 179-80. (Lind, 1963)

¹⁰⁴ *orthriokókyx* = che canta all'alba - *orthriokókyx* = who crows at dawn.

¹⁰⁵ Le galline non cantano all'alba come fanno i galli, ma solo dopo aver depresso l'uovo, il che avviene in ore progressivamente crescenti del giorno. - Sembra si tratti del fr. 4.421 di Difilo, commediografo greco del sec. IV aC che visse soprattutto ad Atene e che scrisse commedie secondo la nuova tendenza del teatro alessandrino (commedia nuova). Del centinaio di opere sue non abbiamo che frammenti. - Quindi Aldrovandi commette due errori contemporaneamente. Bastava che almeno una volta tanto facesse un accurato download da Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 402: Ὀρθριοκόκυξ ἄλεκτρῶν, Diphilus apud Eustathium. Gessner sta parlando non di galline, bensì di epiteti del gallo.

¹⁰⁶ *Aves* 707.

¹⁰⁷ Aristofane, *Gli uccelli*. (Aldrovandi) - 483. - *Peisthétairos* = Gabbacompagno - *Peisthétairos* = Companion-swindler.

¹⁰⁸ Già citato a pagina 184: Quidam Alecryon nomine tyrannidem quondam gessit, et Persis primus imperasse dicitur, etiam antequam vel Darius, vel {Megabyzus¹⁰⁸} <Megabazus>: unde etiam Gallus, ut post dicemus, ales Persica appellatur. - Ne riportiamo anche la nota a pie' pagina relativa al qui pro quo Megabizo/Megabazo. La notizia che un certo *Alektryon* fu tiranno dei Persiani prima di tutti, anche di Dario e di Megabazo* - e non di Megabizo* -, viene dalla commedia di Aristofane *Gli uccelli*, 483. È probabile che Aldrovandi abbia dedotto l'errore dal testo di Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 404: Alecryon olim tyrannidem gessit, et Persis primus imperavit, etiam ante Darium et Megabyzum: unde etiamnum ab illo imperio Persica avis appellatur, Pisthetaerus apud Aristoph. in Avibus. - A sua volta Gessner potrebbe aver dedotto l'errore da qualche testo come quello di Aldo Manuzio del 1498 che riporta: πρῶτον πάντων δαρείου καὶ μεγαβύζου. - In *Aves* 481 sgg. si dice semplicemente che in origine gli uccelli regnavano sugli uomini, e Pistetero mostrerà immediatamente il gallo (*tòn alektryóna*), come regnava sui Persiani, prima di tutti i Dari e i Megabazi, cosicché il gallo è chiamato "uccello persiano".

¹⁰⁹ *Psilēkes*, plural of *psilēx*, possibly akin to *sēlkes*; but on the other hand it may stand for *psilēkes*, i.e. *bald*, and may refer to some combless or small-combed breed of Fowls. (D'Arcy W. Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds*, 1966 (1895))

¹¹⁰ Nicander *Alexipharmaca* 294: "the free-feeding fowl, when brooding her warlike chicks," translated by A. S. F. Gow and A. F. Scholfield (Cambridge University Press, 1953), traduzione citata da Lind (1963) relativa al testo di Nicandro τοῖα τε βοσκὰς | ὀρτάλις αἰχμητῆσιν ὑπευνηθεῖσα νεοσσοῖς. presente nell'edizione di Jean de Gorris del 1557. - Tale traduzione di Gow & Scholfield non rispecchia assolutamente quella latina di Jean de Gorris (1505-1577): [...] mox sordes similis profunditur ovis, | qualia concepit coitu gallina frequenti, [...]. (Parigi, 1557) - Aldrovandi basandosi su qualche lessico - come avrà fatto anche Jean de Gorris - non identifica i *neossoi* coi pulcini, ma con i galli, che sono aggressivi e focosi e che sottomettono le galline. Infatti il *Thesaurus Graecae linguae* (1572) di Henri Estienne - alias Stephanus - alla voce *neottòs* riporta che "per iocum foemina etiam aliqua aut masculus *neossòs* dicitur, quuum tenerae seu virentis adhuc aetatis est". Per cui questi *neossoi* sono dei giovani galli libidinosi, aggressivi, che saltano ripetutamente addosso alle galline facendo aumentare la produzione di uova, e non si tratta di pulcini aggressivi che stanno sotto a una chiocciola. - La traduzione di Gow & Scholfield viene inficiata anche da Gessner a pagina 402 quando tratta degli epiteti dei galli, ed è molto verosimile che Aldrovandi si sia ispirato a Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 402: Ὀρτάλις αἰχμητῆσιν ὑπευνηθεῖσα νεοσσοῖς, Nicander. dixit autem neossos, id est pullos, pro gallinaceis adultis.

¹¹¹ Liber 9. (Aldrovandi) - IX,15,373a-16,373e.

¹¹² *Historia animalium* VI 559b 23.

¹¹³ Etymologist: *Etymologicum Magnum*, ed. by T. Gaisford (Oxford, 1848). (Lind, 1963)

¹¹⁴ Il verbo *ortalízēin* è attestato solo nello scoliaste di Aristofane, che in *Equites* 1344 usa il composto *anortalízō* 'battere le ali e gridare in segno di vittoria, inorgogliersi'.

¹¹⁵ In *Equitibus*. (Aldrovandi) - 1344 (*anortalíxon*).

¹¹⁶ Teocrito, XIII,12.

aliquam avem designat. Sunt tamen, qui Gallinaceum, et qui Pavonem interpretantur. Pist<h>et{h}aerus¹⁰⁷ Gallum avem Persicam dici tradit ab Alectryone olim, ut diximus apud Persas imperante¹⁰⁸. Ubi etiam Scholiastes, *forte*, inquit, *Alectryona vocat Medum avem*. Nam Persas Medos quoque appellabant. Σέρκος Hesychio, et Varino Gallinaceus est, et σέλκες Gallina<e>. Χειλῶνες Gallinacei quidam{.}<,> Iidem. Ψήληκες¹⁰⁹, τῶν ἀλεκτρούων οἱ νοθαγένναι, Suidas, et Hesychius. Ὠιδός ὄρνις, pro Gallinaceo legitur apud Pollucem. Caeterum cum pullus adhuc est, seu recenter natum, hoc Gallinaceum genus, Graecis, uti etiam {latinis} <Latinis>, aliter dicitur. Neossός nimirum illis, his pullus: at Nicander ea voce pro Gallinaceo adulto usus est hoc versu¹¹⁰. Ὀρταλὶς αἰχμητῆσιν ὑπευνηθεῖσα νεοσσοῖς. Νέβρακες Hesych. et Varinus pullos Gallinaceos appellant. Ab Athenaeo¹¹¹ νεοσσοί ὄρνιθες, et ἵπποι dicuntur, id est, quasi <e>quuli. *Credo*, inquit Hermolaus, *quia pulli proprie sunt equorum*. Neοττίδες ἀλεκτορίδων καὶ χηνῶν Aristoteli¹¹² dicuntur faemellae iuvencae e Gallinaceo genere, vel Anserino, quae nuper scilicet parere coeperunt: possunt et sic dici antequam pepererint. Ὀρταλίχους Etymologus¹¹³, et Varinus pullos vocant, qui nondum volare possunt. Hinc ὀρταλίξειν¹¹⁴, verbum de avibus volare incipientibus, vel de iis, qui pueros in sublime efferunt, citato motu, et improprie deinde de aliis motibus: Aristophani¹¹⁵ vero superbire, et efferri significat, haud dubio propter naturam Galli, qui, ut diximus, etiam ὀρτάλιχος dicitur¹¹⁶.

Quemadmodum vero ὄρνις apud Graecos, ut dictum est, eodem pariter modo apud {latinis} <Latinos> avis aliquando pro Gallo, Gallinave absolute ponitur. Ita Rhodias aves pro Rhodiis Gallinis Columella¹¹⁷ dixit, et Graece Ταναγραῖους ὄρνιθας, genere masculino pro Gallinaceis Tanagraeis legimus. Apud probatissimos autores latinos Gallus dicitur, et cum adiectione Gallinaceus, et simpliciter quoque Gallinaceus. Unde Albertum, aliosque latini sermonis imperitiores hallucinari constat, cum Gallum Gallinaceum, Capum, hoc est Gallum castratum interpretentur. In quem

which the Persian king alone made use of were called Persian, and in this passage *Persian bird* does not indicate a specific bird., However some people interpret as rooster, others as peacock. Pisthetaerus says that the cock is called Persian bird from Alektryon who once ruled the Persians. Also the scholiast on this passage says *perhaps calls Alectryona the Median bird*. For they called the Persians also Medes. *Sérkos* in Hesychius and Varinus is the rooster and *sélkes* are the hens. *Cheilónes* are certain chickens, the same authors. *Psēlēkes, tón alektryónon hoi nothagénnai* - *Psēlēkes*, the bastards of the cocks, the lexicon Suidas* and Hesychius. In Julius Pollux* we read *οἰδός ὄρνις* - *οἰδός* = singer - for the cock. But this kind of gallinaceous, when it is still a chick, or is recently born, is called otherwise by Greeks and Latins. Precisely, for those it is a *neossós*, for these a *pullus*: but Nicander* in order to indicate a grown gallinaceous used that word in the following verse: *Ortalís aichmētēsín hypeunēthēisa neossoís* - the hen lying beneath aggressive roosters. Hesychius and Varinus call *nēbrakes* the gallinaceous chicks. By Athenaeus* they are called *neossoi ornithes* - young birds, and *hippoi*, that is, as if they were foals. Hermolaus* says *I do believe because the pulli** - young animals - *properly belong to the horses*. *Neottídes alektorídon kai chēnôn* - the young pullets of hens and geese - for Aristotle* are said the young females of gallinaceous genus, or of geese, i.e. which just began to lay: they can also be so called before they laid. The *Etymologicon magnum** and Varinus call *ortalíchous* the chickens which cannot yet fly. Whence the verb *ortalízein* for the birds beginning to fly or for those which by a quick movement carry their children aloft, and afterwards improperly for other activities: in fact for Aristophanes it means to become proud of puffed up, no doubt because of the rooster's nature, which, as I said, is also called *ortálíchos* - rooster, in Theocritus*.

As it was said, as *ornis* is used among Greeks, alike sometimes among Latins is used *avis* - bird - without distinction for cock or hen. So Columella* said Rhodian* birds for Rhodian hens, and in Greek we read *Tanagraíous ornithas* in the masculine gender for Tanagran* chickens. By very esteemed Latin authors *Gallus* is said both with addition of *Gallinaceus* and also simply as *Gallinaceus*. Hence it is evident that Albertus Magnus* and others less skilled in Latin speech are getting the wrong end of the stick, being that they interpret the *Gallus Gallinaceus* as capon, i.e. a castrated cock. Isidore* himself fell into the same error when calling the *gallus* simply as capon, relying on that

¹¹⁷ *De re rustica* VIII,11,11: Neque est quod committatur ut Rhodiace aves pavoninis incubent, quae ne suos quidem fetus commode nutriunt.

errorem ipsemet Isidorus¹¹⁸ etiam impegit, Gallum simpliciter Capum appellans, eo, ut videtur, argumento nixus, quod veteres Gallos castratos vocarent: cum tamen contra veteres classici quique Gallos mares in hoc avium genere nuncupent. Haud me latet interim Martialem alibi aperte scribere, Gallum a castratione dici, sed is eo loco iocatur, non serio agit. Ait autem{.}<:>¹¹⁹

*Ne nimis exhausto macresceret inguine Gallus,
Amisit testes, nunc mihi Gallus erit.*

Gallinae, inquit M. Varro¹²⁰, *trium sunt Generum, Villaticae, rusticae, et Africanae. E quibus tribus generibus proprio nomine vocantur faeminae, quae sunt villaticae gallinae, mares Galli, Capi {seminares} <semimares>, {quod sint castrati} <qui sunt castrati>.* Hinc Gyb. Longolius¹²¹ totum hoc avium genus, quod de Gallinario devolat, Gallinaceos vocari scribens, id quoque nullo probato authore fretus fecisse videri potest: Cum Gallinarum saepius quam Gallinaceorum nomen universaliter pro toto genere ab authoribus usurpetur, quam nimirum pluries ut videmus in hoc genere, quam mares propter utilitatem, alantur Faeminae enim ut post suo loco patebit, maximam propter partum praebent utilitatem, et unus mas multis sufficit. Gallinaceus a Gallina fieri videtur, et vel simpliciter pro Gallo ponitur, vel tanquam epitheton ei adiungitur, differentiae fortassis gratia, ut nimirum amphibologia evitetur.

reasoning, it seems, according to which the ancients called the roosters as castrated: while however on the contrary every first-class ancient writer is naming the roosters as males among this genus of birds. In the meantime I don't miss that Martial* somewhere clearly writes that a Gaul is so called from castration, but in that passage he is joking, he is not in earnest. For he says:

*The cock, lest he should grow too thin having dried up the lower belly,
gave up his testicles, now he will be for me a Gallus - a priest of Cybele*.*

Marcus Varro* says *Hens are of three kinds, courtyard, wild and African. Of these three kinds with fitting name are called females those which are courtyard hens, males the cocks, capons the half males, which are castrated.* Therefore being that Gisbert Longolius* writes that this entire genus of birds is called gallinaceous because it flies down from poultry pen, we can also think that he did so without basing himself on some esteemed author: for by authors it is generally used the word *gallinae* -hens - more often than that of *gallinacei* for the entire genus, as we just notice that among this genus very often the females are raised for utility instead of males, and in fact, as it will appear in its proper place, they offer a very great utility because of offspring, and only one male suffices for many females. They guess that *gallinaceus* comes from *gallina*, and is either used alone for the rooster or is added to it as an adjective, perhaps because of the difference, in order that just an ambiguity is avoided.

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Nam et Galli, ut diximus [190] populi sunt, et Cybeles sacerdotes sic vocabantur, et aliis quibusdam idem nomen convenit. Varro¹²² plerasque volucrum a vocibus suis dictas tradit, atque inter eas Gallinam, et Anserem in primis

For the *Galli** - the Gauls - are also a people, as I said, and the priests of Cybele* were so called, and the same name is befitting some others. Varro* records that the majority of birds takes the name from their calls, and among them he quotes first of all the hen

¹¹⁸ *Etymologiae* XII,7: Gallus a castratione vocatus; inter ceteras enim aves huic solo testiculi adimuntur. Veteres enim abscisos gallos vocabant. Sicut autem a leone leaena et a dracone dracaena, ita a gallo gallina. Cuius membra, ut ferunt quidam, si auro liquescenti misceantur, consumi.

¹¹⁹ *Epigrammata* 13, 63 CAPONES: Ne nimis exhausto macresceret inguine gallus, | amisit testes. Nunc mihi gallus erit.

¹²⁰ Aldrovandi amputa la sequenza del testo di Varrone, tratto dal *Rerum rusticarum* III,9,1-3: Igitur sunt gallinae quae vocantur generum trium: villaticae et rusticae et Africanae. [2] Gallinae villaticae sunt, quas deinceps rure habent in villis. De his qui ornithoboscion instituere vult, id est adhibita scientia ac cura ut capiant magnos fructus, ut factitaverunt Deliaci, haec quinque maxime animadvertant oportet; de emptione, cuius modi et quam multas parent; de fetura, quem ad modum admittant et pariant; de ovis, quem ad modum incubent et excudant; de pullis, quem ad modum et a quibus educuntur; hisce appendix adicitur pars quinta, quem ad modum saginentur. [3] Ex quis tribus generibus proprio nomine vocantur feminae quae sunt villaticae gallinae, mares galli, capi semimares, qui sunt castrati.

¹²¹ *Dialogus de avibus et earum nominibus Graecis, Latinis, et Germanicis* (1544).

¹²² Forse in *De lingua latina* VIII,103: Multa ab animalium vocibus tralata in homines, partim quae sunt aperta, partim obscura; meglio in V,75: de his [scilicet volucris] pleraeque ab suis vocibus ut haec: upupa, cuculus, corvus, hirundo, ulula, bubo; item haec: pavo, anser, gallina, columba.

nominat. Ego Gallinam eiusmodi vocem edere numquam audivi, nec apud alium legi: quod si vero consimilem vocem ederet hoc avium genus, cur non et ita Graecis dicitur? Quare satis non laudare nequeo Iosephum Scaligerum¹²³, qui dictionem Gallus παρά τὸ κάλλος derivat. {Κάλλος} <Κάλλαιον> autem palea est, quae hisce avibus quasi solis convenit. Ornithologus¹²⁴ Pumuliones simpliciter Gallinas alibi interpretatur: mihi contra illae diversum, ac peculiare genus esse videntur, ut post dicam, simpliciter vero Gallinas existimo quas Varro villaticas, Plinius villares, et atiles, Columella cohortales aves appellat.¹²⁵

Gallus periphrastice variis modis a Poëtis vocatur, ut ales excubitor {Virgilio} <Vergilio>¹²⁶.

Excubitorque diem cantu {patefecerat} <praedixerat> ales,

Avis lucis Martiali.¹²⁷

Cristataeque sonant undique lucis aves.

Ales cristati oris Ovidio.¹²⁸

Non vigil ales ibi cristati cantibus oris, etc.

Eodem modo de Gallinis periphrastice loquuntur, unde Ovidio, et Martiali Cortis, sive cohortis aves dicuntur: Ovidius,¹²⁹

Abstulerat multas {ille} <illa> cohortis aves. Martialis¹³⁰

Si {Lybicae} <Libycae> volucres nobis, et Phasides essent,

Acciperes, at nunc accipe cortis aves.

Comici, teste Hermolao Gallinas quandoque Mylacridas vocant: quanquam Aristophanes¹³¹ ita

and the goose. I never heard the *gallina* - hen - to utter such a sound, nor did I ever read in someone else: if truly this genus of birds utters such a sound, why is it not thus called by the Greeks as well? Therefore I cannot sufficiently praise Joseph Scaliger* for deriving the term *gallus* from *parà tò kállos** - from the beauty. In fact *kállaiion* {is the wattle} <is the comb>, which in some way is belonging only to these birds. The Ornithologist elsewhere is interpreting bantam hens merely as hens: on the contrary it seems to me that they are a different and a specific breed, as I shall tell later, and sincerely I think that they are simply hens those called by Varro courtyard hens, by Pliny* of farm and to be fattened, by Columella* barnyard birds.

The cock is called in various ways by poets, having recourse to periphrases, like sentry bird by Vergil*:

And by his crowing the winged sentinel had announced the day.

Bird of light by Martial*:

And everywhere resound the combed birds of light.

Head combed bird by Ovid*:

Not here the watchful head combed bird with songs, etc.

Alike they say with periphrases about hens, whence by Ovid and Martial they are called barnyard or pen's birds.

Ovid:

She - the fox - had taken away many pen's birds.

Martial:

If we had Libyan and Phasian* birds,*

You would receive them, but now accept barnyard birds.

The comic poets, witness is Hermolaus*, sometimes call hens *mylakeridas**: although Aristophanes* is so

¹²³ In *Verborum etymologia*. (Aldrovandi)

¹²⁴ Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 380: Et primum DE GALLIS sive Gallinis quae a regionibus et locis denominantur, nec aliter a villaticis communibus differunt quam magnitudine, aut etiam pugnacitate. - Anche Pierre Belon* è dello stesso parere di Conrad Gessner. Ecco il testo di Pierre Belon *Histoire de la nature des oyseaux* (1555) - Des Poulles de diverses sortes. Chap. VIII. Page 246 - Nous en cognoissons seulement de deux sortes, comme aussi faisoit Aristote, lesquelles au premier chapitre du sixiesme livre des animaux, il distingue, appellant les unes genereuses ou fecondes, les autres non nobles, & infecondes. De celles que nous avons, l'une est de petite stature, commune en tous lieux: l'autre est de grande corpulence, qui n'est si commune que la precedente. Aristote au premier chapitre du sixiesme livre des animaux, & Pline au cinquante-troisiesme chapitre du dixiesme livre de l'histoire naturelle, entendent que les communes petites Poulles estoient nommees Hadrianes: car ils dient en ceste sorte. Les Poulles Hadrianes sont de petite corpulence, & qui ponnent par chacun iour, & sont de diverses couleurs. Varro a nommé telles Poulles, Villatiques, c'est à dire, nourries en village: lesquelles Columelle appelle autrement Cohortales. Voila de nostre petite Poulle commune.

¹²⁵ Varrone *Rerum rusticarum* III,9.3; Plinio *Naturalis historia* X,116; Columella *De re rustica* VIII,2,1.

¹²⁶ *Moretum* 1-2: Iam nox hibernas bis quinque peregerat horas | excubitorque diem cantu praedixerat ales, [...]. - È assai verosimile che Aldrovandi abbia fatto un download da Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 405: Excubitorque diem cantu patefecerat ales, Vergilius.

¹²⁷ *Epigrammata* XIV,223,2.

¹²⁸ *Metamorphoses* XI,957.

¹²⁹ *Fasti* IV,703-704: Is capit extremi volpem convalle salicti: | abstulerat multas illa cohortis aves.

¹³⁰ *Epigrammata* XIII,45: Si Libycae nobis volucres et Phasides essent, | acciperes, at nunc accipe chortis aves.

appellet bestiolam, quae inter molas nascitur. Pullus generale nomen est omnium alitum, et quadruped<i>um etiam quorundam foetus, pulli dicuntur, ut equi, et asini, sed praecipue avium, et inter eas Gallinarum maxime per excellentiam. Invenimus vero pullos pro Gallinaceis absolute poni apud Vegetium¹³², aliosque. Plinius¹³³ etiam arborum atque plantarum pullos dixit, unde verba, pullulare, pullescere, pullulascere, et pullatio pro foetura pullorum apud Columellam¹³⁴. Quidam etiam ex recentioribus faeminino genere pullas efferunt. Pullaster, vel pullastra significat Gallum, vel Gallinam

calling an insect which originates among millstones. *Pullus** - chick - is a usual name for all birds, and also offspring of some quadrupeds like horse and donkey are called *pulli*, but chiefly of birds, and among them par excellence mainly of hens. Truly in Vegetius* and others we find that *pulli* is used exclusively for gallinaceous. Pliny called *pulli* also those of trees and plants, whence the verbs *pullulare*, *pullescere*, *pullulascere* - to sprout, and in Columella *pullatio* - sitting on eggs - for incubation of chicks. Some among more recent writers give them in the feminine gender with *pullae*. *Pullaster* or *pullastra* means young cock or hen. So also by Marcus Varro are called *pullastrae* the young hens,

¹³¹ Aristophanes *Fragment* 583 (ed. by F. W. Hall and W. M. Geldart, Oxford University Press, 1907). (Lind, 1963)

¹³² *Artis veterinariae, sive mulomedicinae libri quatuor*.

¹³³ *Naturalis historia* XXVII,131: Circa Ariminum nota est herba quam reseda vocant. Discutit collectiones inflammationesque omnes. Qui curant ea, addunt haec verba: Reseda, morbos reseda; scisne, scisne, quis hic pullus egerit radices? Nec caput nec pedes habeat. haec ter dicunt totiensque despuunt.

¹³⁴ *De re rustica* VIII,5,9.

¹³⁵ Varro, 3. 9. 9. (Lind, 1963) Però Lind non fa notare che il testo di Varrone non contiene la parola *pullastris*, bensì *pullitris*. Ecco cosa dice la versione in mio possesso del *Rerum rusticarum* III,9,9: Itaque quae ante aut post nata sunt et etiam prima eo tempore, non supponenda; et ea quae subicias, potius vetulis quam pullitris, et quae rostra aut ungues non habeant acutos, quae debent potius in concipiendo occupatae esse quam incubando. Adpositissimae ad partum sunt anniculae aut bimae. - Alcuni codici hanno *pullitris*.

¹³⁶ Caius Suetonius Tranquillus *Vita Divi Augusti*, 87: Cotidiano sermone quaedam frequentius et notabiliter usurpasse eum, litterae ipsius autographae ostentant, in quibus identidem, cum aliquos numquam soluturos significare vult, "ad Kal. Graecas soluturos" ait; et cum hortatur ferenda esse praesentia, qualiacumque sint: "contenti simus hoc Catone"; et ad exprimendam festinatae rei velocitatem: "celerius quam asparagi cocuntur"; ponit assidue et pro stulto "baceolum" et pro pullo "pulleiaceum" et pro cerrito "vacerosum" et "vapide" se habere pro male et "betizare" pro languere, quod vulgo "lachanizare" dicitur; item "simus" pro sumus et "domos" genetivo casu singulari pro domus.

¹³⁷ La frase e l'errore sono quasi certamente dedotti da Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 458: Pro pullo pulleiacum Augustus dicere solebat, ut ait Tranquillus.

¹³⁸ Aelius Lampridius: *Scriptores Historiae Augustae**, *Life of Severus Alexander*, 41. 7. (Lind, 1963)

¹³⁹ Questa volta il download da Gessner è mal riuscito, in quanto è inficiato da un errore di copiatura: *Genillette* invece di *Genillete*, come viene a sua volta erroneamente riferito da Conrad Gessner in *Historia animalium* III (1555) pag. 415: Sabaudis similiter, vel genillete. Anglice hen, Germanice Heñ, Hün. - Il gessneriano *genillete* invece di *geline* - che in francese significa gallinella - è chiaramente un errore. Ce lo conferma il *Thresor de la langue françoise* di Jean Nicot (1606) da cui riportiamo alcuni vocaboli connessi con *geline*, la gallina. GELINE: *Geline*, f. ou poule, Gallina. *Les gelines orient*, Pipant gallinae. *Gelines d'Afrique*, Meleagrides. *Ce temps que les gelines pondent*, Ovatio. *Qui nourrit gelines*, Gallinarius. Plin. *Le lieu où on nourrit les gelines et autres oiseaux*, Ornithoboscium. *La geline pond par le bec*, id est, *par estre bien nourrie*. - GELINETTE: *Gelinette*, f. Gallinula, Pullastra, *C'est le diminutif de geline*. - GELINIER: *Gelinier*, m. Gallinarium, Gallinarum officina. *Le lieu où les gelines se retirent pour jucher*. *L'eschelle du gelinier*, Scala gallinaria. Celsus. - Se non bastasse, ecco un proverbio tedesco tradotto in francese: Was von Hennen kommt, scharrt auch. Qui est extrait de gelinette il ne peut qui ne gratte. - Le *Thresor de la langue françoise* (1606) de Jean Nicot est le point de départ de la lexicographie française. Somme des quatre éditions du *Dictionnaire françoislatin* de Robert Estienne, oeuvre qui marque le passage du dictionnaire latin au français comme langue source, il revêt, par les contributions de Nicot, le caractère d'un dictionnaire français monolingue. Ce faisant, il ouvre la voie aux dictionnaires de Richelet, de Furetière, de l'Académie française et de lexicographes postérieurs tels que Littré. Il n'est pas exagéré de dire que l'article de dictionnaire, du moins en ce qui concerne la lexicographie française, a été élaboré par Nicot. À peu près tout type d'information ainsi que tout procédé de description utilisés depuis dans un dictionnaire français se trouvent déjà dans les pages du *Thresor*. - Gessner non cade in questo errore quando a pagina 223* parla del francolino*: Avis cuius effigiem supra posuimus, Italis vocatur pernis alpedica, vel perdice alpestre, id est perdix alpina, in locis scilicet qui non procul alpibus distant, ut circa lacum Verbanum, ab aliis fasanella, ut Bellinzonae: aliis francolino. Gallis, gelinette, vel gelinette sauvage, id est gallina sylvestris, in Burgundia et Lothoringia: [...].

¹⁴⁰ Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 380: Gallice un cocq, gau, geau, gal, cog. Hispanice gallo. Germanice, Hahn/Hausshahn/Gul/Güggel. Nam vocabulum Hün atsi pro gallina fere usurpatur, tamen communius est ad omne gallinaceum genus. Anglice cok. Illyrice kokot.

¹⁴¹ Prosper Alpinus (Alpini), *De Medicina Aegyptiorum libri quatuor* (Venice, 1591; Paris, 1645; Leyden, 1745), Book III, Chapter 16, p. 233. (Lind, 1963)

¹⁴² Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 458: Pullus Italice dicitur pollo, pollastro, pulcin<o>. sed hic proprie tener adhuc et implumis, pullastro maiusculus et iam mensis aptus. Gallice poulsin, poussin, pol, pollet, cochet, et pollaille de pullastra adultiore. Germanice Huenle, Hünckel. Anglice chcyk.

adolescentes. Ita et a M. Varrone¹³⁵ Pullastrae dicuntur Gallinae iuvencae, dum ait: {*Ea qua subijcias potius e vetulis, quam e Pullastris*} <et ea quae subijcias, potius vetulis quam pullitris,>. Quare Grapaldum satis mirari nequeo, qui Pullastrum, et Pullastram neoterice (ut eius dictione utar) vocari scribit. Hermolaus vero, Sipontinus, et Platina, pullastrae vocabulo pro parva Gallina utuntur. Augustus, ut Tranquillus¹³⁶ memorat, {Pulleiacium} <Pulleiaceum>¹³⁷ pro Pullo dicere solebat. Lampridius¹³⁸ Pullicenos appellat parvos pullos, quasi pullicenus diminutivum sit a pullo. Eius verba sunt. *Servos habuit vectigales, qui eos ex ovis, et pullicenis et Pipionibus alerent.* Sed forte potius legas pullicinis. Haec enim vox ad Italorum pulcino, vel pullicino propius accedit, quos eam a veteribus Romanis retinuisse probabile est. Gallum Itali Gallo dicunt, Gallinam, Gallina: Galli, Gallum un coq Gau, Gaeu, Gal, Cog, quarum vocum prima, et ultima a Graeco κόττος derivatae videri possunt. Gallinam vero Geline, vel Poule, {Sebaudi} <Sabaudi> eisdem vocibus utuntur, sed Gallinam etiam {Genilette} <Gelinette>¹³⁹ vocant. Hispanis etiam Gallus Gallo appellatur, et Gallina, Gallina. Hun dictio Germanica¹⁴⁰ tam Gallo, quam Gallinae quadrat, Gallum vero Han, Hansshan, Gul, et Guggel, et Gallinam Hen. Angli Gallum Cok, Gallinam Hen. Aegyptii Gallinas pingues appellant Maluph, ut scribit Prosper Alpinus¹⁴¹ praestantissimus medicus, et in celeberrimo Patavino gymnasio simplicium medicamentorum professor. Pullus Italis Pollo vocatur, Pollastro, et Pulcino, sed hic tener adhuc, et implumis, Pollastro maiusculus, et iam mensis aptus. Gallis poulsin, pol, pollet, Cochet, et pollaille, de pullastra adultiore. Germanis¹⁴² Huonle, Hunckel: Anglis chijk, Flandris kijcken, Hollandis Kuijcken.

Cum vero pleraque, quae de ovis scribuntur passim ab authoribus, de Gallinarum intelligantur, non ab re, quin operae pretium, ac omnino necessarium iudico, non tantum hic eorum synonyma, verumetiam quomodo singulae partes appellentur, recensere. Ova itaque Hebraice bezah dici invenio. In lexico trilingui ביזא et ביא beza, et beia scribitur. Arabes beid, vel baid vocant, ut apud Avicennam videre est. Apud Serapionem naid legitur, quod non probo, Sylvaticus baadh scribit pro Arabica voce, et alibi barch, et elbair, nescio cuius linguae vocabula ova interpretatur, sed forte etiam Arabica fuerint, et corrupta. Latini ovum a

when he says: *and those eggs you place under, it is preferable under rather old hens than under pullets.* Which is why I cannot enough admire Francesco Mario Grapaldi* who writes that *neoterice* - in modern speech - (to use his own expression) they are called *pullaster* and *pullastra*. Verily, Hermolaus, Nicolò Perotto* and Platina* use the word *pullastra* for a little hen. Augustus*, as Suetonius Tranquillus* reminds, used to say *pulleiacius* for *pullus*. Lampridius* calls little chicks *pulliceni*, as though *pullicenus* were a diminutive from *pullus*. His words are: *He had hired servants, so as they feed them with eggs, with pulliceni and pigeons.* But perhaps one should rather read *pullicini*. For this word sounds more like *pulcino* or *pullicino* of Italians, who probably have retained it from ancient Romans. The Italians call *gallo* the *gallus*, *gallina* the *gallina*: the French call the *gallus un coq*, *Gau*, *Gaeu*, *Gal*, *Cog*, whose words the first and the last could appear to be derived from the Greek *kóttos* - *rooster* according to Hesychius*. Whereas they call the hen *geline*, or *poule*, the inhabitants of Savoy use the same words, but they call the hen also *gelinette*. By Spaniards too the cock is called *gallo*, and the hen *gallina*. The German word *Hün* fits both rooster and hen, but they call the rooster *Hahn*, *Hausshahn*, *Gul* and *Güggel*, and the hen *Hubn*. The English call the rooster *cock*; the hen *hen*. The Egyptians call fat hens *maluph*, as writes Prosper Alpinus*, most excellent physician and professor of simple medicaments at the very renowned gymnasium in Padua. *Pullus* by Italians is called *pollo*, *pollastro* and *pulcino*, but the latter when is still very young and featherless, *pollastro* when is a little more grown-up and already fit for tables. By French is called *pulsin*, *pol*, *pollet*, *cochet*, and *polaille* for a *pullastra* more adult. By Germans is called *Huenle*, *Hünckel*: by English *chijk*, by Flemish *kijcken*, by Dutch *kuijcken*.

Since without doubt most of which here and there is written by authors on eggs is referring to those of the hens, I don't reckon useless, on the contrary it is worthwhile and absolutely necessary, to examine here not only their synonyms, but also how each of their parts is named. So I find that eggs are called *bezah* in Hebrew. Both *beza* and *beia* are written in the trilingual lexicon. The Arabs call them *beid* or *baid*, as one can see in Avicenna*. In Serapion* *naid* is read, which I do not approve, Matthaeus Sylvaticus* writes *baadh* for the Arabic word, and elsewhere *barch*, and *elbair*, I don't know of what language he translates the words eggs, but perhaps were also Arabic, and corrupt. It seems that Latins derived *ovum* from *οῶν* of Greeks,

Graecorum ὄον derivasse videntur, interposita litera v euphoniae gratia. Graeci¹⁴³ vero ὄον, teste Etymologo, dixerunt, quasi οἶον, hoc est solitarium, quia singula pariantur, Poëtarum aliqui¹⁴⁴ ovum ὄιον vocant, vel ὄιον, si recte scribitur, Eustathius¹⁴⁵ hoc omittit, ὄιον et ὄιον tantum habet. Apud Athenaeum¹⁴⁶ etiam ὄιον legitur. Alii ὄιον, dicunt forma diminutiva.

after they interposed a letter v for euphony. Bearing witness the Etymologist*, actually Greeks said ὄον, nearly οἶον, that is solitary, because they are laid one at a time, some poets call the egg οἶον, or οἶον, if it is correctly written, Eustathius* is omitting this, and he has only ὄιον and οἶον. In Athenaeus* one can also read ὄιον. Others say οἶον in the diminutive form.

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Hodie vulgo [191] αὐγό nominant¹⁴⁷. Itali ovo, et uovo, Galli oeuf, Germani ey, Angli an egge. Partium ovi quae primum oculis sese offert, aliqui putamen vocant, Serenus testam, Plinius¹⁴⁸ calicem quandoque. Graecis¹⁴⁹ κέλιφος dicitur, quod Suidas interpretatur τὸ λέπυρον τοῦ ὄου: item λέπος, ut Anatolio¹⁵⁰, et λέμμα Aristophani¹⁵¹, Lycophroni¹⁵² celyphanon, quanquam eo nomine quilibet cortex censerī valeat. Hippocrati¹⁵³ λεπύρια, Aristoteli¹⁵⁴ ὄστρακον. A qua postrema dictione Nicandri¹⁵⁵ Scholiastes ἀνόστρακα ova nominat, quae sine putamine redduntur. Et ostracoderma dicuntur quae testaceo putamine obducuntur<, > testea {, } ova Macrobio¹⁵⁶ dicta: malacoderma vero quae

Today usually they call it *avgó*. The Italians *ovo* and *uovo*, the French *oeuf*, the Germans *ey*, the English *an egge*. Some call *putamen* - shell - that part of the egg firstly offering itself to the eyes, Serenus* calls it *testa*, Pliny* sometimes *calix*. By Greeks it is called *kelýphos*, which Suidas* lexicon interprets τὸ λέπυρον τοῦ ὄου - the egg's shell: likewise *lépos*, as for Anatolius*, and *lémma* for Aristophanes*, *kelýphanon* for Lycophron*, although into this word could be included any sort of coating. For Hippocrates* it is *lepyria* - the shells, for Aristotle* *ostrakon*. From the latter word the scholiast* quotes the *anóstraka* eggs of Nicander*, which are laid without shell*. And are called *ostracoderma* those eggs covered by an earthenware-like shell, called *testea* eggs - instead of *testacea* - by Macrobius*: but *malacoderma* those covered by a soft wrapping. *Lékithos* - volk -

¹⁴³ A causa degli eccessivi errori di greco nel testo di Aldrovandi, ci affidiamo a Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 451: Ovum Latini a Graeco ὄον dixerunt, interposita v. litera euphoniae causa. Graeci vero ὄον quasi οἶον, hoc est solitarium. singula enim pariuntur, Etymologus. Hodie vulgo αὐγό nominant. Itali ovo, Galli oeuf. Germani ey. Angli an egge. Ovum ex poetis aliqui ὄιον vocant, vel ὄιον, (si recte scribitur, Eustathius hoc omittit ὄιον et ὄιον tantum ponit, etc. Alexis ἡμίτομα ὄων dixit. Ὀἴου πολύ λευκότερον, Sappho. alii ὄιον, Athenaeus. Alii ὄιον diminutiva forma. Idem et Eustathius. Κτίλα τῶνα βρύχων, Nicander. id est mansuetarum ovium ova comedens.

¹⁴⁴ Saffo* in Ateneo *Deipnosophistai* II,50,57d.

¹⁴⁵ p. 1686,47 *ad Odysseam* XI 302.

¹⁴⁶ II,50,58a.

¹⁴⁷ Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 451: Hodie vulgo αὐγό nominant. - L'etimologia di αὐγό e dell'equivalente ἄβγο è la seguente: τὰ ὄα > ταύα > τ'αύγά / τ'ἄβγά che sono ovviamente il plurale di uovo. La forma attualmente in uso è αὐγό, mentre è passata in secondo piano la forma dimotikí ἄβγο.

¹⁴⁸ *Naturalis historia* XXVIII,19: Huc pertinet ovorum, quis exorbuerit quisque, calices coclearumque protinus frangi aut isdem coclearibus perforari.

¹⁴⁹ Cfr. Aristotele *De generatione animalium* II 743a 17.

¹⁵⁰ *Lépos*, guscio, è testimoniato in Ateneo II p. 55c, Nicandro *Tberiaca* 943.

¹⁵¹ *Aves* 673.

¹⁵² Lycophron, *Alexandra* (ed. by E. Scheer, Berlin, 1881), line 89. (Lind, 1963) - Il sostantivo neutro κελύφανον significa guscio e fu usato oltre che da Licofrone anche da Luciano*.

¹⁵³ Hippocrates *Liber de Natura Pueri* 22. (Lind, 1963)

¹⁵⁴ *De generatione animalium* III 758b.

¹⁵⁵ Nicander *Alexipharmaca* 295, with *scholia*. Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, and Artemidorus Daldianus, *Onirocriticus* (ed. by R. Hercher, Leipzig, 1864), are the other sources mentioned below. (Lind, 1963)

¹⁵⁶ Conrad Gessner *Historia animalium* III (1555) pagina 454: Ostracoderma ova dicuntur putamine contacta testaceo, (ova testea Macrobius dixit) malacoderma vero quae molli obducuntur cute, Caelius. § *Saturnalia* VII,16: In gradientibus lacertae et similia ex ovis creantur: quae serpunt ovis nascuntur exordio: volantia universa de ovis prodeunt excepto uno quod incertae naturae est: nam

molli cute teguntur. Λέκιθος ab Artemidoro¹⁵⁷ etiam pro putamine accipi videtur, nisi forte, lectio corrupta sit: alii ea voce vitellum significari volunt. Annara, et Amiantus¹⁵⁸ apud Sylvaticum pro ovorum testa accipiuntur.

Quod autem rupto iam ovo apparet, id Aristoteles τὸ λευκὸν τοῦ ᾠοῦ, Cornelius Celsus¹⁵⁹ ovi album, ovi candidum Plinius¹⁶⁰, et albumen, ut quidam citant, (ego plerunque semper ovi candidum ab eo nominari invenio) album liquorem Columella¹⁶¹, Palladius¹⁶² alborem ovi, Apicius¹⁶³ albamentum ovi vocabant: candidam undam Martialis per periphrasin hoc versu¹⁶⁴.

Candida si croceos circumfluit unda vitellos.

Recentiores quidam ex Graecis transferentes ovi aquatum, et tenuem ovi liquorem, indoctiores albuginem, cum tamen albugo proprie sit in oculo macula, sive cicatrix altiuscula, sicut utique in summo nubecula, ut probi auctores docent. Legimus et ovi album succum apud Plinium¹⁶⁵ in ramicosi infantis remedio: ut apud Serenum¹⁶⁶ quoque candidum ovi succum. Itali la chiara dell'ovo, Galli de Blanc d'ung Oeuf¹⁶⁷, aut aubun

those covered by a soft wrapping. *Lékithos* - yolk - seems to be meant by Artemidorus* also for eggshell, unless the reading is perhaps corrupt: others agree that by this word the yolk is meant. In Mattheus Sylvaticus* *annara* and *amianthus** are meant as eggshell.

Now, what is visible as soon as an egg has been broken, Aristotle called it *tò leukón toú ᾠοῦ* - the white of the egg, Cornelius Celsus* *ovi album*, Pliny *ovi candidum* and *albumen*, as some people are quoting (most often I find that by him it is always called *ovi candidum*), Columella* white liquid, Palladius* whiteness of the egg, Apicius* *albamentum ovi*: Martial* snow-white wave, by a periphrasis with this verse:

If a snow-white wave flows around the saffron yolks.

Some more recent authors, while translating from Greeks, call it egg's watery solution, and egg's thin fluid, and those less skilful *albugo* - leucoma, but whereas in fact the *albugo* is a patch present in the eye, either a rather raised scar, anyway at the most like a little cloud, as trustworthy authors point out. In Pliny, in a remedy for an infant suffering from hernia, we read also the white juice of the egg; as in Serenus Sammonicus snow-white egg's juice. The Italians call it *la chiara dell'ovo*, the French *le blanc d'un oeuf*, or *aubun*

vespertilio volat quidem pellitis alis, sed inter volantia non habendus est qui quattuor pedibus graditur formatosque pullos parit et nutrit lacte quos generat: nantia paene omnia de ovis oriuntur generis sui, crocodilus vero etiam de testibus, qualia sunt volantium.

¹⁵⁷ *Onirocriticon* lib. 5. somnio 85. (Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 453).

¹⁵⁸ In greco *amíantos* = puro, incorruttibile. - La citazione di Aldrovandi è monca ed enigmatica. Più appropriata è quella di Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 449: Amiantum Sylvaticus interpretatur testas ovorum e quibus pulli in nido excluduntur, manifesto errore, cum amiantus genus lapidis sit. hoc forsitan fieri potest, ut ad medicinam amianti loco testae ovorum usurpari possint.

¹⁵⁹ *De medicina* V,2: Glutinant vulnus murra, tus, cummi, praecipueque acanthinum; psylleum, tragacantha, cardamomon, bulbi, lini semen, nasturcium; ovi album, gluten, ichthyocolla; vitis alba, contusae cum testis suis cocleae, mel coctum; spongia vel ex aqua frigida vel ex vino vel ex aceto expressa; ex iisdem lana sucida; si levis plaga est, etiam aranea. - VI,6: [...] excipere oportet ovi albo, donec mellis crassitudinem habeat, idque in linteolum inlinere, et fronti adglutinare, ut compressis venis pituitae impetum cohibeat.

¹⁶⁰ *Naturalis historia* XXVIII,66: oculos firmitatis causa, inlinit sole usta cum ovi albo, [...] - XXIX,40: candido ovorum in oculis et pili reclinantur [...].

¹⁶¹ *De re rustica* VI,38,2: Suffraginosae ordeacea farina imponitur, mox suppuratio ferro reclusa linamentis curatur; vel gari optimi sextarius cum libra olei per narem sinistram demittitur, admisceturque huic medicamini trium vel quattuor ovorum albus liquor separatis vitellis.

¹⁶² *Opus Agriculturae* XI,14,9: In album colorem vina fusca mutari, si ex faba lomentum factum vino quia adiciat vel ovorum trium lagenae infundat alborem diuque commoveat: sequenti die candidum reperiri. Quod si ex afra pisa lomentum adiciatur, eadem die posse mutari.

¹⁶³ *De re coquinaria* V,3,4: Pisum coques, agitabis et mittis in frigidam. cum refrigeraverit, deinde agitabis. concidis cepam minutatim et albamentum ovi, oleo et sale condies, aceti modicum adicies. in boletari vitellum ovi cocti colas, insuper oleum viridem mittis et inferes. - VI,9,12: obligas cum albamentis ovorum tritis, ponis in lance, et iure supradicto perfundis.

¹⁶⁴ *Epigrammaton* liber XIII, XL, OVA - Candida si croceos circumfluit unda vitellos, | Hesperius scombri temperet ova liquor.

¹⁶⁵ *Naturalis historia* XXX,136: Coclearum saliva inlita infantium oculis palpebras corrigit gignitque. Ramicosis coclearum cinis cum ture ex ovi albo specillo inlitis per dies XXX medetur.

¹⁶⁶ Q. Serenus *Liber Medicinalis*, in 1,107 hexameters, (ed. by Fr. Vollmer) in *Corpus Medicorum Latinorum*, II (Leipzig, 1916), is based on Pliny; see *Philologus* 75. 128-33; Pliny, 30. 15. 47. 136. Dioscorides, mentioned below, wrote *De Materia Medica* (ed. by M. Wellmann, Berlin, 1906-14) and *Alexipharmaca* and *Theriaca* (ed. by K. Sprengel) in Kuehn, *Medici Graeci*, xxv, xxvi (Leipzig, 1829). (Lind, 1963)

¹⁶⁷ La fonte è quasi certamente Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 452: Galli de blanc d'ung oeuf, aubun d'oeuf. Itali volume de lovo.

d'oeuf, Germani superiores das Klar oder vvyss im ey, inferiores dat vvit vant ey.

Interior ovi liquor, qui lutei coloris est, Plinio¹⁶⁸ vitellus, et luteum ovi vocatur. Recentiores quidam etiam vitellum genere neutro efferunt, uti et Gaza quoque contra veterum auctoritatem. Vitellus a vita dictus est quod ex eo vivat pullus, Graeci modo Lecython appellant, modo χρυσόν, Hippocrates¹⁶⁹ etiam τὸ χλωρόν, Aristoteles¹⁷⁰ ὠχρόν, et alibi λέκυθον faeminino genere¹⁷¹, uti et Dioscorides¹⁷² τῶν ὠῶν τὰ χρυσᾶ invenio apud Athenaeum, et ὠοῦ τὸ πυρρόν apud Suidam. Veteres quandoque etiam ovi luteum νεοττόν vocabant, id est, pullum, nimirum quod pullum ex eo nasci, formarique existimarent, Itali torlo dell'ovo vocant, Galli le moyen d'un oeuf, le iaulne, Germani todter, vel tutter, forte, ut ait Ornithologus¹⁷³, quia mamillam tutten nuncupant. Alitur autem pullus vitello intra ovum, succo eius attracto, ut infans in lucem editus lacte mamillae. Belgae dat geel vant ey. Ozonab Sylvaticus exponit pro vitello ovi.

GENUS. DIFFERENTIAE.

Ornithologus¹⁷⁴ Gallorum, ac Gallinarum differentias a regionibus, ac locis quibus degunt potissimum desumi, atque ita non aliter quam magnitudine, aut etiam pugnacitate vult differre. Differunt tamen et in aliis, ut ex subsequentibus patebit. Inter eas, quae a veteribus celebrantur, Gallinas, Hadrianae¹⁷⁵, sive, ut vocavit

d'oeuf, the northern Germans *das Klar oder - or - vvyss im ey*, the southern ones *dat wit vant ey*.

The more inner fluid of the egg, which is yellow, is called by Pliny *vitellus* - yolk - and yellow of the egg. Some more recent writers report *vitellum* in the neuter too, as also does Gaza* against the example of the ancients. *Vitellus* takes the name from *vita* - life - because the chick draws the life from it, sometimes the Greeks call it *lecython*, sometimes *chrysón* - gold, Hippocrates also *tò chlorón* - yellowish, blond -, Aristotle *ochrón* - the yellow, and elsewhere *lékython* - yolk - in the feminine gender, as also Dioscorides, I find in Athenaeus *ton oion tà chrysá*, and in the lexicon Suidas *oioú tò pyrrhón* - the fire-red of the egg. The ancients sometimes called *neottón* also the yellow of the egg, that is chick, without doubt because they thought that the chick was born and formed from it, the Italians call it *torlo dell'ovo*, the French *le moyen d'un oeuf*, *le iaulne*, the Germans *todter*, or *tutter*, perhaps, as the Ornithologist says, because they call *tutten* - nipple - the female's breast. In fact the chick within the egg nourishes himself by the yolk, attracted by its life juice, as an infant who has been born is attracted by breast's milk. The Belgians *dat geel vant ey*. Sylvaticus reports *ozonab* for the egg's yolk.

GENUS - DIFFERENCES

The Ornithologist asserts that the differences of cocks and hens can first be inferred from regions and places where they live, and that for the same reason they differ in size or in pugnacity too. But they differ also in other things, as it will be evident from what is following. Among the hens extolled by ancients first of all are appearing the *Hadrianae**, or, as Aristotle

¹⁶⁸ *Naturalis historia* X,148: Omnibus ovis medio vitelli parva inest velut sanguinea gutta, quod esse cor avium existimant, primum in omni corpore id gigni opinantes: in ovo certe gutta ea salit palpatatque. - XXX,141: [...] item si lutea ex ovis quinis columbarum admixta adipis suilli denarii pondere ex melle sorbeantur, passeret in cibo vel ova eorum, gallinacei dexter testis arietina pelle adalligatus.

¹⁶⁹ *De natura pueri* XXX.

¹⁷⁰ *Historia animalium* VI 560a 21.

¹⁷¹ Per esempio *Historia animalium* VI 560a 29.

¹⁷² *De materia medica* II,54 De ovo: ἡ λέκυθος. (Curtius Sprengel, Lipsiae 1829)

¹⁷³ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 452: Itali vitellum appellant tu<o>rlo de l'ovo: Galli le moyen d'un oeuf, le iaulne: Germani todter vel tutter: forte quia mamillam tutten appellant.

¹⁷⁴ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 380: Et primum DE GALLIS sive Gallinis quae a regionibus e locis denominantur, nec aliter a villaticis communibus differunt quam magnitudine, aut etiam pugnacitate.

¹⁷⁵ Fantasmagorica la disquisizione sulle galline *Hadrianae* da parte di Aldrovandi. Siamo pertanto costretti a citare per esteso il testo di Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 380-381: HADRIANAE gallinae (Ἀδριανικαί, nimirum a regione, non ut Niphus suspicatur quod forte ab Adriano Imperatore observatae sint, vixit enim Adrianus multo post Aristotelis tempora) parvo quidem sunt corpore, sed quotidie pariunt, ferociunt tamen, et pullos saepe interimunt, color his varius, Aristot. Et alibi, Multa admodum pariunt. Fit enim propter corporis exiguitatem, ut alimentum ad partionem sumptitetur. Hadrianis laus maxima (circa foecunditatem,) Plinius. Adrianas sive Adriaticas gallinas (τοὺς Ἀδριατικούς ὄρνιθας) Athenienses alere student, quanquam nostri inutiliores, utpote multo minores. Adriatici vero contra nostras accersunt, Chrysippus apud Athenaeum lib.7. Gallinae quaedam Adriani regis vocantur, quae apud nos dicuntur gallinae magnae, et sunt magni oblongi corporis, abundant apud Selandos et Hollandos, et ubique in Germania inferiore. Pariunt quotidie, minime benignae in pullos suos, quos saepe interficiunt. Colores

Aristoteles Ἀδριανικά¹⁷⁶, primo loco occurrunt. At quae sint, alios aliter sentire video, et revera neminem hactenus videre mihi contigit, qui exacte hac in parte doctis ingeniis satisfacere potuerit. Albertus magnus Philosophus sui temporis celeberrimus, dum quasdam Gallinas Hadriani Regis vocari dicit, quae suis magnae dicantur, aperte Aristoteli refragatur: si modo verum est, quod de Hadrianis Aristotelis intelligat, ut Augustinus Niphus affirmat¹⁷⁷, in

called them, *Adrianikai*. But what kind of hens they are, I realize that some are thinking in one way, somebody else in another way, and really up to now didn't happen to me to find anyone able to accurately satisfy the skilful people in this matter. Albertus Magnus*, a very famous philosopher in his days, while stating that certain hens are called *of the Hadrian King*, which by his countrymen would be called as large sized, clearly is opposing himself with Aristotle: on condition that he is referring himself to the

earum sunt diversi, sed apud nos frequentius sunt albae, aliae aliorum colorum. Pulli earum diu iacent sine pennis, Albertus, sed hae forsitan Medicae potius vel Patavinae gallinae fuerint. Gallinae Adrianae non magno et oblongo corpore sunt, ut somniavit Albertus, sed contra ut Aristoteles et Ephesius tradiderunt, Niphus. Gyb. Longolius Germanice interpretatur Leihennen, Varias sunt (inquit) rostro candidiusculo. Pulli earum columbarum pipiones colore referunt. Ab Adriaticis mercatoribus primum in Graeciam advectae videntur, et inde nomen tulisse. Quod autem ferocire Aristoteles eas scribit, factum esse puto ob patriae mutationem, cum in calidiores regiones devectae et ferventioris ingenii redditae sunt, Haec ille. Varro Africanas, quas non alias esse constat quam Hadrianas, varias et grandes facit, Turnerus. Ego Africanas ab Adrianis multum differre puto, cum Numidicis vero easdem esse. Hispanus quidam amicus noster gallinam Adrianam, Hispanice gallina enana nominat. nimirum quod corpore nana et pumila sit, quale genus in Helvetia apud nos audio nominari Schotthennen, alibi Erdhennle, alibi Däsehünle. Sed Gyb. Longolius gallinas plumilas [pumilas] Germanice vocat kriel. Vulgares sunt (inquit) et passim extant. Per terram reptant claudicando potius quam incedendo. Licebit autem gallinaceos huius generis pumiliones, gallinas pumilas cum Columella nominare. Sunt enim in omni animantium genere nani, ut dixit Theophrastus. Pumiliones, alias pumilas, aves, nisi quem humilitas earum delectat, nec propter foecunditatem, nec propter alium reditum nimium probo, Columella. Est et pumilionum genus non sterile in iis, quod non in alio genere alitum, sed quibus {certa} <centra> foecunditas rara et incubatio ovis noxia, Plinius. Apud TANAGRAEOS duo genera gallorum sunt, hi machimi, (id est pugnaces, vel praeliaries, ut Hermolaus) vocantur, alii cossyphi. Cossyphi magnitudine LYDAS gallinas aequant, colore similes corvis (coracino, hinc cossyphi nimirum dicti quod merularum instar atrii coloris sint:) barbam et cristam habent instar anemones, (calcaria et apex anemones [anemones] floris macula modo rubent, Hermol.) Candida item signa exigua in rostro supremo et caudae extremitate, Pausanias in Boeoticis interprete Loeschero. At pugillatum atque praelia, Graeci e Boeotia Tanagricas, item RHODIAS, (ut Athenaeus, Columella, Martialis,) nec minus CHALCIDICAS et MEDICAS probavere. Quidam ALEXANDRINAS in Aegypto, Hermolaus. Tanagrici, Medici et Chalcidici, sine dubio sunt pulchri, et ad praeliandum inter se maxime idonei, sed ad partus sunt steriliores, Varro. Tanagrici plerumque Rhodiis et Medicis amplitudine pares, non multum moribus a [381] vernaculis distant, sicut et Chalcidici, Columella: cum paulo ante dixisset Rhodii generis aut Medici propter gravitatem neque gallos nimis salaces, nec foecundas esse gallinas. Et rursus, Deliaci (scriptores) quoniam procera corpora et animos ad praelia pertinaces [pertinaces] requirebant, praecipue Tanagricum genus et Rhodium probabant, nec minus Chalcidicum et Medicum, quod ab imperito vulgo litera mutata Melicum appellatur. Ex gallinaceis quidam ad bella tantum et praelia assidua nascuntur, quibus etiam patrias nobilitarunt Rhodom ac Tanagram. Secundus est honos habitus Melicis et Chalcidicis, ut plane dignae aliti tantum honoris praebat Romana purpura, Plinius.

¹⁷⁶ *De generatione animalium* III 749b-750a - *Historia animalium* VI 558b. - Filippo Capponi in *Ornithologia Latina* (1979), quando tratta delle galline di *Hadria*, cita in greco il brano di Aristotele tratto da *Historia animalium* VI 558b e riporta l'aggettivo *Adrianai* a proposito di queste galline. L'aggettivo *Adrianós* è usato, per esempio, da Dionigi d'Alicarnasso (retore e storico greco del I sec. aC) per indicare il mare Adriatico (*Romanae Antiquitates*, II 4), mentre non comparirebbe in Aristotele, il quale avrebbe invece usato due diversi aggettivi equivalenti: *Adriatikós* (*Historia animalium*, VI etc.) e *Adrianikós* (in *De generatione animalium* 749b 29 si legge: *tón alektorídon ai Adrianikaí*; in *Historia animalium* VI,1,558b 16 *Ai d'Adrianai alektorídes* (qui *Adrianikaí* è *alia lectio* dei codici PD^a)); cfr. anche Ateneo VII,23,285d (Ἀδριατικοὺς ὄρνιθας, polli adriatici). § In Giulio Cesare Scaligero* (*Aristotelis historia de animalibus*, Tolosa, 1619, pag. 638) troviamo *Adrianikaí*. Αἱ δὲ Ἀδριανικάι ἀλεκτορίδες, εἰσι μὲν μικραὶ τὸ μέγεθος, τίκτουσι δὲ ἀν'ἐκάστην ἡμέραν. Εἰσὶ δὲ χαλεπαί, καὶ κτείνουσι τοὺς νεοττοὺς πολλάκις. Χρῶματα δὲ παντοδαπὰ ἔχουσι.

¹⁷⁷ Augustinus Niphus *Expositiones in omnes Aristotelis libros* (1546) pag. 157: Albertus [...] Etiam id, quod secundo loco asserit, longe deterius est, cum dicat gallinas adriaticas esse magno, & oblongo corpore, cuius oppositum Arist. & eius expositor Ephesius in scholijs tradiderunt.

¹⁷⁸ Aldrovandi non ha capito una minchia di quanto riferito da Gessner, né si è preso la briga di dare uno sguardo al commento di Agostino Nifo. Infatti molto prima della sua *invettiva* contro Alberto, sempre a pagina 157 di *Expositiones in omnes Aristotelis libros* (1546) Agostino Nifo esprime il sospetto che le galline *Adrianae* furono così chiamate in quanto viste dall'imperatore Adriano: fortassis ab Adriano Imperatore observatae. - Quindi l'illazione *Adrianae* = fortassis ab Adriano Imperatore observatae non è di Alberto, ma di Nifo. Alberto conosceva galline giganti che erano dette del Re Adriano, e di quale re Adriano si trattò nessuno per ora lo sa.

¹⁷⁹ Agostino Nifo *Expositiones in omnes Aristotelis libros* (1546) pagina 157: *Adrianae* graece Ἀδριανικάι, fortasse ab Adriano Imperatore observatae:[...]. § Agostino Nifo si è lasciato trarre in inganno da Alberto *De animalibus* VI,3: Adhuc autem quaedam sunt gallinae, quae Adriani regis - αἱ Ἀδριανικάι - vocantur, et apud nos dicuntur gallinae magnae, et sunt magni et longi valde corporis, et abundant in Selandia et Hollandia et fere ubique in Germania inferiori. (Albertus Magnus *De animalibus libri XXVI* - Hermann Stadler, Münster, 1916)

Albertum invectus, cum ait: *Gallinae Hadrianae non sunt magno corpore, et oblongo, ut somniavit Albertus, sed contra ut Aristoteles, et Ephesius tradiderunt*{,}<.> Haec ille. At quam bene ex hoc¹⁷⁸ colligat Hadrianas Gallinas ab Hadriano {Imperatore} <Imperatore> nomen invenisse, ipse viderit¹⁷⁹. Equidem Aristotelem longe ante Hadrianum Imperatorem vixisse historia docet. Hadrianas vero a loco nomen accepisse, nimirum ab Hadria civitate nihilum dubito.

Turnerus¹⁸⁰ Africanas ab Hadrianis nihil differre existimans eas triplo, et amplius maiores facit, in tam foedum errorem impingens, ut redargutione plane non egeat. Nos de Africanis supra diximus¹⁸¹. Qui vero e contrario id genus Gallinarum nanas interpretantur, sive pumiliones, ab eorum opinione recedere minime possum, cuius sententiae fuisse Hispanum quendam amicum suum Ornithologus¹⁸² tradit, ac Hispanice Gallina enana interpretari asserit, nimirum, quod corpore nana, et pumila sit, eo, ut videtur, argumento nixus, quoniam Aristoteles Hadrianas parvo corpore esse scribat. Veruntamen ego nanas hic minime claudicantes illas, ut Longolius vocat, quae pariter nanae sunt, interpretor, sed genus quoddam caeteris minus:

Hadrianae of Aristotle, as Augustinus Niphus* is affirming, when he attacks Albertus in saying: *The Hadrianae hens are not of large and long body, as Albertus fancied, but quite otherwise as Aristotle and the Ephesian - Michael of Ephesus* - banded down.* These are the words of the Ornithologist. But he himself - i.e. Niphus - would have been aware that according to this affirmation he is exactly deducing that *Hadrianae* hens took the name from Hadrian* Emperor. Doubtless the history shows that Aristotle lived long before than Hadrian Emperor. Really I don't have the slightest doubt that *Hadrianae* took the name from a locality, doubtless from the town of *Hadria**.

William Turner*, when thinking that African hens - *Numida meleagris*?* - are nowise different from *Hadrianae*, he makes these hens three times or more larger, falling into such a gross mistake that he doesn't need confutation at all. I have spoken about Africans previously. To tell the truth by no means I cannot to diverge from the opinion of those who on the contrary judge this sort of hens as dwarf, or small, and the Ornithologist records that a certain Spanish friend of him held this opinion, and he affirms that in Spanish is translated as *Gallina enana*, of course because it is dwarfed and tiny in body, seemingly relying on the proof that Aristotle writes that the *Hadrianae* have a small body. But at this point I do think that the dwarfs are not at all those limping hens, as Gisbert Longolius* calls them, which are likewise dwarf, but a certain breed smaller than others:

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[192] claudicantes enim illae licet caeteris foecundiores sint, in omnibus passim locis reperuntur, et genus suum non servant, aut propagant, sed ita nanae nescio quo casu nascuntur. Praeterea verisimile mihi non videtur, quomodo, et cur Aristoteles, qui omnes animalium differentias diligentissime observavit, literisque mandavit, et hanc non annotaverit. Plinius Hadrianas a nanis etiam distinguere non

supposing that such limping hens are more productive than others, they are found everywhere in any country, and they don't take care of their offspring neither perpetuate them, but I don't know for what reason they hatch so dwarf. Further, it does not seem likely to me how and why Aristotle*, who very carefully observed all the characteristics of the animals and wrote them down, did not annotate this one too. It seems that also Pliny* is not distinguishing

¹⁸⁰ L'errore di William Turner proviene da un'errata, frettolosa e fuorviante interpretazione del testo di Varrone relativo alle galline *Africanae*. Lo possiamo dedurre, come ha fatto Aldrovandi, dal testo di Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 380: Varro Africanas, quas non alias esse constat quam Hadrianas, varias et grandes facit, Turnerus. Ego [Gessner] Africanas ab Adrianis multum differre puto, cum Numidicis vero easdem esse. - Varrone è ben informato: un conto sono le galline da cortile e quelle selvatiche, un altro conto sono le faraone. Ecco i frammenti di Varrone in cui parla delle *Africanae*, tratti da *Rerum rusticarum* III. 9,1: Igitur sunt gallinae quae vocantur generum trium: villaticae et rusticae et Africanae. - 9,16: Gallinae rusticae sunt in urbe rarae nec fere nisi mansuetae in cavea videntur Romae, similes facie non his gallinis villaticis nostris, sed Africanis. - 9,18: Gallinae Africanae sunt grandes, variae, gibberae, quas *meleagridas* appellant Graeci. Haec novissimae in triclinium cenantium introierunt e culina propter fastidium hominum.

¹⁸¹ Ulisse Aldrovandi *Ornithologia* I, 595. (Lind, 1963)

¹⁸² Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 380: Ego Africanas ab Adrianis multum differre puto, cum Numidicis vero easdem esse. Hispanus quidam amicus noster gallinam Adrianam, Hispanice gallina enana nominat. nimirum quod corpore nana et pumila sit, quale genus in Helvetia apud nos audio nominari Schotthennen, alibi Erdhennle, alibi Däsehünle.

videtur, quamvis diversis de his agat capitibus. Sed nanas non vocat, verum modo Hadrianas, modo pumiliones. Postquam enim Hadrianis maximam laudem circa foecunditatem attribuisset¹⁸³, mox sententiam fusius explicans, de eisdem ita infit¹⁸⁴: *Est et pumilionum genus non sterile in {iis} <his> (nimirum optimis) quod non alio in genere alitum, sed quibus {certa}¹⁸⁵ <centra> foecunditas rara, et incubatio ovis noxia: quasi dicat: ova illis non supponenda esse, quoniam pullos suos sint interempturae, ut dixit Aristoteles, qui colorem quoque addidit, varium¹⁸⁶ nempe, quem omisit Plinius, forte quasi superfluum fuerit eum addere: quod vix crediderim. Philosophus enim nihil frustra dicere solet. Gylbertus Longolius quasdam Gallinas Germanice Leihennen, quasi Gallinas parturientes dicas, appellari ait, et Hadrianas esse conijcit, colore vero varias esse, et rostro {longiusculo} <candidiusculo¹⁸⁷>, pullos vero columbarum pipiones <colore> referre.*

Quod vero Aristoteles¹⁸⁸ Hadrianas ferocire dicat, factum esse putat ob patriae mutationem, cum in calidiores regiones devectae, et ferocioris ingenii redditae sunt. Has ego (si modo tales ibi dentur) Hadrianas esse prius plane credebam. At cum ferocire eas neget, id vero Aristoteles¹⁸⁹ aperte tradat, nimirum in proprios pullos, quos, ut inquit, saepe interimunt: et Plinius, ut ostendi, eandem ob causam tanquam incubationi ineptas, rejiciat: immutata opinione omnino censeo, nec tales Hadrianas esse. Verum cum et ipse interim, quae certo Hadrianae dici possint nunquam viderim, itaque suum cuique liberum iudicium relinquo, aliorum opinionem tantum examinasse contentus. Video tamen plerosque viros doctos, forte quia et ipsi alias non haberent, quas

between *Hadrianae* and dwarfs although he deals with them in different chapters. But he does not call them dwarfs, but now *Hadrianae*, now small. For after he gave the *Hadrianae* the greatest praise for their fecundity, afterwards, when explaining at greater length his statement, he says in this manner about them: *There is also a non-sterile breed of dwarfs among those (without doubt very good) which does not occur in other genus of birds, but those with spurs are seldom prolific and their incubation is harmful to eggs*: as if he would say: eggs should not be set under them since they will kill their chicks, as Aristotle said, who added also their color, that is variegated, which Pliny omitted, as perhaps it should be nearly superfluous to add it: what I can barely believe. For the Philosopher is accustomed to say nothing in vain. Gisbert Longolius* says that some hens are called *Leihennen* in German, as though you might say hens that lay eggs, and he concludes that they are *Hadrianae*, that truly they are of various colors and with a rather whiter beak, while their chicks regarding their color bear a resemblance to squabs.

But being that Aristotle says that *Hadrianae* are aggressive, he - Longolius - thinks that this happened because they changed their origin place, and when transferred to warmer regions they also turned into a more aggressive temperament. Previously it had been my absolute belief that these hens (on condition that such hens are there existing) were *Hadrianae*. But being that he - Longolius - states that they are not aggressive, while Aristotle is unequivocally referring this, just toward their chicks which, as he says, often they kill, and also Pliny, as I pointed out, despises them on account of the same reason as unsuited for incubation, without any doubt I think with unchanged opinion that neither aforesaid hens are *Hadrianae*. However, since for the present I also never have seen hens which can surely be called *Hadrianae*, I leave

¹⁸³ *Naturalis historia* X,146: Quaedam omni tempore coeunt, ut gallinae, et pariunt, praeterquam duobus mensibus hiemis brumalibus. Ex iis iuvencae plura quam veteres, sed minora, et in eodem fetu prima ac novissima. Est autem tanta fecunditas ut aliquae et sexagena pariant, aliquae cotidie, aliquae bis die, aliquae in tantum ut effetae moriantur. Hadrianis laus maxima.

¹⁸⁴ *Naturalis historia* X,156: Gallinarum generositas spectatur crista erecta, interim et gemina, pinnis nigris, ore rubicundo, digitis imparibus, aliquando et super IIII digitos traverso uno. Ad rem divinam luteo rostro pedibusque purae non videntur, ad opertanea sacra nigrae. Est et pumilionum genus non sterile in his, quod non in alio genere alitum, sed quibus centra, fecunditas rara et incubatio ovis noxia.

¹⁸⁵ L'erroneo scambio di *certa* per *centra* - e a pagina 197 Aldrovandi cita correttamente il greco *kéntra* - può risalire a qualche antica versione del testo pliniano, ma è assai più verosimile che esso provenga da Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 380: Est et pumilionum genus non sterile in iis, quod non in alio genere alitum, sed quibus {certa} <centra> foecunditas rara et incubatio ovis noxia, Plinius. - Il sospetto è accresciuto dal fatto che Aldrovandi, come Gessner, usa *in iis* anziché *in his*.

¹⁸⁶ *Historia animalium* VI 558b 19: *chromata de pantodapa ebousin*.

¹⁸⁷ Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 380: Gyb. Longolius Germanice interpretatur Leihennen, Variae sunt (inquit) rostro candidiusculo.

¹⁸⁸ *Historia animalium* VI 558b 18: *chalepai*.

¹⁸⁹ *Historia animalium* VI 558b 18: *keinousi tous neottons pollakis*.

Hadrianas dicere possent, Gyberti Longolii sententiam amplecti.

Columella etiam quasdam Gallinas pumiliones vocat, quae nunquid eadem sint cum pumilionibus Plinii, rursus subdubito. Etenim Columella¹⁹⁰ nec propter foecunditatem, nec propter aliud emolumentum eas nimium probat: hic, uti diximus pro foecundissimis habet: et inter nostri saeculi scriptores Conradus Heresbachius pumiliones, etsi vetustas cum ob infoecunditatem, tum ob alias causas improbat: tamen pluribus locis foecundas reperiri, ovaque plurima edere asserens, et in Britannia hoc tempore ad cibos delicatos expeti. Quas vero Longolius pumilas vocat, et Germanice Kriel¹⁹¹ interpretatur, eae, ut paulo ante dixi, passim extant, per terram reptant, claudicando potius, quam incedendo, nos etiam *na{}*nas appellamus. Flandri, ut audio gekrieldde hennens. Aristoteles¹⁹² de suis Hadrianis loquens, cur multa admodum pariant, hanc rationem reddit, *quod propter corporis exiguitatem, alimentum ad {partitionem sumptiterur} <partitionem sumptitetur>*. Has, ut inquit, Chrysippus apud Athenaeum¹⁹³, *Athenienses alere studebant, quanquam nostris inutiliores: Adriatici vero contra nostras accersire*

therefore everyone his own freedom of thought, having confined myself to only look into the opinions of others. Nevertheless, I notice that most of learned men embrace Gisbert Longolius' view, perhaps because they also didn't have available any other hens which they could call *Hadrianae*.

Columella* also calls certain hens dwarfs, but once more I doubt that they are the same dwarf hens of Pliny. For Columella does not appreciate them too much either for their fecundity or any other advantage. He - Pliny, as I said, does consider them very prolific: and, among writers of our century, Conrad Heresbach* disapproves the dwarfs even if aged, both because of their lack of fecundity as well as for other reasons: also claiming that we can found fecund hens in many places and that they lay very many eggs, and that at the present time in Britain they are sought to make delicacies. Those which Longolius calls dwarfs, and translated into Dutch as *kriel*, as I just said are found everywhere, they creep over the earth limping rather than walking, we also call them dwarfs. The Flemish*, as I hear, call them *gekrieldde hennens*. Aristotle, speaking of his *Hadrianae** gives this reason why they lay very many eggs: *because on account of their thinness of body the food is employed for procreation*. As Chrysippus* says in Athenaeus*: *The Athenians did their best in breeding these hens, although they were more useless than ours: whereas, on the contrary, the peoples of the Adriatic sea were accustomed to get ours*.

¹⁹⁰ *De re rustica* - VIII,2,14: Pumileas aves, nisi quem humilitas earum delectat, nec propter fecunditatem nec propter alium reditum nimium probo, tam hercule quam nec pugnacem nec rixosae libidinis marem. Nam plerumque ceteros infestat, et non patitur inire feminas, cum ipse pluribus sufficere non queat. - Le galline nane, salvo che a qualcuno piacciono le loro piccole dimensioni, non le apprezzo eccessivamente né per la loro fecondità né per un qualsivoglia altro tornaconto, così come certamente non apprezzo un maschio sia esso bellicoso che di libidine litigiosa. Infatti per lo più molesta gli altri maschi e non permette loro di accoppiarsi con le femmine, quantunque non sia in grado di bastare a molte di loro.

¹⁹¹ L'olandese è una lingua germanica occidentale parlata in Olanda e derivata dai dialetti del basso germanico dei Franchi e dei Sassoni. Fino al 1600 anche le parole in olandese erano dette germaniche, in quanto con germanico - o tedesco* - si indicava tutto ciò che non era latino. Per cui in questo caso è corretto tradurre *Germanice* con "in olandese" anziché con "in tedesco", in quanto *kriel* è un vocabolo prettamente olandese mentre il suo equivalente tedesco è *zwerge*. - L'input per questa precisazione mi è giunto grazie all'acume del Dr Stefano Bergamo che da alcuni lustri respira aria olandese e magari ogni tanto si abbuffa di patatine *kriel*. Infatti così mi ha precisato in una e-mail del 2 maggio 2006: "Kriel indica la nanezza in genere, si usa anche per le patatine rotonde che si consumano piccolissime (dimensioni max come una ciliegia)."

¹⁹² *De generatione animalium* III 749b 28: *διὰ μικρότητα τοῦ σώματος εἰς τὴν τέκνισιν κτανάλισκται ἔ τροφή.*

¹⁹³ VII 285d. § Conrad Gessner in *Historia animalium* (1555) a pagina 380 incorpora nella citazione la motivazione 'utpote multo minores': *Adrianas sive Adriaticas gallinas (τοὺς Ἀδριατικούς ὄρνιθας) Athenienses alere student, quanquam nostris inutiliores, utpote multo minores. Adriatici vero contra nostras accersunt, Chrysippus apud Athenaeum lib.7. § Deipnosophistai VII,23: Χρύσιππος δ' ὁ φιλόσοφος ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν δι' αὐτὰ αἰρετῶν 'τὴν ἀφύην, φησί, [τὴν] ἐν Ἀθήναις μὲν διὰ τὴν δαψίλειαν ὑπερορῶσι καὶ πτωχικὸν εἶναι φασιν ὄψον, ἐν ἑτέροις δὲ πόλεσιν ὑπερθαυμάζουσι πολὺ χεῖρω γινομένην. εἴθ' οἱ μὲν, φησὶν, ἐνταῦθα τοὺς Ἀδριατικούς ὄρνιθας τρέφειν σπεύδουσιν ἀχρειοτέρους ὄντας, ὅτι τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν πολὺ ἐλάττους εἰσὶν ἑκεῖνοι δὲ τὰναντία μεταπέμπονται τοὺς ἐνθάδε.'* - Il filosofo Crisippo, nel trattato relativo alle cose che si debbono preferire di per sé, dice: "L'acciuga ad Atene la disprezzano a causa dell'abbondanza e dicono essere un cibo destinato ai poveri, mentre in altre città l'apprezzano molto, pur essendo di qualità molto scadente. Del resto, dice, qui ci sono coloro che bramano allevare i polli del mare Adriatico che sono alquanto inutili, dal momento che sono molto più piccoli di quelli che abbiamo noi; al contrario, quelli - che abitano lungo l'Adriatico - importano quelli che abbiamo qui. (frammento 2, svF III pag. 195, presso Ateneo VII,23,285d - traduzione di Elio Corti con la collaborazione di Roberto Ricciardi*)

solebant.

Sunt et praeterea alia Gallinarum genera ab antiquis magno honore habita: quae itidem fere nobis incognitae sunt. Tales sunt Tanagraeae, Lydae, Rhodiae, Chalcidicae, Medicae, et Alexandrinae. Ex Tanagraeis Gallos potius, quam Gallinas probabant, eorumque bina erant genera. Alii enim μάχιμοι, id est, pugnaces vel proeliaries erant, ut Hermolaus vertit: alii Cossiphi, qui Lydas magnitudine aequabant, quorum Pausanias¹⁹⁴ meminit, et Corvis colore similes esse tradit (hinc nimirum Cossiphi dicti, quod Merularum instar atrii coloris sint) et barbam, et cristam habuisse instar anemones (quo loco Hermolaus habet calcaria, et apex anemone<s>¹⁹⁵ floris macula<e>¹⁹⁶ modo rubent, quod non placet: siquidem in nulla Gallina calcar unquam rubere visum est). Candida item signa exigua in rostro supremo, et caudae extremitate. Mihi eiusmodi Gallorum genus prorsus ignotum est. Veruntamen cum Graeci Tanagricas e Boeotia, item Athenaeus, Rhodias, Columella, et Martialis, nec minus Chalcidicas, et Medicas, et nonnulli Alexandrinas Aegyptias ad pugillatum, et praelia commendant: itaque quispiam easdem esse suspicari possit, etsi a doctissimo M. Varrone, et Columella, necnon a Plinio apertissime distinguere videantur. Nam si diligenter, et ad trutinam, quod aiunt, gravissimorum horum authorum verba examines, nullam ferme inter omnes notabilem differentiam reperies, et alios aliis pugnaciores tantum dicere videbis. Ita eodem prorsus modo in Europa nostra cernimus aliam gentem alia pugnaciorum esse, cum tamen interim nulla alia corporis nota discrepent.

Furthermore there are also other breeds of hens which were held in high esteem by ancients: which likewise are almost unknown to us. Such are the hens of Tanagra*, Lydia*, Rhodes*, Chalcis*, Media*, and Alexandria*. Of Tanagran chickens they appreciated the roosters rather than hens, and of them there were two breeds. Some were the *máchimoi*, i.e. they were pugnacious or fighters, as Hermolaus Barbarus* translated: others were the *cosyphi** mentioned by Pausanias*, which equaled in size the Lydian hens, and he says their color to be similar to that of crows (hence precisely called *cosyphi* - blackbirds - because they have a dark color as that of blackbirds) and that they had both the beard - wattles* - and the comb like an anemone* (in this passage Hermolaus has *the spurs and the comb are reddish like a patch of an anemone's flower*, what I do not think right: since in any hen no spur ever has been seen to be reddish). At the same time there are small white marks on the tip of the beak and on the extremity of the tail. Such a breed of roosters is quite unknown to me. However, since the Greeks, for wrestling and fighting, commend the hens of Tanagra in Boeotia, alike Athenaeus is doing, Columella and Martial* those of Rhodes and alike those of Chalcis and Media, and some people those of Egyptian Alexandria: therefore someone could assume that they are the same hens, even though it is clear that by the very learned Marcus Varro* and by Columella, as well as by Pliny, they are very clearly distinguished - apart. But, as they say, if you would carefully weigh up and with a balance the words of these highly reliable writers, you would find almost no outstanding difference among all - these chickens, and you would see that they merely say that some are more pugnacious than others. Thus just in the same

¹⁹⁴ *Periegesi della Grecia IX, BEOZIA, 22. 4.* "Here [in Tanagra] there are two breeds of cocks, the fighters and the blackbirds, as they are called. The size of these blackbirds is the same as that of the Lydian birds, but in colour they are like crows [like a crow - *kórakí* = to a crow], while wattles and comb are very like the anemone. They have small, white markings on the end of the beak and at the end of the tail." (translation by W.H.S. Jones) - "Qui [a Tanagra] ci sono due razze di galli, i combattenti e i merli, come sono chiamati. Le dimensioni di questi merli sono le stesse di quelle degli uccelli [dei polli, delle galline] della Lidia, ma nel colore essi sono simili a un corvo [*kórakí*], mentre i bargigli e la cresta sono molto simili all'anemone; essi posseggono dei piccoli segni bianchi sulla punta del becco e all'estremità della coda." (traduzione di Elio Corti) - "Ἔστι δὲ καὶ γένη δύο ἐνταῦθα ἀλεκτρούων, οἷ τε μάχιμοι καὶ οἱ κόσσυφοι καλούμενοι. Τούτων τῶν κοσσύφων μέγεθος μὲν κατὰ τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἐστὶν ὄρνιθας, χροῶ δὲ ἐμφορῆς κόρακι, κάλλαια δὲ καὶ ὁ λόφος κατὰ ἀνεμώνην μάλιστα· λευκὰ δὲ σημεῖα οὐ μεγάλα ἐπὶ τε ἄκρῳ τῶ ῥάμφει καὶ ἐπὶ ἄκρας ἔχουσι τῆς οὐρᾶς.

¹⁹⁵ Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium III* (1555), pag. 380: Apud TANAGRAEOS duo genera gallorum sunt, hi machimi, (id est pugnaces, vel praeliaries, ut Hermolaus) vocantur, alii cosyphi. Cossyphi magnitudine LYDAS gallinas aequant, colore similes corvis (coracino, hinc cosyphi nimirum dicti quod merularum instar atrii coloris sint:) barbam et cristam habent instar anemones, (calcaria et apex anemoneae [anemones] floris macula modo rubent, Hermol.) Candida item signa exigua in rostro supremo et caudae extremitate, Pausanias in Boeoticis interprete Loescherio.

¹⁹⁶ Se vogliamo attribuire a *modo* il significato di "come" - essendo ablativo di *modus* - allora *modo* regge il genitivo. Se accettiamo *macula* invece di un genitivo *maculae*, allora *modo* va tradotto con "appena" essendo un avverbio. Si opta per la prima soluzione per ovvi motivi cromatici e sintattici, anche se il testo originale di Ermolao Barbaro riporta sia *anemoneae* che *macula*. - *Corollarium in Dioscoridem* (1516): CCLIII GALLINACEUS - [...] calcaria & apex anemoneae floris macula modo rubent. [...]

way we clearly see that in our Europe a people is more aggressive than another one, while on the contrary they no differ in any other somatic trait.

Tanagrici, Medici, et Chalcidici, inquit Varro¹⁹⁷, sine dubio sunt pulchri, et ad proeliandum inter se maxime idonei, sed ad partus sunt steriliores. Columella vero nulla pugnacitatis facta mentione¹⁹⁸, Tanagrici, inquit, plerunque Rhodiis, et Medicis amplitudine pares, non multum moribus a vernaculis distant, sicut et Chalcidici: cum paulo ante dixisset: Rhodii generis, aut Medici propter gravitatem, neque Gallos nimis [193] salaces, neque foecundas esse Gallinas.

Varro says: *Tanagran, Median and Chalcidian roosters are without doubt handsome and very skilful in fighting against themselves, but rather unfruitful as far as offspring is concerned. Columella, without any mention of pugnacity, says: Tanagran chickens, which mostly are equal to the Rhodian and Median in size, they do not differ much in their behaviour from our chickens, as well as the Chalcidian do: having said a little before: Of the Rhodian or Median breed because of the weight neither roosters are too much lustful nor hens prolific.*

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Quibus verbis dum non multum moribus a vernaculis differre tradit, a Varrone, et Plinio dissentire videri possit, nisi alias ita scriberet¹⁹⁹: *Deliaci, nempe scriptores²⁰⁰, quia procera corpora, et animos ad praelia pertinaces requirebant, praecipue Tanagricum genus, et Rhodium probabant, nec minus Chalcidicum, et Medicum, quod ab imperito vulgo litera mutata Melicum appellatur.* Et alibi etiam Rhodias aves (intelligit autem Gallinas) foetus suos non commode nutrire scripsit. Ita et Plinius²⁰¹, *Ex Gallinaceis, inquit, quidam ad bella tantum, et praelia assidua nascuntur, quibus etiam patrias nobilitarunt Rhodum, {et} <aut> Tanagram.* Quos itaque sagacissima parens rerum natura, maiores ac

While by these words he is telling that regarding their behaviour they do not differ too much from our chickens, it might appear that he is dissenting from Varro* and Pliny* unless elsewhere he writes as follows: *Those of Delos**, the ~~writers~~ breeders of course, being that they looked for tall bodies and stubborn spirits in fighting, overall appreciated Tanagran* and Rhodian* breeds, as well as Chalcidian* and Median*, which with one changed letter is called Melian by incompetent folk. Elsewhere he wrote too that Rhodian birds (but he means hens) do not properly take care of their chicks. Also Pliny similarly says: *Among chickens some are born only for continuous wrestling and fighting, thanks to which they also made renowned their native lands, Rhodes or Tanagra.* And

¹⁹⁷ *Rerum rusticarum*, III,9,6 Nec tamen sequendum in seminio legendo Tanagricos et Melicos et Chalcidicos, qui sine dubio sunt pulchri et ad proeliandum inter se maxime idonei, sed ad partus sunt steriliores.

¹⁹⁸ *De Re Rustica*, VIII: (2,12) Talibus autem maribus quinae singulis feminae comparantur. Nam Rhodii generis aut Medici propter gravitatem neque patres nimis salaces nec fecundae matres, quae tamen ternae singulis maritantur. Et cum pauca ova posuerunt, inertes ad incubandum multoque magis ad excludendum, raro fetus suos educant. Itaque quibus cordi est ea genera propter corporum speciem possidere, cum exceperunt ova generosarum, vulgaribus gallinis subiciunt, ut ab his excusi pulli nutriantur. (2,13) Tanagrici plerumque Rhodiis et Medicis amplitudine pares non multum moribus a vernaculis distant, sicut et Chalcidici. Omnium tamen horum generum nothi sunt optimi pulli, quos conceptos ex peregrinis maribus nostrates ediderunt, et salacitatem fecunditatemque vernaculam retinent.

¹⁹⁹ *De Re Rustica*, VIII,2,4: Huius igitur villatici generis non spernendus est reditus, si adhibeatur educandi scientia, quam plerique Graecorum et praecipue celebravere Deliaci. Sed et hi, quoniam procera corpora et animos ad proelia pertinacis requirebant, praecipue Tanagricum genus et Rhodium probabant, nec minus Chalcidicum et Medicum, quod ab imperito vulgo littera mutata Melicum appellatur.

²⁰⁰ Aldrovandi cade in un banale e scontato errore del quale farà però ammenda a pagina 197, nonché a pagina 232 parlando dei polli che vengono ingrassati. L'errore è dovuto al vizio di fare man bassa sconsiderata del testo di Gessner, che erroneamente a pagina 381 della sua *Historia animalium* III (1555) suona così: Et rursus, Deliaci (scriptores) quoniam procera corpora et animos ad praelia pertinace {i}s requirebant, [...] - Infatti *quelli di Delo* non erano scrittori, bensì allevatori. La fortuna e la fama degli abitanti di Delo come allevatori di polli ci è confermata da Varrone, Plinio e Columella, nonché da Cicerone. Varrone *Rerum rusticarum*, III,9,2: Gallinae villaticae sunt, quas deinceps rure habent in villis. De his qui ornithoboscion instituere vult, id est adhibita scientia ac cura ut capiant magnos fructus, ut factitaverunt Deliaci, haec quinque maxime animadvertant oportet:[...] - Plinio *Naturalis historia* X,139: Gallinas saginare Deliaci coepere, unde pestis exorta opimas aves et suoapte corpore unctas devorandi. - Columella *De Re Rustica*, VIII,2,4: Huius igitur villatici generis non spernendus est reditus, si adhibeatur educandi scientia, quam plerique Graecorum et praecipue celebravere Deliaci. - Cicerone *Academia* II,57: Videsne ut in proverbio sit ovorum inter se similitudo? Tamen hoc accepimus, Deli fuisse complures salvis rebus illis, qui gallinas alere permultas quaestus causa solerent: ei cum ovum inspexerant, quae id gallina peperisset dicere solebant.

²⁰¹ *Naturalis historia* X,48: Iam ex his quidam ad bella tantum et proelia assidua nascuntur - quibus etiam patrias nobilitarunt, Rhodum aut Tanagram; secundus est honos habitus Melicis et Chalcidicis -, ut plane dignae aliti tantum honoris perhibeat Romana purpura.

pugnaciores aliis fecit, eosdem contra steriliores caeteris esse voluit.

Albertus quasdam Gallinas Hadriani Regis appellat, et apud suos magnas vocari ait, magni scilicet, et oblongi corporis. *Abundant*, inquit, *apud Hollandos, et Zelandos, et ubique in Germania {superiore} <inferiore>*²⁰². Harum Galli forte cum iam dictis similes fuerint. Etsi vero Varro²⁰³ Tanagricos Gallos, Medicos, et Chalcidicos ad partus steriliores, Albertus contra eas Gallinas quotidie parere dicat, non tamen ideo omnino diversum genus esse crediderim. Fieri enim potest, ut apud Hollandos, et Zelandos, quorum regio fere in {extrema} <extremo> septentrione sita est, foecundi sint, et apud Graecos steriles in regionibus videlicet calidissimis: vel potius Varro ad partus steriles dixit, quoniam in pullos saeviant²⁰⁴, nam Albertus de Hollandicis Gallinis prodidit, minime in {suas}²⁰⁵ <suos> benignas esse, eosque saepe interimere; et Columella²⁰⁶ Rhodias aves foetus suos non commode nutrire tradit.

Hermolaus Barbarus et Longolius²⁰⁷, viri alioqui doctissimi, Medicas eas Gallinas esse credunt, quae vulgo Patavinae, et Longobardicae

therefore those whom the very shrewd Mother Nature created larger and more pugnacious than others, on the other hand she want that they themselves were more unfruitful than all the others.

Albertus* calls certain hens *of the Hadrian King** and says that by his own people they are called great, that is, of large and long body. He says: *They abound among the Hollanders* and Zeelanders* and everywhere in the province of Germania Inferior**. Perhaps the cocks of these hens could be similar to those just mentioned. But although Varro is saying that Tanagran, Median, and Chalcidian roosters are rather unfruitful with regard to offspring, and on the contrary Albertus claims that these hens lay daily, nevertheless I should not be inclined to believe that because of this they are a quite different breed. For it may be that among Hollanders and Zeelanders, whose territory is nearly located in the extreme north, they are fertile, and sterile among Greeks in undoubtedly very warm regions: or rather, Varro said that they are unfruitful with regard to offspring because they are pitiless with chicks, and in fact Albertus with regard to Dutch hens reported that they are nowise kind to their chicks, and that often they kill them; and Columella* records that Rhodian hens do not properly take care of their chicks.

Hermolaus Barbarus* and Longolius*, in other respects very learned men, believe that those hens commonly called Paduan and Lombard* are Median.

²⁰² Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 380: Gallinae quaedam Adriani regis vocantur, quae apud nos dicuntur gallinae magnae, et sunt magni oblongi corporis, abundant apud Selandos et Hollandos, et ubique in Germania inferiore.

²⁰³ *Rerum rusticarum*, III,9,6 Nec tamen sequendum in seminio legendo Tanagricos et Melicos et Chalcidicos, qui sine dubio sunt pulchri et ad proeliandum inter se maxime idonei, sed ad partus sunt steriliores.

²⁰⁴ Non è stato Varrone a citare l'aggressività delle galline nei confronti dei pulcini. Lo ha fatto Aristotele nella sua *Historia animalium* VI 558b quando parla delle *Hadrianae**, notoriamente di piccola taglia.

²⁰⁵ Errore tipografico? Crediamo di sì, in quanto sarebbe più corretto il maschile plurale *suos* riferito ai *pullos*, i quali vengono subito ripresi dal successivo *eosque*. Ammettendo invece che il femminile plurale *suas* non sia un errore tipografico, allora *suas* deve essere tradotto con *comari, colleghe*, ovviamente *colleghe di recinto*. Spesso le galline mostrano fra loro un'aggressività che può superare quella che intercorre fra galli. Tuttavia, un'aggressività fra galline non implica assolutamente un'aggressività nei confronti della prole. Anzi, forse la prole viene meglio custodita da una madre che si mostra aggressiva nei confronti di altre galline.

²⁰⁶ *De Re Rustica*, VIII,2,12: Talibus autem maribus quinae singulis feminae comparantur. Nam Rhodii generis aut Medici propter gravitatem neque patres nimis salaces nec fecundae matres, quae tamen ternae singulis maritantur. Et cum pauca ova posuerunt, inertes ad incubandum multoque magis ad excludendum, raro fetus suos educant. Itaque quibus cordi est ea genera propter corporum speciem possidere, cum exceperunt ova generosarum, vulgaribus gallinis subiciunt, ut ab his excusi pulli nutriantur. - 11,11: Neque est quod committatur ut Rhodiaca aves pavoninis incubent, quae ne suos quidem fetus commode nutriunt. Sed veteres maximae quaeque gallinae vernaculi generis eligantur, [...]

²⁰⁷ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 381: Antiqui ut Thetin Thelin dicebant, sic Medicam Melicam vocabant. Hae primo dicebantur, quia ex Media propter magnitudinem erant allatae, quaeque ex his generatae postea propter similitudinem, Varro et Festus. Turnerus Gallum Medicum interpretatur Anglice a bauncok, vel a cok of kynde. Medicae, generi villatico adscribuntur, propter magnitudinem in Italiam translatae. Cuiusmodi Patavinae modo sunt, Pulverariae cognominatae a vico, ubi grandissimae ac spectabiles maxime nascuntur: quas Turcarum rex, is qui Constantinopolim aetate nostra coepit vi, muneris magni loco a senatu missas habuit, Hermolaus. Patavinae saginatae libras sedecim pondere exuperant, Grapaldus. Quidam Germanice circumscribentes interpretantur, groß Welsch hennen, id est grandes Italicas gallinas. Nos tales habemus gallinaceos, altis cruribus, absque cauda. Grande genus gallinaceorum, quod pedibus ad pectus usque sublatis incedit, plumis ex auro fulvis, patrum memoria in Germaniam ex proximis provinciis advectum est. Videntur autem Medici. quanquam non Media modo, verum Boeotiae civitas Tanagra et Rhodus Chalcisque insulae insignes corpore suffecerunt. unde istos vel Medicos vel Tanagricos vel Rhodios vel Chalcidicos appellare licebit. Vulgus Longobardicos nuncupat. pauci a villicis educantur quod parum foecundi sint, Gyb. Longolius.

vocantur. Quorum ego opinioni neququam subscribere nec possum, nec volo. Siquidem tam manifestam differentiam, qua a caeteris omnibus distinguuntur, nempe quod cauda destitutae sint, profecto veteres nequaquam erant praeterituri. Fuerint itaque genus diversum, neque etiam credibile est veteres eas, vel Medicas, vel Tanagricas, vel alio quovis peregrino nomine compellaturos fuisse, si Patavii in medio fe<r>me Italiae sinu eas habebant. Caeterum Patavinas pulverarias a vico cognominari Hermolaus²⁰⁸ testis est, grandissimas et spectabiles maxime: Pulverarias autem dici intellexi ab Excellentissimo M. Antonio Ulmo Patavino a vico quodam, ubi abundant, et cuius Caelo miro modo gaudent, adeo ut ibi fertilitatis miraculum adaequent, et cum ad alia loca etiam vicina importantur, nisi sterilescent, saltem maximopere degenerent. Has quidam Germanice circumscribentes interpretantur gross vvelsch hennen, id est grandes Italicas Gallinas. Nos, inquit Longolius tales habemus Gallinaceos, altis cruribus, absque cauda. Grande Genus Gallinaceorum, quod pedibus usque sublatis incedit, plumis ex auro fulvis, patrum memoria in Germaniam ex proximis provinciis advectum est. Videntur autem Medici, quanquam non Media modo, verum Boeotiae civitas Tanagra, et Rhodus, Chalcisque insulae insignes corpore suffecerunt. Unde istos vel Medicos, vel Tanagricos, vel Rhodios, vel Chalcidicos appellare licebit. Vulgus Longobardicos nuncupat. Pauci a villaticis educantur, quod parum foecundi sint. Haec ille.

Navigationum in Indiam auctores in regno Senegae Gallinas esse referunt, quae Gallinae Pharaonis dicantur; deferri autem ex Oriente: item apud Tarnasarios²⁰⁹ Indiae populos alios Gallos et Gallinas reperiri nostratibus triplo maiores. Postremo Petrus Martyr²¹⁰ in Imaica insula Gallinas reperiri, auctor est, quae

By no manner of means neither I will nor I can share their opinion. Being that a such evident difference by which they differ from all other hens, that is, because they are lacking tail, without doubt by no means would escaped the ancients. Therefore they could be a different breed, and not even is trustworthy that ancients would have called them Median or Tanagran hens, or by any other foreign name, being that they had them at Padua*, almost in the center of the Italy heart. Besides Hermolaus is witness to the fact that Paduan Polverara* hens take the name from a village, and that they are very large sized and very handsome: for I learned that by the very excellent Marco Antonio Olmo* from Padua the Polverara hens are so called from a certain village, where they abound, and whose climate they marvelously enjoy, so that here they reach the miracle of fertility, and when they are moved in other localities even though neighbouring, if they do not become sterile, at least they change quite a lot. Some, terming them in German, call these hens *gross welsch* hennen*, that is, large Italian hens. Longolius says: We have such chickens, with long legs and without tail. A large breed of chickens, which walks with ever up legs, with golden buff feathers, through memory of our fathers was brought into Germany from nearby provinces. They look like Median chickens indeed, although not only the Media, but truly the Boeotian city of Tanagra and the islands of Rhodes and Chalcis supplied subjects of outstanding body. Then it will be right to call those subjects as Median, or Tanagran, or Rhodian, or Chalcidian. Common people call them Lombard. Few of them are raised by peasants, as they are not very prolific. These are his own words.

Those who make journeys to India by sea tell that in the kingdom of Senegal* there are hens which would be called Pharaoh's hens - *Numida meleagris?**; on the other hand they are brought here from East: likewise, among the Tarnasari* people of India other roosters and hens are found three times larger than our own. Finally Peter Martyr* says that on Jamaica island hens

²⁰⁸ *Corollarium in Dioscoridem* (1516) GALLINACEUS CCLIII - Nam medicae a media quasi medicae generi villatico ascriptae sunt: propter magnitudinem in Italiam translatae: cuiusmodi Patavinae modo sunt: Pulverariae cognominatae a vico ubi grandissimae, ac spectabiles maxime nascuntur: quas Turcarum rex is: qui Constantinopolim aetate nostra coepit: vi muneris magni loco a senatu missas habuit.

²⁰⁹ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 381: Circa Tarnasari urbem Indiae gallos gallinasque proceriores vidisse memini quam usquam alibi, Ludovicus Patritius. - Per Ludovicus Patritius vedi Lodovico de Vathema*. - Aldrovandi si permette di triplicare la mole di questi polli, mentre la fonte - e conviene credere a Gessner - si limita a dire che si tratta di galli e galline più grandi di quelli visti in qualsiasi altra località. A mio avviso Aldrovandi - come è suo solito - ha ciurlato nel manico. Non fornisce la fonte di questi polli giganti del Tarnasari, così nessuno può contestarlo circa la triplicazione della loro mole.

²¹⁰ Peter Martyr is Pietro Martire d'Anghiera (1457-1526). He wrote one of the earliest books of travel in the New World: *De orbe novo Petri Martyris Anglerii Mediolanensis...Decades Octo, diligenti temporum observatione et utilissimis annotationibus illustratae, suoque nitore restitutae, labore et industria Richardi Hakhytt* (Parisiis, Apud Guillelmum Avvray, 1587). This and the edition of 1530 are the only complete editions of the Latin text. There is an English translation by Francis Augustus MacNutt (New York, Putnam, 1912). Aldrovandi refers to the book as *De Rebus Oceani*. (Lind, 1963)

Pavonibus nec magnitudine, nec sapore cedant.

Atque hactenus magnitudine discrepantur. Iam reliquas, si quae sint, differentias prosequamur. Aelianus²¹¹ mutos Gallos dari astruere videtur, cum ait. *Nibas locus est Thessalonicae civitati Macedoniae vicinus, in quo Gallinaceorum genus perpetuo mutum silentio nunquam familiari his alitibus cantu vocale auditur: inde adeo natum est proverbium, et cum futurum aliquid dicitur, cum Nibas cecinerit, res {impessibilis} <impossibilis> intelligatur.* Verum nunquid istaec manifesta differentia sit, an potius proprietate aliqua illius loci occulta procedat, quod Gallinaceus ibi non canat, aliis inquirendum relinquo. Ego autem id mihi facile persuadeo. Quod vero Theophrastus²¹², eodem Aeliano²¹³ referente, negat in regionibus frigidis, et ubi Caeli constitutio nimium humida est, Gallinaceos canere, id plane credere non possum, secus enim Hollandia, Frisia, Norvegia, et remotiores septentrionis regiones demonstrant, in quibus etsi frigidae sint, et humidae, Galli nihilo remissius quam in quavis calida regione canunt, tantum abest, ut prorsus obmutescant.

Manifestam porro corporis tegumento differentiam constituunt. Non enim omnes pennis teguntur, sed nonnullae, licet raras, ceu lanis vestiuntur, unde lanigeras dictas sunt, nonnullae pilis, quales in civitate Quelim in regno Mangi reperiuntur, pilis more felis nigris vestitae, nostrat*um* more parientes, et bonam edentibus carnem praestantes. Lanigeras

are found which do not fall short of peacocks in neither size nor flavour.

But until this point they differ for their size. Now let me describe the remaining differences, if some are existing. Aelian* seems to assert that there are mute roosters, when he says: *Nibas is a place near the town of Thessalonica* in Macedonia* where the population of roosters, mute in a perpetual silence, never is heard to utter a sound thanks to the singing which is usual for these birds: whence even a proverb arose, and when they say that something will happen when a rooster of Nibas will crow, it must be regarded as an impossible thing.* But I leave others to inquire whether, as there the rooster is not crowing, this is an unequivocal difference, or rather it is proceeding from some hidden property of that place. But I am quite persuaded of the following. I cannot believe at all what Theophrastus* is saying, as Aelian himself is referring, when he denies that roosters crow in cold regions and where the climate is too much humid, for Holland, Friesland*, Norway and more remote northern countries demonstrate otherwise, in which, although they are cold and humid, the roosters crow not at all more lazily than in any warm region, it is so far that they become completely silent.

Furthermore they show an evident difference by the covering of the body. For not all - the hens - are covered with feathers, but some, although rare, are covered like with wool, whence they are called woolly*, some are covered with hair, such as those found in the city of Quelim - Quenlinfu, Kien-ning Fu - in the kingdom of Mangi, wearing black hair like that of a cat, laying eggs as our hens do, and they

²¹¹ *La natura degli animali*, XV, 20: Vi è una località vicino alla città di Tessalonica, in Macedonia, chiamata Nibas. I galli che vivono qui non lanciano il loro caratteristico canto, ma restano sempre silenziosi. Ed è per questo che quando una cosa è ritenuta impossibile, si cita abitualmente quel proverbio che dice: 'avrà questo quando i galli di Nibas canteranno'. (traduzione di Francesco Maspero, 1998)

²¹² La referenza segnalata da Aldrovandi è il *De natura animalium* III,20. Francesco Maspero (1998) precisa invece trattarsi del frammento 187. In effetti si tratta del frammento 187, come dimostra il ritaglio tratto da *Theophrasti Eresii opera, quae supersunt, omnia graeca recensuit, latine interpretatus est Fridericus Wimmer* (Parisiis, Editore Ambrosio Firmin Didot, 1866):

FR. CLXXXVII.

Ἐν τοῖς ὑγροῖς χωρίοις καὶ ἐνθα νοτιώτερος ὁ ἀήρ ὑπεράγειν οἱ ἀλεκτρούνες οὐκ ἄδουσι, φησὶ Θ. (Ælian. Hist. anim. 3, 38.)

FR. CLXXXVII.

Locis humectis et ubi aer humidior est galli non canunt, ut Th. auctor est. (Ælian. Hist. anim. 3, 38.)

È verosimile che Aldrovandi abbia fatto riferimento a un'opera pubblicata nel 1522 a Lione, nella quale forse è contenuto il frammento 187 di Teofrasto: *Aristotelis et Theophrasti Historiae: cum de natura animalium, tum de plantis & earum causis, cuncta fere, quae Deus opt. max. homini contemplanda exhibuit, ad amussim complectentes: nunc iam suo restitutae nitore, & mendis omnibus, quoad fieri potuit, repurgatae: cum indice copiosissimo: ex quo superfluum quod erat, decerpimus: quod vero necessarium nobis visum est, superaddidimus.* Lugduni: Apud Gulielmum Rouillium, 1522. Translation of Aristotle's [Peri ta zoia istoriai, Peri zoion morion, Peri zoion geneseos, Peri zoion kineseos, Peri zoion poreias (romanized form)]; and Theophrastus' [Peri phuton istorias, Peri phuton aition (romanized form)] Location: Hancock in Special Collections Q155.A716 1552.

²¹³ *La natura degli animali*, III,38: Teofrasto dice che i galli non cantano nelle zone palustri e dove soffia un vento eccessivamente umido. Il lago di Feneo [città dell'Arcadia] non produce pesci. E lo stesso scrittore afferma che, dato che è fredda la costituzione fisica delle cicale, esse cantano quando vengono riscaldate dal sole. (traduzione di Francesco Maspero, 1998)

Fuch urbs maxima versus Orientem, ut Odoricus ex foro Iulii²¹⁴ testatur, producit, tanti candoris, ut vix nivi cedant.

offer tasteful meat for eating. The very big city of Fuch - Fuzhou, toward the East, produces woolly hens of such a whiteness, as Odoricus from Friuli* testifies, that barely they are less than snow.

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Pennatarum rursus aliae pedibus sunt nudis, aliae hirsutis; [194] quas posteriores Germani {Gehossle}²¹⁵ <Gehössle? - gehösslete> {hennen} <Hennen> dicunt, quasi caligis indutas. Rursum aliae cristam habent simplicem, aliae duplicem, caudam aliae, et aliae minime.

In turn, among those furnished with feathers, some have naked legs, others have legs bristled with feathers, and Germans call these latest *gehösslete** *Hennen* - shod hens, as if shod with footwear. Furthermore some have a single comb, others a duplex one, some have a tail and others not at all.

In partu praeterea maximum discrimen est. Iuvencae enim, ut Plinius²¹⁶, et Aristoteles²¹⁷ scribunt primae pariunt statim vere ineunte, et plura quam veteres, at minora: et in eodem foetu prima, et novissima (scilicet minora pariunt) ut Plinius ex semetipso addidit. Contra vero Albertus Gallinas iuvenes aestate parere, veteres principio veris asserit, et hanc rationem addit, quod aestate superfluous humor, uti, et autumno in iuvenibus excitetur, veterum vero frigiditas caliditate, et humiditate verni temporis temperetur; quae sane ratio omnino philosophica est, et veritati consona.

Moreover, as far as eggs laying is concerned, the difference is very wide. For, as Pliny* and Aristotle* write, young hens are first in laying eggs as soon as the spring begins and more than older ones, but smaller eggs: and, in the span of a same producing career*, they are thus - so made, i.e. smaller - the first and the last ones (that is, they lay them smaller) as Pliny himself added. On the contrary Albertus* claims that young hens lay in the summer, the older ones at the beginning of spring, and is adding this reason: that in young hens in summer as well as in autumn their fluid in excess is excited, while the sluggishness of old hens is mitigated by heat and humidity of springtime; really this explanation is completely philosophic, and corresponding to the truth.

²¹⁴ *Itinerarium Fratris Odorici de Foro Iulii, Ordinis Fratrum Minorum, de mirabilibus Orientalium Tartarum* (1330). "Partendomi di questa terra [dall'odierna Quanzhou] venni verso oriente a una città che si chiama Fozo, che gira ben trenta miglia: Quivi sono i maggiori galli del mondo, e le galline bianche come neve: ma non àno penne, ma lana a modo di pecore." (*Memoriale Toscano*, 33) - La citazione precedente di Aldrovandi è chiaramente tratta dal *Milione* di Marco Polo: "E havvi belle donne, e havvi galline che non hanno penne, ma peli come gatte, e tutte nere, e fanno uova come le nostre, e sono molto buone da mangiare." (CXXXIV *Del reame di Fugiu - Il Milione*, versione toscana della Crusca)

²¹⁵ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 415*: Sunt quaedam pedibus per totum hirsutis, gehößlete Hünen. § In data 14 febbraio 2009 ricevevo da Daniel Maennle una risposta al quesito se sia corretto gehossle oppure gehössle, ma la corretta grafia pare essere quella riportata da Gessner: gehösslete. Per cui la si adotta. Ecco la risposta di Maennle. § Gehösslete Hünen means Chicken with feathered legs which are behost/bestrumpft (contemporary expression of pigeon breeder) -> substantive -> Hosen/Höschchen -> leg feathers -> grouse legged -> second link -> Feathered pants -> Feathered 'trousers'. So the expression gehösslete was borrowed of the human lifeworld of that contemporary time of Gessner of the word for trousers (outdated) or pants. From this period is also the expression of "gehösslete Glyssblümle". The problem is, that we all can't say, whether the expression 'behoste Hühner' or feather pants/feather trousers was really used for chicken in former times. In any case it is still used with groused pigeons (behoste/bestrumpfte Tauben) and with dogs (e.g. the bushy thighs [stark behoste Keulen] in the Standard of Bernhardiner in CH)! Finally I found this explanation in an historic dictionary "behoste Beine (Pedes braccati): die mit lang herabhängenden Federn bedeckten Beine vieler Vögel." Feathered legs/Feather pants: with long droopy feathers covered legs at many birds.

²¹⁶ *Naturalis historia* X,146: Quaedam omni tempore coeunt, ut gallinae, et pariunt, praeterquam duobus mensibus hiemis brumalibus. Ex iis iuvencae plura quam veteres, sed minora, et in eodem fetu prima ac novissima. Est autem tanta fecunditas ut aliquae et sexagena pariant, aliquae cotidie, aliquae bis die, aliquae in tantum ut effetae moriantur. Hadrianis laus maxima.

²¹⁷ *Historia animalium* VI,2 560b: Le gallinelle giovani incominciano a deporre uova subito all'inizio della primavera, e ne fanno più delle vecchie; le uova delle più giovani, però, risultano più piccole. (traduzione di Mario Vegetti) - Le successive considerazioni di Alberto vengono così citate da Conrad Gessner in *Historia animalium* III (1555) pag. 415: Gallinae iuvenes pariunt aestate, quum superfluous humor exiccat in eis: et autumno quoque. Veteres autem magis principio veris: quod tum calido humido frigiditas naturae earum temperatur, Albert.

Rursus alias bis in die, alias semel tantum ova edere cum ipsum Aristotelem²¹⁸, tum Plinium auctores habemus. *Nonnullae etiam e cortalibus, inquit ille, bis pariunt. Iam aliquae in tantum copiae provenerunt, ut {effatae} <effetae> brevi morentur.* Quam sententiam indubitanter hunc in modum Plinius²¹⁹ ab illo transtulit: *Est autem, inquit, tanta foecunditas ut aliquae, et sexagena pariant, {aliquo} <aliquae> quotidie, aliquae bis, aliquae in tantum, ut {effatae} <effetae> moriantur.* Aristoteles²²⁰ etiam alibi, si modo genuinus Aristoteles, auctor est ex aliorum relatione Gallinas in Illyria, non uti alibi semel parere, sed bis, aut ter in die. Item alibi²²¹ disertissimis verbis tradit, in genere Gallinarum esse, quae pariant ova omnia gemina: in quibus animadversum sit, quod de vitello exposuit, (dixerat autem ova gemina binis constare vitellis, qui ne invicem confundantur, facere in nonnullis quoddam praetenu septum albuminis medium: aliis vero, vitellos contactu mutuo sine ullo discrimine coniungi). Ait autem {quasdam} <quandam> duodeviginti peperisse gemina, eaque exclusisse, praeterquam si quae essent, ut fit, irrita{:}<.> Caeteris foetus prodiisse, sed ita geminos exclusos, ut alter esset maior: alter minor: et tandem in monstrum degenerasse, qui minor novissime provenisset.

Verum eiusmodi partus praeter potius quam secundum naturam fieri videri possit. Nam et Plinius²²² etiam tradit Cornelii Celsi auctoritate nixus Gallinas *quasdam omnia gemina parere, et geminos interdum excludere, atque alterum pullorum maiorem esse, alioquin {negare} <negant> omnino geminos excludi.* Vetus item quidam Aristotelis interpres, ut ex recentiori quodam citat Ornithologus, ad eundem sensum vertit ex

Again we have not only Aristotle himself but also Pliny as sources regarding the fact that some lay eggs twice a day*, others only once. The former says: *Among barnyard hens some lay also twice. Some reached also a so big amount that they died exhausted in a short time.* Doubtless Pliny quoted from him these words in the following way: *Moreover their fecundity is so big, he says, that some come to lay also sixty eggs, some once a day, others twice, others lay so much that they die exhausted.* Also elsewhere Aristotle, on condition that he is the true Aristotle, reports from someone else's tale that in Illyria* the hens do not lay once a day as they do elsewhere, but twice or thrice a day. Likewise in another passage with very clear words he says that within the genus of the hens there are those which lay all twin eggs: but in this regard we must pay attention to what he told about the yolk (for he had said that twin eggs are made up by two yolks, which, in order to do not merge each other, in some eggs give rise to like a very thin diaphragm of albumen in between: while in other eggs the yolks are joined by mutual contact without any separation). He says moreover that a hen had laid eighteen twin eggs, and that she hatched them, except those which, as it happens, were germ-free. From the other eggs hatched chicks, but the hence hatched twins were of that sort that one was larger: the other smaller: and finally the smaller one, last hatched, degenerated into freak.

Really it could seem that a hatching of this kind is occurring more against rather than in accordance with Nature. For also Pliny records on the authority of Cornelius Celsus* that *Some hens lay all twin eggs, and sometimes they hatch out twins, and one of the two chicks is larger, on the other hand they are claiming that twins are no hatching out at all.* Also an ancient translator of Aristotle, as the Ornithologist cites from a more recent one, translates with the same meaning from

²¹⁸ *Historia animalium* VI,2 558b: Certe galline di cortile depongono uova anche due volte al giorno, ed è accaduto talvolta che morissero in poco tempo per aver fatto troppe uova. (traduzione di Mario Vegetti)

²¹⁹ *Naturalis historia* X,146: Est autem tanta fecunditas ut aliquae et sexagena pariant, aliquae cotidie, aliquae bis die, aliquae in tantum ut effetae moriantur.

²²⁰ *Mirabilia* o *De mirabilibus* o *De mirabilibus auscultationibus* 128,2 (842b 27).

²²¹ *Historia animalium* VI,3 562a: Le uova gemelle presentano due tuorli; in certi casi vi è un sottile diaframma di bianco per evitare che i gialli si saldino fra loro, mentre in altri questo diaframma manca e i gialli sono in contatto. Vi sono certe galline che fanno solo uova gemelle, ed è nel loro caso che sono state condotte le osservazioni su ciò che accade nel tuorlo. Una di esse depose diciotto uova e ne fece nascere dei gemelli, tranne che da quelle che risultarono sterili; le altre comunque erano feconde, a parte il fatto che uno dei gemelli [562b] era più grande e l'altro più piccolo, mentre l'ultimo uovo conteneva un mostro. (traduzione di Mario Vegetti)

²²² *Naturalis historia* X,150: Quaedam gallinae omnia gemina ova pariunt et geminos interdum excludunt, ut Cornelius Celsus auctor est, alterum maiorem; aliqui negant omnino geminos excludi. Qui Plinio probabilmente accenna a un passo di Celso che non ci è stato tramandato. - Cornelius Celsus, *De Medicina*, is referred to, but he says nothing of this sort. (Lind, 1963) - Più che evidente lo sconnesso download di Aldrovandi da Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 419: Quaedam gallinae omnia gemina ova pariunt, et geminos interdum excludunt, ut Cor. Celsus auctor est: alterum maiorem, alioquin negant omnino geminos excludi, Plin. - La motivazione dello scambio quasi intraducibile tra *alioquin* e *aliqui* viene tra poco dipanata da Claymundus, anch'egli citato da Gessner a questo proposito.

Arabico hoc pacto: *Et in quolibet inveniuntur gemelli, et unus gemellorum parvus est, et alter magnus: et multoties est parvus monstruosus.* Sed Graeca Aristotelis exemplaria, nisi mendum subesse iudicemus, ita habent²²³. Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα γόνιμα, πλὴν ὅσα τὸ μὲν μείζον τὸ δὲ ἔλαττον γίνεταί τῶν διδύμων, τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον τερατώδες: hoc est, ut ego arbitror: *caeteris itaque gemina faecunda sunt, nisi quibus hoc contingit, ut alter maior fuerit, alter minor. Ex iis enim tandem in monstrum degenerat, qui minor {nonissime} <novissime> provenit.*²²⁴ Quibus verbis aperte habemus, eiusmodi geminorum ovorum partum minime ex Aristotelis sententia monstruosum esse, sed ex minoribus, qui novissime generatur in monstrum tantummodo abire. Et videtur certe Plinius vel ex professo cum Aristotele, quem alioqui alias ubique sequi solet, hac in re minime convenire, quando Cornelium Celsum authorem, non Aristotelem citet. Utra autem sententia fuerit verior monstrabit experientia. Mihi quidem Aristoteli adhaerere multorum fide dignorum relationes, et experientia ipsa cogunt, atque eo magis, cum in quibusdam Plinianis exemplaribus habeatur, uti recte annotavit Claymundus, non alioqui, sed aliqui negant omnino geminos excludi. Ornithologus quaerit, an legendum in Aristotelis verbis non πλὴν ὅσα, sed πλὴν ὅτι: et γίνεταί praesens loco praeteriti ἐγένετο accipiendum sit, ut non simpliciter hic de ovis geminis scribat Aristoteles, sed de illius tantum Gallinae geminis, quorum historiam hoc in loco recitat hoc sensu: Ex ovis octodecim Gallinae cuiusdam omnibus geminis, pauca quaedam irrita fuerunt: caetera vero omnia rite foecunda: nisi quod e geminis pullus alter semper minor fuit, et ultimus (alter scilicet minor de ovo postremo excluso vel parto) monstruosus.

Ut ut est, eiusmodi partum minime monstruosum esse concludendum est: nam et

Arabic as follows: *And in whatever egg twins are found, one of the twins is small, the other is large: and often the small one is freakish.* But the Greek manuscripts of Aristotle, unless we believe that there a mistake is concealed, have this passage: *Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα γόνιμα, πλὴν ὅσα τὸ μὲν μείζον τὸ δὲ ἔλαττον γίνεταί τῶν διδύμων, τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον τερατώδες:* that is, as I think: *Therefore, in comparison with the other ones, the twin eggs are fertile, but to some of them it happens that a twin is larger, the other smaller. In short, of them degenerates then into a freak the smaller one, hatched out as last.* From these words we clearly learn that according to the statement of Aristotle the hatching of such twin eggs is not freakish at all, but that only that which is hatching out as last from smaller ones turns into a freak. And doubtless it turns out clear that Pliny openly in this regard doesn't agree with Aristotle, whom otherwise elsewhere he usually entirely follows, being that he quotes as reliable source Cornelius Celsus, not Aristotle. Then experience will show which one of two statements is closer to the truth. But, as for me, they are compelling me to adhere to Aristotle the reports of many trustworthy authors and the experience itself, all the more because in some Pliny's manuscripts is quoted, as Claymundus* correctly pointed out, not *alioqui* - on the other hand, but *aliqui* - some people - *negant omnino geminos excludi* - affirm that twins are not hatched at all. The Ornithologist wonders whether in the words of Aristotle we must read not *πλὴν ὅσα* - except as much as, but *πλὴν ὅτι* - except that: and whether the present tense *γίνεταί* - hatches - should be read in place of the past tense *ἐγένετο* - hatched, since in this passage Aristotle is not merely writing about twin eggs, but only of the twin eggs of that hen, whose eggs in the following excerpt he is quoting the history as follows: *Of the eighteen all twin eggs of a hen, only few of them were sterile: doubtless all the others were fertile as usual: except that, from the twin ones, one of two chicks hatched out always smaller, and the last one (that is, the smaller of the couple, hatched out from the last hatched or laid egg) was freakish.*

Be that as it may, we must conclude that a laying of this kind is not abnormal at all: for also Giovan Pietro

²²³ Filippo Capponi in *Ornithologia latina* (1979) riporta il seguente testo greco tratto dalla *Historia animalium* VI,3 562a e sgg.: Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα γόνιμα, (πλὴν ὅτι τὸ μείζον τὸ δ'ἔλαττον γίνεταί τῶν διδύμων), τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον τερατώδες.

²²⁴ Questa interpretazione del testo aristotelico da parte di Aldrovandi la traduciamo tenendo conto della concordanza dei generi maschile e neutro sia dei sostantivi che degli aggettivi. Tuttavia la nostra traduzione si contrappone a ciò che Aldrovandi subito dopo afferma, che cioè sono le uova più piccole a generare delle mostruosità. Sull'esattezza del testo latino bisognerebbe chiedere lumi ad Aldrovandi! Oppure a Gessner, visto che il testo è bellamente copiato da Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 420, omettendo però la E iniziale: E caeteris itaque gemina foecunda sunt, nisi quibus hoc contingit, ut alter maior fuerit, alter minor. in iis enim tandem in monstrum degenerat qui minor novissime provenit. - Poi però Aldrovandi chiude degnamente la diatriba citando le conclusioni dell'Ornitologo, che sembrano essere quelle più sensate.

Pierius Valerianus²²⁵ apud Macedones Gallinam repertam asserit ex aliorum relatu, quae ova duodeviginti semel ediderit, et incubitu binos pullos ex ovis singulis excluserit. Quod vero gemina quaedam singulis diebus edant id Patavii sese observasse testatur tertio etiam nonnunquam addito, verum eo abortivo, Excellentissimus M. Antonius Ulmus, cuius paulo ante mentionem feci, experientia monitus Pierium vera narrasse asseverat, sed quam ipse gemina peperisse vidit, eam id bis in hebdomada tantum praestitisse aiebat, idque horis matutinis, et vespertinis, Gallinamque tandem ob uteri deciditiam obiisse, fuisse autem Gallinam Patavinam. Vere itaque monstrificos pullos dicemus, qui gemini ex uno ovo proveniunt simul coniuncti. Fit enim saepe, ut pullus sit bicorporeus, unde apud Albertum legimus { }<:> *In ovis quibusdam gemelli sunt, sed alter gemellorum comprimit alium, et aliquando ruptis telis (tunicis) bicorporeus generatur.*

Bolzani* asserts on the basis of description by others that among the Macedonians* a hen was found which only once laid eighteen eggs, and after she incubated them* delivered two chicks from each egg. The most excellent Marco Antonio Olmo*, whom I mentioned a short while ago, bears witness that he himself had seen in Padua that truly some hens lay daily two eggs, sometimes also adding a third one, which however is abortive - without yolk, and on his own experience is assuring that Bolzani told the truth, but that the same hen he himself saw laying two eggs, he was claiming that she did so only twice in a week, and precisely in the morning and evening hours, and that finally the hen died because of a prolapsed uterus - oviduct?, moreover she was a Paduan hen. Thus we should properly call as monstrous chicks those which being twins come out from a single egg joined together. For it often happens that a chick has two bodies, hence we read in Albertus: *In some eggs there are twins, but one of twins compresses the other, and sometimes after the membranes (the coverings) are ruptured he hatches endowed with two bodies.*

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[195] Ab incubatione etiam differentiae capi queunt: siquidem aliae semel, aliae bis terve aliae multoties incubant. Florentinus author est in Alexandria illa, quae ad Aegyptum spectat Gallinas quasdam Monosiras dici, ex quibus pugnaces oriantur Galli, quae bis, aut ter incubent, post absolutionem scilicet pullis ipsis subtractis, seorsumque enutritis. Ita contingit, ut una Gallina quadraginta aut etiam sexaginta, et plures unico incubatu {n}tu excludat.

Differences may be deduced also from incubation: since some hens incubate once, others twice or thrice, and others many times. Florentinus* is witness that in that Alexandria* belonging to Egypt, there are certain hens called monosir*, from which should hatch out fighting cocks, and which should incubate twice or thrice after they have been released, that is, after the chicks have been taken away and raised separately. Thus it happens that a hen alone hatches forty or sixty or even more chicks by a single sitting.

Differunt denique moribus et ingenio: nam praeter quam quod aliae domesticae, aliae sylvestres vocantur, inter ipsas etiam domesticas quaedam suapte natura adeo mites, et cicures sunt, ut sine humano consortio vitam transigere quodammodo nequeant: cuius rei oculatus testis sum. Siquidem ante aliquot annos in suburbano meo Gallinam alebam, quae praeterquam quod tota die sola per domum absque caeterarum comitatu vagaretur, vesperi ad quietem sese receptura nullibi nisi prope me inter libros, eosque maiores, etsi aliquoties abacta, recubare vellet. Aliae contra adeo ferae sunt, ut homines prorsus fugiant, tantum abest, ut earum familiaritate gaudeant. Aliae in propriam sobolem saeviunt, aliae ova, postquam edidere,

Finally they differ in character and temper: for, apart from that some are called domestic and others wild, also among the domestic themselves, because of their nature itself, some are so meek and mild that somehow they are not able to live without human companionship: and I am eyewitness of this. For some years ago I was raising in my farm a hen who, in addition to the fact that she wondered the whole day alone through the house without the company of other hens, at night since she had to withdraw for resting didn't want to lie down nowhere but near me among the books, and especially the greatest ones, although a few times she had been driven away. On the contrary others are so wild that they quite avoid humans who are so far from enjoying their familiarity. Some rage against their own offspring, others eat eggs

²²⁵ Pierius Valerianus [J. P. V. Bellunensis], *Hieroglyphica, sive de sacris Aegyptiorum literis commentarii* (Basle, 1556, 1567, 1575; Leyden, 1602, 1610, 1626-31; Frankfurt, 1614, 1678; Cologne, 1631). The English translation is by B. Vale, *The Early History of Egypt...from the Hieroglyphics of P. Valerianus, etc.* (1857). (Lind, 1963)

absument.

FORMA, ET DESCRIPTIO Galli, et Gallinae in genere.

Aristoteles²²⁶, interprete Gaza *Gallum Gallinaceum Alucone minorem* esse prodidit: sed id olim doctissimi Petri Bellonii auctoritate de maiori Alucone intelligendum esse monstravimus: alioqui revera Gallus Alucone multo maior est. Quod ad colorem attinet, is in toto gallinaceo genere ascribi non potest. Huic enim soli fidipedum²²⁷ altilium colores diversi sunt. Nam aliis huiusce generis altilibus alius, atque alius color est, et in singulis vel color unus per totum corpus, vel varii: unde Solon a Cr<o>eso exquisitissime omnium ornamentorum genere splendente, sublimique in solio residente interrogatus, an pulchrius unquam spectaculum vidisset, respondisse fertur, teste Laërtio²²⁸, Gallos Gallinaceos naturali nitore, et incredibili speciositate vestiri. Et Aelianus²²⁹ in rationis expertibus naturam mari praeogativum honorem, atque praestantiam elargitam esse tradit: *serpens*, inquit, *cristatus est: Gallus item formae excellentia illustratur*. Verum etsi eiusmodi propositio ut plurimum vera sit, et in Gallo nostro etiam locum habeat, universaliter tamen vera non est, siquidem, ut multis in locis in

after laid them.

APPEARANCE AND DESCRIPTION of the cock and the hen from a general point of view

Accordingly to the translation of Gaza*, Aristotle* told that the rooster is smaller than the tawny owl*: but formerly I have shown on the authority of the very learned Pierre Belon* that we have to think about the *Aluco maior* - i.e. about a species greater than *Aluco*: however really the rooster is much greater than the Tawny owl. As to color, this cannot be fixed in the entire species of gallinaceous. For only this one, among fattening cloven feet fowls, has different colors. In fact some birds of this species show a color, the others another one and still another, and in each subject is present either just a color throughout the whole body, or various colors: hence they tell that Solon*, asked by Croesus* shining in a very refined way with every kind of ornaments and sat on a high throne, whether he had ever seen a more beautiful sight, as testified by Diogenes Laertius*, he replied that the cocks are clothed by natural splendor and incredible beauty. And Aelian* reports that, among animals devoid of reason, Nature granted the male a honorific privilege and a superiority: *the snake*, he says, *is crested**: *likewise the cock is embellished by excellence of the appearance*. But, although such a statement is most often true and has its place also in our rooster, it is

²²⁶ Errato il riferimento di Aldrovandi al libro IX, cap.8 della *Historia animalium*. Si tratta invece del libro VIII,3,592b dove si dice che il gufo (o una specie di esso) è più grande di un gallo (*ho mèn eleòs méizon alektryónos*). *Aluco* è termine del latino medievale che Ducange glossa *hibou*, in realtà poco prima Aristotele, nominando i rapaci notturni, ha menzionato *nyttikórax*, *glayx* e *byas*, che il traduttore francese (P. Louis) rende con *bulotte*, *chouette* e *hibou*, cioè gufo comune (corvo notturno), civetta* e gufo reale (A 7), nelle classificazione di Linneo *Strix bubo*. Di qui si ricava che Aldrovandi ha unificato le varie specie di *gufo*: quello che nel testo di Aristotele è propriamente *eleòs*, data la citazione letterale, sembra confuso con il *byas*, in un rapporto di varietà della stessa specie, mentre nel Medioevo il falco reale (francese *hibou*) è l'aluco. Per Keller *eleòs* è forse il gufo delle paludi mentre *byas* è il gufo reale (o barbagianni). Quanto è sicura l'identificazione dell'alocco con il gufo reale? Alocco deriva secondo Devoto dal latino tardo *ulucus*, *uluccus*, analizzato quale ampliamento di un presunto **luccus*, stolto (*aluco* è quindi voce medievale). Resta il fatto che l'alocco sia effettivamente una specie di gufo. - Vediamo anche alcuni dati riferiti da Lind. Aldrovandi's reference to Aristotle *H. A.* 9. 8 has nothing about the *aluco*, which Ducange, *Glossarium*, s. v., defines as French, *hibou*, owl; see also L. Diefenbach, *Glossarium Latino-germanicum mediae et infimae aetatis* (Frankfurt am Main, 1857), s. v. See Aldrovandi *Ornithologia* I, 534-39, where the *aluco* is discussed on the basis of Pierre Belon, *Histoire naturelle des oiseaux* (1555), which Aldrovandi *Ornithologia* I, 7, said he translated into Latin. (Lind, 1963)

²²⁷ Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 381: Gallinaceo generi soli fidipedum altilium colores diversi, nam et aliae huius generis alites aliis coloribus visuntur, et in singulis vel color unus per omne corpus, vel varii. - pag. 466: Otis avis fidipes est, tribus insistens digitis, magnitudine gallinacei grandioris, capite oblongo, oculis amplis, rostro acuto, lingua ossea, gracili collo. - L'aggettivo *fidipes* non è attestato nei lessici, ma esiste *fissipes* usato da Ausonio* in *Epistulae* 5,3: Tertia fissipedes renovavit Luna iuvenca, - 7,49: Nec iam fissipedis per calami vias. - Secondo noi *fidipedum* può essere accettato, in quanto la sua radice risale comunque al verbo *find-o* (*fid-i*, *fess-um*), *ère*.

²²⁸ Diogenes Laertius *Life of Solon* I, 51. (Lind, 1963)

²²⁹ Aldrovandi non annota a quale brano delle opere di Eliano sta facendo riferimento. Dovrebbe senz'altro trattarsi di *La natura degli animali* XI,26, (A quanto sembra, anche tra gli animali la natura ha favorito quelli di genere maschile. Ad esempio il drago (*drakón*) di sesso maschile ha il ciuffo (*lòphos*) e la barba (*ypènèn*), anche il gallo ha la cresta (*lòphos*) e i bargigli (*kaálliaia*); il cervo ha le corna, il leone la criniera e la cicala il canto.) per la cui analisi si rimanda alla voce *serpente con il ciuffo** del lessico. - Il nostro Ulisse doveva avere una biblioteca assai misera, per cui non poteva controllare le citazioni. Infatti l'errata citazione, che non è di Eliano, è pedissequamente tratta da Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 381: In rationis expertibus mari praeogativum honorem atque praestantiam quandam natura largita est. *serpens cristatus est: gallus item formae excellentia illustratur*, Aelian.

primo opere ostendimus in rapacium genere foeminae maribus, et praestantiores sunt, et pulchriores.

Gallus cristam in capite gerit, eamque semper exertam, atque rubentem, dummodo integra sanitate fruatur, quare Theocritus²³⁰ eum Φοινικόλοφον vocabat per periphrasim. Talem cristam solus, teste Aristotele²³¹, sibi peculiarem sortitus est: sic autem institutam, ut nec caro sit, nec a natura carnis omnino aliena. *Spectatissimum insigne*, inquit Plinius²³² elegantissime hanc cristam depingens, Aristotelemque periphrasticos explicans, *Gallinaceis corporeum, serratum, nec carnem {id} <ita>*²³³ esse nec cartilaginem, nec callum iure dixerimus, verum peculiare.

Unde apud Aristophanem²³⁴ κυρβασίαν cristam peculiarem potius quam cassidem {solus} <solum> rectam, ut vulgaris interpretatio habet in versu {.>:<

Ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, τὴν κυρβασίαν τῶν ὄρνιθων μόνος ὀρθήν

debemus interpretari: quoniam Upupa, Alauda cristata, similesque cristatae volucres alioqui cristam etiam erectam gerunt: quare recte Hesychius in hoc certe prudens κυρβαβίαν cristam Gallinaceam tra<n>stulit: puto autem

not, however, universally true, since, as I have shown in many points of first volume, among the genus of birds of prey the females are both above the males and more beautiful.

On the head the rooster bears a comb which is always prominent and reddish as long as he enjoys excellent health, that's why Theocritus* by a circumlocution called him *phoinikólophos* - crimson combed. According to Aristotle, he alone has been blessed with such a comb, peculiar to him: for it is so composed that it is neither flesh nor completely unrelated to the flesh's substance. Pliny*, describing very properly this comb and explaining Aristotle by periphrases, says: - *The most remarkable ornament has been given by Nature - to the roosters, fleshy, serrated; neither we can rightly say that it is flesh, nor cartilage nor a callosity, but something peculiar.*

Therefore in Aristophanes* we must to interpret *kyrbasían* - tiara, pointed Persian turban - as a peculiar comb rather than only a pointed helmet, as the common interpretation shows in the verse:

Epi tēs kephalēs, tēn kyrbasian ton órniθon mōnos ortēn
On the head, the only bird having the tiara upright.*

In fact the Hoopoe, the Crested Lark - *Alauda arvensis* - and similar crested birds somehow carry also an erected crest: therefore Hesychius*, surely experienced in this field, correctly glossed *kyrbabían* into rooster's comb: nevertheless I think that it must be read *kyrbasían* and that it is a typographical error.

²³⁰ *Idyllia* XXII 72. (Lorenzo Rocci) - Gessner dà come riferimento l'Idillio XXVII.

²³¹ *Historia animalium* II,12,504b: Inoltre certi uccelli presentano una cresta, che normalmente consiste di piume erette; unica eccezione il gallo, che ha una cresta particolare, formata non proprio di carne ma di qualcosa non molto dissimile dalla carne. (traduzione di Mario Vegetti)

²³² *Naturalis historia* XI,122: Per medium caput a rostro residentem et fulicarum generi dedit, cirros pico quoque Martio et grui Balearicae, sed spectatissimum insigne gallinaceis, corporeum, serratum; nec carnem ita esse nec cartilaginem nec callum iure dixerimus, verum peculiare datum.

²³³ Plinio ha *ita*, ma Aldrovandi desume *id* da Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 381: Spectatissimum insigne gallinaceis, corporeum, serratum: nec carnem id esse, nec cartilaginem, nec callum iure dixerimus, verum peculiare, Plinius.

²³⁴ Aristophanes *Birds* 487. (Lind, 1963)

²³⁵ Angelo Poliziano *Rusticus*, in *Prose volgari inedite e poesie latine e greche edite e inedite di Angelo Ambrogini Poliziano* (ed. by Isidoro del Lungo, Firenze, G. Barbera, 1867), 324, line 401. I have written short notes on Poliziano's poetry, both Latin and Italian, in two of my books, *Lyric Poetry of the Italian Renaissance* (New Haven, Yale, 1954), and *Latin Poetry in Verse Translation* (Boston, Houghton, Mifflin Co. 1957). On the rooster's crest, see Varro, 3. 9. 4. 5; Pliny, 10. 29. 44. 86; 10. 56. 77. 156; 27. 5. 23. 40. (Lind, 1963) - Il *Rusticus* fu composto da Poliziano nel 1483-84. Egli così scrive a proposito del gallo: cui vertice purpurat alto|fastigiatus apex. Questo brano verrà riportato da Aldrovandi a pagina 197.

²³⁶ Verosimilmente si tratta di un raddoppiamento della *f* del latino *rufus*, che significa rosso. Lo stesso vocabolo viene riferito da Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 405: Gallorum cristas aliqui barbatae ruffas nominant.

²³⁷ Gessner riporta *ascili*. Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 405: Ascili, id est crista galli, Sylvaticus. - In *Opus pandectarum medicinae* di Matteo Silvatico (Vicenza, Hermannus Liechtenstein, Levilapsis, 1480) al capitolo 66 - ASTERION - viene riportato: Ascili .i. crista galli. Non ne viene fornita la fonte. - Ascili è stato usato anche con un particolare significato, come viene riferito da Johann Jacob Hofmann (1635-1706) in *Lexicon Universale* (Leiden, 1698): ASCODROGILI, vel ASCILI: Haeretici, qui Paracletò Montani se plenos iactantes, Bacchanalia in Ecclesiam introducebant, et circa lagenam vinò repletam circumibant solenni pompâ. Augustin. *haer.* 62. Philastrius *de haeret.*

κυρβασίαν legendum, typographique mendum esse. Facile enim fuit pro κυρβασίαν κυρβαβίαν legere. Politianus²³⁵ cristam in Gallinaceo genere apicem vocavit. Aliqui barbare ruffas²³⁶ appellant, et Sylvaticus nescio qua lingua ascil{i}²³⁷: Graeci plerique λόφον; Aristophanes, ut dixi, κυρβασίαν, quanquam Varinus Cyrbasiam, <et Cyrbasiam>²³⁸ quoque caput Gallinacei interpretetur. Hesichius κορυφήν ἀλέκτορος, id est verticem, vel cristam Galli. Hippocrates²³⁹ Cyrbasiam vocat pileum acutum, ut videtur, alii tiaram erectam, qua soli Persarum Reges utebantur: unde alibi Suidas: Ὁ Περσικὸς ὄρνις, ὁ ἀλέκτωρ λέγεται διὰ τὴν λοφίαν²⁴⁰,

Since it would have been easy to read *kyrbabian* instead of *kyrbasian*. Angelo Poliziano*, in chickens, called the comb as apex. Others roughly call the combs *ruffas* - reddish, and Matthaeus Sylvaticus* in I don't know what tongue *ascil{i}*: most of the Greeks *lóphos*; Aristophanes, as I said, *kyrbasia*, although Varinus* translates *cyrbasia* and also *cybarsia* as rooster's head. Hesychius *koryphēn aléktoros*, that is the top or the comb of the rooster. As it seems, Hippocrates* calls *cyrbasia* the pointed pileum*, others the upright tiara used only by Persian kings: whence elsewhere Suidas says: *Hó Persikòs órnīs, ho aléktor léghetai dià tēn lophian*,

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[196] hoc est, Persica avis, Gallinaceus dicitur a crista, in dictionario Syrochaldaico כרבבא carvelada legitur pro crista Galli, et metaphoricè in Arve pro veste rubea instar cristae Galli. Hinc כרבבא Curbalin Cuculli, capitis involucri instar galearum, vel iuxta alios pallia. Ab hac nota Galli {Theocriro} <Theocrito>²⁴¹ alibi Ὅρνιθες φοινικολόφοι, hoc est, aves rubricristatae, Latinis cristatae volucres appellari meruerunt, et Martialis²⁴² Gallos cristatos dixit eo versu.

Nondum cristati rupere silentia Galli.

Ut vero Galli cristam erectam, ita Gallinae {plicabilem}²⁴³ <plicatitem>²⁴⁴ obtinere, et per medium caput deorsum dependentem: quare nescio, quid in mentem venerit Giberto Longolio illas fere disertissimis verbis carere profitenti. Hac abscissa animal non moritur; nam parum sanguinis ex inflicto vulnere effluit. Super qua re mira apud Sigismundum liberum²⁴⁵ baronem historia legitur in descriptione itineris sui per Moscoviam; quae talis est: Gallum, inquit,

that is, the cock is called the Persian bird because of the comb; in the Syro-Chaldaic dictionary is read *carvelada* for rooster's comb, and in Arve metaphorically for a dress which is red like a rooster's comb. From this source *curbalin* they are the hoods, helmet-shaped headgears, or cloaks for others. From this feature the roosters earned somewhere from Theocritus* the name of *Órnithes phoinikolóphoi*, that is red combed birds, and from Latins of combed birds, and Martial* called them combed cocks by this verse:

Not yet have the combed cocks broken the silence.

But, like the cocks got an upright comb, then the hens got it flexible and hanging down from the middle of the head: therefore I don't know what crossed Longolius* mind when he stated with very eloquent words that they nearly lack it. When it is cut away, the animal doesn't die; for very little blood flows from inflicted wound. With regard to that, in Sigismund, baron of Herberstein*, in the description of his journey through Moscow, we can read a surprising tale which sounds as follows: a Muscovite cock, he

²³⁸ Aldrovandi ha amputato il testo di Gessner, non eliminando, ma adattando il *quoque* al proprio testo. Così riporta Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 405: [...] quanquam Varinus Cyrbasiam et Cybarsiam quoque caput gallinacei interpretatur, κεφαλὴν ἀλέκτορος:[...]

²³⁹ *Mulierum* II 186.

²⁴⁰ Il lessico Suida riporta effettivamente λοφίαν, ma per lo più gli antichi autori usarono λοφιά, ᾶς, che significa criniera, ciuffo di peli o di setole.

²⁴¹ *Idyllia* XXII 72.

²⁴² Martial *Epigrams* 9. 68. 3. (Lind, 1963)

²⁴³ La notizia è tratta da Nicolò Perotto che, sulla scia di Plinio, potrebbe aver usato *plicabilis* anziché *plicatilis*. Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 381: Gallinae {plicabilis} <plicatilis> crista per medium caput, gallinaceo erecta, Perottus.

²⁴⁴ Plinio *Naturalis historia* XI,122: Diximus et cui plicatitem cristam dedisset natura. Per medium caput a rostro residentem et fulicarum generi dedit, cirros pico quoque Martio et grui Balearicae, sed spectatissimum insigne gallinaceis, corporeum, serratum; nec carnem ita esse nec cartilaginem nec callum iure dixerimus, verum peculiare datum. draconum enim cristas qui viderit, non reperitur.

²⁴⁵ Forse *liberum* rispecchia il titolo tedesco Freiherr, che già da solo significa Barone.

Moscoviticum more Germanorum super currum sedentem, frigoreque iam iam morientem, famulus crista, quae gelu concreta erat, subito abscissa non solum hoc modo servavit, verum etiam ut erecto statim collo cantaret, nobis admirantibus effecit²⁴⁶.

Sed iam ad alia transeamus. Oculi harum avium splendidi sunt, et limpidi. Aiunt quibus tales natura largita est, vulgo salaces, et libidinosos haberi. Membranosa illa cutis, quae sub mento, et collo utrinque dependet, palea dicitur: sic apud Columellam²⁴⁷ legimus: *Paleae ex rutilo albicantes, quae velut incanae barbae dependent*. Similiter et in bobus palearia dicimus, quae a pectore, et collo dependent. Hanc membranam, si ita appellare placet, Aristoteles²⁴⁸, κάλλαιον vocat: in cuius {voce} <vocis> traductione Gaza maximopere hallucinatus est, cristam vertens. Haec enim in vertice erecta est: κάλλαια sive paleae utrinque a malis dependent. Videntur autem κάλλαια dicta ob purpureum, floridumque colorem. Nam κάλλη Graeci floridos colores dicunt, τὰ ἄνθη τῶν βαμμάτων, ut Ammonius²⁴⁹ de differentiis vocum interpretatur, et ibidem κάλλαια, τοὺς τῶν ἀλεκτρούων πώγωνας. Ornithologus Latinam vocem paleae a Graecis deductam esse conijcit, κ nempe in π mutato, et λ uno exempto. Pro κάλλαια apud Varinum κάλλαιοι legitur pro Gallinacei barba, et omni colore purpureo, vel secundum alios vario: et alibi κάλεα habet pro eadem barba, et secundum Aelium Dionysium²⁵⁰ ea vox eodem autore pennas in cauda {earum} <eorum>²⁵¹ significat.

Rostrum omnium avium vulgus Italicum becco vocat vocabulo Tolosano antiquo, quanquam

says, roosting upon a cart according to the German custom, and which was dying at any moment because of the cold, a servant, after quickly cut off its completely frozen comb, not only did he save it in this way, but he achieved also that the bird suddenly straightened the neck and began to crow, while we were astonished.

But now let me pass on to other things. The eyes of these birds are shining and limpid. They say that those, to whom Nature gave such eyes, they are usually believed as lustful and libidinous. That membranous skin which hangs on both sides under the chin and the neck is called *palea* - wattle: thus we read in Columella*: *Wattles of whitish red which hang like beards of elderly people*. Similarly also in oxen we call *palearia* - dewlaps - the membranes hanging from chest and neck. This membrane, if one chooses to call it so, Aristotle* names it *kállaiōn**: Theodorus Gaza* was widely led astray when he translated this word, being that he renders it as *comb*. For this one stands upright on the top of the head: the *kállaiα* or wattles hang down on both sides from the cheeks. On other hand they think that the *kállaiα* - wattles - are so called because of their purple and bright color. For the Greeks call *kállē* - the beauties - the bright colors, τὰ ἀνθή τῶν βαμμάτων - the splendors of dye, as Ammonius of Alexandria* interprets in his work about the differences of the words, and in the same treatise *kállaiα, τοὺς τῶν ἀλεκτρούων πῶγωνας* - the wattles, the beards of the cocks. The Ornithologist conjectures that the Latin word *paleae* has been drawn from Greeks, and precisely with the change of κ into π and one λ taken away. In Varinus* we read *kállaiōi* instead of *kállaiα* with the meaning of rooster's beard and of any purple color, or variegated according to others: elsewhere he has *káleα* for the same beard and, as he himself is testifying, according to Aelius Dionysius* this word means the feathers they have on tail.

Common Italian people, by an ancient word of Toulouse, call *becco** the beak of all birds, although,

²⁴⁶ *Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii* - Editionis 1556, paginae 144-156: [151] Equidem nasum, nisi tempestivius a Pristavo admonitus fuisset, fere amisisset. Ingressus enim hospitium, vix tandem, nive, monitu Pristavi, nasum macerando ac fricando, non citra dolorem sentire coeperam, scabieque quodammodo oborta, ac dein paulatim arescente, convalueram. [152] gallumque Moscoviticum, more Germanorum super currum sedentem, frigoreque iam iam morientem, servitor crista, quae gelu concreta erat, subito abscissa, non solum hoc modo servavit, verum etiam ut erecto statim collo cantaret, nobis admirantibus, effecit. (www.fh-augsburg.de)

²⁴⁷ *De re rustica* VIII,2,9.

²⁴⁸ *Historia animalium* IX 631b 10,28.

²⁴⁹ *On the Similarities and Differences of Words* (ed. by L. C. Valckenaer, sec. ed., Leipzig, 1822). (Lind, 1963)

²⁵⁰ Aelius Dionysius, *Aelii Dionysii et Pausaniae Atticistarum Fragmenta* (ed. by E. Schwabe, Leipzig, 1890). (Lind, 1963)

²⁵¹ Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 405: Κάλεα (malim κάλλαια) barbae gallinaceorum, et pennae in caudis eorum secundum Aelium Dionysium, Varinus in Θρόνα.

privatim Gallinacei rostrum, Suetonio²⁵² teste, significaret: est autem utriusque sexui robustum, et in superiori parte aduncum, coloris plerumque cornei. Hesychio, et Varino κόραξ modo Corvum, et omnibus Graecis, significat, modo summa Gallinaceorum rostra, nimirum a nigro colore quem Graeci κορὸν²⁵³ vocant: at nostris Gallis utraque rostri pars eiusdem fere semper coloris est: quare forte extremitates intellexerint, quae quandoque ad nigredinem vergunt. Carnem illam, quae rostrum undique cingit, nonnulli mentum vocant, Columella²⁵⁴ vero etiam genam. Longiores caeteris plumae aliae collum in Gallo, et cervicem undique ambiunt. Has Columella²⁵⁵ apposito quidem vocabulo iubas appellabat. Sunt enim iubae crines animalium a collo dependentes, in quibus videntur aliquod robur corporis sui agnoscere: unde Plinius²⁵⁶ *tunc praecipuam Leonis generositatem spectari*, tradit, *quum colla, armosque vestiunt iubae*. Atque ita eodem modo pugnaturi, et irati etiam explicant Gallinacei, quasi et in suis aliquid sit, quod iracundiam, et animositatem eorum demonstret.

Apicius²⁵⁷ in pullo quandam corporis partem navim vocat, *pullum a navi aperiri* iubens: putaverim autem omnino pectus ita appellare, sed nullo interim firmo argumento nixus, nisi quia mox pullum farsilem a pectore aperire iubeat. Scio tamen Humelbergium partem ventris posteriorem interpretari, quod ut navis cavus, et figura<e>²⁵⁸ eius non dissimilis sit.

according to Suetonius*, it had specifically the meaning of beak of a chicken: for it is strong in both sexes and hooked in the upper part, generally horn-colored. For Hesychius* and Varinus as well as for all Greeks *kórax* now means rook, now the upper part of the beak of chickens, surely because of the black color which the Greeks name as *koròn*: but in our roosters both components of the beak are almost always of the same color: so perhaps they understood the apices which sometimes tend to be black. That flesh, which surrounds the beak all around, some people call it chin, truly Columella calls it also cheek. Other feathers, longer than other ones, surround both rooster's neck and nape all around. Columella called these feathers by an apt word as *iubae* - manes. In fact the manes are the hair of the animals hanging down from the neck, in which it seems to recognize a certain strength of their body: whence Pliny* tells that *the maximum of the lion's courage can be observed when the mane covers the neck and the shoulders*. And thus also roosters straighten it when they are about to fight and are angry, as though also among their qualities there is someone showing their anger and pugnacity.

In the chicken Apicius* calls *ship* a certain part of body, prescribing that *the chicken should be opened from the ship*: I think that doubtless he calls in this way the chest, however without relying upon any strong argument, except that afterwards he is prescribing that a to be stuffed chicken should be opened from the chest. Nevertheless I know that Gabriel Hummelberg* interprets it as the rear belly's portion,

²⁵² *Vitellius*, 18: Periit cum fratre et filio anno vitae septimo quinquagesimo; nec fefellit coniectura eorum qui augurio, quod factum ei Viennae ostendimus, non aliud portendi praedixerant, quam venturum in alicuius Gallicani hominis potestatem; siquidem ab Antonio Primo adversarum partium duce oppressus est, cum Tolosae nato cognomen in pueritia Becco fuerat; id valet gallinacei rostrum. - Così riporta l'Etimologico di Cortelazzo-Zolli (Zanichelli, 1984) alla voce BECCO: Lat. *beccu(m)*, vc. di orig. gall. (**bukko*: di provenienza germ.?), come attesta Svetonio (*cui Tolosae nato cognomen in pueritia Becco fuerat; id valet gallinacei rostrum*, Vit. 18); essa ha soppiantato in gran parte del mondo romanzo *rostru(m)*.

²⁵³ La fonte di questo vocabolo è senz'altro Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 405: Κόραξ, corvus, et summa gallinaceorum rostra, a colore nigro quem Graeci κορὸν dicunt, Hesychius et Varinus. - Esiste κόρος, che significa sazietà, stanchezza, insolenza, altezzosità, disdegno, figlio, rampollo, pollone, virgulto, ramo, coro, scopa. - Ma cerca che ti ricerca: finalmente si viene a capo che l'aggettivo κορός riportato dall'*Etymologicum Magnum** ha il significato di nero.

²⁵⁴ *De re rustica* VIII,5,22: Nam si pituita circumvenit oculos et iam cibos avis respuit, ferro rescinduntur genae, et coacta sub oculis sanies omnis exprimitur.

²⁵⁵ *De re rustica* VIII,2,9: [...] iubae deinde variae vel ex auro flavae, per colla cervicesque in umeros diffusae.

²⁵⁶ *Naturalis historia* VIII,42: Leoni praecipua generositas tunc, cum colla armosque vestiunt iubae; [...]

²⁵⁷ *De re coquinaria* VI,9,2: Pullum Parthicum: pullum aperies a navi et in quadrato ornas. Teres piper, ligusticum, carei modicum; suffunde liquamen; vino temperas. - VI,9,5: Pullum laseratum: pullum aperies a navi, lavabis, ornabis et Cumana ponis. - VI,9,14. Pullus farsilis: pullum sicuti liquaminatum a cervice expedit. teres piper, ligusticum, gingiber, pulpam caesam, alicam elixam, teres cerebellum ex iure coctum, ova confringis et commiscis, ut unum corpus efficias. liquamine temperas et oleum modice mittis, piper integrum, nucleos abundantes. fac impensam et imple pullum vel porcellum, ita ut laxamentum habeat. Similiter in capo facies. ossibus eiectis coques. - VI,9,15. «Pullus leucozomus». accipies pullum et ornas ut supra. aperies illum a pectore. [pullus leucozomus] accipiat aquam et oleum Spanum abundans. agitur ut ex se ambulet et humorem consumat. postea, cum coctus fuerit, quodcumque porri remanserit inde levas. piper aspargis et inferes.

²⁵⁸ La citazione suona nello stesso modo ed è tratta da Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 405: Sed Humelbergius partem posteriorem ventris interpretatur: qui ut navis cavus, et figurae eius non dissimilis sit.

Cauda in hoc avium genere maribus maior est quam faeminis: praeterea binae illis sunt pennae longissimae propter teneritudinem incurvi arcus imaginem prae se ferentes, quae in faeminis non sunt: atque illud est, quod Albertus dicere voluit hisce verbis: *Gallus pennas in cauda instar semicirculi curvat, et similiter in collo, et dorso, videlicet cum irascitur, aut ad pugnam sese parat.* Plinius²⁵⁹ etiam caudam falcata in sublime erigere Gallum dixit. ὄτραν²⁶⁰ Hesychius, et Varinus peculiariter Gallinacei caudam vocant. Pennas illas, quas Gallinis, et Capis saginandis sub cauda evellimus, quidam Germani, teste Ornithologo²⁶¹, a tali actione Mastfaederen, hoc est pennas pinguefactorias privatim nominarunt.

Armantur calcari mares potissimum, ut scripsit Aristoteles²⁶², et faeminae magna ex parte ea non habent. In maribus in magnam molem quandoque excrescunt, quales illi sunt, quos post depingeremus.

being that it is hollow like a ship, and is not dissimilar to its shape.

In this genus of birds the tail is larger in males than in females: furthermore they have two very long feathers - one on each side, the main sickles -, which are not present in females, which because of their softness show the image of a curved bow: and it is what Albertus* wanted to say by these words: *The rooster curves his tail feathers in a semicircle, and likewise on neck and back, without doubt when it gets angry and gets ready for a fight.* Pliny said that the rooster erects on high also his sickle-shaped tail. Hesychius and Varinus call the rooster's tail specifically as *ótran*. Those feathers which we pull out from under the tail in hens and capons to be fattened, some Germans, on witness of the Ornithologist, according to such a purpose they specifically called them *Mastfaederen*, that is, fattening's feathers.

Especially the males are armed with spur, as Aristotle wrote, and the females generally do not have them. In the males sometimes they grow to a great size, such as they are those males I shall portray later.

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[197] Obscurus quidam de natura rerum huiusmodi spicula, seu calcaria in Gallinis errore potius, quam opere naturae quandoque dari tradit: verum quamvis mihi raro Gallinas calcaribus praeditas {videri} <videre> contigerit, tamen Aristoteles²⁶³ id affirmat ita scribens: *Gallinae cum mares vicerint, cucu<r>riunt: cristaque etiam, caudaque erigitur, ita ne facile praeterea sit, an faeminae sint, cognoscere: nonnunquam etiam calcaria parva iis enascuntur.* Et Iulius Alexandrinus²⁶⁴,

An obscure writer on natural history says that in hens such spikes, or spurs, sometimes are present more because a mistake rather than through the agency of Nature: in truth, although I have rarely happened to see hens equipped with spurs*, nevertheless Aristotle* affirms such a thing when writing as follows: *The hens, when they won the males, they crow a cock-a-doodle-doo: also the comb straightens up as well as the tail, so that after it is not easy to recognize whether they are females: sometimes also small spurs grow out to them.* And Julius Alexandrinus*, I don't

²⁵⁹ *Naturalis historia* X,47: Et plebs tamen aequae superba graditur ardua cervice, cristis celsa, caelumque sola volucrum aspicit crebra, in sublime caudam quoque falcata erigens. Itaque terrori sunt etiam leonibus ferarum generosissimis. - Tuttavia anche il popolo, ugualmente superbo, cammina a testa alta, con la cresta eretta, e [il gallo] è il solo fra gli uccelli a guardare spesso il cielo, alzando verso l'alto anche la coda ricurva come una falce. Pertanto incutono terrore anche ai leoni che sono i più coraggiosi tra le fiere.

²⁶⁰ La fonte assai telegrafica è Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 405: *Ótra*, gallinacei cauda, Hesych. et Varinus. - Vocabolo assente nei lessici.

²⁶¹ Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 405: Plumas sub cauda quae gallinis aut capis saginandis evelli solent, aliqui privatim nominant mastfaederen.

²⁶² La citazione è errata, ma la fonte e il diretto colpevole è Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 382: Calcar cum habeant mares, foeminae magna ex parte non habent, Aristot. - Aristotele in *Historia animalium* II 504b 7 dice solo che alcuni uccelli hanno speroni: Certi generi di uccelli hanno poi degli speroni: nessuno però possiede contemporaneamente artigli e speroni. (traduzione di Mario Vegetti)

²⁶³ Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 382: Calcar cum habeant mares, foeminae magna ex parte non habent, Aristot. Et rursus, Gallinae cum mares vicerint, cucu<r>riunt. crista etiam eis caudaque erigitur, ita, ne facile praeterea sit, an foeminae sint cognoscere. nonnunquam etiam calcaria parva iis enascuntur. Galli spiculis adversis in cruribus armantur. habent et quandoque spicula gallinae: sed hoc errore potius quam opere naturae, Obscurus de nat. rerum. Natura calcar addidit in avium genere iis, quae ob corporis molem sint ad volandum minus idoneae, cuiusmodi sunt galli, Aristot. - La notizia sul comportamento delle galline quando hanno sconfitto un maschio proviene da Aristotele *Historia animalium* IX 631b 8.

²⁶⁴ Julius Alexandrinus, *De Salubritate*, XXII, 7 [*Salubrium; sive de Sanitate Tuenda*, libri 33, Cologne, 1575]. (Lind, 1963)

nescio nunquid ex propria observatione, an potius Aristotelis autoritate super hac re ita scribit: Quid? an non Aristotelem authorem habemus, vidimusque partim aliquando ipsi idem nos, Gallinas, quae maris animum induissent, experta semel de Gallis victoria, supervenire mares coitu solitas, irrito quidem conatu, sed solitas tamen: et quod dicta in primis nostra confirmat, atque author idem est, crista, caudaque Gallorum in morem erecta visas, tanta marium similitudine, ut discernere non facile fuerit. Iisdem observatum parva quoque nata calcaria quaedam locis suis. Haec ille. Aristoteles²⁶⁵ *naturam arbitratur calcaria addidisse in avium genere iis, quae ob corporis molem sunt ad volandum minus idoneae*. Sed haec propositio, quod pace tanti viri dixerim, quo minus vera sit, Gallopavo, Otis, ac id genus aves aliae ostendunt, quae licet ad volandum aequae ineptae sint, calcaribus nihilominus carent. Calcaria cum ab aliis Atticis, tum potissimum ab Aristotele *πλήκτρα* appellantur: Dorice *πλάκτρα*, communiter *κέντρα*.

Caeteras partes cum aliis plerisque avibus communes habent: Siquidem quod Plinius²⁶⁶ Gallinas probet imparibus digitis, id non de numero dicere voluisse videri posset, sed quod non debeant aequae longi esse, nisi etiam post subiungeret, *aliquando et super quatuor digitos transverso uno*: nam inde quinque digitos intellexisse, non autem calcar illud quod aliquando eis adnasci ex Aristotele diximus, aperte videmus: et Columella²⁶⁷ etiam Gallinas probat, quae quinque digitos habent, ita tamen ne cruribus emineant transversa calcaria. Quare

know whether according on his own observation or rather on witness of Aristotle, writes as follows: What? Isn't true that we have Aristotle as witness, and I myself have partly seen sometimes some hens, those who had worn the male's instinct, after they had experienced the victory over roosters, they were accustomed to mount the males in coition, in truth in a fruitless attempt, but however they were usually doing so: and in confirmation of what I said at the beginning, and he himself is witness, they have been seen with combs and tails erected like the roosters, in such a manner so similar to males that it wouldn't be easy to distinguish them - from the formers. In them they have been observed also small spurs grown out in the proper place. These are his words. Aristotle thinks that *among the genus of birds Nature endowed with spurs those which because of body's size are less fit for flying*. But, to speak without offending so great a man, that this statement is not true at all it is proved by turkey*, bustard* and other birds of that kind, which, nevertheless alike unfit for flying, in spite of this they lack spurs. Spurs, both by other Attica's inhabitants and especially by Aristotle are called *pléktra*: in Doric* *pláktra*, usually *kéntra*.

They have the remaining parts in common with the best part of other birds: since Pliny* appreciates the hens with unequal toes, it could seem that he didn't want to make reference to their number, but that they don't have to be of the same length, except that just after he also adds: *sometimes also for the presence of a toe arranged in a slanting direction in addition to the other four toes*: hence, in fact, we clearly see that he meant five toes and not that spur which, according to Aristotle, we said sometimes growing out to them: and Columella appreciates also those hens which have five toes, so that however no spurs are sticking out

²⁶⁵ *Historia animalium* II 504b 7: Certi generi di uccelli hanno poi degli speroni: nessuno però possiede contemporaneamente artigli e speroni. I rapaci, dotati di artigli, fanno parte dei buoni volatori, mentre gli uccelli provvisti di speroni vanno annoverati fra quelli pesanti. (traduzione di Mario Vegetti)

²⁶⁶ *Naturalis historia* X,156: Gallinarum generositas spectatur crista erecta, interim et gemina, pinnis nigris, ore rubicundo, digitis imparibus, aliquando et super IIII digitos traverso uno. Ad rem divinam luteo rostro pedibusque purae non videntur, ad opertanea sacra nigrae. Est et pumilionum genus non sterile in his, quod non in alio genere alitum, sed quibus centra, fecunditas rara et incubatio ovis noxia. - La buona razza delle galline si riconosce dalla cresta eretta, talvolta anche doppia, dalle penne nere, dalla faccia rossa, dalle dita di differente lunghezza, talvolta anche dalla presenza di un dito disposto obliquamente oltre agli altri quattro. Per i servizi divini non sono ritenute incontaminate quelle con becco e zampe gialli, quelle nere sono adatte per i riti misterici. Fra queste vi è anche una razza di galline nane non sterile, non presente in altre specie di volatili, ma le galline dotate di speroni sono raramente feconde e il loro covare è nocivo alle uova.

²⁶⁷ *De re rustica* VIII,2,8: Sint ergo matricēs robii coloris, quadratae, pectorosae, magnis capitibus, rectis rutilisque cristulis, albis auribus, et sub hac specie quam amplissimae, nec paribus unguibus: generosissimaeque creduntur quae quinos habent digitos, sed ita ne cruribus emineant transversa calcaria. Nam quae hoc virile gerit insigne, contumax ad concubitum dedignatur admittere marem, raroque fecunda etiam cum incubat, calcis aculeis ova perfringit. - Le riproduttrici siano dunque di colore rossiccio, tarchiate, posseggano un petto largo, la testa grande, la piccola cresta dritta e rosso splendente, gli orecchioni bianchi, e sotto questo aspetto li abbiano quanto più grandi possibile, e non debbono avere le dita pari: e precisamente sono ritenute molto fertili quelle con cinque dita, ma non debbono avere speroni che sporgano di traverso sulle zampe. Infatti, quella che porta questo segno di mascolinità, resta all'accoppiamento, è sdegnosa nell'accettare il maschio, ed è raramente feconda e poi quando cova rompe le uova con gli speroni acuminati.

quid de eiusmodi digitis dicam, plane ignoro: cum alioqui pedes {pentadactili} <pentadactyli> neque in avium hoc genere, nec in alio observari, nisi in monstris ex abundantia materiae videamus: qualis ille pes {pentadactilos} <pentadactylus> est, quem mihi olim nescio a quo donatum in musaeo meo reservo.

Ut vero modo quoad fieri licet breviter Gallum nostrum describamus, itaque doctissimi Angeli Politiani²⁶⁸ elegantissimos hosce versus prius citabimus.

*Comes it merito plebs caetera Regi
Formoso regi, cui vertice purpurat alto
{Factigiatus} <Fastigiatus> apex, dulcique errore
coruscae
Splendescunt cervice iubae, perque aurea colla,
Perque humeros it pulcher bonos, palea ampla decenter
Albicat ex rutilo, atque torosa in pectora pendet
Barbarum in morem: stat adunca cuspide rostrum,
Exiguum spatii rostrum. Flagrantque tremendum
Ravi oculi, niveasque caput late explicat aur{e}is.
Crura pilis hirsuta rigent, in<n>cturaque nodo
vix distante sedet, durus vestigia mucro
Armat: in immensum, pinnaeque, hirtique lacerti
Protenti excurrunt, duplicique horrentia vallo
Falcatae ad Caelum tolluntur acumina caudae.
Hactenus ille.*

Probus vero, et laudabilis Gallus esto eiusmodi. Corpore sit procero et elato, quales in primis Varro²⁶⁹ laudat, in certamine sit pertinax, quin im<m>o qui pugnam ipse non prius auspicetur tantum, si pugnandum est, et aggredientibus aliis fortiter repugnet, verumetiam acriter sese de illis ulciscatur, et animalia, quae nocent Gallinis, non modo non pertimescat, sed pro eisdem illa oppugnet: alioqui Columella²⁷⁰ pugnaces, et

transversally from their legs. Therefore, I am at all at a loss what to say about such toes: since in other respects we see from an abundance of matter that five-toed feet are not observed* neither in this genus of birds nor in any other, except in monsters: like it is that pentadactylous foot which was given to me I don't know by whom and which I keep in my museum.

As far as it is possible to do it, let's now describe our rooster shortly, and therefore I shall first quote these very elegant verses of very learned Angelo Poliziano*.

*The rest of common folk walks along as companion of the rightly king
the handsome king, on whose head is brightly shining of crimson the pointed comb, and in his sweet wandering his shining manes glitter on his neck, and across the golden neck,
and across the shoulders the wonderful beauty is spreading, the broad red wattle is harmoniously suffused with white, and it is hanging upon the brawny chest likewise beards: the beak stretches out with a hooked peak, a beak small in size. And glow in a terrible way the grey tawny eyes, and the head widely spreads out snow-white earlobes.
The legs rise bristling with hair, and on the legs with only just wide apart articulations he roosts: a hard spike is arming his feet:
the wings and the shaggy arms when spread enormously lengthen, and made terrible by a double fence the points of the sickle-shaped tail are raised towards the sky.
Thus far his words.*

Truly, an excellent and praiseworthy cock must be as follows. He must be of tall and slender body, like those Varro* is especially praising, persistent in combat, even better he must be able not only to begin the fight if he must fight and to bravely repel the attackers, but also to fiercely avenge himself on them, and not only able in not fearing the animals harming hens, but to face up them in defense of his hens: on the other hand Columella* condemns pugnacious and

²⁶⁸ Angelo Poliziano, *Rusticus*, in *Prose volgari inedite e poesie latine e greche edite e inedite di Angelo Ambrogini Poliziano* (ed. by Isidoro del Lungo, Firenze, G. Barbera, 1867), verses 599-612, pp. 323-24. (Lind, 1963) - Il *Rusticus* fu composto da Poliziano nel 1483-84.

²⁶⁹ *Rerum rusticarum* III,9,5: Gallos salaces qui animadvertunt, si sunt lacertosi, rubenti crista, rostro brevi pleno acuto, oculis ravis aut nigris, palea rubra subalbicanti, collo vario aut aureolo, feminibus pilosis, cruribus brevibus, unguibus longis, caudis magnis, frequentibus pinnis; item qui elati sunt ac vociferant saepe, in certamine pertinaces et qui animalia quae nocent gallinis non modo non pertimescant, sed etiam pro gallinis propugnent. - Bisogna scegliere galli lussuriosi, che si riconoscono se sono muscolosi, se hanno cresta rossa, becco corto, grosso e aguzzo, occhi gialli o neri, bargiglio rosso con tracce di bianco, collo screziato o color d'oro, cosce pelose, zampe corte, artigli lunghi, coda grande, piume folte; così, quelli che sono alti e cantano spesso, che sono resistenti nei combattimenti e che non solo non hanno paura degli animali nocivi alle galline, ma combattono anche in loro difesa. (traduzione di Antonio Traglia)

²⁷⁰ *De re rustica* VIII,2,14: Pumileas aves, nisi quem humilitas earum delectat, nec propter fecunditatem nec propter alium reditum nimium probo, tam hercule quam nec pugnacem nec rixosae libidinis marem. Nam plerumque ceteros infestat, et non patitur inire feminas, cum ipse pluribus sufficere non queat. - Le galline nane, salvo che a qualcuno piacciono le loro piccole dimensioni, non le apprezzo eccessivamente né per la loro fecondità né per un qualsivoglia altro tornaconto, così come certamente non apprezzo un

rixosae libidinis Gallos improbat, quod plerunque caeteros infestent, et non patiantur inire faeminas, cum ipsi interim pluribus sufficere nequeant. Unde et alibi dicebat²⁷¹. {Mores} <Mares> autem, quamvis non ad pugnam, neque ad victoriae laudem praeparentur: maxime tamen generosi probantur, ut sint elati, alacres, vigilaces, et ad saepius canendum prompti, nec qui facile terreantur. Nam interdum resistere debent, et protegere coniugalem gregem: quin attollentem minas serpentem vel aliud noxium animal interficere. Florentinus pugnacissimos eligi vult, eosque cum usu, atque experientia, tum signis quibusdam internosci ait: sed tales ob allatam a Columella rationem potius improbantur.

Deliaci, qui Gallorum educationem praecipue celebrare, Tanagricum genus, et Rhodium probabant, nec minus Chalcidicum, et Medicum (quod ab imperito vulgo litera mutata Melicum appellatur) quoniam procera corpora, et animos ad praelia pertinaces requirebant; author est idem Columella²⁷².

of quarrelsome lechery roosters because they mostly attack the others and do not allow them to mount the females, while in the meantime they themselves are unable to be sufficient for quite a lot of hens. Therefore he was also saying in another point: *The males, although they are not trained for fighting nor for the praise of a victory, are nevertheless considered of first class if they are tall, agile, watchful and ready to crow more frequently, and not easily get frightened. In fact sometimes they must put up resistance and protect their conjugal flock, even to kill a threatening snake or another harmful animal.* Florentinus* wants that should be selected those which are the most pugnacious, and he says that we recognize them by practice and by experience as well as by certain signs: but such subjects are rather disapproved because of the reason brought forward by Columella.

The Delians*, who more than everybody usually bred roosters, appreciated Tanagran* and Rhodian* breeds as well as Chalcidian* and Median* (which with one changed letter is called Melian by incompetent folk) since they sought for tall bodies and spirits persistent at fighting; Columella himself is witness.

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[198] Hos item M. Varro²⁷³ laudat, quod pulchri sint, et ad praeliandum inter se idonei, sed ad partus damnat, ceu aliis steriliores. Rationem Columella²⁷⁴ rejicit in corporis gravitatem, additque, inertes esse ad incubandum, multoque magis ad excludendum, et raro foetus suos educare, nimirum eorum Gallinas. Et Plinius²⁷⁵

Also Marcus Varro* praises them because they are handsome and clever in fighting each other, but he blames them from an offspring's point of view, since they are more sterile than others. Columella* says that the reason of this is their body heaviness and adds that they are unsuited for incubation and much more for hatching eggs, and that they rarely

maschio sia esso bellicoso che di libidine rissosa. Infatti per lo più molesta gli altri maschi e non permette loro di accoppiarsi con le femmine, quantunque non sia in grado di bastare a molte di loro.

²⁷¹ Columella *De Re Rustica*, VIII,2,11: Mares autem, quamvis non ad pugnam neque ad victoriae laudem praeparentur, maxime tamen generosi probantur, ut sint elati, alacres, vigilaces et ad saepius canendum prompti, nec qui facile terreantur. Nam interdum resistere debent et protegere coniugalem gregem, quin et attollentem minas serpentem vel aliud noxium animal interficere.

²⁷² *De Re Rustica*, VIII,2,4: Huius igitur villatici generis non spernendus est reductus, si adhibeatur educandi scientia, quam plerique Graecorum et praecipue celebrare Deliaci. Sed et hi, quoniam procera corpora et animos ad proelia pertinacis requirebant, praecipue Tanagricum genus et Rhodium probabant, nec minus Chalcidicum et Medicum, quod ab imperito vulgo littera mutata Melicum appellatur.

²⁷³ *Rerum rusticarum*, III,9,6 Nec tamen sequendum in seminio legendo Tanagricos et Melicos et Chalcidicos, qui sine dubio sunt pulchri et ad proeliandum inter se maxime idonei, sed ad partus sunt steriliores.

²⁷⁴ *De Re Rustica*, VIII: (2,12-13) Talibus autem maribus quinae singulis feminae comparantur. Nam Rhodii generis aut Medici propter gravitatem neque patres nimis salaces nec fecundae matres, quae tamen ternae singulis maritantur. Et cum pauca ova posuerunt, inertes ad incubandum multoque magis ad excludendum, raro fetus suos educant. Itaque quibus cordi est ea genera propter corporum speciem possidere, cum exceperunt ova generosarum, vulgaribus gallinis subiciunt, ut ab his excusi pulli nutriantur. (2,13) Tanagrici plerumque Rhodiis et Medicis amplitudine pares non multum moribus a vernaculis distant, sicut et Chalcidici. Omnium tamen horum generum nothi sunt optimi pulli, quos conceptos ex peregrinis maribus nostrates ediderunt, et salacitatem fecunditatemque vernaculam retinent. [13] Tanagrici plerumque Rhodiis et Medicis amplitudine pares non multum moribus a vernaculis distant, sicut et Chalcidici. Omnium tamen horum generum nothi sunt optimi pulli, quos conceptos ex peregrinis maribus nostrates ediderunt, et salacitatem fecunditatemque vernaculam retinent.

²⁷⁵ *Naturalis historia* X,48: Iam ex his quidam ad bella tantum et proelia adsidua nascuntur - quibus etiam patrias nobilitarunt, Rhodium aut Tanagram; secundus est honos habitus Melicis et Chalcidicis -, ut plane dignae aliti tantum honoris perhibeat Romana purpura.

eosdem ad bella tantum, et praelia assidua nasci tradit, iisque etiam patriam nobilitasse Rhodum, ac Tanagram: secundum esse honorem habitum Medicis, ac Chalcidicis. *Quibus itaque cordi est ea genera*, inquit Columella²⁷⁶, *propter corporum speciem possidere: cum exceperunt ova generosarum, vulgaribus Gallinis subijciunt, {et} <ut> ab his exclusi pulli {nutriuntur} <nutriantur>*. Et mox omnium horum nothos pullos optimos esse ait, quoniam paternam speciem gerant, et salacitatem, foecunditatemque vernaculam retineant.

Sed ut ad vernaculum genus revertamur, et ut omissio illo Graecorum studio, qui ferocissimum quemque alitem certaminibus, et pugnae praeparabant, industrium patremfamilias doceamus, qui ex eo vectigal suum adaugere: itaque ex eiusdem Columellae²⁷⁷ et Varronis potissimum praescripto illi omnino auctores sumus, ut nisi salacissimos Gallinaceos alat, atque in his quoque, uti {etiam}²⁷⁸ in faeminis, {quibus} idem color, idemque unguium numerus {est}, et status altior. Cristas habeant sublimes, sanguineas, nec {oblongas} <obliquas>: oculos ramos sive nigros: rostrum breve, et aduncum, non autem acutum, ut Varro²⁷⁹ praecipit: paleas ex rutilo albicantes, quae velut incanae barbae dependent:

rear their chicks, obviously those are their hens. And Pliny* says that they are born only for fights and frequent combats, and that thanks to them they ennobled also their homeland, Rhodes* and Tanagra*: the second place has been obtained by those of Media* and Chalcis*. Columella says: *Therefore, those who do matter to own such breeds because of the beauty of their bodies, when they collected the eggs of high-breed hens, they put them under common hens, so that the chicks are raised by the latter ones.* And soon after he says that the hybrids of all these breeds are excellent offspring, since they carry the paternal appearance, and they retain the lustiness and the fecundity of our local breed.

But we return to our local breed, laying aside that zeal of the Greeks who trained for fighting and combat all more aggressive birds, in order to teach the industrious father of family so that he may increase his income by the former breed: therefore according to the precepts of both Columella and Varro I quite vouch for that he should not raise cocks but very lustful and they must have the same color and the same number of toes as the females have, and a rather great height. They must have high and full-blooded combs and not inclined: grey-tawny or blackish eyes: a short and hooked beak, but not sharp as Varro advises: wattles of whitish red which hang like grey beards: very large and very white earlobes: a varicolored and rather golden

²⁷⁶ *De Re Rustica*, VIII,2,12: Itaque quibus cordi est ea genera propter corporum speciem possidere, cum exceperunt ova generosarum, vulgaribus gallinis subijciunt, ut ab his excusi pulli nutriantur.

²⁷⁷ *De Re Rustica*, VIII,2,9-10: [9] Gallinaceos mares nisi salacissimos habere non expedit. Atque in his quoque sicut feminis idem color, idem numerus unguium, status altior quaeritur; sublimes sanguineaeque nec obliquae cristae, ravidis vel nigrantibus oculis, brevia et adunca rostra, maximae candidissimaeque aures, paleae ex rutilo albicantes, quae velut incanae barbae dependent; iubae deinde variae vel ex auro flavae, per colla cervicisque in umeros diffusae; [10] tum lata et muscolosa pectora, lacertosaeque similes brachiis alae; tum procerissimae caudae duplici ordine singulis utrimque prominentibus pinnis inflexae; quin etiam vasta femina et frequenter horrentibus plumis hirta, robusta crura nec longa sed infestis velut sudibus nocenter armata - Non conviene avere dei galli se essi non sono estremamente lussuriosi. Anche loro debbono avere lo stesso colore come detto per le femmine, lo stesso numero di dita, ed è richiesta una statura maggiore; la loro cresta deve essere eretta e sanguigna e non inclinata, gli occhi giallogrigiastri o neri, becco corto e arcuato, orecchioni grandissimi e candidissimi, i bargigli rossi soffusi di bianco che pendono come le barbe di persone attempate; inoltre le piume della mantellina debbono essere policrome o giallo oro, sparse dal collo e dalla nuca fino alle spalle; [10] poi petto largo e muscoloso, ali robuste e simili a braccia; code lunghissime e ricurve con un doppio ordine di penne che sporgono da ambo i lati; devono anche avere cosce grosse e irte, spesso, per le piume che si rizzano; le gambe devono essere forti, ma non lunghe, e armate minacciosamente quasi di spunzoni pronti all'offesa. (traduzione di Rosa Calzecchi Onesti, adattata da Elio Corti)

²⁷⁸ Questo *etiam* è di troppo: non è presente in Columella e neppure in Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 385-386: Gallinaceos mares nisi salacissimos habere non [386] expedit, atque in his quoque sicut in foeminis, idem color, idemque numerus unguium: status altior quaeritur, Columel. - Si eliminano anche *quibus* e *est*, altrimenti la traduzione diventerebbe impresa da funamboli.

²⁷⁹ *Rerum rusticarum* III,9,5: Gallos salaces qui animadvertunt, si sunt lacertosi, rubenti crista, rostro brevi pleno acuto, oculis ravis aut nigris, palea rubra subalbicanti, collo vario aut aureolo, feminibus pilosis, cruribus brevibus, unguibus longis, caudis magnis, frequentibus pinnis; item qui elati sunt ac vociferant saepe, in certamine pertinaces et qui animalia quae nocent gallinis non modo non pertimescant, sed etiam pro gallinis propugnent. - Bisogna scegliere galli lussuriosi, che si riconoscono se sono muscolosi, se hanno cresta rossa, becco corto, grosso e aguzzo, occhi gialli o neri, bargiglio rosso con tracce di bianco, collo screziato o color d'oro, cosce pelose, zampe corte, artigli lunghi, coda grande, piume folte; così, quelli che sono alti e cantano spesso, che sono resistenti nei combattimenti e che non solo non hanno paura degli animali nocivi alle galline, ma combattono anche in loro difesa. (traduzione di Antonio Traglia)

aures maximas, candidissimasque: collum varium, et aureolum: iubas varias, vel ex auro flavas, per colla, cervicemque in humeros diffusas; pectus latum, musculosum, ac lacertosum: alas procerissimas; caudam duplici ordine singulis utrinque prominentibus pinnis inflexam: crura robusta, breviuscula, sed solidis spiculis egregie armata: ungues longos. Qui eiusmodi Gallinae fuerit, haud dubio genus suum cohortale insigniter promovebit, eoque magis, si Gallinas etiam ad foeturam foecundissimas sibi comparet. Tales autem fere sunt fuscis, aut rubicundis, flavis, aureisque, aut etiam nigris plumis.

Sint²⁸⁰, si fieri potest, omnes eiusmodi, sin minus, ab his proxime colores eligantur. Improbantur albae, et damnatur, quod plerumque molles sint, ac minus vivaces, tum ne foecundae quidem tales facile reperiuntur. Sunt praeterea quia candore suo conspicuae avium rapacium, Aquilarum, Accipitrum, Milvorumque praedis magis, quam aliae expositae. Sint igitur matricis coloris probati, robusto corpore, ac pectore, magnis capitibus, rectis rutilisque cristis, et interdum geminis, auribus albis, et sub hac specie quam amplissimae, unguibus imparibus²⁸¹. *Generosissimae*, inquit Columella²⁸², *habentur, quae quinos habent digitos, sed*

neck: hackle must be varicolored or golden-yellow, spread from neck and nape until shoulders; a broad and brawny and robust chest: very long wings; a curved tail with a double row of single feathers stretching out on each side: robust legs, rather short, but perfectly armed with solid spikes: long toes. He who will come across such a rooster, without any doubt will markedly improve his courtyard flock, and much more if he also gets very prolific hens. Well, usually such hens are those which have dusky, or reddish, blond and golden feathers, or even black.

If possible, they must be all alike, otherwise among them the more approaching colors must be chosen. The white hens are not praised and are refused because often they are weak and less long-living, and not even it is easy to find some of them prolific. Furthermore, being that they are visible because of their shining whiteness, more than other hens are exposed to be prey of raptors, eagles*, hawks*, and kites*. Therefore let the mother-hens be of a right color, of strong body and chest, with large heads, straight and shining red combs, and sometimes double, with white earlobes and in this respect as largest as possible, with odd number of toes.

²⁸⁰ Columella, *De re rustica* VIII,2,7: Parandi autem modus est ducentorum capitum, quae pastoris unius curam distendant, dum tamen anus sedula vel puer adhibeatur custos vagantium, ne obsidiis hominum aut insidiatorum animalium diripiantur. Mercari porro nisi fecundissimas aves non expedit. Eae sint rubicundae vel infuscae plumae nigrisque pinnis, ac si fieri poterit, omnes huius et ab hoc proximi coloris eligantur. Sin aliter, vitentur albae, quae fere cum sint molles ac minus vivaces, tum ne fecundae quidem facile reperiuntur, atque etiam conspicuae propter insigne candoris ab accipitribus et aquilis saepius abripiuntur. - La quantità da procurarsi è di duecento capi, i quali occupino interamente l'impegno di un solo custode, purché tuttavia venga impiegata una vecchia attenta oppure un fanciullo quale custode dei soggetti errabondi, affinché non vengano sottratti dalle insidie degli uomini o degli animali. Inoltre non conviene comperare volatili se non fecondissimi. Questi volatili debbono avere piume rosse o nerastre, e le penne nere, e se sarà possibile vengano scelti tutti di questo colore o di un colore molto simile. Se non è possibile fare altrimenti, si evitino i soggetti bianchi, i quali non solo sono per lo più deboli e meno longevi, ma neppure è facile trovarli che siano prolifici, e inoltre essendo visibili a causa della caratteristica del candore più spesso vengono rapiti dagli sparvieri e dalle aquile.

²⁸¹ A proposito della pentadattilia Columella usa l'espressione *nec paribus unguibus*. Sia Plinio che Varrone usano invece l'espressione *digitis imparibus*. O meglio, Varrone usa *imparibus digitis*, Plinio *digitis imparibus*, e si può senz'altro azzardare che la fonte di Plinio fu Varrone. Aldrovandi, che già aveva citato a pagina 197 un *imparibus digitis* tratto da Plinio, a questo punto, pur usando *unguibus* invece di *digitis*, sarebbe la volta che citasse Varrone. Ma non lo fa. Difficile spiegare questo scotoma di Aldrovandi nei confronti di Varrone, che oltretutto fu senz'altro la fonte di Plinio per quanto concerne i polli pentadattili, e la prima fonte in assoluto di questa peculiare mutazione genetica presente solo nel *Gallus domesticus*. Ecco il testo di Varrone, *Rerum rusticarum* III,9,4: Qui spectat ut ornithoboscion perfectum habeat, scilicet genera ei tria paranda, maxime villaticas gallinas. E quis in parando eligat oportet fecundas, plerumque rubicunda pluma, nigris pinnis, imparibus digitis, magnis capitibus, crista erecta, amplas; hae enim ad partiones sunt aptiores. - Ma ancora più difficile è spiegare il gravissimo scotoma* che Aldrovandi dimostra nei confronti delle cinque dita che furono esattamente raffigurate dai suoi disegnatori nei polli *pedibus pennatis* di pagina 312-313. Aldrovandi, nel descrivere questa coppia, non fa il minimo accenno alla loro pentadattilia, che oltretutto, sia dal punto di vista iconografico che genetico, corrisponde perfettamente a una pentadattilia duplicata. Si limita a dire che avevano le zampe gialle!

²⁸² *De re rustica* VIII,2,8: Sint ergo matricis robii coloris, quadratae, pectorosae, magnis capitibus, rectis rutilisque cristulis, albis auribus, et sub hac specie quam amplissimae, nec paribus unguibus: generosissimaeque creduntur quae quinos habent digitos, sed ita ne cruribus emineant transversa calcaria. Nam quae hoc virile gerit insigne, contumax ad concubitum dedignatur admittere marem, raroque fecunda etiam cum incubat, calcis aculeis ova perfringit. - Le riproduttrici siano dunque di colore rossiccio, tarchiate, posseggano un petto largo, la testa grande, la piccola cresta dritta e rosso splendente, gli orecchioni bianchi, e sotto questo aspetto li abbiano quanto più grandi possibile, e non debbono avere le dita pari: e precisamente sono ritenute molto fertili quelle con cinque dita, ma non debbono avere speroni che sporgano di traverso sulle zampe. Infatti, quella che porta questo segno di mascolinità, resta all'accoppiamento, è sdegnosa nell'accettare il maschio, ed è raramente feconda e poi quando cova rompe le uova con gli speroni della zampa.

ita, ne cruribus emineant transversa calcaria; quod Plinius etiam testatur, cuius verba paulo ante citavimus, ubi nostro aevo eiusmodi Gallinas haud dari diximus: cur vero tales Gallinae, quibus nempe calcaria transversa eminent, vitentur, Columella rationem hanc adiungit, quod id virile signum sit, illae vero ad concubitum contumaces, dedignentur admittere marem, raroque etiam foecundae sint, denique cum incubant, calcis aculeis ova perfri<n>gant.

Aristoteles, Pliniusque Hadrianas in primis celebrant, quod multa admodum pariant: qua de re supra²⁸³ satis superque disputatum est. Idem Aristoteles²⁸⁴ vulgares Gallinas generosis foecundiores esse scribit: corpora nempe {illis} <his> humidiora, {his} <illis> sicciora haberi, in quibus animus generosus potius consistit²⁸⁵. Pumiliones Gallinas etsi vetustas²⁸⁶ cum propter alias causas improbat Columella, Plinius eas laudat, sed de hac re etiam ante diximus. Si vero cibi futuri causa eligendae sint: sunt qui illas suavioris carnis esse existimant, quae cibo non abunde eis apposito, sed quem ipsae pedibus fodientes eruant, non absque labore, pastae fuerint. Alii ad saginam aptas potissimum autumant, quae in cervice pingui cute sunt.

Ut autem in caeteris animalibus rusticis, ita in hoc avium genere, optimae servandae, et deteriores vendendae, aut mensae destinandae sunt: quod per autumnus tempus quotannis, cum fructus earum cessat, commode fiet. Nostrae etiam mulierculae eo tempore numerum minuunt. Antiqui tunc etiam

Columella says: *They are considered very fertile those who have five toes, do not however have transverse spurs sticking out from their legs*, a thing which is testified also by Pliny, whose words I quoted shortly before, when I said that in our age such hens don't exist: why such hens with transverse spurs just sticking out should be avoided, Columella brings this reason: it is a sign of maleness, truly reluctant to mating they disdain to accept the male, and they are also rarely fecund, finally, when they incubate, they break the eggs with leg's spurs.

Aristotle and Pliny especially praise *Hadrianae* hens because they lay very many eggs: on this subject I have discoursed more than enough in an earlier passage. Aristotle himself writes that common hens are more prolific than high-breed hens: for the body of these hens is more rich in fluid, that of previous is more dry, and in this kind - of body - preferably lies the trait of quality. While Columella for other reasons doesn't appreciate dwarf hens even though aged, Pliny praises them, but I have already spoken of this matter before. As for which ones must be preferred in order to turn into food: there are some who think to be of more delicious meat those nourished not with an abundantly provided food but with that they dig up scratching out with their feet and not without labor. Others claim that are chiefly fit to be fattened those which have a fat skin on their necks.

Furthermore, as among the other country animals, so among this kind of birds the best ones are to be kept, and the worse sold or sent to the table: a thing which properly will happen yearly during the autumn season, when their profit ceases. Also our women reduce their number in that season. It is just

²⁸³ A pagina 191.

²⁸⁴ *De generatione animalium* - Libro III-1 (749b-750a): Anche gli uccelli di piccole dimensioni, come talvolta anche le piccole piante, sono propensi al coito e prolifici. Ciò perché quello che servirebbe all'accrescimento del corpo diventa residuo seminale. Perciò le galline di Hadria sono molto feconde: per la piccolezza del corpo l'alimento è destinato alla deposizione delle uova. E le galline comuni sono più prolifiche di quelle di razza perché il loro corpo è più umido e massiccio, mentre quello delle altre è più magro e asciutto; l'aggressività della razza si produce più in questo tipo di corpi. Inoltre anche la sottigliezza e la debolezza delle gambe concorre a che la natura di questi uccelli sia propensa al coito e prolifica, come è per gli uomini: l'alimento destinato agli arti è volto in costoro in residuo seminale, perché ciò che la natura toglie di là, aggiunge qui. (traduzione di Diego Lanza)

²⁸⁵ A mio avviso Aldrovandi ha scambiato di posizione *illis* e *his*, salvo voler attribuire a questi due pronomi un significato opposto a quello che abitualmente posseggono. Infatti in base al testo di Aristotele - tradotto da Diego Lanza - dovrebbe essere il corpo delle galline di razza - le cosiddette *generosae* - a essere più umido, mentre il corpo delle galline *vulgares* dovrebbe essere più asciutto. Se poi passiamo a considerare il corpo miniaturizzato delle galline di Hadria, più piccole delle *vulgares*, vediamo che le prime - *illae*, quelle di Hadria - hanno un soma quasi liofilizzato a forza di trasformare l'alimento in residuo seminale per poter deporre uova su uova. Insomma, dal punto di vista sessuale e riproduttivo il concetto di Aristotele potrebbe essere reso con una massima genovese, riferita però al sesso maschile: *Omu picin, tütu belin. Omu grande, tütu müande*. Cioè: Uomo piccolo, tutto pene. Uomo grande, tutto mutande. Mi scuso per eventuali inesattezze grafiche del dialetto genovese, che non ho mai trascritto.

²⁸⁶ Qui Aldrovandi commette un errore. Infatti Columella non si è mai sognato di disapprovare anche le galline nane anziane: Columella disapprova le galline nane, vecchie o giovani che siano. Stando alle parole di Aldrovandi, la disapprovazione delle galline nane anche se vecchie doveva essere un giudizio di Conrad Heresbach*, come riferito a pagina 192: [...] et inter nostri saeculi scriptores Conradus Heresbachius pumiliones, etsi vetustas cum ob infoecunditatem, tum ob alias causas improbat:[...].

omnes, quae trimatum excedunt, vendi iubent. Addo ego nunquam habendas, quae aut parum foecund<a>e, aut non bonae nutrices sunt: atque in primis quae ova vel sua, vel aliena ex<s>orbent, neque minus, quae, ut Gallus, cantare, atque calcare incipiunt. Galli vero quandiu foeminas implent, retineri possunt{,}<.> Rarior enim in hisce avibus mariti praestantia est: probantur tamen iuniores: nam et hoc experientia didici, cum trimatum excedunt, implere quidem Gallinas, sed ad Venerem impotentiores evadere. Sed istaec de externa Gallinacei generis delineatione dicta sufficient: iam videndum videtur, an ne internas aliquas partes peculiare prae caeteris volucribus obtineat.

then that also ancients suggest to sell all those hens more than three years old. I add that never should be kept those who are either not very fertile or are not good nurses: and first of all those who wolf down either their own eggs or those of other hens, and still those who begin to crow and to mount like a cock. Undoubtedly the cocks may be kept as long as they fertilize the females. In fact in these birds the male's sexual fitness is rather faint: nevertheless the younger ones are positively judged: besides, with experience I learnt also what follows, that when they pass the age of three years they still fertilize hens, but become somewhat impotent as far as sex is concerned. But let these things be sufficient concerning the external traits of the gallinaceous genus: now it seems opportune to investigate if it possesses some internal parts peculiar in comparison to the other birds.

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ANATOMICA

[199] Galenus²⁸⁷ Gal<l>inaceos ossium consistentiam, laxam, cavam, et levem habere testatur. Πρόλοβος, ut ait Suidas, avium ingluvies est, quae ab aliquibus Φύσσα dicitur. Haec autem in his avibus, teste Aristotele²⁸⁸ ventriculo praeposita est. Appendices habe<n>t infra, qua desinunt intestina. Atque ita intelligenda sunt verba Plinii²⁸⁹ alioqui satis obscura. *Gallinae ultra ventriculum habent ingluviem*. Pellicula²⁹⁰ ceu cortex

ANATOMICAL DETAILS

Galen* affirms that chickens have a delicate, hollow and light structure of bones. *Prólobos*, as Suidas* says, is the crop of birds which by some people is called *phýssa*. Now, in these birds, according to Aristotle*, it is placed before the stomach. At the bottom they have appendices, where the intestines end. And the words of Pliny*, otherwise rather obscure, must be understood as follows: *Hens have the crop in addition to the stomach*. That membrane or

²⁸⁷ Galen *De Usu Partium* XI. (Lind, 1963)

²⁸⁸ *Historia animalium* II,17,508b: Gli uccelli presentano differenze, riguardo alle parti interne, sia fra sé stessi sia rispetto agli altri animali. Alcuni presentano infatti, anteriormente allo stomaco [prima dello stomaco?], un gozzo (così ad esempio il gallo, il colombaccio, il colombo, la pernice): il gozzo è una vasta cavità formata dalla pelle, nella quale si trova il cibo non cotto [prima che sia iniziato il processo digestivo] subito dopo l'ingestione. Nel punto in cui si diparte dall'esofago il gozzo è piuttosto stretto, poi si allarga, e si restringe di nuovo laddove sbocca nello stomaco. Il più degli uccelli hanno lo stomaco carnoso e indurito [stomaco muscolare o ventriglio] che presenta all'interno una pelle robusta, separabile dalla parte carnosa. (traduzione di Mario Vegetti)

²⁸⁹ *Naturalis historia* XI,200: Aves quoque geminos sinus habent quaedam: unum quo mergunt recentia ut guttur, alterum in quem ex eo dimittunt concoctione maturata, ut gallinae, palumbes, columbae, perdices. - Alcuni uccelli hanno anche due cavità: una, nella quale introducono ciò che hanno appena ingoiato, come lo è il gozzo, l'altra nella quale ne inviano il contenuto una volta che il processo digestivo è stato condotto a termine, come è il caso delle galline, dei colombacci, dei piccioni e delle pernici.

²⁹⁰ Il passo iniziale è ricavato dal geponico* Berizio presente nella selezione delle opere geponiche fatta compilare da Costantino VII Porfirogenito* (oggi presente in *Geponica sive Cassiani Bassi Scholastici*) e possiamo arguirlo dal testo che segue tratto da Gessner. - Come al solito il testo di Gessner viene malamente rimaneggiato e decurtato da Aldrovandi e, ciò che è peggio, viene personalizzato: in questo modo la serietà dell'Ornitologo rimane integra, ma non lo è altrettanto la comprensibilità dell'anatomia del pollo. - Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 397: Pellicula ceu cortex quidam intra ventriculum gallinae stercori destinata, echinus ab aspritudine Graecis appellatur, et lactis coagulandi vim habet, Berytius apud Constantinum. haec vis alioqui propria tribuitur ruminantium adhuc lactentium ventriculis, quos et coagula nominant. Vide plura in Echino terrestri G. ab initio de nomine huius particulae. Magna fraude medicamentarii institores nobis imponunt, qui ex ventriculo, quo nihil in alitibus istis carnosus est, panniculos detractos et siccatos pro ingluvie vendunt. et haec est causa cur nemo hodie mihi cognoscatur, qui se feliciter in ventriculo roborando, pelliculis istis usum profiteatur: Gyb. Longolius, non ex ventriculo, sed ex primo cibi in gallinis receptaculo, quod stomachum et ingluviem vocat, hanc membranam decerpendam sentiens. Atqui ego veteres hanc vim non ingluviei aut stomacho, id est ori ventriculi galli gallinaeve, sed ipsius ventriculi, quem *koilian* proprie vocant, interiori membranae, tribuisse asseruerim. Nam et Dioscorides *koilian* nominat de hac membrana agens lib. 2. cap. 43. tum ab initio, tum in fine eius capit. quanquam adiecta in fine a quibusdam adulterina existimantur. Et Galenus libro 11. de simplicibus post coelian, id est

quidam intra ventriculum gallinae stercori destinata, echinus²⁹¹ ab aspredine Graecis appellatur. Huius pelliculae, cum apud Medicos in primis, tum etiam ad lac coagulandum usus est. Sunt qui magna fraude medicamentarios institores nobis imponere dicant, quia ex ventriculo, quo nihil in alitibus istis carnosius est, panniculos detractos, et exiccatos pro ingluvie vendant: hanc autem esse causam, cur nemo hodie cognoscatur, qui se feliciter in ventriculo roborando pelliculis istis usum profiteatur: inter quos Gyb. Longolius, non ex ventriculo, sed ex primo cibi in Gallinis receptaculo, quod stomachum, et ingluviem vocat, hanc membranam decerpendam sentit. Atqui veteres hanc vim non ingluvie, aut stomacho, id est, ori ventriculi <galli gallinaeve, sed ipsius ventriculi,> quem κοιλίαν proprie vocant, interiori membranae tribuerunt. Nam et Dioscorides²⁹² κοιλίαν nominat de hac membrana agens, et Galenus²⁹³ post κοιλίαν, id est, ventriculum Mergi, statim huius membranae meminit, intus adverbium ponens, pro eo, quod est in ventriculo. Uno tanto in loco Galli gulam²⁹⁴ (scribitur autem Graece etiam γούλαν) una cum larynge iis auxiliari, qui strata permingunt, legimus, tertio nempe parabilium libro²⁹⁵, sed qui falso illi ascribitur. Plinius²⁹⁶ etiam ventris membranam vocavit. Gallicum vulgus, quod tanquam parergon interiectum esto, inquit Laurentius Ioubertus²⁹⁷, Gallinarum ventriculum, si bene memini, perie vocat a petris, quas patria lingua peiras dicunt: quoniam raro absque lapillis reperitur.

kind of peel within the stomach of the hen and which is devoted to produce the excrement, because of its roughness is called *echinus* - hedgehog* - by Greeks. This membrane is used not only especially by physicians, but also for coagulating milk. There are those who say that drug dealers deceive us with a great fraud, being that they sell as crop the dried membranes drawn from the stomach, in comparison with the latter nothing in these birds is more fleshy: and that this is the reason why today no one is known stating that he successfully uses these membranes to strengthen the stomach: among these Gisbert Longolius* feels that in hens this membrane must be plucked off not from the stomach but from the first receptacle for food, which he calls stomach and crop. However the ancients attributed this power not to the crop or to glandular stomach, that is, to the first section of the stomach of rooster or hen, but to the inner membrane of the so properly called stomach which they correctly call *koilian* - hollow, i.e. muscular stomach or gizzard. For also Dioscorides* quotes the *koilian* when dealing with this membrane, and Galen after the *koilian*, i.e. the stomach of the merganser*, soon after he mentions this membrane, placing the adverb *intus* - inside - because it is inside of the stomach. Only in one point we read that the gullet of the cock (in fact in Greek it is also written *goïlan*) together with the larynx is helpful to those who wet their beds with urine, and precisely in the third book of *De remediis parabilibus*, but which is wrongly ascribed to him. Pliny also called it membrane of the stomach. Laurent Joubert* says that common people in France, and let this be as a side addition, if I correctly remember, call the hens' stomach *perie* from *petrae* - stones, which in their native tongue they call *peiras*: since it is rarely found without pebbles.

ventriculum mergi statim huius membranae meminit, intus adverbium ponens pro eo quod est in ventriculo. Uno tantum in loco (libro tertio Parabilium, qui Galeno falso adscribitur) galli gulam una cum larynge (scribitur autem Graece etiam *goïlan*) iis auxiliari qui strata permingunt, legimus. Tunica interior gallinarum lixivio calido hora una maceratur, ter lavatur, deinde vino ter maceratur, et ter lavatur: iterum lixivio, post vino, et siccatur clibano ex quo panis extractus est, Sylvius ex Bartolomaeo Montagnana. Ventris gallinaceorum membrana quae abiici solet, inveterata et in vino trita auribus purulentis calida infunditur, Plin.

²⁹¹ Il sostantivo greco maschile *echinos* identifica innanzitutto il riccio di terra o porcospino - *Erinaceus europaeus*. In seconda istanza identifica anche il riccio di mare, nome comune degli Echinodermi della classe Echinoidei; agli Echinodermi appartengono anche le stelle di mare, le oloturie, le ofiure e i crinoidi.

²⁹² Dioscorides *De Materia Medica* (ed. by M. Wellmann, Berlin, 1906-14), II, 43. (Lind, 1963) - lib. 2. cap. 43. (Gessner, 1555)

²⁹³ Galen *De Simplicium Medicamentorum Temperamentis et Facultatibus in Medici Graeci*, XI (ed. by C. G. Kuehn, Leipzig, 1821-33); first Paris edition, 1530; another at Leyden, 1561. (Lind, 1963)

²⁹⁴ Il latino *gula* deriva da una radice indoeuropea che significa divorare.

²⁹⁵ Galenus, *De remediis parabilibus*. (Gessner, 1555 - libro tertio Parabilium, qui Galeno falso adscribitur)

²⁹⁶ *Naturalis historia* XXIX,139: Ventris gallinaceorum membrana, quae abiici solet, inveterata et in vino trita auribus purulentis calida infunditur, [...]

²⁹⁷ Laurent Joubert, *Disputatio de febribus putridis; in qua tria de febribus paradoxa L. J. excutiuntur* (1580); cited by Aldrovandi as *In Apologia pro paradoxis*, 7. (Lind, 1963)

Alexander Myndius²⁹⁸ apud Athenaeum Gallinaceis testes sub iecore esse dixit, et revera mulierculae nostrae eos castraturae digitos admodum profunde in inflicto prope anum vulnere infigunt. Albertus faeminis supra caudam esse tradit, et exteriori parte corporis: maribus vero interius, ubi aliis animalibus renes siti sunt. Plinius²⁹⁹ alibi calculi remedia recensens, inter alia lapillorum quorundam meminit, qui in Gallorum vesica reperiuntur: quasi vero aves vesicam habeant. Recentiores quidam teste Ornithologo³⁰⁰, non ex Gallo mare, sed castrato (quem Gallinacei nomine imperite intelligunt³⁰¹) hunc lapidem haberi putant, et Germanice interpretantur, kapunenstein, hoc est, Capi lapidem, sed qua in parte reperiatur, minime addunt. Forte tales lapillos Plinius intellexerit, quos semper in harum avium ventriculo reperiri paulo ante diximus.

Nos in commune {m} virorum studiosorum, atque maxime eorum, qui naturae arcana perscrutantur, aliquot Gallinas Excellentiss. M. Antonio Ulmo secundas exhibuimus, ut admirabile naturae in generandis ovis artificium indagaremus. Is itaque vir praestantissimus diligentissima sectione naturales partes examinans, novem iconibus omnia in iis observatione digna complexus est: quarum tres subsequenti pagina pictae ad uteri conformationem quodammodo, reliquae ad ovorum generationem pertinent: quas post suo etiam loco daturi sumus. Quod ergo ad uterum spectat, forma eius plurimum a viviparorum animalium utero differt, cum hic unum duntaxat

Alexander of Myndos* in Athenaeus* said that in roosters the testicles lie under the liver and in fact, when our farm women are about to castrate them, they stick their fingers quite deeply into the wound made near the anus. Albertus* says that in females - the ovary - is before the tail and in the peripheral part of the body: but in males the testicles are more inside, where in other animals the kidneys are located. Pliny in a point, checking the medicinal properties of a pebble, among others things he mentions certain stones found in the bladder of roosters: as if birds really had a bladder. Some more recent writers, according to the Ornithologist, think this stone is obtained not from the male rooster but from the castrated (which they mistakenly define by the name of rooster) and call it in German *Kapunenstein*, that is, capon's stone, but do not in the least add in which part it is found. Probably Pliny meant that pebbles which, as I said a short time ago, are always found in the stomach of these birds.

To advantage of all students and especially of those who search for the secrets of Nature, I supplied the most excellent Marco Antonio Olmo* with some hens for dissection, in order to discover the admirable ability of Nature in generating eggs. Then this very excellent man, when examining the natural segments by a very careful dissection, included in nine pictures everything was worthy of remarks in them: three pictures, reproduced in the following page, in some way are dealing with belly conformation, the other ones with eggs generation: and later I shall give these pictures in their proper place. Then, as far as the oviduct is concerned, its shape differs greatly from the uterus of viviparous

²⁹⁸ *Deipnosophistai* IX,47,392c.

²⁹⁹ Plinio era ben conscio che gli uccelli non hanno vescica urinaria: *Naturalis historia* XI,208: Infra alvum est a priore parte vesica, quae nulli ova gignentium praeter testudinem, nulli nisi sanguineum pulmonem habenti, nulli pedibus carentium. inter eam et alvum arteria ad pubem tendentes, quae ilia appellantur. - Tuttavia in XXX,67 egli parla effettivamente di *vesica* dei polli e di *ventriculus* dei piccioni, ed è giocoforza dedurre che in questo caso *vesica* = *ventriculus*. *Naturalis historia* XXX,66-67: Iubent et vermes terrenos bibi ex vino aut passo ad comminuendos calculos vel cocleas decoctas ut in suspiriosis, easdem exemptas testis III tritasque in vini cyatho bibi, sequenti die II, tertio die I, ut stillicidium urinae emendent, testarum vero inanium cinerem ad calculos pellendos, item hydri iocur bibi vel scorpionum cinerem aut in pane sumi [vel si quis ut locusta edit], lapillos, [67] qui in gallinaceorum vesica aut in palumbium ventriculo inveniantur, conteri et potioni inspergi, item membranam e ventriculo gallinacei aridam vel, si recens sit, tostam, fimum quoque palumbinum in faba sumi contra calculos et alias difficultates vesicae, [...]. - Esatta è anche l'affermazione di Plinio: la testuggine - che dobbiamo intendere sia come tartaruga che come tartaruga di mare - è invece dotata di vescica urinaria: infatti essa è presente in tutti i Testudinati. Invece i coccodrilli - appartenenti anch'essi ai Rettili e anch'essi *ova gignentis* - non hanno vescica urinaria.

³⁰⁰ Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 382: Alectorias vocant gemmas in ventriculis gallinaceorum inventas crystallina specie, magnitudine fabarum: quibus Milonem Crotoniensem usum in certaminibus invictum fuisse videri voluit, Plinius 37. 10. Ferunt in ventre galli alectorium, id est gallinaceum lapidem. Sed is sarda vel achate fingitur, in quo flammea macula appareat, nam de alectoria vero nihil comperti habeo, Cardanus. Plinius alibi inter remedia calculi, lapillorum meminit qui in gallorum vesica (quasi avis vesicam habeat) reperiuntur. Recentiores quidam non ex gallo mare, sed castrato (quem gallinacei nomine imperite intelligunt) hunc lapidem haberi putant: et quidam lingua vernacula interpretatur Kapunenstein/id est caponis lapidem.

³⁰¹ Ne ha discusso a pagina 189.

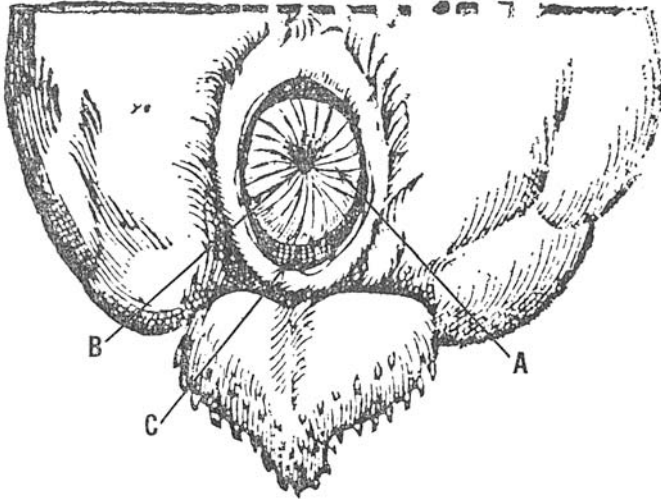
foramen habeat extrinsecus respiciens, alter vero oviparorum duplex obtineat foramen, infernum, per quod ovum ad externa respiciens egreditur iam perfectum: alterum internum, et supernum, per quod ovum ingreditur iam sub septo transverso inchoatum seu conceptum ad formam perfectam suscipiendam: cuius positum, substantiam, figuram, consensum, nunc declarabimus.

Uteri itaque totius (intelligimus nunc uterum proprie dictum, et eius extensionem) positus est in parte sinistra ad spinam, cum intestina ipsa obtineant dextram abdominis regionem, et centrum. Exitus vero est in superna parte ad spinam desinente, cum inferiorem partem teneat podex ad ventrem positus. Utraque vero foramina cum intestinorum tum uteri adeo in proximo sitam membraneam substantiam obtinentia coniunguntur, ut artissime conniventia sensum ipsum fallere quandoque possent, ut ex subiecta icone videre licet. Quam rem pariter adiunctae binae aliae non parum etiam explicant, ut ex adiectis literis est videre. Podicis itaque atque uteri foramina invicem ita, ut dictum, est, proxima cute, ac musculo subiecto communiter obteguntur: quod praeputium nymphas ex similitudine dicere possumus. Correspondet enim cutis haec Gallinae podicem, ac uteri os obtegens, cuti glandem penis virilis cooperienti [201] et cutaneis faeminarum.

animals, since this one has only an opening facing outwards, the other one, i.e. that of the oviparous, has a duplex opening, one facing downward through which the already completed egg comes out facing outward: the other one internal and facing upward, through which comes in the still outlined or fertilized egg under transverse septum, in order to receive its complete shape: and I shall now notify its position, structure, shape, relations.

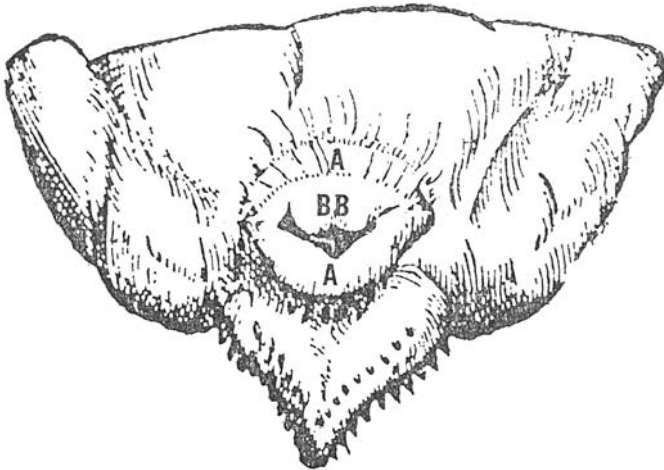
Then, the location of the entire uterus (I speak now of the properly called uterus and its extension) is in the left side near the spine, while intestinal loops occupy the right section and the center of the abdomen. Its opening is in the upper part which ends near the spine, while the anus, placed near the belly, represents the lower part. Both foramina of the intestine and of the oviduct, provided with a membranous formation located near them, are so joined that, closing themselves in a very tightly-shut way, they can sometimes deceive the sight, as one may see from the picture ahead. This situation is very well explained by two other added pictures, as it is possible to see from the attached captions. Therefore the foramina of the anus and of the uterus, as I said, are so close each other that they are covered together by the skin and the underlying muscle: and for similarity we can call this prepuce as nymphs - labia minora of the vulva. For this skin covering the anus and the mouth of the uterus of the hen corresponds to the skin which covers the glans of a man's penis and to the cutaneous formations of the females - prepuce of clitoris.

[200]



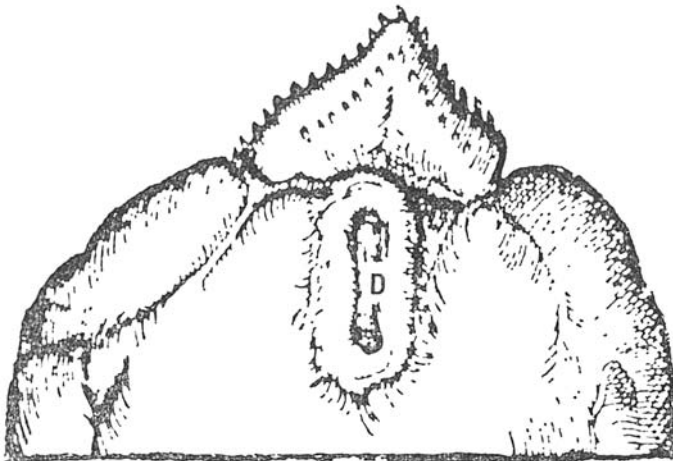
- A. Wrinkled circular deep skin.
- B. Light, thin skin, ending at the foramen.
- C. Foramen.

- A. Cutis rugosa circularis extrema.
- B. Cutis laevis, tenuis desinens in foramen.
- C. Foramen.



- AAAA. Hen's common covering of the anus and of the oviduct's opening, which reminds a circular prepuce.
- BB. The extremity of the neck of the uterus [of the vagina].

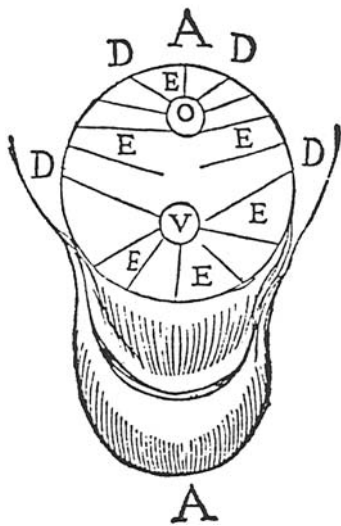
- AAAA. Podicis Gallinae et uteri commune tegumentum praeputium referens circulare.
- BB. Extremitas colli uterini.



- D. The oblong crevice of the common opening.

- D. Rima oblonga exitus communis.

Huius cutis, vel praeputii foramen unicum existit, quod vulgares podicem Gallinarum credunt. Praeputium hoc formam habet sph<a>ericam, et musculus subiectum figura etiam sph<a>erica. Nam obtinet maiorem capacitatem, et cum utrumque foramen cooperiri debeat, cutis etiam maxime erat dilatanda, cui maxime extensioni sph<a>erica figura est accom<m>oda: prominet cutis haec praeputium referens, vel ipsius proportionale, turgidum, globosum, instar papillarum apicis. Musculus cutem praeputii subvestiens, sph<a>ericam, ut diximus, etiam figuram habet, cuius latitudo pollicis existit. Fibras autem obtinuit non {parere} <parallelas>, vel aequae distantes, quemadmodum sphincter intestini humani, sed a circumferentia ad centrum conversas, et diametrales: quemadmodum ex subiecta figura demonstrabitur. Cur vero os uteri ad spinam, vel supernam partem, ponatur, coitum ipsum causam esse opinamur.



AA. Gallinae pudenda.

O. Os uteri ad spinam superne.

DDDD. Circumferentia musculi praeputium constringentis.

V. Exitus intestinorum, vel podex ad ventrem inferne.

EEEE. Fibrae a circumferentia ad centrum pertinentes.

Nam supergressu haec animalia coeuntia, instrumenta in proximo habere oportebat, quo facilius, et promptius invicem coniungerentur. Exitus praeterea intestinorum deorsum versus merito vergit. Nam infra etiam {ellius} <illius> est officium, quemadmodum scripsit Aristoteles, quod intelligere debemus ratione ipsorum excrementorum ex {elementati} <elementari> portione terrestri ad inferiora tendentium.

There is a single foramen of this skin, or prepuce, which common people believe is the anus of hens. This prepuce has a circular shape and has the underlying muscle circularly shaped too. For it has a larger width, and being that it must cover both foramina, also the skin had to widen out as much as possible, and the circular shape is suited for its utmost stretching out: this skin sticks out reminding a prepuce, or something analogous to it, turgid, globular, like tip of nipples. The muscle underlying the skin of the prepuce also has a circular shape, as I said, and is one thumb wide. But it does not have parallel fibers, or equidistant, as the sphincter of the human intestine has, but which from the circumference converge to the center with a radial direction: as it will be indicated in the picture below. Moreover, why the opening of the oviduct is located near the spine, or upper part, I think that the reason is the coitus itself.

AA. External genitals of a hen.

O. Opening of the uterus [of the vagina] located above near the spine.

DDDD. Circumference of the muscle which constricts the prepuce.

V. Opening of the intestine, or podex, located below near the belly.

EEEE. Fibers stretching from the periphery to the center.

In fact, because of mounting each other, it was necessary that when mating these animals had close devices, so that they can join each other more easily and quickly. Furthermore the exit of the intestine is consequently slanting downwards. For its function is also carried on downwards, as Aristotle* wrote, and we have to understand it as depending from the excrements themselves, since they are made up by earth portion of the element, so they are tending downwards.

Substantia uteri membranea, et crassa est (uterum nunc proprie dictum intelligo). Hoc enim corpus maxime omnium dilatatur, ac extenditur, et in ipsum recipitur ovum iam auctum, ac propemodum absolutum. Figura est concava, oblonga latior qua ad exitum pertinet, in longitudinem trium digitorum, caeterum angusta, rotundiorque intestini tenuis formam repraesentans. Porrigitur enim ab infimo abdomine iuxta ipsorum intestinorum usque ad locum conceptionis ovorum sub septo transverso, estque cum extenditur, longitudine dodrantali³⁰², cuius longitudinis ratione membranam obtinuit a spina dorsi proportionalem omnino, ac persimilem intestinorum mesenterio, quam et venae frequentes percurrunt cum ad nutritionem ipsius uteri, tum ad ovi intrinsecus contenti, dum pertransit a loco sub septo transverso ad ipsius uteri exitum, alitionem. Membrana autem spinae colligans, et connectens eadem prorsus existit ipsi mesenterio intestinorum, quin im<m>o eadem est, et substantia, et origine: quapropter consensum habet uterus praesertim cum ipsis intestinis.

Figura uteri inaequalis, alibi angusta, oblonga, alibi lata, brevis: iuxta hanc varietatem varia quoque sortiri nomina debet. Nam uteri latitudo, infimo abdomini proxima, et in qua ovum iam absolutum continetur{;}<,> est ipsemet uterus{;}<,> reliquum vero corpus angustum, oblongum, rotundum, quod ad septum transversum extenditur, vel uteri stomachus, vel uterus productus, extensusve, vel uteri gula nuncupari posset. Est autem membranea, et tenuis, admodum diversa a reliquo utero protenso, et a substantia ipsius uteri, qui ad exitum iacet. Nam finis hic membraneus subtilis, et pellucidus existit, ac exanguis. Intestinum quoque uteri ratione figurae, et quantitatis cum longitudine rotunditatem cavernosam habeat, merito diceretur, cui accedit membranae occasio hanc uteri extensionem, vel productionem spinae colligantis, quod mesenterium uterinum appellamus. Intermedia pars uteri, quae est illius portio ab utero proprie dicto, finem interiaccens crassam obtinet substantiam, albam, lacti similem, et [202] in semetipsam consistentem, cuius {mesereon} <mesenterion> multiplices venas habet.

The substance of the uterus is membranous and thick (I am now speaking of the uterus properly so-called). For this anatomical formation widens out and stretches out more than any other, and in it is held the egg already increased and almost completed. Its shape is concave, oblong, broader where its exit is located, and three fingers in length, for the rest it is narrow and somewhat round, so reminds the shape of the slender intestine. For it stretches from the lowest part of the abdomen, near the exit of the intestine, up to the place where the eggs are conceived under the transverse septum, and it is long $\frac{3}{4}$ of foot* [around 23 cm] when extended; but as regards to its length it has been provided with a membrane of proportional size stretching from the dorsal spine, and quite similar to the mesentery of the intestine, and several veins run through it not only for nourishment of the oviduct itself, but also for sustenance of the egg contained within it while passing from its place under the transverse septum to the exit of the uterus [of the vagina]. Afterward, the membrane joining and connecting it with the spine is quite similar to the intestinal mesentery itself, and in fact it is identical both as substance and origin: that is the reason why the oviduct has a specific connection chiefly with intestine itself.

The shape of the oviduct is unequal, in one point narrow and oblong, elsewhere broad and short: depending on this variety - of shape - it must also receive various names. In fact the wide portion of the oviduct, very near the lowest part of the abdomen, and in which is held the egg already completed, is the uterus properly so-called; but the remaining narrow, oblong and round section, stretching toward the transverse septum, could be called or esophagus of the uterus, or lengthened as well as extended uterus, or throat of the uterus. Afterwards, it is membranous and thin, quite different from the remaining part of the uterus and from the substance of that part of the uterus which lies near the exit. For this final section is membranous, thin and diaphanous, and bloodless. Deservedly it could also be called intestine of the uterus as regards to its shape and extension, being that because of its length it has a hollow circumference, to which is adding the purchase of the membrane connecting this extension or prolongation of the uterus to the spine, a thing which I call mesentery of the uterus - dorsal ligament of the oviduct. The intermediate part of the oviduct - the *magnum*, which is located between the uterus properly so-called and its end - the upper extremity, has a

³⁰² Per la struttura e le dimensioni dei vari tratti dell'apparato genitale della gallina secondo l'odierna terminologia anatomica si veda *Summa Gallicana**.

substance thick, white, similar to milk, and settled in itself, and its mesentery has several veins.

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Huius substantia cocta ovi albuminis gustu saporem exhibet.

Its cooked substance, in terms of taste, shows the flavor of egg albumen.

SEXUS.

SEX

Sexu tam manifeste hocce Gallinaceum genus natura distinxit, ut prorsus supervacaneum iudicaverim, suo loco eiusmodi differentiam ponere. Quare et Grammatici marem Gallum, faeminam Gallinam nominarunt, et nomen quod sciam nullum habent, quod utrumque genus complecti simul queat. Cur vero sagacissima, ac prudentissima in omnibus natura tam manifestis signis, erecta utpote crista, iubis a cervice per collum dependentibus, {canda} <cauda> maiori, insigni ad praeliandum calcari a Gallina separare voluerit, haud satis mihi constat. Crediderim tamen id ideo factum esse, quod unus multis faemellis sufficere debeat, easque a noxiis quandoque animantibus tueri. Nam eiusmodi partes insignem, qualis strenuum patremfamilias decet, gravitatem prae se ferunt: quare etiam maiorem Gallinis creavit, et graviorem denique vocem dedit. Sed istaec alii altius perscrutari poterunt.

Through the sex Nature has so clearly distinguished this gallinaceous genus that I would guess quite needless to place such a difference in a special paragraph. Therefore also grammarians named cock the male and hen the female, and have no word I know which at the same time can embrace both sexes. Truly it is not rather clear to me why Nature, very sagacious and skilled in all things, wished to distinguish - the rooster - from the hen by such evident traits, a very erect comb, the hackle falling from head along the neck, a larger tail, and a prominent spur for fighting. However, I should believe that this occurred because only one has to be enough for many females and sometimes to protect them from harmful animals. For such structures flaunt an outstanding authority as befits a zealous family father: therefore, also made him larger than hens and finally gave him a stronger voice. But others will be able to penetrate such matters more deeply.

VISUS. GUSTUS.

SIGHT - TASTE

Tametsi rapacium genus, et in iis maxime Aquila caetera animantia, volucres vero potissimum visus acie praecellat, adeo ut nomen inde sibi accepisse plurimi velint³⁰³, Gallum quidem nostrum non parum oculorum acumine vigere etiam vel inde habemus, quod rapaces aves, et Milvos maxime a longe a reliquis avibus interstinguere egregie cognoscat. Qua in parte fortassis etiam Aquilae praeferri debeat: quae sane in hoc parum Aquilinis oculis fuit, cum ad Aeschili celeberrimi poëtae: eius diei ruinam, ut

Although the genus of birds of prey, and among them especially the eagle* excels other living beings, but especially the birds, in keenness of sight so that many are affirming that she received her name from this fact, actually we can realize that also our rooster stands out not a little by keenness of sight also from the fact that he learns very well to distinguish from afar the birds of prey, and chiefly the kites*, from remaining birds. In this characteristic perhaps he should be preferred even to the eagle: since this characteristic at least has been lacking in the eyes of

³⁰³ Aldrovandi accenna alla probabile origine del latino *aquila* da *acies*, che significa punta o filo di una lama, taglio affilato, e, per metonimia, spada e combattimento, ma che in seconda istanza significa acutezza visiva. Aldrovandi afferma che l'etimologia di *aquila* da *acies* sarebbe riconosciuta da moltissime persone, *adeo ut nomen inde sibi accepisse plurimi velint*, e possiamo aggiungere che tra costoro si trova anche Isidoro di Siviglia*. Ma in *Ornithologia Latina* (1979) Filippo Capponi afferma senza tanti fronzoli che l'etimologia di *aquila* non è sicura, mentre l'equivalente vocabolo greco *aetòs* e le sue forme *aietòs*, *aiētòs*, *aētòs* hanno il valore di *uccello*. Quindi Capponi non accenna neppure a Isidoro, che così si esprime in *Etymologiae* XII,7: Avium nomina multa a sono vocis constat esse composita: ut grus, corvus, cygnus, pavo, milvus, ulula, cuculus, graculus et cetera. Varietas enim vocis eorum docuit homines quid nominarentur. Aquila ab acumine oculorum vocata. Tanti enim contuitus esse dicitur, ut cum super maria immobili pinna feratur nec humanis pateat obtutibus, de tanta sublimitate pisciculos natare videat, ac tormenti instar descendens raptam praedam pinnis ad litus pertrahat. Nam et contra radium solis fertur obtutum non flectere; unde et pullos suos ungue suspensos radiis solis obicit, et quos viderit immobilem tenere aciem, ut dignos genere conservat; si quos vero inflectere obtutum, quasi degeneres abicit. - Da *acies* deriva senza dubbio l'italiano *acciaio*, che gli antichi Latini chiamavano invece *chalybs*, facendo così riferimento a una mitica popolazione della costa sudorientale del Mar Nero, i Calibi - *Chalybes* - famosi nella tradizione greca come i primi lavoratori del ferro, celebratissimi nella letteratura classica da Eschilo ad Apollonio Rodio e a Virgilio.

ferunt³⁰⁴, fatis praedictam secura Caeli fide caventis albicantem calvariam saxum {efferata³⁰⁵}, testudinem devorandam demittens, miserum illum occidit, ut vel ob hanc unam causam Aquilae visus hebetari aliquando videri possit: Gallum vero nostrum eo magis visu valere constat, quod unico tantum oculo sursum elevato semper rapaces aves infestissimos hostes suos observet, ne ex improvise, vel pullum aliquem, vel faemellam, aut ipsummet eripiant e corte, altero diligentissime minutissima quaeque in locis etiam parum lucidis disquirat.

Gustum item exquisitissimum Gallinaceus habet, qua in re simiae, cui alioqui omnes uno ore palmam attribuunt, nihil mihi cedere videtur. Illi enim, ut de rebus iudicet, necessarium est, ut dentibus suis eas prius confringat: noster vero Gallinaceus Gallus aridissimum quodque, modo id ore recipere queat ilico diiudicat, ut Iulius Caesar Scaliger³⁰⁶ docet.

VOX. CANTUS.

Gallinaceus Gallus eandem fere semper nobis vocem occinit: sed qui animosiores sunt, graviores edunt, teste Aristotele³⁰⁷, incipiunt

an eagle, when <the bird of prey>, dropping a tortoise, she wished to devour, against the whitening skull of the very famous poet Aeschylus* <she took for> a stone, who, as they tell, was seeking for avoid a ruinous breakdown which had been predicted him by oracles because of a sure faith in open air, killed that unhappy, so that because of this one reason it could seem that at times the eagle's sight is getting dim: on the contrary it turns out that our rooster is of keener vision because with only one eye turned upward is always able to catch sight of birds of prey which are his most deadly enemies, lest unexpectedly they snatch away either a chick or a female or him himself out of the poultry yard, while with the other eye he most attentively examines all very small things laying in even not much lighted places.

Likewise the rooster has an excellent sense of taste, a thing in which it does not seem to me that he is inferior to the monkey, to whom otherwise everybody unanimously attributes the palm. For, in order to judge the stuff, she needs first to break it with her teeth: on the contrary our rooster suddenly gives an opinion on any more dried thing, if only he can seize it with his mouth, as Julius Caesar Scaliger* is teaching.

VOICE - SINGING

The rooster is nearly always playing to us the same voice: but those who are more courageous utter it more loud, as Aristotle* testifies, and they begin to

³⁰⁴ Filippo Capponi (*Ornithologia Latina*, 1979) dopo un'accurata disamina conclude che l'aquila di Eschilo con ogni probabilità era un esemplare di *Aquila clanga* o Aquila anatraia maggiore. Invece D'Arcy Thompson (*A Glossary of Greek Birds*, 1895), indotto dal testo di Suida, concluderebbe per il *Gypaëtus barbatus* o Avvoltoio degli agnelli, e infatti nell'antico raggruppamento degli Aquilidi il *Gypaëtus barbatus* era considerato un'Aquila vera e propria. Ma la tesi di Capponi sembrerebbe vincente. - L'episodio della morte di Eschilo è citata da Plinio, *Naturalis historia* X,7: Huius ingenium est et testudines raptas frangere e sublimi iaciendo, quae fors interemit poetam Aeschylum, praedictam fatis, ut ferunt, eius diei ruinam secura caeli fide caventem. - È comportamento istintivo di questo uccello frantumare le tartarughe rapite gettandole dall'alto, ed è questo incidente che uccise il poeta Eschilo, il quale, come narrano, standosene sicuro all'aria aperta, cercava di evitare un crollo rovinoso predettogli dagli oracoli per quel giorno." Anche Valerio Massimo* ha narrato il tragico episodio, col particolare dell'aquila che scambiò la testa calva di Eschilo per una pietra e vi lasciò cadere sopra la tartaruga. Ecco il brano di Valerio Massimo tratto da *Factorum et dictorum memorabilium libri novem*, IX 12 ext. 2: Aeschyli vero poetae excessus quem ad modum non voluntarius, sic propter novitatem casus referendus. In Sicilia moenibus urbis, in qua morabatur, egressus aprico in loco resedit. Super quem aquila testudinem ferens elusa splendore capitis - erat enim capillis vacuum - perinde atque lapidi eam inlisit, ut fractae carne vesceretur, eoque ictu origo et principium fortioris tragoediae extinctum est.

³⁰⁵ Si tratta certamente di un errore di Aldrovandi. Né Plinio né Valerio Massimo hanno questo aggettivo che significa inferocito, inasprito (potrebbe essere predicativo di *aquila*, sottinteso "quando <il rapace>, inferocito, gettando giù...").

³⁰⁶ Nella nota a bordo pagina Aldrovandi cita come fonte la *Exercitatio* 266 contenuta in *Exotericarum exercitationum liber quintus decimus: de subtilitate, ad Hieronymum Cardanum* (1557) di Giulio Cesare Scaligero. Questa *exercitatio* - nel testo originale di Scaligero del 1557 - reca il titolo *Quae de nomine imponendo, & de suo nomine faceta*, ma non vi ricorre assolutamente il gallo. La dritta per localizzare il brano di Scaligero in cui si decanta l'eccellenza del senso del gusto dei gallinacci viene dall'indice analitico della sua opera: *gallinae gustus praesentaneus* 286.2 - il gusto immediato della gallina. Infatti la *exercitatio* 286 (*An pueri maxime vigeant sensibus*) reca come titolo del paragrafo 2 *De sensu exquisito subtilissima*, e in questa sezione troviamo la gallina, che a differenza dell'essere umano non ha bisogno di masticare per percepire il gusto di un cibo. Ecco il testo di Scaligero. Gallina crassissimum, aridissimum quodque receptum ore illico diiudicat: Homo non nisi mansa. (*Exercitatio* 286,2) § Lind invece nella nota a piè pagina cita pedissequamente 266 come stampato dalla tipografia di cui purtroppo si servì il nostro Ulisse, aggiungendovi del suo: Julius Caesar Scaliger *Exercitationum liber quintus decimus de Subtilitate, ad H. Cardanum* (Paris. Lutetiae, 1557), 266. (Lind, 1963)

³⁰⁷ Pseudo Aristotele *Physiognomonica*, 807a 20: *ton alektryónon oi eypsychoi baryphona phtbéggontai*.

autem cantum, quum {insilere} <insilire> Gallinas incipiunt. Gallina vero pro variis actionibus vocem immutat. Aliam enim iens, aliam parturiens, aliam pullos enutriens edit: alioqui et illa gracillare dicitur{;}<, > Gallus cucu<r>rire, unde Philomelae author³⁰⁸. Cucu<r>rire solet Gallus, Gallina gracillat.

Gaza, quoque apud Aristotelem³⁰⁹ pro κοκκύζειν, qua voce Demosth<enes> pro Galli voce etiam usus est, cucu<r>rire vertit. Pollux³¹⁰, et Scholiastes Aristophanis³¹¹ Cuculo propriam eam vocem esse asserunt. Unde coccyssare, inquit Caelius, id est κοκκύζειν verbum habent Graeci {fictitium} <fictitium> ex Gallinacei voce, et Coccygis. Alibi tamen Scholiastes, cum Aristophanes³¹² de Gallo dixisset ὀπότεν μόνον ὄρθριον ἄση, addit, κοκκύζειν enim tum proprie dicitur Gallus, cum parta victoria canit, et Varinus κοκκύζω vertit, instar Gallinacei clamo. In qua item significatione Theocritus³¹³ usus est dum canit: ὁ δ'ὄρθριος ἄλλον ἀλέκτωρ κοκκύσδων νάρκαισιν etc. Item Cratinus³¹⁴ apud Eustathium³¹⁵ κοκκύζειν, inquit τὸν ἀλεκτρυόνα οὐκ ἀνέχονται: qui et hoc Platonis Comici³¹⁶ citat Σὲ δὲ κοκκύζειν ἀλέκτωρ προκαλεῖται.

sing when are about to mount the hens. But the hen changes the voice according to various activities. She utters a kind of voice when strolling about, another one when laying, another when rearing chicks: on the other hand she is also said to cluck, and that the rooster utters a cock-a-doodle-doo, whence the author of Philomela* says:

The rooster usually does a cock-a-doodle-doo, the hen clucks.

Theodorus Gaza* also in Aristotle translates κοκκύζειν with cucurrire - to do a cock-a-doodle-doo, a word used also by Demosthenes* to indicate the rooster's voice. Julius Pollux* and the scholiast* of Aristophanes* assert that that voice is peculiar to cuckoo. Whence in coccyssare, says Lodovico Ricchieri*, that is κοκκύζειν, the Greeks have an onomatopoeic verb drawn from the voice of the rooster and cuckoo. However the scholiast elsewhere, being that Aristophanes said ὀπότεν μόνον ὄρθριον ἄση, - when he is singing early in the morning, is adding then it is properly said that a rooster κοκκύζειν when he sings after he attained a victory, and Varinus* translates κοκκύζω with I cackle like a cock. Likewise Theocritus* used it with this meaning when he was singing: ὁ δ'ὄρθριος ἄλλον ἀλέκτωρ κοκκύσδων νάρκαισιν - on the other hand the early-rising rooster crowing to those who are asleep etc. Likewise Cratinus*, according to Eustathius*, says κοκκύζειν τὸν ἀλεκτρυόνα οὐκ ἀνέχονται - they do not endure the crowing of the cock: who also quotes this passage of Plato Comicus* Σὲ δὲ κοκκύζειν ἀλέκτωρ προκαλεῖται - The rooster invites you to crow.

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Denique in hoc vulgato proverbio [203] Ὅταν Νίβας κοκκύση³¹⁷, hoc est, cum Nibas coc<c>yssaverit³¹⁸: id verbum de Galli voce, non autem de Cuculi dicitur. Tradunt enim in Thessalonica Macedoniae civitate, ut supra³¹⁹ etiam annotavimus, vicum esse, cui nomen Nibas, ubi Galli nunquam vocem edant. Hinc merito κοκκοβόας ὄρνις, et ὄρθριοκόκκυξ

Finally, in this common proverb *Hótan Níbas kokkýsē*, that is, when Nibas will have crowed: the verb is referring to the voice of the cock and not of the cuckoo. In fact, as I noted above, they say that in the Macedonian* city of Thessalonica* there is a village named Nibas where the roosters never crow. Hence deservedly by Hesychius* and Varinus* the rooster is called *kokkobóas órnis* - *kókeky* = *cuckoo*, the voice of the

³⁰⁸ *Auctor Carminis Philomela* 25; A. Baehrens, *Poetae Latini Minores* V (1883), 365. (Lind, 1963)

³⁰⁹ *Historia animalium* 631b 9.

³¹⁰ Pollux *Onomasticon* 5. 89. (Lind, 1963)

³¹¹ Cfr. Aristofane, *Le rane* 1380; *Le donne a parlamento o Ecclesiazuse* 31.

³¹² *Gli uccelli* 489.

³¹³ *Idilli* VII 123-124

³¹⁴ Cratinus *Fragment* 311, in *Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta* (ed. by T. Kock, 3 vols., Leipzig, 1880-88). (Lind, 1963)

³¹⁵ *ad Odysseam* IV 10, p. 1479, 42-48.

³¹⁶ Plato Comicus, *Fragment* 209, in Kock, *op. cit.*, I, 601. (Lind, 1963)

³¹⁷ *Corpus Pseudoepigraphorum Graecorum* II (1851), 573. (Lind, 1963)

³¹⁸ A pagina 273 viene riportato *coccyssaverit*.

³¹⁹ A pagina 193.

Gallus Hesychio³²⁰, et Varino dicitur. Haud tamen interim nego Cuculo eam vocem convenire: siquidem suo loco id alias ostendi.

Ἰδεν verbum de Gallinaceorum voce privatim usurpari scribunt Pollux, et Eustathius³²¹. Gallinas gracillare diximus, alii pipare dicunt, Nonius pipare illis proprium esse, Varro Aboriginibus, ut idem Nonius³²² citat, *Bos*, inquit, *mugit*, *Gallina pipat*: et rursus³²³: *Varro*, inquit, *pullos pipare dixit*. Sed pullos Gallinaceos, et eiusmodi alios proprie pipare Columella³²⁴ ait, sed pipare forte prisca dixerint. Nam apud Festum³²⁵ legimus pipationem Oscorum lingua clamorem plorantis vocari. Dum incubant Gallinae, vocem mutant propter affectum pullorum, tunc enim acutior evadit. Eas rustici, teste Columella³²⁶ glocientes appellant: Longolius crocitant, Festus etiam glocire, et glocidare proprium Gallinis esse ait, quae incubaturae sunt. Hebraei, ut in syrochaldaico dictionario legere est גלוגה *ghelogh* dicunt.

Κακάζειν³²⁷ vero dicuntur circa partum teste Hesychio, et Varino, et verbum est Atticum, cui simile est Germanorum *gaggsen*. Has Politianus³²⁸, et Longolius singultire aiunt³²⁹. Pollux³³⁰ vero hoc verbum de Meleagridum voce

cuckoo + *βοάο* = to bawl - and *orthriokókekux* - crowing at dawn. Nevertheless in the meantime I do not deny absolutely that that term fits the cuckoo: in fact indeed I have said this at its proper place.

Julius Pollux* and Eustathius* write that the verb *ἀδεν* - to sing - is specifically used for the singing of the roosters. I said that hens cluck, others say that they chirp, Nonius Marcellus* says that chirping is a characteristic of them, Varro*, in the Menippean* satire *Aborigine perì anthrópon phýseos*, as Nonius himself quotes, says *The ox loms, the hen chirps*: and Nonius newly says: *Varro said that chicks chirp*. But Columella* says that the chicks of chickens, and others of the same sort, properly peep, *pipare*, but perhaps the ancients said *pipare*. In fact in Festus* we read that in the Oscan* language is said *pipatio* the moan of a crying person. While hens are sitting on eggs they change their voice because of their affection for chicks, since then it becomes shriller. According to Columella, the farmers call them as clucking: Longolius* says they croak, also Festus says that *glocire* and *glocidare* is proper to hens when they are about to incubate eggs. The Hebrews, as one may read in the Syro-Chaldaic dictionary, say *ghelogh*.

Hesychius and Varinus testify, the hens *kakázēin* - to cackle, to cluck, to do the voice of partridge* or of little owl* - when are about to lay eggs, which is a verb of Attica*, similar to *gaggsen* - today *gagerzen* - of Germans. Poliziano* and Longolius say that they sob.

³²⁰ Sembra invece trattarsi di Eustazio, dove *kokkobóas* è attribuito a Sofocle* e *orthriokókekux* a Difilo (commediografo greco del IV sec. aC che visse soprattutto ad Atene e scrisse commedie secondo la nuova tendenza del teatro alessandrino (commedia nuova). Del centinaio di opere sue non abbiamo che frammenti.).

³²¹ La fonte di questa irreperibile citazione è rappresentata da Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 406: *Aden* verbum de gallinaceorum voce privatim usurpatur, Pollux et Eustathius.

³²² *De compendiosa doctrina* 156,25. - L'edizione di Parma nel 1480 riporta: PIPARE proprie gallinae dicuntur. Varro in aboriginibus. Mugit bos: ovis balat: equi hinnunt: gallina pipat. - www.intratext.com riporta: mugit bovis, ovis balat, equi hinnunt, gallina pipat.

³²³ Citazione sospetta. - La fonte potrebbe essere Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 415: Pipare proprie gallinae dicuntur, Nonius, Bos mugit, gallina pipat, Varro Aboriginibus citante Nonio. Varro pullos pipare dixit, Nonius. - La ricerca alla voce PIPARE nell'edizione della *Compendiosa doctrina* di Nonio Marcello stampata a Parma nel 1480 è negativa per l'affermazione di Varrone circa il fatto che i pulcini *pipant*. Inoltre, alla voce PULLUS del capitolo DE GENERE VEL COLORE VESTIMENTORUM non viene citato *pipare*.

³²⁴ Sia *pipare* che *pipiare* nonché *pipire* significano pigolare. Nell'edizione del *De re rustica* di Columella a mia disposizione viene usato il verbo *pipare*: VIII,5,14: [...] undevicesimo animadvertat an pulli rostellis ova pertuderint, et auscultetur si pipant. - La maggior parte degli editori riporta *si pipiant*.

³²⁵ Paulus Diaconus* ex Festo = Paulus ex Festo, pag. 99 Müller: *pipatio clamor plorantis lingua Oscorum*.

³²⁶ *De re rustica* - VIII,5,4: Observare itaque dum edant ova et confestim circumire oportebit cubilia, ut quae nata sunt recolligantur, notenturque quae quoque die sunt edita, et quam recentissima supponantur glutientibus (sic enim rustici appellant avis eas quae volunt incubare), cetera vel reponantur vel aere mutantur.

³²⁷ *Kakázēin* si ritrova unicamente in Esichio ed equivale a *kakabízein* usato dagli scrittori attici.

³²⁸ *Rusticus*: Vocibus interea crebrum singultit acutis | parturiens coniunx.

³²⁹ Columella ricorre al sostantivo *singultus*, *De re rustica* VIII,5,3: Adsiduus autem debet esse custos et speculari parientes, quod se facere gallinae testantur crebris singultibus interiecta voce acuta.

³³⁰ La fonte di questa irreperibile citazione è rappresentata da Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 454: Pollux hoc verbum de Meleagridum voce in usu esse scribit.

in usu esse scribit. Qua de causa quaerit Pamphilus in dialogo Gyb. Longolii³³¹, cur Gallina canturit, officinam cortalem petens. LONG. Non canturit, sed singultit. Hoc enim verbo Varro vocem Gallinarum {fractum} <fractam>³³², et intra {rostra} <rostrum> formatam imitatur. Rusticorum gens Columellae tempore glocire maluit dicere. PAMP. Gallus etiam subinde {subgultit} <singultit>. LONG. Recte, sed cum cantat cucu<r>rire dicitur Latine, Graece autem **κοκκῦζειν**. Haec Longolius; sed Columella, ut diximus, rusticos suo tempore glocientes vocasse scribit, quae incubant, quas, servato ad huc nomine, rustici Itali Chioccias vocant, nimirum a voce, et Belge, et audio Klok hennen. Recte vero Gallum, cum canit, cucurrere dixit.

Gallina etiam, cum eam est initurus Gallus, vocem format exilem, atque mancam. Hoc suadet experientia, si quis animadvertat, Gallinam a Gallo subsidere ad coitum patiendum, tunc enim eam is rostro ferit, qua desinit³³³ collum, sed leviter nonnunquam, quod mordere vocabat Iuvenalis³³⁴, qui simul eiusmodi Gallinae vocem angustam appellat, dum inquit:

*Miratur vocem angustam, qua deterius nec
Ille sonat, {qua} <quo> mordetur Gallina marito{.}<?>*

Arbitror ego id generis vocem conformari ab ea Gallina, quotiescunque coitum aut invita patitur, aut Gallum non aequae redamat: nam hoc exemplo Satyricus³³⁵ masculorum illorum vocem,

But Julius Pollux writes that this verb is used for the voice of Guinea hens*. Therefore Pamphilus* in the dialogue of Gisbert Longolius asks why the hen sings softly when she goes towards the barnyard workshop. LONG. She does not sing softly, but sobs. For with this verb Varro imitates the broken voice of the hens and formed within the beak. The farmers of Columella's day preferred to say *glocire*. PAMP. Then also the rooster sobs. LONG. Correct, but when he crows it is said *cucurrere* in Latin and *κοκκῦζειν* in Greek. This is what Longolius says; but Columella, as I said, writes that the farmers in his time called clucking those who are brooding, and the Italian farmers, the term having been kept until now, call them *chiocce*, doubtless from their voice, and I hear also *klok hennen* in Belgian language. But he correctly said *cucurrere* when the rooster is crowing.

The hen also utters a shrill and faint voice when the rooster is about to mount her. Experience teaches us what follows: if one observes a hen crouched down by a rooster to undergo the coitus, he then strikes her with his beak where the neck *ends* - where the neck begins, at the nape -, but sometimes softly, which Juvenal* called to bite, who at the same time calls the voice of such a hen as thin, when he says:

*He is surprised at the thin voice, worse than which
not even he shouts when the hen is bitten by her husband?*

I do think that a voice of this kind is worked out by the hen whenever she must undergo the coitus unwillingly or when she does not equally reciprocate the rooster's affection: in fact the satiric poet - defines

³³¹ *Dialogus de avibus* (1544) pag. 23-24: PAMPHILUS. Qua de causa haec gallina canturit, [24] officinam cortalem petens? LONGOLIUS. Non canturit, sed singultit, hoc enim verbo Varro vocem gallinarum fractam, et intra rostrum formatam imitatur. Rusticorum gens Columellae tempore glocire maluit dicere. PAMPHILUS. Gallus etiam subinde singultit. LONGOLIUS. Recte, sed cum cantat, cucurrere dicitur Latine, Graece autem **κοκκῦζειν**.

³³² Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 454: Longolius, Non canturit, sed singultit. Hoc enim verbo Varro vocem gallinarum fractam, et intra rostrum formatam imitatur. Rusticorum gens Columellae tempore glocire maluit dicere. Pamphilus, Gallus etiam subinde singultit. Longolius. Recte. sed cum cantat cucu<r>rire dicitur Latine, Graece autem **κοκκῦζειν**. - Gisbert Longolius *Dialogus de avibus* (1544) pag. 24: LON. Non canturit, sed singultit, hoc enim verbo Varro vocem gallinarum fractam, et intra rostrum formatam imitatur. Rusticorum gens Columellae tempore glocire maluit dicere. PAMP. Gallus etiam subinde singultit. LON. Recte, sed cum cantat, cucurrere dicitur Latine, Graece autem **κοκκῦζειν**.

³³³ Si tratta di un errore di Aldrovandi, il quale verosimilmente non ha mai osservato come certe galline presentino una chierica* alla nuca a forza di essere montate dal gallo, il quale per mantenersi in equilibrio - e per dire alla gallina che chi comanda è lui - afferra col becco le piume della nuca, che coi ripetuti accoppiamenti vengono via via decimate. Con estrema verosimiglianza ai tempi di Aldrovandi per qualunque persona l'inizio del collo corrispondeva al punto in cui esso si stacca dalla testa e non dove si impianta sul torace. La riprova l'abbiamo da numerosi passi che dimostrano questa tesi. I passi sono a pagina 336 - qua se attollit in directum in summo collo ad occipitium -, a pagina 338 - sed qui in anteriori parte reflectuntur a prima vertebra, aut osse colli - e - Cum Pavonibus etiam hoc illis commune est, ut colli principium sit gracile. - Ho potuto osservare la tonsura alla nuca di origine sessuale anche in una femmina di germano reale nano che era l'unica partner in compagnia di quattro maschi, uno dei quali a un certo punto è stato preso sessualmente di mira dagli altri maschi, tanto da vivere appartato per alcuni mesi, concedendosi di entrare nel laghetto solo in mia presenza in quanto si sentiva protetto dagli assalti dei compagni.

³³⁴ *Satira* III, 90-91: miratur vocem angustam, qua deterius nec | ille sonat quo mordetur gallina marito?

³³⁵ Aldrovandi forse fa riferimento a Giovenale, il poeta satirico, ma nella quarta *Satira* non esiste alcuna allusione a quanto sta citando. Forse ha ragione Lind, il quale afferma: Aldrovandi refers to Juvenal, apparently, in the words "nam hoc exemplo Satyricus masculorum illorum vocem, qui Venerem damnatam patiuntur, de quibus loquitur in 4 superiore oratione," but I cannot locate the reference.

qui Venerem damnatam patiuntur, de quibus loquitur in 4 superiore oratione. Licet vero Gallinae ita pro variis actionibus, ut dixi vocem immutent, nulla tamen cantus nomine digna videtur. Siquidem Aristoteles³³⁶ in hoc avium genere cantum maribus tantum datum esse testatur, *auditur tamen*, inquit, *aliquando faeminae cantus, et a faeminarum vulgo pro malo omine accipitur, adeo ut canentem iugulari velint*. Et Terentius³³⁷ pro ostento duci testis est, si Gallina cecinerit: inter monstra enim et hoc memorat: *Gallina cecinit*, & *interdixit ariolus*. Quo loco Donatus³³⁸ exponit obstetricum esse observationem, in qua domo Gallina canat³³⁹.

Galli vero cantus ἀλεκτοροφωνία Graecis dicitur, uti et tempus, quo canere incipit. Disputant nonnulli, an eiusmodi cantus inter euphonos, an potius inter dysphonos sit enumerandus. Angelus Politianus³⁴⁰ refert Picum Baptistae Guarini nomine quaesivisse, cum Gallus {intenpestivum} <intempestivus> caneret, quo pacto illud vocis a Graecis

- with this example the voice of those males who are forced to undergo a intercourse, of whom he speaks in the previous - ? - fourth composition. But while hens, as I said, change to such an extent the voice according to various activities, nevertheless none of them seems to be worthy of song's name. Since Aristotle* asserts that in this genus of birds the song is ascribed only to males, and he says: *nevertheless sometimes the song of the female is heard, and by women of common people it is taken as a bad omen, to such a degree that they wish the throat of a singing one is slit*. Also Terence* is witness that when a hen sang was considered a portent: for among prodigies he mentions also this: *The hen sang; the soothsayer has forbidden*. With regard to that, Aelius Donatus* reports that there is existing a distrust by midwives in the home where a hen songs.

But the rooster's crow is said *alektorophonia* by Greeks, as is also said the time at which he begins to crow. Some dispute whether a song of this kind is to be numbered among euphonious or among cacophonous sounds. Angelo Poliziano says that Giovanni Pico della Mirandola* on behalf of Battista Guarini asked him in what way was said by Greeks that kind of voice when a cock is crowing out of time. Because

However, see X, 209-210: "Venerem.....damnum." This may be what he means. (Lind, 1963) Ecco i versi 207-212 della Satira X dove si accenna al dissoluto che vuole avere il piacere senza possederne la forza: Anne aliquid sperare potest haec inguinis aegri|canities? Quid quod merito suspecta libido est|quae venerem adfectat sine viribus? Aspice partis|nunc damnum alterius. Nam quae cantante voluptas,|sit licet eximius, citharoedo sive Seleuco|et quibus aurata mos est fulgere lacerna? - Conrad Gessner stavolta non ci può aiutare. Nel suo testo non esiste questa enigmatica citazione di Aldrovandi.

³³⁶ Impossibile trovare questo frammento di Aristotele come indicato da Aldrovandi: *Historia animalium* Lib.8.c.3. Gli ultimi due libri della *Historia animalium* - cioè il IX e il X libro - non sono autentici, e quindi non furono scritti da Aristotele: si tratterebbe di una raccolta di estratti, soprattutto teofrastei, compilata all'inizio del III secolo aC. Per cui Vegetti (il traduttore) non fornisce il testo integrale del IX libro, bensì un riassunto del capitolo 49 del IX libro che suona così: "Come il comportamento degli animali è adeguato al loro carattere, così, reciprocamente, il carattere degli animali varia secondo i loro comportamenti e spesso variano anche le loro parti. Così la gallina se ha battuto il maschio imita il canto del gallo, cerca di montarlo e la sua coda e la sua cresta si drizzano. Reciprocamente, i galli che hanno perduto la femmina si occupano della prole e perdono i loro caratteri maschili." Quindi nel libro IX si parla solamente delle galline che cantano quando hanno battuto un gallo, e non ricevono minacce di morte. Invece il fatto puro e semplice che le galline non cantano (quindi senza alcun accenno alla minaccia di venir sgozzate qualora cantassero) è contenuto in *Historia animalium* IV, 536a - "Alcuni lanciano grida mentre combattono, come la quaglia, altri a mo' di sfida prima del combattimento, come la pernice, altri ancora dopo la vittoria, come i galli. In certi gruppi di uccelli, i maschi cantano al pari delle femmine: per esempio cantano sia l'usignolo maschio sia la femmina, ma quest'ultima cessa di cantare quando cova e ha i suoi piccoli. In altri gruppi sono soprattutto i maschi a cantare, come ad esempio i galli e le quaglie, mentre le femmine non cantano." (traduzione di Mario Vegetti)

³³⁷ Terenzio, *Phormio* atto IV,708. - 705-710: "quot res postilla monstra evenerunt mihi!|intro iit in aedis ater alienus canis;|anguis per inpluvium decidit de tegulis;|gallina cecinit; interdixit hariolus;|haruspex vetuit; ante brumam autem novi|negoti incipere!" quae causast iustissima.

³³⁸ *ad Terentium, Phormio* 708.

³³⁹ Verosimilmente la notizia riferita da Elio Donato si contrappone al significato di buon auspicio rappresentata da un gallo accanto a una partoriente. Infatti Eliano* in *La natura degli animali* IV,29 così scrive: "So che il gallo è l'uccello favorito da Leto* [la romana Latona, madre di Apollo e Artemide, nati sull'isola di Delo]. Il motivo è dovuto al fatto che esso assisteva la dea quando, presa dalle doglie, partorì felicemente i suoi due gemelli. Per questa ragione anche adesso viene posto un gallo accanto a una partoriente e sembra che ciò giovi a un felice evento." (traduzione di Francesco Maspero)

³⁴⁰ Angelo Poliziano in una lettera del luglio 1494 a Battista Guarini (VII 33 del suo epistolario) riferisce che Pico della Mirandola gli ha chiesto in quale modo i Greci definiscono "il verso del gallo, quando canta fuori dal tempo". E aggiunge che Giovenale e Quintiliano ne fanno menzione. Da parte sua Poliziano comunica al Guarini che il termine greco è senz'altro *apo,dós*, da lui trovato in autori importanti (per esempio Luciano* *Lexiphanes* 6, *De saltatione* 75, *Icaromenippus* 17; Apollonio Discolo* *Syntaxis* 307,14). - Per Quintiliano vedi *Institutio oratoria* XI 3,51: *gallorum immaturo cantu*. - Per Giovenale forse si tratta della *Satira* IX 107: *quod tamen ad cantum galli facit ille secundi*.

diceretur. Etenim Iuvenalis meminit eius, et Quintilianus. Ego certe, inquit, mi Baptista, non aliud puto, quam quod aliquando reperi apud idoneos ἀπῶδον, quanquam mihi authores iam non succurrunt. Est vero ἀπῶδός ea vox etiam, quae neque choro, neque fidibus concordat. Haec ille: quibus innuere videtur, eiusmodi cantum harmoniae omnis prorsus expertem esse: et revera cucu<r>ritus ille nihil praeter molestum strepitum, insuavemque sonum prae se fert, et vix cantus nomine dignus est. Unde {Tragaedi} Tragoedi>³⁴¹ etiam κήρυκας <τούς> ἀλεκτρούνας tanquam vocales, et clamoros praefones appellant, teste Eustathio ἀπὸ τοῦ γαρεύειν, id est, a vociferando. Nam dum cucu<r>rit, altum admodum exclamat, idque non solum interdiu, sed et noctu, ac tum statutis ferme horis. Ut vero maiorem, ut apparet, strepitum clamosa sua voce excitet, itaque iam iam cucu<r>riturus, alis ad latera collisis, ingentem ita sonitum edit, seipsumque ferit: quod ideo facere ipsum D. Gregorius³⁴² scribit, ut se vigilantem reddat.

Sunt qui profunda nocte validius, matutino vero tempore remissius cantare putent, eius rei hanc rationem assignantes, quod cantus vero feratur, ventus autem noctu, quam sub crepusculum matutinum magis spiret, cuius beneficio longius audiatur. Ut ut est, media fere nocte canere, rursumque summo mane, tam clarum, ac notum est, ut supervacaneum sit super tali re auctoritates veterum citare.

Ut modo de utilitate [204] huiusmodi sive cantus, sive cucu<r>ritus, quam hominibus praestat, dicamus, scire licet, veteres³⁴³ in primis gnomonibus horariis nondum repertis noctis deliquium, et accessum diei eo metitos esse: etenim initium a prima mediae noctis inclinatione ordiebantur, proximumque tempus Gallicinium vocabant, quod eo tempore lucem multo ante praesentiens incipiat canere. Tertium conticinium, cum et avis conticescat, et homines una conquiescant. Quartum diluculum mane,

Juvenal mentioned it as well as Quintilian*. “My dear Battista” he said “I do think that undoubtedly they do not say anything else but what sometimes I found in qualified texts, that is ἀπῶδον - jarring, dissonant, absurd -, although the authors do not any longer cross my mind. Truly, ἀπῶδός is also that voice which goes well neither with a chorus nor with a cithara.” Those are his words: by which it seems that he want to indicate that such a song is entirely devoid of any harmony, and in truth that cock-a-doodle-doo shows to be nothing but a bothersome cackling and an unpleasant sound, and hardly worthy of name of song. Hence the tragic poets call also heralds the cocks - κήρυκας <τούς> ἀλεκτρούνας - as they are loud and gagging heralds, according to Eustathius, ἀπὸ τοῦ γαρεύειν, that is, from shouting. For, while he does a cock-a-doodle-doo, he shouts very loudly, and he is doing so not only during the day, but also at night, and during this time at approximately fixed hours. Then, in order to give rise, as it seems, to a greater noise using his cackling voice, and then when he is just about to crow, after he flapped the wings on flanks utters such a loud sound and strikes himself: and Saint Gregory* writes that he does this to make himself watchful.

There are people who think he crows more loudly in the deep night, whereas more faintly towards morning, ascribing the reason of this to the fact that the song is carried, and the wind blows more during the night than towards morning’s twilight, and because of its favorable effect it is heard at a greater distance. Be that as it may, it is so evident and well-known that he sings at almost midnight and again at morning’s top, that it would be superfluous to quote in this regard the authority of the ancients.

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Now, for speaking of the utility that this kind of song or crowing offers to mankind, first of all we must know that when gnomon* sundials had not yet been invented, the ancients thanks to it measured the fading of night and the approaching of day: and in fact they started to speak of beginning from the first turning of midnight, and they called the following period gallicinium* - cockcrow, dawn - because in that moment the cock begins to sing since he is feeling the light much in advance. They called the third period conticinium - the moment of silence - when also the

³⁴¹ Forse in Sofocle*, *Antenoridae* fr 141 N.: ὀρνίθια καὶ κήρυκα καὶ διάκονον. - Eustathius *ad Iliadem* I 320, p. 110, 19: αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ κήρυξ ἐκ τοῦ γέρυθ τὸ φωνὴ παράγεται (cfr. *ad Iliadem* VII 384, p. 686, 21).

³⁴² Riferimento di Aldrovandi: Lib.10 cap.21; riferimento di Gessner: *Moralia* (o *Expositio in beatum Iob libri XXXV*); riferimento di Lind (1963): Saint Gregory *Opera Omnia; Patrologia Latina* (J. P. Migne, 1849), 71. (*Patrologia Latina* is cited hereafter as P. L.)

³⁴³ Confronta Macrobio*, commento al *Somnium Scipionis* di Cicerone 1,3,12 dove si parla di contici<n>ium e gallicinium.

cum clarus iam dies esset ab exorto Sole. Itaque secundus Galli cantus multo Solis exortum antevenit, uti Iuvenalis³⁴⁴ quoque meminit inquiens:

Quod tamen ad Galli cantum facit ille secundi

P<r>oximus ante diem Caupo sciet

et Horatius³⁴⁵

Sub Galli cantum consultor ubi ostia pulsat.

Ab hac veterum consuetudine, quod scilicet noctis deliquium, et accessum diei Galli cantu iudicarent, sumptum est hoc vulgatum proverbium: *Priusquam Gallus iterum cantet*, id est, admodum mane, et antelucano. Videtur autem desumptum ex Aristophane³⁴⁶:

πόθεν;

οὐδ'εἰ μὰ Δία τοτ'ἤλθες, ὅτε τὸ δεύτερον

Ἄλεκτρούων ἐφθέγγετο

id est: {minime gentium}

Ne si quidem te illo appulisses tempore,

Cum Gallus iterum caneret.

Quia vero ita diem adventantem hominibus inclamet, ἡμερόφωνος³⁴⁷ Graecis vocari meruit, quasi diem canens. Qua in re equidem maximam mortalibus utilitatem praestat: quod tunc sibi reliquendum lectum sciant, cum eos Gallus a profundo saepe somno excitat, unde ἀλέκτορα, et ἀλεκτρούνα dictum esse ante³⁴⁸ etiam diximus.

Hinc apud Theocritum³⁴⁹ duodecim puellae Thebae Helenae pollicentur se mane reversuras et novum epithalamion, seu carmen nuptiale cantaturas, ubi πρώτος αἰοιδός, id est primus cantor, nimirum Gallus Gallinaceus e cubili suo insonuerit.

bird keeps silent and at the same time men are resting. They call fourth period the morning twilight, when the day is already bright because of the risen sun. Thus the second cockcrow comes much before the sunrise, as Juvenal* also mentions when he says:

Nevertheless, what he does at the crowing of the second cock the next innkeeper will know before day

and Horace*:

When the client knocks at door at cock crow.

From this custom of the ancients, that is, to set the fading of the night and the approaching of the day according to the cock crow, this common proverb has been derived: *Before the cock crows a second time*, that is, early in the morning and at daybreak. On other hand it seems that it has been gathered from Aristophanes*:

póthen?

oud'ei mà Día tot'êlthes, hôte tò déuteron

Alextryon ephthéngeto

that is: {not at all}

Not even if - by Zeus - you had arrived in that moment when the cock was crowing the second time.

Undoubtedly, because he announces to mankind the approaching of the day with such a loud voice, he deserved from Greeks to be called *hēmeróphōnos* - day-announcing, since he announces the day. Undoubtedly in this connection he performs a very great service to the mortals: because in that moment they learn that must leave the bed, since the rooster is awakening them from an often sound sleep, whence already before I said that he has been called *aléktoira* and *alektryóna*.

Hence in Theocritus* twelve Theban girls promise Helen they would have returned next morning and would have sung a new epithalamium, or wedding song, when πρώτος αἰοιδός, that is the first singer, just the rooster, would have sung from his nest.

Neúmetha kámmes es órthron, epeíka prátos aioidós

³⁴⁴ *Satira IX*, 107-108: quod tamen ad cantum galli facit ille secundi | proximus ante diem caupo sciet, [...].

³⁴⁵ *Satirae I.1,10*. È quella che inizia con: Qui fit, Maecenas, ut nemo, quam sibi sortem...

³⁴⁶ Il passo di Aristofane è introvabile, anche se per Lind (1963) il riferimento è a *Le donne a parlamento* o *Ecclesiazuse* 30-31. Fra l'altro alcuni lessici - Passow, Bailly - rimandano per *epthéngeto* ad Aristofane *Ecclesiazuse* 191, come sembra anche Aldrovandi <in *Concion(antibus)*>, mentre Liddel-Scott non registra tale verbo. Franco Montanari lo riporta solo a proposito di Luciano *Dialoghi delle cortigiane* 10,3. Ad ogni modo la traduzione, eliminando il *minime gentium* incomprensibile, sembra essere: "Da dove?" "Neppure se per Zeus tu fossi giunto allora, quando il gallo cantava per la seconda volta". - Il passo è tratto da Gessner che a sua volta lo trae da Erasmo da Rotterdam*. Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium III* (1555) a pagina 405: Hinc Iuvenalis, Quod tamen ad galli cantum facit ille secundi, Proximus ante diem caupo sciet. Consimiliter Aristophanes in *Concionatricibus*, Οὐδ'εἰ μὰ Δία τοτ'ἤλθες, ὅτε τὸ δεύτερον Ἄλεκτρούων ἐφθέγγετο, Erasmus.

³⁴⁷ Cfr Simonide*, f. 47D = PMG 583, citato da Ateneo* IX,16,374d. Aldrovandi leggeva il passo nell'edizione di Fulvio Orsini*, *Carmina...lyricorum...ex Bibliotheca Fulvii Ursini Romani*, Antverpiae 1568, dato che segue la lezione *hēmeróphōnos*, nuntius diei, e non quella dei codici di Ateneo *himeróphōnos* = dalla voce soave.

³⁴⁸ A pagina 184.

³⁴⁹ Theocritus *Idylls* 18. 56-57. (Lind, 1963)

Νεύμεθα κάμμες ἐς ὄρθρον, ἐπείκα πρώτος
αἰδός

Ἐξ εὐνάς κελαδήση, ἀνασχὼν εὐτριχα δειρήν

Redibimus et nos mane, ubi primus cantor

*E cubili suo insonuerit sustollens pulchre pennatam
cervicem.*

Ovidius³⁵⁰ eleganter ab eiusmodi officio, nempe
quod nos e {summo} <somno> excitet, Gallum
lucis praenuncium appellat, inquiring.

Iam {dederit} <dederat> cantus lucis praenuncius ales.

Sed hoc alibi³⁵¹ clarius indicat, dum ait.

*Iamque {pruinosos} <pruinosis> molitur {lucifer}
<Lucifer> axes,*

Inque suum miseros excitat ales opus.

Et Martialis³⁵² pueros, qui frugi essent, eo
tempore olim surrexisse innuere videtur, dum
alios qui tardius solito adhuc in lecto desidiose
recubabant, sic hortatur.

{Surgite, nam pueri vendit ientacula pictor}

<Surgite: iam vendit pueris ientacula pistor>

Cristataeque sonant undique lucis aves.

Eodem modo {somniales}
<sonnolus> Pseca<de>m e somno
excitans Aelius Iulius Crotus, inquit:

Exurgit alma de rutilo mari dies,

Et nox gelatis cedit irrepens {equis} <aquis>

Cristata cecinit pluries Psecas avis,

Sustolle tandem somno oculos pigro graves.

Huc spectat Galli encomium, quod nobis
Plinius³⁵³ his verbis exaratum reliquit: *Proxime
gloriam sentiunt et hi nostri vigiles nocturni, quos
excitandis in opera mortalibus, rumpendoque somno
natura genuit. Norunt sidera, et ternas distinguunt horas
interdiu cantu; cum sole eunt cubitum, quartaque
castrensi vigilia ad curas laboremque revocant, nec solis
ortum incautis patiuntur obrepere, diemque venientem
{nuntiant} <nuntiant> cantu, ipsum vero cantum
plausu laterum. Quae sane omnia cantui eius
potius, quam ingenio accepta referre debet
humanum genus.*

Ex eunás keladēsē, anaschōn eútricha deirēn

We also shall return tomorrow morning, when the first singer

*Will have sung from his nest lifting the wonderfully feathered
neck.*

From this kind of task, and precisely because he
wakes up us from slumber, clearly and correctly
Ovid* calls the cock messenger of light, saying:

The light's messenger bird had already uttered his songs.

But elsewhere he is pointing this more clearly, when
he says:

Now the cold Lucifer sets in motion the skies,*

and the bird calls the wretched men to their work.

And it seems that Martial* want to signify that once
decent youths rose up in that moment, whereas he
was urging as follows the other ones who were idly
still stretched out in bed later than usual:

*Get up: the baker already sells the fancy cakes to the little boys
for breakfast*

And everywhere the combed birds of light are singing.

In the same manner Elio Giulio Crotti* says, when he
stirs the drowsy Psecas from sleep:

The vitalizing day rises from the red sea,

And the night vanishes creeping into the chilly waters,

O Psecas, the combed bird has often sung,

Lift up at last your eyes grown heavy with sluggish sleep.

Here is fitting the praise of the rooster which Pliny*
left written to us by these words: *Nearly likewise - the
peacocks - are longing for glory also these our nightly guardians
Nature created for arousing mortals to their labor and for
breaking their slumber. They are acquainted with the stars and
distinguish every three-hour period during the day with their
crowing. They go to bed with the sun, and at the fourth camp
watch they recall us to our cares and labor. And they do not
permit the sunrise to creep upon us unnoticed and announce the
coming day with song, and the song itself is announced by
flapping the wings.* Undoubtedly the mankind must
attribute all these things as due more to its song than
to its intelligence.

³⁵⁰ *Fasti* II,767.

³⁵¹ *Amores* I.VI,65-66

³⁵² *Epigrammata* XIV, 223, Adipata: Surgite: iam vendit pueris ientacula pistor | Cristataeque sonant undique lucis aves.

³⁵³ Già in parte citato a pagina 183 - *Naturalis historia* X,46: Proxime gloriam sentiunt et hi nostri vigiles nocturni, quos excitandis in opera mortalibus rumpendoque somno natura genuit. Norunt sidera et ternas distinguunt horas interdiu cantu. Cum sole eunt cubitum quartaque castrensi vigilia ad curas laboremque revocant nec solis ortum incautis patiuntur obrepere diemque venientem nuntiant cantu, ipsum vero cantum plausu laterum.

Amant hunc cantorem milites, quia in castris illo³⁵⁴ vice pariter horarii gnomonici utuntur. Nam cum statis <noctis> horis vigiliis mutare coguntur hoc indice noctis intervalla discriminant: <Crepusculo cubitum eunt, tribus ante noctis statum (id est ante mediam noctem) horis cantant. medio eiusdem spatio vocem iterant. tribus itidem ab intempesta nocte horis, iterum cantant: quod tempus ob id gallicinium appellatur.> quare bellicis curribus aliquando singulis singulos Gallos alligant.³⁵⁵ Prisci itaque excubiarum, et vigiliarum signum indicaturi Gallum potius, quam ullum aliud animal depingebant.

Disputant multi, cur non multum ante solis ortum cantum illum suum repetat: sunt qui causam eius ad avis naturam referant, sunt qui ad sympathiam eius cum illo sidere.

Soldiers enjoy this singer because in their camps they use him instead and alike a gnomon sundial. In fact, when at night's appointed time they must change watches, they split up the night's intervals by this signal: <They go to roost at twilight, they sing three hours before night's beginning (that is, before midnight). At half of this nighttime interval they reiterate the song. And so also again they hum three hours from the beginning of night's heart: and, because of this, this moment is said *gallicinium* - the dawn.> therefore sometimes they fasten a rooster to each of their war chariots. Thus the ancients, when they had to indicate the signal of duties and watches, they represented the rooster rather than any other animal.

Many dispute the reason why he is repeating his song not too much before sunrise: there are some ascribing the cause of this to the bird's nature, others ascribe it to his sympathy with that star.

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Qui naturam eius seu causam effectricem constituunt, aiunt, animal hoc a natura calidissimum, et in appetendo [205] in primis et nutriendo avidum ob calorem quidem insitum cibum acceptum citius concoquere: itaque ob aviditatem, naturae appetitum suum significare, quasi pascentem se invitet, et excitet. Alii, qui rem quamlibet alicui certo sideri dicatam esse volunt, non aliter ac lotum herbam, solarem esse existimant, indeque fieri, ut Gallus, sub solis exortum canat, eodem modo, quo lotus, eo exoriente, folia sua pandit, et occidente, contrahit, quasi occulta quadam, et naturali ratione, redeunte ad ortum duce suo, uterque gaudeat: atque haec quidem eorum est sententia, cuius opinionis etiam Cardanus fuit, quod scilicet Solis robur sequatur. Albertus vero eius fuit sententiae, ut Gallum ideo horas cantu suo distinguere crediderit, quod aerae mutationes ex motibus solis contingentes facile sentiat.

Alii rursus ad naturam avis referunt, et salacitati eius eiusmodi eventum ascribi oportere contendunt: cantu nempe veneris appetentiam

Those who define his nature, or creative principle, say that this animal, very warm by nature, avid first of all both in wishing and in nourishing himself because of the heat indeed located in himself, he digests more quickly the food he swallowed: thus because of his avidity he shows the peculiar instinct of his nature, as inviting and exciting himself to eat. Others, who claim that whatever thing is dedicated to a certain star, so are thinking that the lotus* herb is solar, and hence the cock sings towards the sunrise likewise the lotus spreads its leaves when the sun is rising and closes them when it is setting, as they were both enjoying because of an inner and natural reason, being that their leader is rising again: at any rate their opinion, shared also by Gerolamo Cardano*, is as follows, i.e. that he runs after the solar power. On the contrary Albertus* thought that the rooster is even beating the hours by means of his song because he easily senses the changes of the air occurring because of the movements of the sun.

Others newly refer to the bird's nature, claiming that such an event must be ascribed to his lustiness: for the lust is just showed through the song: and

³⁵⁴ *Illo* non viene emendato con *illis*. Il discorso fila liscio.

³⁵⁵ Imperdonabile l'amputazione perpetrata da Aldrovandi al testo di Gessner, ricavato da Gisbert Longolius*. Il discorso di Ulisse è monco e quasi insulso. Aldrovandi, se voleva ricavare spazio, poteva, per esempio, dare dei tagli abbondanti ai ripetitivi e nauseanti *Moralia* di Gregorio Magno. Ma non lo fece: doveva lisciare l'Inquisizione! - Pertanto si procede all'integrazione con il testo di Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 383: Amant et hunc cantorem milites, quia in castris illis vice horarii gnomonici est. Nam cum statis noctis horis vigiliis commutare coguntur, hoc indice noctis intervalla discriminant. Crepusculo cubitum eunt, tribus ante noctis statum (id est ante mediam noctem) horis cantant. medio eiusdem spatio vocem iterant. tribus itidem ab intempesta nocte horis, iterum cantant: quod tempus ob id gallicinium appellatur. Itaque bellicis curribus aliquando singulis singulos gallos alligant, Gyb. Longolius.

significari: idque inde probare nituntur, quod antequam usui venereo sufficiat, conticescat, peracto subinde cucu<r>riat, tum eo magis opinionem suam astruunt, quod etiam nonnullae aliae aves proclivitatem, ac lubentiam ad initum quolibet praeant cantu, quemadmodum alibi attestatur etiam Plinius³⁵⁶, tum vero, ubi ait, *Perdices faeminas concipere supervolantium afflatu, saepe voce tantum audita masculi*. Contingere autem Gallinaceis autumant, quod fere caeteris usu venire compertum est, ut peracto cibo, refecto per quietem corpore, ac inde maxime vegeto libidinis titillentur pruritu: intervulsus autem somnus, ac identidem repetitus cantus frequentiae causam facile suggerat. Huius opinionis adagiorum author³⁵⁷ ab amico suo Leone acceptam adducit pro miraculo, ut ait Scaliger³⁵⁸. Leo vero ille, quem adagiorum author citat, causam in tria haec rejicit, quod scilicet per noctem cibum depellens, eumque in omne corpus dividens modificetur, quieteque plurima satietur, ut Democrito apud Ciceronem³⁵⁹ visum esse ait: secundo quod avis sit salacissima, et intercepti, et frequentis somni: tertio ut Gallinarum foetificatio sit plenior et foecundior.

therefore they try hard to demonstrate that before devoting himself to sexual intercourse he keeps silent, and immediately after having done it he starts to sing, and so much more they uphold their point of view because also some other birds reveal in advance with whatever sing the bent and the pleasure for mating, as afterwards elsewhere also Pliny* indeed testifies when saying that *female partridges* conceive through the breath of the males that fly over them, often through the only heard voice of the male*. They think that to the roosters it happens what in almost all other birds for experience is well-known to happen, that is, after the food has been digested and the body has been refreshed through the rest and being so very lusty, it is then that they are titillated by the itch of sexual desire: the interrupted sleep, and as much times resumed, would easily furnish the reason of the frequency of the song. As Julius Caesar Scaliger* says, the author of the *Adagia* - i.e. Erasmus of Rotterdam*, who is sharing this opinion, adds that he learned it from his friend Ambrogio Leone* as an extraordinary thing. That Leone, quoted by the author of *Adagia*, is placing the cause in these three situations, that during the night removing the food and sharing it through the whole body he restores his equilibrium and that he satisfies himself by a very abundant rest, like, as far as he is affirming, it seemed to Democritus* in Cicero*: second, because he is a very lustful bird of interrupted and frequent sleep: third, so that the hens' eggs laying is more abundant and fertile.

Mihi eorum sententia plurimum arridet, qui ad

I am quite in favor of the point of view of those

³⁵⁶ Plinio sta parlando delle pernici - *Naturalis historia* X,102: Nec in alio animali par opus libidinis. Si contra mares steterint, feminae aura ab iis flante praegnantem fiunt, hiantes autem exerta lingua per id tempus aestuant. Conciunt et supervolantium adflatu, saepe voce tantum audita masculi, adeoque vincit libido etiam fetus caritatem, ut illa furtim et in occulto incubans, cum sensit feminam aucupis accedentem ad marem, reccanat revocetque et ultro praebat se libidini. Rabie quidem tanta feruntur, ut in capite aucupantium saepe caecae motu sedeant.

³⁵⁷ Impossibile tradurre in modo adeguato questa frase alquanto sconnessa di Aldrovandi, che verosimilmente è una sintesi maldestra di un frammento di Conrad Gessner in *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 383: Scribit in Divinationibus M. Cicero, Democritum hisce ferme causam adortum explicare, cur ante lucem concinant galli. Depulso (inquit) et in omne corpus diviso ac modificato cibo, cantus aedunt quiete satiati. Qui quidem, ut ait Ennius, silentio noctis favent faucibus, rursum cantu plausuque premunt alas. Sunt vero qui (huius sententiae est Ambrosius Leo Nolanus, cuius verba copiosius recitat Erasmus in proverbio, Priusquam gallus iterum cecinerit) salacissimae avitii eius naturae acceptum referri astruant oportere eventum eiusmodi. Nam cantu significari Veneris appetentiam, inde est argumentum evidens, quod antequam usui Venereo sufficiant, conticescunt. Esse porro in more avibus nonnullis, ut proclivitatem et lubentiam ad initium quolibet praeant cantu, quum alibi comprobatur Plinius, tum ait, Perdices foeminas concipere supervolantium afflatu, [...]. - Ma anche Gessner non è esente da critiche, in quanto, facendo riferimento al *De divinatione* di Cicerone (II,57) usa *depulso* senza indicare da dove il cibo viene rimosso (Cicerone dice che viene rimosso dal *pectus*, cioè dal gozzo) e quindi anziché usare il verbo *mitificor* di Cicerone (che significa *far diventare tenero*) usa *modificato*, che significa *regolare, moderare, porre un limite*. Aldrovandi addirittura usa *modificetur* riferito al gallo, il quale così *si darebbe una regolata*. In sintesi: l'originale di Cicerone dice quanto segue: [...]depulso enim de pectore et in omne corpus diviso et mitificato cibo, [...] - [...] infatti dopo aver rimosso dal petto [dal gozzo] e dopo aver suddiviso e fatto diventare tenero il cibo a favore di tutto il corpo, [...].

³⁵⁸ *Exotericarum exercitationum liber quintus decimus: de subtilitate, ad Hieronymum Cardanum* (1557), *exercitatio* 239 *Gallinaceus, & eius cantus*. § The author of the *Adagia* is Desiderius Erasmus*. (Lind, 1963)

³⁵⁹ *De divinatione* II,57: Democritus quidem optimis verbis causam explicat cur ante lucem galli canant: depulso enim de pectore et in omne corpus diviso et mitificato cibo, cantus edere quiete satiatis; qui quidem silentio noctis, ut ait Ennius, "...favent faucibus rursus | cantu, plausuque premunt alas." Cum igitur hoc animal tam sit canorum sua sponte, quid in mentem venit Callistheni dicere deos gallis signum dedisse cantandi, cum id vel natura vel casus efficere potuisset?

occultam cum Sole amicitiam confugiunt: siquidem alimenti desiderio non canere docemur, quod (ut Scaligeri verbis utar) etiam satur canat: nec Gallinae, quoniam canit a coitu: deinde canit praesente illa, quam tunc non init, nec noctu, cum alioqui multas secum confertas habeat iacentes, et immotas, quibuscum tamen non coit.

Rursus non desunt, qui nisi statutis horis canere Gallum dicant: quinimo Cardanus³⁶⁰ totum naturalem diem in octo partes dividere illum, author est, non tamen oriente sole canere, sed cum accedit ad aurorae terminos, sic et ante meridiem. Verum eiusmodi opinionem prorsus erroneam esse Iulius Scaliger tam in excubiis, quam in lucubrationibus suis expertus testatur: et revera alios etiam aliis frequentius interdum potissimum canere observamus, nullo servato tempore. Etsi vero veteres eorum cantu tempora sua dividerent, haud tamen ideo credendum est, ea tam exacte, et minutim distinxisse, ut horarum pulsus facit, sed circiter idem tempus fere avem occinuisse.

Cum itaque ex nocturno Galli cantu tanta hominibus utilitas, qualem diximus, cedat, haud desunt tamen, qui {ob³⁶¹} vocem eam quoties audiant, Gallo malam crucem imprecentur, pigri nempe, et desidiosi homines, qui somno tantum, et ventri student: quales olim Sybaritae fuere, qui Gallos, ut Athenaeus³⁶² refert, in civitate haberi non permittebant. Erant autem gens mollissima, effaeminata, ac adeo delicata, ut non solum hanc alitem in urbe nutriri prohiberent, sed omnes etiam artes quae strepitum faciunt, veluti fabrorum omnium, rejicerent. Ut vero et delicatis huiusmodi homuncionibus consulamus, ut Gallum domi alere possint, qui neque cantet, neque strepitum edat, inquit, duobus id modis praestari posse, nulla tamen illi allata noxa. Plinius³⁶³ enim circulo e {sarmentis}

resorting to a hidden friendship with the sun: for we have the demonstration that he is not singing for food's desire, because (to use Scaliger's words) he sings even if he is replete: neither for desire of the hen, because he sings after the coitus: finally he sings while she is present and he is not mounting her, nor at night when however he has quite a lot of them perching close to him, and motionless, with whom he nevertheless doesn't copulate.

Moreover there are those who affirm that the rooster doesn't sing if not at fixed hours: or rather Cardano claims that he splits the whole natural day into eight parts, and that nevertheless he doesn't sing when the sun is rising, but when it is approaching to boundaries of the dawn, as well as before midday. On the contrary Julius Scaliger, skilled in his night parties out of home as well as in his nighttime jobs, affirms that such an opinion is completely wrong: and in fact we observe that some are singing more often than others chiefly during the day, without observing whatever time. Truly, even if the ancients divided their own time by their song, nevertheless it is not necessary therefore to believe that they split it so exactly and minutely as the pulsation of the clocks does, but that the bird nearly was singing approximately at the same moment.

Therefore, although from nighttime's song of the rooster is following to mankind such a great utility as that I said, nevertheless there are those who, whenever hear that voice are wishing the rooster to be ruined, of course lazy and idle persons, who are devoting themselves only to sleep and greed: as once had been the Sybarites* who, as Athenaeus* tells, didn't allow the roosters to be kept in the city. On the other hand they were a very floppy people, effeminate and to such an extent delicate that they not only prohibited that this bird was raised in the city, but they also refused all the activities that make a noise, as those of all the artisans. But, in order to come across also such delicate munchkins, so that they can raise at home a rooster which neither crows nor cackles, I say that this can happen in two ways, without however any damage is brought to it. For Pliny promises that it

³⁶⁰ Girolamo Cardano (Cardanus), *De Subtilitate libri xxi* (Nuremberg, 1550; Paris, 1550, 1551; Basle, 1554, 1560 (2), 1582, 1611); see also note where reference is made to J.C. Scaliger, *Exotericarum Exercitationum liber quintus decimus de Subtilitate, ad H. Cardanum*, called *Exercitationes* for the sake of brevity in my notes. (Lind, 1963)

³⁶¹ Si espunge *ob*, che non dà senso.

³⁶² *Deipnosophistai* XII,15,518d.

³⁶³ *Naturalis historia*, XXIX,80: At gallinacei ipsi circulo e sarmentis addito in collum non canunt. - Evviva il passaparola che non è affatto un'invenzione della nostra TV: infatti Aldrovandi se ne servi a iosa e proprio grazie al passaparola è stato capace di trasformare delle scagliette d'oro in tralci di vite. Vediamo questo iter che sa quasi di magico - una magia inversa rispetto a quella di re Mida* - un iter al quale come al solito sottende Gessner, e che ritroveremo a pagina 242. Infatti Gessner a pagina 385 della sua *Historia Animalium* III (1555) fa un'errata citazione telegrafica di un passaggio di Plinio: Gallinaceis circulo e sarmento addito collo non canunt, Plinius. - Ma Plinio quando parla di un *circulus* messo al collo dei galli sta disquisendo di oro. Ecco il testo di Plinio

<ramentis> addito collo non cantaturum promittit: Albertus capite, et fronte oleo inunctis. Haec experti, si vera eorum authorum praecepta invenerint, Gallum ob futuram prolem nutrire poterunt, ut ea saepius saturi somno commodius indulgere queant. Praeterea castratus cantare desinit: idem victus facit tanquam pudibundus: denique cum ovis incubat, ut Aelianus³⁶⁴ testatur, quasi eiusmodi officium virum dedecere non ignoret.

SALACITAS. COITUS. PARTUS. Incubatus. Generatio. Exclusio.

Salacissimum animal Gallum esse quamvis ut Albertus scribit, ad unum ovum foecundandum multoties cum eadem Gallina coeat, Oppianus³⁶⁵ prodidit. Quod sane, etsi aliae item dentur volucres, quarum libido apud authores magis celebratur, ut in Aquilae historia diximus, cuius congressu Martis et Veneris adulterium indicabant³⁶⁶, et Passer etiam strenuissimus in hac venerea pal<a>estra habeatur athleta, verum esse videbimus, si Galli libidinem cum earum libidine conferamus.

won't sing when you place on its neck a necklace done with specks of gold: Albertus, if its head and face will be greased with oil. After they tested these things, in recognizing as true the precepts of such authors, they could raise the rooster for a future offspring, so that sated with it they can more often and pleasantly abandon themselves to slumber. Furthermore, if he is castrated, he stops to sing: and when has been won he behaves like an ashamed: finally, when he sits on eggs, as Aelian* bears witness, it is like he is aware that such a task is not suitable for a male.

LUSTFULNESS - MATING - EGGS LAYING Incubation - Generation - Hatching

Oppian of Apamea* handed down that the rooster is a very lustful animal although, as Albertus writes, he is mating several times with the same hen in order to fecundate only one egg. In fact, even if other birds are existing whose sexual instinct by writers is more extolled, as I said in the chapter of the eagle*, with whose copulation they symbolized the adultery between Mars and Venus*, and even if the sparrow itself is thought a tireless athlete in this gym of love, we will see that it is corresponding to the truth if we compare the lust of the rooster with their sensuality.

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[206] Aquila enim, et Passer, similesque salaciores alites aliae salacitatem suam toto anni tempore minime exercent, ut facit Gallus noster, qui singulis diebus quinquagesies, et amplius uxores suas, quas plurimas habet, init, cum

For the eagle* and the sparrow, and other similar rather salacious birds, exercise very little their lust all through the year in comparison with what our rooster is doing, who every day treads his females fifty times* and more, and he has a great number of them, while

Naturalis historia, XXIX,80: Non praeteribo miraculum, quamquam ad medicinam non pertinens: si auro liquescenti gallinarum membra misceantur, consumunt id in se; ita hoc venenum auri est. At gallinacei ipsi circulo e ramentis addito in collum non canunt. - Insomma, Plinio dice che le zampe delle galline sono in grado di distruggere l'oro, ma una collana fatta di pagliuzze d'oro ha il grande potere di far tacere i galli. - Questa magia opposta a quella di re Mida doveva essere abbastanza diffusa nel 1500. Infatti anche Pierandrea Mattioli* nel suo commento a Dioscoride* - sia in quello latino del 1554 che in quello postumo in italiano del 1585 - affinché non cantino fa cingere il collo dei galli con una collana fatta di *sarmentis*, cioè con un *sarmento di vigna*. Probabilmente il testo in possesso di Mattioli, di Gessner, e quindi di Aldrovandi, era corrotto e riportava *sarmentis* invece di *ramentis*. Ma se Gessner e Aldrovandi enucleano la citazione pliniana dal suo contesto, Mattioli cita tutta quanta la frase di Plinio: pagina 186 - Liber II - cap. XLIII - GALLINAE, ET GALLI - Plinius cum de gallinis dissereret libro XXIX. cap. IIII. haec inter caetera memoriae prodidit. Non praeteribo (inquit) miraculum, quamquam ad medicinam non pertinens: si auro liquescenti gallinarum membra misceantur, consumunt illud in se. Ita hoc venenum auri est. At gallinaceis ipsis circulo e sarmentis addito collo non canunt. - Neppure a Mattioli è balenato che quell'*at* ha un preciso significato: si tratta di una contrapposizione. Infatti l'oro, guastato dalle galline, è tuttavia in grado di prendersi una rivincita facendo ammutolire i galli. Ma nel 1500 nel testo di Plinio gironzolavano i *sarmentis* ed era giocoforza utilizzarli.

³⁶⁴ *La natura degli animali*, IV,29.

³⁶⁵ Oppian *Ixentica*, in Dionysius, *De Avibus*, a paraphrase of Oppian in *Poetae Bucolici et Didactici, etc.* (ed. by F. S. Lehrs, Paris, Didot, 1851). (Lind, 1963)

³⁶⁶ Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 404: Alectryon quidam adolescens Marti acceptus fuit, quem Mars aliquando cum Venere concubiturus in domo Vulcani pro vigile secum ducebat, ut si quis appareret, Sol oriens praesertim, indicaret. Ille vero somno victus cum Solis ortum non indicasset, Mars a Vulcano deprehensus et irretitus est. Qui postea dimissus, Alectryoni iratus in avem eum mutavit una cum armis quae prius gerebat, ita ut pro galea cristam haberet. Itaque memor deinceps huius rei alectryon, etiam nunc ales, id tempus quo Sol prope ortum est, quo scilicet Vulcanus domum reverti solebat, cantu designat. Fabulam memorant Lucianus, et ex eo interpretatus Caelius Rhodiginus, et Aristophanis Scholiastes, et Eustathius in octavum Odysseae, et Varinus. - Luciano, *Il sogno ovvero il gallo - Óneiros è alectryon* - 3.

contra unica illi contenti sint.

Testantur vero eius libidinem, non solum Gallinarum maxima turba, sed acerrimae etiam pugnae, quas non ob liberos cibumque committit, sed ut faeminis potiatur solum, quales etiam canes conferere solent, at hi quod simul unam inire non detur, ille quod ullam ex suis ab aliquo contaminari nolit, qua in re sapientis patrisfamilias munere fungitur, ac non aliter ac hic honori suo consulere videtur: quinim<m>o tanto amore suas prosequitur, ut si mori contingat eas, ipse contabescat moerore animi. Insuper non hinc tantum Galli salacitas cognoscitur, quod tanta frequentia cum propriis uxoribus coeat, sed in eo magis, quod ut Aelianus³⁶⁷ etiam refert, si illae desint, a masculino genere minime sibi temperet, sed in media etiam corte, qui recentior advenerit, cum ineat. Etsi apud Plutarchum³⁶⁸ Gryllus Sophista apud Circe deformatus in brutum neget ex brutis ullum masculam venerem affectare.

Nam et Aristoteles apud Athenaeum³⁶⁹ scribit, ex iis Gallis, quos Diis consecrant, qui prius dicatus

the former birds are contented with a single one.

They bear witness to rooster's lustfulness not only the great flock of hens, but the very bitter fights he carries on not because of offspring or food, but only in order to grab his females, just as also the dogs are accustomed to fight, but the latter ones because it is impossible they mate all together a single female, the former one because he does not wish any of his females to be contaminated by somebody else, and with regard to that he performs the function of a wise family father, and not otherwise than the latter he seems to take care of his own honorableness: he even follows his females with so much love that if they happen to die he pines away with grief. Furthermore, the rooster lustfulness is recognized not only from this, that is, the great frequency with which he copulates with his own females, but even more from the fact that, as Aelian* also records, if there is lack of them, he does not in the slightest refrain from the males, since even in the middle of the barnyard he mounts the one who entered it most recently. Even though in Plutarch* the sophist Gryllus, transformed into an animal at Circe's* cavern, denies that any one among animals is aiming to have sex with a male.

For also Aristotle* in Athenaeus* writes that, among those roosters they dedicate to the gods, he who has

³⁶⁷ *La natura degli animali* IV,16: I galli [alektryōnes] quando sono in gruppo saltano addosso tutti quanti al nuovo venuto. - Stavolta Aldrovandi, ispirato da Gessner, ha mistificato assai, a differenza di Gessner, il testo di Eliano, che è piuttosto lapidario, privo di qualsiasi finalità moralistica antiomosessuale. Eliano vuole semmai semplicemente dire che un gruppo di galli è pericoloso come può esserlo un gruppo di uomini nei confronti di uno straniero. Infatti Eliano apre 4,16 con poche parole riferite al gallo e finisce il capitolo senza più parlare del gallo - o meglio dei galli - ma solo di pernici. Ecco come inizia il capitolo: "I galli quando sono in gruppo saltano addosso tutti quanti al nuovo venuto. E la stessa cosa fanno anche le pernici domestiche nei confronti di una appena giunta e non ancora addomesticata.[...]" - Ecco il testo fuorviante in senso antiomosessuale adottato da Aldrovandi e stilato da Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 384: Si foeminarum facultas non sit, omnes subigunt in cohortem suam recentem venientem, Aelianus.

³⁶⁸ *Moralia (Num bruta animalia ratione utantur)*, 64 (p. 990D) - From

³⁶⁹ Liber 9 (Aldrovandi). - Ateneo *Deipnosophistai* IX,46,391de: Ἀριστοτέλης γοῦν φησιν ὅτι τῶν ἀνατιθεμένων ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἀλεκτρούων τὸν ἀνατεθέντα οἱ προόντες ὀχεύουσι μέχρι ἂν ἄλλος ἀνατεθῆ: εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀνατεθῆ, μάχονται πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ ὁ ἡττήσας τὸν ἡττηθέντα διὰ παντὸς ὀχεύει. (recensuit Georgius Kaibel, 1888 - Teubner, Stuttgart, 1985) - Aristotele appunto a proposito dei galli che vengono offerti in voto nei templi dice che quelli già presenti montano quello che è stato offerto fino a quando non ne sia offerto un altro; ma se non fosse offerto, combattono fra loro e il vincitore monta continuamente quello che è stato sconfitto. (traduzione di Elio Corti) - At all events Aristotle says, that when cocks are kept in the temples as being dedicated to the Gods, the cocks who were there before treat any new comer as a hen until another is dedicated in a similar manner. And if none are dedicated, then they fight together, and the one which has defeated the other works his will on the one which he has defeated. (translated by C. D. Yonge in *Deipnosophists or Banquet of the learned*, London, Henry G. Bohn, 1854 - traduzione basata sull'edizione del testo greco di Schweighäuser, Strasburg, 1801-1807)

est, subigi a {novitiis} <noviciis>, donec offeratur alius, quod si nullus donetur, inter se praeliari, et a victore semper iniri victum. Sed locus ille apud Aristotelem³⁷⁰ sic legitur: *Ubi sine faeminis munerarii, dicatique <in templis>*³⁷¹ *versantur Gallinacei, non temere eum qui nuper dicatus accesserit, omnes subigunt: ubi nihil de pugna meminit, quod Athenaeus ex se addidit. Ob tam foedum, et horrendum Galli facinus olim, teste Plutarcho*³⁷² *lex erat, ut Gallus si Gallum inisset, quamvis etiam Gallina abesset, vivus combureretur. Unde videre licet, qua mulcta eiusmodi nefarium scelus prisci punirent in hominibus, si id in brutis faciebant: nec sane immerito, cum eiusmodi flagitiosi, et nequam homines, qui talem peccatum committunt, humanae naturae vim inferant, et interitum humano generi procurent, in sterili solo semine effuso, quod in Ona filio Iudae*³⁷³ *severe admodum vindicavit Deus. Quare lege pontificia tales a coetu hominum arcentur, turpiusque adulterio visum est stuprum virile.*

Sed ut unde digressa est oratio revertatur, Gallus noster in maiorem adhuc longeque detestabiliorem libidinis notam incurrit, dum cum aliis etiam volucribus, quae sui generis non sunt, ut cum Phasianis, et Perdricibus, ut postea dicemus, coeat, quod testatum etiam reliquit Aristoteles³⁷⁴. Sed forte Gallinis magis adhuc vitio vertendum est, quod et illae ab iisdem volucribus sese iniri permittant, adeo ut multi {diversas} <diversos> ex iis cum aliis coeuntibus foetus excludi promittant. Non

just been dedicated is trodden on by those who arrived last until another one is offered, and if none is offered they fight among themselves and the conquered is always trodden on by the winner. But that passage sounds in Aristotle's text as follows: *When offered and consecrated roosters find themselves in temples without females, not casually all of them mount on the one who arrives soon after he has been dedicated:* where he makes no mention of fighting, a thing that Athenaeus added on his own initiative. For such a repugnant and horrible crime of the rooster, according to Plutarch, once there was a law that if a rooster copulated with another rooster, although the lack of the hen, he should be buried alive. Hence one may see by what a sentence the ancients were punishing such an impious misdeed in humans, since they were doing so in reasonless animals: and certainly not wrongly, since those who commit such a sin are so wicked and worthless men that they do violence to human Nature and cause the extermination to the humankind by shedding the semen upon a sterile floor, a thing that the Lord punished most severely upon Onan* son of Juda. Therefore, by pontifical law such men are to be driven from human companionship, and the rape between males has been catalogued as more foul than adultery.

But for the subject returns there whence it started, our rooster runs into a heavier behavior of lust and far more detestable when, as I will say afterwards, he is also mating with other birds who are not of his genus, such as pheasants* and partridges*, a thing that has been testified also by Aristotle. But perhaps we must lay the blame more on the hens since they also permit to be trodden by the same birds, so that many people are assuring that different offspring takes birth from those hens mating with other birds. No small argument for the salacity of roosters is what Mnaseas*

³⁷⁰ *Historia animalium* IX,8 614a 5-7: Καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρνύγων ὡσαύτως. ἐνίοτε δὲ συμβαίνει τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀλεκτρούων. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ἱεροῖς, ὅπου ἄνευ θηλειῶν ἀνάκεινται, τὸν ἀνατιθέμενον πάντες εὐλόγως ὀχεύουσι. - Allo stesso modo - delle pernici accade - anche per le quaglie. Ma talora ciò accade anche per i galli. Infatti nei templi, dove vengono posti come offerta votiva senza femmine, tutti quanti a giusta ragione montano quello che viene offerto. (traduzione di Elio Corti) - A similar proceeding takes place occasionally with barn-door cocks: for in temples, where cocks are set apart as dedicate without hens, they all as a matter of course tread any new-comer. (translated by D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson, 1910) - Idem evenit etiam coturnicibus. Interdum etiam gallis. Nam in templis ubi sine gallinis dicati degunt, ut quisque donatus fuerit, eum omnes sane subigunt. (traduzione di Giulio Cesare Scaligero*)

³⁷¹ Il testo viene emendato in base a quello di Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 384: Gallinacei etiam idem interdum quod perdices faciunt, in templis enim ubi sine foeminis munerarii dicatique versantur, non temere eum qui nuper dicatus accesserit, omnes subigunt, Aristot.

³⁷² *Moralia (Num bruta animalia ratione utantur)*, 64 (p. 990D).

³⁷³ Genesi 38,9.

³⁷⁴ *De generatione animalium* II,4 738b: Per questo negli animali di specie diversa che si accoppiano maschio con femmina (si accoppiano quelli che hanno periodi uguali, gravidanze simili e non differiscono molto per le dimensioni del corpo), dapprincipio la prole nasce somigliante a entrambi i genitori, come gli animali che nascono dalla volpe e dal cane, o dalla pernice e dal gallo ma poi col trascorrere del tempo le generazioni successive giungono alla fine in accordo con la forma della femmina, come i semi forestieri si adattano alla terra, perché questa offre la materia, cioè il corpo, per i semi. (traduzione di Diego Lanza)

parum etiam Gallorum salacitatem arguit, quod Mnaseas apud Aelianum³⁷⁵ memorat, nimirum nunquam ad Gallinas, quae in aede Hebae, ipsi vero in Herculis pascerentur, interfluente utramque aedem rivo perenni, et limpidae aquae nunquam transvolent, nisi cum libidine stimulentur.

Tantae in his volucris libidinis salacitatisque causa est genitale semen, in iis maximopere redundans, cuius irritationem perferre nequeunt, in libidine prouunt. Tanta vero seminis copia abundant, ut Clearchus apud Athenaeum³⁷⁶ author sit, eos non solum cum vident faeminas id emittere, verumetiam cum vocem earum exaudiunt. Quare quid sibi velint illa Aristotelis³⁷⁷ verba: *Gallorum testes tempore coitus magis conspicui sunt*, a multis non puto intelligi. Nam cum singulis fere, ut ita dicam, momentis coeat, singulis item momentis testes conspectiores evadere oportere, quis inde colligat, quod alioqui absurdum esset astruere. Ego vero hanc philosophi sententiam dupliciter exponi posse existimo, primo nempe ipsum comparare Gallorum aetatem perfectam aetati imperfectae, ac iuxta earum differentias magnitudinem, atque parvitatem testium aestimare. Certissimum enim est his avibus utcunque salacissimis vel a primo ortu non adesse facultatem generatricem. Exemplo sit aetas puerilis humana, caeterarumque specierum tenella, quae ad coitum est inepta: atque hac ratione Aristoteles dixit Gallorum testes tempore coitus esse magis conspicuos, ac si diceret, ubi aetatem validam obtinuerint, et usui veneris aptam obtinent, pariter testes grandiores, quam habebant in aetate adhuc imperfecta. Secundo liceret forsitan eadem verba hoc modo interpretari sensu ipso duce, et assertore, Gallis etsi coeant singulis anni temporibus, singulisque horis,

recalls in Aelian, undoubtedly never with regard to the hens, bred in the temple of Hebe*, and the former ones in that of Hercules*, - that is - they never would fly across the everlasting and of clear water channel running between the two temples unless when they are stimulated by lust.

In these birds the genital semen, especially abundant in them, is productive of such a great lechery and lustfulness that, since they cannot bear its irritant effect, they hurl themselves into lechery. They have a so great abundance of semen indeed that Clearchus affirms in Athenaeus that they emit it not only when they see the females, but even when hear their voice. Therefore, I do not think that many people understand the meaning of those words of Aristotle: *The testicles of roosters are greater at the time of coitus*. Since, so to speak, they copulate almost every moment, somebody could deduce that likewise in every moment the testicles are greater, a thing that on the other hand it would be absurd to be claimed. I think this statement of the Philosopher can be explained in two ways, and precisely, first, that he is comparing the perfect age of the roosters with their imperfect age, and that according to their difference - of age - he must judge the largeness and the smallness of testicles. For it is more than certain that, though very lustful, in these birds when newborn the generative faculty is not present. Let there be as example the human age of childhood and the tender age of the other species, which is inept for copulation: it was for this reason that Aristotle said the testes of roosters are greater at the time of copulation, just as if he had said that when they reached the right age, and when they will have it suitable for sexual intercourse, likewise they will have also the testicles greater than they had them at a still imperfect age. Secondly may be that those same words would be interpreted as follows, having as guide and support the common sense itself,

³⁷⁵ *La natura degli animali* XVII,46: Mnasea, nel suo trattato sull'Europa, parla di un tempio dedicato a Eracle e a sua moglie [Ebe, dea della giovinezza], che una tradizione poetica afferma che fosse figlia di Era. Nel recinto di questo tempio vengono allevati, egli dice, molti uccelli domestici, e precisamente galli e galline. Convivono in gruppi secondo il sesso e sono nutriti separatamente, a spese pubbliche, perché considerati sacri alle suddette divinità. Le galline vivono nel tempio di Ebe, i galli invece in quello di Eracle. Nel mezzo scorre un canale di limpide acque perenni, che impedisce alle galline di introdursi nel tempio di Eracle. Ma i maschi, nella stagione degli amori, oltrepassano a volo quel canale, e dopo aver coperto le femmine, tornano di nuovo alle loro abituali dimore, presso il dio oggetto del loro culto, purificati da quell'acqua che separa i due sessi. Come primo risultato degli accoppiamenti nascono, ovviamente, le uova; quando poi le chioce le hanno covate e ne hanno estratto i pulcini, i galli prendono con sé i figli maschi e li allevano per proprio conto. Invece compito delle galline è allevare le femmine. (traduzione di Francesco Maspero)

³⁷⁶ Si tratta di Clearco di Soli, filosofo ed erudito del secolo IV-III aC. *Deipnosophistai* IX,42,389f.

³⁷⁷ *Historia animalium* VI,9 564a 10-12: Nel periodo dell'accoppiamento, gli uccelli hanno i testicoli più grossi; l'aumento è anche più evidente in quelli più portati al coito, come i galli e le pernici, meno in quelli che lo effettuano in modo discontinuo. (traduzione di Mario Vegetti) - *De generatione animalium* I,4 717a 7-11: Chiaro il caso degli uccelli: i loro testicoli sono molto più grossi nel periodo dell'accoppiamento e tutti gli uccelli che si accoppiano in una sola stagione, quando questo tempo è passato, li hanno così piccoli che sono quasi invisibili, mentre li hanno straordinariamente grandi nel tempo dell'accoppiamento. (traduzione di Diego Lanza)

attamen peculiare coeundi tempus esse verum: nam tunc calor innatus viget in pluribus speciebus vegetalium, et animalium. Itaque si Gallorum testes considerentur, et tempore verno, autumnali, hyemali, et aestivo, et invicem comparentur, sensus docebit ipsos testes inesse grandiores tempore verno, minores vero autumnali, hyemali, et aestivo.

Ut modo ad salacitatis causam regrediamur, Scaliger³⁷⁸ in assignanda ea non satis sibi constare videtur. Cum enim prius a nimia seminis redundantia fieri dixisset, mox {cen} <ceu> sui oblitus pauco humore abundare dicit, omnem vero in coitu impendere. Querit autem in hunc modum: *At Capi, qui castrati sunt, quare podagra miris modis afficiuntur: Galli non? Quia Capi pusillus calor, edacitas multa. In Gallo calor multus, cibi abstinentia non minor. Cur ergo [207] tot Gallinis unus sufficit si non multo humore praeditus est? Propterea quod quantum succi habet eo impendit.* Haec ille.

that nevertheless it is typical of the roosters, although they mate at all seasons and all hours, that the mating period is the springtime: for at that time the innate warmth in many species of vegetables and animals gains strength. Thus if the testicles of roosters should be considered in spring, autumn, winter, and summer, and should be compared each other, common sense will teach that the testicles themselves appear greater in the springtime, while they are smaller in autumn, winter, and summertime.

Now, to return to the cause of lust, it seems that Julius Caesar Scaliger*, in his assignment of it, is not enough consistent with him himself. For when earlier he had said that it takes place because of a too much great surplus of semen, soon after, as if he had forgotten himself, says that they are rich in not much moisture, because they spend it completely in coitus. He wonders as follows: *But why the capons, who are castrated, are so amazingly afflicted with podagra* and roosters are not? Because the capons have little heat and much voracity. There is much heat in the rooster, and the abstinence from food is not less. Why then only one suffices for so many hens if he is not endowed with much moisture? Because he uses the whole moisture he has in that activity.* These are his words.

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Quantum vero ad avis petulantiam attinet, crediderim etiam pullum illum Gallinaceum, quem Liviam³⁷⁹ Tyberium adhuc in utero gestantem, exclusisse aiunt in manu, cum exploratura an marem esset par<i>tura, ovum {incubandi} <incubanti> Gallinae subduxisset, idque nunc sua, nunc ministrarum manu adeo fovisset³⁸⁰ ut pullus excluderetur, non tantum sexum in Tyberio portendisse, ut multi volunt, sed salacitatem etiam et procacitatem eam, qua ille mox famosissimus fuit. Quinim<m>o quicumque nasum concavum, et frontem habent rotundam, et caput sursum eminentem rotundum,

As far as the impetuosity of the rooster is concerned, it would be my opinion that that hen's chick which, they say, while Livia Drusilla* - or Julia Augusta - was still carrying Tiberius* in her womb, she hatched in her hand, insomuch as, in order to get to know whether she would give birth to a male, she stole the egg from a broody hen, an egg she warmed now by her own hand, now by that one of maids until a chick was hatched out, not only she predicted the sex of Tiberius, as many are asserting, but also that lasciviousness and licentiousness for which afterwards he was very renowned. So, whoever has a concave* nose and a roundish forehead and a round and

³⁷⁸ *Exotericarum exercitationum liber quintus decimus: de subtilitate, ad Hieronymum Cardanum (1557), exercitatio 131 Quae de Magnete.* paragrafo 4 *De foeminae, ac masculi mutua propensione.* Per l'altra *exercitatio* la tipografia ha stampato 272,2. Altro errore tipografico! Si tratta della *exercitatio 277 Quae de testium avulsione* paragrafo 2 *Capi podagra. Gallus.*

³⁷⁹ Qui Aldrovandi fa schiudere l'uovo nella mano di Livia Drusilla, diversamente da quanto affermerà ripetutamente: l'uovo venne fatto schiudere tra le mammelle. Per questo passaggio Aldrovandi trae la notizia verosimilmente da una fonte diversa, anche se simile, da quella rappresentata da Plinio *Naturalis historia* X,154: *Quin et ab homine perficiuntur. Iulia Augusta prima sua iuventa Tib. Caesare ex Nerone gravida, cum parere virilem sexum admodum cuperet, hoc usa est puellari augurio, ovum in sinu fovendo atque, cum deponendum haberet, nutrice per sinum tradendo, ne intermitteretur tepor; nec falso augurata proditur. Nuper inde fortassis inventum, ut ova calido in loco inposita paleis igne modico foverentur homine versante, pariterque et stato die illinc erumperet fetus.* - Questa fonte diversa da Plinio è rappresentata da Svetonio, come si specifica nella nota successiva.

³⁸⁰ Vedi Svetonio* *De vita Caesarum - Tiberius* 14.2: *Praegnans enim Livia cum, an marem editura esset, variis captaret ominibus, ovum incubanti gallinae subductum nunc sua nunc ministrarum manu per vices usque fovit, quoad pullus insigniter cristatus exclusus est.*

ut Galli, luxuriosi vulgo putantur.³⁸¹

Verum haud omnes Gallos aequae salaces esse constat, nam quidam eorum a primo naturae ortu ita, teste Aristotele³⁸² effaeminati nascuntur, ut neque cuculant, neque faeminas ineant. Sed venerem eorum, qui tentent supervenire, sponte patiantur. Et Theophrastus auctor est, referente Athenaeo³⁸³, agrestes cortalibus ad venerem procliviores esse. At cum nos agrestibus careamus, interest nostra etiam noscere, qui salaciores in iis sint. Siquidem tales ad partus promovendos in primis agricola sibi comparare debet. Eos autem ita internoscet. Sunt, teste Varrone³⁸⁴, lacertosi, rubenti, erectaque crista, rostro brevi, pleno, acuto, oculis ravis, aut nigris, palea rubra, collo vario, feminibus pilosis, unguibus longis, cauda magna, frequentibus pinnis. Gallinae {etiam non} <etiamnum>³⁸⁵ aequae libidinosae sunt.

Iulius Caesar Scaliger³⁸⁶ Gallum salacem maritum, Gallinam salacem matricem vocabat. Quae autem veneris appetentior est, eam noctu iuxta Gallum proximam sedere Albertus tradit, sed hoc inter utriusque libidinem Theophrastus interesse autumat, citante Athenaeo, quod mas statim ac a cubili surgit ad venerem concitetur: faeminae vero magis progresso iam die. Coeundi modus est, ut Aristoteles³⁸⁷ annotat, Gallina considente humi, Gallo vero superveniente. Inhorrescunt autem, teste eodem³⁸⁸, Gallinae a

prominent head like roosters have, he is usually regarded as lustful.

To tell the truth, it turns out that not all roosters are equally salacious: for, according to Aristotle, some of them even from birth find themselves naturally so effeminate that they neither crow nor tread the females. On the contrary they spontaneously bear the sex desire of those who attempt to mount them. As Athenaeus* reports, also Theophrastus* asserts that those living in the country are more prone to the sex than those raised in poultry pen. But, since we have shortage of those living in country, it is interesting for us also to know who are the more salacious among them. Since first of all the farmer ought to obtain such birds in order to promote births. You will recognize them among others as follows. According to Varro*, they are brawny, with red and upright comb, a short, sturdy, sharp beak, tawny or black eyes, red wattles, variegated neck, well feathered thighs - legs or tibiotarsus, long toes, big tail, and plenty of feathers. Furthermore hens are of equal lustiness.

Julius Caesar Scaliger* called rooster a salacious husband, hen a longing female. Albertus* reports that at night the hen with more desire for sex roosts very close beside the cock, but according to the quotation of Athenaeus, Theophrastus asserts that the difference between their lusts lies in this: the male becomes aroused as soon as he rises himself from bedding, while the females become more aroused late in the day. As Aristotle writes, the manner of their copulation consists in the hen crouching on the ground and in the rooster mounting on her.

³⁸¹ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 382: Οἱ τὴν ῥίνα ἔγκοιλον ἔχοντες τὰ πρὸ τοῦ μετώπου περιφερῆ, τὴν δὲ περιφέρειαν ἄνω ἀνεστηκυῖαν, λάγνοι, ἀναφέρεται ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀλεκτρούνας, Aristot. in *Physiognom.* hoc est, ut innominatus quidam transfert: Quicumque nasum concavum habent, et frontem rotundam, et sursum eminens rotundum, luxuriosi, refertur ad gallos. Adamantius nihil tale habet. - Pseudo Aristotele* *Physiognomonica* 811a.

³⁸² Aristotle *H. A.* 9.49.631b 15. (Lind, 1963)

³⁸³ *Deipnosophistai* IX,46,391e.

³⁸⁴ Aldrovandi ha praticato qualche piccolo taglio assolutamente non esiziale al testo del *Rerum rusticarum* III,9 di Varrone che suona così: Gallos salaces qui animadvertunt, si sunt lacertosi, rubenti crista, rostro brevi pleno acuto, oculis ravis aut nigris, palea rubra subalbicanti, collo vario aut aureolo, feminibus pilosis, cruribus brevibus, unguibus longis, caudis magnis, frequentibus pinnis;[...]

³⁸⁵ Spero si tratti di un errore tipografico e non di Aldrovandi. Altrimenti questa piccola frase sarebbe in netta contrapposizione con la *gallina salax matrix* che viene immediatamente dopo.

³⁸⁶ J. C. Scaliger, *In Ata*. This cryptic reference seems to mean Scaliger's works on Aristotle's writings but cannot be identified from the British Museum or Bibliothèque nationale catalogs. (Lind, 1963)

³⁸⁷ *Historia animalium* V,2 539b 28-33: Vi sono però certe differenze anche fra gli uccelli: in certi casi il maschio monta sulla femmina che si è accovacciata a terra (così le otarde e i galli), in altri la femmina non si accovaccia (ad esempio le gru, nelle quali il maschio compie il coito balzando sulla femmina, e l'accoppiamento risulta altrettanto rapido che quello dei piccoli passerì). (traduzione di Mario Vegetti)

³⁸⁸ *Historia animalium* VI,2 560b 7-11: In generale, le femmine degli uccelli si consumano e si ammalano se non covano. Dopo l'accoppiamento esse arruffano le piume e si scuotono, e spesso gettano festuche tutto attorno (la stessa cosa fanno talvolta anche dopo la posa), mentre le colombe trascinano al suolo la coda e le oche si tuffano in acqua. (traduzione di Mario Vegetti) - Aldrovandi ha stravolto il testo di Aristotele tralasciando che dopo l'accoppiamento si scuotono, cosa che ognuno di noi può

coitu: et saepe etiam festuca aliqua sese lustrant, quod idem et edito ovo saepe faciunt³⁸⁹. Plinius avibus omnibus duobus tantum modis coitum esse ait, faemina ita, ut dixi, considente humi, aut stante, ut in Gruibus³⁹⁰. Post coitum Gallina sese excutit, ut idem Aristoteles tradit, quod ideo facit, docente Alberto, quod per libidinem incitetur in ea vapor, qui membra illius extendit, eodem modo, ut pandiculatione homines corripimus videmus, quando coeundi desiderio languent. Quae ratio naturalis, ac philosophica est, maxime in iis, quae sponte marem admittunt.

Cum vero nimia salacitas Galli, quae simul cum nimia rixosa libidine coniuncta a Columella vitio vertatur, quoniam pullificationi noxia est, itaque eiusmodi procacitas potius quam salacitas corrigenda est, corrigitur autem ampullaceo corio³⁹¹, cuius in orbiculum formati media pars rescinditur, et per excisam partem Galli pes inseritur, quo veluti compede cohibentur feri mores. Si omnino a coitu abstinere velis, poteris verbena uti, quam nonnulli quo quo modo Gallo applicatam efficere tradunt, ut Gallinas supervenire nequeant. Kiranides eandem herbam ad eundem effectum dari ei praecipit in pastum una cum furfure, et polenta. Idem promittit, si Cinaedus³⁹² lapis cum polenta exhibeatur, qui ederit, Cinaedum futurum, sed penes Kiranidem eius rei fides esto.

Videamus modo, quid commodi nobis Gallorum coitus praestet, quod sane exiguum cuiquam videri posset, quando Gallinae absque eorum

According to him, after coitus the hens ruffle up their feathers: and often purify themselves with a straw, and often they do the same thing after they laid the egg. Pliny says that in all birds the coitus takes place only in two ways, the female, as I said, crouching on the ground, or standing as in cranes. After coitus the hen shakes herself, as Aristotle himself relates, and, as Albertus is teaching, she does this because through the lechery in her the vital heat is stirred which extends her limbs, alike we see the humans twisting and stretching like during a yawn when they are bursting to have sexual intercourse. This is a natural and philosophical explanation, especially in those females who on their own initiative yield themselves to the male.

Since a too much lust of the rooster joined with a too much quarrelsome lechery is considered a damage by Columella* since it is harmful to procreation, therefore such insolence, rather than sexual desire, is to be corrected, and it is corrected by means of leather from skin bottle, and after it has been shaped in a round piece, its middle part is cut back, and the leg of the rooster is let through the cut out area, and thanks to this, as if it were shackles, his aggressive habits are curbed. If you wish him to abstain completely from coition you can use the verbena* which some people say to be effective however it is applied to the rooster, so they cannot mount on hens. Kiranides* advises that, in order to obtain the same effect, that same herb be given him in his feed together with bran and barley polenta. The same author assures that if a cinaedus* stone is given with barley polenta, the rooster who will have eaten it will become a cinaedus, but let the belief in this matter rest with Kiranides.

Let us now see what advantage the copulation of roosters provides for us, even if to somebody it may seem undoubtedly slight, since hens lay eggs without

sistematicamente osservare, e dice che spesso fanno la stessa cosa dopo aver depono l'uovo, il che non è vero, come dimostra anche la citazione di Gessner in cui troviamo *interdum* al posto di *saepe*. Conrad Gessner *Historia animalium III* (1555) pag. 415: Inhorrescunt a coitu, ac se excutiunt, saepe etiam festuca aliqua sese lustrant, quod idem et {a}edito ovo interdum faciunt, Aristot.

³⁸⁹ Plinio *Naturalis historia* X,116: Villaribus gallinis et religio inest. Inhorrescunt edito ovo excutiuntque sese et circumactae purificant aut festuca aliqua sese et ova lustrant.

³⁹⁰ Plinio *Naturalis historia* X,143: Coitus avibus duobus modis, femina considente humi, ut in gallinis, aut stante, ut in gruibus.

³⁹¹ Columella *De re rustica* VIII,2,15: Impedienda est itaque procacitas eius anpullaceo corio, quod cum in orbiculum formatum est, media pars eius rescinditur, et per excisam partem galli pes inseritur, eaque quasi compede cohibentur feri mores. Sed, ut proposui, iam de tutela generis universi praecipiam. - Bisogna dunque impedire la loro procacità con un vecchio cuoio da otre: se ne fanno dei tondini che si forano nel mezzo e nel foro si fan passare le zampe del gallo, e con questa specie di impedimento si frena la loro ferocia. Ma ormai, come ho promesso, darò pochi precetti intorno ai modo di tenere tutti questi animali. (traduzione di Rosa Calzecchi Onesti)

³⁹² L'aggettivo suona *cinaedius*. In Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium III* (1555), pag. 406 leggiamo: Idem si cinaedius lapis gallo detur cum polenta, cinaedum futurum scribit. - *Cinaedius* proviene da Plinio *Naturalis historia* XXXVII,153: Cinaediae inveniuntur in cerebro piscis eiusdem nominis, candidae et oblongae eventaque mirae, si modo est fides praesagire eas habitum maris nubili vel tranquilli.

opere pariant ova, sed cum istaec generationi inepta sint, totam pullificationem Gallis acceptam referre debemus. Conciipiunt itaque Gallinae duobus modis, vel ex congressu cum Gallo, vel per sese. Quae posteriori modo generantur ova, irrita, subventanea, et hypenemia³⁹³ dicuntur, quoniam e vento concepta credantur³⁹⁴. Hoc enim ex veteribus non Varro tantum, sed ipsemet Aristoteles, et inter recentiores Albertus memoriae prodiderunt. In Lusitania, inquit Varro³⁹⁵, ad Oceanum monte Tagro quaedam e vento certo tempore concipiunt equae, ut hic Gallinae quoque solent, quarum ova hypenemia appellant. Aristoteles, et Albertus ex peculiari vento, Zephyro nempe, concipi velle videtur. Sunt qui hypenemia, inquit ille³⁹⁶, hoc est, subventaneos illos partus Zephyria nominent, eo quod verno tempore flatus illos faecundos ex Favonio recipere videantur. Zephyria ova concipiunt autumno, inquit hic, flante Austrino vento. Hic enim avium corpora aperit, et humectat, et faecundat. Autumno autem abundat in eis sicca ventositas. Aliae vero ova venti concipiunt vere, receptione venti Austrini. Haec Albertus, et alibi, nulla nec temporis peculiaris, nec Zephyri mentione facta, causam adducens, cur ita conciperent, hunc fere in modum ait. Ova venti in avibus concipiuntur ex vento maxime. Rara enim corpora habent, et aerea, et locum ani, per quem concipiunt, vento expositum, itaque vento ad libidinem moventur, sicut etiam mulieres Austro matricem aperientes delectantur, unde menstruus sanguis attrahitur. Fit autem hoc frequenter in avibus propter volatum, et continuum caudae motum, propter quem attrahitur semen ad matricem earum. Hactenus Albertus. Quibus certe vento quidem, sed cuicumque eiusmodi ova accepta ferenda esse innuit, Zephyrum tamen id potius praestare minime negat. Eum enim prae caeteris poros aperire constat, idque alibi ostenderat.

their intervention, but since such eggs are unable to give birth, we must ascribe the whole offspring's creation as due to the roosters. Then, hens conceive in two ways, either mating with the rooster or by themselves. The eggs generated by the latter way are called sterile, windy and full of wind - *hypenemia* - since they are believed to be conceived because of the wind. This fact not only Varro among the ancients but Aristotle himself, and Albertus among later scholars, have handed down. In Lusitania, says Varro, on mount Tagrus* near the ocean some mares conceive at a certain time for the wind, as here - in Italy - also hens are accustomed to do, whose eggs they call full of wind. It seems that the opinion of Aristotle and Albertus is that they are conceived for a particular wind, and precisely Zephyr*. The former says: There are some who call zephyrian the hypenemia eggs, that is those products of delivery full of wind, since it seems that at springtime they receive the fertilizing breaths from Favonius*. The latter says: In autumn, when the Austral wind* blows, they conceive the zephyrian eggs. For this wind opens the bodies of birds, and moistens them, and fecundates them. In fact in autumn a dry windiness abounds in them. But other birds conceive windy eggs at springtime, by receiving the Austral wind. Thus far Albertus, and elsewhere, making no mention of the specific season nor of Zephyr, in adducing the reason why they conceive in such a way he roughly says as follows: Windy eggs in birds are conceived especially by the wind. For they have light bodies and full of wind, and the position of the anus through which they conceive is exposed to the wind, that's why they are stirred by the wind to lust, as also women delight to open their wombs to the Austral wind, whence their menstrual blood is compelled to go out. This frequently happens in birds because of flight and the continual motion of tail, by which the semen is attracted to their wombs. Thus far Albertus. He points out by these words that such eggs must be meant as undoubtedly due to the wind, but to a whatever wind, he does not, however, deny at all that preferably it is Zephyr which produces that. For it is clear that it is which opens the ducts more than

³⁹³ L'aggettivo greco ὑπηνέμιος è composto da ὑπό = sotto e ἄνεμος = vento.

³⁹⁴ Ecco il relativo testo di Plinio *Naturalis historia* X,160: Et ipsae autem inter se, si mas non sit, feminae aequae salient pariuntque ova inrita, ex quibus nihil gignitur, quae hypenemia Graeci vocant. - Delle cavalle ne parla in VIII,166: Constat in Lusitania circa Olisiponem oppidum et Tagum amnem equas favonio flante obversas animalem concipere spiritum, idque partum fieri et gigni perniciosissimum ita, sed triennium vitae non excedere.

³⁹⁵ Secondo l'edizione del *De re rustica* della UTET, la frase completa di Varrone contenuta in II,1 è la seguente: In fetura res incredibilis est in Hispania, sed est vera, quod in Lusitania ad oceanum in ea regione, ubi est oppidum Olisipo, monte Tagro quaedam e vento concipiunt certo tempore equae, ut hic gallinae quoque solent, quarum ova hypenemia appellant.

³⁹⁶ *Historia animalium* VI,2 559b 5-9: Le uova che alcuni chiamano *kynosoura* o «sterili» compaiono più spesso d'estate. Certi poi chiamano le uova sterili «zefirine», perché è in primavera che le femmine degli uccelli recepiscono i venti tiepidi; si ha lo stesso effetto anche quando le si palpa con la mano in un certo modo. (traduzione di Mario Vegetti) - *De generatione animalium* III,1 749a 34-749b 7: Negli uccelli si formano anche prodotti spontanei, che sono chiamati da alcuni «ventosi» e «di zefiro». Essi si hanno negli uccelli che non volano e non hanno le unghie ricurve, ma sono prolifici, perché sono dovuti all'abbondanza del residuo (negli uccelli dalle unghie ricurve invece siffatta secrezione è volta alle ali e alle piume, e il loro corpo è piccolo, asciutto e caldo) e perché la secrezione mestruale e lo sperma sono un residuo. (traduzione di Diego Lanza)

Nec illi adversatur Aristoteles³⁹⁷, eiusmodi conceptum [208] nulla facta venti mentione materiae excrementitiae acceptum referens, ubi causam reddit, quod uncae subventanea non pariant: *subventanei*, inquit, *conceptus in iis fiunt avibus, quae non volaces sunt, ut uncae, sed multiparae* (tales autem Gallinae sunt) *quod excremento ipsae abundant: unci in alas, et pennas id vertitur, corpusque exiguum calidum, et siccum habetur. Decensus autem menstruorum, et genitura excrementum sunt.* Et paulo post³⁹⁸, *Fiunt subventanea ova, quoniam materia seminalis in faemina est, nec menstruorum discessio fit avibus, ut viviparis sanguine praeditis. Volacibus autem non gignuntur, scilicet eadem causa, qua neque multa ab iis ipsis generantur. Uncinguibus enim parum excrementi inest, et marem desiderant ad excrementi commotionem.* Etenim cum ex materiae abundantia hypenemia ova generari etiam ex propria sententia hic dicat, non est quod prius allata eius verba nobis {negotium} <negotium> facessant. Ea enim nominis etymum tantum testantur. Itaque illic causam efficientem, hic materialem assignat.

Haud improbo etiam Plinii³⁹⁹ sententiam, qui mutua inter se libidinis imaginatione ova talia concipere dixit. Omnino etenim verisimile est, seminalis materiae redundantiam ingentem prurimum, ac titillationem in partibus genitalibus excitare, unde postmodum sese concepisse imagentur, maxime si altera faemella, ut quandoque fit, alteram ineat. Quod vero Plinius addit et pulvere concipere: id, ut videtur, ex Graeco aliquo authore mutuatus est. Graeci quidem ἀφήν tum pulverem vocant, tum tactum, tum contrectationem. Cum vero et Gallinae eiusmodi ova manu contrectata, teste

And Aristotle* does not set himself against him - Albertus* - when ascribing this kind of conception as due to secretory matter without any mention of the wind, since he adduces as reason the fact that hook-nailed birds do not lay windy eggs, when he says: *windy conceptions take place in those birds which are not flyers, such on the contrary they are the hook-nailed ones, but in those who lay many eggs (such are in fact the hens) being that they have abundance of secretion: in hook-nailed ones it is directed to wings and feathers, and a small, warm and dry body is present in them. For the menstrual flow and the seminal liquid are a secretion.* And a little later: *Wind-eggs are created because there is the seminal material in the female, and no menstrual flow occurs in birds, as on the contrary it occurs in viviparous creatures endowed with blood. <...> They are not produced by flying birds, evidently because of the same reason why they do not lay many eggs. For there is little secretion in hook-clawed birds, and they need the male in order to set the secretion in motion.* Even though he says here that also according to his own opinion wind-eggs are generated from an abundance of matter, there is no reason why his earlier words should trouble us. For they testify only to the etymon of the word. Thus in the former passage he assigns the efficient cause, in the latter passage the material cause.

I do not disapprove of Pliny's* opinion too, who said that they conceive such eggs by a mutual lecherous imagination among themselves. For it is quite likely that the great abundance of seminal matter excites an enormous itching and tickling in the genital parts, whence they later imagine that they themselves conceived, especially if a female mounts another one, as sometimes happens. What Pliny adds, that they also conceive by the dust; it seems he borrowed this statement from some Greek author. For the Greeks call *haphên* either the dust, or the touch, or the palpation. Since, according to Aristotle and Oppian of Apamea*, also hens lay such eggs when touched by a

³⁹⁷ *De generatione animalium* III,1, 749a 34-749b 7: Negli uccelli si formano anche prodotti spontanei, che sono chiamati da alcuni «ventosi» e «di zefiro». Essi si hanno negli uccelli che non volano e non hanno le unghie ricurve, ma sono prolifici, perché sono dovuti all'abbondanza del residuo (negli uccelli dalle unghie ricurve invece siffatta secrezione è volta alle ali e alle piume, e il loro corpo è piccolo, asciutto e caldo) e perché la secrezione mestruale e lo sperma sono un residuo. (traduzione di Diego Lanza)

³⁹⁸ *De generatione animalium* III,1, 750a 3-7; b 3-21 (passim): Le uova sterili si formano, si è anche già detto, perché nella femmina è presente la materia seminale, ma negli uccelli non si produce la secrezione mestruale come nei sanguigni vivipari.[...] Gli uccelli che volano non hanno uova sterili per la stessa causa per la quale non sono neppure multipari: il residuo degli uccelli dalle unghie ricurve è scarso ed essi necessitano del maschio che ecciti l'escrezione del residuo. (traduzione di Diego Lanza)

³⁹⁹ *Naturalis historia* X,166: Inrita ova, quae hypenemia diximus, aut mutua feminae inter se libidinis imaginatione concipiunt aut pulvere, nec columbae tantum, sed et gallinae, perdices, pavones, anseres, chenalopeces. Sunt autem sterilia et minora ac minus iucundi saporis et magis umida. Quidam et vento putant ea generari, qua de causa etiam zephyria appellant. Urina autem vere tantum fiunt incubatione derelicta, quae alii cynosura dixerunt.

Aristotele⁴⁰⁰ et Oppiano⁴⁰¹ pariant, dubitandum videretur, numquid Plinius in translatione illius dictionis hallucinatus fuerit. Attamen cum contra afferri potest, ἀφῆν non simpliciter pulverem, sed illum praecipue, quo pal<a>estritae post unctionem inspergebantur, significare, ut Budaeus annotavit: et cum pulveratrices sint Gallinae, et pulveratio quoque contrectatio quaedam, et affricatio sit: hoc quoque modo sterilia huiusmodi ova ab eis concipi posset sit verisimile.

Erant Aristotelis⁴⁰² aevo, qui eiusmodi ova reliquias partus esse crederent, quas coitus fecerit; sed hos ille hallucinari ex eo ostendit, quod multae Gallinae iuvencae nunquam Gallum expertae ova pariant. Eiusmodi ova, etsi alioqui omnes partes videbantur habere, inanimata esse, et ad generationem inepta, et dicit Aristoteles⁴⁰³, et experientia quotidiana observamus, quoniam principio carent, quod a maris semine affertur. Reddi tamen foecunda posse alibi⁴⁰⁴ docet, si Gallina, quae ea iam concepit, coeat nondum mutato ovo ex luteo in album. At si iam candidum acceperunt humorem, fieri non posse, ut in foecunda mutantur. Verum eiusmodi doctrina ipsi Aristoteli videtur adversari: quoniam si ex albumine, ut ipse alibi docet, et experientia comprobatur, pullus generetur, cur non post superveniens Gallus id vivificum reddat, quando ipsum luteum ambit? Facilius enim albumini quam luteo commisceri posse quis non videt? Quod si iam membranam utrumque ambisse, semenque iniectum per eam excludi obijcias, id nihil obesse ex eodem Aristotele⁴⁰⁵

hand, it would seem a matter of doubt whether by chance Pliny made a mistake when translating that word. Nevertheless, since one can object that *haphèn* is not simply meaning dust, but overall that which wrestlers were sprinkling on themselves after rubbing with oil, as Guillaume Budé* annotated: and since hens are dust-bathers and also a dust-bath is a kind of touching and rubbing, it is likely that sterile eggs of this kind can be conceived by them also in this fashion.

In the time of Aristotle some people believed that such eggs were the remains of the delivery and that copulation created them, but he shows that they were mistaken by the fact that many young hens who never experienced with a rooster lay eggs. That eggs of this kind are lifeless and unfit for generation although in other respects they may seem to have all their parts, also Aristotle is saying this, and we observe this through daily experience, since they lack the principle ascribed to the semen of the male. Elsewhere he says that however they can be rendered fertile if the hen who has already conceived them should copulate while the egg has not yet changed from yellow to white. But if they have already received the white liquid it cannot occur that they turn fertile. This theory seems, however, to clash with Aristotle: since if the chick is generated from the albumen, as he himself elsewhere teaches and as experience proves, why a treading rooster afterwards does not render it able to give birth when it surrounds the yolk itself? For who does not see that it can more easily mingle with albumen rather than with yolk? Since, if one should object that the membrane already wrapped up

⁴⁰⁰ *Historia animalium* VI,2, 560a 5-9: Le uova che alcuni chiamano *kynosoura* o «sterili» compaiono più spesso d'estate. Certi poi chiamano le uova sterili «zefirine», perché è in primavera che le femmine degli uccelli recepiscono i venti tiepidi; si ha lo stesso effetto anche quando le si palpa con la mano in un certo modo. (traduzione di Mario Vegetti)

⁴⁰¹ *Ixentica* (Aldrovandi).

⁴⁰² *Historia animalium* VI,2 559b 21-24: Coloro che affermano che le uova sterili sono residui delle uova precedentemente prodotte in seguito a copulazione, non dicono il vero: vi sono ormai sufficienti osservazioni relative a giovani galline e oche che hanno deposto uova sterili senza essersi mai accoppiate. (traduzione di Mario Vegetti) - *De generatione animalium* III,1 751a 9-13: Per questo alcuni sono soliti dire delle uova sterili che non si producono da sé, ma sono resti di una precedente copula. Ma ciò è falso: si è constatato sufficientemente sia per la gallina sia per l'oca giovani che si sono prodotte uova sterili senza coito. (traduzione di Diego Lanza)

⁴⁰³ *De generatione animalium* II,3 737a 1-7: Perciò il fuoco non è in grado di generare alcun animale e non risulta che se ne componga alcuno neppure nelle sostanze infuocate, in quelle umide o in quelle secche. Il calore del sole invece e quello degli animali, non solo quello agente attraverso lo sperma, ma anche qualsiasi altro residuo della loro natura, possiede un principio vitale. È dunque chiaro da questi argomenti che il calore insito negli animali né è fuoco né dal fuoco trae il suo principio. (traduzione di Diego Lanza)

⁴⁰⁴ *De generatione animalium* I,21 730a 4-9: Qualora una gallina stia per produrre uova sterili, se essa si accoppia quando l'uovo non è ancora passato dall'essere completamente giallo all'essere bianco, le uova da sterili diventano feconde; se poi essa si accoppia a un altro gallo, quando l'uovo è ancora giallo, allora tutta la covata è conforme all'ultimo che si è accoppiato. (traduzione di Diego Lanza)

⁴⁰⁵ *De generatione animalium* I,21 730a 18-23: Lo stesso accade nella riproduzione dei pesci ovipari. Quando la femmina depone le uova, il maschio ci versa sopra il suo seme: diventano feconde le uova di cui esso giunge a contatto, restano sterili le altre; presupposto di questo è che il contributo del maschio non è nella quantità, ma nella qualità. (traduzione di Diego Lanza)

rursus probo, qui ova piscium iam exclusa etiam, post a mare iniecto super ea semine foecunda reddi asserit.

Et, ut de Gallina dicamus, Albertus autor est, semen Galli, quando in matrice ovum venti reperit, aliqua ex parte, aut etiam omnino praeter testam, et pellem completum, huic non coniungi tantum, sed totum ovum etiam foecundum reddere. Quod forte post videns longe aliter docet Aristoteles, dum avem, quae ovum coitu conceptum gerit, si cum alio mare coierit, simile eius, quocum postea coivit, omne pullorum genus excludere statuit, ideoque nonnullos, qui, ut Gallinae generosae procreentur, operam dant, ita mutatis admissariis facere, *tanquam maris semen*, inquit⁴⁰⁶, *sua facultate materiam contentam in faemina qualitate tantum afficiat, non etiam misceatur, constitutionemque subeat*. Quibus verbis aperte concludit, ex ovis conceptis posterioris coitus specimen prae se ferre, sed de luteo non meminit. Nam si semen vitae primordia albumini subministrare debebat, necessario etiam ei commisceri necesse erat, quod Albertus faeminae sperma vi matricis, ac testium ad ovi substantiam attractum vocare non est veritus. Caeterum, quae coivit Gallina, vel alia quaevis volucris ovum concipit superius ad septum transversum: ubi primo minutum, et candidum cernitur, ut Aristoteles alibi tradit, mox rubrum cruentumque, deinde increscens luteum, et flavum efficitur totum: iam amplius auctum discernitur, ita ut intus pars lutea sit, foris candida ambiat: ubi perfectum est, absolvitur, atque exit putamine, dum paritur, molli, sed protinus durescente, quibuscunque emergit portionibus, nisi vitio vulvae defecerit.

Atque istaec est doctrina Aristotelica, sed mirum quod uteri non meminerit, in quo tamen ovum perficitur, etsi extra eum primo propriae substantiae habeat rudimenta, sed formam absolutissimam in eo recipit. Locus itaque inchoationis, quae ab Aristotelis interprete conceptio dicitur, est ventris inferioris superior,

both and that the semen injected through it is excluded, once more I find confirmation from Aristotle himself that this does not hinder at all, who asserts that the already laid eggs of fishes are afterwards rendered fertile by the semen sprayed upon them by the male.

And, to speak of the hen, Albertus declares that the rooster's semen when finds a wind-egg in the womb, complete in some its parts or quite complete except for shell and shell's membranes, not only joins with the egg but even renders it entirely fertile. Perhaps, analyzing this a posteriori, Aristotle explains this in a quite different manner, since he stated that a bird carrying an egg conceived by coitus, if it will mate with another male, there will hatch a variety of chicks similar to that one it mated with afterwards, and that therefore some people, in order that prolific hens are generated, with the change of mounting males spare no efforts *to obtain as result*, he says, *that the semen of the male by its faculty affects the material contained in the female only with regard to the quality, not even mixing with it and taking place of its composition*. By these words he clearly demonstrates that he is adducing a proof from the eggs conceived by a subsequent coition, but he does not mention the yolk. For if the semen had to pass on to the albumen the principles of the life, it had also to be mixed with it, since Albertus did not hesitate to define the semen of the female as attracted toward the egg's substance by the force of uterus and testicles. On the other hand the hen who mated, or any other bird, first conceives the egg near the transverse septum: where at the beginning it appears small and snow-white, as elsewhere Aristotle says, afterwards red and blood-spotted, then as it grows it becomes entirely yellow and golden: when it is larger it can be seen with the inner part which is yellow, the white part is at the periphery: when it is completed, it is delivered, and while it is laid it issues forth with a soft shell, but soon growing hard, and it issues forth with whatever parts unless it is imperfect because of an uterus' malformation.

And this is the theory of Aristotle, but it is strange that he did not mention the uterus in which nonetheless the egg is perfected, although outside it the egg is firstly in possession of the first principles of its proper essence, but the egg receives its perfect form in it. Therefore the place of the rudiment, which by Aristotle's translator is called conception, is the

⁴⁰⁶ *De generatione animalium* I,20 729a: Col che è anche chiaro che il liquido seminale non proviene da tutto il corpo: né potrebbero secernersi dalla stessa parte già separati, né, affluiti insieme nell'utero, li separarsi; ma accade ciò che peraltro è logico: poiché il maschio apporta la forma e il principio del mutamento, e la femmina il corpo e la materia, come nella cagliatura del latte il corpo è dato dal latte, mentre il succo di fico o il siero sono l'elemento che possiede il principio costitutivo, così è anche di ciò che, provenendo dal maschio, si suddivide nella femmina. (traduzione di Diego Lanza)

ac media pars ad septum transversum. Dixit enim⁴⁰⁷, *faeminae concipiunt ova ad septum transversum*. Hoc autem addimus nos ex anatomica inspectione esse supra ipsam spinam ad divaricationem vasorum, quae in crura descendunt.

upper part of the lower abdomen and the middle one near the transverse septum. For he said, *females conceive eggs near the transverse septum*. I add from anatomical inspection that this place is in front of the spine near the fork of blood vessels descending to legs.

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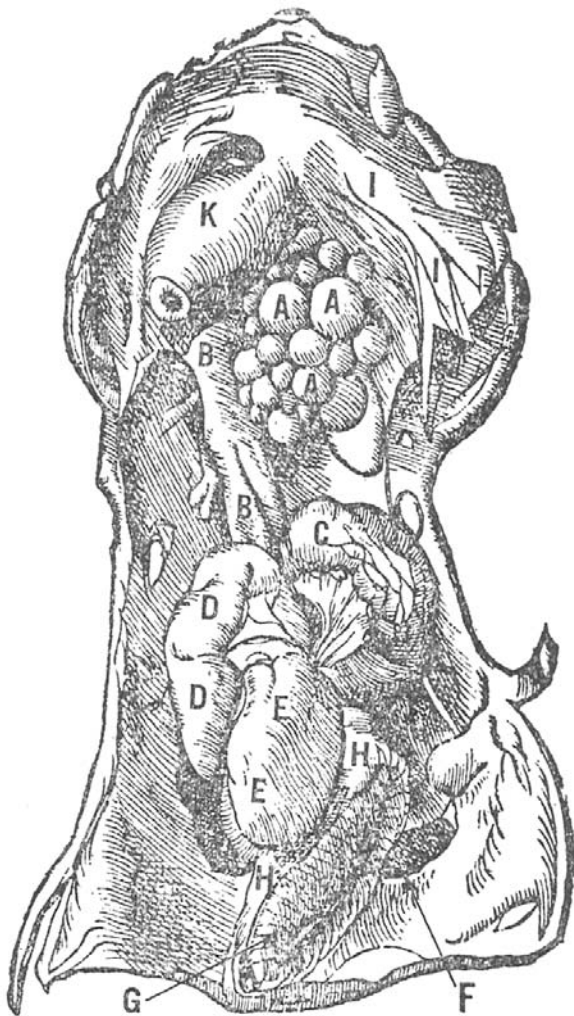
Locus [209] vero perfectionis est ipse uterus, cuius forma, ut diximus, plurimum differt ab utero viviparorum. Seminis situm in albumine potius, quam in vitello esse, ex Philosopho etiam manifesto colligitur, cum principium genitale maris in ovo ea parte secerni scribat, qua ovum utero adhaeret. Nemo enim vitellum utero adhaerere dicat, cum id ab albumine ambiatur, ut paulo ante ex ipso Aristotele diximus.

The place of egg's completion is the uterus itself, whose structure differs widely, as I said, from that of the uterus of viviparous animals. From the Philosopher* one can also clearly deduce that the location of the semen is in the albumen rather than in the yolk, since he writes that the genital principle of the male is secreted in the egg in that portion with which the egg adheres to the uterus. For no one dare to say that the yolk of the egg adheres to the uterus since it is surrounded by the albumen, as I said a short time before when I was deducing this from Aristotle himself.

Cum vero eiusmodi ovorum conceptio admirandum sane naturae artificium demonstret, adeo ut nisi quis ipse speculetur, vix mente id concipere queat, quomodo ova, ut diximus sub septo concepta extra uterum in hunc decidant, augeantur, ac perfecta evadant: itaque communis studiosorum utilitatis causa aliquot Gallinas Excellentissimo D.M. Antonio Ulmo secundas exhibui, qui quinque hisce iconibus totum eiusmodi {negocium} <negotium> clarissime speculandum omnibus proposuit.

But since such a conception of eggs really shows the marvelous ability of Nature, to such a degree that, unless one investigates it by himself, barely he could formulate with his mind how the eggs, conceived under the septum, as I said, and outside of the uterus into which are falling, they can increase in size and get out completed: therefore for the common advantage of students I provided the most excellent Mr. Marco Antonio Olmo* with some hens to be dissected, who by these five pictures allowed every people to explore entirely such a matter in a very clear way.

⁴⁰⁷ *Historia animalium* VI,2 559b 7-8: Lo sperma di tutti gli uccelli è bianco, al pari di quello degli altri animali. Dopo il coito, la femmina lo fa salire verso il diaframma. (traduzione di Mario Vegetti) - ὅταν δ'ὄχουθῆ, ἄνω πρὸς τὸ ὑπόζωμα λαμβάνει ἡ θήλεια.



AA Ova septo transverso subnexa.

AA Eggs gathered up under the transverse septum.

BB Principium intestini uterini ova a spina decidua primo excipiens.

BB The beginning of the oviduct - infundibulum - which first receives the eggs falling from the region of the spine.

Prior icon ovorum sub septo conceptorum magnitudinem, et locum, per quem in uterum descendunt, item in quo luteum ab albumine ambitur, necnon etiam ubi testae duritiem acquirunt, aliosque demonstrat locos generationi destinatos, quos simul omnes ex apposis literis disces. Alterae tres subsequentes istaec fere omnia, sed dilucidius ostendunt, nempe qua magnitudine ova a septo in matricem descendant, necnon et uteri protensionem. Ultima solius uteri figura est, demonstratque utrumque eius orificium, per quod scilicet ova sub septo contenta recipiat, item per quod ea postremo excludat.

CC Primi uteri ipsius extensi loculi, in quibus ovum paulo post magnitudinem suam {consequuturum} <consecuturum> albuginis a croceo secretionem subit.

CC The first enlarged sac of the oviduct itself - magnum - where the egg, which soon after will attain its proper size, undergoes the separation of albumen from yolk.

DD Secundi, in quo plene a luteo albumine separato iustam ovum acquirit molem.

DD The second enlarged sac of the oviduct - isthmus - in which, with the albumen fully distinct from the yolk, the egg acquires its proper size.

EE Tertia uteri cellula, in qua testa ovi duritiem acquirat.

EE The third cavity of the oviduct - uterus - in which the egg shell acquires its hardness.

HH Orificium vulvae extremum patulum, per quod ovo perfecto exitus.

HH The open lower orifice of the genital apparatus through which the egg issues when completed.

F Oris rima.

F The crevice of the outer opening.

G Inversorum orificii labrorum rugae ac plicae in orbem musculi ductae, qui sphincteris officio fungitur.

G Wrinkles and folds of the lips of the orifice turned inside, arranged on the muscular ring which performs the function of a sphincter.

II Septum transversum.

II Transverse septum.

K Ventriculus.

K Stomach.

The first picture shows the size of the eggs conceived under the transverse septum and the structure through which they descend to the abdomen and in which the yolk is surrounded by the albumen, as well as where they acquire the hardness of the eggshell, and it shows the other places designed for generation, and you can learn all of them together from the letters attached to them. The other three following pictures show almost all these things but more clearly, and precisely with what size the eggs are descending into the oviduct starting from the septum, as well as the extension in length of the oviduct. The last picture is that of the oviduct alone and shows both its orifices, that is, the one through which it receives the eggs gathered together under the septum as well as that one through which at last they are thrust out.

Sed ut ad semen Galli revertamur, principium nempe ovorum generationis, id nostrae mulierculae gallaturam dicunt, Aristoteles sperma⁴⁰⁸, non autem *χάλαξαν*, seu *χαλάξιον*, quasi aquae guttam dicas in aqua congelatam, pro qua voce Theodorus Gaza grandinem vertit: est autem duplex secundum Aristotelem⁴⁰⁹, una, quae parti inferiori ovi est iniecta, maior et ad solem obtegente manu apparet extra putamen: altera quae parte superiori haeret non cernitur nisi fracto putamine, et iniecta parte lutei infra. Hanc autem Aristoteles nihil conferre putat ad generationem: quae res veritati refragari videtur, cum ova quae ea carent, omnia infoecunda sint, quare ego eam cum spermate⁴¹⁰ eandem esse credo. Pro cuius conservatione natura admodum sollicita fuit, ovi testam ab ea parte, ubi id continetur durior generans: ea autem acuta est, et postremo etiam exit. Quod enim adhaeret id postremo exire convenit, ut citato paulo ante Aristoteles loco docet, cum et alibi monstrasset, luteum mediam ovi partem occupasse, *Si quis, inquit, rupto putamine ova plura in patinam excreta excoquit igne molli, et continente, [214] vitelli omnes in medium coeunt: albumina autem {circumdant} <circumdant>, et se in oras constituent.*

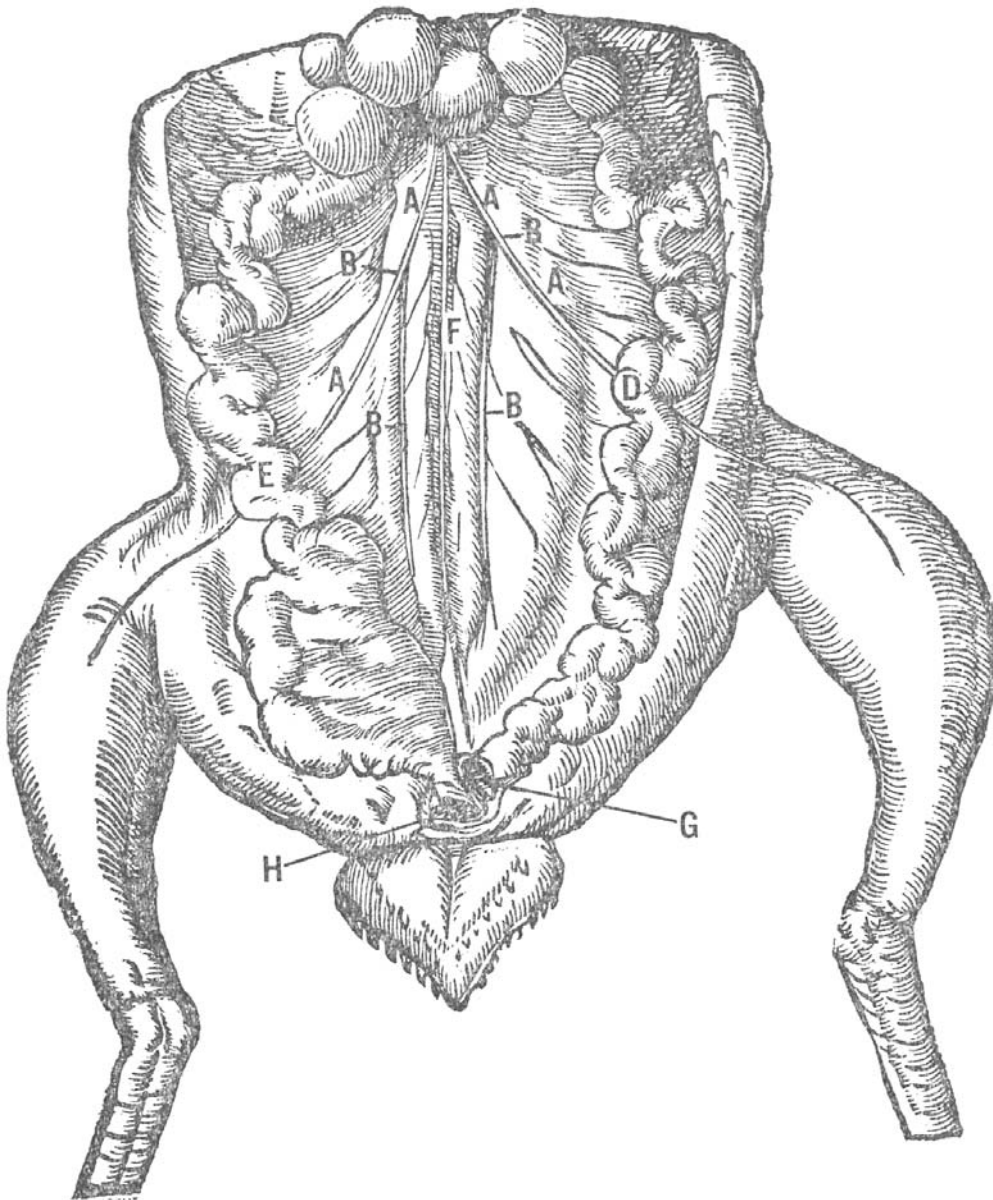
But, to go back to the rooster's semen, surely origin of eggs' generation, our farm women call it *gallatura*. Aristotle calls it sperm, but not *chálaxa* - hail - or *chalázion* - little cyst, as you says a drop of frozen water inside the water, a word that Theodore Gaza* translates as hail: really according to Aristotle it is duplex, one lying towards the lower part of the egg - pointed end, which is larger and visible beyond the shell when you shields your eyes by the hand towards the sun: the other one, clinging to the upper part - rounded end, is impossible to be seen unless the shell is broken and the portion of the yolk is moved downward. But Aristotle thinks this drop doesn't contribute to generation at all: it is clear that this statement is clashing with the truth, since the eggs lacking this part are all infertile, which is why I think it is identical with the sperm - embryonic shield or discoblastula*. Nature has been quite solicitous for its conservation, generating a harder eggshell in that area where it is contained: for this area is sharp and also comes out last. For it is fitting that what is clinging should go forth last, as Aristotle is saying in the just quoted passage, being that he also showed elsewhere that the yolk occupies the middle part of the egg, saying *If after the shells have been broken one cooks on a low and continuous heat many eggs set down one by one in a pan, all the yolks gather towards the middle: for the albumens get themselves around and place themselves at the periphery.*

⁴⁰⁸ Per la struttura dell'uovo vedi il lessico alla voce Uovo*.

⁴⁰⁹ *Historia animalium* VI,2, 560a 28-29: Il bianco e il giallo sono tenuti separati l'uno dall'altro da una membrana. Le calaze che si trovano alle estremità del giallo non contribuiscono per nulla alla generazione, come alcuni suppongono; sono due, una in basso e una in alto. (traduzione di Mario Vegetti) - Il sostantivo femminile *χάλαξα* significa grandine; per analogia morfologica significa anche nodulo, piccola cisti, orzaiole. Il sostantivo neutro *χαλάξιον* è diminutivo di *χάλαξα* e significa piccola cisti. Infatti il calazio umano è una neoformazione cistica di carattere benigno che si localizza nello spessore di una palpebra e che si forma in conseguenza dell'ipertrofia e degenerazione epiteliale delle ghiandole di Meibomio. Meibomius, in tedesco Heinrich Meibom, fu un medico ed erudito tedesco (Lubecca 1638 - Helmstedt 1700). Filologo e umanista, è noto soprattutto per la scoperta delle ghiandole sebacee situate nelle palpebre, tra il tarso palpebrale e la congiuntiva, e che da lui hanno preso il nome.

⁴¹⁰ Vedi il lessico alla voce Embrione di pollo*.

⁴¹¹ *Historia animalium* VI,2, 560a: A proposito del giallo e del bianco, avviene anche [560b] questo: toltine un certo numero dai gusci e versatili in un recipiente, se li si fa cuocere lentamente, a fiamma bassa, tutto il giallo si concentra in mezzo, e il bianco lo avvolge tutto intorno. (traduzione di Mario Vegetti)



a Initium divaricatae magnae venae, super quam ova concipiuntur ipsa nutrientem.

AA Rami venae cavae utrinque ad crura distributae.

BB Rami delapsi ad reliquum ventrem inferiorem.

D Intestina.

E Uterus protensus.

F Spina dorsii.

G Exitus intestini.

H Uteri os externum.

a The beginning of the large forked vein nearby which the eggs are conceived and by which they are nourished.

AA Branches of the *vena cava* (hollow vein) distributed on both sides to the legs.

BB Branches passing down to the remainder of the lower belly.

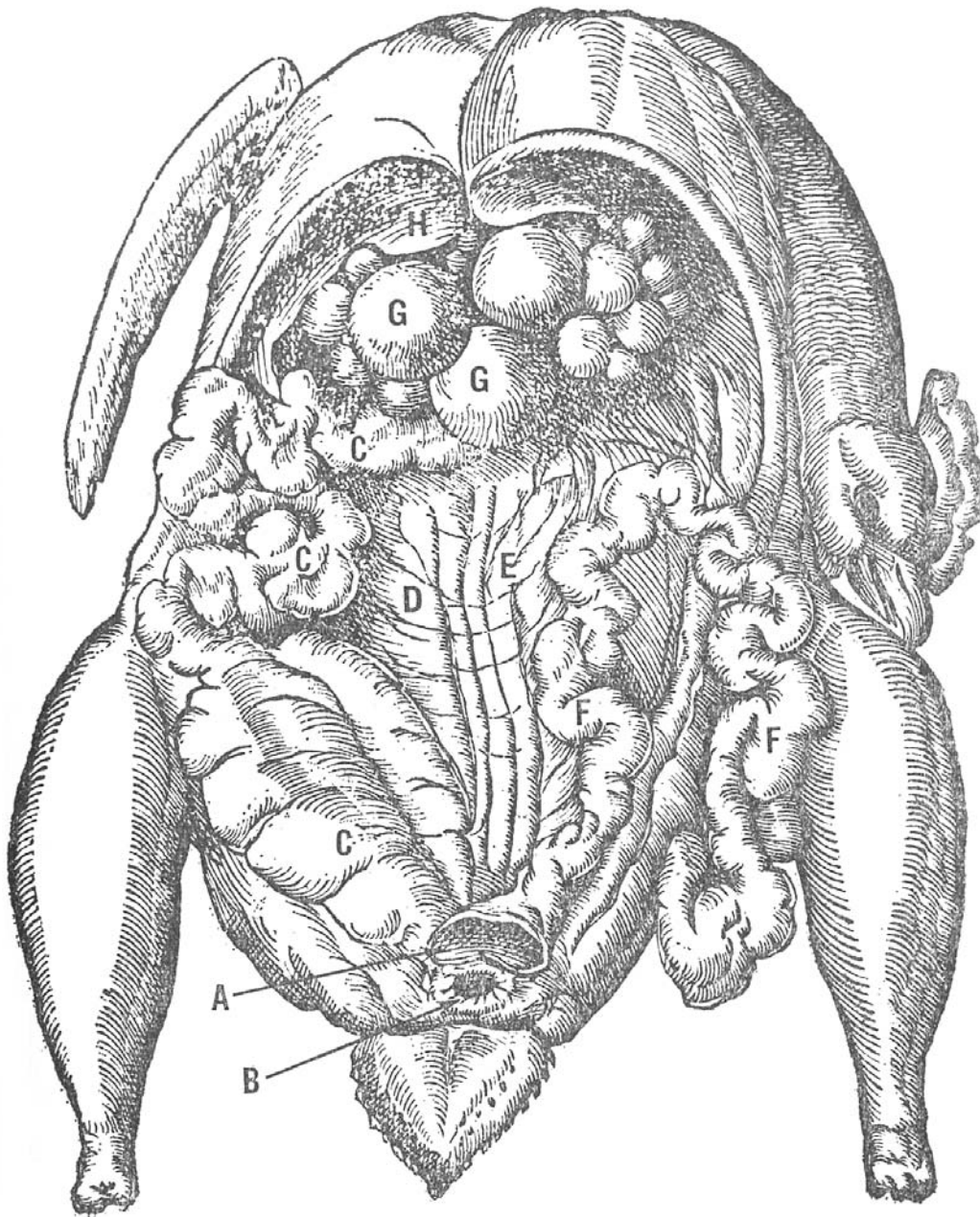
D Intestinal loops.

E The stretched out oviduct.

F Spine of the back.

G The opening of the intestine.

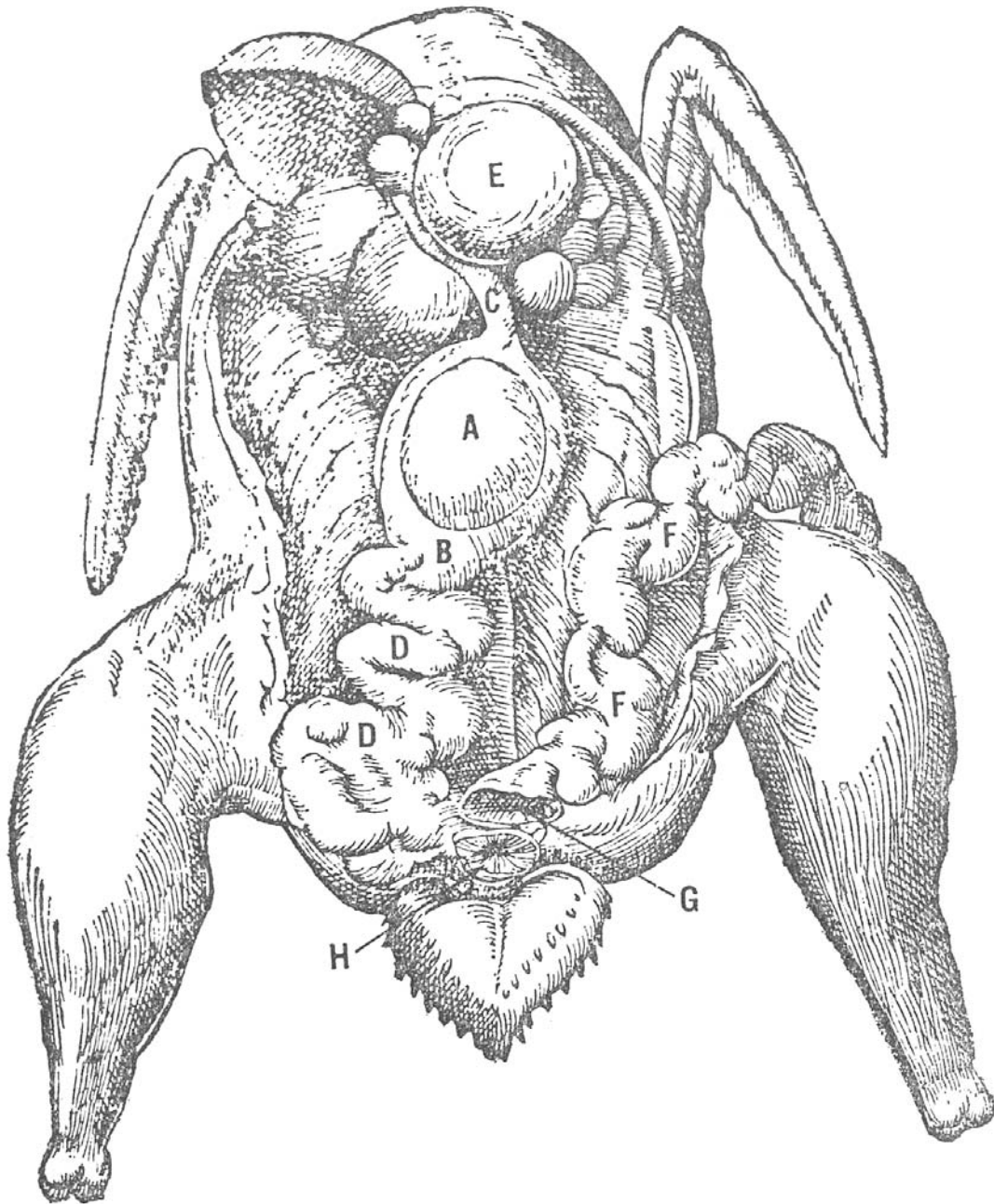
H External mouth of the oviduct.



- A** Vulvae os.
- B** Exitus intestini.
- CCC** Uteri capacitas, idemque protensus.
- D** {Mesareon} <Mesenterion> uteri.
- E** Mesenterium intestini
- FF** Intestina
- GG** Ova sub septo transverso concepta.
- H** Septum transversum.

- A** The opening of genital apparatus.
- B** The opening of intestine.
- CCC** The capacity of the oviduct, and the same stretched out.
- D** Mesentery of the oviduct.
- E** Mesentery of the intestine.
- FF** Intestinal loops.
- GG** Eggs conceived under the transverse septum.
- H** The transverse septum.

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A Ovum ad primedum uteri albumine et vitello distinctum cortice necdum indurato.

FF Intestinum.

DDD Uterus protensus.

E Ovum extra uterum sub septo transverso haerens.

C Utere [Uteri] suprema pars quo hiat in ova septo transverso adhaerentia.

G Uteri orificium.

H Anus.

A The egg in the uppermost part of the oviduct with albumen and yolk separated and with the shell not yet hardened.

FF Intestine.

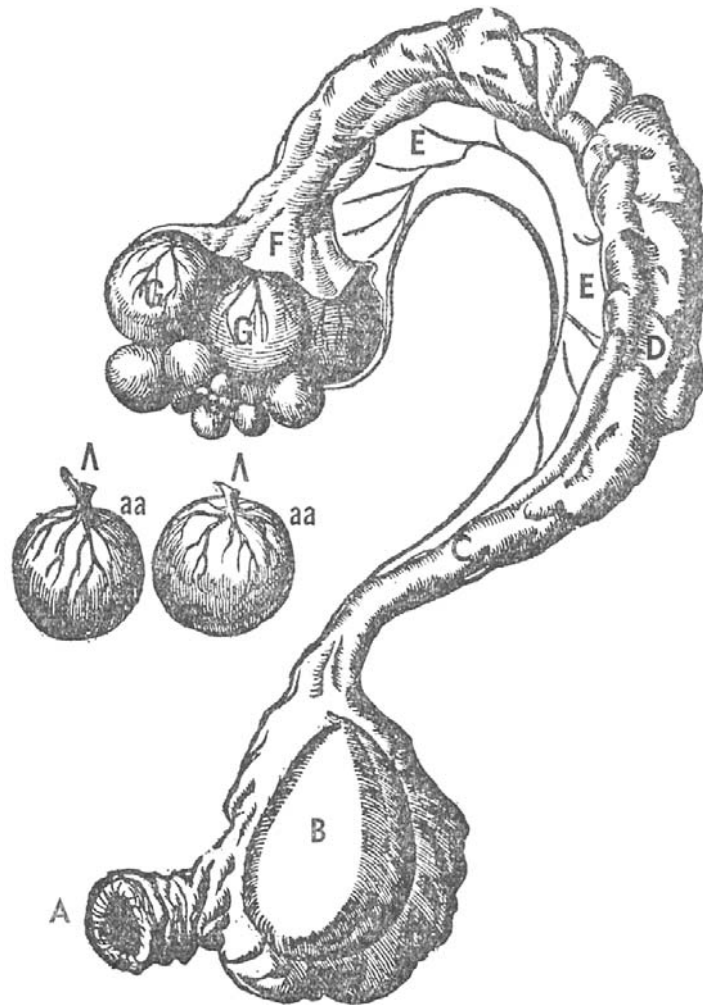
DDD The oviduct stretched out.

E The egg outside the oviduct, clinging under the transverse septum.

C The upper part of the oviduct where it opens towards the eggs clinging to the transverse septum.

G The opening of the oviduct.

H Anus.



A Os uteri.

B Uteri corpus ovum duro putamine tectum habens.

C Uteri protensi pars capacitati eiusdem proxima, substantia albicante, paucioribus venis referta.

D Uteri pars tertia crassior, rubicundior, venis plurimis intertexta.

EEE {Mesareon} <Mesenterion> Uteri.

F Pars suprema uteri protensi praetenuis, hians ad loca ovorum sub septo transverso.

GG Ova sub septo transverso concepta.

aa Ova tenella venulis distincta.

AA Pedunculus, quo ovum spinae haeret.

A The opening of the oviduct.

B The body of the uterus holding an egg covered with a hard shell.

C Part of the stretched out oviduct whose capacity is close to that of uterus, made of a whitish substance, rich in fewer veins.

D The larger, more reddish third part of the oviduct, interwoven with very many veins.

EEE Mesentery of the oviduct.

F The uppermost very thin part of the stretched out oviduct, opening toward the places of the eggs under the transverse septum.

GG Eggs conceived under the transverse septum.

aa Still young eggs adorned with little veins.

AA The little stem with which the egg clings to the spine.

Albertus, atque ipsemet Aristoteles sane nostram opinionem non parum tueri videntur, cum vitellum ab albumine tunica propria separari tradant, et versus partes naturales pulli situm, et a spiritualibus eius remotum. Spiritualia autem ex maris semine sunt. Si ergo a spiritualibus vitellus separatus est, semine expertem esse necesse est. Sunt autem ovi tunicae tres⁴¹², eisdem authoribus, una vitellum continens, secunda albumen, quae est tanquam pia mater: tertia testae adhaerens, tanquam dura meninx. Prima tunica intra testam ovi substantiam a testa defendit: secunda, quae mollior est, et albumen continet in pulli generatione secundarum loco est, et pullum complectitur: tertia vitellum ambit. Inter primam et secundam humor quidam crudus nascitur, qui excernitur, dum formatur pullus{;}<.> Alibi etiam Albertus apertissimis verbis, seminis situm pertingere scribit, per totum albumen, usque ad vitellum, huicque versus partem acutiorem ovi infigi idque ego in sectione ovi unum diem incubati observavi. Denique ipsemet iterum Aristoteles⁴¹³ incoepa ova, si adhuc parvis coitus desierit, non accrescere testatur, sed si continetur, {caetera}⁴¹⁴ incremento auferi, iustamque magnitudinem implere. Ova autem dum adhuc parva sunt, lutea esse ex eodem diximus, et in sectione etiam videmus.

Sed quaeret forsitan aliquis, quomodo cum caetera animalia per umbilicum cibum capiant, ova nutriantur; non enim vermium modo per se incrementum recipere verisimile est. Id aperte docet Aristoteles⁴¹⁵ fieri per

Truly it seems that Albertus* and Aristotle* himself are supporting my opinion not a little, since they report that the yolk is separated from the albumen by a proper tunic - vitelline membrane, and it is situated toward the vital parts of the chick and lies faraway from its respiratory parts. On the other hand the respiratory components arise from the semen of the male. Therefore if the yolk is separated from the respiratory parts it must be devoid of semen. According to those same authors, there are further on three tunics of the egg, one containing the yolk, a second one containing the albumen and which is likewise the *pia mater*: a third one adhering to the shell like the hard meninx - *dura mater*. The first tunic inside the shell defends the substance of the egg from the shell: the second one, which is softer and holds the albumen, in the generation of the chick plays the role of the placenta, and wraps up the chick: the third one surrounds the yolk. Between the first and second tunic a certain undigested fluid is created, which is secreted while the chick is being formed. Albertus elsewhere also writes in the clearest language that the distribution of the semen extends through the entire albumen up to the yolk and that the semen is fixing itself on the latter toward the more pointed part of the egg, and I observed this fact in the dissection of an egg that had been incubated for one day. And finally still Aristotle himself testifies that the eggs which already begun inception do not grow if coitus ceased while they are still small, but if coitus continues ~~the remaining eggs~~ they grow in volume and attain their proper size. Then, while the eggs are still small, I said according to his statement that they are yellow, and we also see this by the dissection.

But perhaps someone may ask how eggs are nourishing themselves since other animals take their food through the umbilical cord; for it is not likely that they receive their growth by themselves in the manner of worms. Aristotle clearly shows that growth takes place through

⁴¹² Per la struttura dell'uovo vedi il lessico alla voce Uovo*.

⁴¹³ *Historia animalium* VI,2, 560a 17-20: Se però la trasformazione nel bianco ha già avuto luogo, non avviene alcun mutamento: né le uova sterili diventano feconde, né quelle concepite per fecondazione assumono il genere del maschio che ha montato per ultimo. E se la copulazione è interrotta quando le uova sono piccole, quelle che già esistono non si accrescono più; ma se la copulazione riprende, le loro dimensioni aumentano rapidamente. (traduzione di Mario Vegetti)

⁴¹⁴ Questo *caetera* è in contraddizione con il testo di Aristotele, il quale non dice che le uova che si sono bloccate nella crescita per assenza di coito rimangono perennemente piccole. Aristotele dice che quando riprende il coito, queste uova rimaste piccole riprendono ad aumentare rapidamente di volume.

⁴¹⁵ *De generatione animalium* III,2, 752a 24-752b 15: Sull'accrescimento delle uova ci si può chiedere in che modo esso avviene dall'utero. Se infatti gli animali si procurano l'alimento per mezzo del cordone ombelicale, le uova per mezzo di che cosa se lo procurano, dal momento che esse non conseguono l'accrescimento da sé stesse, come le larve? Se vi è qualcosa che permette l'adesione, in che cosa si trasforma, una volta compiuto l'uovo? Non esce insieme con l'uovo, come il cordone ombelicale insieme con l'animale, perché quando l'uovo è compiuto si forma tutt'attorno il guscio. Orbene, quanto è stato detto è correttamente fatto oggetto di una ricerca. Tuttavia non ci si accorge che ciò che diventa guscio è in principio una membrana molle, e compitosi l'uovo diventa duro e secco in modo tanto tempestivo che esce ancora molle (procurerebbe altrimenti sofferenza a deporlo) e appena

membranam mollem, quae postea testa efficitur; perfecto enim ovo, durum ac rigidum evadit ita modice, ut exeat adhuc molle⁴¹⁶, siquidem dolorem moveret, si ita exiret. Egressum statim refrigeratum duratur, evaporato humore quam primum, qui exiguus est, relictaque portione terrena. Huius itaque membranae particula quadam umbilicaris, parte acuta principium continetur, tenditque parvis adhuc velut fistula: quod in {eiectitiis} <eiectitiis> inchoatis ovis patet. Nam si avis madefacta, aut alia causa inallescens eiecit, cruentus adhuc cernitur conceptus, habensque sibi annexam appendiculam umbilicarem, quae ovo amplius increscente obtenditur latius, atque minuitur, perfectoque mucro exitum complet; membrana interior sub hoc umbilico est, quae vitellum, albumenque ab eo disternit. Ubi iam ad consummationem ventum est, ovum absolvitur totum, et umbilicus ratione non insuper apparet: extremum enim ultimum eius est. Partus ovorum contra atque animal evenit. Animal enim versum in caput, suumque principium nascitur: at ovum quasi in pedes conversum exit. Cuius rei causa, ut diximus, est, quod ovum ea parte, qua principium continetur, adhaeret.

Ex quibus habemus, quomodo ovum incrementum sumit, ac perfectum excluditur: at quot diebus perficiatur, nondum diximus: hoc alibi⁴¹⁷ etiam Philosophus docet, et Plinius confirmat⁴¹⁸, decima nempe a coitu die magna ex parte. Sed quaerendum est quanto tempore subventaneum ovum maturescat. Hoc enim, quod sciam, veterum nemo tradidit. Videtur autem tardius debere perfici propter caloris

that soft membrane which later becomes the shell; for when the egg is completed it becomes so moderately hard and rigid that it issues still soft, since it should cause pain if it issues in that way. Cooled immediately upon being laid, it grows hard since the slight moisture in it suddenly evaporates and the earthly portion is left. Thus in the pointed part a certain umbilical particle of this membrane is held as principle, and in still small eggs it stretches like a little tube: and this is evident in sketchy abortive eggs. For if a soaked bird or chilly for another reason ejected it, the fruit of conception is seen to be still bloody and having attached to it a small umbilical appendage - latebra? - which stretches more as the egg grows larger, and which shortens, and when the egg is completed its sharp part ends its purpose; under this umbilical cord is laying the innermost membrane, which separates the yolk and the albumen from it. When by now the process is completed, the egg is entirely delivered and the umbilical cord is no longer visible because of a reason: for its extremity is the last part of it. The parturition of eggs occurs also in a reverse way in comparison with that of an animal. For an animal is born turned toward the head and its beginning; while an egg comes out as if turned toward the feet. As I said, this occurs because an egg adheres to that part into which the principle is contained.

We deduce from these remarks how the egg receives its growth and is laid when completed: but I have not yet said in how many days it is accomplished: also the Philosopher explains this elsewhere and Pliny* confirms this, and precisely mostly at the tenth day after coitus. But we must wonder within how much time a wind-egg comes to maturity. For none of the ancients so far as I know has handed down this information. However, it seems that it is accomplished later on because of

uscito, raffreddatosi si consolida, perché l'umido evapora velocemente data la sua scarsità e rimane l'elemento terroso. Una parte di questa membrana dapprima assomiglia, nella parte appuntita, a un cordone ombelicale e sporge quando l'uovo è ancora piccolo a guisa di una canna di zampogna. Ciò risulta chiaramente nell'espulsione delle uova piccole: se l'uccello o per essersi bagnato o perché raffreddato per qualche altra ragione espelle il prodotto del concepimento, questo risulta ancora sanguinolento e attraversato da una piccola appendice simile a un cordone ombelicale. Questa, quando l'uovo si ingrandisce, si tende maggiormente e si rimpicciolisce, finché al termine, quando l'uovo è compiuto, costituisce la parte appuntita dell'uovo. Sotto di questo c'è la membrana interna che separa da questo il bianco e il giallo. Compiutosi però l'uovo si libera tutto intero e logicamente il cordone ombelicale non appare più, perché è la punta della stessa estremità dell'uovo. L'uscita delle uova avviene al contrario di quella degli animali partoriti vivi: per questi avviene per la testa e il principio, mentre l'uscita dell'uovo è come fosse per i piedi. Ma la causa di questo fatto è ciò che si è detto, che cioè esso aderisce per il principio. (traduzione di Diego Lanza)

⁴¹⁶ Né Aristotele né Aldrovandi hanno mai toccato un uovo appena emesso: infatti il guscio dell'uovo è duro, non molle. I dati concordano sul fatto che l'uovo è rigido già 13 ore prima di essere depresso. Per ulteriori elucubrazioni si veda il capitolo *Fuoriuscita dell'uovo* in *Summa Gallicana* III,9,7*.

⁴¹⁷ *Historia animalium* VI,2, 560b: Lo sviluppo dell'uovo dopo la copulazione, e poi lo sviluppo del giovane uccello dall'uovo cotto [cioè sottoposto a incubazione, covato si da farlo maturare], non hanno luogo in periodi di tempo uguali per tutti gli uccelli, bensì differiscono secondo le dimensioni dei genitori. L'uovo della gallina si forma e giunge a termine per lo più in dieci giorni dopo l'accoppiamento; l'uovo della colomba in un tempo leggermente minore. (traduzione e nota di Mario Vegetti)

⁴¹⁸ *Naturalis historia* X,147: A coitu X diebus ova maturescunt in utero, vexatis autem gallinae et columbae pinna evulsa aliave simili iniuria diutius.

penuriam, qui in spermate est. Sperma autem perficit ovum usque ad exitum, quod inde patet, si frangatur ovum perfectum: invenitur id triplici differentia distinctum. Colore enim albius est, utpote purioris substantiae, et substantia densius quam reliquum albumen, ut firmiter retineat calorem formantem, ne facile exhalet. Caeterum, ut verisimile est ovum subventaneum tardius quam ex coitu factum perfici, ita me nescire fateor temporis quantitatem, ac differentiam, quam alius quispiam observare poterit, mihi id quaesivisse tantum sufficiat.

Iam vero circa pulli generationis principium Aristoteles a priscorum Graecorum opinione prorsus recedit. Existimabant autem illi, ut Alcmaeonis Crotoniatis, quem citat ipse Aristoteles⁴¹⁹, et Hippocratis medicorum principis exemplo probari potest, pullum ex vitello constare, nutriri vero ex albumine. *In ovo*, inquit Hippocrates⁴²⁰, *pelliculae ex umbilico tentae sunt, et reliqua, quae de puero dicta sunt, sic se habere in ovo volucris reperies ab initio ad finem*. Et rursus: *Volucris {in ovis} <ex ovi> luteo nascitur, hoc modo. Incubante matre ovum calescit, et quod in ovo inest, a matre movetur: Calescens autem id quod in ovo est, spiritum habet, et alterum frigidum ab aëre per ovum attrahit. Ovum enim adeo rarum est: ut spiritum, qui attrahitur sufficientem ei quod intus est, transmittat, et augetur volucris in ovo, et coarticulatur modo eodem, ac consimili, velut puer. Nascitur autem ex luteo ovi volucris: alimentum vero et augmentum habet ex albo, quod in ovo est. Ubi autem deficit alimentum pullo ex ovo, non habens id sufficiens unde vivat, fortiter movetur in ovo, uberius alimentum quaerens, et pelliculae circum dirumpuntur, et ubi mater sentit pullum vehementer motum, putamen excalpens ipsum excludit, atque <haec> fieri sole<n>t in viginti diebus <, et manifestum est quod ita se habent>⁴²¹. Ubi enim excussa est volucris,*

shortage of heat, being the latter in the sperm. For the sperm completes the egg until when it is laid, since from that moment, if broken, it appears to be a perfect egg: it is found to be marked with three different characteristics. For it is whiter in color since it is made up by a purer substance, and more dense as substance than the rest of the albumen, so that it may more firmly retain the molding heat in order that this should not easily be lost. On the other hand, as it is likely that a wind-egg is completed later on than one produced by coitus, so I admit that I do not know the amount and the difference of time which some one else will be able to observe, and it is just enough the fact to have asked myself about it.

But on the other hand Aristotle completely diverges from the point of view of the ancient Greeks in regard to the generation's principle of the chick. On the other hand, as the example of Alcmaeon of Croton* quoted by Aristotle himself and of Hippocrates* ruler of physicians can demonstrate, they thought that the chick arises from the yolk but that it feeds on the albumen. *In the egg*, Hippocrates says, *little membranes stretch from the umbilical cord, and the rest of what has been said about the child you will exactly find in a bird's egg from start to finish*. And still: *A bird is born from the yellow of the egg in this way. When the mother is incubating the egg gets warm, and that which is in the egg is moved by the mother; while the contents of the egg are getting warm, they have a breathing, and through the egg they attract the other cold air from the atmosphere. For the egg is so porous that it can transmit the air which is attracted in sufficient quantity for what is inside, and the bird grows in the egg, and he moves his joints exactly and quite likewise as a child does. Furthermore the bird is born from the yellow of the egg; but he has his nourishment and growth from the white which is inside the egg. But when the chick lacks the nourishment from egg, and he does not have enough to live by it, perhaps he stirs inside the egg as seeking for more abundant food, and the membranes around him are broken, and when the mother notices that the chick is moving violently, she hatches him by pecking at the shell, and usually all this happens within twenty days, and it is well-known that this is the case. For when the bird is hatched, in the eggshells there is no*

⁴¹⁹ *De generatione animalium* III,2, 752b 15-28: La nascita dall'uovo si ha per gli uccelli perché la femmina cova l'uovo e contribuisce a operare la cozione. L'animale si forma da una parte dell'uovo e ricava i mezzi del proprio accrescimento e compimento dalla restante parte, perché la natura dispone insieme nell'uovo sia la materia dell'animale, sia l'alimento sufficiente alla sua crescita. Dal momento che l'uccello non può portare a compimento la prole dentro di sé, produce nell'uovo anche l'alimento. Mentre per gli animali partoriti vivi l'alimento si produce in un'altra parte (il latte nelle mammelle), per gli uccelli la natura lo produce nelle uova. È tuttavia l'opposto di ciò che ritengono gli uomini e afferma Alcmeone di Crotona: il latte non è costituito dal bianco, ma dal giallo, ed è questo l'alimento dei pulcini. Essi invece ritengono che sia il bianco per la rassomiglianza del colore. (traduzione di Diego Lanza)

⁴²⁰ *De natura pueri* 29-30. - Sia Gessner che la traduzione di Ippocrate di Janus Cornarius* del 1546 - da cui Gessner ha tratto il testo, a sua volta erroneamente citato da Aldrovandi - hanno *ex ovi luteo* e non un intraducibile *in ovis luteo*. Conrad Gessner *Historia animalium* III (1555) pag. 416: *Volucris ex ovi luteo nascitur, hoc modo*.

⁴²¹ Un'ennesima riprova che Aldrovandi non solo copiava, ma addirittura scopiazzava da Gessner! Il testo di Ippocrate è tratto parola per parola dalla traduzione dal greco di Janus Cornarius ed è contenuto nel suo *Hippocratis Coi medicorum omnium longe principis, opera quae ad nos extant omnia* (Froben, Basilea, 1546). Il testo di Cornarius viene riportato da Gessner, ma omette *et manifestum est quod*

nullus humor in ovi testis inest, qui sane memorabilis existat. {Expressus} <Expensus> est enim in pullum.

Haec omnia Hippocrates, quibus sane generationis modum egregie, ut tantum virum, quem omnes mirantur, decebat, depingit: verum, quod ex albumine nutriri, et ex vitello constare dicat, id {ossitanter} <oscitanter> fortassis fecerit: nam alioqui id contra omnium sententiam, ac quotidianam experientiam scripsit.

Quod vero contra ex vitello nutrimentum [215] capiat, et ex albumine generetur, praeterquam quod experientia id docet, luculenter demonstrat Aristoteles⁴²², atque ex hoc potissimum, quod luteum calore humescat, gelu contra coeat, et indurescat. Etenim si ex eo pullus generari debebat, incubatione indurari oportebat. Incubatio autem calefactio est, sed ne per ignis violentiam durescit, eodem teste, tantum abest, ut id incubatio praestet, quapropter cum vel in terra, vel per incubitum concoquitur, liquescit. Contra candidum calore induratur, frigore vero magis, magisque humescit. Quamobrem, cum ad generationem concoquitur, crassescit. Quare minime etiam audiendus est Cardanus⁴²³, qui alas, et crura ex luteo constare affirmat, eo argumento nixus, quod pulli, ut putat, qui ex ovo, cuius lutea duo sint, absque sepiente membrana quattuor alis, et totidem pedibus nascantur: quasi in eiusmodi ovis etiam candidum copia non peccet. Caeterum ovi naturalis generatio, auctore Philosopho⁴²⁴

noteworthy liquid. For it has been used for the chick.

All these things were written by Hippocrates, by which he is admirably describing the manner of the generation, as it was appropriate for so great a man whom everyone admires: but when he says that the chick is nourished by the albumen and is formed out of the yolk, perhaps he did this superficially: for otherwise he wrote that in opposition to opinion of everybody and daily experience.

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But, Aristotle* excellently demonstrates that on the contrary the chick takes nourishment from the yolk and is generated from the albumen, in addition to what experience itself teaches, and chiefly since the yolk moistens with heat, while with the cold solidifies and hardens. Really, if the chick is generated from the former - the albumen, the latter - the yolk - would have to harden by incubation. Truly, the incubation is a heating process, but, as he himself is referring, since it does not harden under the violence of the fire, it is almost impossible that the incubation is able to do this, hence when it undergoes a concoction both in the earth and by incubation, it moistens. On the contrary the white hardens by heat, but by cold moistens more and more. Therefore, when it is concocted for generation it grows thick. Hence we must not listen also to Gerolamo Cardano* at all, who affirms that wings and legs arise from the yolk, relying upon that proof according to which, as he thinks, the chicks arising from an egg with two yolks and without a separating membrane are born with four wings and as many legs: as though in eggs of this kind also the white is not guilty of abundance. On the other hand the natural hatching

ita se habent, e l'omissione, ovviamente, viene perpetrata da Aldrovandi. - Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 416: [...] putamen exalbumen ipsum excludit, atque haec fieri solent in viginti diebus <, et manifestum est quod ita se habent.> - Sia Janus Cornarius che Conrad Gessner hanno *haec fieri solent in viginti diebus* e *Expensus est enim in pullum*, ma Aldrovandi, per mistificare il fatto che stava copiando, riporta *atque fieri solet in viginti diebus* nonché *Expressus*.

⁴²² *De generatione animalium* III,2, 753a 35-753b 14: Il giallo e il bianco posseggono nature opposte. Il giallo si rassoda al freddo, ma riscaldato si liquefa, perciò si liquefa quando subisce una cozione, sia nella terra sia per effetto della cova, ed essendo siffatto diventa alimento per l'animale in formazione. Sottoposto al fuoco e alla cottura non si fa duro perché è di natura terrosa così come la cera. Per questo riscaldandosi maggiormente acquista siosità dal residuo umido e diventa sieroso. Il bianco invece sotto l'effetto del freddo non si rassoda, ma si liquefa maggiormente (la causa è stata spiegata prima), mentre sottoposto al calore diventa solido, perciò soggetto alla cozione della riproduzione animale si ispessisce. Da esso prende consistenza l'animale, mentre il giallo diventa alimento e da esso provengono i mezzi per l'accrescimento delle parti che si continuano a formare. Per questo il bianco e il giallo sono tenuti distinti da membrane, in quanto hanno diversa natura. (traduzione di Diego Lanza)

⁴²³ Pagina 475 del *De subtilitate libri XXI - LIBER XII DE HOMINIS NATURA ET TEMPERAMENTO* (Lugduni, apud Stephanum Michaellem, 1580): "... nam alae & crura ex luteo fiunt. Indicio est, quod pulli qui ex ovo cuius lutea duo sunt absque sepiente membrana, capite uno sed quatuor alis et totidem pedibus nascuntur, arbitranturque prodigium, quale olim Mediolani contigit."

⁴²⁴ *De generatione animalium* III,2, 752b 15-23: La nascita dall'uovo si ha per gli uccelli perché la femmina cova l'uovo e contribuisce a operare la cozione. L'animale si forma da una parte dell'uovo e ricava i mezzi del proprio accrescimento e compimento dalla restante parte, perché la natura dispone insieme nell'uovo sia la materia dell'animale, sia l'alimento sufficiente alla sua crescita. (traduzione di Diego Lanza)

hoc modo evenit, ut incubante, et concoquente ave, animal ex parte ovi secernatur: natura enim simul et materiam animalis in ovo reponit, et satis sibi ad incrementum. Cum enim avis intra se perficere nequeat, cibum una parit in ovo. Nam iis quae forma animalis nascuntur, cibus in alia corporis parte paratur, quod lac vocatur.

Sed quis mihi obijciat, ipsumet Aristotelem⁴²⁵ in assignanda generationis in Gallo materia sibi contradicere, quando alibi ita scribit⁴²⁶. *Iam quale certo tempore <est ovum in gallina>, tale aliquando prodiit luteum totum, qualis postea pullus est.* Si enim totum luteum est, ex luteo pullus constet necesse est. Verum, ut addit, tale ovum monstrificum est, et pro ostento ab auguribus habetur: innuit tamen interim, meo iudicio, quod idquod album esse debebat, et pulli nascituri materia, a vitello ita tinctum sit, ut non videatur album ovo inesse.

Quomodo vero, et quando singulae partes in ovo generentur, et quomodo nutrimentum pullus factus assumat diligentissime etiam duobus potissimum locis docet. Primus locus

of the egg, according to the Philosopher, occurs as follows, that is, with the incubation and the concoction by the bird, the living creature is separated from a part of the egg: for Nature places in the egg at the same time both the material whence the animal arises and what suffices for its growth. In fact, for these subjects who are born with the form of an animal, the food is arranged in another part of the body, and it is called milk.

But someone might object that Aristotle is contradicting himself in placing the material of generation in the rooster, since he writes as follows elsewhere. *Like in a certain moment the egg is showing itself in the hen, so sometimes - the egg - showed itself entirely as yolk, which later will be a chick.* For, if it is entirely yolk, the chick must arise from the yolk. But, as he adds, such an egg is monstrous and is regarded as a wonder by soothsayers: however at the same time, in my judgment, he hints that what ought to be the white and the material out of which the chick will be born, was so tinged with the yolk that there did not seem to be some albumen in the egg.

But how and when single parts are generated in the egg and how the chick when formed takes its nourishment, he also says this very carefully especially in two passages. The first passage is in the same chapter I last

⁴²⁵ *Historia animalium* VI,2, 559b 16-20: È accaduto di osservare formazioni simili all'uovo in un certo stadio del suo sviluppo (cioè tutto uniformemente giallo, come lo sarà più tardi il vitello [*Neottòs*, che significa propriamente «pulcino», vale qui, secondo Schneider, III, 407, seguito da tutti i tradd., «vitello», cioè tuorlo]), anche in un gallo sezionato sotto il diaframma, laddove le femmine hanno le uova; queste formazioni sono interamente gialle d'aspetto, e grandi come le uova. Vengono tenute in conto di mostruosità. (traduzione e nota di Mario Vegetti)

⁴²⁶ Questa citazione di Aldrovandi - a parte la corretta interpretazione del testo greco riportata nella nota precedente - è del tutto incomprensibile, ma diventa appena intelligibile se integrata con la bistrattata fonte, rappresentata come al solito da Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 420: *Iam quale certo tempore est ovum in gallina, tale aliquando prodiit luteum totum, qualis postea pullus est. Gallina etiam discissa talia sub septo, quo loco foeminis ova adhaerent, inventa sunt, colore luteo tota magnitudine ovi perfecti: quod pro ostento augures capiunt, Aristot.* - Anche Gessner doveva trovarsi in un momento di *strana* disattenzione: infatti non si trattava affatto di una *gallina* che aveva le uova sotto il setto trasverso come le hanno le *femmine*, bensì di un gallo!!! Penso che riusciremo a salvare sia Gessner che Aristotele dall'accusa di essere dei superficiali, quindi dei naturalisti da strapazzo. Questa *gallina* proviene da Teodoro Gaza (*Aristotelis libri de animalibus*, 1498) e questa *gallina* non viene corretta da Gessner con un logico *gallus*, nonostante abbia corretto un intraducibile *suscepto* di Gaza con un corretto *sub septo*. Non si può escludere che Gaza avesse come fonte lo stesso testo greco usato da Giulio Cesare Scaligero per il suo *Aristotelis historia de animalibus* (1619). Infatti anche Scaligero ha *gallina*, e il suo testo greco è inequivocabile per *gallina*, detta *alektoris*: **Τοιαῦτα καὶ ἐν ἀλεκτορίδι διαιρουμένη ὑπὸ τὸ ὑπόζωμα, οὔπερ αἱ θήλειαι ἔχουσι τὰ ὠὰ.** § Mario Vegetti così traduce questo passo di Aristotele: È accaduto di osservare formazioni simili all'uovo in un certo stadio del suo sviluppo (cioè tutto uniformemente giallo, come lo sarà più tardi il vitello), anche in un gallo sezionato sotto il diaframma, laddove le femmine hanno le uova; queste formazioni sono interamente gialle d'aspetto, e grandi come le uova. Vengono tenute in conto di mostruosità. (1971) - D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson traduce così: Cases have occurred where substances resembling the egg at a critical point of its growth - that is, when it is yellow all over, as the yolk is subsequently - have been found in the cock when cut open, underneath his midriff, just where the hen has her eggs; and these are entirely yellow in appearance and of the same size as ordinary eggs. Such phenomena are regarded as unnatural and portentous. (1910) § Si può presumere che sia Vegetti che D'Arcy Thompson si siano basati sulla versione greca del classicista e naturalista tedesco Johann Gottlob Schneider (1750-1822) che nel 1811 pubblicava a Lipsia la sua revisione dell'*Historia animalium* di Aristotele. Qui non troviamo la gallina, bensì il gallo (*alektryon* al maschile - al femminile sarebbe la gallina), che al dativo suona *alektryóni* accompagnato dal maschile *diarouménōi*: **Τοιαῦτα καὶ ἐν ἀλεκτρούονι διαιρουμένῳ ὑπὸ τὸ ὑπόζωμα, οὔπερ αἱ θήλειαι**<ϋ> **ἔχουσι τὰ ὠὰ.** - Anche i tipografi tedeschi commettevano errori: *θήλειαι* invece di *θήλειαι*. § Peccato non poter resuscitare Aristotele! A mio avviso è nel giusto Schneider, in quanto mi sembra una ridondanza superflua - molto cara agli antichi - parlare di un gallina sezionata sotto il diaframma, laddove le femmine hanno le uova. È scontato che una gallina è una femmina!

est eodem capite, quem iam postremum citavimus, ubi ita scribit⁴²⁷: Principio corde constituto, et vena maiore ab eo distincta, umbilici duo de vena eadem pertendunt, alter ad membranam, quae luteum continet: alter ad membranam, cui secundarum species est, qua animal obvolutum continetur, quae circa testae membranam est. Altero igitur umbilico cibum ex luteo assumit. Efficitur luteum copiosius: quippe quod calescens reddatur humidius. Cibum enim, quoniam corpulentus est humidum esse oportet, qualis plantae suppeditatur. Vivunt autem principio, et quae in ovis, et quae in animalibus gignuntur, vita plantae. Adhaerendo enim capiunt primum et incrementum, et alimentum. Alter umbilicus⁴²⁸ ad secundas tendit. Ita enim in iis, quae ovo nascuntur, animalibus, pullum uti luteo existimandum, uti foetus viviparus sua parente utitur, quandiu intra parentem continetur. Cum enim non intra parentem nutriantur, quae ovo proveniunt, partem eius accipiunt aliquam, habentque secum in cibo. Membrana vero exterior novissima sanguinolenta haec perinde ut illa utuntur. Simul autem et luteum, et secundas testa ovi complectitur uteri proportione, perinde quasi quid unum obductum amplectatur, foetum, parentemque totum. Quod ita est, quoniam foetum in utero esse et cum parente necesse est. Itaque uterus

quoted, where he writes as follows: «In the beginning, when the heart has been formed and the larger vein underwent a differentiation from it, two umbilical cords stretch out from the same vein, one to the membrane containing the yolk: the other to that membrane which looks like a placenta - allantoid - inside which is contained the covered animal and which is lying near the shell's membrane. Then the embryo takes the food from the yolk by the first umbilical cord. The yolk becomes more copious: since it becomes more liquid as it grows warm. For the food, since it is thick, must become liquid, as that supplied to a plant. For in the beginning both creatures generated in the eggs and those generated in viviparous animals are living like a plant is living. For by keeping adherent they receive both first growth and first nourishment. The second umbilical cord runs to the placenta - allantoid. For we must think that in those animals taking birth in an egg, the chick makes use of the yolk, as the foetus of viviparous animals uses its mother as long as it is contained within the mother. Since are not nourished inside their mother, those arising from egg take some part of the mother and keep it with them in the food. For these subjects, likewise the former ones, are using an outer bloody membrane recently developed. In fact the eggshell surrounds at the same time both the yolk and the placenta likewise the uterus does, as if it were placed around a single covered thing represented by the foetus and the entire parent. This is in this manner because the foetus must be inside the uterus and with

⁴²⁷ *De generatione animalium* III,2 753b 18-754a 17: Per la presente indagine basta che risulti chiaramente che, costituitosi per primo il cuore e a partire da esso la grande vena, due cordoni ombelicali si tendono dalla vena: l'uno verso la membrana che avvolge il giallo, l'altro alla membrana simile a corion che avvolge tutt'attorno l'animale, e questo è disposto intorno, sotto la membrana del guscio. Per mezzo di uno di essi l'animale riceve l'alimento dal giallo, il giallo infatti diventa più abbondante perché, riscaldandosi, si fa più liquido. Come per le piante, in effetti occorre che l'alimento, pur avendo consistenza corporea, sia fluido, e sia gli animali che si formano nelle uova sia quelli che si formano in altri animali vivono in un primo tempo la vita di una pianta, perché stando attaccati ricevono da un altro essere il primo accrescimento e l'alimento. L'altro cordone ombelicale si tende verso il corion avvolgente. Si deve supporre che tra gli animali che nascono dalle uova e il giallo c'è lo stesso rapporto che esiste tra gli embrioni dei vivipari, quando si trovano nella madre, e la madre (poiché infatti gli animali che nascono dalle uova non sono nutriti compiutamente nella madre, ricevono una parte di questa) e il rapporto dei primi con la membrana esterna sanguigna è come quello dei secondi con l'utero. Nello stesso tempo intorno al giallo e al corion, che è l'analogo [754a] dell'utero, sta il guscio dell'uovo, come se si avvolgesse lo stesso embrione e tutta la madre. Le cose stanno così perché l'embrione deve stare nell'utero e in rapporto con la madre. Ora, mentre nei vivipari l'utero è posto nella madre, negli ovipari al contrario è come se si dicesse che è la madre nell'utero. Perché ciò che si produce dalla madre, cioè l'alimento, è costituito dal giallo. E causa di questo è il fatto che l'alimentazione completa non avviene nella madre. Nel corso della crescita, prima cade il cordone ombelicale diretto al corion perché da questa parte deve uscire l'animale, successivamente la parte restante di giallo e il cordone teso verso il giallo, perché il nato deve ricevere immediatamente alimento, dato che né poppa dalla madre, né può procurarsi subito da sé l'alimento; perciò il giallo con il cordone ombelicale si dispone all'interno e attorno sta la carne. Gli animali che nascono esternamente da uova compiute nascono in questo modo sia nel caso degli uccelli sia nel caso dei quadrupedi che depongono uova dal guscio duro. (traduzione di Diego Lanza)

⁴²⁸ *De generatione animalium* III,2 753b-754a: L'altro cordone ombelicale si tende verso il corion avvolgente. Si deve supporre che tra gli animali che nascono dalle uova e il giallo c'è lo stesso rapporto che esiste tra gli embrioni dei vivipari, quando si trovano nella madre, e la madre (poiché infatti gli animali che nascono dalle uova non sono nutriti compiutamente nella madre, ricevono una parte di questa) e il rapporto dei primi con la membrana esterna sanguigna è come quello dei secondi con l'utero. Nello stesso tempo intorno al giallo e al corion, che è l'analogo [754a] dell'utero, sta il guscio dell'uovo, come se si avvolgesse lo stesso embrione e tutta la madre. Le cose stanno così perché l'embrione deve stare nell'utero e in rapporto con la madre. Ora, mentre nei vivipari l'utero è posto nella madre, negli ovipari al contrario è come se si dicesse che è la madre nell'utero. Perché ciò che si produce dalla madre, cioè l'alimento, è costituito dal giallo. E causa di questo è il fatto che l'alimentazione completa non avviene nella madre. (traduzione di Diego Lanza)

in viviparis in parente est, in oviparis e diverso fit, quasi dixeris parentem esse in utero. Luteum enim est cibus, qui a parente praestatur. Causa est, quod foetus nutritio non intra parentem est. Crescentibus umbilicus primum considet, qui secundis adiungitur. Hac enim pullum excludi convenit. Reliquum lutei, et umbilicus ad luteum pertinens post collabitur. Cibum enim habeat statim oportet, quod exclusum est. Nec enim a parente nutritur, et per se ipsum statim capere cibum non potest: quapropter luteum subit cum umbilico, et caro adnascitur. Talis ortus eorum est, quae ex ovis perfectis foris generantur.

Haec ille eo loco, quae omnia fere peculiariter in Gallina ut videtur, facto experimento hunc in modum alibi⁴²⁹ repetit: Gallinis porro tertia die, ac nocte postquam coepere incubare, indicium praestare incipiunt. At maiorum avium generi plus praetereat temporis, necesse est: minori autem minus sufficit. Effertur per id tempus luteus humor ad cacumen, qua principium ovi est: atqui ovum detegitur ea parte, et cor quasi punctum sanguineum in candido liquore consistit: quod punctum salit iam, et movetur, ut animal. Tendunt ex eo meatus venales sanguiferi duo tortuosi ad tunicam ambientem utramque dum augetur. Membrana etiam fibris distincta sanguineis, iam {album liquorem⁴³⁰} <luteum> per id tempus {circundat} <circumdat>, a meatibus illis venarum oriens. Paulo autem post, et corpus iam pulli discernitur, exiguum admodum primum, et candidum, conspicuum capite, et maxime oculis inflatis, quibus ita permanet diu: sero enim decrescunt oculi, et se ad ratam contrahunt proportionem. Pars autem inferior corporis, nullo membro a

the parent. Thus the uterus in viviparous animals is in the mother, in oviparous animals the contrary happens, as to say that the mother is in the uterus. For the yolk is the food which is supplied by the mother. The reason for this is that the nourishment of the foetus is not within the mother. As the chicks grow, the umbilical cord which is linked with the placenta collapses first. So it is worthwhile that at this point the chick will issue forth. The rest of the yolk and the umbilical cord linked with the yolk disappear later. For the chick must have nourishment as soon as hatched. It is not nourished by the mother and cannot at once take food by itself: therefore the yolk comes into it with the umbilical cord, and flesh grows around it. This is the manner of birth for those creatures hatched from perfect eggs.»

Those are the things he wrote in that passage, all things he is repeating elsewhere as follows, apparently after he did an experiment almost specifically in the hen: «Then in hens - the eggs - begin to show a sign on third day and night after they began to incubate. But in the genus of larger birds there is need for more elapsing time: but less time suffices for a smaller bird. During this period the yellow liquid is moving to the sharp end, where the principle of the egg is located: now, if the egg is uncovered in that area, the heart appears like a speck of blood in the white liquid: and this speck still jumps and moves like a living creature. Two winding vein-ducts with blood are detaching themselves from it and while it is growing they go towards both the enveloping membranes. In this moment also a membrane marked with bloody fibers is already surrounding the yolk, arising from those vein-ducts. But a little later it is yet possible to see the body of the chick, quite small at first and white, with a big head, and with very prominent eyes, a condition which lasts for a long time: since the eyes decrease in size belatedly and contract themselves to their proper size. At the beginning it is impossible to distinguish the lower part of the body from the upper one by no anatomical structure. One of the vein-ducts

⁴²⁹ *Historia animalium* VI,3, 561a 6-26: Nelle galline, dunque, un primo segno compare dopo tre giorni e tre notti; negli uccelli più grandi di queste occorre più tempo, in quelli più piccoli meno. In questo periodo il giallo viene risalendo verso l'estremità appuntita, là dove si trova il principio dell'uovo e dove esso si schiude, e nel bianco appare il cuore, delle dimensioni di una chiazza sanguigna. Questo punto palpita e si muove come se fosse animato, e da esso si dipartono due condotti venosi pieni di sangue e avvolti a spirale, che si estendono, con l'accrescersi dell'embrione, verso entrambe le tuniche che lo avvolgono. E una membrana provvista di fibre sanguigne racchiude ormai in questa fase il giallo, a partire dai condotti venosi. Poco tempo dopo incomincia a differenziarsi anche il corpo, all'inizio piccolissimo e bianco. Si distingue chiaramente la testa, e in essa gli occhi che sono molto prominenti; questo stato perdura a lungo, perché essi diventano piccoli e si contraggono molto tardi. Nella zona inferiore del corpo non si distingue all'inizio chiaramente alcuna parte, se la si confronta con quella superiore. Dei condotti che si dipartono dal cuore, l'uno porta alla membrana periferica, l'altro verso il giallo, come se fosse un cordone ombelicale. Il pulcino deriva dunque il suo principio dal bianco, l'alimento dal giallo attraverso il cordone ombelicale. (traduzione di Mario Vegetti)

⁴³⁰ Aristotle says yolk. (Lind, 1963) - Infatti Aristotele dice "il giallo" e Perronea citazione di Aldrovandi - come dimostra anche Perroneo *circundat* - altro non è che un errore di Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 417: Membrana etiam fibris distincta sanguineis, iam album liquorem per id tempus {circundat} <circumdat>, a meatibus illis venarum oriens. - Vatti a fidare! - L'errore è tratto dalla traduzione di Teodoro Gaza* del 1498. Inoltre Gaza non ha *circundat*, bensì *circumdat*. - Peggio della catena di Sant'Antonio!

superiore distingui intra initia cernitur. Meatuum, quos ex corde tendere diximus, alter ad ambiendum album liquorem fertur, alter ad luteum velut umbilicus. Origo itaque pulli in albumine est, [216] cibus per umbilicum ex luteo petitur.

which I said are detaching themselves from the heart goes to surround the albumen, the other moves towards the yolk like an umbilical cord. Thus the origin of the chick lies in the albumen, its nourishment is sought out of the yolk through the navel-string.»

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Die iam decimo⁴³¹ pullus totus perspicuus est, et membra omnia patent. Caput grandius toto corpore est. Oculi capite grandiores haerent: qui fabis maiores per id tempus eminent nigri, nondum cum pupilla. Quibus si cutem detrahas, nihil solidi videris, sed humorem candidum rigidumque admodum refulgentem ad lucem, nec quicquam aliud, ita oculi, et caput. Iam vero, et viscera eo tempore patent, et alvi, intestinorumque natura perspicua est. Venae etiam illae a corde prospicientes iam sese iuxta umbilicum constituunt. Ab ipso autem umbilico vena oritur duplex: altera tendens ad membranam, ambientem eam, qua pullus operitur, et eam, quae vitellum, humoremque interiectum continet⁴³². Dum

«Now on the tenth day the complete chick is visible and all parts of its body are observable. The head is larger than the entire body. The eyes continue to be larger than the head: larger than broad-beans, at this time they are bulging and black, not yet provided with pupil. If you remove their covering you will see nothing solid, but a snow-white and stiff liquid very shining in the light, and nothing else, such are eyes and head. Also the viscera are already visible at that time, and the conformation of the stomach and of the intestinal loops is recognizable. Also those veins that branch out from the heart are now placing themselves close to the umbilical cord. A pair of veins arises from the umbilical cord itself: one goes to that membrane - allantoid - which wraps up that one - amnios - by which the chick is wrapped up, and which wraps up that one containing

⁴³¹ Aristotele, *Historia animalium* VI,3, 561a 26-562a 21: Giunto al decimo giorno il pulcino è ormai tutto quanto visibile in ogni sua parte. Esso ha ancora la testa più grande del resto del corpo, e gli occhi più grandi della testa; e tuttora privi della vista. In questo periodo gli occhi sono prominenti, più grandi di una fava e neri; se si asporta la pelle, vi si trova all'interno un liquido bianco e freddo, assai risplendente in piena luce, ma nulla di solido. Tale è dunque la situazione degli occhi e della testa. In questa fase anche i visceri sono ormai evidenti, sia la regione dello stomaco sia l'insieme degli intestini, e le vene che si vedono diramarsi dal cuore giungono ormai all'altezza dell'ombelico. Dal cordone ombelicale una vena si estende verso la membrana che avvolge il giallo (che dal canto suo in questo momento è fluido e più abbondante di quanto comporti la sua natura), e un'altra verso la membrana che racchiude sia la membrana in cui è contenuto il pulcino, sia quella del giallo, sia il fluido che si trova fra queste. Via via che il pulcino cresce, poco per volta una parte del giallo si sposta in alto, un'altra in basso, e in mezzo resta il fluido bianco; il bianco dell'uovo si trova sotto la parte inferiore del giallo, come lo era fin dall'inizio. Al decimo giorno il bianco si porta all'estremità, ed è ormai scarso, viscoso, denso e giallastro. Ogni parte si trova così disposta nel modo seguente: in primo luogo, all'estrema periferia presso il guscio c'è la membrana dell'uovo, non quella del guscio ma quella al di sotto di essa. In questa è contenuto un fluido bianco, poi il pulcino, e attorno a esso una membrana che lo isola, affinché non sia immerso nel fluido; sotto il pulcino è sito il giallo, a cui porta una delle vene menzionate, mentre l'altra va al bianco circostante. Il tutto è poi avvolto da una membrana che contiene un liquido sieroso. Poi c'è un'altra membrana, che già racchiude lo stesso embrione, come s'è detto, isolandolo dal fluido. Sotto di esso si trova il giallo avvolto in una diversa membrana (quella a cui porta il cordone ombelicale che si diparte dal cuore e dalla grande vena), in modo che l'embrione non sia immerso in nessuno dei due fluidi. Verso il ventesimo giorno, il pulcino ormai pigola muovendosi all'interno, se lo si tocca dopo aver spezzato il guscio, ed è già coperto di peluria, quando, dopo i venti giorni, ha luogo lo schiudimento dell'uovo. La testa è ripiegata sopra la gamba destra all'altezza del fianco, e l'ala è posta sopra la testa. In questa fase è ben visibile la membrana simile al corion, cioè quella che viene dopo la membrana più esterna del guscio e a cui porta uno dei [562a] cordoni ombelicali (e il pulcino si trova allora avvolto tutt'intero in essa), come pure l'altra membrana, anch'essa simile al corion, che sta attorno al giallo e a cui va il secondo cordone; entrambi i cordoni erano connessi al cuore e alla grande vena. A questo punto il cordone ombelicale che raggiunge il corion esterno cade e si stacca dall'animale, mentre quello che porta al giallo è attaccato all'intestino tenue del pulcino: all'interno di questo si trova ormai molto giallo, che si deposita nel suo stomaco. In questa fase il pulcino emette inoltre residuo in direzione del corion esterno, e ne ha nello stomaco: il residuo emesso all'esterno è bianco, e pure all'interno v'è qualcosa di bianco. Da ultimo il giallo, che è andato sempre diminuendo, finisce per essere del tutto consumato e assorbito nel pulcino, tanto che, se si seziona il pulcino dopo ben dieci giorni dall'uscita dall'uovo, si trova ancora un poco di giallo rimasto attaccato all'intestino; però è separato dal cordone ombelicale e non ve n'è più nel tratto intermedio, perché è stato interamente consumato. Nel periodo di cui s'è detto prima, il pulcino dorme, ma se viene scosso si sveglia, guarda e pigola; e il cuore pulsa insieme con il cordone ombelicale come se respirasse. Lo sviluppo degli uccelli a partire dall'uovo presenta dunque questi caratteri. (traduzione di Mario Vegetti)

⁴³² Qui Aldrovandi decurta il testo di Aristotele e fa scomparire un vaso sanguigno, quello diretto al sacco del tuorlo. Ecco infatti come si esprime Aristotele in *Historia animalium* VI,3: Dal cordone ombelicale una vena si estende verso la membrana che avvolge il giallo (che dal canto suo in questo momento è fluido e più abbondante di quanto comporti la sua natura), e un'altra verso la membrana che racchiude sia la membrana in cui è contenuto il pulcino, sia quella del giallo, sia il fluido che si trova fra queste.

enim pullus paulatim increscit, vitellus seorsum in duas partes secatur, quarum altera locum tenet superiorem, altera inferiorem: et medius humor candidus continetur. Nec partem inferiorem a vitello liquor deserit albus, qualis ante habebatur. Decimo die albumen exiguum iam, et lentum, crassum, pallidulum novissime inest. Sunt enim locata quaeque hoc ordine. Prima, postremaque ad testam ovi membrana posita est, non testae ipsius nativa, sed altera illi subiecta. Liquor in ea <candidus est>. Deinde pullus continetur obvolutus membrana, ne in humore maneat. Mox pullo vitellus subiacet, in quem alteram ex venis prorere dictum est, cum altera albumen ambiens petat. Cuncta autem ambit membrana cum humore specie saniei. Tum vero membrana alia circa ipsum foetum, ut dictum est, ducitur arcens humorem: sub qua vitellus alia obvolutus membrana, in quem {umbelicus} <umbilicus> a corde, ac vena maiore oriens pertinet, atque ita efficitur, ne foetus alterutro humore attingatur.

Vicesimo die iam pullus, si quis putamine secto sollicitet, movet sese, pipitque aliquantulum, et iam ab eo die plumescit, quoties ultra vicesimum exclusio proferatur. Ita positus est, ut caput supra crus dextrum admotum ilibus, alam supra caput positam habeat. Quin etiam membrana, quae pro secundis habetur, post ultimam testae membranam, ad quam alter umbilicus pertendit, evidens per id tempus est, pullusque in eadem iam totus locatur. Et altera quoque membrana, quae et ipsa vicem secundarum praestat, vitellumque ambit, ad quem alter umbilicus procedit, latius patet. Oritur umbilicus uterque a corde, et vena maiore, ut dictum est. Fit autem per id tempus, ut umbilicus alter, qui in secundas exteriores fertur, compresso iam animante absolvatur: alter, qui adit vitellum, ad pulli tenue intestinum annectatur. Iam et pullum ipsum multum humoris lutei subit: atque in eius alvo faecis aliquid subsidit luteum. Excrementum etiam album eodem tempore pullus emittit, et in alvo quiddam album consistit. Demum vitellus paulatim absumitur totus membrorum haustu, ita ut si pullo decimo die post excluso rescindas alvum, nonnihil adhuc vitelli comperias.

the yolk and the interposed liquid. For while the chick is gradually growing the yolk splits distinctly itself into two parts, one occupying the upper space, the other the lower space: and a snow-white liquid is contained between them. And the albumen is not running out from the lower part of the yolk, such as it was before. On the tenth day by now the white is slight in amount and sticky, thick, and finally somewhat dull. The various parts are arranged in the following order. Set against the eggshell there are a first and a second membrane, the latter not being that belonging to the shell, but being the other lying beneath the first one. There is a snow-white liquid in it. Then the chick is contained, which is wrapped up by a membrane so it is not lying in the fluid. Then beneath the chick there is the yolk towards which I said is going one of two veins, while the other goes towards the surrounding albumen. A membrane with a liquid sticky in appearance envelops all these things. Then, as I said, there is a second membrane arranged around the foetus itself, separating it from the liquid: under this, enveloped by the other membrane, there is the yolk towards which goes the umbilical cord arising from the heart and the larger vein, and so it follows that the foetus is not touched by either liquid.

By now on the twentieth day, if the shell is broken and the chick is touched, it moves and peeps a little, and already from this day onward it begins to become covered with down every time the hatch goes on the twentieth day. It is so placed that its head is over the right leg which is close to the flanks, and it has its wing placed above its head. The membrane regarded as placenta is also well visible at this time, which lies after the innermost shell's membrane, and towards which goes one of two umbilical cords, and by now the chick is entirely contained in it. And also the other membrane, which also acts as placenta and surrounds the yolk, towards which the other navel-cord goes, is more largely visible. Both navel-cords arise from the heart and the larger vein, as has been said. It happens at this time that the navel-cord which goes to the outermost placenta tears itself away from the living creature now in cramped conditions: the other navel-cord which goes towards the yolk keeps fastened to the slender intestine of the chick. By this time much of the yolk enters the chick itself: and in its intestine some yellow residue remains. The chick at the same time emits also a white secretion and something white is present in his intestine. At last the yolk is all gradually consumed since it is used by the various parts of the body, so much so that if you cut open the intestine on the tenth day after the chick has been hatched, you will

(traduzione di Mario Vegetti) - Ma il colpevole dell'amputazione del testo è Teodoro Gaza* alla cui traduzione (1498) corrisponde perfettamente il testo di Gessner in *Historia animalium III* (1555) pag 417, debitamente ricopiato da Aldrovandi.

still find some of the yolk in it.

Umbilico vero absolvitur pullus, ne<c> quicquam praeterea haurit. Totus enim humor, qui in medio continebatur, absumptus iam est. Tempore autem supra dicto pullus dormit quidem, sed non perpetuo, quippe qui excitetur interdum, et movens se respiciat, atque pipiat. Cor etiam eius cum umbilico, ut spirantis reflat, et palpitat. Sed avium ortus ad hunc modum ex ovis agitur. Huc usque ille.

The chick becomes detached from the navel cord and it does not receive anything further. For the entire liquid contained within the egg has been already used up. During the period of time mentioned above the chick sleeps, but not continually, for it wakes up now and then, and in moving casts a glance around and peeps. And its heart together with the navel cord lifts up as in a breathing creature, and palpitates. Well, the birth of birds from eggs takes place in this fashion.» Thus far Aristotle*.

Quae quidem Plinius male intellixisse videri potest, dum sanguineam illam guttam, quam cor esse dixit Aristoteles, et in albumine consistere, medio vitelli inesse scribat: Contradicit autem in eo non Aristoteli tantum⁴³³ ac quotidianae experientiae, sed sibi ipsi, dum animal ex albumine corporari dicat, principium vero vitae, nempe cor, in vitello inesse sibi persuadeat: scribit vero in hunc modum⁴³⁴: *Omnibus ovis medio vitelli parva inest velut sanguinea gutta, quod esse cor avium existimant, primum in omni corpore id gigni opinantes: in ovo certe gutta salit, palpitatque. Ipsum animal ex albo liquore ovi incorporatur. Cibus eius in luteo est. Omnibus intus caput maius toto corpore: oculi compressi capite maiores. Increscente pullo candor in medium vertitur, luteum circumfunditur. Vicesimo die, si moveatur ovum, iam viventis intra putamen vox auditur. Ab eodem tempore plumescit, ita positus, ut caput supra dextrum pedem habeat, dexteram vero alam supra caput. Vitellus paulatim deficit. Hactenus Plinius Aristoteli in plurimis consentiens.*

It is clear that Pliny* misunderstood these things, since that bloody drop, which Aristotle said was the heart and situated in the albumen, he describes it as lying in the middle of the yolk. In this regard he contradicts not only Aristotle and daily experience, but himself, since he says that a living creature takes shape from the albumen, but persuades himself that the beginning of life, that is, the heart, lies in the yolk: for he writes as follows: *In all eggs there is like a small drop of blood in the middle of the yolk which people think is the heart of birds, under the opinion that this is firstly generated in whatever organism: in the egg this drop certainly leaps and palpitates. The animal itself is formed from the white liquid of the egg. Its food is in the yolk. In all chicks the head is larger than the entire body while they are still in the egg; the closed eyes are larger than the head. As the chick grows the white is turned to the middle and the yolk spreads around it. On the twentieth day, if the egg is moved, the voice of the living creature can already be heard within the shell. At about the same time the down grows out, and the chick's position is such that its head is above the right leg and its right wing above the head. The yolk gradually decreases. Thus far Pliny, agreeing in most points with Aristotle.*

⁴³³ *Historia animalium* VI,3, 561a 6 e sgg.: Nelle galline, dunque, un primo segno compare dopo tre giorni e tre notti; negli uccelli più grandi di queste occorre più tempo, in quelli più piccoli meno. In questo periodo il giallo viene risalendo verso l'estremità appuntita, là dove si trova il principio dell'uovo e dove esso si schiude, e nel bianco appare il cuore, delle dimensioni di una chiazza sanguigna. (traduzione di Mario Vegetti)

⁴³⁴ *Naturalis historia* X: [148] *Omnibus ovis medio vitelli parva inest velut sanguinea gutta, quod esse cor avium existimant, primum in omni corpore id gigni opinantes: in ovo certe gutta ea salit palpitatque. Ipsum animal ex albo liquore ovi incorporatur. Cibus eius in luteo est. Omnibus intus caput maius toto corpore, oculi compressi capite maiores. Increscente pullo candor in medium vertitur, luteum circumfunditur. [149] Vicesimo die si moveatur ovum, iam viventis intra putamen vox auditur. Ab eodem tempore plumescit, ita positus, ut caput supra dextrum pedem habeat, dextram vero alam supra caput. Vitellus paulatim deficit. Aves omnes in pedes nascuntur, contra quam reliqua animalia. - Aldrovandi, contrariamente a Gessner, non cita quest'ultima frase, forse per non impegnarsi in una discussione con Plinio, una discussione che probabilmente non poteva sostenere, in quanto dubito molto assai che avesse mai osservato un uccello mentre nasce, contrariamente al mio amanuense elettronico - Fernando Civardi* - che si beava della nascita dei suoi piccoli canarini. Io non ho mai visto nascere un uccello che non sia un pulcino di gallina, ma posso assicurare che il pulcino becca il guscio e ne fuoriesce con la testa e non con le zampe. Quando con l'approssimarsi della notte faccio l'ostetrico per evitare un aborto notturno, al pulcino lascio sempre il guscio che avvolge la metà inferiore del corpo per evitare, oltretutto, mortali emorragie. L'affermazione di Plinio della nascita di podice degli uccelli mi sembra alquanto strampalata. E Fernando mi dà ragione. - Conrad Gessner *Historia animalium III* (1555) pag. 417: *Ab eodem tempore plumescit, ita positus: ut caput supra dextrum pedem habeat, dexteram vero alam supra caput. Vitellus paulatim deficit. Aves omnes in pedes nascuntur, contra quam reliqua animalia, Plin.**

Contra Galenus⁴³⁵ id quod in ovo primum apparet, caput pulli esse existimat. Si igitur pueri generatio in utero eodem modo sese habeat, ut in ovo, quod doctissimis verbis docere Hippocratem medicorum {coriphaeum} <coryphaeum> supra ostendimus, et ex sanguinea illa gutta cor generetur, quod ex palpitatione, quae solius cordis passio est, Aristoteles, Pliniusque probant, et ego meis oculis vidi, non video, quomodo Galeni doctrina defendi queat, dum iecur primum nasci putat. Quominus enim huius partes agam, mihi obstat propria observatio. Ut enim trivialis huius controversiae inter medicos, ac philosophos veritatem indagarem, ex ovis duobus, et viginti, quae Gallina incubabat⁴³⁶, quotidie unum cum maxima diligentia, ac curiositate secui, et Aristotelis doctrinam verissimam esse reperi: sed quia istaec observatio, praeterquam quod scitu dignissima est, et ad praeteritorum explicationem apprimè idonea, et [217] voluptatem in se non mediocrem habeat, placuit eam hoc loco, quo brevius fieri possit, inserere.

Galen*, on the contrary, thinks that what first appears in the egg is the chick's head. If then the generation of a child takes place in the uterus in the same way it takes place in an egg, a thing that we have shown to be taught by means of most learned words by Hippocrates* coryphaeus - leader - of physicians, and that the heart is generated from that bloody drop since Aristotle and Pliny demonstrate this from the fact that it palpitates, a thing which is typical of the heart alone and I have seen with my own eyes, I do not see how Galen's doctrine can be defended, as long as he thinks that the liver is created first. It is my own observation which prevents me from taking sides with him. In order to search out the truth in this cheap controversy between physicians and philosophers, each day, with the greatest care and curiosity, I dissected one of twenty-two eggs which a hen was incubating, and I found that Aristotle's teaching is the true one: but since my such an observation, in addition to the fact that it is very well worthy to be known and extremely fitting for clarify the observations of the past times, is comprising a good deal of pleasure in itself, I thought that it is right to insert it at this point as briefly as possible.

⁴³⁵ *De anatomia vivorum*. (Aldrovandi) - Il *De anatomia vivorum* è la traduzione latina da un originale arabo, ma si tratta di un'opera spuria.

⁴³⁶ Doveva trattarsi di una gallina di razza gigante che covava uova particolarmente piccole deposte da galline nane, e anche in questo caso 22 uova sarebbero troppe per una sola gallina gigante. A mio avviso Aldrovandi non si cura assolutamente di dire il vero quando espone dati scientifici né si prende la briga di rendere il dovuto onore a uno dei più importanti collaboratori in questo suo studio di embriologia: l'olandese Volcher Coiter*. La conferma alla mia prima asserzione - così come per la seconda - è merito di Sandra Tugnoli Pattaro grazie al suo "Osservazione di cose straordinarie - Il *De observatione foetus in ovis* (1564) di Ulisse Aldrovandi" (Bologna, 2000). A pagina 21 cita uno stralcio del *De natura pueri* di Ippocrate: "Prendete venti uova o più, e mettetele a covare sotto due galline o più; [...]", che a pagina 52 della traduzione dal greco di Janus Cornarius del 1546 suona così: "Etenim si quis ova viginti aut plura, quo pulli ex ipsis excudantur, gallinis duabus aut pluribus subijcere velit, [...]". Da ciò possiamo dedurre che ai tempi di Ippocrate (460 - ca. 370 aC) le galline riuscivano a covare un numero di uova pari a quello delle loro colleghe del XXI secolo. È biologicamente scontato che nel 1564 le galline di Aldrovandi avevano le stesse doti di quelle di Ippocrate e delle nostre. Ciò implica una mancanza di precisione scientifica da parte di Aldrovandi, contrariamente a quanto dimostrato da Ippocrate, nonché da Marcello Malpighi (1628-1694) quando adduce la fonte materiale dei suoi due lavori sull'embrione di pollo (1672). Per il primo esperimento Malpighi afferma: "Descrivo ora i cambiamenti da me osservati in uova covate da una tacchina o da una gallina nostrana nel pieno dell'estate." Quindi Malpighi aveva a disposizione una gallina e una tacchina che avevano iniziato a covare contemporaneamente. Per il secondo esperimento: "In un uovo covato da una tacchina nello scorso mese di luglio[...]". E anche in questo caso non abbiamo nulla da ridire, in quanto le tacchine accolgono sotto di sé comodamente 25-30 uova abituali di gallina. E se Aldrovandi è così superficiale riguardo a un dato alla portata di tutti, cosa racconterà nei suoi studi di embriologia che alla portata di tutti non sono? Studi che appunto non condusse da solo, anche se da buon egocentrista afferma *quotidie unum cum maxima diligentia, ac curiositate secui*. Infatti Sandra Tugnoli scrive a pagina 10: "Invero, come risulta dai documenti, la questione si presenta nei termini seguenti. Sebbene nell'inedito e nell'*Ornithologia* non menzioni collaboratori, Aldrovandi non effettuò l'indagine in oggetto isolatamente, bensì insieme con un'*équipe* di studiosi, entro la quale verosimilmente il ruolo di anatomista venne svolto precipuamente da Volcher Coiter, ma promotore dell'indagine fu Aldrovandi, suo maestro." - Una massima dice: *Unicuique suum*. In questo modo meriti e demeriti vanno a chi di dovere. Credo che Aldrovandi tendesse a mettere in pratica un'altra massima di vita: *Quel che è mio è mio, e quel che è tuo è mio*. Insomma: con le 22 uova covate da una sola gallina il nostro Ulisse diventa per l'ennesima volta inaffidabile. Egli progettò il trattato di ornitologia il 22 novembre 1587, il secondo volume uscì dalla topografia nel 1600, mentre le sue osservazioni sull'embrione di pollo risalgono al 1564, quando potrebbe non aver annotato e quindi dimenticato il numero di chioce usate. Se nel 1600 voleva essere veramente scientifico, doveva solo scrivere: "...che forse una sola gallina stava covando."

Secundo itaque ab incubatu die, luteum observavi deferri ad cacumen, aliquo pacto alteratum, et in medio quasi subalbidum: cuius rei in primis Aristoteles non meminit. In aliqua vero parte albuminis, quae pariter erat alterata, semen Galli apparebat, quod tres illas videbatur obtinere qualitates, quales iam ante diximus.

Tertia die ablato putamine in parte ovi obtusa, vidi albumen, et reliquam substantiae ovi partem in superiori putamine separatam. Recesserat autem albumen aliquantulum a putamine, quemadmodum fieri videmus in ovis omnibus, quae minus recentia sunt. Hinc Plinius⁴³⁷ ova schista appellat tota lutea, quae triduo incubatu tolluntur. Vocat autem schista, teste Hermolao, quia dividantur, et discedat vitellus a candido.

Videbam item manifeste admodum membranas illas tres, quas ovis inesse ex Alberto dixi, et ex Aristotele etiam colligitur: neque verum est, quod secunda earum sit recenter genita. Si enim illud ita esset, minime in ovis nondum incubatis conspiceretur. Inest autem et his, ut etiam vidi, sed albior in incubatis caloris causa. Eadem die vitellus videbatur versus ovi partem acutam: atque hoc

- CHICKEN EMBRYO* - On the second day of incubation I observed that the yolk was moving to the sharper end of the egg, and it was altered in some way and almost whitish in the middle: a thing not mentioned first of all by Aristotle*. In some part of the albumen, which was equally altered, there appeared the rooster's semen, since it showed to have those three characteristics which I have already described before.

On the third day, after the shell was removed in the blunt part of the egg, I saw the albumen and the remaining part of egg's substance displaced towards the upper shell. For the albumen had receded a bit from the shell, as we see also to happen in all eggs which are less recent. Hence Pliny* calls *schista* - split - eggs those which are entirely yellow and are removed at the third day of incubation. According to Hermolaus Barbarus*, he calls them *schista* - split - because they split and the yolk separates itself from white.

And so as well I saw quite clearly those three membranes situated inside the eggs, as I said when quoting Albertus* and as it is possible to catch also from Aristotle: and it is not true that the second membrane is recently generated. For if this were so, it would by no means be visible in eggs not yet incubated. On the other hand it is present in these eggs, as I also saw, but is more white in incubated eggs because of heat. On the same day the yolk was towards the sharper

⁴³⁷ Siccome incorreremo nel latino *sitista* di Plinio, premettiamo che l'aggettivo greco *σιτιστός* riferito agli animali significa ben nutrito, ingrassato; deriva dal verbo *σιτίζω* che significa nutrire. - La trasformazione di *sitista* in *schista* è dovuta a Ermolao Barbaro *Castigationes Plinianae*: EX LIBRO VIGESIMONONO EX CAPITE III: FIUNT ET TOTA LUTEA QUAE VOCANT SITISTA: Alii codices habent Siciста. Ipsum legendum fere arbitror Schista: quoniam ab incubatu exempta quasi dividantur et discedat vitellus a candido. Nam & luteum & candidum dicit Aristoteles de animalium generatione tertio, membranis inter sese distinguuntur: & incubante ave concoquenteque animal ex alba parte ovi secernitur, augetur ex reliqua. - I nostri testi riportano abitualmente *sitista*, come risulta dal seguente brano della *Naturalis historia* XXIX, 45: Utilia sunt et cervicis doloribus cum anserino adipe, sedis etiam vitis indurata igni, ut calore quoque prosint, et condylomatis cum rosaceo; item ambustis durata in aqua, mox in pruna putaminibus exustis, tum lutea ex rosaceo inlinuntur. Fiunt et tota lutea, quae vocant sitista, cum triduo incubata tolluntur. Stomachum dissolutum confirmant pulli ovorum cum gallae dimidio ita, ne ante II horas alius cibus sumatur. Dant et dysintericis pullos in ipso ovo decoctos admixta vini austeri hemina et pari modo olei polentaeque. - Nella *Naturalis historia* Plinio usa *schistos* per indicare un minerale in XXIX,124, XXXIII,84 e in XXXVI,144,145 e 147. L'aggettivo *schistos*, -a, -on significa fissile, cioè che si può fendere, che si può dividere facilmente, derivato dal greco *schizō* = scindo, divido; viene usato da Plinio in XXX,74, in XXXI,79 e in XXXIII,88 riferito all'allume. Il sostantivo maschile *schistos* significa limonite*, minerale ferroso che nella varietà pulverulenta, nota con il nome di ocre gialla, viene usata come pigmento colorante (terra di Siena). Ma Plinio usa l'aggettivo *schistos* per indicare anche una cipolla che, come lo scalogno - *Allium ascalonicum* -, possiede un bulbo composto da bulbilli aggregati i quali possono essere separati e quindi usati uno a uno per riprodurre la pianta, come accade per l'aglio comune o *Allium sativum*. Ecco il brano di Plinio in cui parla della cipolla di Ascalona e della cipolla *schista* in *Naturalis historia* XIX: [101] Alium cepasque inter deos in iureiurando habet Aegyptus. Cepae genera apud Graecos Sarda, Samothracia, Alsidenā, setania, schista, Ascalonia, ab oppido Iudaeae nominata. Omnibus etiam odor lacrimosus et praecipue Cypridis, minime Cnididis. Omnibus corpus totum pingui tunicarum cartilagine. [102] E cunctis setania minima, excepta Tusculana, sed dulcis. Schista autem et Ascalonia condiuntur. Schistam hieme cum coma sua relinquant, vere folia detrahunt, et alia subnascuntur iisdem divisuris, unde et nomen. Hoc exemplo reliquis quoque generibus detrahi iubent, ut in capita crescant potius quam in semen. - Plinio usa *schistos* anche per indicare un modo di preparare il latte in XXVIII,126: Medici speciem unam addidere lactis generibus, quod schiston appellavere. Id fit hoc modo: fictili novo fervet, caprinum maxime, ramisque ficulneis recentibus miscetur additis totidem cyathis mulsi, quot sint heminae lactis. Cum fervet, ne circumfundatur, praestat dyathus argenteus cum frigida aqua demissus ita, ne quid infundat. Ablatum deinde igni refrigeratione dividitur et discedit serum a lacte. - Insomma: com'era prevedibile, nessuna traccia in *Naturalis historia* delle uova *schista* citate da Aldrovandi in quanto furono ideate da Ermolao Barbaro. Anche Conrad Gessner riporta le uova *schista* come notizia dovuta a Plinio in *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 420: Fiunt et tota lutea quae vocant schista, cum triduo incubata tolluntur, Plin. - Viene da pensare che anche Gessner abbia fatto affidamento sulla *castigatio* di Ermolao Barbaro.

est, quod dicebat Philosophus⁴³⁸. *Effertur per id tempus luteus humor ad cacumen, ubi est ovi principium*, nam ibi est maior calor, et vis spermatis. Apparebat etiam in albumine exiguum velut punctum saliens, estque illud quod Philosophus cor statuit. Ex eo vero evidenter admodum videbam enasci venae trunculum, et ab hoc duos alios ramulos proficisci, qui meatus illi fuerint sanguiferi, quos ad utranque tunicam ambientem vitellum, et albumen protendi ille dixerat. Sum autem omnino eius sententiae, ut eiusmodi vias credam esse venosas, ac pulsatiles, sanguinemque in iis contineri puriorem, principalium membrorum generationi, iecoris nempe, et pulmonis, similitumque idoneum: adeo ut recte dixerit Philosophus⁴³⁹, *tertia die signa apparere, an ova foecunda sint futura*: licet eiusmodi observatio in maiorum avium, utpote Cynorum, Anserum, ac id genus aliarum ovis locum minime habeat. In eiusmodi enim, ut idem Philosophus testis est, paulo tardius ea signa apparent.

Quarta die bina videbantur puncta, et quodlibet eorum sese movebat: quae haud dubio cor, et iecur fuerint, quae viscera in ovis triduo incubatis idem dixit. Apparebant item duo alia puncta nigricantia, nempe oculi: et iam luteum manifeste ad acutam ovi partem, ubi maior calor est, et spermatis vis sese receperat. Trahitur autem a spermate illud pro carnis generatione, ut in omnibus animantibus fit, quae sibi simile generant.

Quinta die non amplius punctum illud quod cor esse diximus, extra videbatur moveri, sed obtegi, ac cooperiri, et duo illi meatus venosi evidenciores conspiciebantur, alter vero maior altero: nec verum est, quod Albertus scripsit, apparere in tunica illa, quae albumen includit: nisi forte id de tertia tunica, seu secundina dixerit, cui evidenter venae insunt, nam alioqui in illa nullius venae vestigium inerat. Harum venarum insita vi reliqua albuminis portio quasi in palearem colorem immutatur. Videbantur etiam ramuli ad locum tendere, in quo caput formatur, eo scilicet puriorem materiam, a qua caput, ac in eo cerebrum fiat, una cum virtute formatrice deferentes. Erat

end of the egg: and this is what the Philosopher said. *During this time the yellow liquid moves to the pointed part where the principle of the egg is located*, for the heat is greater there as well as the force of the sperm. It was also visible in the albumen something like a small jumping speck, and this is what the Philosopher established as the heart. Truly, I saw quite clearly arising from it the little trunk of the vein, and from this two other branches coming forth, which would have been those blood-ducts which he said to go towards the two tunics surrounding the yolk and the albumen. In fact I am entirely of Aristotle's opinion, since I believe that such ducts are venous, and pulsating, and that the blood they contain is purer, suitable for generation of main organs, particularly of liver and lungs, and similar structures: so much so that the Philosopher rightly said that *on the third day there appear the signs whether the eggs will be fertile*: although there is very little room for such an observation in eggs of larger birds as swans, geese and other similar fowls. For, as also the Philosopher testifies, these signs appear a little later in such birds.

On the fourth day two points were visible and each of them moved: without doubt they were the heart and the liver, viscera he said to be present in eggs incubated for three days. There also were visible two other blackish specks, precisely the eyes: and now the yolk clearly withdrew towards the pointed pole where the heat is greater as well as the force of the sperm. For it is attracted by the sperm for the generation of the flesh, as it happens in all living creatures which generate a creature looking like themselves.

On the fifth day that speck which I said was the heart did not seem to move more, but that it was hidden and covered up, and those two vein-ducts were more evident, one larger than the other: and it is not true what Albertus wrote, that they appear in that tunic which encloses the albumen: unless perhaps he was alluding to the third tunic - allantoid, or afterbirth, in which there are clearly visible veins, for however there was no trace of a vein in that enveloping the albumen. By the inborn force of these veins the remaining portion of the albumen changes to a sort of straw color. Little branches seemed to tend to the place in which the head is formed, carrying to it, along with the molding force, a purer material from which the head is formed and, within it, the brain. The sketch of the head was still

⁴³⁸ *Historia animalium* VI,3, 561a 9-12: In questo periodo il giallo viene risalendo verso l'estremità appuntita, là dove si trova il principio dell'uovo e dove esso si schiude, e nel bianco appare il cuore, delle dimensioni di una chiazza sanguigna. (traduzione di Mario Vegetti)

⁴³⁹ *Historia animalium* VI,3, 561a 6 e sgg.: Nelle galline, dunque, un primo segno compare dopo tre giorni e tre notti; negli uccelli più grandi di queste occorre più tempo, in quelli più piccoli meno. (traduzione di Mario Vegetti)

autem capitis fabrica valde rudis adhuc ac informis: oculi vero conspiciores, atque ervi quasi magnitudine.

Sequenti dein die ablato superiori partis obtusae putamine, eiectisque duabus prioribus tunicis, tertia evidentem cernebatur venulis referta: de hac locutum fuisse Philosophum⁴⁴⁰ arbitror cum inquit: *Membrana etiam fibris distincta sanguineis*: atque haec meo iudicio secundina dici potest. Dein inter hanc, et quartam membranam, quae foetum involvebat, humor erat aquosus: quem autumo serosam albuminis partem esse, quae post natum foetum superest, tanquam ad generationem inepta. Eam vero membranam innuere videtur Aristoteles a meatibus illis venarum ortum ducere, quatenus scilicet vi fibrarum a venoso illo meatu ortarum in palearem, vel sanguineum colorem immutatur. Cernebatur deinde totus foetus moveri, et oculi iam maiores erant, quam in praeterita die: at partes inferiores, thorax nempe, venter, et pedes, erant valde imperfectae, nec discerni adhuc poterant, et rostrum erat mucosum: ut recte dixerit Aristoteles⁴⁴¹: *pars inferior corporis nullo membro, a superiori distingui inter initia cernitur*. Caput denique tota inferiori corporis parte maius erat.

Septima die aperta quarta tunica foetum conspeximus parvum adhuc, ac indistinctum cum oculis tamen magnis, triplicique in illis humore, crystallino nempe, vitreo, et aqueo. Aperto capite iam cerebrum aperte cernebatur, minus vero reliquae partes. Unde dicebat Philosophus⁴⁴². *Paulo post* (intelligit meo iudicio diem quintam usque ad nonam inclusive) *et corpus iam pulli discernitur, exiguum admodum primum, et candidum, conspicuum capite, et maxime oculis inflatis, quibus ita permanet diu, {uti nos conspeximus:} <uti nos conspeximus:> et sero, inquit, [218] decrescunt oculi, et se ad ratam proportionem contrahunt, quod quidem verissimum est: siquidem in quartadecima, aut quintadecima die aliquantum resident diminuti propter caloris digestionem.*

quite rough and shapeless: the eyes, to say the truth, were more visible and nearly of the size of a lentil.

Then on the following day - the sixth - when the upper part of the blunt end of the shell was removed, and the two first tunics were taken away, the third tunic covered by little veins was clearly visible: I think the Philosopher spoke of this one when he said: *Also a membrane marked with bloody fibers*, and this in my opinion can be called afterbirth. Then between this tunic and the fourth, which enveloped the foetus, there was a watery liquid: which I believe is the serous part of the albumen, which is left over after the foetus is born, being unfit for generation. Aristotle seems to hint that this membrane takes its origin from those vein-ducts since by the force of the fibers arising from that vein-duct it is changed to a straw or bloody color. Moreover the entire foetus was seen to move and the eyes were by now larger than on the day before: but the lower parts, and precisely thorax, belly and legs were quite imperfect, neither they could yet be discerned, and the beak was mucous: as Aristotle rightly said: *at the beginning the lower part of the body cannot be distinguished from the upper part through any organ*. Finally, the head was larger than the entire lower part of the body.

On the seventh day, when the fourth tunic - amnios - was opened, I saw the foetus still small and indistinct, with eyes nevertheless large and a triple humor in them, and precisely crystalline, vitreous, and aqueous. After the head was opened the brain was by now clearly visible, but less the remaining parts. Hence the Philosopher was saying: *A little later* (he means, in my judgment, the fifth to the ninth day inclusive) *the body of the chick is now visible, quite small at first and snow-white, conspicuous with its head and great bulging eyes which remain a long time thus, as I saw: later on, he says, the eyes decrease in size and contract to their proper volume*; this is quite true: in fact, on the fourteenth or fifteenth day they turn out fairly diminished because of the concoction by the heat.

⁴⁴⁰ *Historia animalium* VI,3, 561a 15-16.: E una membrana provvista di fibre sanguigne racchiude ormai in questa fase il giallo, a partire dai condotti venosi. (traduzione di Mario Vegetti)

⁴⁴¹ *Historia animalium* VI,3, 561a 21-22: Nella zona inferiore del corpo non si distingue all'inizio chiaramente alcuna parte, se la si confronta con quella superiore. (traduzione di Mario Vegetti)

⁴⁴² *Historia animalium* VI,3, 561a 17-21: Poco tempo dopo incomincia a differenziarsi anche il corpo, all'inizio piccolissimo e bianco. Si distingue chiaramente la testa, e in essa gli occhi che sono molto prominenti; questo stato perdura a lungo, perché essi diventano piccoli e si contraggono molto tardi. (traduzione di Mario Vegetti)

Octava rursus die oculi maiores adhuc videbantur, utpote ciceris ferme magnitudine. Totum corpus tunc sese velociter movebat, et iam crura, et alae distincte cerni incipiebant. Rostrum tamen interim mucosum adhuc erat. Sed forte quispiam quaerat, cur prius superiores, quam inferiores partes in eiusmodi formatione appareant: cui responsum velim, virtutem, seu facultatem formatricem in superioribus magis quam in inferioribus vigere, quod spiritales sint, et per consequens plus caloris obtineant. Caeterum istaec omnia, quae hac die videbam, sequenti manifestiora apparebant.

Decima die non amplius caput toto corpore maius erat, magnum tamen, ut in infantibus etiam videmus: magnitudinis autem causa est humidissima cerebri constitutio. Quod vero Aristoteles dicit⁴⁴³ *oculos fabis maiores esse*, id profecto minime verum est, si de vulgaribus nostris fabis locutus fuerit, cum alioqui ervi, vel ciceris albi magnitudinem non excederent: atque hinc etiam non absurde quispiam colligat fabas antiquorum fuisse rotundas, quales araci sunt, quem ideo fabam veterum quidam existimant. Neque etiam verum est quod tradit⁴⁴⁴, {*tunc*}, <tunc>, scilicet, *oculos pupillis adhuc carere*. Etenim hae non tantum hac die apparebant, sed duabus etiam praecedentibus, una cum omnibus partibus, ac humoribus. Quod vero ait *detracta cute nihil solidi videri, sed humorem tantum candidum, rigidum, et refulgentem ad lucem, nec quicquam aliud*, id de crystallino humore mihi dixisse videtur, qui tamen haud solus apparebat, sed vitreus quoque et albugineus, unde non parum hallucinatus videri potest Philosophus, uti etiam Albertus, qui eo tempore nihil duri, et glandulosi in iis reperiri existimat, cum crystallinus humor solidus sit, ac quam maxime conspicuus.

Eadem item die vidi omnia viscera, nempe cor, iecur, pulmonem. Cor autem, et iecur erant albicantis coloris: et cordis motus non solum apparebat, antequam foetum aperirem, sed iam secto etiam thorace moveri videbatur. Erat autem pullus involutus quartae illi membranae

- Chicken embryo* - Furthermore, on the eighth day the eyes appeared further larger, being that almost had the size of a chickpea. The entire body then moved swiftly and by now legs and wings began to be distinctly visible. Nevertheless the beak was meanwhile still of mucous texture. Perhaps someone might ask why in a formation of this sort the upper parts appear before the lower parts: I would like to reply to him that the formative force or faculty is stronger in the upper parts rather than in the lower ones, since the former are respiratory and consequently have more heat. Furthermore, all the things I saw on this day became clearer on the following day.

On the tenth day the head was no longer larger than the entire body, but it was large nevertheless, as we also see in newborn children: the reason for its bigness is the very humid constitution of the brain. As to the fact that Aristotle* says *the eyes are larger than broad-beans*, this is by no means true if he has spoken of our common broad-beans since generally they do not exceed a lentil or a white chickpea in size: and hence someone doesn't deduce absurdly that broad-beans of the ancients were round like wild peas - *Pisum arvense* - are, whence some people think they are the broad-bean of the ancients. Nor is it true what he reports, that at that time *the eyes still lack pupils*. For not only did they appear on this day but also on the two previous days along with all their parts and humors. When he said *nothing solid could be seen when the covering is removed but a snow-white humor, stiff and shining in the light, and nothing else*, he seems to me to have said this of the crystalline humor, which, however, did not appear alone, but also the vitreous and albugineous - sclera, hence the Philosopher seems to have got the wrong end of the stick, as Albertus* did also, who thinks that at this time there is nothing hard and glandulous, whereas the crystalline humor is solid and very well visible.

On the same day I saw all the viscera, that is, heart, liver, lung. The heart and liver were of a whitish color: and the heart's movement not only was evident before I opened the foetus but it seemed to move even when the thorax had been cut. The chick was wrapped up in that fourth membrane - amnios - filled with many veins so

⁴⁴³ *Historia animalium* VI,3, 561a 30-32: In questo periodo gli occhi sono prominenti, più grandi di una fava e neri; se si asporta la pelle, vi si trova all'interno un liquido bianco e freddo, assai risplendente in piena luce, ma nulla di solido. (traduzione di Mario Vegetti)

⁴⁴⁴ *Historia animalium* VI,3, 561a 28: E esso ha ancora la testa più grande del resto del corpo, e gli occhi più grandi della testa; e tuttora privi della vista. (traduzione di Mario Vegetti)

plurimis venis refertae⁴⁴⁵, ne in humore iaceret. Cernebam etiam vasa umbilicalia prope anum ad umbilicum deferri, ibique infer<r>i, ut cibum per illum petat foetus. Vidi denique, quod Aristoteles non advertit, in dorso prope uropygium pennarum principia nigricantia menti humani cuti non absimilia, cui pili abrasi sint.

Die subsequenti haec omnia erant manifestiora, et in superioris rostellae extremitate erat quid albidum, cartilagineum, et subduriusculum, quod rursus die decimatertia magis erat conspicuum. Erat autem rotundum milii grano haud absimile. Sagacissima rerum parens natura id ibi fabricasse videtur, ut impediatur, ne rostello suo vel venulas, vel membranulas, vel alias quascunque tenerrimas particulas pertundat. Aiunt mulierculae, pullos iam natos cibum capere non posse nisi prius id auferatur.

Decimaquarta die pullus iam totus plumescerebat. Decimaquinta in digitis ungues albicantes apparebant. Die vero decimasexta ovum aperire placuit in opposita parte, ubi nativa tunica, sed unica tantummodo apparebat, eaque alba. Alteram enim quam in altera parte semper videram, hic observare minime datum est. Itaque dubitabam an ea tantum pro albuminis tutela nata sit, cum scilicet ovum non sit recens, vel ad pulli defensionem in ovo incubato. Nam indies illa magis magisque decidere videtur, et foetum sequi, qui sui gravitate deorsum decedit.

Aristoteles etiam unicam tantum esse eiusmodi tunicam his verbis⁴⁴⁶ videtur innuere. *Sunt, inquit, quandoque locata ova hoc ordine, prima, postremaque ad testam ovi membrana posita est, non testa ipsius nativa, sed altera illi subiecta: liquor in ea candidus est*, quasi diceret, omnes partes in ovo locatae sunt hoc ordine; nempe prima, postremaque ad testam ovi membrana posita est. Intelligit meo iudicio per primam, et postremam membranam, eas membra<na>s

that it would not become immersed in the liquid. I also saw the umbilical vasa near the anus going towards the umbilicus and entering there, so that the foetus might take its food through it. Finally, I saw something Aristotle does not mention: on the back near the uropygial gland* the blackish beginnings of the feathers, very similar to the skin of the human chin when its bristles have been shaved off.

On the following day all these items were more evident, and on the extremity of the upper beak there was something whitish, cartilaginous and rather hard which afterwards, on the 13th day, was more apparent - the diamond*. It was round, not dissimilar to a grain of millet. Nature, very shrewd parent of the things, seems to have built this here to prevent that with its little beak he bruises or little veins, or little membranes, or any other quite tender part. Farm women say that new-born chicks cannot take food unless this structure is first removed.

On the fourteenth day the chick was already entirely covered with down. On the fifteenth, whitish nails appeared on its toes. On the sixteenth day I went to open the egg in the opposite part where was visible the tunic belonging to the shell, but only one, and it was white too. For the other one I ever had seen in the opposite side, in this point it is quite impossible to be observed. Thus I was doubtful whether it took birth only for the protection of the albumen when the egg is not recent or for the defense of the chick in the incubated egg. For day by day this tunic seems to fall down more and more and to follow the foetus, which falls downward because of its own weight.

Also Aristotle by the following words seems to hint that such a tunic is only one. He says: *Since the eggs are set up in this order, set against the eggshell there are a first and a second membrane, the latter not being that belonging to the shell, but being the other lying beneath the first one: there is a snow-white liquid in it*, as if he was saying that in egg all parts are arranged in this order; and precisely that the first and the second membrane are set against the eggshell. He means, according to my judgment, by first and last membrane those membranes recently generated in the

⁴⁴⁵ Stavolta è Aldrovandi che verosimilmente prende un abbaglio in questo farraginoso sovrapporsi di membrane senza un nome specifico. Questa quarta membrana dovrebbe corrispondere all'amnios che, al contrario dell'allantoide, non è vascolarizzato, e dovrebbe corrispondere a quanto riferito da Aldrovandi a pagina 216 quando riporta la descrizione tratta da Aristotele. Infatti a pagina 216 leggiamo: Tum vero membrana alia circa ipsum foetum, ut dictum est, ducitur arcens humorem: sub qua vitellus alia obvolutus membrana, in quem umbelicus [umbilicus] a corde, ac vena maiore oriens pertinet, atque ita efficitur, ne foetus alterutro humore attingatur.

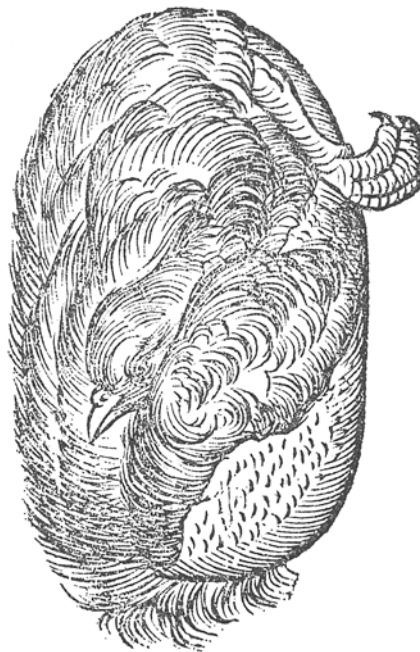
⁴⁴⁶ *Historia animalium* VI,3, 561b 15-18: Ogni parte si trova così disposta nel modo seguente: in primo luogo, all'estrema periferia presso il guscio c'è la membrana dell'uovo, non quella del guscio ma quella al di sotto di essa. In questa è contenuto un fluido bianco, poi il pulcino, e attorno a esso una membrana che lo isola, affinché non sia immerso nel fluido; sotto il pulcino è sito il giallo, a cui porta una delle vene menzionate, mentre l'altra va al bianco circostante. (traduzione di Mario Vegetti)

recens in incubato ovo genitas, eas videlicet, quas aliquoties appellavi tertiam secundinam, et quartam, quam involventem foetum dixi. Nam cum dicit testae nativam non esse, ostendit nec primam, nec secundam esse, quae ab altera ovi parte reperitur. Videtur igitur excludere hanc nativam sive primam, vel secundam, et intelligere tertiam, quam secundinam saepe vocavi. Cum vero dicit⁴⁴⁷, *sed altera illi subiecta*, intelligit eandem, secundinam nempe testae subiectam, quod vel ex hoc maxime liquet, quod candidum in ea liquorem inesse dicat. Is enim, ut supra ostendi, inter tertiam, et quartam continetur. Hinc manifesto errore Suessanus convincitur, qui ex Ephesio per primam interpretatur eam, quae testae adhaeret, per postremam vero, quae albumini.

Quae omnia a nobis observata quotidie in sequentibus diebus evidentiora, utpote in perfectissimo pullo apparebant. Die vero vigesima pullus putamine a parente Gallina ablato hora vigesimasecunda sua sponte exivit. Sequens icon ostendit situm perfecti iam pulli in utero [ovo?⁴⁴⁸].

incubated egg, of course those which I sometimes called the third placental one - allantoid - and the fourth which I said is enveloping the foetus - amnios. For when he says that the membrane is not belonging to the shell he shows that it is neither the first, nor the second which is found in the other side of the egg. He therefore seems to exclude that this one belonging to the shell is the first or the second, and to understand that it is the third, which often I called afterbirth. For when he says, *but the other lying beneath it*, he means that same membrane, that is the afterbirth one, set against the shell, and this is very clear also from the fact that he says there is a snow-white liquid in it. For this liquid, as I showed above, is contained between the third and fourth ones. Hence the Suessanus - Agostino Nifo* - proves to be in manifest error for he interprets from Michael of Ephesus* as first membrane that which adheres to the shell and as last that which adheres to the albumen.

All these things I daily observed became more evident in the following days, since they were appearing in a quite perfected chick. On the twentieth day, the shell being removed by mother hen, on the twenty-second hour the chick came out by himself. The following picture shows the position of a by now completed chick in the uterus.



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Post exclusionem reperi in putamine tunicas duas albas nativas una cum duabus aliis in

After the chick was hatched I found in the shell its two white tunics together with the two other created during

⁴⁴⁷ *Historia animalium* VI,3, 561b 17: Ogni parte si trova così disposta nel modo seguente: in primo luogo, all'estrema periferia presso il guscio c'è la membrana dell'uovo, non quella del guscio ma quella al di sotto di essa. (traduzione di Mario Vegetti)

⁴⁴⁸ Forse non si tratta di una svista di Aldrovandi, bensì di una conseguenza delle elucubrazioni di Aristotele contenute in *De generatione animalium* e riportate da Aldrovandi a pagina 215, per cui negli ovipari l'uovo corrisponderebbe a un utero materno staccato dalla madre.

incubatu genitis, secundina nempe, et quae foetum ipsum involverat, in qua excrementum adhuc inerat subalbidum. Evidenter adhuc apparebant in pullo tria illa vasa umbilicalia, duae scilicet arteriae, et vena una, et orificium umbilici valde erat contractum. Vena vero iecori per alium ramum, qui recta ad illud tendebat, inseri videbatur. Mirum autem erat, quod extra id nihil lutei appareret, cum tamen in cavitate abdominis, ubi intestina sunt, prope anum pullus per umbilicum totum fere id absorberat, simul cum quinta tunica, quae id involverat. Tanta autem ibi lutei inerat copia, ut vix duplo plus sit in ovo nondum incubato. Aristoteles etiam scripsit⁴⁴⁹, *decima ab ortu die si alvus abscindatur aliquid adhuc lutei in ea conspici*. Sed consideratione in primis dignum est, quomodo eiusmodi membrana, quam una cum vitello a pullo absumi diximus, post eijciatur. Videtur autem dicendum, quod per eandem viam, {umbilicum} <umbilicum> videlicet, regredi debeat, vel per anum, quod potius credo. Tunicae huic duo vasa implantantur, quorum unum arteriam esse, et a corde proficisci pulsus indicat: alterum vena est, deferturque ad intestina, lutei videlicet vehiculum {;} <.> Hepar erat coloris admodum lutei, forte quod ex luteo per venas attracto nutriatur.

Praetereo modo tritam illam, ideoque otiosam potius, quam curiosam quaestionem, num Gallina prior ovo sit, an contra. Constat enim Gallinam fuisse prius ex sacris bibliis, quae docent animalia ab initio mundi fuisse creata: non igitur ex ovo Gallina, sed ex nihilo. Quod si vero quis obstinatius dicat, omnia quae sunt aliquando coepisse, ideoque ovum a natura iure prius factum videri, quoniam quod incipit, imperfectum adhuc, et informe sit, et ad perfectionem sui per procedentis artis, et temporis additamenta formetur. { Ille} <, ille> facile acquieturus est, dum ovum, cuius est, nec initium, nec finem esse sciat. Nam initium semen est, finis avis ipsa formata, ovum vero seminis digestio. Cum igitur semen animalis sit, et ovum seminis: ovum sane ante animal esse non potuit. Quod si rursus ova avium seminaria esse dicat, ipsum quid semen sit ignorare dicam. Semen autem ex Philosophorum sententia, generatio est ad eius,

incubation, and precisely the placental one - allantoid - and that which had enveloped the foetus itself - amnios - in which a whitish secretion was still present. In the chick they were still quite clearly visible those three umbilical vessels, that is, two arteries and one vein, and the opening of the umbilicus was greatly shrunk. It was possible to see the vein to plug into the liver by another branch which was straight going towards it. It was remarkable that, besides this, nothing of the yolk was visible, since through the umbilicus the chick had absorbed it almost completely in the abdominal cavity where the intestinal loops are near the anus, along with the fifth tunic which had enveloped the yolk. For there was so great a quantity of yolk that in an egg not yet incubated there is barely more than twice of that amount. Aristotle* also wrote that *if on the tenth day from birth the abdomen is cut, one can still see some of the yolk in it*. But it is worth noting first of all how a membrane of this sort, which I said is absorbed by the chick together with the yolk, is later thrust out. It seems we should say that it ought to move out through the same passage, that is, the umbilicus, or through the anus, which I should prefer to believe. Two vessels are implanted in this tunic, one of these being an artery, and its pulsation indicates that it proceeds from the heart: the other is a vein and goes to the intestinal loops, evidently the vehicle of the yolk. The liver was of a rather yellow color, perhaps because it was nourished by the yolk attracted through the veins.

I barely glance at that trite and then otiose rather than curious question, whether the hen exists before the egg or vice versa. It turns out from the Scriptures that the hen existed first, and they teach that animals were created from the beginning of the world: hence the hen does not come from the egg but from nothing. But if someone rather stubbornly should affirm that all things which exist began in a given moment, and that therefore the egg rightly seems to have been created first by Nature, since what has a beginning is still imperfect and formless and it makes its way to its perfection by a progressive addition of work and time, he would easily calm himself, since he must know that an egg, wherever it is, is neither the beginning nor the end. For the beginning is the semen, the end is the formed bird itself, but the egg is the concoction of the semen. Since therefore the semen is of the animal, and the egg is of the semen, obviously the egg cannot will have been before the animal. But if, on the other hand, he should affirm that birds' eggs are seedbeds, I should say he does not know what a semen is. For, according

⁴⁴⁹ *Historia animalium* VI,3, 562a 14-16: Da ultimo il giallo, che è andato sempre diminuendo, finisce per essere del tutto consumato e assorbito nel pulcino, tanto che, se si seziona il pulcino dopo ben dieci giorni dall'uscita dall'uovo, si trova ancora un poco di giallo rimasto attaccato all'intestino; però è separato dal cordone ombelicale e non ve n'è più nel tratto intermedio, perché è stato interamente consumato. (traduzione di Mario Vegetti)

ex quo est, similitudinem pergens. Quomodo itaque queat ad similitudinem rei pergi, quae necdum est? Sic etiam neque semen ex eo, quod nondum subsistit, emanat. Verum de hac quaestione Plutarchum⁴⁵⁰, Macrobius⁴⁵¹ lector consulere poterit, qui exacte eam tractant. Nobis enim diutius ei immorari et locus, et tempus prohibent.

Pariunt Gallinae, Perdicesque ova complura, ut, Aristoteles tradidit, et Plinius ex eo repetiit, et quotidiana experientia docet: aliae tamen aliis plura pro aetatis ratione: iuvencae enim, teste Plinio⁴⁵² plura, quam veteres, sed minora, et in eodem foetu prima ac novissima pariunt. Quare Varro⁴⁵³ anniculas ad partum, aut bimas appositissimas dicebat. Confecta vero bruma parere fere incipiunt, atque earum, quae sunt foecundissimae locis tepidioribus circa kalendas Ianuarias, frigidis eodem mense post idus⁴⁵⁴. Coeunt autem, et pariunt omnibus anni temporibus, exceptis brumalibus diebus, teste Aristotele⁴⁵⁵, qui tamen alibi binos brumales menses excipit, quam postremam sententiam Plinius sequutus est, et experientia comprobatur⁴⁵⁶. Pariunt tamen nonnullae et his diebus sed raro. Sunt quae tam multa pariant,

to the philosophers' point of view, a semen is a procreation proceeding towards the likeness of that from which it comes. How then could it proceed towards the likeness of something which does not yet exist? Thus also the semen does not proceed from what does not yet exist. Concerning this question the reader might consult Plutarch* and Macrobius*, who treat it exactly. For both time and space prevent me from lingering on it any longer.

Hens and partridges* lay many eggs, as Aristotle reports and Pliny* quoted from him, and as daily experience teaches us: however some birds lay more than others because of their age: for young birds lay more than old ones, according to Pliny, but eggs are smaller and in a same laying career they are such the first and the last ones. Therefore Varro* said that year-old or two-year-old hens were best for laying. They chiefly begin to lay when winter is over, and in warmer places the most fertile among them do lay around the kalends of January - January 1st, in cold places in the same month after the ides - January 13th. They have coitus and lay at all times of the year, however, except during the winter days, according to Aristotle, who nevertheless elsewhere excepts a couple of winter months, and Pliny followed this affirmation and the experience confirms it. Some hens lay even during these days, but seldom. There are some hens who lay so many eggs that they do so also

⁴⁵⁰ *Symposia*, 2. (Aldrovandi) - *Symposia (Quaestiones convivales)*, II 3,1 sgg. (= pag. 635D sgg.)

⁴⁵¹ *Saturnalia*, VII. (Aldrovandi) - Aldrovandi rimaneggia un poco il testo di Macrobio VII,16: "Si concedimus omnia quae sunt aliquando coepisse, ovum prius a natura factum iure aestimabitur. Semper enim quod incipit imperfectum adhuc et informe est et ad perfectionem sui per praecedentis artis et temporis additamenta formatur: ergo [...]" e, oltre a rimaneggiarlo, usa l'espressione *procedentis artis* invece di *praecedentis artis*.

⁴⁵² Aristotele *De generatione animalium* III,1, 749b: Negli uccelli pesanti e che non volano, come nei polli, nelle pernici e in tutti gli altri di questo tipo, siffatto residuo si produce abbondantemente; per questo i maschi sono propensi al coito e le femmine emettono abbondante materia. Alcuni di siffatti uccelli depongono molte uova, altri di frequente: molte la gallina per esempio, la pernice e lo struzzo, mentre i colombidi non ne depongono molte, ma frequentemente. (traduzione di Diego Lanza) - Plinio *Naturalis historia* X,146: Quaedam omni tempore coeunt, ut gallinae, et pariunt, praeterquam duobus mensibus hiemis brumalibus. Ex iis iuvencae plura quam veteres, sed minora, et in eodem fetu prima ac novissima. Est autem tanta fecunditas ut aliquae et sexagena pariant, aliquae cotidie, aliquae bis die, aliquae in tantum ut effetae moriantur. Hadrianis laus maxima.

⁴⁵³ *Rerum rusticarum* III,9,9: Adpositissimae ad partum sunt anniculae aut bimae.

⁴⁵⁴ Columella, *De re rustica* VIII,5,1: Confecta bruma parere fere id genus avium consuevit. Atque earum quae sunt fecundissimae locis tepidioribus circa Kalendas Ianuarias ova edere incipiunt, frigidis autem regionibus eodem mense post Idus. - Ai tempi di Columella il calendario giuliano, voluto da Giulio Cesare nel 46 aC, era in uso ormai da circa un secolo, per cui le idi di gennaio cadevano al 13 anziché al 15 dello stesso mese.

⁴⁵⁵ *Historia animalium* V,13, 544a 24-544b 11 (passim): Quanto agli uccelli domestici, o che possono essere addomesticati, essi depongono uova più volte, per esempio i colombi, che lo fanno lungo tutta l'estate, e il genere dei gallinacci, nel cui ambito i maschi effettuano il coito e le femmine lo subiscono e depongono uova in ogni stagione, tranne che nei giorni del solstizio d'inverno. <...> I colombi depongono uova e le covano in ogni stagione, se sono provvisti di un luogo caldo e di tutto il necessario; altrimenti, solo d'estate. Le covate migliori risultano quelle della primavera e dell'autunno, mentre quelle estive, cioè delle giornate molto calde, sono le meno buone. (traduzione di Mario Vegetti)

⁴⁵⁶ *Historia animalium* VI,1, 558b 13-14: È il caso ad esempio della gallina e della colomba; la prima anzi genera tutto l'anno ad eccezione dei due mesi del solstizio invernale. V,13, 544a 33: Quanto agli uccelli domestici, o che possono essere addomesticati, essi depongono uova più volte, per esempio i colombi, che lo fanno lungo tutta l'estate, e il genere dei gallinacci, nel cui ambito i maschi effettuano il coito e le femmine lo subiscono e depongono uova in ogni stagione, tranne che nei giorni del solstizio d'inverno (traduzione di Mario Vegetti) - Plinio *Naturalis historia* X, 146: Quaedam omni tempore coeunt, ut gallinae, et pariunt, praeterquam duobus mensibus hiemis brumalibus.

ut id bis etiam die faciant. Sed tales, teste Aristotele⁴⁵⁷, cito pereunt. Hyperinae⁴⁵⁸ enim, id est, exhaustae, effoetaeque et aves, et plantae fiunt. Optima foetura est, quae ante vernalis aequinoctium {a}editur. Post solstitium nata non implent magnitudinem iustam, tantoque minus quanto serius provenire. Unde dicebat M. Varro⁴⁵⁹: *Aiunt optimum esse partum {aequinotio verno, aut autumnali} <ab aequinoctio verno ad autumnale>.* Itaque quae ante, aut postea nata sunt, et etiam prima eo tempore non supponenda. Sed de differentiis partus supra diximus.

Parituram sese Gallina clamore prodit, eodemque peperisse se testatur, quod si impediatur, mox tamen sibi relicta cantum absolvit: eiusmodi cantum Columella⁴⁶⁰ singultum appellasse videri potest, dum ait: *Parituras se Gallinae testantur crebris singultibus interiecta voce acuta.* Sunt qui dolere eas, cum pariunt, arbitrantur. Ambrosius Nolanus quaerens cur solae Gallinae parto ovo gracillenti, sive cantent: An quia, inquit, tum maxime dolent, non eo quod exiens ovum laesit, sed quoniam locus vacuus factus aerem suscepit frigidum, quo pacto et lotium facientibus, dum vesica inanita est, aërem capiens dolorem movet quendam. Verum nunquid ob ingressum in vulvam aërem doleant, si modo verum est, quod doleant, aliis diiudicandum reliquo. Profecto parere eas sine dolore ex Aristotele colligitur, dum, ut antea quoque diximus, testam membranam mollem [220] fuisse scribat ante partum.

twice a day. But such hens, according to Aristotle, die in a short time. For both plants and animals become *hyperinae*, that is, exhausted and worn out by delivery. It is the best breed-product that one which takes place before the vernal equinox. Those laid after the summer solstice do not reach their proper size, and the less the more later they have been laid. Hence Marcus Varro said: *They say the best delivery is that from the vernal until the autumnal equinox. Thus the eggs laid before or after, and even the first ones laid at that time should not be set under the hens for incubation.* But I have spoken above of the different features of egg-laying.

A hen by cackling lets know that she is about to lay, and still by cackling announces that she laid, but if prevented from doing this, as soon as left to herself she breaks out her song: it seems that Columella* called this song a hiccup when he says: *Hens announce that they are about to lay by frequent hiccups with interposition of a shrill call.* There are people who think hens are in pain when they lay eggs. Ambrogio Leone* - Ambrosius Leo Nolanus - when wondering why only hens *caw*, or sing after laid the egg, he says: *Perhaps because they are then especially pained, not because in passing out the egg has wounded them, but because the place made empty has received cold air, as it happens also to those who are urinating, where the vesica, when empty out, in receiving air is bringing them a certain pain.* To say the truth, I leave for others to judge whether they are in pain because of entrance of air into genital apparatus, if really it is true that they grieve. Without any doubt it can be gathered from Aristotle that they lay without pain since, as I said earlier, he writes that before delivery the shell is a soft wrapper.

⁴⁵⁷ *De generatione animalium* III,1, 750a 29-30: Anche alcune galline che hanno deposto troppe uova, persino due al giorno, dopo questa ricca produzione muoiono. Sia gli uccelli sia le piante sono completamente consumati e questa affezione consiste nell'eccesso di escrezione del residuo. (traduzione di Diego Lanza)

⁴⁵⁸ L'aggettivo greco *hypérinos* significa purgato eccessivamente, estenuato da eccessiva fecondità.

⁴⁵⁹ Si emenda in base al testo edito dalla UTET nel 1974 e che è il seguente: *ab aequinoctio verno ad autumnale.* Aldrovandi ha fatto il download da pagina 426/427 della *Historia animalium* III (1555) di Conrad Gessner, ma il testo di Varrone citato da Gessner non ha assolutamente senso. - Varrone *Rerum rusticarum* III,9,9: *Optimum esse partum ab aequinoctio verno ad autumnale. Itaque quae ante aut post nata sunt et etiam prima eo tempore, non supponenda; et ea quae subicias, potius vetulis quam pullitris, et quae rostra aut unguis non habeant acutos, quae debent potius in concipiendo occupatae esse quam incubando. Adpositissimae ad partum sunt anniculae aut bimae.*

⁴⁶⁰ La fonte della citazione è Alberto Magno*, come possiamo desumere da Conrad Gessner *Historia animalium* III (1555) pag. 415: *Gallina cum clamore accedit ad nidum, et cum clamore ab eodem recedit. quod si impediatur, mox tamen sibi relicta cantum absolvit, Albert.* - Lo schiamazzo della gallina quando sta recandosi al nido e quando ne esce è ovviamente in rapporto al fatto che deve deporre l'uovo e che l'ha deposto. Ma Aldrovandi, rimaneggiando il testo di Gessner che sta citando Alberto, grazie a delle tortuosità sintattiche a lui congeniali sembra fare un'affermazione che ha tutto il sapore di un sadismo nei confronti della gallina: parrebbe che qualcuno si sia messo in testa non di impedire alla gallina di uscire dal nido, bensì di deporre l'uovo, che so, tappandole magari l'orifizio cloacale con un dito. Si traduce il testo così come proposto da Aldrovandi, ma Alberto ha voluto dire tutt'altro: se blocchiamo la gallina nel nido essa non canta nonostante abbia deposto l'uovo, mentre si mette subito a cantare non appena viene lasciata libera di abbandonare il nido. - Columella *De re rustica* VIII,5: *Adsiduus autem debet esse custos et speculari parientes, quod se facere gallinae testantur crebris singultibus interiecta voce acuta.*

*Testa, inquit*⁴⁶¹, *membrana mollis fuit. Id enim quod testa futurum est: perfecto ovo, durum ac rigidum ita modice evadit, ut exeat adhuc molle. Dolorem enim moveret, nisi ita exiret. Egressum statim refrigeratum duratur, evaporato humore quam primum, qui exiguus inest, relictaque portione terrena.*

Nec obstat, quod aliquando visa fuerint ova cruore suffusa, quale mihi allatum fuit {ad} <a.d.> XVI. Kal. Maii, domi meae natum, cuius putamen totum erat punctis, et maculis, et lineolis sanguineis cruentatum, non enim id ex uteri laesione fieri putarim, sed potius ob diapedesim, seu transudationem copiosioris sanguinis, quo venas uteri plus aequo aliquando turgere contingit.

Oppianus⁴⁶² scribit facilius parere, si festucam e terra ore apprehensam dorso imposuerint: sed credere illi sine superstitione hac in re non possum: scio tamen Gallinas parientes eiusmodi festucas saepe ore contrectare, pericarpismumque Plutarcho⁴⁶³ dici, cum Gallinae, ut scribit Theophrastus, quod Aristoteles⁴⁶⁴ etiam posuit, et est a Plinio⁴⁶⁵ repetitum, {a}edito ovo, ceu religione quadam sese, et ova lustrant. Illud etiam admirandum videtur, cur noctu tenera pariant, eademque nisi ad magnam usque diei partem completa, ac dura. Sed hoc rursus admirabilis, quod quae alias tenera erant {a}editurae, dura parturiant, si aliquas horas antelucanas viderint lucernae lumen, ita ut sub ortum Solis cogantur ea parere pauculo sale supposito, quo ingenio utuntur gulae magistri, dum ova recentissima sorbenda parant. Causam huius rei reddere conatur Ambrosius Nolanus⁴⁶⁶ hoc modo: quod scilicet

The shell, Aristotle says, has been a soft membrane. For what is destined to be the shell is as follows: when the egg is completed it comes out so moderately hard and stiff that it comes forth still soft. For it would provoke pain if it did not issue in this manner. After it came out, being immediately cooled, it hardens as at once its moisture evaporates, which is slight, and the earthly portion remains.*

Nor it is clashing the fact that sometimes eggs have been seen to be suffused with blood, such as that laid in my farm which was brought to me on the sixteenth day before the kalends of May - April 16th, whose entire shell was gory by specks, spots, and little streaks, and I wouldn't think that this is occurring from injury to the uterus but rather because of diapedesis, or transudation of some quantity of blood, owing to which the veins of the uterus sometimes happen to swell up more than normally.

Oppian from Apamea* writes that hens lay more easily if they place upon their back a blade plucked from the ground with the mouth: but I cannot believe him without superstition: however, I know that when hens are laying often wield such straws with the mouth, and that by Plutarch* this is called *perikarpismòs* - the covering themselves with straw, being that the hens after laid an egg, as Theophrastus* writes, and also Aristotle affirmed and is repeated by Pliny*, as for a sort of ritual they purify themselves and eggs. It also seems strange why they lay soft eggs at night and the same eggs are not complete and hard but when a large part of the day has passed. But it is more strange that those hens who otherwise would have laid soft eggs, they lay hard eggs if they saw the light of a lantern some hours before dawn, so that they are forced to lay their eggs at about sunrise with a little salt placed under them, an ingenious expedient used by gastronomy experts when they get very fresh eggs for sucking. Ambrogio Leone* - Ambrosius Leo

⁴⁶¹ Aristotele, *De generatione animalium* III,2, 752a 31-752b 1: Tuttavia non ci si accorge che ciò che diventa guscio è in principio una membrana molle, e compitosi l'uovo diventa duro e secco in modo tanto tempestivo che esce ancora molle (procurerebbe altrimenti sofferenza a deporlo) e appena uscito, raffreddatosi si consolida, perché l'umido evapora velocemente data la sua scarsezza e rimane l'elemento terroso. (traduzione di Diego Lanza)

⁴⁶² *Ixentica*. (Aldrovandi)

⁴⁶³ *Symposia (Quaestiones convivales)*, VII 2,1 sgg. (= pag. 700D sgg.): "E se noi spesso siamo in difficoltà per le domande degli amici, è in particolare perché Teofrasto <f. 175 Wimmer> indietreggiare davanti a questa domanda sulle opere dove aveva riunito e studiato un numero di fenomeni..., per esempio il comportamento delle galline che, quando depongono le uova, si circondano di pagliuzze..."

⁴⁶⁴ *Historia animalium* V,2, 560b 7-9: Dopo l'accoppiamento esse arruffano le piume e si scuotono, e spesso gettano festuche tutto attorno (la stessa cosa fanno talvolta anche dopo la posa), mentre le colombe trascinano al suolo la coda e le oche si tuffano in acqua. (traduzione Mario Vegetti)

⁴⁶⁵ *Naturalis historia* X,116: Villaribus gallinis et religio inest. Inhorrescunt edito ovo excutiuntque sese et circumactae purificant aut festuca aliqua sese et ova lustrant.

⁴⁶⁶ Ambrosius of Nola *Emblemata* 160. He is also known as Leo Nolanus and Leone Ambrogio. The *Emblemata* are not listed separately among the works of this sixteenth-century writer in either the British Museum or Bibliothèque nationale catalogs, but are

lumen ignis visum, sensumque Gallinarum obtenebret, ac perturbet, quamobrem velut stupidae, et ebriae nihil cogitant de cibo parando, quaerendoque, sed potius sileant, cubentque ac facillime se et capi, et tractari sinant. Quod si vero eo tempore lumen absit, tum antelucanis horis surgant, sedesque deserant, cibum sibi quaesiturae, unde veluti relicto officio concoquendi ovum nisi post Solis ortum durescere queat. Concoquere vero tum maxime, cum nihil vident, aut visu turbantur, signum est, quod obcaecatae acu Gallinae, Capique, caeteraque volucres mirifice pinguescant.

Solent in Gallinariis alveoli lignei, sive cistulae vimineae disponi, in quibus Gallinae sine ovorum detrimento facilius parturiant. Eiusmodi cistulas etiam vascula viminea appellant, Varro⁴⁶⁷, et Columella⁴⁶⁸ Gallinarum cubilia, Apuleius⁴⁶⁹ {calatha} <calathos>, et lecticulas, cum ait: *Heus puer calathum foetui Gallinaceo destinatum angulo solito collocato, ita uti fuerit iussum puero procurante Gallina consuetae lecticulae, spreto cubili*, etc. Quibus verbis etiam indicat, suo aevo eiusmodi lectos in angulis Gallinariorum solere locari, ut nostri agricolae hodierno tempore adhuc etiam faciunt. Quod vero apud veteres etiam stramen vasculis illis imponerent, colligo quoque ex Iuvenale⁴⁷⁰.

*Grandia praeterea tortoque calentia feno
Ova adsunt ipsis cum matribus.*

Libentius vero, et commodius pariunt, cum iam prius ovum in nido conspiciunt: quamobrem cum aliqua ova tam propria quam aliena ex<s>orbent, aliqui marmor, vel similem lapidem candidum ad ovi similitudinem efformatum nido imponunt.

Ovum autem cum perfectum est, et

Nolanus - tries to explain the reason for this in the following manner: for the light of the fire dims and perturbs the vision and the perception's faculty of hens, thus like dazed and drunken creatures they give no thought to getting or seeking food, but on the contrary keep silent and roost, and allow themselves to be taken and handled very easily. But if at that time there is no light, then they rise in the hours before dawn, desert their pens looking for food, hence, having been so to speak abandoned the job of concoction, the egg cannot get hard but after sunrise. For that the more they devote themselves to the concoction the less they see nothing or are not troubled when seeing, it is shown by the fact that hens blinded with a needle, as well as capons and other birds, grow wonderfully fat.

They are usually placed in hen houses wooden tubs or small wicker baskets in which the hens can more easily lay without injury to eggs. They call these baskets also wicker vessels, Varro* and Columella* call them nests, Apuleius* calls them baskets and nests when he says: "Hey boy, place in the usual corner the basket destined to the hen's eggs laying." When the boy was doing as he was ordered, the hen, after she refused as bed the usual nest, etc. By these words he also indicates that in his time beds of this kind were usually set in the corners of hen houses, as still now today also our farmers do That also among ancients they arranged straw on these containers I gather from Juvenal* too:

*Furthermore there are large and warm eggs in the twisted straw
with the mothers themselves.*

But they lay more willingly and better if already beforehand they see an egg in the nest: therefore when they swallow some egg, either its own or of someone else, some people place in the nest marble or a similar snow-white egg-shaped stone.

When the egg is completed and free from anomalies, it

probably contained in either his *Castigationes adversus Averroem* or the *Novum Opus Quaestionum*, neither available for inspection. (Lind, 1963)

⁴⁶⁷ *Rerum rusticarum* III,9,7: Inter duas ostium sit, qua gallinarius, curator earum, ire possit. In caveis crebrae perticae traiectae sint, ut omnes sustinere possint gallinas. Contra singulas perticas in pariete exclusa sint cubilia earum.

⁴⁶⁸ *De re rustica* VIII,3,4-5: Nam etiam in his ipsis locis ita crassos parietes aedificare convenit, ut excisa per ordinem gallinarum cubilia recipiant, in quibus aut ova edantur aut excludantur pulli. Hoc enim et salubrius et elegantius est quam illud quod quidam faciunt, ut palis in parietis vehementer actis vimineos qualos superponant. [5] Sive autem parietibus ita ut diximus cavatis aut qualis vimineis praeposenda erunt vestibula, per quae matricibus ad cubilia vel pariendi vel incubandi causa perveniant. Neque enim debent ipsis nidis involare, ne dum adsiliunt pedibus ova confringant.

⁴⁶⁹ *Metamorphoseon* IX, 33: Et "heus", inquit "puer calathum foetui gallinaceo destinatum angulo solito collocato." Ita, uti fuerat iussum, procurante puero gallina consuetae lecticulae spreto cubili ante ipsius pedes domini praematurum sed magno prorsus futurum scrupulo partum. Non enim ovum, quod scimus, illud; sed pinnis et unguibus et oculis et voce etiam perfectum edidit pullum, qui matrem suam coepit continuo comitari.

⁴⁷⁰ *Satira* XI,70-71: Grandia praeterea tortoque calentia feno | ova adsunt ipsis cum matribus, et servatae [...].

monstrositatis expers, bicolor est, forma tereti, et pene sphaerali. Sed cum in his animalibus, quorum partus numerosus est, monstra saepe nascantur, et praecipue in avium genere, earumque potissimum in Gallinis, ut Aristoteles⁴⁷¹ docet, itaque quam breviter fieri poterit, de monstrosis partibus aliquid dicamus. Eorum causam in materia esse, et putat, et probat iam citato loco Philosophus eam autem in Gallinis magis, quam Columbibus, quarum partus tamen etiam numerosus est, abundare, non modo, quod saepe pariant, ut illae, verumetiam quod multos simul conceptus intra se contineant, et omnibus temporibus coeant. Hinc etiam gemina parere plura. Cohaerere enim conceptus, quoniam in propinquo alter alteri sit, quomodo interdum fructus arborum complures. Quod si vitelli distinguantur membrana, geminos pullos discretos sine ulla supervacua parte generari. Sin vitelli continuentur, nec ulla interiecta membrana disterminentur, pullos ex his monstrificos prodire corpore, et capite uno, cruribus quaternis, alis totidem, quoniam superiora ex albumine generentur, et prius, (vitellus enim eis cibus est) pars autem inferior postea instituat, quanquam cibus idem, indiscretusque suppeditetur. Albertus etiam propter corruptionem vitelli, unde alimentum suppeditandum erat, pullum vult imperfecte formari, et quasdam partes in ipso non absolutas inveniri, aut simul coniunctas, ut in abortu animalis vivipari ante perfectionem lineamentorum foetus.

Non debent itaque antiqui eiusmodi monstra prodigii loco habere, si ex nimia materiae abundantia nasci certum est. Iulius Obsequens⁴⁷² auctor est, C. Claudio, M. Perpenna Coss. pullum Gallinaceum quadrupedem natum esse, et prodigii loco habitum. Ego aliquot monstrorum icones suo loco exhibiturus sum.

is of two colors, roundish in shape and almost spherical. But since among those animals whose offspring is large, freaks are often born, and especially in the genus of birds, and among these firstly in hens, as Aristotle points out, then let me say something as briefly as I can about monstrous births. The Philosopher thinks and proves in the passage already referred that their cause is in the material and that this is more abundant in hens than in doves, whose offspring is however large too, and not only because they lay often like the former ones, but also because the hens contain simultaneously many products of conception within themselves and copulate at all seasons. Hence they lay also several twin eggs. For the products of conception cling together, since they are close each other, as sometimes it happens when the fruits of trees are very numerous. But if the yolks are separated by a membrane, separate twin chicks are generated without any exceeding part. But if the yolks are held together nor are bounded by any interposed membrane, from them they hatch freak chicks with one body and one head, with four legs and as many wings, since the upper parts are generated from the albumen, and earlier, (for the yolk is food for them), while the lower part comes into existence afterwards, although an identical and equal food is supplied. Also Albertus* thinks that the chick grows up imperfectly because of the corruption of the yolk whence the food had to be supplied, and that in it - the chick - they are found some parts which did not come untied, or which are joined together, as in an abortion of a viviparous animal before the perfection of the lineaments of the foetus.

Thus the ancients should not have regarded monstrosities of this kind as a prodigy, being that it is certain that they are created from a too great abundance of matter. Julius Obsequens* tells us that in the consulship of Caius Claudius and Marcus Perpenna* a gallinaceous chick was born with four legs, and that it was regarded as a prodigy. I shall exhibit some pictures

⁴⁷¹ *De generatione animalium* IV,4, 770a 6-23: Ma in generale si deve piuttosto pensare che la causa stia nella materia e negli embrioni quando si costituiscono. Perciò siffatte anomalie si producono assai raramente negli unipari, e più nei multipari e soprattutto negli uccelli, e tra gli uccelli nei polli. Questi non sono solo multipari perché depongono spesso uova, come il genere dei colombi, ma perché portano contemporaneamente molti prodotti del concepimento, e si accoppiano in ogni stagione. Perciò producono molti gemelli: i prodotti del concepimento grazie alla reciproca vicinanza si formano insieme, come molti frutti fanno talvolta. In tutti quelli che hanno i tuorli definiti dalla membrana nascono due piccoli separati senza alcuna superfetazione, mentre in quelli che hanno i tuorli contigui e senza alcuna interruzione i piccoli nascono anomali con un corpo e una testa, ma quattro gambe e quattro ali, perché le parti superiori dell'animale si formano prima e dal bianco, essendo controllato il loro alimento proveniente dal tuorlo, mentre la parte inferiore si forma dopo e l'alimento è unico e indistinto. (traduzione di Diego Lanza)

⁴⁷² *Liber prodigiorum*, cap. 53, C. Claudio M. Perpenna coss. Bubo in aede Fortunae Equestris comprehensus inter manus expiravit. Faesulis fremitus terrae auditus. Puer ex ancilla natus sine foramine naturae qua humor emittitur. Mulier duplici natura inventa. Fax in caelo visa. Bos locuta. Examen apium in culmine privatae domus consedit. Volaterris sanguinis rivus manavit. Romae lacte pluit. Arretii duo androgyni inventi. Pullus gallinaceus quadripes natus. Fulmine pleraque icta. Supplicatio fuit. Populus Cereri et Proserpinae stipem tulit. Virgines viginti septem carmen canentes urbem lustraverunt. Maedorum in Macedonia gens provinciam cruenta vastavit. [anno 662 ab Urbe condita - 92 aC]

Caeterum Gallinae nonnullae, ut idem Aristoteles⁴⁷³ alibi author est, ova mollia, hoc est. sine testa pariunt vitio, quae Albertus inter subventanea annumerat. Nicander existimat eiusmodi ova parere propter ictum, vel propter multitudinem ovorum se invicem comprimentium.

of monstrosities in their proper place. Furthermore, some hens, as elsewhere Aristotle writes, lay soft eggs, that is without shell*, because of a fault, which Albertus reckons among wind-eggs. Nicander* thinks they lay eggs of this kind because of a blow or because of the large number of eggs pressing against each other.

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Praeterea Albertus⁴⁷⁴ ovum se observasse tradit prorsus sphaericum [221] duabus testis intectum, una intra alteram, cum albumine aquoso tenui inter utranque absque ullo vitello, et altero etiam albumine intra interiorem testam. Idem refert, hypenemia dari exteriori testa carentia, sed membranam tantum habentia, quae testae subijci solet. Putat autem hoc inde fieri, quoniam talia ova humida sunt, et aquosa, et exiguo calore praedita, maxime si cibo humido Gallinae nutriantur. Sunt qui trilecitha⁴⁷⁵, id est, triplicis vitelli ova reperiri dicunt, eaque in medio testae plerunque cavitatem habere, ut {Elluchasim} <Elluchasem> sese intellexisse scribit⁴⁷⁶. Ornithologus⁴⁷⁷ enarrat, se aliquando ovum vidisse, cuius putamen ab altera parte extrema in angustum velut collum instar cucurbitae se colligebat. Mihi multa omnino sphaerica visa, et admodum exigua, quae ad Columbarum ova vix accederent: unum etiam quod adhuc in Musaeo reservo, Anserino haud minus, plicis, rugisque insigne, quod illustris Io. Baptista Barbazza Bononiensis mihi olim donavit.

Furthermore, Albertus* reports that he observed a quite round egg covered by two shells, one within the other, with a thin watery white substance between each and without any yolk, and with also another albumen within the inner shell. Still he himself is telling that they are found wind-eggs without the external shell but having only the membrane usually laying beneath the shell. Then he thinks this happens because such eggs are humid and watery and furnished with little warmth, especially if the hens are fed on humid food. Some people say that *trilecitha* - *trilekitha* - eggs are found, that is, with three yolks, and that often they show a cavity in the middle of the shell, as Elluchasem Elimithar* writes that he himself noticed. The Ornithologist reports that sometimes he saw an egg whose shell, at one of two ends, got narrower like the neck of a gourd. I have seen many eggs fully spherical in shape and quite small, which barely were close to doves' eggs: I saw also an egg I'm still keeping in my museum which is no smaller than a goose egg, marked with folds and wrinkles, which the excellent John Baptista Barbazza of Bologna once gave me.

Sed videamus modo, an Gallus etiam ovum pariat. Etsi enim Aristoteles⁴⁷⁸, aliique veteres,

But now let us see whether also a rooster can lay an egg. For although Aristotle* and other ancients so far as I

⁴⁷³ *Historia animalium* VI,2 559a 15-18: L'uovo di tutti gli uccelli ha sempre un guscio duro - se risulta da una fecondazione e non è guasto, perché certe galline depongono uova molli - ed è bicolore, risultando bianco alla periferia, giallo all'interno. (traduzione di Mario Vegetti)

⁴⁷⁴ *De animalibus* I,81: Ego tamen iam vidi ovum gallinae, quod habuit duas testas, unam intra aliam, et in medio duarum testarum habuit albuginem, et intra interiorem etiam non fuit nisi albugo, et fuit ovum parvum, totum rotundum ad modum sperae. Sed hoc erat unum de naturae peccatis et monstris. § Vedi il lessico alla voce Ovum in ovo - Uovo matreshka*.

⁴⁷⁵ *Trilekitha* è parola non attestata. Comunque λέκιθος è il rosso dell'uovo in Ippocrate (*Mul.* II 205) e in Aristotele, per esempio in *Historia animalium* VI,3 562a 29.

⁴⁷⁶ *Tacini Sanitatis ... de sex rebus non naturalibus... conservandae sanitatis* - Citato anche da Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 420: Audio et trilecitha, id est triplicis vitelli ova interdum reperiri: frequentius vero dilecitha, eaque in medio testae plerunque cavitatem habere. Magis nutriunt et subtiliora sunt ova quae duos vitellos habent, Elluchasem. - Ma è assai verosimile che Aldrovandi abbia letto di corsa il brano di Gessner. Infatti la citazione delle uova con tre tuorli e con due tuorli sembra appartenere a Gessner (*audio*), mentre a Elluchasem bisogna attribuire la sola affermazione che le uova che hanno due tuorli nutrono di più e sono più delicate (Magis nutriunt et subtiliora sunt ova quae duos vitellos habent), omessa da Aldrovandi, che ha omesso anche le uova *dilecitha* di Gessner.

⁴⁷⁷ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 420: Ego me aliquando ovum videre memini cuius testa ab altera parte extrema in angustum veluti collum instar cucurbitae se colligebat.

⁴⁷⁸ Invece Aristotele ne parla nella *Historia animalium* VI,2: È accaduto di osservare formazioni simili all'uovo in un certo stadio del suo sviluppo (cioè tutto uniformemente giallo, come lo sarà più tardi il vitello), anche in un gallo sezionato sotto il diaframma,

quod sciam, nullam huius rei mentionem faciunt, idque ex recentioribus Albertus falsum esse scribat, tamen id alios viros doctissimos non credere tantum, sed ex experientia propria id scribere video: {a}edere autem id inquit, cum iam decrepitus esse incipit, ac senectute confici, idque nonnullis septimo, nono, aut ad summum decimoquarto aetatis anno evenire pro virium vel robore, vel imbecillitate, aut etiam concumbendi consuetudine, qua nulli non animantium naturae vis deijcitur, atque enervatur: tunc scilicet ex putrefacto intus seminis excremento aut humorum colluvie conflari ovum existimant, {a}edique sub Caniculae exortu, quod tunc maxime ab ambientis calore expultrix languida in alite decrepita iuvetur.

Taceo modo mihi bis, terve a viris etiam non plebeis, sed fide dignissimis ovum allatum, quod e Gallo natum affirmabant. Sunt qui eiusmodi ova semper rotunda, ac orbiculata esse tradunt. Mihi tamen relatum est apud Ferrantem Imperatum Pharmacopaeum Neapolitanum in celeberrimo eius Musaeo oblongum videri. Ea vero quae mihi visa sunt, erant rotunda, colore modo luteo, buxio, flavescente, lurido. Item vix ante octiduum nescio quis ruptum ad me attulit, quod vitello omnino carere dixisses. Erat enim totum ferme album: inerat tamen quod media parte aliquo pacto flavesceret: habebat etiam quod iam quasi ad generationem vergeret.

Quod vero nonnulli dicant testa carere, sed adeo durae pellis esse, ut fortissimis ictibus resistat, id plane fabulosum esse existimo, uti etiam quod vulgus in tota Europa existimat, ex eo basiliscum generari, maxime si a rubeta, vel bufone excludatur⁴⁷⁹. Levinus Lemnius⁴⁸⁰ medicus praestantissimus propria sese experientia comprobatum habere tradit, Gallum non {a}edere tantum ovum, sed incubare etiam. Scribit autem in civitate Zirizaea, atque insulae huius ambitu duos annos Gallos non tantum ovis suis

know make no mention of this matter, and Albertus, among later scholars, writes that this is false, nevertheless I see that other very learned men not only believe this, but that they write this according to their own experience: for they say that he lays it when he begins to be already decrepit and worn-out by old age, and in some rooster it happens in the seventh, ninth, or at most, the fourteenth year of age in proportion either to power or weakness of strength, or even because of mating habit, by which the physical strength of some living creatures is reduced and weakened: then they think that undoubtedly the egg is formed from a secretion of semen putrefied within or from a rinsing of fluids and that it is sent out at the beginning of dog days* - August, because in this moment the expulsion's power, which is weak in an aged bird, takes plenty of advantage from the surrounding heat.

Only just I mention the fact that twice or thrice also men who are not of the common run of humans but most trustworthy brought me an egg which they claimed was born from a rooster*. Some people report that such eggs are always round and spherical. Nevertheless, I have been told that at home of Ferrante Imperato*, pharmacist at Naples, in his very famous museum, an oblong egg can be seen. But those which I have seen were round, barely yellow in color, pale as boxwood*, yellowish, pale yellow. Likewise, approximately eight days ago, someone I do not know brought me a broken egg which you would have said completely lacking yolk. For it was almost entirely white: however there was something in the middle part which was somehow yellowish: it also had something as already verging towards generation.

As to the fact that some say such egg lacks shell but has a skin so hard that it resists the strongest blows, I think this is quite fanciful, as it is also what the common people of whole Europe believe, that is, that a basilisk is generated from it, especially if the egg has been laid by a poisonous toad or an ordinary toad. Levinus Lemnius*, a most prominent physician, informs that he has confirmation from his own experience that a rooster not only lays an egg but even incubates it. Further on he writes that in the city of Zierikzee - on Schouwen Duiveland island in Zeeland* - and in the territory of this island, two aged roosters not only incubated their

laddove le femmine hanno le uova; queste formazioni sono interamente gialle d'aspetto, e grandi come le uova. Vengono tenute in conto di mostruosità. (traduzione di Mario Vegetti)

⁴⁷⁹ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 406: Dicunt quidam decrepitum gallum, ovum ex se generare, idque in fimo ponere absque testa, sed pelle tam dura ut ictibus validissimis resistat: atque hoc ovum fimo calore foecundari ita ut basiliscus ex eo gignatur: qui serpens sit per omnia gallo similis, sed cauda longa serpentina. ego hoc verum esse non puto, quanquam ab Hermete proditum, scriptore apud multos fide digno, Albertus. Et rursus, Basiliscos aliquando dicunt gigni de ovo galli, quod plane falsum est et impossibile. nam quod Hermes docet basiliscum generare in utero (generari in fimo) non intelligit de vero basilisco, sed de elixir (elydrio) alchymico, quo metalla convertuntur. - Hermes dovrebbe essere Ermete Trismegisto*.

⁴⁸⁰ Per il testo completo contenuto in *De oculis naturae miraculis* si veda il lessico alla voce Levinus Lemnius*.

incubasse, verum etiam fustibus aegre ab illo opere abigi potuisse, atque ita, quoniam cives eam persuasionem concepissent, ex eiusmodi ovo basiliscum emergere, ovum {conterisse} <contrivisse>, et Gallum strangulasse.

Verum quicquid hic, aliique dicant, ego ne iurantibus quidem crediderim, tantum abest, ut Gallum id in fimo ponere, ut eius calore foecundetur, aut ab incubantibus id rubetis basiliscum generari credam, ut nonnulli etiam nugati sunt. Haud interim negarim Gallum quid ovo simile ex conglobata intus putri concretionem, maxime in ultimo eius senio, cum non amplius coit, concipere, ovum integrum una cum testa excludere minime credam. Hoc enim in matrice perfici ratio dictat. Ut autem a viro totum foetum excludi nemo dixerit, ita neque a Gallo, qui cum Philosophorum, tum medicorum dogmatibus edoctus loquitur.

Unde relictis eiusmodi nugis, caetera, quae ad huiusce avium generis procreationem spectant, prosequamur. Supersunt modo, quae ad incubatum, et exclusionem pertinent. In incubatione tria maxime observanda sunt, Gallinarum, ovorumque qualitas, tempus supponendi, et Gallinarii cura. Quod ad Gallinas attinet Columella⁴⁸¹ non omnibus incubationem permittendam esse asserit, quoniam novellae magis {a}edendis, quam excubandis ovis idoneae sunt. Et alibi veteranas ad huiusmodi incubationis munus obeundum eligendas praecipit, easque maxime, quae iam saepius id fecerint, conandumque ut mores earum maxime pernoscamus, quod aliae melius excubant, aliae {a}editos pullos commodius educant.

Sunt e contrario nonnullae, quae et sua, et aliena ova frangunt, ac saepe etiam exsorbent, quas velut omnino ineptas quamprimum ab ovis submovere convenit. Varro⁴⁸² etiam illas improbat, quae rostra, et ungues acuta habent, et tales ad concipiendum potius, quam ad

eggs but also that by flogging them they were driven away with difficulty from that job, and so, since the citizens conceived the conviction that from an egg of this kind a basilisk would emerge, they crushed the egg and strangled the rooster.

Truly, whatever this man and others may say, I should not believe this even if they swore, being so far from reality that a rooster lays an egg in the mud to be fecundated by heat therein, or that I believe that a basilisk is generated if it is incubated by poisonous toads, as some also said for fun. In the meantime I should not deny that a rooster conceives something similar to an egg thanks to a rolled-together concretion of decayed matter within himself, especially in his last old age when he no longer has coitus, but I should not believe at all that he lays a true egg with a shell. For reason dictates that it is perfected in the female. For on the other hand no one could ever affirm that a complete foetus takes birth from a man, thus he won't even have to affirm that it took birth from a rooster, even though he who is speaking is learned both in philosophy and medicine.

Therefore, leaving aside such trifles, let me continue with the remaining things which pertain to the procreation of this genus of birds. Only those things concerning incubation and hatching are remaining. During the incubation three items must be especially observed, the quality of eggs and hens, the moment to place them under the hens and the diligence of the person in charge of chickens. As for the hens is concerned, Columella* asserts that not all hens should be allowed to incubate eggs since young ones are more suited for laying than for hatching out eggs. Elsewhere he advises that aged hens are to be chosen for take up the task of such incubation, and particularly those who have already done so more often, and that we should also make a special effort to learn their individual habits, because some incubate better, others are raising more appropriately the hatched chicks.

There are, on the contrary, some hens who break both their own eggs and those of someone else, and often even swallow them, and it is advisable to remove the hens as soon as possible from eggs as quite unfit. Varro* condemns also those who have sharp beaks and nails, and commends such hens rather for conception

⁴⁸¹ *De re rustica* VIII,5,5-6: Fere autem cum primum partum consummaverunt gallinae, incubare cupiunt ab Idibus Ianuariis. Quod facere non omnibus permittendum est, quoniam quidem novellae magis edendis quam excudendis ovis utiliores sunt, inhibeturque cupiditas incubandi pinnula per nares traiecta. [6] Veteranas igitur avis ad hanc rem eligi oportebit, quae iam saepius id fecerint, moresque earum maxime pernosci, quoniam aliae melius excudant, aliae editos pullos commodius educant. At e contrario quaedam et sua et aliena ova comminuunt atque consumunt, quod facientem protinus summovere convenit.

⁴⁸² *Rerum rusticarum* III,9,9: Optimum esse partum ab aequinoctio verno ad autumnale. Itaque quae ante aut post nata sunt et etiam prima eo tempore, non supponenda; et ea quae subicias, potius vetulis quam pullitris, et quae rostra aut ungues non habeant acutos, quae debent potius in concipiendo occupatae esse quam incubando. Adpositissimae ad partum sunt anniculae aut bimae.

incubandum commendat. Florentinus⁴⁸³ illas omnino aspernatur, quae spiculatis calcaribus non secus quam Gallinacei armantur. Item iis ova subijci vetat, quae iam aetate florent, quod tales plerunque plura, quam aliae pariant, quales maxime bimae sunt. Est tamen et iis supponendum, cum ab incubandi cupiditate, quae, teste Columella⁴⁸⁴ fere, cum primum partum consummaverint, ab idibus Ian.⁴⁸⁵ incipere solet, prohiberi nequeunt. Nam multa pariens, et non incubans frequenter aegrotat, et moritur. Inhibetur vero [222] illa cupiditas pinnula per nares traiecta, et frigidae aspersione.

Circa ova, quae supponenda sunt, duo maxime considerare oportet, qualitatem nempe, et numerum. Ne sint itaque subventanea, seu hypenemia, sed Gallum expertarum Gallinarum, atque haec recentia, plena, quae aquae dulci iniecta submerguntur, in quibus soli obtentis semen Galli apparet, nihil autem vacui, et si fieri potest, vetularum potius quam pullastrarum.

Sed in eiusmodi ovorum electione inter Plinium⁴⁸⁶, et Columellam⁴⁸⁷ insignis est contradictio, cum ille intra decem dies edita laudet, vetustiora, aut recentiora infoecunda existimans: hic vero, etsi quae decem dierum sunt, infoecunda non putet, aptissima tamen ad excludendum recentissima quaeque iudicet. Sed malim ego hac in re Columellae assentiri, eoque magis cum hunc sequi Albertum videam, qui etiam illud addit, ova quatruiduana optima esse, minus vero probari infra aut supra hoc tempus nata: sed haec Alberti

than incubation. Florentinus* completely despises those who are armed with spiked spurs like the roosters are. Likewise he forbids us to place eggs under those hens which are flourishing in age, because such hens mostly lay more eggs than others, as are doing those who aren't more than two years old. Eggs must nevertheless be placed under these hens when they cannot be discouraged from their desire to incubate, which usually begins, according to Columella, approximately from the Ides of January - January 13th - as soon as they completed their laying. For the hen who lays many eggs and does not incubate, frequently grows ill and dies. But that desire is inhibited by a little feather passed through the nostrils and by sprinkling cold water.

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As to the eggs which are to be placed under the hen, two items especially must be observed, and precisely their quality and number. Let them not be wind-eggs or full of air, but eggs from hens who entered in touch with the rooster, and recent, full, which, when set in sweet water, are submerged, in which, when put against the sun light, the semen of the rooster is visible and nothing of empty space, and, if possible, eggs of aged hens rather than of pullets.

But regarding the selection of such eggs there is a noteworthy contradiction between Pliny* and Columella*, since the former praises eggs laid since ten days, considering infertile the older or more recent ones: the latter, however, although he does not think infertile ten-day-old eggs, nevertheless judges as very suitable for hatching also the very recent ones. But I prefer to agree with Columella in this matter, all the more because it seems to me that Albertus* follows him, being that he also adds that four-day-old eggs are the best, while those laid before or after this period are less approved: however, this conclusion of Albertus in

⁴⁸³ Questa è la sequenza delle citazioni tratte da Florentino e riportate per esteso da Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 426: Ova subiiciantur, non quidem iis quae florent aetate, aut parere possunt, gallinis, sed provectoribus, vigent enim atque florescunt anniculae ad emissiones (partiones) ovorum, potissimum autem bimae sed minus quae sunt seniores, Florentinus. Appositissimae ad partum sunt anniculae aut bimae, Varro. Gallinae incubationi destinandae, rostra aut ungues non habeant acutos. tales enim debent potius in concipiendo occupatae esse, quam incubando, Idem. Quae non secus quam gallinacei calcaribus spiculatis armantur, cavendum est ne eae incubent, pertundunt enim ova, Florentinus. Oportet qua die subditurus es ova, non unam tantum gallinam, sed tres superponere aut quatuor, Idem.

⁴⁸⁴ *De re rustica* VIII,5,5: Fere autem cum primum partum consummaverunt gallinae, incubare cupiunt ab Idibus Ianuariis.

⁴⁸⁵ Ai tempi di Columella il calendario giuliano, voluto da Giulio Cesare nel 46 aC, era in uso ormai da circa un secolo, per cui le idi di gennaio cadevano al 13 anziché al 15 dello stesso mese.

⁴⁸⁶ *Naturalis historia* X,151: Ova incubari intra decem dies edita utilissimum; vetera aut recentiora infoecunda. Subici in pari numero debent. Quarto die post quam coepere incubari, si contra lumen cacumine ovorum adprehenso ima manu purus et unius modi perluceat color, sterilia existimantur esse proque iis alia substituenda. Et in aqua est experimentum: inane fluitat, itaque sidentia, hoc est plena, subici volunt. Concuti vero experimento vetant, quoniam non gignant confusis vitalibus venis.

⁴⁸⁷ *De re rustica* VIII,5,4: Observare itaque dum edant ova et confestim circumire oportebit cubilia, ut quae nata sunt recolligantur, notenturque quae quoque die sunt edita, et quam recentissima supponantur glutientibus (sic enim rustici appellant avis eas quae volunt incubare), cetera vel reponantur vel aere mutantur. Aptissima porro sunt ad excludendum recentissima quaeque. Possunt tamen etiam requieta subponi, dum ne vetustiora sint quam dierum decem.

determinatio quodam modo Columellae adversatur, qui dum recentissima, ut dixi, laudat, eo ova incubationi aptiora innuere videtur, quo ortui suo proximiora existunt: quin im<m>o observari vult, dum eduntur, ac signo aliquo notari, ut, quanto prius fieri possit, glorientibus supponantur, caeteraque vel reponantur, vel aere permutentur. Super qua re inquisitae a me nostrae mulierculae, Alberti potius, quam Columellae praeceptum sequendum praedicant, quia inquirunt recentia unius diei, vel etiam duorum supposita irrita, et putrida fiunt.

Verum etsi quandoque ova omnibus iam dictis bonitatis signis praedita sint, fit tamen ut nonnunquam minime foetum excludant, idque vel incubantis, vel quae ea {a}edidit Gallinae culpa. Eorum enim quae pariunt nonnulla quandoque infoecunda sunt, quamvis ex coitu conceperint, quod inde colligimus, quia nullus ex iis provenit foetus, licet diligentissime incubatu foveantur. Sunt vero potissimum sterilia, vel quia subventanea sunt, vel alias ob causas, quas ad quatuor hasce Albertus redigit. Primo propter corruptum albumen, ex quo partes pulli formari debeant. Secundo propter vitelli corruptionem, unde suppeditandum erat alimentum, nam sic pullus imperfecte formatur, et partes quaedam in ipso {absolutae non} <non absolutae>⁴⁸⁸ inveniuntur, et non coniunctae, sicut in abortu animalis vivipari ante perfectionem lineamentorum foetus. Albumine vero corrupto, nihil omnino per totam incubationem formatur, sed ovum totum marcidum evadit, et foetidum, uti sanies corrumpitur in apostemate. Tertio contingit ovum vitari membranarum, et fibrarum, quae per albumen tendunt, culpa: Nam corrupta tunica, quae continet vitellum, humor vitellinus effluit, et confunditur cum albumine; itaque impeditur ovi foecunditas. Corruptis vero fibris, corrumpuntur, et venae, et nervi pulli, impeditur eius nutritio, compago destructis ligamentis dissolvitur, et laesis nervis sensus amittitur. Quarto propter vetustatem, exhalante spiritu, in quo est virtus formativa: unde vitellus pondere suo penetrat albumen, et ad testam fertur in eam partem, cui incumbit ovum. Hisce igitur quatuor modis ova infoecunda fieri contingit.

some manner is opposing to Columella, who, as I said, while is praising the very recent ones, he seems to hint that the eggs are the more fit for incubation the more are close to their birth: or rather, he wishes to pay attention to when they are laid, and that they are marked with some sign, so that may be placed as soon as possible under the clucking hens, and that the remaining are either put aside or bartered for money. Our farm girls I questioned about this subject declare that is to be followed the advice of Albertus rather than that of Columella, because they say that fresh eggs one-day-old or even two-day-old when placed under a hen become fruitless and rotten.

Truly, even when the eggs are endowed with all the just aforesaid marks of excellence, they sometimes nevertheless do not at all produce a foetus, and this happens either because of the incubating hen or because of the hen who laid them. For sometimes some eggs they lay are infertile although the hens conceived them by coitus, a thing we gather from the fact that no foetus issues from such eggs although they are very diligently warmed by incubation. But they are especially sterile either because they are wind-eggs, or for other reasons which Albertus traces back to the following four. First, on account of the corrupt albumen, from which the parts of the chick were to be formed. Second, because of the corruption of the yolk, whence the sustenance of the chick was to be provided, for thus the chick is formed imperfectly, and in it are found certain unfinished parts and not joined together, as in the abortion of a viviparous animal before the perfection of the lineaments of the foetus. But, since the albumen is corrupted, nothing is formed at all throughout the entire incubation, and the whole egg becomes decayed and fetid, as the pus goes bad in an abscess. Third, it happens that the egg deteriorates because of the membranes and fibers which stretch through the albumen. For when the tunic which contains the yolk is corrupted, the liquid of the yolk flows out and mingles with the albumen; thus the fecundity of the egg is hindered. But when the fibers are corrupted, the veins and nerves of the chick are also corrupted, its nutrition is hindered, when the ligaments are destroyed the bond between the parts is dissolved and when the nerves are injured the sensitivity is lost. Fourth, because of getting old, since the air in which lies the formative property comes out: hence the yolk by its own weight penetrates the albumen and moves to the shell, in that part where the egg is bending. Therefore it happens that the eggs become infertile in these four ways.

⁴⁸⁸ Il significato è completamente diverso: Aldrovandi doveva solo citare correttamente la sua inesauribile fonte, cioè Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 420: Secundo, propter corruptionem vitelli, unde alimentum suppeditandum erat. itaque formatur pullus imperfecte, et partes quaedam in ipso non absolutae inveniuntur et non coniunctae, sicut in abortu animalis vivipari ante perfectionem lineamentorum foetus.

In secundo quidem modo, ut hoc iterum repetamus, aliquando accidit, quod humoribus corruptis partes igneae combustae ferantur ad putamen, unde ovum in tenebris lucet, quemadmodum truncus arboris putrefactae, cuiusmodi ovum sibi visum in regione Corascena Avicenna testatur. Sunt et alii forte corruptionis ovorum modi, sed qui sub iam dictis facile comprehendi possunt. *Depravantur*, inquit Aristoteles⁴⁸⁹, *ova, et fiunt, quae urina appellantur, tempore potius calido, idque ratione. Ut enim vina temporibus calidis coalescunt faece subversa: hoc enim causa est, quod depraventur: sic ova pereunt vitello corrupto. Id⁴⁹⁰ enim in utriusque terrena portio est. Quamobrem et vinum obturbatur faece permista, et ovum vitello diffuso. Multiparis igitur hoc accidit merito, cum non facile omnibus calor conveniens reddi possit, sed aliis deficiat, aliis superet, et quasi putrefaciendo obturbet.* Haec ille: quae vero urina vocat, Plinius⁴⁹¹ aliis cynosura vocari scribit, forte quod aestate, ut diximus, et sub cane magis urina fiant: quia etiam canicularia dicuntur. Caelius οὔρια ova (modo οὔρια eadem sint, ut videtur, cum urinis) quasi fluctuosa dici putat: nam οὔρον, inquit, ventum⁴⁹² dicunt: quo argumento etiam ab Homero mul{t}os⁴⁹³ dici οὔρηας coniectant periti, et recenset Eustathius διὰ τὸ ἄγονον, id est, ob insitam non gignendi proprietatem, quod eorum semen sit ἀνεμαῖον, id est

In the second way, to repeat it again, sometimes it happens that the igneous burned parts are carried towards the shell by corrupted fluids, whence the egg gives out light in the dark, like does the trunk of a rotten tree - by bioluminescence*, and Avicenna* testifies that such an egg has been observed by he himself in the Khurasan* region. There are perhaps also other manners of corruption of the eggs, but which can be easily included among those I just said. Aristotle* says: *Eggs are spoiling and those called unfertilized grow up preferably in the warm season, and this happens because of a reason. For as wines grow sour in warm seasons from the shaking-up of lees: for this is the reason why they are spoiling: so eggs turn bad when the yolk is spoiled. For in both cases it represents - they represent - the earthy portion. For this reason they become turbid both wine because of mixed lees and egg because of scattered yolk. Therefore it is natural that this happens in birds who lay many eggs, since the proper amount of heat cannot easily be provided to all the eggs, but for some it is insufficient, for others it is too much, and it makes them turbid as though putrefying them.* Thus far Aristotle: the eggs he calls *urina*, Pliny writes that by others are called *cynosura*, perhaps because, as I said, in the summer and during the dog days* - August - they become more infertile: which is why they are also called *of dog days*. Lodovico Ricchieri* thinks they are called *ouria* eggs (as long as the *ouria* ones, as it seems, are corresponding to unfertilized ones) as they were shaken by waves: for he says that they call a wind *ouron* - the favourable wind: which is why the experts conjecture that the mules are called *ouréas* also by Homer*, and Eustathius* expounds

⁴⁸⁹ *De generatione animalium* III,2 753a 17-30: Nelle uova gli animali giungono più velocemente a compimento nella stagione soleggiata, perché il tempo concorre in quanto anche la cozione è prerogativa del calore. Sia la terra concorre alla cozione grazie al suo calore, sia l'animale che cova fa la stessa cosa: trasmette il calore che ha in sé. Ma logicamente è durante la stagione calda che le uova si corrompono e si formano le cosiddette sterili [οὔρια]: come anche i vini nella stagione calda si inacidiscono per il rimescolamento della feccia (perché è questa la causa del corrompimento), così anche nelle uova avviene per il tuorlo. Essi rappresentano in entrambi i casi l'elemento terroso, perciò il vino è intorbidito per il rimescolamento della feccia, le uova che si corrompono per quello del tuorlo. È logico che questo accada agli uccelli multipari, perché non è facile conferire a tutte le uova un riscaldamento conveniente, ma in alcune ce n'è difetto, in altre eccesso, e esse sono intorbidite come se andassero in putrefazione. (traduzione di Diego Lanza) - Alcuni traducono οὔρια con *sierose* e l'aggettivo è frequente per designare le uova chiare. Confronta anche *Hist. an.* VI,3 562a 30: 4, 562b 11; *De gen. an.* III,2 753a 22. (Roberto Ricciardi)

⁴⁹⁰ La fonte è rappresentata da Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 422: Id enim in utrisque terrena portio est.

⁴⁹¹ *Naturalis historia* X,166: Inrita ova, quae hypenemia diximus, aut mutua feminae inter se libidinis imaginatione concipiunt aut pulvere, nec columbae tantum, sed et gallinae, perdices, pavones, anseres, chenalopeces. Sunt autem sterilia et minora ac minus iucundi saporis et magis umida. Quidam et vento putant ea generari, qua de causa etiam zephyria appellant. Urina autem vere tantum fiunt incubatione derelicta, quae alii cynosura dixerunt.

⁴⁹² Confronta per esempio Omero *Odissea* V 628; X 17; *Iliade* I 479; II 420, etc.

⁴⁹³ L'errore tipografico - oppure di Aldrovandi - poteva essere evitato confrontando il testo con quello esatto di Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 422: Ova generationi inepta οὔρια quasi fluctuosa dici legimus. nam οὔρον dicunt ventum, quo argumento etiamnum ab Homero mulos dici οὔρηας coniectant periti, et recenset Eustathius: διὰ τὸ ἄγονον, id est ob insitam non gignendi proprietatem, quod eorum semen sit ἀνεμαῖον id est spiritosum, ed proinde foecunditatis nescium, Caelius. Unde fit ut τὰ ἀφανιοθέντα ὡὰ καὶ ἐπουρίσαντα, hoc est corrupta et urina ova, fluitent? Integra certe καὶ ἀπαθῆ, confestim sidere, manifestum est. Ac ratio quidem erui illinc potest, quod aquescant ac spiritus contabescencia concipiant plurimum. Qua ratione colligitur et illud, cur in aqua pereuntes, primo quidem ima petere: mox ubi computrescere coeperint, emergere ac fluitare soleant, etc. Idem.

spiritosum, et proinde foecunditatis nescium⁴⁹⁴: et rursus, ubi quaerit, unde eiusmodi ova fluitent? Ratio, inquit, erui illinc potest quod aquescant, ac spiritus contabescencia concipiant plurimum: qua ratione colligitur et illud, cur in aqua pereuntes, primo quidem ima petere: mox ubi computrescere coeperint, emergere, ac fluitare soleant.

Etsi tamen spiritu ita intus concepto aquae innatantia putredinem suam testentur eiusmodi ova, ac proinde infoecunditatem, non ergo subventanea seu hypenemia sunt, ut Calepinus perperam exponit, nam hypenemia sine Galli congressu Gallinae pariunt, sed ita fiunt iam dictas ob causas, quibus demum addere potes, quando ab incubante Gallina reliquuntur, atque hinc forte Florentinus, quae die subditurus es ova, non unam tantum Gallinam, sed tres, [223] quatuorve superponi praecipit.

Sed quaerat modo hic quispiam qua ratione cognoscatur, si quid ex illis nasciturum sit. Certa quidem illius indicia statuere difficillimum esse puto. Tradit tamen Albertus ova incubationi idonea quarto die sanguineas habere venas: eo itaque tempore ad solis radios examinari possunt, et in quibus venae apparent, rursus supponi, alia minime. Videat autem, quisquis introspexerit, si eadem die in acutiore parte clara appareant, hoc est, ut Plinius⁴⁹⁵ loquitur, *cum purus, et uniusmodi pelluceat color*; nam talia ad generationem inepta sunt; item in quibus Galli semen tunc non

with *διὰ τὸ ἀγονον*, that is, because of an inborn characteristic of infertility, since their semen is *anemaion*, that is, windy and therefore unfit to fecundity: and in addition, when he wonders “why do eggs of this kind keep afloat?” The reason, he says, can be drawn from the fact that they become liquid like water and while decaying they take up a lot of air: for this reason it can also be gathered why when steeped in water, first they go to the bottom: as soon as they begun to rot, usually they come up and float.

However, although eggs of this kind, having so taken air into themselves, are indicating their rottenness by floating on water, and then their infertility, because of this they are not *subventanea* or *hypenemia*, as Ambrogio Calepino* erroneously reports, for hens lay *hypenemia* eggs when didn't have coition with a rooster, but these eggs become such for the just given reasons, to which one can lastly add because they are abandoned by incubating hen, and perhaps because of this reason Florentinus* advises that on the day when one is putting eggs under a hen, not one only but three or four hens should be placed upon them.

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But now at this point someone could ask how it is possible to know whether something will be hatched out from the eggs. To say the truth, I think it is very difficult to establish sure indications of this. Albertus*, however, reports that eggs suited for incubation have bloody veins on the fourth day: thus at that time they can be examined at the rays of the sun, and those in which veins are visible should be placed back under the hen, the others not at all. But whoever examines the eggs should pay attention whether on the same day they appear clear in the sharper end, that is, as Pliny* says, *if a color devoid of impurities and uniform shows through*; for such eggs are unfit for generation; likewise those in which in

⁴⁹⁴ Confronta Eustazio *ad Il. I 50*: οὐρήας μὲν πρῶτον ἐπάχθετο - in alternativa ad altre spiegazioni Eustazio (p. 42, 10 sg.) propone: παρὰ τὸν οὐρον, ὃ δηλοῖ τὸν ἀνεμον τοῦτο δὲ διὰ τὸ ἀγονον τῶν τοιούτων ζῶων καὶ τὸ τοῦ σπερματικοῦ πνεύματος ἄκαρπον καὶ ὡσπερ ἀνεμιαῖον. Διὸ καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖ ὠοῖς ἄκαρπα διὰ τὴν τοιαύτην αἰτίαν οὐρία ἢ κοινὴ λέγει συνήθεια.

⁴⁹⁵ *Naturalis historia* X,151: Ova incubari intra decem dies edita utilissimum; vetera aut recentiora infecunda. Subici inpari numero debent. Quarto die post quam coepere incubari, si contra lumen cacumine ovorum adprehenso ima manu purus et unius modi perluceat color, sterilia existimantur esse proque iis alia substituenda. Et in aqua est experimentum: inane fluitat, itaque sidentia, hoc est plena, subici volunt. Concuti vero experimento vetant, quoniam non gignant confusis vitalibus venis. - Errore interpretativo di Aldrovandi dovuto ad Alberto, come si può desumere dal successivo brano di Gessner. Infatti Plinio non dice di esaminare il polo acuto, bensì di afferrare l'uovo per questa estremità e quindi di esaminarlo. - Corrette sono invece le interpretazioni di Conrad Gessner in quanto riporta il nome di ogni autore in *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 427: Ova quae incubantur, si habeant in se semen pulli, curator quatrinduo postquam incubari coeperint, intelligere potest: si contra lumen tenuit, et purum uniusmodi esse animadverterit, putant eijciendum, et aliud subijciendum, Varro. Quarto die postquam coeperi incubari, si contra lumen cacumine ovorum apprehenso una manu, purus et uniusmodi perluceat color, sterilia existimantur esse, proque eis alia substituenda, Plin. Ova incubationi idonea, quarto die sanguineas habent venas: quo tempore si quae ad radios Solis clara apparuerint in acutiore parte, reijciuntur, Albert. La conferma del corretto giudizio di Gessner proviene da pag. 426 dove dice: In iis idem aiunt, cum ad lumen sustuleris, quod perluceat, id esse obinane [ob inane], Varro, Florentinus et Plinius.

apparet, teste Varrone⁴⁹⁶. Albertus septimo rursus die inspici iubet, et si quid est, quod Soli obtentum non videatur alteratum, abijci, ceu subventaneum, et inutile. Sed in eiusmodi exploratione ovorum observandum maxime est, ut caveat inspector summopere, ne concutiantur. *Concuti enim, ut Plinii verbis utar, experimento vetant, quoniam non gignant confusis vitalibus venis.*

Sciendum etiam tot denuo substitui posse, quot pro infoecundis reiecta fuerint. Reijciantur denique omnino hypenemia, nam quanvis partes videantur habere omnes, tamen principio carent, quod a maris semine affertur: quapropter animata non sunt, ut dilucide Aristoteles docet: qui etiam tria potissimum alias indicia adducit, quibus huiusmodi ova ex aliis distinguas. Ait⁴⁹⁷ enim aliis minora esse, et plura numero gigni, ob unam eandemque causam. Ratio est, quia cum imperfecta sint, minus augentur, et quia minus augentur, plura numero existunt. Denique minus esse suavia, quia minus concocta. Nam concoctum in quovis genere suavius est. Ne itaque qui ova suppositurus, a venditoribus decipiatur, qui saepe subventanea pro foecundis ignarae plebeculae venditant, fugiat parva, et quorum magnam haberi copiam videt, eligat maiora, eorumque aliquo primo vescatur, ut ex dulci sapore caetera seminis participia divinet.

Collectis modo ovis foecundis, eorum numeri etiam ratio habenda est, si veteribus credimus. Quotquot enim de agricultura scripserunt, fere omnes impari numero subijci iubent, idque hodie nescio quam vere mulierculae nostrae observant. Nam revera res non videtur superstitione carere, nisi Pythagorae forte dogmata sapere dicamus, qui summum bonum

that moment the rooster's semen does not appear, according to Varro*. Albertus recommends they should be inspected again on the seventh day and if there is something which when held up to the sun does not seem different, the egg should be thrown away as windy and useless. But in such an examination one must pay a lot of attention to a thing, that the inspector should be very careful not to shake them. To use Pliny's words, *For they forbid them to be shaken for trial, since they do not give birth to the chick if the vital veins have been ripped apart.*

One must also know that as many eggs will be thrown away as infertile, as many can be substituted in turn. In conclusion, the *hypenemia* ones should be absolutely eliminated, for, although they seem to have all their parts, they nevertheless lack the generative principle which is provided by the semen of the male: therefore they are lifeless, as Aristotle* clearly teaches: who elsewhere reports at first also three clues by which you may distinguish eggs of this kind from others. For he says they are smaller and they are produced more numerous than other eggs for only one and identical reason. Because, being imperfect, they grow less and since they grow less they are more numerous. Finally they are less palatable because they are less concocted. For in every kind of things what is concocted is more palatable. Therefore in order that who is going to put eggs under hens should not be deceived by wheeler-dealers, who often sell wind-eggs for fertile to inexperienced common people, he should shun small eggs and of which he sees there is a large abundance, he must choose the larger ones, and at first he should eat one of them, so that from its sweet taste he can foresee that the others are sharing of the semen.

When only fertile eggs have been collected an account must also be kept of their number, if we believe the ancients. For almost all who wrote on agriculture urge that they must be placed under the hen in odd number, but at the present day I do not know how carefully our farm girls observe this rule. For in actual fact it does not seem to lack superstition, unless we affirm that perhaps it has the taste of the dogmas of Pythagoras*, who

⁴⁹⁶ *Rerum rusticarum* III,9,12: Ova, quae incubantur, habeantne semen pulli, curator quadriduo post quam incubari coepit intellegere potest. Si contra lumen tenuit et purum unius modi esse animadvertit, putant eiciendum et aliud subijciendum. - Errore di Aldrovandi, che scambia *pulli* con *galli*: Varrone non dice di guardare se si vede il seme del gallo, bensì se si vede il germe dell'embrione. Ma l'errore è dovuto ad Alberto, come possiamo desumere dalla citazione di Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 426: Ova ad incubationem eliguntur, in quibus Soli obtentis semen galli apparet. tum a septem dierum incubitu iterum inspiciuntur: et si quod est quod Soli obtentum non appareat alteratum, eijcitur tanquam subventaneum et inutile, Albertus. Sed alii (ut infra recitabimus, ubi de cura incubantium sermo erit) versus Solem an semen galli appareat contemplari solent, non in iis ovis quae ad incubationem initio deliguntur, sed quae per aliquot dies incubitum iam pertulerunt.

⁴⁹⁷ *De generatione animalium* III,1, 750b 21-26: Le uova sterili si producono più abbondantemente di quelle feconde e sono più piccole di dimensione per una sola e identica causa: poiché sono incompiute sono di dimensione più piccola, e poiché sono di dimensione più piccola sono in maggior numero. Sono anche meno dolci perché sono meno cotte, e in tutte le cose ciò che è cotto è più dolce. [Tutte queste determinazioni sulle uova sterili appaiono essere dedotte teoricamente, sia quelle relative alle dimensioni, sia quelle relative al grado di dolcezza. Lo stesso è tuttavia affermato da Ippocrate (*Aer. ag. loc.*, 8) a proposito dei cibi cotti.] (traduzione e nota di Diego Lanza)

in numero impari ponebat⁴⁹⁸. Variant vero eiusmodi numerum cum pro uniuscuiusque Gallinae natura, tum etiam pro diversitate temporis anni. Si Gallina foecunda est, Florentinus non plura, quam viginti tria supponi iubet, pauciora vero, cum talis non est. Varro⁴⁹⁹, et Plinius⁵⁰⁰ negant, plus viginti quinque oportere incubare, quanvis etiam propter foecunditatem plura pepererit. Columella⁵⁰¹ primo tempore, id quod est mense Ianuario, non plura quam quindecim subijci vult. Martio novemdecim, nec pauciora, unum et viginti Aprili, et tota aestate usque calendas Octobris. Sed nostrae mulieres semper fere non ultra septemdecim, vel novemdecim glorientibus incubanda exhibent.

Eligendum etiam tempus est incubationi maxime idoneum: siquidem totum anni tempus tale non est. Praefertur autem velut praestantissimum aequinoctium vernalis, hoc est, a vigesima quarta die Martii usque ad nonas Maias⁵⁰²: nam quae post illud tempus incubantur, pullos edunt, qui plerunque, quia tardius nati, nullam aliam eo anno utilitatem habent, quam ad mensae usum, apportant. Quinimo Columella⁵⁰³ auctor est, ab aestivo solstitio bonam pullationem non haberi, quod ab eo tempore, etsi facilem educationem habeant, iustum tamen non capiunt incrementum, probandam itaque aestivam educationem. Et Longolius pullos maturos dici posse putat primo vere exclusos: serotinos vero qui serius {a}eduntur, quos

placed the greatest good in an odd number. For they change such a number not only with regard to the nature of each hen, but also according to the difference of the period of the year. If the hen is fecund, Florentinus* prescribes that not more than twenty-three eggs should be placed under her, but fewer eggs when she is not alike. Varro and Pliny say that it is not worthwhile that more than twenty-five eggs are incubated, even though because of her fertility the hen laid a greater number. Columella, in the first breeding season, that is, in the month of January; wishes no more than fifteen to be placed under her. Nineteen in March, and no fewer, twenty-one in April and for the entire summer up to the kalends of October. But our women almost always give the broody-hens no more than seventeen or nineteen eggs for incubation.

The more suitable time for incubation must also be chosen: since the whole space of the year is not alike. As very excellent the vernal equinox is preferred, that is, from the twenty-fourth day of March to the nones of May - May 7th: for those incubated after that time bring forth chicks which, because they are born later, mostly provide the master in that year no other advantage than table use. But actually Columella says that from summer solstice there is no good production of chicks, because from that time, although they are easily raised, they do not, however, get a proper growth, and thus the summer raising must be regarded as right. Also Longolius* thinks that they can be called mature chicks if hatched in the early spring: but those belated which are born later, which he asserts are called autumnal in his native tongue, he says that they not yet lay at the beginning of spring, as on the contrary are doing those

⁴⁹⁸ È probabile che si tratti di dottrina neoplatonica. In realtà, nel campo musicale, Pitagora scoprì le consonanze musicali, ossia le proporzioni 2:1, 3:2 e 4:3, che rappresentano la lunghezza di corde corrispondenti all'ottava e l'armonia fondamentale (il cinque e il quattro). (Roberto Ricciardi)

⁴⁹⁹ *Rerum rusticarum* III,9,8: Quae velis incubet, negant plus XXV oportere ova incubare, quamvis propter fecunditatem pepererit plura.

⁵⁰⁰ *Naturalis historia* X,150: Plus vicena quina incubanda subijci vetant.

⁵⁰¹ *De re rustica* VIII,5,8: Numerus ovorum quae subijciuntur impar observatur nec semper idem. Nam primo tempore, id est mense Ianuario, quindecim nec unquam plura subijci debent, Martio novem nec his pauciora, undecim Aprili, tota deinde aestate usque in Kalendas Octobris tredecim. - I numeri suggeriti da Aldrovandi, anche se un po' abbondanti, sono alquanto logici nella loro sequenza, che si basa sulla temperatura ambiente, ma non corrispondono, eccetto che per gennaio, con quelli consigliati da Columella. (Roberto Ricciardi) - Scommetto che gli amanuensi hanno alterato i numeri affinché non potessimo giocare al lotto quelli più sensati - e consoni alla temperatura ambiente - che senz'altro prescriveva Columella, il quale non era per nulla uno sprovveduto, come saremmo invece indotti a credere. Il motivo di tanto buon senso da parte di Aldrovandi può essere farina del suo sacco, ma verosimilmente ha attinto farina da quello di Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 426: Numerus ovorum quae subijciuntur, impar observatur, nec semper idem: nam primo tempore, id est mense Ianuario quindecim, nec unquam plura subijci debent, Martio XIX. nec his pauciora. unum et viginti Aprili. tota deinde aestate usque in calendas Octobris totidem. Postea supervacua est huius rei cura, quod frigoribus exclusi pulli plerunque intereant, Columel. - Non sappiamo se la rielaborazione dei numeri di Columella è stata dettata a Gessner dal buon senso e dall'esperienza oppure se è dovuta a una fonte misconosciuta altrettanto sensata. (Elio Corti)

⁵⁰² Secondo il calendario giuliano le none di maggio cadevano il 7 del mese, come quelle di marzo, luglio e ottobre.

⁵⁰³ *De re rustica* VIII,5,9: Plerique tamen etiam ab aestivo solstitio non putant bonam pullationem, quod ab eo tempore, etiam si facile educationem habent, iustum tamen non capiunt incrementum. Verum suburbanis locis, ubi a matre pulli non exiguis pretiis veneunt, probanda est aestiva educatio.

patria lingua autumnales vocari asserit, eos ait sub veris initio necdum parere, quemadmodum quos maturos vocat; quamobrem, inquit {;} <, > non ad pullationem, sed ad veru aluntur. Alibi⁵⁰⁴ etiam Columella post Octobrem supervacua incubationis curam esse scribit, quoniam frigoribus exclusi pulli plerunque intereant. Plinius⁵⁰⁵ tamen ad Calendas Novembris usque tempus extendit, et terna dena etiam supponi iubet, sed ab eo die vetat donec bruma conficiatur: admittit denique hyemalem incubationem, sed pauciora tunc incubari cupit, non tamen infra novena. Incubent itaque Gallinae quoties glociunt, et Gallinarii sit exclusos frigore pullos loco calidiori enutrire.

Porro et Lunae ratio habenda est in suppositione. Nam in defectu illius prohibetur; et dum nova est, ut Plinius monet, vel saltem dum crescit, hoc est, a novilunio usque ad decimam quartam diem, laudatur. Ova enim ante novilunium subiecta, Varro⁵⁰⁶, et Plinius⁵⁰⁷ non succedere inquit, hoc est non producere pullos, Florentinus tabescere, et corrumpi, eo quod a plenilunio usque ad novilunium evanescent, ut in conchiliis etiam observamus, et e contrario omnia a novilunio usque ad plenilunium repleantur, et humectentur. Columella⁵⁰⁸ semper quidem considerari vult, ut luna crescente supponantur, verum nisi a decima, postquam creverit, die usque ad quintadecimam: idque Palladius⁵⁰⁹ comprobatur, et Tragus a mulierculis in Germania etiamnum observari scribit. Ex huiusmodi autem suppositione eam utilitatem dimanare inquit, quod pulli in [224] crescente iterum luna excludantur: et revera hic incubandi modus satis laudari nequit, dignus ut ab omnibus instituat.

Hisc itaque omnibus sedulo observatis, Gallinas includere oportet, ut tam interdiu quam noctu, ac in summa semper incubent,

he calls mature; therefore, he says, they are not raised for reproductive purposes, but for spit. Elsewhere Columella also writes that it is useless to devote ourselves to eggs incubation after October, since chicks hatched out in the cold weather generally perish. Pliny, however, extends the period to the kalends of November, and urges that even thirteen eggs at once are placed under the hen, but from that day onward he forbids until the winter ended up: lastly he allows winter incubation, but he want that in this time fewer eggs are incubated, nevertheless not less than nine at once. Therefore the hens should incubate whenever they cluck, and it should be care of the chicken raiser to rear in a warmer place the chicks hatched out in the cold.

Furthermore, for incubation, account must be taken also of the moon. For it is forbidden during its absence, and when it is new, as Pliny advises, or at least when it is growing, that is, from the new moon up to the fourteenth day, incubation is praised. In fact the eggs placed under the hen before the new moon Varro and Pliny say that they are unsuccessful, that is, they do not produce chicks, Florentinus says they melt and go bad, because from the full moon to the new moon they evaporate, as we also observe in shellfish, and on the contrary all of them grow full and moist from the new moon to the full moon. For Columella wishes care always to be taken that eggs should be set under the hen while the moon is growing, and to say the truth only from the tenth day after the moon began to grow up until the fifteenth: also Palladius* confirms this and Tragus - Hieronymus Bock* - writes that this practice is even now observed by farm girls in Germany. For he says that from such a method of placing eggs comes an advantage, because the chicks are hatched when the moon is growing again: and in fact this method of incubation cannot be sufficiently praised, and is worthy of being introduced by everybody.

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Then, when all these recommendations have been carefully observed, the hens must be shut up so that they incubate both day and night, in short, always,

⁵⁰⁴ *De re rustica* VIII,5,8: Postea supervacua est huius rei cura, quod frigoribus exclusi pulli plerumque intereant.

⁵⁰⁵ *Naturalis historia* XVIII,231: A kal. Novemb. gallinis ova supponere nolito, donec bruma conficiatur. In eum diem ternadena subicito aestate tota, hieme pauciora, non tamen infra novena.

⁵⁰⁶ *Rerum rusticarum* III,9,16: Incubare oportet incipere secundum novam lunam, quod fere quae ante, pleraque non succedunt.

⁵⁰⁷ *Naturalis historia* X,152: Incubationi datur initium post novam lunam, quia prius inchoata non proveniant.

⁵⁰⁸ *De re rustica* VIII,5,9: Semper autem cum supponuntur ova, considerari debet ut luna crescente ab decima usque ad quintam decimam id fiat.

⁵⁰⁹ *Opus Agriculturae* libro I, XXVII (*De gallinis*): Supponenda sunt his semper ova numero impari, luna crescente, a decima usque in quintadecimam.

nisi dum cibus potusque exhibendus est. Id autem fiat mane, et vesperi. *Cum volumus*, inquit Florentinus⁵¹⁰, *ut ovis Gallinae incubent, stramen nitidum est substernendum, et in eo imponendus ferreus clavus: quod is videatur vim habere quodvis vitium propulsandi*. Erant autem veteres in supponendis ovis admodum diligentes, ne dicam superstitiosi, ut ex hoc Columellae⁵¹¹ cuivis, ni fallor, constet. *Supponendi consuetudo*, inquit, *tradita est ab iis, qui religiosius haec administrant, huiusmodi. Primum quam secretissima cubilia eligunt, ne incubantes matrices ab aliis avibus inquietentur: deinde antequam consternant ea, diligenter emundant, paleasque quas substraturi sunt, sulphure, et bitumine, atque ardente teda perlustrant, et expiatis cubilibus iniiciunt, ita factis concavatis nidis, ne ab advolantibus, aut etiam desilientibus evoluta decident ova*.

Caveat Gallinarius, ne ova multum manibus moveat. Nam venae, et humores, dum vertuntur facillime vitiantur, quod vel inde constat, quia cum Gallina in occulto incubat, ova omnia foecunda fiant: manibus vero hominum tractata plurimum corrumpantur. Conradus Heresbachius⁵¹² sibi compertum esse tradit, quassata claudos produxisse pullos. Quare curator, dum ea vertit, cum summa dexteritate id facere debet. Debet autem ea necessario vertere ex Varronis⁵¹³, et {Columellae⁵¹⁴} <Florentini> praecepto, ut aequaliter concalefiant.

Substramen⁵¹⁵ saepius tollat, et recens aliud subijciat, alioqui ex acere veteri pulices

except when food and drink must be given them. This should be done in the morning and evening. Florentinus* says: *When we wish the hens to incubate eggs, we must put clean straw under them, and an iron nail placed in it: because it seems to have the power of driving away whatever harm*. For the ancients were quite diligent in setting eggs, not to say superstitious, as to whoever appears, if I am not wrong, from this passage of Columella*. *The method of placing eggs, he says, has been handed down as follows by those who take care of these matters more scrupulously. They first choose nesting places the most secluded as possible so that the incubating broody hens may not be disturbed by other birds: then, before they scatter anything in them, carefully clean them and purify the chaff which are about to place under the hens with sulphur*, bitumen*, and a flaming torch, and when have cleaned the chaff they throw it into the nests, nests which are made hollow so that the eggs by rolling will not fall out when the hens fly in or jump down*.

The chicken raiser should be careful not to shake much the eggs with his hands. For the veins and fluids are very easily deteriorated when the eggs are turned, which is also proven by the fact that when a hen incubates in a hidden place all the eggs are fertile: but when handled by men they grow rotten a lot. Conrad Heresbach* records that he checked that eggs which had been shaken produced lame chicks. The chicken raiser thus ought to use the greatest dexterity when he turns them. Afterwards he must necessarily turn them according to the advice of Varro* and Florentinus, in order that they may be warmed equally.

He must remove the straw rather frequently and place beneath the hens a new one, otherwise lice grow in the

⁵¹⁰ Confronta anche Plinio *Naturalis historia* X,152: Incubationi datur initium post novam lunam, quia prius inchoata non proveniant. Celerius excluduntur calidis diebus; ideo aestate undevicensimo educunt fetum, hieme XXV. Si incubitu tonuit, ova pereunt; et accipitris audita voce vitiantur. Remedium contra tonitrus clavus ferreus sub stramine ovorum positus aut terra ex aratro. - Columella *De re rustica* VIII,5,12: Plurimi etiam infra cubilium stramenta graminis aliquid et ramulos lauri nec minus alii capita cum clavis ferreis subiciunt. Quae cuncta remedio creduntur esse adversus tonitrua, quibus vitiantur ova pullique semiformes interimuntur, antequam toti partibus suis consummentur.

⁵¹¹ *De re rustica* VIII,5,11: Subponendi autem consuetudo tradita est ab his qui religiosius haec administrant eiusmodi: primum quam secretissima cubilia legunt, ne incubantes matrices ab aliis avibus inquietentur; deinde antequam consternant ea, diligenter emundant, paleasque, quas substraturi sunt, sulphure et bitumine atque ardente teda perlustrant et expiatis cubilibus iniiciunt, ita factis concavatis nidis, ne advolantibus aut etiam desilientibus decident ova.

⁵¹² *De Re Rustica* - libro IV.

⁵¹³ *Rerum rusticarum* III,9,11: Curator oportet circumeat diebus interpositis aliquot ac vertere ova, ut aequabiliter concalefiant.

⁵¹⁴ Queste parole non sono presenti nel *De re rustica* di Columella. Il perché possiamo dedurlo da Gessner: il consiglio, espresso in modo così sintetico, proviene infatti da Varrone e da Florentino. Ecco il testo di Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 427: Curator oportet circumeat diebus interpositis aliquot, ac vertat ova, ut aequabiliter concalefiant, Varro et Florentinus. - Columella dà lo stesso suggerimento, ma in modo meno conciso, nonché più tecnico, in quanto contemporaneamente possono essere rimosse le uova traumatizzate: VIII,5,14: Quae quamvis pedibus ipsae convertant, aviarius tamen, cum desilierint matres, circumire debet ac manu versare, ut aequaliter calore concepto facile animentur, quin etiam, si qua unguibus laesa vel fracta sunt, ut removeat, [...].

⁵¹⁵ Varrone *Rerum rusticarum* III,9,8: In cubilibus, cum parturient, acus substernendum; cum pepererunt, tollere substramen et recens aliud subicere, quod pulices et cetera nasci solent, quae gallinam conquiescere non patiuntur; ob quam rem ova aut inaequaliter maturescunt aut consenescent.

oriuntur, et caetera huiusmodi animalcula, quae Gallinam conquiescere non patiuntur: ob quam rem ova aut inaequaliter maturescunt, aut consenescent. Columella⁵¹⁶ monet, ut cibus iuxta ponatur, ut saturae studiosius nidis immorentur, neve longius evagantes ova refrigerent: quare commode seorsim ab aliis recludentur. Curabit etiam omnino, si aliquae nolint ascendere ultro, ut ad incubandi munus redeant, coactae etiam, si necessitas urgebit, item si quae unguibus earum laesa, vel {pacta} <fracta⁵¹⁷> sunt, ova removeat.

Die undevigesimo animadvertat, an pulli rostellis ova pertulerint, et auscultet, an pipiant. Nam saepe propter crassitiam putaminum erumpere nequeunt. Itaque haerentes pullos manu eximito, et matri fovendos subijcito, idque non amplius triduo. Nam quae post illum diem silent ova animalibus carent, quare et removenda sunt, ne Gallina diutius incubans inani spe pullorum detenta, effoeta reddatur. Mirabile magnum, quia non plane comprehenditur, inquit Petrus Gregorius, virtus, et omnipotentia Dei, quia pullus intra ovi corticem conclusus, antequam putamen effringat, pipiat ales factus intra conclusus post undevigesimum diem ab incubitu Gallinae in ova.

Porro supponere etiam Gallinis diversi generis volucrum ova non tam nostro aevo, quam apud veteres usitatum fuit. Nam praeterquam quod Plinius⁵¹⁸ id, aliique Geoponici tradunt, etiam apud Ciceronem⁵¹⁹ legimus: *Anatum*, inquit, *ova Gallinis saepe supponimus*. Quomodo vero ea, nec non Anserina subijciantur, suo aliquando loco, Deo volente, docebimus, uti

old chaff and other little animals of this kind, which do not allow the hen to rest: because of this fact the eggs either mature not evenly or grow old. Columella advises that the food is placed nearby, in order that they will remain more zealously upon their nests since their hunger is satisfied and do not cool the eggs when they stroll about rather far away: therefore they should be shut up apart from the others. He will also take a lot of care, if some hens do not wish to climb on their nests spontaneously, that they return to their incubation task, even under coercion if necessity is pressing, and at the same time, if some eggs have been damaged by their claws, or broken, he must remove them.

On the nineteenth day of incubation he should note whether the chicks have struck the eggs with their little beaks, and he should listen for their peeping. For often because of the thickness of the shells they cannot break out. Then let him draw out with his hand the chicks which are stuck and put them under the mother hen to be warmed, and he must do so for no more than three days in succession. For the eggs which are silent after that lapse of time lack creatures and should be removed lest the hen, incubating too long because of a vain hope of chicks, should become exhausted. Pierre Grégoire* says: *The power and omnipotence of the Lord are a great marvel because not clearly understood, being that the chick, while shut up in the egg shell, and before he breaks it, peeps like a shaped and finished bird inside of the egg after the nineteenth day since the hen lay down on eggs.*

Further, to place under the hens eggs of a different genus of birds has been usual not so much in our time, as among the ancients. For besides Pliny* and other geoponic writers* record this practice, we also read in Cicero*: *Often*, he says, *we put ducks' eggs under hens*. How these as well as goose eggs are placed under hens I shall explain, God willing, sooner or later in its place, as also I said at length speaking of the pheasant*.

⁵¹⁶ *De re rustica* VIII,5,14-15: Incubantibus autem gallinis iuxta ponendus est cibus, ut saturae studiosius nidis inmorentur, neve longius evagatae refrigerent ova. Quae quamvis pedibus ipsae convertant, aviarius tamen, cum desilierint matres, circumire debet ac manu versare, ut aequaliter calore concepto facile animentur, quin etiam, si qua unguibus laesa vel fracta sunt, ut removeat, idque cum fecerit duodeviginti diebus, undevicesimo animadvertat an pulli rostellis ova pertulerint, et auscultetur si pipant. Nam saepe propter crassitudinem putamina rumpere non queunt. [15] Itaque haerentis pullos manu eximere oportebit et matri fovendos subicere, idque non amplius triduo facere. Nam post unum et vicesimum diem silentia ova carent animalibus, eaque removenda sunt, ne incubans inani spe diutius retineatur effeta.

⁵¹⁷ Il testo di Columella riporta *fracta*, e non *pacta*. Dovrebbe quindi trattarsi di un errore di Aldrovandi oppure della tipografia. Infatti così dice Columella *De re rustica* VIII,5,14: Quae quamvis pedibus ipsae convertant, aviarius tamen, cum desilierint matres, circumire debet ac manu versare, ut aequaliter calore concepto facile animentur, quin etiam, si qua unguibus laesa vel fracta sunt, ut removeat, [...]. - Che si tratti di un errore tipografico, oppure di Aldrovandi, ci è confermato anche da Conrad Gessner che riporta *fracta* nella sua *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 427: Quin etiam si qua unguibus laesa, vel fracta sunt, ut removeat.

⁵¹⁸ *Naturalis historia* X,155: Super omnia est anatum ovis subditis atque exclusis admiratio prima non plane agnoscentis fetum, mox incerti singultus sollicitate convocantis, postremo lamenta circa piscinae stagna mergentibus se pullis natura dulce.

⁵¹⁹ *De natura deorum* II,124: Quin etiam anatum ova gallinis saepe subponimus; e quibus pulli orti primo aluntur ab his ut a matribus, a quibus exclusi fotique sunt; deinde eas relinquunt et effugiunt sequentes, cum primum aquam quasi naturalem domum videre potuerunt: tantam ingenuit animantibus conservandi sui natura custodiam.

etiam abunde de Phasiano diximus⁵²⁰.

Quod si vero quis, vel mares, sive Gallos, sine faemellis, et e contra faemellas sine maribus nasci velit, id ita praestabit. Ova eliget oblonga, et fastigio acuminata, si mares volet: sin faeminas, quae rotundiora, et parte sui acutiore obtusa, orbiculum habent. Ita enim legendum est apud Aristotelem⁵²¹, ubi ex correctione Alberti contra ex rotundioribus mares, ex acuminatis foeminas prodire legitur. Et multi sane Aristotelis veterem textum, ita vere legi solere putant, quod posteriores Geoponicos in hac determinatione ab illo nihil recedere videant. Nam Marcellus Virgilius cum Columellae, et Aristotelis de sexu ovorum discernendo sententias contrarias, ut credebat, recitasset: *Est sane, inquit, in natura gravis auctor Aristoteles. Col{ }umella tamen villaticam passionem ex quotidiana observatione, et experientia docebat: nec nostrum est inter tam graves auctores tantas componere lites.* Quasi vero Columella ab Aristotelis sententia recedat, quod sane nequaquam facere quivis dicturus sit, qui haec verba eius⁵²² leget. *Cum quis volet, inquit, plurimos mares excludere longissima quaeque, et acutissima ova subijciet, et rursus cum faeminas, quam rotundissima.*

Sed praeter Columellam ipsemet Plinius ubique fere in animalium natura Aristotelis interpres ita sentit, dum ait⁵²³: *Faeminas edunt quae rotunda gignuntur, reliqua marem.* Hoc idem

- Sex of the chick and shape of the egg* - But if someone wishes to have born males, or roosters, without females, and on the contrary, females without males, let him proceed as follows. He should choose elongated eggs and with sharp ends if he wishes males: if he wishes females, let him choose eggs which, being more rounded and blunt at their more pointed end, have a roundish shape. For we must read in such a way in Aristotle*, where owing to the correction by Albertus* we read that on the contrary from the more rounded ones they are arising males, females from the pointed ones. And really many people think the old text of Aristotle should usually read truly in this way, because they think that the later geoponic writers don't want at all to part from him a propos of this conclusion. For Marcellus Virgilius*, when explaining the conflicting opinions, as he was believing, of Columella and Aristotle regarding how to distinguish the sex of the eggs, he said: *Really, in natural history Aristotle is a weighty author. Columella, however, taught poultry husbandry from daily observation and experience: and it is not for us to conciliate such great controversies between such weighty authors.* As if truly Columella was diverging from Aristotle's opinion, and really whoever will read the following his own words, by no manner of means he will be able to affirm that Columella is doing so. *If someone, Columella says, wishes that very many males are hatched out, he will place under the hen all the longest and most pointed eggs, and if on the contrary he wishes females, the roundest ones.*

But besides Columella, Pliny himself, who almost everywhere is a translator of Aristotle on nature of animals, does think alike when he says: *Those which are born round produce females, the rest a male.* Horace* seems to

⁵²⁰ Vol. II, pp. 45-59 (Lind, 1963)

⁵²¹ *Historia animalium* VI,2, 559a 28-30: τὰ δὲ στρογγύλα καὶ περιφέρειαν ἔχοντα κατὰ τὸ ὄξυ ἄρρενα. (Roberto Ricciardi, 2005) - Anche Lanza e Vegetti hanno optato per la seguente versione del testo aristotelico, un testo che, stando ad Aldrovandi, denoterebbe un'errata trascrizione: "Le uova allungate e appuntite danno femmine, quelle arrotondate, cioè con l'estremità circolare, danno maschi". I due studiosi affermano pure che secondo le vedute più recenti la *Naturalis historia* di Plinio dipende da una epitome ellenistica, cioè da un compendio della *Historia animalium*. In questo caso potrebbe sorgere il dubbio che l'equivoco dipenda da un errore dell'epitome e che Alberto vi abbia posto rimedio. Infatti Plinio la *pensava* in modo antitetico ad Aristotele: "Feminam edunt quae rotundiora gignuntur, reliqua marem." (*Naturalis historia* X,145). Columella concordava con Plinio: "Cum deinde quis volet quam plurimos mares excludi, longissima quaeque et acutissima ova subijcet: et rursus cum feminas, quam rotundissima." (*De re rustica*, VIII,5,11). Più tardi Avicenna dissentì sia da Plinio che da Columella, e lo stesso fece Alberto tanto da affermare: "Hoc concordat cum experientia, quam nos in ovis experti sumus, et cum ratione." Insomma, è questione di mettersi d'accordo su come la pensasse effettivamente Aristotele, anche se alla fin dei conti sembra un problema di lana caprina. Aldrovandi vuole seguire una certa versione del testo aristotelico, successivamente andata corrotta, e così Aristotele, Plinio e Columella, nonché Orazio, si trovano a dar ragione non solo ad Aldrovandi, ma anche alle donne di campagna che hanno pratica di chioce e di uova da incubare.

⁵²² Columella *De re rustica*, VIII,5,11: Cum deinde quis volet quam plurimos mares excudi, longissima quaeque et acutissima ova subijciet, et rursus cum feminas quam rotundissima.

⁵²³ *Naturalis historia* X,145: Quae oblonga sint ova, gratioris saporis putat Horatius Flaccus. Feminam edunt quae rotundiora gignuntur, reliqua marem.

sentire videtur Horatius⁵²⁴, ubi ova oblonga gratioris saporis esse scribit, inquit:

Longa quibus facies ovis erit, illa memento

Ut succi melioris, et ut magis alba rotundis

Ponere, namque marem cohibent callosa vitellum.

Contra Albertus, cum Avicennam scribere aliter videret, propriam nobis experientiam obtrudere non est veritus, veteremque Aristotelis textum immutavit, vitiumque non ex dictis Philosophi, sed ex perversa scriptura fuisse arguit. Verum quicquid ille dicat, vetus [225] illa lectio vera est, et genuina Aristotelis, quam scilicet Horatius, Plinius, et Columella, qui, ut dixi, ex proprio periculo tradebat scriptis, comprobarunt.

Nec tanti apud me ponderis Avicennae patrocinium est, ut non potius Aristoteli gravissimo in naturae arcanis auctori adhaerere velim: nec denique me movet ratio illa, quam, citante Caelio Albertus adducit, nimirum virtutis perfectionem in masculinis ovis aequaliter ambire, extremaque continere, in faeminis vero a centro, in quo sit vitalis calor, materiam longius abire. Quinim<mo> contra evenire arbitror. Quis enim non videat in rotundis calorem magis diffundi, in oblongis ab una potiorique parte conglobari? Nec est, quod experientiam eius magni faciamus, eam enim in multis aliis obtrudit, quae aequae falsae sunt, et minus verisimilia. Igitur, ut parerga istaec concludamus, sensit Aristoteles, et scripsit ex rotundis prognerari faeminas, ex acuminatis mares. Nunc vero in textu Aristotelis tam Graeco, quam Latino legitur, prout Albertus correxit, vel potius corruptit. Vetus vero Aristotelica lectio est illa, quam vitiatam ille dicit. Caeterum nunquid modo, ex oblongis mares, ut vetus lectio habet, et ex rotundis faeminae, vel contra procreentur, Gallinarius super hoc esset consulendus. Ego priorem lectionem, ut dixi, libenter amplector, gaudeoque me cum Aristotele in ea {haeresi} <haerese> esse, ut ex acutis ovis mares gigni credam, eoque magis cum Plinium Aristotelicum, et Columellam omnis villicationis consultissimum comites erroris, si error fuerit, habeam. Mulieres medius fidius nostrae ex acutis mares, et contra ex rotundis

think the same thing when he writes that elongated eggs have a more pleasing savor, saying:

Remember to put on the table the eggs with oblong appearance for their flavor is better, and are more rich in albumen than the round ones,

for the shell contains a male yolk.

On the contrary Albertus, seeing that Avicenna was writing in a different way, did not hesitate to superimpose on us his own experience, and he changed the old text of Aristotle, and infers that the error arose not from the affirmations of the Philosopher, but from corrupted transcription. But whatever he says, that old reading is true and authentic of Aristotle, and it is glaring that it has been confirmed by Horace, Pliny, and Columella who, as I said, was putting down in writing what was resulting from his own experience.

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And the support of Avicenna* does not weigh so heavily with me that I should not wish rather to agree with Aristotle*, the most imposing source about the secrets of nature: nor lastly is moving me that reason which Albertus* adduces, as Lodovico Ricchieri* reports, and precisely that in masculine eggs the perfection of the force wraps up evenly, and contains the deeper portions, while in feminine eggs the matter goes away much more from the center, where the vital heat is located. On the contrary I think that it happens the opposite. For who does not see that in round eggs the heat is more spreading, and that in oblong ones is gathering preferably only in a place? Nor should we give much importance to Albertus' own experience, for he imposes this on us in many other matters which are equally false and not quite akin to the truth. Therefore, to conclude this digression - Sex of the chick and shape of the egg*, Aristotle felt and wrote that females are generated from round eggs, males from pointed ones. Now in the text of Aristotle, both Greek and Latin, we read as Albertus corrected it, or rather corrupted it. But the old Aristotelian reading is that one he says is corrupted. On the other hand on this subject, that is, as the ancient reading is reporting, whether really males come from oblong eggs, and females from round ones, or contrariwise, a chicken raiser should be consulted. I willingly accept the earlier reading, as I said, and I am glad to be in company of Aristotle in that current of thought, since I believe males are born from pointed eggs, all the more because I have the Aristotelian Pliny* and Columella*, very learned in any kind of husbandry, as companions in my error, if error it has been. Take it from me: our women affirm that males are procreated

⁵²⁴ *Sermones* - o *Satirae* - II,4,12-14: Longa quibus facies ovis erit, illa memento, | ut suci melioris et ut magis alba rotundis, | ponere: namque marem cohibent callosa vitellum.

faeminas procreari asserunt.

Ornithologus⁵²⁵ ex suorum relatione tradit, ova, ut ex eorum singulis omnibus faeminae generentur subijci oportere, dum Luna plena est, eaque ad hoc praeferrunt, quae in plenilunio etiam nata sunt, item ita observandam temporis rationem, ut in plenilunio etiam excludantur. Verum arduum fuerit ova in plenilunio nata, in plenilunio rursus excludere. Nam si illa aliquot diebus reserves, antequam supponas facile evanescent, ut in his, et conchiliis etiam fieri paulo ante⁵²⁶ diximus: sin mox supponas, in plenilunio non excludes. Solent enim viginti plerumque diebus incubationis tempus absolvere. Excludunt tamen celerius, teste Aristotele⁵²⁷, aestate, quam hyeme: aestate nempe duodevigesimo, (undevigesimo habet Plinius⁵²⁸) hyeme aliquando vigesimo quinto die. Sed forte id de locis calidioribus intelligendum est. Nam Albertus hyeme vigesimonono die exire pullos dixit.

Discrimen tamen etiam avium est, ut idem Aristoteles⁵²⁹ autor est, quod aliae magis fungi officio incubandi possunt. Sunt qui asserant, idque in libello quodam Germanico manuscripto se legisse Ornithologus⁵³⁰ prodidit, pullos eo colore nasci, quo ova incubanda tincta fuerint. Alii iubent, ut aviaria, seu caveae, quibus includuntur, congregiuntur,

from pointed eggs, females from round ones.

The Ornithologist reports, from what his fellows countrymen are saying, that in order to generate females from each egg the eggs should be placed under the hen when the moon is full, and that for this purpose are to be preferred eggs laid during full moon too, and that at the same time one should take account of the time, so that eggs may also be hatched during the fullness of the moon. But it would be difficult for eggs laid during full moon to be hatching out once more during full moon. For if you keep them a few days before placing them under the hen they easily evaporate, as a little earlier I said to happen in them as well as in shellfish: but if you set the eggs immediately you will not hatch them out during full moon. For they usually achieve the incubation phase within twenty days. But, as Aristotle testifies, they hatch more quickly in summer than in winter: exactly within eighteen days (Pliny has nineteen) in summer, in winter sometimes at twenty-fifth day. But perhaps this is to be understood for warmer places. For Albertus said the chicks hatch on the twenty-ninth day in winter.

There is also a difference in birds, as Aristotle says, because some can better perform the task of incubation. There are those who assert, and the Ornithologist reported he read it in some German manuscript, that chicks are born of that color with which the eggs for incubation have been dyed. Others urge that the aviaries, or pens, in which they are shut up, where they mate, lay eggs, incubate and hatch, should be covered

⁵²⁵ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 419: Sexus ovorum. Quae oblonga sunt ova, et fastigio cacuminata, foeminam aedunt. quae autem rotundiora et parte sui acutiore obtusa, orbiculum habent, marem gignunt, Aristoteles. eandem sententiam Albertus approbat: reprehendit vero translationem sui temporis tanquam contrariam iis verbis quae nunc recitavimus. Nostri quidem codices Graeci et Gazae translatio eam sententiam habent, quam nunc retuli, et Albertus comprobatur. Avicenna scribit ex orbiculari ovo brevique progigni marem: ex oblongis acutisve foeminam. ipsum hoc comprobatur experimentum et suffragatur ratio. siquidem virtutis perfectio in masculinis ovis ambit aequaliter, et continet extrema. at in foeminis, a centro longius abit materia in quo est vitalis calor. hoc vero plane imperfectionis argumentum est, Albertus ut citat Caelius. In ovis tam difficile saporum et sexus discrimen est, ut nihil gulae proceribus aequae incertum sit, Marcellus Vergilius. qui cum Columellae et Aristotelis de sexu ovorum discernendo sententias contrarias recitasset: Est sane (inquit) in natura gravis autor Aristoteles: Columella tamen villaticam pastionem ex quotidiana observatione et experientia docebat. nec nostrum est inter tam graves scriptores tantas componere lites. Video Plinium quoque cum Columella et Flacco sensisse. Quae oblonga sint (inquit) ova, gratioris saporis putat Horatius Flaccus. Foeminam aedunt quae rotundiora gignuntur, reliqua marem. Longa quibus facies ovis erit, illa memento, Ut succi melioris, et ut magis alba rotundis Ponere nanque marem cohibent callosa vitellum, Horatius lib. 2. Serm. Cum quis volet quam plurimos mares excludere, longissima quaeque et acutissima ova subijciet. et rursus cum foeminas, quam rotundissima, Columella. Ex ovis, praesertim in plenilunio natis, si plenilunii tempore subijciantur incubanda, et ita observetur temporis ratio ut in plenilunio etiam pulli excludantur, omnibus foeminas non mares nasci, quidam apud nos arbitrantur.

⁵²⁶ A pagina 223.

⁵²⁷ *Historia animalium* VI,2, 559b 29-30: Le uova covate d'estate si schiudono più rapidamente che in inverno: infatti d'estate le galline le fanno schiudere [560a] in diciotto giorni, mentre d'inverno ne occorrono loro talvolta anche venticinque. (traduzione di Mario Vegetti) - ἐν ὀκτώκαιδέκα ἡμέραις αἱ ἀλεκτορίδες ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι ἐνίστε ἐν πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι.

⁵²⁸ *Naturalis historia* X,152: Celerius excluduntur calidis diebus; ideo aestate undevicensimo educunt fetum, hieme XXV.

⁵²⁹ *Historia animalium* VI,2, 559b 32-34: Del resto gli uccelli differiscono tra loro anche per la maggiore o minore attitudine alla cova. (traduzione di Mario Vegetti)

⁵³⁰ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 454: Gallinarum pullos eo colore enasci aiunt, quo ova incubanda tincta fuerint, ut in libello quodam Germanico manuscripto legimus.

pariunt, incubant, et excludunt, susque deque et ex omni parte albis velaminibus obtendantur, ut in Phasiani historia etiam diximus.

Si quis vero pullos cupiat excludere visu iucundissimos, Palumbum marem cum Gallina coire curabit, aut Perdices, vel Phasianum. Cuius coitus modum in Phasiano diximus, et hic sponte omittimus. Perdices copia libidinis gaudent, et cum diversis salacioris generis avibus commiscuntur, coeuntque inter se, et sobolem suscipiunt, ut in Gallinis, unde ex Gallina, et Perdice, et primi foetus communi generis utriusque specie generantur, sed tempore procedente, diversi ex diversis provenientes, demum forma faeminae instituti evadunt. Haec ex Aristotele⁵³¹ scribit Io. Baptista Porta⁵³². Quo loco etiam dicit ex Gallina, et Columbo si misceantur, pullum procreari commistum ex utroque. Sit, inquit Columbus iuvenis, tunc enim temporis fervet in eo ardor coeundi, et seminis superfluitas. Senex enim coire non potest. Omni enim tempore coeunt Columbae, et foetant aestate, et hyeme. Erant nobis domi Columbus caelebs, et Gallina vidua: Columbus satis amplo corpore, et salax: Gallina parva, {sine} <sive> nana: una versabantur, unde tempore veris Columbus Gallinam supervenit, quae suo tempore ova dedit ab ea incubata exclusa sunt, pullosque ex utroque mistos nobis protulit ab utroque genitore retinentes effigiem. Magnitudo corporis, capitis forma, et rostri erat Columbi, pedes Gallinae, pluma quam

evenly and on every side with white curtains, as I said also in my description of the pheasant.

However, if someone wishes to hatch chicks very easy on the eye, he should bustle so that a male pigeon, or a partridge*, or a pheasant* do mate with a hen. I spoke of this kind of coitus in discussing the pheasant, and I omit it here deliberately. Partridges enjoy a good deal of sexual appetite, and they mingle with more lustful different birds, and do mate each other, and they have offspring, as it happens among hens, hence from a hen and a partridge also the first products of conception are generated with an appearance which is common to both genera, but as time goes on, since dissimilar subjects come from different parents, at last they turn out endowed with the appearance of a female. Those things are written by Giambattista Della Porta* drawing them from Aristotle. In the same passage he also says that if subjects belonging to the hen and to the male dove are mingled each other, a chick is generated that is mixed from each parent. He says that the male dove must be young, for at that time the ardor for coitus is burning in him as well as the glut of semen. For when aged he cannot mate. For the doves copulate at any season, and lay eggs both in summer and winter. I had in my house a single male dove and a widowed hen: the dove was rather stout and lustful: the hen was small, or dwarf: they lived together, hence in the spring the dove copulated with the hen, and the eggs she laid at the proper time and then incubated, hatched out, and she gave us chicks, hybrids* from both and having the appearance of both parents. The size of body, the shape of the head and the beak were of the dove, the legs of

⁵³¹ *De generatione animalium* II,4, 783b 27-35: Per questo negli animali di specie diversa che si accoppiano maschio con femmina (si accoppiano quelli che hanno periodi uguali, gravidanze simili e non differiscono molto per le dimensioni del corpo), dapprincipio la prole nasce somigliante a entrambi i genitori, come gli animali che nascono dalla volpe e dal cane, o dalla pernice e dal gallo ma poi col trascorrere del tempo le generazioni successive giungono alla fine in accordo con la forma della femmina, come i semi forestieri si adattano alla terra, perché questa offre la materia, cioè il corpo, per i semi. (traduzione di Diego Lanza)

⁵³² Giambattista Della Porta parla degli ibridi fra piccione e gallina sia nella prima edizione del *Magiae naturalis* (1558) dove lo fa in modo assai conciso, mentre si dilunga alquanto nella seconda edizione del *Magiae naturalis* (1584) della quale posso citare solo la traduzione inglese del 1658. - *Magiae naturalis* II (1558), Monstra quomodo gignantur, & de vi mira putrefactionis .cap. XXIV - ANIMAL È DIUERSIS COMMIXTUM - PVLLVS autem è diuersis commixtus sic eueniet: Marem palumbum cum gallina coire curabis, pullusque emerget non iniucundus visu. Sic quoque è perdicibus, gallinis, phasianis eueniet, diuersisque accipitribus, & pauonibus. Dabit mixtum foetum gallina, sibi que similem admodum, eique, quo prolificum acceperit semen. At si defecerit matrix, sic dabitur. (trascrizione di Laura Balbiani in <http://homepages.tscnet.com/omard1>) - *The Second Book of Natural Magick* (1584) Transcribed from 1658 English Edition, Printed for Thomas Young and Samuel [Samuel?] Speed, at the Three Pigeons, and at the Angel in St Paul's Church-yard. - Chapter XIV - DIVERSE COMMIXTIONS OF HENS WITH OTHER BIRDS. - The pigeon must be young, for then he has more heat and desire of copulation, and much abundance of seed, for if he is old, he cannot tread. But young pigeons do couple at all times, and they bring forth both Summer and Winter. I had my self at home a single pigeon, and a hen that had lost her cock. The pigeon was of a large size, and wanton withal, the hen was but a very small one. These lived together and in the spring-time the pigeon trod the hen, where by she conceived, and in her due season laid eggs, and afterward hatched them, and brought forth chicken that were mixed of either kind, and resembled the shape of them both. In greatness of body, in fashion of head and bill, they were like a pigeon; their feathers very white and curled, their feet like a hens feet, but they were overgrown with feathers, and they made a noise like a pigeon. And I took great pleasure in them, the rather, because they were so familiar, that they would still sit upon the bed, or muzzle into some woman's bosom. (da <http://homepages.tscnet.com/omard1>)

albissima, et crispa, pedes pennis operti; atque ut Columbus pipiebat, qui maximi nobis fuit oblectamenti, et iucunditatis quique non alibi quam in cubili, aut mulierum sinu quiescebat.

Docet item alibi ex Aristotele⁵³³, quonam modo pullus Gallinaceus quaternis alis nascatur, quaternisque pedibus. Ova {illi} <illa>, inquit⁵³⁴, seligito, quae {bina} <binos> comperies habere {boleta} <boletos - βολήτας>, pellicula quadam non tenui intercurante, sed albumina {continentia} <continuentur>, quae foecundiores {fere} <saepe> Gallinae assolent parere: ex magnitudine cognosces: patetque {iutuentibus} <intuentibus> Soli exponendo, exuperante {etiam} <iam> materia productum, {et} <ex> plurium seminum commixtu, semenque habeat pullorum<, > glorienti Gallinae iam supponas excubanda, ut suo insessu foveat ea: elapso iam debito tempore tales excludet foetus, pedibus, alisque quaternis, curabis ut commode educantur. Si autem membrana disternabitur, gemini discreti pulli generantur, sine ulla supervacua parte.

the hen, with plumage as white as possible, and curly, the feet covered with feathers; and that one, which for me has been a very great pleasure and cheerfulness, peeped like a dove, and which did not sleep anywhere else except in the bed, or on the lap of the women.

In another passage, basing himself on Aristotle, he tells how a gallinaceous chick may be born with four wings and four legs. He says: *choose those eggs which you find to have two yolks, without a thin membrane running between them, but with continuous albumens, and which often the more fertile hens are accustomed to lay: you will recognize such eggs by their largeness: and this is clear for those who carefully look at them holding them up to the sun, as they are the product of superabundant matter, resulting from the mixture of many semens, and it must have the embryo of chicks: place at once these eggs under a clucking hen for incubation, so that she may warm them by sitting on them: when the due time has elapsed, she will hatch out such foetus, that is, with four wings and legs, and you shall then see that they are raised properly. But if a membrane will separate the yolks, separated twin chicks are generated, without any unnecessary part.*

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Sic enim et biceps nascetur serpens, [226] et animal omne, quod ovo excluditur: si tale evenerit, non mediocris erit admirationis,

In fact in this way also two-headed snake will be born and any animal hatching from an egg: if such an event will take place it is a subject of no little admiration, for monstrosities are born more

⁵³³ *De generatione animalium* IV,4, 740a 7-32: Perciò siffatte anomalie si producono assai raramente negli unipari, e più nei multipari e soprattutto negli uccelli, e tra gli uccelli nei polli. Questi non sono solo multipari perché depongono spesso uova, come il genere dei colombi, ma perché portano contemporaneamente molti prodotti del concepimento, e si accoppiano in ogni stagione. Perciò producono molti gemelli: i prodotti del concepimento grazie alla reciproca vicinanza si formano insieme, come molti frutti fanno talvolta. In tutti quelli che hanno i tuorli definiti dalla membrana nascono due piccoli separati senza alcuna superfetazione, mentre in quelli che hanno i tuorli contigui e senza alcuna interruzione i piccoli nascono anomali con un corpo e una testa, ma quattro gambe e quattro ali, perché le parti superiori dell'animale si formano prima e dal bianco, essendo controllato il loro alimento proveniente dal tuorlo, mentre la parte inferiore si forma dopo e l'alimento è unico e indistinto. È accaduto di vedere anche un serpente a due teste per la stessa causa, perché anche questo genere è oviparo e multiparo. Le anomalie sono però più rare in essi per la configurazione dell'utero. Data la sua dimensione la massa delle uova si trova infatti disposta in fila. Non accade nulla del genere né alle api né alle vespe, perché la loro nascita avviene in cellule separate. Nel caso dei polli avviene invece l'opposto, e anche in questo caso è chiaro che la causa di questi fenomeni deve essere attribuita alla materia, perché anche tra gli altri animali si hanno soprattutto nei multipari. (traduzione di Diego Lanza)

⁵³⁴ Le correzioni al testo di Aldrovandi vengono fatte in base al testo originale di Della Porta, che in alcuni punti è diverso da quello riportato da Aldrovandi. Ecco il testo di Giambattista Della Porta tratto dalla prima edizione del *Magiae naturalis*, quella del 1558, che si componeva di soli 4 libri. *Magiae naturalis* II (1558), Monstra quomodo gignantur, & de vi mira putrefactionis .cap. XXIV - PULLUS GALLINACEUS QUATERNIS ALIS ENASCATUR, QUATERNISQUE PEDIBUS - Quod docet Aristoteles: Oua illa seligito, quae bina comperies retinere boleta, pellicula quadam non tenui intercurante, sed albumina continuentur, quae foecundiores saepè gallinae assolent parere, ex magnitudine cognosces, patetque intuentibus Soli exponendo, exuberante iam materia productum, ex plurium seminum commixtu, semenque habeat pullorum, glorienti gallinae iam excubanda supponas, vt suo insessu foueat ea, elapso iam debito tempore tales excludet foetus, pedibus, alisque quaternis, curabis vt commodè educantur. Si autem membrana disternabitur, gemini discreti pulli generantur, sine vlla superuacua parte. Sic enim & biceps nascetur serpens, & animal omne, quod ovo excluditur: si tale euenerit, non mediocris erit admirationis: saepius enim monstra in prolificis animalibus, & multiparis, quam in minus foecundis, & in perfectioribus animalibus, in aliis verò facilitas generationis praeualt: vnde in vilioribus animalibus facilius monstra prodeunt, quam in nobilibus. Sic quoque aliter generare possumus. (trascrizione di Laura Balbiani in <http://homepages.tscnet.com/omard1>)

saepius enim monstra in prolificis animalibus, et multiparis, quam in minus foecundis, et {imperfectioribus} <in perfectioribus> animalibus nascuntur: in aliis vero facilitas generationis pr<a>evalet: unde in vilioribus animalibus facilius monstra {proveniunt} <prodeunt>, quam in nobiles. Haec itaque omnia Porta⁵³⁵, qui etiam docet⁵³⁶, quomodo Gallus, vel capus in mortuae, vel educere pullos Gallinae nolentis locum succedat. Iubet autem illi ostendi pullos, et blande manibus dorsum pertractando praebere cibum, ut manibus edere assuescat, et cicur fiat. Mox pectus deplumando urticis perfricari atque ita paucis interiectis horis adeo optime pullos recepturum promittit, et cibum eis exhibiturum, ut vix unquam mater Gallina tale fecerit. Verum ipsemet Aristoteles⁵³⁷ Gallos nonnullos visos esse testatur, qui cum forte faemina interiisset, ipsi officio matris fungerentur, pullos ductando, fovendo, educando, ita ne de caetero, vel cucu<r>rire, vel coire appeterent. Et Aelianus⁵³⁸ Galli laudes prosequens {;}<,> *Matrice Gallina, <i>nquit, extincta, ipse incubat; et pullos ex ovis excludit, ac tum silentio utitur.* Idem etiam testatur Plinius⁵³⁹,

often among prolific and giving birth to many young animals than among less fecund and more perfect animals: for in the former ones the facility of generation prevails: hence among lower rank animals monstrosities come forth more easily than among higher rank animals. All this is referred by Giambattista Della Porta*, who also inform us how a rooster or a capon takes the place of a dead hen or of one who is unwilling to rear chicks. He urges the chicks be shown him and food be offered him while his back is stroked gently by hands, so that he gets accustomed to eat from hands and becomes tame. Next, in removing the feathers from his chest he is rubbed with nettles* and he assures that thus after a few hours he will accept so properly the chicks, and that he will show them the food, that scarcely any mother hen has ever behaved in such a way. Truly Aristotle* himself reports that some roosters have been seen who, when by chance the female had died, assumed the duties of the mother in leading, warming, and rearing the chicks, so that they not bother about other things, neither crowing nor copulating. And Aelian*, going on with the praise of the rooster, says: *When a laying hen dies, he himself incubates, and hatches out the chicks from eggs, and at that time he keeps silent.* Also Pliny* testifies the same when saying: *They say that when the hen is dead their males have been seen to relieve her and to do the remaining things like a female with chicks and to abstain from*

⁵³⁵ Le correzioni al testo di Aldrovandi vengono fatte in base al testo originale di Della Porta, che in alcuni punti è diverso da quello riportato da Aldrovandi. Ecco il testo di Giambattista Della Porta tratto dalla prima edizione del *Magiae naturalis*, quella del 1558, che si componeva di soli 4 libri. *Magiae naturalis* II (1558), Monstra quomodo gignantur, & de vi mira putrefactionis .cap. XXIV - PULLUS GALLINACEUS QUATERNIS ALIS ENASCATUR, QUATERNISQUE PEDIBUS - Quod docet Aristoteles: Oua illa seligito, quae bina comperies retinere boleta, pellicula quadam non tenui intercurante, sed albumina continuentur, quae foecundiores saepe gallinae assolent parere, ex magnitudine cognosces, patetque intuentibus Soli exponendo, exuberante iam materia productum, ex plurium seminum commixtu, semenque habeat pullorum, glorienti gallinae iam excubanda supponas, vt suo insensu foueat ea, elapso iam debito tempore tales excludet foetus, pedibus, alisque quaternis, curabis vt commodè educantur. Si autem membrana disternabitur, gemini discreti pulli generantur, sine vlla superuacua parte. Sic enim & biceps nascetur serpens, & animal omne, quod ouo excluditur: si tale euenerit, non mediocris erit admirationis: saepius enim monstra in prolificis animalibus, & multiparis, quam in minus foecundis, & in perfectioribus animalibus, in aliis verò facilitas generationis praeualet: vnde in vilioribus animalibus facilius monstra prodeunt, quam in nobiles. Sic quoque aliter generare possumus. (trascrizione di Laura Balbiani in <http://homepages.tscnet.com/omard1>)

⁵³⁶ Giambattista Della Porta, *The Fourth Book of Natural Magick* (1584), Chapter XXVI - TO HATCH EGGS WITHOUT A HEN. - *A Cock fosters Chickens as the Hen does.* For they would die, if none did keep them. But a cock or capon will perform what the hen should. Do but show him the chicken, and stroke him gently on the back, and give him meat out of your hands often, that he may become tame. Then pull the feathers off of his breast, and rub him with nettles. For in a few hours, not to say days, he will take care of the chickens so well and give them their meat, that no hens did ever do it as he will. (da <http://homepages.tscnet.com/omard1>)

⁵³⁷ *Historia animalium* IX,49 631b 13-16: Ἦδη δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀρρένων τινὲς ὄφθησαν ἀπολομένης τῆς θηλείας αὐτοὶ περὶ τοὺς νεοττοὺς τὴν τῆς θηλείας ποιούμενοι σκευωρίαν, περιάγοντές τε καὶ ἐκτρέφοντες οὕτως ὥστε μήτε κοκκύζειν ἔτι μήτ' ὀχεύειν ἐπιχειρεῖν. - E si sono visti persino alcuni maschi, essendo morta la femmina, prendersi essi stessi cura dei pulcini come la femmina, portandoli in giro e allevandoli cosicché non si mettono né a cantare e neanche ad accoppiarsi. - Iam vero mares quidam visi sunt amissa gallina, ipsimet apparatus ferre pullis: eos etiam circumducere et enutrire ita, ut non amplius cucuriant, aut veneri operam dent. (traduzione di Giulio Cesare Scaligero*)

⁵³⁸ *La natura degli animali* IV,29: Τῆς δὲ ὄρνιθος ἀπολωλυίας, ἐπάρξει αὐτὸς, καὶ ἐκλέπει τὰ ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ νεόττια σιωπῶν· οὐ γὰρ ἄδει τότε θαυμαστῆ τινὶ καὶ ἀπορρήτῳ αἰτία, ναὶ μὰ τὸν· δοκεῖ γὰρ μοι συγγινώσκειν ἑαυτῷ θηλείας ἔργα καὶ οὐκ ἄρρενος δρώντι τηνικάδε. - Morta la gallina, egli stesso cova, e fa schiudere i propri figlioletti standosene in silenzio; perché non canta in quel periodo di tempo è dovuto a un qualche motivo strano e misterioso, per Zeus; infatti mi sembra sia consapevole che così sta svolgendo le mansioni di una femmina e non di un maschio.

⁵³⁹ *Naturalis historia* X,155: Narrantur et mortua gallina mariti earum visi succedentes in vicem et reliqua fetae more facientes abstinentesque se cantu.

Narrantur, inquam, et mortua Gallina mariti earum visi succedentes invicem, et reliqua foetae more facientes, abstinentesque se a cantu. Quae cum ita sint, Gallos aliquando absque {homium} <hominum> opera, Gallinarum officio functos fuisse manifesto constat.

Quod si vero nec Gallina nec Gallus excubare ova velint, nondum desperandum est: nam praeterquam quod uterque immutari possit: possunt etiam in primis ab homine perfici, teste Plinio⁵⁴⁰, qui Liviam Augustam ait ovum in sinu fovendo exclusisse, ut postea dicemus, et ante etiam diximus⁵⁴¹, indeque fortasse nuper inventum esse, ut ova in calido loco imposita paleis igne modico foverentur, homine versante pariter, ut stato tempore illinc erumperet foetus. Sed vetus Aristotelis praeceptum est, si aut tempus sit bene temperatum, aut locus in quo ova manent, tepidus, non avium tantum ova concoqui sine parentis incubitu, sed quadruped*<i>*um oviparorum etiam. Et alibi⁵⁴² ita scribit: *Incubitu avium ova excludi naturae ratio est: non tamen ita solum ova aperiuntur, sed etiam sponte in terra, ut in Aegypto obruta fimo pullitiam procreant.*

Cuius rei Diodorus Siculus⁵⁴³ etiam meminit his verbis: *Quaedam suo studio adinventae sunt, ut qui (loquitur autem de Aegyptiis) aves, aut Anseres nutriunt, praeter \dagger earum, quae apud alios homines habentur procreandi nomina, ut in numerum dictu mirabilem avium evadant: non enim ova incubant aves, sed ipsi ingenio, et naturali arte educant foetus.*

De eisdem populis ita Paulus Iovius⁵⁴⁴: *Apud Aegyptios magna copia est pullorum Gallinaceorum. Nam apud illos Gallinae sua ova non incubant: sed ea*

crowing. Since these are the facts, it clearly follows that sometimes roosters, without human intervention, took on the task of hens.

But if neither hen nor rooster wish to incubate eggs, one must not despair: for, beyond the fact that they can change places each other, first of all also a human being can perform this task, according to Pliny, who says Livia Drusilla* - or Julia Augusta - hatched an egg by warming it in her bosom, as I shall say later and as I also said before, and that perhaps hence recently it has been discovered how eggs placed in a warm place upon straw are warmed up with little fire, while a man is turning them at the same time, so that the fetus comes out at the stated time. But it is an old advice of Aristotle that, if the season is very mild or the place in which eggs lie is lukewarm, not only the eggs of the birds come to maturity without the incubation of the parent, but also those of quadruped oviparous animals. And elsewhere he writes thus: *It is a rule of nature that eggs of birds hatch by incubation: but eggs open not only in this manner, but also spontaneously in the earth, as in Egypt where they give birth to a clutch of chicks after they have been covered up by dung*.*

Diodorus Siculus* also mentions this fact by these words: *Certain things have been discovered thanks to their own endeavor, as of those (anyway he is speaking of Egyptians) who raise hens, or geese, besides [...] those, which among other men are thought methods of reproduction, so that they have as result a number of birds extraordinary to say: for don't are the hens incubating eggs, but they themselves hatch chicks by their talent and natural cleverness.*

Paolo Giovio* writes about the same peoples as follows: *Among Egyptians there is a large abundance of chickens. For among them the hens do not incubate their eggs: but*

⁵⁴⁰ *Naturalis historia* X,154: Quin et ab homine perficiuntur. Julia Augusta prima sua iuventa Tib. Caesare ex Nerone gravida, cum parere virilem sexum admodum cuperet, hoc usa est puellari augurio, ovum in sinu fovendo atque, cum deponendum haberet, nutrici per sinum tradendo, ne intermitteretur tepor; nec falso augurata proditur. Nuper inde fortassis inventum, ut ova calido in loco inposita paleis igne modico foverentur homine versante, pariterque et stato die illinc erumperet fetus.

⁵⁴¹ Ne ha parlato a pagina 207 e ne riparlerà a pagina 260.

⁵⁴² *De generatione animalium* III,2 752b: Il piccolo dunque nasce quando, come si è detto, l'uccello lo cova. Nondimeno anche quando la stagione è temperata o soleggiato il luogo in cui si trovano deposte, sia le uova degli uccelli sia quelle dei quadrupedi ovipari giungono a cozione. Tutti questi depongono le uova al suolo ed esse giungono a cozione per effetto del calore della terra; quanti poi dei quadrupedi ovipari sono soliti covare, lo fanno soprattutto a scopo di difesa. (traduzione di Diego Lanza) § *Historia animalium* VI,2 559a 30-559b 2: Le uova si schiudono in seguito alla cova da parte degli uccelli; possono tuttavia farlo anche spontaneamente al suolo, come in Egitto, se vengono immerse nel letame. (traduzione di Mario Vegetti)

⁵⁴³ *Bibliotheca historica* I,74,4-5. - La successiva lacuna nel testo di Aldrovandi suona più o meno così: "fanno molte scoperte da se stessi, e ... per l'estremo impegno in queste attività gli allevatori di polli e di oche, oltre a far nascere i suddetti animali in modo naturale, così come si fa negli altri paesi, ne mettono insieme un numero indicibile per la loro particolare abilità. Infatti non fanno schiudere le uova con la cova degli uccelli, ma eseguendo loro stessi l'operazione artificialmente in modo sorprendente, con intelligenza e capacità non meno efficaci dell'azione della natura."

⁵⁴⁴ *Historiarum temporis sui* liber XVIII. (Aldrovandi)

in clibanis, tepore sensim adhibito, ita foventur, ut mirabili arte compendioque pulli intra paucos dies progignantur, simul et educantur, quos illi non numero, sed mensura venales habent. Modiolum statuunt sine fundo, quem ut compleverint, tollunt. Et Tragus denique, In Aegypto, inquit, circa Alcairum ova arte excluduntur: clibanum parant cum multis foraminibus, quibus ova diversa, Gallinarum, Anserum et aliarum avium imponunt, tum fimo calido integunt clibanum, et si opus fuerit, ignem circumque faciunt, sic {ovo sua} <ova suo> quaeque tempore maturescunt.

Verum in eo Iovius, et Tragus a Diodoro, et Aristotele discrepant, quod hi nulla clibani facta mentione, ova tantum fimo obrupta pullitiam procreare dicant: quare dicendum esset Aegyptios nunc diverso modo, quam solebant olim, pullos excludere, cum tamen talis exclusio celeriter absolveretur, ut vel ex hoc colligo, quod, ut Aristoteles pariter testis est, quidam potator Syracusis, ovis sub storea in terra positus, tamdiu potaret, donec ova foetum ederent. Iam vero, et cum in vasis quibusdam tepidis essent coniecta sponte sua pullos edidisse, idem Aristoteles⁵⁴⁵ author est.

*Si Gallina non incubet, inquit Democritus, hac industria complures habebis pullos. Qua die incubanti Gallinae ova subjicis, eadem stercus Gallinae accipiens, id ipsum contere, cribraque ac denique in vasa injice ventricosa, pennas illi{s}*⁵⁴⁶ *Gallinarum circumpone. Post haec autem figura recta imponito ova, sic ut pars mucronata superne tendat, ac dein rursus ex eodem fimo tandiu illis inspergito, donec undique inducta videantur. At ibi duos, aut tres dies primos sic intacta esse ova permiseris, singulis postea diebus illa convertito, cavens ne contingantur mutuo, ut videlicet ex aequo incalescant. Post vigesimam autem diem, dum sub Gallina ova excludi incipiunt, invenies ea, quae in alveis {suut} <sunt>, circumfracta. Ob quam nimirum causam etiam inscribunt diem, qua supponuntur, ne dierum numerus ignoretur. Vigesima itaque die putamen extrahens, pullos in cophinum*

in ovens, with warmth used moderately, they are so warmed that with admirable ability and time's shortening within a few days the chicks are hatched, and at the same time they are raised, and they think that they can be marketed not according to the number but to the size. They set up a bucket without bottom which they take away when they filled it up. And finally Tragus - Hieronymus Bock - says: In Egypt in neighborhoods of Cairo eggs are hatched with cleverness: they prepare an oven with many openings on which they place different sorts of eggs, of hens, geese and other birds, then they cover the oven with warm dung, and if there is need, they light a fire all around, so each egg comes to maturity at its proper time.*

Indeed in this regard Giovio and Tragus disagree with Diodorus and Aristotle because without any mention of an oven they say that eggs covered only with dung give birth to a clutch of chicks: therefore it should be said that the Egyptians now hatch out chicks in a different manner than they formerly used, and that such a hatching comes at end quickly, like I gather from the fact that, as also Aristotle testifies, at Syracuse a drunkard who, after he placed eggs in earth under a mat, was going on with drinking until eggs didn't give birth to the fetus. Aristotle himself writes that the eggs hatched out chicks by themselves even when placed in some warm vessels.

If a hen does not incubate, Bolos of Mendes says, you will have many chicks by the following job. On the day when you place the eggs under an incubating hen, on the same day take some chicken dung, crumble and sieve it, and then place it in bellied pots and put hen feathers all around the dung. After this, place over it the eggs upright so that their pointed ends are upturned, and in addition sprinkle them with the same dung until they seem to be wholly covered. But allow the eggs to remain this way untouched for first two or three days, then on each day thereafter turn the eggs over, taking care that they do not touch each other, of course so that they may be warmed evenly. After the twentieth day, when eggs under a hen begin to hatch, you will search the eggs cracked all around laying in the hollow pots. Just for this reason they also write down the day on which they are placed for incubation, so that the number of days is not unknown. Therefore on the twentieth day take off the egg shells, put the chicks into a basket, and nourish them with very minute feed. Also bring in a*

⁵⁴⁵ *Historia animalium* VI,2 559b 2-4: E dicono che a Siracusa un ubriacone, messe delle uova in terra sotto la sua stuoia, continuò a bere ininterrottamente per tanto tempo che fece schiudere le uova. Ed è anche capitato che delle uova, poste in vasi caldi, maturassero e si aprissero spontaneamente. (traduzione di Mario Vegetti)

⁵⁴⁶ Il testo è dedotto da pagina 429 di Gessner *Historia animalium* III (1555), dove non c'è *illis* (riferibile ai vasi panciuti) bensì *illi* (riferibile allo sterco, oppure avverbio di stato in luogo = in quel luogo là). Ecco il testo di Gessner trascritto da Aldrovandi parola per parola eccetto *illis/illi*: Si gallina non incubet, hac industria complures habebis pullos. qua die incubanti gallinae ova subjicis, eadem stercus gallinae accipiens id ipsum contere, cribraque ac denique in vasa injice ventricosa, pennas illi gallinarum circumpone. § Gessner ha tratto il brano dalla traduzione dei *Geoponica* di Andrés Laguna*(1541), sostituendo *disseminans* di Laguna con *circumpone* di Cornarius: [...] pennas illi gallinarum disseminans. § Janus Cornarius* (1543) ha tradotto con *eique*, riferito allo sterco: [...] eique gallinarum pennas circumpone. § Dal testo originale pubblicato da Teubner (1994) si evince chiaramente che *illi* ed *eique* sono riferiti allo sterco. Infatti il testo greco suona così: τῆ δὲ κόπρω περιβάλαε ὀρνιθίων περῶ. § Quindi si emenda *illis* di Aldrovandi con *illi*.

conijcito, eos alens delicatissime. Ascisce etiam Gallinam, quae {modorabitur} <moderabitur> omnia. Haec Democritus, Andrea a {Lucana} <Lacuna> interprete, qui Graecam vocem γάστρας vasa ventricosa interpretatur: Cornarius ventriculos: Hieronymus Cardanus, qui hunc locum in libros suos de subtilitate transcripsit, pulvinaria, his verbis: Pulvinaria duo reple stercore Gallinarum tenuissime trito: inde plumas Gallinarum annecte consuendo utrique molles, ac densas. Ova vero capite tenuiore supra extante, colloca super alterum pulvinar. Deinde reliquum superpone in loco calido, permitteque immota duobus diebus: post vero ad vigesimam usque diem, illa sic verte, ut undique aequaliter foveantur: inde stata [227] die, quae iuxta vigesimam primam est, pipillantes iam ex ovo sensim educito.

hen who will supervise everything. These are the words of Bolos of Mendes, as interpreted by Andrés Laguna*, who translates the Greek word *gástras* - large bellied pots - with *vasa ventricosa*: Janus Cornarius* with *ventriculos*, bellies: Gerolamo Cardano*, who transcribed this passage in his books *De subtilitate*, with cushions, and by these words: Fill two cushions with crumbled hen's dung: then by sewing fasten on both soft and thick hen's feathers. Upon either cushion place the eggs but with the sharper end sticking out upward. Then place over it the other one in a warm place and let them not be moved for two days: then until the twentieth day turn them in such a way that they are warmed evenly on all sides: afterwards at the stated day, corresponding approximately to the twenty-first, you will bring carefully the already peeping ones out of the egg.

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Ego etsi hoc etiam modo ova excludi posse ratio loqui videtur: video tamen aliud sensisse Democritum, verbis eius Graecis diligentius examinatis, et placet gastran vas ventricosum vertere, ut prius in tale vas intelligamus fimum injiciendum, tum super fimo imponendas plumas (ut ἐπίβαλλε potius quam περίβαλλε legatur) in plumis ova: postremo rursus fimum addendum donec contegantur ova. Sed ut ut est, Porta hoc a se diligentissime expertum non successisse scribit, nec quomodo succedere possit, sese conijcere posse. Hoc etiam addens quod qui clibanum laudant, modum non ostendant quo id fieri possit. Unde quae ipsemet fecit, et ab aliis factitata vidit minutissime demonstrat⁵⁴⁷.

As far as I am concerned, although reason seems to suggest that eggs can hatch also in this manner, nevertheless I reckon that Bolos of Mendes*, after his Greek words have been more carefully checked, he meant another thing, and it is my opinion to translate *gástran* with *vas ventricosum* - bellied pot, since I mean that dung must first be thrown into it, afterwards feathers are to be placed upon the dung (reading *epíballe* - put on - rather than *períballe* - put around) and the eggs within the feathers: lastly further dung must be added until eggs are covered. But however that may be, Giambattista Della Porta* writes that this, tested by him with a lot of diligence, has not been followed by success, and that he himself cannot gather how it could be successful. He is also adding

⁵⁴⁷ Giambattista Della Porta, *The Fourth Book of Natural Magick* (1584), Chapter XXVI - TO HATCH EGGS WITHOUT A HEN. - *Hatch Eggs in a hot Oven*. - Make a vessel of wood like a hogshead. Let it be round, and the diameter so long as your arm, that you thrust in, that you may lay and turn the eggs. Let it be four foot in altitude. This we divide by three boards within into three parts. Let the first be a foot and half, the second little above a foot, the third a foot, and the fourth the least of all. Let every concavity divided with boards have a little door thereto, so large as you may thrust in your arm, and its shut to open and shut at pleasure. Let the first and second loft be made of thin boards, or wrought with twigs. Let the third be of brass arched, and the fourth of solid wood. Let the first and second stage have a hole in the center three fingers broad, through which must pass a brass or iron pipe tinned over. That must come half a foot above the second story, and so in the lower most, but in the bottom the orifice must be wider, like a pyramid or funnel. So that it can fitly receive the heat of the flame of a candle put under it. In the second story let the pipe be perforated about the top. That the heat breathing forth thence, the place may be kept warm, and the eggs may be hot in the upper part, as they are under the hen. Above these three rooms strew sawdust, which I think is best to cover them. Let the sawdust be highest about the sides of the hogshead, but less in the middle. In the bottom where the pipe is lower, the eggs lie upon it may receive the heat that comes from the pipe every way. In the third story where the pipe ends, let it be pressed down about the sides, and higher in the middle about the pipe. Let a linen cloth cover the sawdust. A fine cloth that if it be fouled it may be washed again. And the chicken hatched may go upon it. Lay upon every story a hundred eggs more or less. Let the great end of the eggs lie downwards, the sharp end upwards. The walls of the hogshead that are above the sawdust with the concavities, and the upper part of the story must be covered with sheep skins, that their warmth may keep in the heat. In the lower concavity under the tunnel, must a light lamp be placed, at first with two wicks, in the end with three in Summer. But at beginning of winter, first with three, and last with four or five. Let the light fall upon the middle of the tunnel, that the heat ascending the pipe, the rooms may all heat alike. The place where this vessel stands must be warm and stand in a by place. In the lower part where the lamp is lighted, you must lay no eggs. For the heat there will not hatch them. But where the chickens are wet when they are first hatched, shut them in

that those who are praising the oven do not give account for the way thanks to which it can happen. Hence he is describing down to the smallest detail what he himself has done and what he saw done usually by others*.

Ut parvo labore, et sine Gallinis quivis ova clibano calido excludere possit, vas fieri vult ligneum, valde simile dolio, rotundum, cuius diameter tantae sit longitudinis, quantum capiat brachium intromittendum, ut ova componere, et convertere possit: altitudo quatuor pedum⁵⁴⁸. Hoc tribus tabulatis intus, in quatuor partes dividemus. Sit primum sexquipedale, secundum paulo maius pede, tertium pedale, quartum omnium minimum. Habeat unaquaeque cellula tabulatis divisa suum ostiolum latitudine quantum brachium immitti possit, suaque opercula, ut apte claudi, et reserari possint. Primum, et secundum tabulatum ex tenuibus tabellulis, vel viminibus contexta sint; tertium sit aeneum, fornicatum, postremum ligneum, solidumque. Primum et secundum tabulatum in centro foramen habeat, latitudinis trium digitorum, per quod aeneus canalis, vel ferreus, stanno sublitus. Is supra secundum tabulatum ad medium pedem semper emineat, sic et in inferiori, sed in imo patentioris fiat oris ad modum pyramidis, vel infundibuli, ut concinne calorem, et flammam suppositae lucernae excipere possit. In secundo tabulato canalis circa supremum locum perforatus sit, ut inde exhalans calor, locum tepide foveat, et ova ex superiori parte calescant, ut Gallinae faciunt.

Super haec tria tabulata spargatur scobs lignea, quae tibi aptissimo operi videbitur. Scobs circa dolii latera erectior, in medio minus: in imo, ubi canalis, depressior, ut ova supra eam incubantia calorem undique a canali provenientem excipiant. In tertio tabulato, ubi canalis terminatur, sit circa latera depressa, in medio

In order that with little labor and without hens anyone can hatch eggs by a heated portable oven, he should make a wooden vessel very similar to a barrel, round, with a diameter long enough to receive an arm thrust into it, so that one may place eggs within it and turn them over: it should be four feet high. When three floors are arranged inside, it will be divided into four parts. The first space should be a foot and a half in height, the second hardly more than a foot, the third a foot, the fourth the lowest of all. Each compartment, so divided by floors, must have a little its own opening wide enough to receive the arm thrust through it, as well as a little door so the compartment can be fairly closed and opened. The first and second floors should be made of thin slats or of interwoven wickers; the third should be of bronze and arched, the last of solid wood. Let the first and second floors have a hole in the center, three fingers wide, through which there is a bronze or a tin-plated iron pipe. The pipe should ever project half a foot above the second floor, so in the lower floor too, but at the bottom let it have a widened mouth in the shape of a pyramid or funnel, so that it can receive evenly the heat and the flame of a lantern placed beneath. In the second floor let the pipe be perforated at the top so that the heat exhaling from it warms this place, and the eggs get warm from above as hens do.

Above these three floors scatter sawdust which will come in very useful for you. Let the sawdust be higher around the sides of the barrel, less in the middle: at the center, where the pipe is, let it be even lower, so that the eggs incubating upon the sawdust may receive on all sides the warmth coming from the pipe. On the third floor, where the pipe ends, the

here to dry them by the warm heat of the lamp. Marking twice or thrice every day whether the heat abate, be warm or very hot. We shall know it thus. Take an egg out of the place, and lay it on your eye, for that will try it well. If it is too hot for you, the heat is too much. If you feel it not, it is weak. A strong heat will hatch them, but a weak one will make them addle. So you must add or take away from your lamp, to make the light adequate and proportionable. After the fourth day that the eggs begin to be warmed, take them out of the cells, and not shaking them hard, hold them gently against the sun beams or light of a candle, and see whether they be not addle. For if you discern any fibers or bloody matter run about the egg, it is good. But if it is clear and transparent, it is naught. Put another egg in place of it. All that are good must be daily turned at the lamp heat, and turn them round as the hen is found to do. We need not fear spoiling the eggs, or if any man does handle them gently. In summer after nineteen or twenty days, or in winter after twentyfive or twentyeight days, you shall take the eggs in your hand, and hold them against the Sun and see how the chicken beak stands. There break the shell, and by the hole of the egg take the chicken by the beak and pull out its head. And lay it in its place again. For the chicken will come forth itself. And when it is come out, put it in the lower cell as I said. But let the lamp stand something from the parent, or the chickens allured by the light, should pick at it and be burned by it. And if you do work diligently as I have shown you, in three hundred eggs, you shall hardly loose ten or twenty at most. (da <http://homepages.tscnet.com/omard1>)

⁵⁴⁸ A seconda del campo d'impiego, il piede italiano oscillava da 30 a 50 cm.

circa canalem altior: supra scobem linteus extendatur subtilis, si deturpatur, ut denuo lavari possit, et exclusi pulli supra illum ambulare possint.

Singulis tabulis centena ova accomodentur, plus, minus. Retusa ovi pars infra, acuta sursum vergat. Parietes dolii supra scobem extantes intra cellulas, et superna pars tabulati, ovillis pellibus contegantur, ut suo tepore calorem retineant. Inferiori cellula sub infundibulo lucerna accomodetur accensa, in initio binis {ellichniis} <ellyphniis>, in fine tribus aestatis tempore, sed hyeme initio tribus, postremo quatuor, aut quinque. Feriat lumen in medio infundibuli, ut per canalem ascendens calor, aequae cellulas concalfaciat.

Locus in quo hoc vas steterit, sit tepidus, et solitarius. In inferiori parte, ubi accensa lucerna non oportet ova accomodare, quia calorem non habet ad ova excludenda aptum. Sed ubi pulli madidi, quam primum ovis excluduntur, hic claudantur, ut tepido flammae calore madorem ex<s>icent: bis, terve singulis diebus animadvertendo, si calor remissus, tepens, aut intensus sit. Quod ita cognoscemus: ovum e cellula extrahemus, ut supra oculum ponendo optime experiemur. Nam si offendit, intensus est: si insensibilis, remissus. Intensus calor excoquit ova, remissus irrita facit. Ob id lucerna lumen addendo, et minuendo exaequatum reddes.

Post quartum diem, a quo ova fieri coeperint, extrahito e cella, et nulla facta commotione vehementi, sensim contra splendorem Solis, vel candelae quispiam specularitur, si prolificum sit ovum, necne. Nam si fibrarum aliquot, cruentumque discurrere videtur, prolificum est, si contra perspicuum erit, ceu infoecundum reiiciendum: irriti loco substituatur aliud. Foecunda oportet quotidie ad calorem luminis vertere, atque circumcirca movere, ut Gallina solet. Nec verendum nobis ne corrumpantur ova, vel si ab aliquo sensim, et commode pertractentur.

Post decimum nonum, vel vigesimum diem aestatis tempore, aut vigesimum quintum, aut vigesimum octavum hyemis, ova manu capies, ac Soli obversa inspice, ubi pulli rostrum steterit, ibi crustam rumpito, et per ovi foramen manibus rostellum capiendo pulli caput foras extrahe, ac suo loco reponere. Nam ex se ipso foras

sawdust should be pressed down around the sides, higher in the center around the pipe: spread a thin linen* cloth, which can be washed if it becomes soiled, upon the sawdust, so that the hatched-out chicks may walk around on it.

Let arrange on each floor one hundred eggs, more or less. The blunt end of the eggs must turn downward, the sharp end upward. Inside the compartments, cover the barrel's walls sticking above the sawdust as well as the supreme part of the floor, with sheepskins, so that they retain the warmth by their insulating power. Place a lighted lantern in the lower compartment under the funnel, and in summer, in the beginning, with two wicks, with three wicks towards the end, but in winter in the beginning with three and in the end with four or five wicks. Let the flame strike the middle of the funnel so that the heat ascending through the pipe can evenly warm the compartments.

Let the place in which this vessel stands be lukewarm and solitary. Eggs should not be placed in the lower part where the lighted lantern is, because it does not have a heat suitable for hatching eggs. But as soon as the chicks hatch out from eggs and are still moist they must be shut up here, so that with the tepid heat of the flame they dry up their moisture, checking carefully twice or thrice each day to find out whether the heat is low, lukewarm, or intense. You can find out that as follows: take an egg from a compartment and placing it on an eye you will realize in the best way. For if it troubles you, the heat is intense: if it does not give any feelings, the heat is low. Intense heat bakes the eggs, low heat makes them worthless. Because of this you will make the heat even by the lantern, raising or lowering the fire.

After the fourth day since eggs begun to develop draw out them from the compartment and without any violent motion someone will examine them little by little against the shining light of the sun or of a candle to see whether the egg is fertile or not. For if some of the bloody fibers are seen to move it is fertile, but if the egg is limpid, or infertile, it must be discarded: another egg should take place of the infertile one. Daily the fertile eggs ought to be turned towards the heat of the lantern and ought to be turned over, as usually the hen does. And there is no need to fear the eggs will become corrupt, especially if they are handled gently and suitably by someone.

After the nineteenth or twentieth day in summer, or the twenty-fifth or twenty-eighth in winter, take the eggs in your hand and inspect them, turning them to the sun, and where the chick's beak is located, here break the shell, and seizing with hands the little beak through the hole in the egg pull out the head of the chick, and then put the egg back in its place. For the

progreditur, et ovo egressum in inferiori cellula, ut diximus, pone, sed a pavimento lucerna aliquantulum absit, ne pulli lucis splendore allecti, lumen rostellis feriant, et comburantur. At si quae diximus diligenter operatus fueris, ex trecentis ovis vix decem, aut viginti perdes. Hactenus itaque Io. Bap. Porta.

Petrus Crescentiensis⁵⁴⁹ denique scribit, in quadam regione homines reperiri, qui furnos ita temperate calefaciant, ut eorum calor par sit Gallinae incubantis, et in furno, seu {clibamo} <clibano> ponere {quamplurimos} <quamplurimas> plumas, et mille Gallinacea ova quae post viginti dies nascantur, ac erumpant. Atque istaec de iis, quae ad huiusce avium [228] generis procreationem spectabant dicta sint.

chick comes out by himself, and, after he came out from the egg, place him, as already I said, in the lower cell, but the lantern must be a little bit raised from the floor so that the chicks may not strike the lantern with their little beaks, attracted by the brightness of the light, and thus burn themselves. Only if you will carefully do what I said you will hardly lose ten or twenty eggs out of three hundred. Thus far then Giambattista Della Porta.

Pier de' Crescenzi* finally writes that in a certain region there are men who heat up ovens so moderately that their heat is equal to that of an incubating hen, and into this oven or furnace they place plenty of feathers and a thousand hen eggs which after twenty days get birth, and hatch out. Thus much then about details concerning the procreation of this kind of birds.

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Antequam tamen ad reliqua me conferam, pauculos hosce Politiani⁵⁵⁰ versus ceu epilogi loco, nempe de eisdem agentes adjiciam. Ait autem:

*Vocibus interea crebrum {singulit} <singulat> acutis
Parturiens coniu<n>x, quae scilicet ova subinde
Tollit anus, signatque dies, vigilemque lucernam
Consulit: et Lunae crescentis tempora servans
Ut primum Gallina glocit, numero {impare} <impari>
subdit
Versatisque diu, solers auscultat, an intus
Pipiat involucer pullus, tenerumque putamen
Pertuderit molli rostro, {atque} <adque> erumpere tentet.*

EDUCATIO. VICTUS.

Quamvis nulla non mulier Gallinaceum genus sciat educare: sunt tamen nonnulla praecepta a diligentissimis antiquis Geoponicis praescripta, quae illas non tantum, sed forte eruditos etiam latent. Qui itaque fructum ex his avibus percipere volet, fidum in primis aliquem eligat oportet. Nisi enim, qui curam habet Gallinarum, fidem domino servet, nullus ornithonis quaestus vincet impensas. Eiusmodi altor, qui nempe in Gallinarium scandit, et ova colligit, et quae incubantur, manibus versat, Gallinarius curator,

But before devoting myself to remaining items, I shall add as epilogue these few verses of Poliziano*, dealing of course with the same subject: For he says:

The partner, while is laying the egg, often sobs with sharp sounds, and of course straight after the old woman takes up those eggs and marks the date, and watches the ever-lighted lantern: and, observing the periods of the growing moon, as soon as a hen clucks she sets an uneven number of eggs under the hen, and after she handled them slowly, skillfully listens if inside the flightless chick is peeping and has broken the tender shell with its soft beak, and if is trying to come out.

BREEDING - FEEDING

Although every woman knows how to raise the chickens, there are nevertheless some precepts fixed by the very careful ancient geponics* which are unknown not only to women but perhaps also to people learned in these matters. He who wishes to gain profit from these birds should first choose someone he can trust. For unless the person who takes care of the hens keeps faith with his master no profit from poultry house will overcome the expenses. A breeder of this sort, who of course climbs up a hen house, collects the eggs, and turns

⁵⁴⁹ *Ruralium commodorum libri XII*, libro IX, capitolo LXXXVI - Delle galline - pagina 240: Ma dicesi che in alcuna parte del mondo si truova huomini che i forni in tal maniera scaldano che il loro calore e uguale al caldo delle galline che covono & in quel forno mectono penne piccole & mille uova di galline & dopo venti di nascono successivamente & escensene fuori & lo primo parto sie dallo equinocio vernale innanzi cioe da mezzo marzo innanzi, & quelle che innanzi o poi nate son non sono da sopporre a galline vecchie che a pollastre e a quelle che il beccho ne unghioni non siano acuti. (traduzione italiana stampata nel 1490, di proprietà della Army Medical Library (n° 32563) Washington DC, USA - pubblicata da <http://gallica.bnf.fr>)

⁵⁵⁰ *Rusticus*, composto da Poliziano nel 1483-84.

vel custos recte dicitur.

Cum vero pulli maiorem quam adultiores curam requirant, itaque de his prius dicemus: qui⁵⁵¹ iam exclusi singulis <nidis> Gallinarum statim subtrahendi sunt, subijciendique {alii} <aliae>, quae {paucioribus incubat} <paucos habet>, sed et huius rursus quae fovet, ova vel nondum concreta, et formata, aliis quarum ova eiusdem temporis sunt, supponi debent, ut una cum illis calefacta animentur. Columella⁵⁵² ea, qua excluduntur die, singulos tollere prohibet, sed una die in cubili sinere iubet cum matre, et aqua ciboque abstinere, donec caeteri excludantur, et postera die, cum iam grex fuerit effoetus, hoc modo deponere: Cribro vitiario⁵⁵³, vel etiam loliario, quod iam fuerit in usu, pullos superponi, deinde pulegii surculis fumigari, quoniam ea res, pituitam quae celerrime teneros interficit, prohibere videatur. Posthac caveae iuxta eundem cum matre includendi sunt, et farre hordaceo cum <aqua> incocto, vel adoreo farre vino resperso modice alendi. Nam maxime cruditas vitanda est, et {obhoc} <ob hoc> tertia die cavea cum matre retinendi sunt, priusque quam emittantur, ad recentem cibum singuli tentandi, ne quid habeant in gutture, nam si vacua non est ingluvies, cruditatem significat; abstinereque debent, donec concoquant. Dum adhuc teneri sunt, non est permittendum longius evagari, sed circa caveam continendi sunt, et farina hordacea pascendi, donec iam robustiores evaserint.

them when in incubation, will rightly be called the caretaker or the guardian of hens' house.

Since the chicks require more care than more adult subjects, therefore I shall speak of them first. The chicks already hatched must be immediately withdrawn from each nest of the hens and must be placed under another hen who has less chicks; but conversely the eggs warmed by this hen which are not yet developed and formed ought to be placed under other hens whose eggs are of the same period, so that warmed together they can be vivified. Columella* forbids us to remove chicks on the day on which they are hatched, but prescribes to leave them one day in the nest with the mother, and that they must to abstain from water and food, until the rest are hatched. And on next day when the flock has been hatched, to arrange them in this way: the chicks must be placed upon a vetch* or darnel* sieve which has already been used and then fumigate them with sprigs of pennyroyal - *Mentha pulegium**, since this seems to prevent the pip* which kills the very young birds very swiftly. Subsequently they must be shut up in a hencoop with the mother nearby the summer savory itself and given a moderately large feeding of barley* flour boiled in water or of wheat* flour sprinkled with wine. For indigestion must be particularly avoided. Thus until third day the chicks should be kept in the hencoop with the mother and before they are sent out for fresh food, each should be touched to see if they have anything in their crops; for if their ingluvies is not empty this indicates digestive disorders and they should be kept away from food until they conclude the digestion. While they are quite young they should not be allowed to stray far but be kept around the hencoop and fed with barley flour until they become stronger.

⁵⁵¹ Inizia una ennesima bagarre di rielaborazione da parte di Aldrovandi dell'equivalente testo di Varrone citato anche da Gessner, con omissioni tali da renderlo incomprensibile. - Varrone *Rerum rusticarum* III,9,13: Excusos pullos subducendum ex singulis nidis et subiciendum ei quae habeat paucos; ab eaque, si reliqua sint ova pauciora, tollenda et subicienda aliis, quae nondum excuderunt et minus habent triginta pullos. Hoc enim gregem maiorem non faciendum. - Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 429-430: Pullorum recens exclusorum cura. Excus{s}os pullos subducendum ex singulis nidis, et subijciendum ei, quae habeat paucos. Ab eaque si reliqua sint ova pauciora, tollenda, et subijcienda aliis, [430] quae nondum excuderint, et minus habent triginta pullos. Hoc enim gregem maiorem non faciendum, Varro.

⁵⁵² *De re rustica* VIII,5,15-18: Pullos autem non oportet singulos, ut quisque natus sit, tollere, sed uno die in cubili sinere cum matre et aqua ciboque abstinere, dum omnes excudantur. Postero die, cum grex fuerit effectus, hoc modo deponatur: [16] cribro viciario vel etiam loliario, qui iam fuerit in usu, pulli superponantur, deinde pulei surculis fumigantur. Ea res videatur prohibere pituitam, quae celerrime teneros interficit. [17] Post hoc cavea cum matre cludendi sunt, et farre hordeaceo cum aqua incocto vel adoreo farre vino resperso modice alendi. Nam maxime cruditas vitanda est. Et ob hoc iam tertia die cavea cum matre continendi sunt, priusque quam emittantur ad recentem cibum, singuli temptandi ne quid hesterni habeant in gutture. Nam nisi vacua est ingluvies, cruditatem significat, abstinereque debent dum concoquant. [18] Longius autem non est permittendum teneris evagari, sed circa caveam continendi sunt et farina hordeacea pascendi, dum corroborentur; cavendumque ne a serpentibus adflentur, quarum odor tam pestilens est ut interimat universos. Id vitatur saepius incenso cornu cervino vel galbano vel muliebri capillo, quorum omnium fere nidioribus praedicta pestis summovetur.

⁵⁵³ Anche se si tratta di grafia medievale-umanistica, la stessa imprecisione - *vitiario* invece di *viciario* - viene riportata da Conrad Gessner in *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 430: Cribro vitiario, vel etiam loliario, qui (quod) iam fuerit in usu, pulli superponantur: deinde pulegii surculis fumigantur. Ea res videtur prohibere pituitam, quae celerrime teneros interficit.

Varro⁵⁵⁴ quindecim primis diebus mane subiecto pulvere, ne scilicet tenellis rostris noceat terra dura exhibet polentam, cum nasturtii semine, et aquam prohibet, ne tum deinde in eorum corpore turgescat. {Dydimus} <Didymus⁵⁵⁵> porri⁵⁵⁶ folia tenerrima cum caseo musteo contusa illis exhibet. Hordeum vero exactis duobus (sex ut habet codex Graecus, sed interpres mendum⁵⁵⁷ suspicatur) mensibus offerri iubet. Democritus vermes laudat ex stercore asinino, vel {bovino} <equino>⁵⁵⁸ genitos: quare id in capacia vasa colligi, iniijcique vult. Nam decem diebus exactis nascuntur pullorum nutritioni percommodi. Sunt qui, ut multum, et cito crescant, testas, e quibus emergerunt, tunica interiore dempta, contritas, cum sale, et ovo cocto duro immisceant, et pullis primi alimenti loco apponant. Verum nostrae mulieres tanta diligentia non utuntur, et simul atque omnes exclusi sunt, mox vel saltem post biduum simul cum matre evagari sinunt, obviumque quidvis exhibent. Audio tamen apud Belgas primis octo, aut decem diebus caveae matrem includi, ne pulli longius abeant, et simul cum illa cibum sub cavea capiant, habereque ligneum quoddam vas vix palmum altum, in quo multa, plerunque vero duodecim cava sunt, et in his aquam pro potu imponi, ne si in ea incidant pulli submergantur.

In the first fifteen days in the morning, with dust laid down so that they not damage their tender beaks on the hard earth, Varro* offers them barley polenta to eat with nasturtium* seed and keeps them from water so that later the polenta will not swell inside of their bodies. Didymus - a geoponic - offers them very tender leaves of leek* crushed with fresh cheese. He says barley should be given them when two months have passed (the Greek manuscript has six, but the translator suspects a mistake). Bolos of Mendes* praises worms born from donkey or horse dung: therefore he prescribes it should be collected and thrown into large vessels. For when ten days have passed worms are born very suitable for feeding the chicks. There are people who, so that they may grow large and quickly, in place of their first food give the chicks the shells from which they emerged, with the inner tunic removed, ground up and mixed with salt and hard boiled egg. To tell the truth our women do not employ such great diligence and as soon as all chicks are hatched, immediately or at least two days after, allow them to wander with their mother and offer them whatever food. I hear that among Belgians, however, the chicks are kept in a coop with their mother for the first eight or ten days lest the chicks wander afar, and along with her they receive the food under the coop. And they also have a certain wooden vessel scarcely a palm high in which there are many holes, mostly twelve; they put drinking water in these holes, so that if chicks fall inside they don't

⁵⁵⁴ *Rerum rusticarum* III,9,13: Obiciendum pullis diebus XV primis mane subiecto pulvere, ne rostris noceat terra dura, polentam mixtam cum nasturtii semine et aqua aliquanto ante factam intritam, ne tum denique in eorum corpore turgescat; aqua prohibendum.

⁵⁵⁵ Didimo di Alessandria, vissuto presumibilmente nel sec. VI dC, la cui opera - *Περὶ γεωργίας ἐκλογαί* - servì come fonte alla *Geoponica* che ci è stata tramandata, per esempio, dal codice marciano 524 (della Biblioteca Marciana o biblioteca nazionale di Venezia), sotto il nome di Cassiano Basso (in realtà una compilazione bizantina del sec. X, realizzata per iniziativa dell'imperatore Costantino VII Porfirogenito*). La prima edizione moderna, con traduzione latina e commento, si deve a I.N.Niclas, 1781. § L'aggettivo greco *didymos* significa duplice, doppio, nonché gemello. Il plurale sostantivato indica non solo due fratelli gemelli, ma anche i testicoli. Infatti l'epididimo è quella formazione allungata situata sulla parte postero-superiore del testicolo che costituisce la porzione iniziale delle vie spermatiche, per poi continuarsi nel condotto deferente.

⁵⁵⁶ Vedi il lessico alla voce Aglio e Cipolla*. - Dell'impiego del porro di Taranto ne parla Columella quando detta le regole alimentari dei pulcini di pavone. Il porro di Taranto è il *Porrum sectivum* di *De re rustica* XI 3.30 (cfr. anche X 371), di cui si mangiavano solo le foglie, e veniva indicato per le affezioni polmonari, per la gola e per la tosse: Nerone ne faceva una cura regolare, all'olio, per la sua voce (cfr. Plinio, XIX 108). Ecco il testo di Columella relativo ai pulcini di pavone, *De re rustica* VIII,11,14: Sed cum erunt editi pulli, similiter ut gallinacei primo die non moveantur, postero deinde cum educatrice transferantur in caveam. Primisque diebus alantur hordeaceo farre vino resperso, nec minus ex quolibet frumento cocta pulticula et refrigerata. Post paucos deinde dies huic cibo adiciendum erit concisum porrum Tarentinum et caseus mollis vehementer expressus. nam serum nocere pullis manifestum est.

⁵⁵⁷ Il codice greco di Didimo potrebbe essere stato esatto, cioè indicare 6 mesi e non 2. Infatti Columella a proposito dei pulcini di pavone, che vanno nutriti come quelli di gallina, dice che l'orzo lo si dà loro al sesto mese quando si smette di nutrirla con cavallette (*De re rustica* VIII,11,15): Lucustae quoque pedibus adeptis utiles cibandis pullis habentur. Atque his pasci debent usque ad sextum mensem, postmodum satis est hordeum de manu praebere.

⁵⁵⁸ Sia la traduzione dei *Geoponica* di Andrés de Laguna (1541) che quella di Janus Cornarius (1543) riportano sterco d'asino o di cavallo: asinum praeterea, sive equinum stercus (Laguna), asinum sive equinum stercus (Cornarius). Se non bastasse, il testo greco è equivalente: *ὄνειαν ἢ ἰπείαν κόπρον* (*Geoponica sive Cassiani Bassi Scholastici De Re Rustica Eclogae* - recensuit Henricus Beckh - Teubner - Stoccarda e Lipsia - 1994). È pertanto d'obbligo emendare questo ennesimo svarione di Aldrovandi.

Quot vero pullos una Gallina educare debeat, cuius notum est, dum quaeque suos tantum convocet. Quod si autem inter incubantes aliae plura aliis incubent, pulli aliquot ei subijci poterunt, quae pauciores habet: idque maxime faciendum, dum quae futura erat nutrix, nota est non bene educare. Columella⁵⁵⁹ id omnino faciendum esse monet, dum mater suos, et alienos propter similitudinem dignoscere non potest, nempe prima die. Cavendum item ne plures quam triginta uni nutrici committantur. Negant enim omnes fere Geoponici hoc numero ampliorem gregem posse ab una nutriri. Sin autem Gallinarum aliqua suos deserat, timeasque ne ita [229] deserti intereant, cura, ut Gallus, vel Capus nutricis munere fungatur. Quod quomodo praestare possis, superiori capite⁵⁶⁰ ex Io. Baptista Porta ostendi.

drown.

But how many chicks one hen can raise is known to anyone, as long as each hen calls together only her own. But if among incubating hens some sit on more eggs than others, some chicks may be placed under the hen which has fewer; this should be done particularly when the hen that is to be the future nurse is known to be a poor mother. Columella advises that this should be done by all means while the mother cannot as yet distinguish between her own chicks and those of other hens, that is, on the first day. Care should be taken not to commit more than thirty chicks to one nurse. For almost all geoponics affirm that a larger flock than this number cannot be raised by one nurse. But if some one of the hens deserts her chicks and you may fear lest so deserted they perish, see to it that a rooster or a capon takes on the duty of nurse. I have shown how you can accomplish this in the chapter above from Giambattista Della Porta*.

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Gallinam pullos deserere volentem agnosces inde, quod non iam amplius hispida sit, nec alas demittat, glocire desinat, et cum iis evagari nolit. Atque haec de pullorum cura dicta sint.

You will recognize a hen who wishes to desert her chicks by the fact that by now she is no longer ruffled nor lets down her wings, ceases to cluck, and does not wish to wander with them. Let this be said about the care of chicks.

Iam de parentum educatione aliquid dicendum superest. Eae si incubent, bis, mane scilicet et vesperi cibus offerendus est. Vagantium vero non alius cultus est, quam clausarum, nisi quod hae non emittantur, sed intra ornithonem ter die maiori mensura pascantur. Nam singulis capitibus, Columella⁵⁶¹ teste, quaterni cyathi⁵⁶² diurna cibaria sunt, cum terni, vel bini vagis praebeantur. Quid vero exhibendum paulo post dicemus.

Now something remains to be said about the care of their parents. If they are incubating they should be fed twice a day, in the morning and evening. But the care of wandering hens is no different from that of hens shut up except that the latter are not let out but are fed three times a day in larger measure inside the pen. To each hen, according to Columella*, four *cyathi* - nearly 200 ml - of food should be given daily while three or two are given to wandering hens. What food is to be given I shall explain shortly after.

Locus, quo conversantur, Gallinarium dicitur: Gyb. Longolius officinam cohortalem appellari ait,

The place where they live together is called poultry house: Gisbert Longolius* says it is called barnyard

⁵⁵⁹ *De re rustica* VIII,5,7: Pulli autem duarum aut trium avium excusi, dum adhuc teneri sunt, ad unam quae est melior nutrix transferri debent, sed primo quoque die, dum mater suos et alienos propter similitudinem dinoscere non potest. Verumtamen servari oportet modum, neque enim debet maior esse quam triginta capitum. Negant enim hoc ampliorem gregem posse ab una nutriri.

⁵⁶⁰ A pagina 226.

⁵⁶¹ *De re rustica* VIII,4,5: Gallina post primam emitti et ante horam diei undecimam claudi debet, cuius vagae cultus hic quem diximus erit. Nec tamen alius clausae, nisi quod ea non emittetur, sed intra ornithonem ter die pascitur maiore mensura. Nam singulis capitibus quaterni cyathi diurna cibaria sunt, cum vagis [terni, vel] bini praebeantur.

⁵⁶² Ciato: dal greco *kyathos*. 1) Ciotola, provvista di lungo manico, in uso nell'antichità tra la fine del sec. VI e la metà del V aC per travasare il vino dal cratere nelle brocche. 2) Antica unità di misura di capacità corrispondente a 1/2 decilitro scarso. Un decilitro = 100 ml. Quattro ciati corrispondono a circa 200 ml. Orbene, 200 ml di granaglie corrispondono in media a 150 grammi. Infatti 200 ml di granaverde di riso = 150 gr, di mais intero = 145 gr, di mais macinato medio insieme alla sua farina = 140 gr. La farina di frumento tipo 00 ha un peso specifico basso: 200 ml pesano solo 100 grammi. - Vedi anche: Pesi e misure*.

quod, ut in nostris officinis cuncta parantur, quae in usum humanum veniunt, ita istic ova, et pulli, quae in cibum. Aviaria vero nominantur, ubi cicures atque omnium avium genera separata farciuntur. Haec aviaria ὀρνιθοβοσκεία Varroni dicuntur. Unde forte haud recte Calepinus ὀρνιθῶνα Gallinarium interpretatur. Nam praeterquam quod ea vox, teste Varrone⁵⁶³, in villa pastionis genus, quale pariter περιστερῶνας⁵⁶⁴ dicunt aviarium proprie significat: etsi interim minime negarim, et pro gallinario accipi. Nam Graeci cum omnem avem, ut diximus⁵⁶⁵, tum Gallum Gallinamve per excellentiam ὄρνιν et ὄρνιθα nominant. Grapaldus πέταυρον interpretatur ex Polluce caveam, in qua sese cortis alites cubitum iturae recipiunt. Aristophanes⁵⁶⁶, inquit Pollux⁵⁶⁷, πέταυρον, nominat οὗ τοὺς ἐνοικίδιους ὄρνιθας ἐγκαθεύδειν συμβέβηκε. Verum ut Ornithol. conijcit, non Gallinarium totum πέταυρον nominari potest, sed tabula, vel asser, qui Varino dicitur σανίς, quasi πέτευδον παρὰ τὸ εὔδειν ἐν αὐτῷ, τὰ πετεινά.

Sunt vero nostra gallinaria longe diversa ab illis, quae Columella⁵⁶⁸, Varroque commendant. Nostra

workshop given that, as in our workshops are provided all those things for human use, so there are provided eggs and chicks, which become food. But are called aviaries those where tame fowls and distinct genera of all birds are fattened. These aviaries are called *ornithoboskeia* in Varro*. Hence perhaps wrongly Ambrogio Calepino* translates *ornithóna* as *gallinarium* - poultry house. For besides this word, according to Varro, in farmhouse properly means aviary, as it is that kind of raising which likewise they call *peristerónas*: although I should not in the least meanwhile affirm that it is not meant for hen house. In fact Greeks, as I said, call both whatever bird and par excellence rooster or hen *órnin* and *órniθα*. Francesco Mario Grapaldi*, from Julius Pollux*, translates *pétauron* - poultry pen stick, planking - as poultry pen, into which barnyard fowls withdraw when are about to go to sleep. Julius Pollux says that Aristophanes* calls *pétauron* the place where domestic birds go to sleep - *oú toús enoikídious órniθas enkatheúdein symbéβēke*. To tell the truth, as the Ornithologist conjectures, not the whole hen pen can be called *pétauron*, but a plank or a beam which by Varinus is called *sanís* - plank, as to say that the fowl jumped up on it to sleep - *péteudon parà tò eúdein en autó, tà peteiná*.

But our hen pens are far different from those which Columella and Varro recommend. For ours are

⁵⁶³ *Rerum rusticarum* III,3,1: Eius disciplinae genera sunt tria: ornithones, leporaria, piscinae. Nunc ornithones dico omnium alitum, quae intra parietes villae solent pasci. III,3,7: Contra nunc aviaria sunt nomine mutato, quod vocantur ornithones, quae palatum suave domini paravit, ut tecta maiora habeant, quam tum habebant totas villas, in quibus stabulentur turdi ac pavones. III,4,2-3: [2] Merula, Duo genera sunt, inquit, ornithonis: unum delectationis causa, ut Varro hic fecit noster sub Casino, quod amatores invenit multos; alterum fructus causa, quo genere macellarii et in urbe quidam habent loca clausa et rure, maxime conducta in Sabinis, quod ibi propter agri naturam frequentes apparent turdi. [3] Ex iis tertii generis voluit esse Lucullus coniunctum aviarium, quod fecit in Tusculano, ut in eodem tecto ornithonis inclusum triclinium haberet, ubi delicate cenitaret et alios videret in mazonomo positos coctos, alios volitare circum fenestras captos. Quod inutile invenerunt. Nam non tantum in eo oculos delectant intra fenestras aves volitantes, quantum offendit quod alienus odor opplet nares.

⁵⁶⁴ Si tratta delle colombaie, come specifica Varrone in *Rerum rusticarum* III,7,2: Alterum genus columbarum est clementius, quod cibo domestico contentum intra limina ianuae solet pasci. Hoc genus maxime est colore albo, illud alterum agreste sine albo, vario. Ex iis duabus stirpibus fit miscellum tertium genus fructus causa, atque incedunt in locum unum, quod alii vocant peristerona, alii peristerotrophion, in quo uno saepe vel quinque milia sunt inclusae.

⁵⁶⁵ A pagina 189.

⁵⁶⁶ *Fragment* 839. (Lind, 1963)

⁵⁶⁷ In *Onomastikón* 10,156.

⁵⁶⁸ *De re rustica* VIII,3,1-7: [1] Gallinaria constitui debent parte villae quae hibernum spectat orientem. Iuncta sint ea furno vel culinae, ut ad avem perveniat fumus, qui est huic generi praecipue salutaris. Totius autem officinae, id est ornithonis, tres continuae exstruuntur cellae, quarum, sicuti dixi, perpetua frons orientem sit obversa. [2] In ea deinde fronte exiguus detur unus omnino aditus mediae cellae, quae ipsa, e tribus minima, esse debet in altitudinem et quoqueversus pedes septem. In ea singuli dextro laevoque pariete aditus ad utramque cellam faciendi sunt, iuncti parieti qui est intrantibus adversus. Huic autem focus applicetur tam longus, ut nec inpediat praedictos aditus et ab eo fumus perveniat in utramque cellam; eaeque longitudinis et altitudinis duodenos pedes habeant, nec plus latitudinis quam media. [3] Sublimitas dividatur tabulatis, quae super se quaternos et infra septenos liberos pedes habeant, quoniam ipsa singulos occupant. Utraque tabulata gallinis servire debent, et ea parvis ab oriente singulis inluminari fenestellis, quae et ipsae matutinum exitum praebeant avibus ad cohortem, nec minus vespertinum introitum. Sed curandum erit ut semper noctibus claudantur, quo tutius aves maneant. [4] Infra tabulata maiores fenestellae aperiantur, et eae clatris muniantur, ne possint noxia inrepere animalia, sic tamen ut inlustria sint loca, quo commodius habitet aviarius, qui subinde debet speculari aut incubantis aut parturientis fetas. Nam etiam in his ipsis locis ita crassos parietes aedificare convenit, ut excisa per ordinem gallinarum cubilia recipiant, in quibus aut ova edantur aut excludantur pulli. Hoc enim et salubrius et elegantius est quam

enim admodum exigua sunt, et vix quandoque gregem capientia, cum maximo saepe eius detrimento, nam cum bona pars saepe noctu excludatur, animalium noxiorum reliquuntur furumque rapinis. Non mirum itaque si tanta gallinariorum cura veteres inceserit, ut illa nobis exacte depinxerint. Iubent itaque, ut, ea parte villae, quae orientem spectat, constituentur, iuncta sint furno, vel Culinae, ut ad aves perveniat fumus, qui huic generi praecipue salutaris est, adeo ut Palladius⁵⁶⁹ sufficere dixerit, ut fumo<, > pulvere, et cinere utantur. Unde etiamnum nostro aevo super furno, vel prope caminum saltem aedificantur.

Totius autem officinae, inquit Columella, tres continuae extruuntur cellae, (sed forte pro plurimo gregis numero, nam Varro pro ducentis duas caveas coniunctas constituendas monet) quarum perpetua frons orienti sit obversa. In ea deinde fronte exiguus detur omnino aditus mediae cellae, quae ipsa tribus minima esse debet in altitudinem, et quoque versus pedes septem: in ea singuli dext<e>ro, laevoque pariete aditus ad utramque cellam faciendi sunt, iuncti parieti, qui est intransibitibus adversus. Huic autem focus applicetur tam longus, ut nec impediatur praedictos aditus, et ab eo fumus perveniat ad utramque cellam, eaque longitudinis, et altitudinis duodenos pedes habeant, nec plus latitudinis quam media<:> sublimitas{:} divida{n}tur tabulatis quae supra se quaternos, et infra septenos liberos pedes habeant, quoniam ipsa singulos occupant. Utraque tabulata Gallinis servire debent, et ea parvis ab oriente singulis illuminari fenestellis, quae et ipsae matutinum praebeant exitum avibus ad cohortem, nec minus {ad} vespertinum introitum, sed curandum erit, ut semper noctibus claudantur, quo tutius aves maneant. Intra tabulata maiores fenestrae aperiantur, et eae clatris muniantur, ne possint noxia irrepere animalia. Sic tamen ut

quite small and sometimes scarcely hold the flock, often with great damage of it since a large part is often shut out at night and is left as prey to harmful animals and thieves. It is no wonder if ancients took such care of their hen houses, so much as they described them accurately for us. Therefore they urge that they should be built in that part of farmhouse facing east, joined with wood-burning oven or kitchen so that the smoke may reach the birds, since it is especially healthful for this genus, so that it is sufficient for them, according to Palladius*, to use smoke, dust and cinders. Hence still in our age hen pens are built upon an oven or at least near a fireplace.

Well, Columella says three adjacent rooms are built to form the entire *workshop* (but perhaps for a very big number of subjects, since Varro recommends two pens joined together be built for two hundred birds) and the whole front of them should face east. Then in this front a very small entrance should be made for the middle cell, which should be the smallest of the three cells and whose height and each other side must be of seven feet. Inside this cell in right and left partition wall must be made a single entrance adjacent the wall facing those who enter the central cell. To this wall a hearth must be attached of a length that will not block the aforesaid entrances and so that from it the smoke may reach each of the other two cells, which should be twelve feet long and high and have no more width than the middle cell. The height should be divided by planks which must keep clear four feet above and seven below since the planks take up a foot each. Both planks should serve the hens and furthermore must be lighted by small windows on east side which may also offer an exit for the birds into the poultry yard in the morning as well as an entrance in the evening; but care should be taken to keep them always closed at night so that the birds may remain with greater security. Below the planks larger windows should be

illud quod quidam faciunt, ut palis in parietis vehementer actis vimineos qualos superponant. [5] Sive autem parietibus ita ut diximus cavatis aut qualis vimineis praeponenda erunt vestibula, per quae matrices ad cubilia vel pariendi vel incubandi causa perveniant. Neque enim debent ipsis nidis involare, ne dum adsiliunt pedibus ova confringant. [6] Ascensus deinde avibus ad tabulata per utramque cellam datur, iunctis parieti modicis asserculis, qui paulum formatis gradibus asperantur, ne sint advolantibus lubrici. Sed ab cohorte forinsecus praedictis fenestellis scandulae similiter iniungantur, quibus inrepant aves ad requiem nocturnam. Maxime autem curabimus ut et haec aviaria et cetera, de quibus mox dicturi sumus, intrinsecus et extrinsecus poliantur opere tectorio, ne quae ad aves feles habeant aut coluber adcessum, tum et aequae noxae prohibeantur pestes. [7] Tabulatis insistere dormientem avem non expedit, ne suo laedatur stercore, quod cum pedibus uncis adhaesit, podagram creat. Ea perniciositas ut evitetur, perticae dolantur in quadrum, ne teres levitas earum supersilientem volucrem non recipiat conquadrate deinde foratis duobus adversis parietibus induuntur, ita ut a tabulato pedalis altitudinis et inter se bipedali latitudinis spatio distent. - Non si emenda con<quo commodius habitet aviarius, qui subinde debet speculari aut incubantis aut parturientis fetus> in quanto Aldrovandi ha dedotto il testo da Conrad Gessner *Historia animalium III* (1555) pagina 425, un testo che non corrisponde a quello di Columella che ci viene offerto nel XX secolo.

⁵⁶⁹ *Opus agriculturae* I, XXVII *De gallinis*, 1: Gallinas educare nulla mulier nescit, quae modo videtur industria. Hoc de his praecepisse sufficiat, ut fumo, pulvere utantur et cinere.

illustria sint loca, quo commodius habitent, aviariusque subinde debet speculari aut incubantis, aut parturientis foetus.

Nam etiam in iis locis ita crassos parietes aedificare convenit, ut excisa per ordinem, Gallinarum cubilia recipiant: in quibus aut ova edantur, aut excludantur pulli. Hoc enim et salubrius, et elegantius est, quam illud quod <quidam> faciunt, ut palis in parietes vehementer actis, vimineos qualos super imponant. {Sic} <Sive> autem parietibus, ita, ut diximus<,> cavatis, aut qualis vimineis praeponenda erunt vestibula, per quae matricem ad cubilia vel pariendi, vel incubandi causa perveniunt. Neque enim debent ipsis nidis involare, ne dum assiliunt, pedibus ova confringant, ascensus deinde avibus ad tabulata per utramque <cellam> datur iunctis parietum modicis asserculis, qui paulum formatis gradibus asperantur, ne sint advolantibus lubrici. Sed ab {hac} cohorte fori{e}nsecus praedictis fenestellis scandulae similiter in<i>ungantur, quibus irreperant aves ad requiem nocturnam. Maxime autem curabimus ut et haec aviaria, et caetera, de quibus mox dicturi sumus intrinsecus, et extrinsecus poliantur opere tectorio, ne ad aves feles habeant{;} aut coluber accessum, et aequae noxiae prohibeantur pestes.

Tabulatis insistere dormientem avem non expedit, ne suo laedatur stercore, quod cum pedibus unci adhaesit, podagram creat. Ea perniciosa ut evitetur, perticae dolantur in quadrum, ne teres laevitas earum supersilientem volucrem non recipiat: conquadrate [230] deinde foratis duobus adversis parietibus induuntur, ita ut a tabulato pedalis altitudinis, et inter se bipedalis latitudinis spatium distent.

Haec erit cohortalis officinae dispositio, quam Columellae acceptam ferre debemus, a qua nonnihil diversa est, quam ponit Varro⁵⁷⁰. Si

opened up and protected with gratings so that harmful animals may not creep in. The rooms should be kept well lighted in order that they can stay rather well, and the poultry keeper rather often must keep an eye on incubating or hatching hen.

For also in these rooms it is advisable to make walls so thick that they may hold the hollow nests of the hens in a row, in which the hens may lay eggs or hatch chicks. For this solution is both more healthy and neat than what some people do, that is, when they drive pegs into the walls and place wicker baskets on them. And in front of the spaces hollowed out in the walls so as I said, or of the wicker baskets, little entrances must be placed through which the females can pass to their nests for either laying eggs or incubating them. For they must not fly into the nests themselves, so that when jumping on them lest they break the eggs with their feet. Furthermore through both rooms an ascent for the birds to the planks is provided by small pegs fixed to the wall; these should be roughened a little with grooves formed on them so that they are not slippery when the birds fly on them. But outside, on the barnyard's side, similarly little ladders should be fixed to the aforesaid little windows, on which the birds may creep to their nightly rest. But great care should be taken that both these aviaries, and the others about which I shall soon be speaking, be kept polished with plaster both inside and outside so that the beech marten* or a snake may have no access to the birds and that likewise harmful diseases may be excluded.

It is unsuitable that a sleeping bird rests on the planks in order to not be damaged by its own dung, because once this adhered to its hooked feet creates podagra* - bumblefoot. To avoid this injury the perches should be cut square lest their rounded smoothness fails to give the bird a purchase on them when flying up. When squared, the perch poles should be inserted into holes in two walls facing each other so that they rise a foot above the plank and two feet distant each other.

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This will be the arrangement of the barnyard *workshop* which we must recognize as due to Columella*, which differs somewhat from Varro's*

⁵⁷⁰ *Rerum rusticarum* III,9,6-7: [6] Nec tamen sequendum in seminio legendo Tanagricos et Melicos et Chalcidicos, qui sine dubio sunt pulchri et ad proeliandum inter se maxime idonei, sed ad partus sunt steriliores. Si ducentos alere velis, locus saeptus adtribuendus, in quo duae caveae coniunctae magnae constituendae, quae spectent ad exorientem versus, utraeque in longitudinem circiter decem pedum, latitudine dimidio minores, altitudine paulo humiliores: in utraque fenestra lata tripedalis, et eae pede altiores e viminibus factae raris, ita ut lumen praebent multum, neque per eas quicquam ire intro possit, quae nocere solent gallinis. [7] Inter duas ostium sit, qua gallinarius, curator earum, ire possit. In caveis crebrae perticae traiectae sint, ut omnes sustinere possint

{ducentas} <ducentos>, inquit, alere velis, locus septus attribuendus, in quo duae caveae coniunctae magnae constituendae, quae spectent ad orientem versus, utraeque in longitudinem circa decem pedes, latitudine dimidio minores, et altitudine paulo humiliores. Utriusque fenestrae latitudine {bipedali} <tripedali>⁵⁷¹, et uno pede altiores, {a} <e> viminibus factae raris, ita ut lumen praebeant multum, neque per eas quicquam ire intro possit, quod nocere possit Gallinis. Inter duas ostium sit, qua Gallinarius curator earum ire possit. In caveis crebrae perticae traiectae sint ut omnes sustinere possint Gallinas. Contra singulas perticas in pariete exculpta sint cubilia earum. Ante sit, ut dixi, vestibulum septum, in quo diurno tempore esse possint, atque in pulvere volutari. Praeterea sit cella grandis in qua curator habitet, ita ut in parietibus circum omnia posita sint cubilia Gallinarum aut exculpta, aut affixa firmiter, motus enim, cum incubant, nocet.

Haec ille, quanvis Florentinus non plures, quam quinquaginta in uno aviario nutriri prohibeat, quod in angusto arctatae labefactentur. Quapropter aviarium magnum sit, necesse est. Columella ducenta capita unius custodis curam requirere etiam scripsit, eamque sedulam, ne vel ab hominibus, aut insidiosis animalibus aliqua diripiantur. Quod vero ad cortem attinet, ea ad meridiem pateat, et soli obiecta sit, quo facilius hyeme aliquem tepore<m> concipiat. Porticus furcis, asseribus, et fronde formandi, {quae} <qui> vel scandulis, vel si copia suppetit, tegulis, vel, si facilius, et sine impensa placuerit, caricibus, aut genistis tegendi, ut aestate caloris saevitia temperetur, animaliaque ceu in umbra degant. Columella⁵⁷² monet, ut pulvis siccus, et cinis, ubicunque cohortem porticus, vel tectum protegit, iuxta parietes reponatur, ut sit, quo aves se perfundant. Nam his rebus, inquit plumas,

suggestion. The latter says: If you wish to raise two hundred birds you need to assign a fenced-in place, in which two large adjacent rooms must be built, facing east, both of them around ten feet long, less than a half in width, and a little lower in height. The windows of each room should be three feet wide and one foot higher, made of wide weaved wickers, so that they may furnish much light and without through them anything can enter which might harm the hens. Place between the two rooms an opening through which the chicken keeper can pass, who takes care of the hens. In the rooms, have many perches crossing through so that they can support all the hens. In front of each perch there should be nesting places dug in the wall. In front of the pen let there be a fenced-in place where the chickens can walk during the day and tumble about in the dust. Further, let there be a large cell in which the keeper stays, so that in the walls all around there are all the nests of the hens, either dug or firmly attached, for movement is harmful when hens are incubating.

Thus far Varro, although Florentinus* forbids no more than fifty hens should be raised in one pen because they would grow weak in cramped quarters. Therefore the hen house must be large. Columella also wrote that two hundred birds require the care of one custodian and that such a care must be active, so that some subjects may not be stolen by men or dangerous animals. As far as chickens' yard is concerned, it should be open southward and facing the sun so that it may more easily receive some warmth in winter. There should be built sheds made of forks, beams and wreaths of foliage and roofed with laths, or tiles if there is enough of them, or, if it is easier and without expense, covered with rushes or brooms to temper in summer the fierce heat and the animals can live as in the shade. Columella advises that dry dust and ashes be scattered near the walls wherever the shed or the roof protect the yard so that there is a place where

gallinas. Contra singulas perticas in pariete exclusa sint cubilia earum. Ante sit, ut dixi, vestibulum saeptum, in quo diurno tempore esse possint atque in pulvere volutari. Praeterea sit cella grandis, in qua curator habitet, ita ut in parietibus circum omnia plena sint cubilia gallinarum aut exculpta aut adfecta firmiter. Motus enim, cum incubat, nocet.

⁵⁷¹ Il conforto che la larghezza sia *tripedali* e non *bipedali* ci viene anche da Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 424: Si ducentas alere velis, locus septus attribuendus, in quo duae caveae coniunctae magnae constituendae, quae spectent ad exorientem versus, utraeque in longitudinem circiter decem pedes, latitudine dimidio minores (latitudine paulo minus, Crescenti) et altitudine paulo humiliores. Utriusque fenestrae latitudine tripedali, et co(uno)pede altiores, e viminibus factae raris, ita ut lumen praebeant multum, neque per eas quicquam ire intro possit quod nocere solet gallinis. - Ma anche Gessner ha *ducentas* invece di *ducentos*.

⁵⁷² *De re rustica* VIII,4,4: Siccus etiam pulvis et cinis, ubicunque cohortem porticus vel tectum protegit, iuxta parietem reponendus est, ut sit quo aves se perfundant. Nam his rebus plumam pinnaeque emundant, si modo credimus Ephesio Heraclito, qui ait sues caeno, cohortales aves pulvere lavari. - *Heraclito* invece di *Heraclito* è tratto bellamente da Conrad Gessner *Historia animalium* III (1555) pag. 425: Siccus etiam pulvis, et cinis ubicunque cohortem porticus, vel tectum protegit, iuxta parietes reponendus est, ut sit, quo aves se perfundant. nam his rebus plumam, pinnaeque emundant: si modo credimus Ephesio Heraclito, qui ait sues coeno, cohortales aves pulvere, vel cinere lavari, Columella.

pennasque emundant, si modo credimus Ephesio {Heraclito} <Heraclito>, qui ait⁵⁷³, sues coeno, aves cohortales pulvere vel cinere lavari.

Qui itaque emolumentum causa hocce avium genus educare volunt, aediculam qualem ex Columella, vel ex Varrone descripsimus, aedificare poterunt, et quae sequentur, diligenter observare. Nonnulli, teste Leontino, {domunculos} <domunculas>, et nidus purgant, ipsasque aves sulphure, asphalto, pice{a} lustrant, sed et ferri laminam, ac clavorum capita, atque lauri surculos imponunt nidis, ut quae ad arcenda prodigia (textus Graecus habet *διοσημείας* tempestates) omnia magnam vim habere videntur. Sed eiusmodi remedia, ut diximus nimiam sedulitatem veterum declarant.

Gallorum etiam ratio habenda est ut totius Gallinarum numeri sexta pars mares sint, sed id minime observatur a nostris Gallinariis, cum alioqui haud ab re ab antiquis Geoponicis ea norma tradita sit. Quoniam si plures Gallinae fuerint, Gallum nimio coitu enervant. Si ergo forte evenerit, quod Gallum vel noviter emeris, vel dono acceperis, eumque in corte tua {eum} <cum> reliquo grege educare volueris, non temere statim, ac fortuito solutum dimittes. Sed curabis, si alii Galli ibi sint, ne ab eis fugetur. Aelianus⁵⁷⁴ eiusmodi Gallum recentem sponte fugitivum ad suos familiares, et compascales, utcunque procul allatus fuerit, se recipere tradit, ideoque custodia ipsum muniendum, et vinculis occultioribus, quam quibus apud Homerum⁵⁷⁵ {Vulcanus} <Mars> irretitur, coercendum, idque hunc in modum effici, si ei fidem adhibes, (nam revera fabulam sapit) mensam super qua cibum capere soles, in medium cortis siste, et Gallum ter circa ipsam circumfero, atque ita cum caeteris avibus domesticis liberum dimittito. Sic enim tanquam vinctus nusquam aufugiet. Sed Gallus ad suos non revertetur, ut ille ait, nisi a vicinis tuis illum emas, nam tunc propter veterem pellicum amorem facile domum repetit.

the birds may take a bath. For with these things, he says, they clean their plumes and feathers, if we just believe Heraclitus of Ephesus*, who says that pigs wash themselves with mud and barnyard fowls with dust or ashes.

Therefore those who wish to make money from raising this genus of birds can build a small pen such as I have described from Columella and Varro and observe carefully the following suggestions. According to Leontinus - a geponic*, some people purify the little houses and nests, and the birds themselves, with sulphur*, asphalt - or bitumen*, pitch, but they also place a thin sheet of iron and heads of nails as well as sprigs of laurel* on the nests because these things seem to have great power in driving off bad things (the Greek text has *diosēmeias* - prodigies, heavenly signs - that is, disasters). But remedies of this kind, as I said, indicate the excessive zeal of the ancients.

We must also make allowance for the roosters, so that the males are a sixth of hens' number, but this is by no means observed by our poultry keepers, although this standard has been handed down not motiveless by ancient geoponics. Since if there are several hens, they wear out the rooster by too much copulation. Therefore if it happens that recently you buy or receive as a gift a rooster and wish to raise him in your barnyard with the rest of the flock, do not at once release him to run rashly and haphazardly. But take care that he is not driven away by other roosters, if there are any there. Aelian* reports that such a recently arrived rooster spontaneously runs away to his friends and feeding partners, from however far off he has been brought, and thus must be guarded and bound with chains more invisible than those by which Mars* - see *The cheated on Vulcan**, according to Homer*, is snared. It can be done in this manner, if you have faith in him (for in fact his words smack of a fable): place the table on which you are accustomed to take your food in the middle of the barnyard and carry the rooster three times around it. Then let him run free with the other domestic birds. For in this manner as if chained he will run away nowhere. But a rooster

⁵⁷³ Eraclito di Efeso, *Sulla natura*, fr. 37 Diels-Kranz.

⁵⁷⁴ *La natura degli animali* II,30.

⁵⁷⁵ *Odissea* 8,274 sgg. (Francesco Maspero, 1998) The reference in Homer's *Odyssey* 8. 266-366, should be to Ares, not Vulcan. (Lind, 1963) - Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 404: Alectryon quidam adolescens Marti acceptus fuit, quem Mars aliquando cum Venere concubiturus in domo Vulcani pro vigile secum ducebat, ut si quis appareret, Sol oriens praesertim, indicaret. Ille vero somno victus cum Solis ortum non indicasset, Mars a Vulcano deprehensus et irretitus est. Qui postea dimissus, Alectryoni iratus in avem eum mutavit una cum armis quae prius gerebat, ita ut pro galea cristam haberet. Itaque memor deinceps huius rei alectryon, etiam nunc ales, id tempus quo Sol prope ortum est, quo scilicet Vulcanus domum reverti solebat, cantu designat. Fabulam memorant Lucianus, et ex eo interpretatus Caelius Rhodiginus, et Aristophanis Scholiastes, et Eustathius in octavum Odysseae, et Varinus.

Quod vero ad reliquam ὀρνιθοτροφίαν, seu, ut Columella⁵⁷⁶ vertit, rationem cohortalem attinet, ea iam in solo victu, et potu consistere videtur. Victus autem ratio ob duas potissimum causas instituitur, ut scilicet vel ova pariant, et proli {incubant} <incubent>, vel pro hominum futuro pastu saginentur. Sed cum animantia sint pamphaga, nihilque non devorent, absumantque naturae suae caliditate {adiuti} <adiuta>, adeo ut non solum praeter omnia fere granorum genera, omnium animantium cum terrestrium, tum aquatiliū carnibus oblectentur verumetiam nec humanis stercorebus, nec serpentibus, scorpionibus, eiusmodique animalibus, venenatis sibi temperent, quinim<m>o conficiant ac nonnunquam arenas, lapillosque ingluvie sua devoratos, teste Dioscoride⁵⁷⁷, dissolvant: nam cum hos in ventriculo aperto tantum reperire sit, (unde et Gallicum vulgus, ut scribit Laurentius Io<u>bertus⁵⁷⁸ Gallus, earum avium ventriculū {perie} <perie> vocat a petris, quas patria lingua peiras dicunt⁵⁷⁹) nunquam vero in intestinis, itaque non dissolvi tantum, sed confici etiam ab illis quispiam non inepte iudicet, quia non prius descendit conclusa ventriculo materia, quam sit emollita, et in {chylum} <chylum>⁵⁸⁰ conversa. Quinim<m>o avium genus, maxime earum, quae non sunt carnivorae, et seminibus pascuntur potissimum, ut Gallinae, ventriculū membranā habet densissimā, in eaque nativum calorem valde acrem, ut est in c<h>alybe ignito ob subiecti soliditatem.

does not return to his friends, as Aelian says, unless you buy him from your neighbors, for then, because of an old love for his concubines, he easily seeks his home again.

As to the remaining things pertaining to chicken raising - *ornithotrophian* - or, as Columella translates, *ratio cohortalis* - the barnyard science, they seem finally to concern only food and drink. The method of feeding is determined chiefly by two purposes, that is, so that either they lay eggs and take care of offspring or they are to be fattened for human food. But since these animals are omnivorous and there is nothing they do not devour and swallow, helped by the heat of their nature, to such an extent that not only beside almost all kinds of grain they enjoy the flesh of all land and water animals, but they do not refrain from even human dung or serpents, scorpions, and poisonous creatures of this kind, and sometimes they even eat sand, and, according to Dioscorides*, they dissolve swallowed pebbles by their own stomachs. For since such things have been found only in their opened stomachs (whence also the French people, as the Frenchman Laurent Joubert* writes, call the stomach of these birds *perie* from *petrae*, stones, which they call in their language *peiras*) but never in their intestines, whence one would not conclude out of turn that these things are not only dissolved by them, but also produced, for whatever material there is in the stomach does not descend before it is softened and converted into chyle* - today called chyme. Furthermore the genus of birds, especially those who are not carnivorous and feed mainly on seeds, such as hens, have a very thick membrane of the stomach and in it a very keen native heat, as there is in steel* which is made hot by the compactness of the material which lies beneath it.

⁵⁷⁶ *De re rustica* VIII,2,6: His enim curis et ministeriis exercetur ratio cohortalis, quam Graeci vocant ornithotrophian.

⁵⁷⁷ La citazione non è farina del sacco di Aldrovandi, bensì di quello di Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 383: Gallinae calida natura praeditae sunt. nam et venena conficiunt, et aridissima quaeque semina consumunt. et nonnunquam arenas lapillosque ingluvie sua devoratos dissolvunt, Dioscor. - Salvo leggere tutto quanto il testo di Dioscoride nelle svariate edizioni, nonostante un accanimento e una perseveranza da certosino mi è risultato impossibile localizzare questa affermazione di Dioscoride riferita da Gessner. Dioscoride può benissimo aver affermato tutto ciò, oppure si tratta di un'erronea citazione di Gessner a noi propinata da Aldrovandi.

⁵⁷⁸ Laurent Joubert, *Disputatio de febribus putridis; in qua tria de febribus paradoxa L. J. excutiuntur* (1580); cited by Aldrovandi as *In Apologia pro paradoxis*, Book 7, Decade 2. (Lind, 1963)

⁵⁷⁹ Aldrovandi ne ha già parlato a pagina 199: Gallicum vulgus, quod tanquam parergon interiectum esto, inquit Laurentius Ioubertus, Gallinarum ventriculū, si bene memini, perie vocat a petris, quas patria lingua peiras dicunt: quoniam raro absque lapillis reperitur. - Roberto Ricciardi puntualizza che in dialetto alessandrino - oltre che in quello valenzano - si dice pré, essendo *preia* la pietra.

⁵⁸⁰ Confronta per esempio Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 442: Alii cum vitelli sic in patella assi ad chylum illum pervenerunt, amplius adhuc coquant, donec materia tota siccari ac denigrari incipiat: quae paulo post iterum liquescet, et multum humorem nigrum et ex adustione graveolentem remittet.

Atque ut is calor conservetur, est tunicae illi {circumdicta} <circumducta> [231] caro multa, densaque ac crassa: ut non sit mirum aves solidissima quaeque posse conficere. Cum itaque iam ita omnia devorent, naturaque ventriculum largita sit tam mirifice calidum, iure merito de edacibus, helluonibusque hominibus ac omnia sua ligurientibus natum est adagium *Gallorum incusato ventrem*⁵⁸¹, quod ex Aristophane⁵⁸² desumptum videtur: ait enim:

*Mibi dixerat ventrem esse Gallinacei
Velociter enim concoquet hoc argentulum.*

Ut modo partum Gallinarum promoveamus, commodumque ex iis nobis percipiamus, cibos convenientes exhibebimus, cavebimusque ne devorent, quae sterilitatem inducant. Columella⁵⁸³ pro optimis cibariis praeberi scribit hordeum pinsitum, et viciam, nec non cicerculam, tum etiam milium, aut panicum: sed haec ubi {utilitas} <vilitas> annonae permittit: ubi vero ea est carior, excreta tritici minute commode dari: quod per se id frumentum, etiam quibus locis vilissimum est, non utiliter praebetur <, quia obest avibus>. Posse etiam lolium decoctum offerri, nec minus furfures modice a farina excretos: hos vero si nihil habeant farris, non esse idoneos, nec tantum appeti <ieiunis>. Palladius⁵⁸⁴ ova maiora parere tradidit, et saepius, si hordeum semicoctum exhibeatur. Rasis idem facti<ta>turas promittit Nasturtii seminibus tritis, cum furfure, et cum vino {subactas} <subactis>, ac in cibum oblatis. Item magna ova tibi parient Gallinae, si testam Laconicam tusam furfuribus, et vino admiscueris, et subactam Gallinis obieceris: item ad eundem effectum rubricam dissolutam cibo earum

And, so that this heat may be conserved there is much dense and thick flesh surrounding that tunic. Thus it is no wonder that birds can break into bits the most solid things. Since in this way they can eat up everything and nature endowed them with a stomach so marvelously hot, it is with justice that the proverb *You will find fault with the belly of roosters* has arisen, which is applied to voracious and greedy men who lick up all their things, which seems to be drawn from Aristophanes*, for he says:

*He had told me I had the belly of a rooster
For it quickly will digests this little silver coin.*

But in order to increase the production of hens and obtain a profit from them, we shall give them suitable foods, and warn against they swallow those which induce sterility. Columella* writes that among the best foods to be given them are crushed barley* and vetch*, as well as chick-peas*, then also millet* or foxtail millet*, but these last two when the low price of grain is allowing: but when it is more expensive, chaff from wheat in small quantity may conveniently be given. This grain by itself, even in places where it is very cheap, is not profitably given, being harmful to birds. Boiled darnel* may also be offered as well as bran if only partially separated from meal, but if there is no meal with the bran it is not suitable nor they have longing for it when have an empty crop. Palladius* reported that they lay larger eggs and oftener if you feed the hens half-boiled barley. Razi* promises that they usually will do this with crushed nasturtium* seeds mixed with bran and wine and offered as food. Likewise the hens will lay large eggs for you if you mix bran and wine with a crushed Laconian* earthenware pot, and offer to them after you have mixed it. Likewise for the same effect mix

⁵⁸¹ Aldrovandi, da buon prestigiatore, manipola il proverbio di Erasmo*, per cui da *Gallorum incusare ventres* crea un *Gallorum incusato ventrem*, e lo fa passare come suo, tralasciando di citare la fonte. Ben diversamente si è comportato Gessner nel riportare tutta la sfilza di proverbi desunti da Erasmo. Se a qualcuno desse fastidio questa mia ennesima filippica contro Aldrovandi, la riprova sta nel fatto che *Mibi dixerat ventrem esse Gallinacei | Velociter enim concoquet hoc argentulum* corrisponde al 100% con quanto scritto da Erasmo. - Nell'edizione degli *Adagia* di Erasmo del 1550 (Lugduni, apud Sebastianum Gryphium) questo proverbio corrisponde a II,10,97 (Chiliadis II Centuria X - XCVII).

⁵⁸² Dalla commedia composta nel 422 aC: Σφήκες - *Le vespe*, 794-95. Ecco il relativo testo completo. È Filocleone che parla: Ἀλεκτρυόνης μ'ἔφασκε κοιλίαν ἔχειν, | "Ταχύ γοῦν καθέψεις τὰργύριον", ἢ δ'ὄς λέγων.

⁵⁸³ *De re rustica* VIII,4,1: Cibaria gallinis praebentur optima pinsitum hordeum et vicia, nec minus cicercula, tum etiam milium aut panicum. Sed haec ubi vilitas annonae permittit; ubi vero ea est carior, excreta tritici minuta commode dantur. Nam per se id frumentum, etiam quibus locis vilissimum est, non utiliter praebet, quia obest avibus. Potest etiam lolium decoctum obici, nec minus furfures modice a farina excreti, qui si nihil habent farris, non sunt idonei, nec tamen appetuntur ieiunis. § È assai verosimile che Aldrovandi abbia dedotto *minute* dal testo di Gessner (*Historia animalium* III, 1555, pag. 432): ubi vero ea est carior, excreta tritici minuta commode dantur. nam per se id frumentum, etiam quibus locis utilissimum est, non utiliter praebet, quia obest avibus. Oppure Aldrovandi ha dedotto il testo di Columella dalla stessa fonte utilizzata da Gessner. Sta di fatto che, se si usa l'avverbio *minute* associato a *quia obest avibus*, questo *minute* lo si traduce benissimo con "in piccola quantità", visto che nuoce ai polli. Invece Aldrovandi omette *quia obest avibus*, per cui bisognerebbe emendare con *minuta*. Ma vale la pena emendare aggiungendo *quia obest avibus* di Columella (e di Gessner) e lasciare inalterato *minute*.

⁵⁸⁴ *Opus agriculturae* I, XXVII *De gallinis*, 1: Hordeo semicocto et parere saepe coguntur et reddunt ova maiora. Duobus cyathis hordei bene pascitur una gallina, quae circuit.

admiscebis.

Sunt qui parere nequeuntibus Gallinis Melanthii semen, quod vulgo gith vocatur, exhibeant. Matthiolus⁵⁸⁵ experientia sese compertum habere asserit Gallinas, quae hyeme, quo tempore propter algoris saevitiam raro ova parere solent, cannabis semine vescuntur, numerosiore ovorum partu gaudere, et Brasavola per totam hyemem ova {a}edere testatur. Quod certe insigni privilegio fecerint, cum alioqui, teste Simeone Sethi, cannabis semen in homine genituram instar caphurae exiccet. Sunt qui furfuribus coctis tanta crassitie, quanta sumi a Gallina poterunt matura Urticae semina immiscent, et sic per hyemem incalescere, et foecundiores fieri promittunt: aliqui etiam urticas exiccant, manibus atterunt, in futuram hyemem servant, et in aqua pro illarum cibo decoquunt ob eandem scilicet causam.

Sed Brasavola ex semine urticae idem promittit, quod alii ex cannabis semine. Aliqui item viscum decoquunt: cuius quidem pabulo foecunditatem dari cuicumque animali, Plinius alibi⁵⁸⁶ auctor est. Crescentiensis gralegae, sive rutae caprariae⁵⁸⁷ semen dicere quosdam asseverat, mirabiliter foecunditatem Gallinarum augere. Contra vinacea sterilitatem inducunt. Quae res nostras mulieres minime latet, quando prorsus cavent ne toto eo tempore, quo pariunt, ea degustent. Unde Andreas a Lacuna non parum hallucinatus videri potest, {γόνιμα} <γόνιμον>⁵⁸⁸ quod ex vinaceis acinis cohiberi Florentinus scribit, firmitudinem vertens,

pulverized red earth with their food.

There are those who would offer hens who are not able to lay eggs the seed of nigella*, which is commonly called gith*. Pierandrea Mattioli* asserts on the basis of his own experience that those hens who because of the severity of winter cold are accustomed to lay few eggs produce more of them when they eat hempseed*, and Antonio Brasavola* declares they lay eggs throughout the entire winter. They certainly obtained this thanks to a singular privilege, because in other respects, according to Simeon Sethi*, hempseed, like camphor*, dries out the seminal fluid in humans. There are some people mixing ripe nettle* seeds with bran cooked to as great a thickness as the hen can consume, and they assure that thus they grow warmer during the winter and more fertile. Some also dry out nettles, crumble them with their hands, save them for the coming winter and cook them very well in water for feeding them, of course for the same purpose.

But Brasavola promises the same result from nettle seed as others do from hempseed. Likewise some cook a long time the mistletoe; elsewhere Pliny* says that using it as food it gets fertility for any animal. Pier de' Crescenzi* asserts that some people say the seed of *gralega**, or goat-rue, increases remarkably the fertility of the hens. Dregs of pressed grapes, on the contrary, induce sterility. Our women know this very well since they take care during the entire laying season that the hens do not taste them. Therefore Andrés de Laguna* seems to have strayed widely from the truth in translating the Greek word *gónimon* - fertile - as *strength*, which Florentinus* writes is inhibited by grape husks,

⁵⁸⁵ *Commentari a Dioscoride III*, 148. (Aldrovandi)

⁵⁸⁶ Plinio, parlando del visco: *NH XVI*,251: Fecunditatem eo potio dari cuicumque animalium sterili arbitrantur, contra venena esse omnia remedio. Tanta gentium in rebus frivolis plerumque religio est. - XXIV,12: Quidam et galbanum adiciunt pari pondere singulorum eoque modo et ad vulnera utuntur. unguium scabritias expolit, si septenis diebus illinantur nitroque conluantur. quidam id religione efficacius fieri putant prima luna collectum e robore sine ferro, si terram non attingerit; comitialibus mederi, conceptum feminarum adiuvaré, si omnino secum habeant; ulcera commanducato inpositoque efficacissime sanari.

⁵⁸⁷ La citazione non è tratta direttamente da Pier de' Crescenzi, bensì da quella fonte inesauribile rappresentata da Conrad Gessner *Historia animalium III* (1555) pag. 426: Gralegae (Rutae caprariae) semen dicunt mirabiliter foecunditatem gallinarum augere, Crescentiensis. - La dimostrazione che la fonte è Gessner è rappresentata dalla sinonimia fra *galega* - o *gralega* - e *ruta capraria* reperibile nelle opere botaniche dello zurighese. - Gessner deve aver tratto il testo di de' Crescenzi da un'edizione latina di *Ruralium commodorum libri XII* e magari da quella edita a Basilea nel 1548 che va sotto il nome di *De omnibus agriculturae partibus et de plantarum et animalium generibus*. Infatti nell'edizione del 1490 della traduzione italiana di *Ruralia commoda* non ricorre la voce singola *Gralega* come invece avviene nell'edizione latina del 1548, perlomeno nel libro VI dedicato alle erbe. - Ecco il testo di de' Crescenzi: Gralega dicitur impinguare terram si viridis vertatur in eam. Itidem dicitur quod eius semen mirabiliter facit ovare gallinas. (liber VI, pag. 216 *De omnibus agriculturae partibus et de plantarum et animalium generibus*, 1548)

⁵⁸⁸ Il download è verosimilmente avvenuto da Conrad Gessner in *Historia Animalium III* (1555), pag. 432: Maxime observandum ne vinaceos acinos vorent, ut qui foecunditatem (Andreas a Lacuna vertit firmitudinem. legit enim {μόνιμα} <μόνιμον> non {γόνιμα} <γόνιμον>, quod non probo) earum cohibeant, Florentinus.- Si emenda in base a *Geoponica sive Cassiani Bassi Scholastici De re rustica eclogae* - recensuit Henricus Beckh (Teubner, 1994) - 14,7,4: Ὅταν δὲ ὠτοκῶσι, παρατηρεῖν μάλιστα χρῆ, ὅπως μὴ γίγαρτα φάγωσι. τὸ γὰρ γόνιμον αὐτῶν ἐπέχει. - Oltretutto Gessner nel suo *Lexicon graecolatium* (1537) dà γόνιμος solo come sostantivo maschile e non come aggettivo, anche se poi, incomprensibilmente, lo traduce come aggettivo: Γόνιμος. ου. ὁ. fertilis, naturalis, genitalis, prolificus.

cum foecunditatem transferre debebat: sed, ut videtur nominis vicinitate falsus {μόνιμα} <μόνιμον> legit.

Vetus item hactenus opinio inolevit fabarum esum Gallinis sterilitatem conciliare: inde, ut apparet, nata, quod Theophrastus⁵⁸⁹ earum putamina radicibus arborum apposita vitam penitus tollere scripserit: etsi interim nullam Gallinarum mentionem faciat, tantum abest, ut earum esum illis interdicat ut postmodum Clemens⁵⁹⁰<,> Apollonius⁵⁹¹, Avicenna, multique recentiores fecerunt. Cum vero fabas inflare nulli non notum sit, et infantia omnia venerem cieri, plane videre nequeo, cur ob dictam causam Gallinae earum esu abstinere debeant. Quare etiam eorum sententiam probare minime possum qui Pythagoreos tradunt fabarum esum vetasse, quoniam comesae mulieres infoecundas reddant⁵⁹². Quinim<m>o contra Plutarchus⁵⁹³ aliam causam affert, cur Pythagoras a fabis abstinere voluerit, nempe quod omnia legumina spiritum, et humorem impurum ingenerent in corporibus atque hanc ob causam ad venerem incitent. In eadem sententia Cicero⁵⁹⁴ fuisse videtur, cum scribit ad hunc modum. *Iubet igitur Plato sic ad somnum proficisci corporibus affectis, ut nihil sit, quod errorem animis perturbationemque adferat. Ex quo etiam Pythagor{a}eis interdictum putatur, ne faba vescerentur, quod habe{a}t inflationem magnam {in cibus} <is cibus>, tranquillitati mentis qu<a>erenti vera contrariam.*

when he should have said *fecundity*, but, as it seems, he has read *mónimon* - steady - because deceived by the similarity of the word.

Likewise an old belief which lasted until the present time inculcated the conviction that eating broad beans induces sterility in hens: seemingly this arose from the fact that Theophrastus* wrote their hulls laid at the roots of the trees take away the life completely: nevertheless meanwhile he makes no mention of hens, he is so far from forbidding them to eat broad beans, as later Titus Flavius Clemens*, Appollonius Discolus*, Avicenna* and many more recent authors have done. But since everyone knows that broad beans inflate and everything that inflates encourages sexual appetite, I certainly cannot see why hens should abstain from eating them because of the above-mentioned reason. Therefore I cannot share at all the opinion of those who report that the Pythagoreans* forbade the eating of broad beans, since they render barren the women who have eaten them. Or rather, Plutarch* reports on the contrary another reason why Pythagoras forbade the eating of broad beans, namely because all legumes generate an impure breath and humor inside the bodies - the favism* - and thus incite sexual lust. Cicero* seems to have been of the same opinion when he writes in this way: *Therefore Plato* advises to go to sleep with bodies so prepared that nothing is able to bring to the soul restlessness or trouble. Also for this reason, it is thought the Pythagoreans were forbidden to eat broad beans, for this food produces great flatulence which is detrimental to the peace of the mind for who is in search of the truth.*

⁵⁸⁹ *De causis plantarum* V,21. (Aldrovandi) - In *Theophrasti Eresii opera omnia* (Fridericus Wimmer - Parigi, Didot, 1866) non esiste il capitolo 21. Il libro V finisce con il capitolo 18. Come suggerito da Roberto Ricciardi, verosimilmente si tratta del libro IV,14,2: Inter legumina rubigine maxime corripitur faba, tum propter foliorum multitudinem in partibus omnibus, tum quia densa seritur, tum etiam quia propter raritatem maxime humorem attrahit, denique quia omnium maxime terrae propinquum fructum habet: maxime enim partes inferae putrescunt, quoniam minime a vento teguntur. Ac omnino legumina ejusmodi rubigini sunt obnoxia.

⁵⁹⁰ *Stromata*, 3. (Aldrovandi)

⁵⁹¹ *Historia mirabilium*. (Aldrovandi)

⁵⁹² Ciò che dice Aldrovandi è vero. Infatti Pitagora diceva che mangiare le fave è lo stesso che mangiare la testa dei genitori. E Luciano, nel suo dialogo *Il sogno ovvero il gallo - Óneiros ē alektryon* - fa esprimere Pitagora, reincarnatosi in un gallo, con queste parole: 5 - GALLO Perché tu non conosci, Micillo, qual è la ragione di ciò, né cos'è che si conviene a ciascuna vita. Effettivamente a quel tempo io non mangiavo le fave: ero filosofo. Ora invece le mangerei, perché è un alimento buono per i volatili, a noi non interdetto. Ma, se ci tieni, allora ascolta com'è che prima ero Pitagora e adesso sono così, e quante vite passate ho già alle spalle, e cosa ci ho guadagnato da ciascuna nel loro succedersi. (traduzione di Claudio Consonni)

⁵⁹³ *Problemata* (Aldrovandi). - *Quaestiones convivales* II,3,1 635 E - VIII,8,2 729A - *De Iside* 352F, 359F - *Moralia* 286D - *Aetia Romana* 95,286E: "Ἔστι δὲ τὰ ὄσπρια (= τοὺς κιάμους) πνευματώδη καὶ περίττωμα ποιεῖ πολλῆς καθάρσεως δεόμενον. Ἡ ὄτι καὶ πρὸς συνουσίαν παρορκᾷ διὰ τὸ φυσῶδες καὶ πνευματικὸν;

⁵⁹⁴ *De divinatione* I, XXX, 62: Epicurum igitur audiemus potius? Namque Carneades concertationis studio modo ait hoc, modo illud; at ille quod sentit: sentit autem nihil umquam elegans, nihil decorum. Hunc ergo antepones Platoni et Socrati? Qui ut rationem non redderent, auctoritate tamen hos minutos philosophos vincerent. Iubet igitur Plato sic ad somnum proficisci corporibus adfectis, ut nihil sit, quod errorem animis perturbationemque adferat. Ex quo etiam Pythagoreis interdictum putatur, ne faba vescerentur, quod habet inflationem magnam is cibus tranquillitati mentis quaerenti vera contrariam.

Hieronymus {Mercuriaris} <Mercurialis>⁵⁹⁵ denique medicus nostri aevi longe celeberrimus, mihiq; amicissimus non tantum in eadem mecum opinione est, sed de Theophrasti verbis etiam dubitare videtur, et revera nostri agricolae ut uberiores segetem faciant, fabam prius seminant, quod pinguedinem quandam in terra relinquere noscant, unde subsequenti anno frumenti copiam maiorem colligant, tantum abest, ut sterilitatem agris inferre existiment. An vero earum cortices, ut vult Theophrastus, arbores extinguant, an non, compertum minime habeo et penes illum fidem eius relinquo. Esset vero super hac re diligens, prudensq; agricola consulendus. Ego itaque fabas Gallinis minime interdixerim, sed potius laudaverim. Nam et {Bavatos} <Batavos> audio apud quos fabae vilis annona est, Columbibus dare, ut ad venerem alacriores reddantur, et per consequens citius pariant.

Finally Girolamo Mercuriale*, a very celebrated physician of our time and a great friend of mine, not only shares my opinion but seems even to doubt the words of Theophrastus. Actually our farmers, in order to produce a more fertile ground, first they plant broad beans, because they know that they leave as a fat in the soil, so that in the following year they gather a larger crop of wheat, so far are they from believing that they bring sterility to the fields. As to whether their hulls destroy trees or not, as Theophrastus claims, I have no knowledge whatever, and I leave him in possession of his faith. A careful and judicious farmer should really be consulted in this matter. Thus I should by no means deny broad beans to the hens, but should rather praise them. For I hear that the Dutch, among whom broad beans are cheap foodstuffs, give them to doves to make them more active sexually and hence so that they lay faster.

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Vinaceis vero omnino abstinere iusserim, [232] quod quanvis tolerabiliter pascant, ex eorum tamen usu, raro pariant, et ova exigua faciant. Sint igitur ipsis cibus post autumnum, cum a partu cessant. Quod etiam Columellae praeceptum est. Eo tempore, inquit⁵⁹⁶, quo parere desinent aves, id est, ab idibus Novembris pretiosiores cibi subtrahendi sunt, et vinacea praebenda, quae satis commode pascunt adiectis interdum tritici excrementis. Vitentur herbae amarae, maxime {absinthium} <absinthium>, siquidem ex eius esu ova amarissima pariunt. Sunt qui ex impura cibaria pascentibus Gallinis putrida plerunque venenataque ova nasci velint, et excrementosa, si humanas faeces comederint. Lupinis etiam abstinere debent ob eandem causam, tum vero quod sub oculis grana gignant, ut Crescentiensis observavit⁵⁹⁷, quae nisi acu, teste Palladio⁵⁹⁸, leviter apertis pelliculis auferantur, oculos extinguunt.

But I would like to advise that hens ought to abstain absolutely from grape husks since, although they are fairly well nourishing, they seldom lay eggs and small ones when using them. Therefore they must be a food for them after the autumn when they stop laying. This is also an advice of Columella*. He says: *At the time when the birds cease laying, that is, starting from the ides of November - November 13th, more expensive foods should be withheld, and grape husks given them since they are satisfactory nourishing, occasionally adding wheat discards.* Bitter herbs should be avoided, chiefly wormwood*, because when eating it they lay very bitter eggs. There are people who think that from hens eating impure foods they take birth generally rotten and poisoned eggs, as well as with taste of excrements if they ate human feces. They should also abstain from lupines* for the same reason, as well as for the reason that granules occur under their eyes, as Pier de' Crescenzi* observed, which cause the loss of the sight unless, as Palladius* reports, they are removed with a needle after the thin skin covering them has been delicately opened.

⁵⁹⁵ *Variae lectiones* IV,5. (Aldrovandi) - Editio a Venezia nel 1570 da P. e A. Meietus. (Lind, 1963)

⁵⁹⁶ *De re rustica* VIII,5,25: Eodem quoque tempore cum parere desinent aves, id est ab Idibus Novembribus, pretiosiores cibi subtrahendi sunt et vinacea praebenda, quae satis commode pascunt, adiectis interdum tritici excrementis.

⁵⁹⁷ Pier de' Crescenzi non ha osservato un bel niente. Egli si limita a ripetere pedissequamente quanto riferito telegraficamente da Palladio. Per cui non vale neppure la pena citare quanto contenuto nel suo *Ruralium commodorum* - Libro IX - Di tutti gli animali che si nutricano in villa - capitolo LXXXVI - Delle galline - pagina 241 (traduzione italiana stampata nel 1490, di proprietà della Army Medical Library (n° 32563) Washington DC, USA - pubblicata da <http://gallica.bnf.fr>)

⁵⁹⁸ *Opus agriculturae* I, XXVII *De gallinis*, 2: Si amarum lupinum comedant, sub oculis illis grana ipsa procedunt. Quae nisi acu leviter apertis pelliculis auferantur, extinguunt. - A mio avviso non si tratta di un effetto dei lupini, bensì della manifestazione cutanea del difterovaiolo aviario. Vedi il lessico alla voce Pipita*.

Uvae, quarum alioqui sapore maxime afficiuntur, propter vinacea prohibentur, quae steriles reddunt, tum etiam, quod pituitam generent communem huius avium generis pestem, maxime si immaturae fuerint. Idem incommodum ficus adferunt, quorum esu non minus gaudent, et perperam Ornithologus⁵⁹⁹ aut lectum ab Hermolao⁶⁰⁰, aut male intellectum hoc Graecum carmen suspicatur.

Σύκα φιλόρνιθε{ο} <σ>σι, φυτεύειν δ' οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν, id est:

Ficus amant aves, plantare vero nolunt.

Cum ceu proverbialiter recenseat Gallinaceos amantibus {ficus} <ficum>⁶⁰¹ ne serito: quasi vero Barbarus Gallinaceos neget ficus amare. Sed hoc voluit indicare, ut qui eiusmodi aves lucri causa educant, ficus non offerant, quod, ut dixi, pituitam generent. Ut igitur huic malo obviam eas, caprificum una cum cibo decoctam offeres, atque ita, teste Columella, ficus fastidire facies. Item uvarum fastidium inducit uva labrusca de vepribus immatura lecta. Plinius alibi simpliciter cibo incoctam dari iubet, alibi cum farre mistam⁶⁰². Columella⁶⁰³ cum farre triticeo minuto coctam esurientibus obijci vult, polliceturque eius sapore offendi ita aves, ut omnem aspernentur uvam. Sed videndum est, num eandem plantam intellexerit, quam Plinius. Hic enim alibi⁶⁰⁴ etiam uvae florem id praestare

Grapes, by whose taste on the other hand they are exceedingly attracted, are forbidden on account of the grape-stones, which make them sterile, and also because they cause the pip*, a common disease among this genus of birds, especially if grapes are immature. Figs cause them the same disease, and in eating them they do not take less pleasure, and the Ornithologist is suspicious that the following Greek verse has been either misread or misunderstood by Ermolao Barbaro*.

Sýka phil'orníthessi, phyteúein d'ouk ethélousin, that is:
The birds like the figs, but they do not wish to plant them.

Since by a sort of proverb he bids: you don't will plant a fig for those who love chickens; as though Ermolao Barbaro affirms that chickens don't like figs. But he wished to indicate this: so that those who raise chickens for profit should not offer them figs, because, as I said, they cause the pip. Then, to ward off this disease you should offer the hens boiled wild figs* with their food and thus, as Columella testifies, you will make them dislike figs. Likewise the wild grape - or *lambrusca**, picked unripe among thorny shrubs, gives a dislike for different kind of grapes. In a passage Pliny* urges it must be cooked and given them as food just as it is; in another it must be given mixed with emmer* meal. Columella wishes it to be given hungry hens boiled with fine wheat flour, and promises that its taste will so disgust the birds that they will refuse all grapes. But it must be seen whether

⁵⁹⁹ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 410: Gallinaceos amantibus ficum ne serito, Hermolaus Corollario 194. Veluti proverbiale recenset. Ego Graecum carmen, *Sýka phil'orníthessi, phyteúein d'ouk ethélousin*: hoc est, Aves amant ficus, sed plantare recusant, perperam aut lectum ab eo, aut male intellectum suspicor.

⁶⁰⁰ *Corollarium in Dioscoridem* 194 (1516). - Ermolao Barbaro alla fine di questo corollario elenca alcuni proverbi relativi al fico e si astiene dal riferirne sia la fonte che il significato. Quindi Ermolao non accenna affatto di aver letto il verso greco di fonte gessneriana. Siamo di fronte a una tortuosa elaborazione da parte di Aldrovandi delle considerazioni sinteticamente espresse in via puramente ipotetica da Gessner. Ecco l'asettico testo di Ermolao per il quale voglio rispettare maiuscole e minuscole che a mio avviso ricorrono a casaccio: produntur & de hac arbore proverbia. ficum post piscem. legumina post carnem. gallinaceos amantibus ficum ne serito. Assentari nescio ficum ficum. Panem panem dico. Sacra ficus athenis vocabatur via quae ducit ad eleusinem.

⁶⁰¹ Ermolao Barbaro - così come citato da Gessner - ha *ficum* e non *figus*.

⁶⁰² *Naturalis historia* XIV,99: Universi numquam maturescunt, et si prius quam tota inarescat uva incocta detur cibo gallinaceo generi, fastidium gignit uvae adpetendi. - Roberto Ricciardi afferma che non si trova in Plinio un passo in cui si parli della *labrusca cum farre*. È quindi assai verosimile che Aldrovandi si sia affidato ciecamente a Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 431: Id vitium maxime nascitur cum frigore et penuria cibi laborant aves. item cum ficus aut uva immatura nec (videtur menda) ad satietatem permissa est, quibus scilicet cibis abstinendae sunt aves: eosque ut fastidiant efficit uva labrusca de vepribus immatura lecta, quae cum farre triticeo minuto cocta (Plinius simpliciter cibo incoctam dari iubet, alibi cum farre miscendam) obijcitur esurientibus: eiusque sapore offensae aves, omnem aspernantur uvam, Columella.

⁶⁰³ *De re rustica* VIII,5,23: Id porro vitium maxime nascitur cum frigore et penuria cibi laborant aves, item cum per aestatem consistens in cohortibus fuit aqua, item cum ficus aut uva immatura nec ad satietatem permissa est, quibus scilicet cibis abstinendae sunt aves. Eosque ut fastidiant efficit uva labrusca de vepribus immatura lecta, quae cum hordeo triticeo minuto cocta obijcitur esurientibus, eiusque sapore offensae aves omnem spernantur uvam. Similis ratio est etiam caprifici, quae decocta cum cibo praebetur avibus, et ita fici fastidium creat.

⁶⁰⁴ *Naturalis historia* XIV,98-99: Fit e labrusca, hoc est vite silvestri, quod vocatur oenanthinum, floris eius libris duabus in musto maceratis. Post dies XXX utuntur. Praeter hoc radix labruscae, acini coria perficiunt. [99] Hi paulo post quam defloruere singulare remedium habent ad refrigerandos in morbis corporum ardores, gelidissima, ut ferunt, natura. Pars eorum aestu moritur prius quam reliqua, quae solstitiales dicuntur. Universi numquam maturescunt, et si prius quam tota inarescat uva incocta detur cibo gallinaceo generi, fastidium gignit uvae adpetendi.

scripsit his verbis: *Uvae florem in cibis si edere Gallinacei, uvae non attingunt*. Fortassis {oenanthe} <oenanthe>⁶⁰⁵ e Graeco uvae florem transtulit. A Dioscoride quidem memoratur genus vitis sylvestris sterile, quod fructum non profert, sed florem tantum, {quen} <quem> oenanthe vocant⁶⁰⁶. Sed Labrusca alioqui fructum fert, at exiguum eumque prius admodum austerum, post mellitum, atque dulcissimum.

Caeterum quaecumque dabitur esca per cohortem vagantibus, monet Columella⁶⁰⁷, ut die incipiente, et iam in vesperam inclinante bis dividatur, ne scilicet mane a cubili latius evagentur, et ante crepusculum vespertinum propter cibi spem tempestivius ad officinam redeant, possitque numerus capitum saepius recognosci. Nam omne volatile pecus pastoris custodiam facile decipit. Quantum autem cuique avi exhibendum est difficulter exprimi posse putem. Palladius⁶⁰⁸ tamen duobus hordei cyathis⁶⁰⁹, unam, quae vaga est, Gallinam bene pasci dicit.

Qui vero saginare eas, et ad mensae luxum educare volunt, diligentius, et maiori impensa eas nutriunt, ut ea dignam mercedem consequantur. Quae res antiquissima certe est, et quam Deliaci primi exercuisse perhibentur, de quibus ita Plinius⁶¹⁰: *Gallinas saginare Deliaci coepere: unde pestis exorta {optimas} <opimas> aves, et suoapte corpore unctas devorandi. Hoc primum antiquis caenarum interdictis exceptum invenio iam lege C. Fannii Cos. XI. annis ante tertium Punicum bellum, ne quid {volucrum} <volucra> poneretur praeter unam Gallinam, quae non esset altilis: quod deinde caput translatum per omnes leges*

he means the same plant as Pliny does. For the latter elsewhere wrote that also the grape flower accomplishes the same purpose, by these words: *If the chickens eat the flower of the grape in their food they do not touch grapes*. Perhaps he translated from the Greek *oenanthe* as grape's flower. Dioscorides* indeed mentions a kind of sterile wild vine which does not give a fruit but only a flower, which they call *oenanthe*. But however the *lambrusca* bears a fruit, which however is small, and which before is very sour, later honeyed and very sweet.

Whatever food is given the flock when it wanders through the barnyard, Columella advises that it must be divided in two times, at daybreak and towards evening, so that they will not wander far from the pen in the morning and will return to the poultry house early before evening twilight because of their hope of food, and the number of head can be repeatedly counted. For whatever flock of fowls easily deceives the check of the keeper. I should think it is difficult to tell how much food should be given each bird. Palladius said, however, that two *cyathi* of barley feed well a wandering hen.

But those who wish to fatten and raise them for table pleasures, they feed them more carefully and with greater expense, in order to obtain a worthwhile profit. This practice is certainly very ancient, and the inhabitants of Delos* are regarded as firsts to have carried it out, of whom Pliny writes as follows: *They have been the inhabitants of Delos who began to fatten hens, whence arose the very bad practice of eat up fat poultry basted in its own greasy. Among the ancient prohibitions concerning courses, in the law promulgated by the consul Caius Fannius* eleven years before the Third Punic War - 161 BC - I first find the prohibition of serving no course of fowl except a single not*

⁶⁰⁵ Il vocabolo greco di genere femminile *oinánthē* significa: gemma della vite, vite silvestre, fiore della vite, fiore della clematide.

⁶⁰⁶ Nell'edizione del *De materia medica* di Jean Ruel* del 1549 - e di conseguenza in quella di Pierandrea Mattioli* del 1554 - si parla della vite selvatica *oenanthe* nel libro V capitolo 5.

⁶⁰⁷ *De re rustica* VIII,4,3: Sed cum plane post autumnum cessa[n]t a fetu, potest hoc cibo sustineri. Ac tamen quaecumque dabitur esca per cohortem vagantibus, die incipiente et iam in vesperum declinato, bis dividenda est, ut et mane non protinus a cubili latius evagentur, et ante crepusculum propter cibi spem temperius ad officinam redeant, possintque numerus capitum saepius recognosci. Nam volatile pecus facile custodiam pastoris decipit.

⁶⁰⁸ *Opus agriculturae* I, XXVII *De gallinis*, 1: Duobus cyathis hordei bene pascitur una gallina, quae circuit.

⁶⁰⁹ Ciato: dal greco *kyathos*. 1) Ciotola, provvista di lungo manico, in uso nell'antichità tra la fine del sec. VI e la metà del V aC per travasare il vino dal cratere nelle brocche. 2) Antica unità di misura di capacità corrispondente a 1/2 decilitro scarso. Un decilitro = 100 ml. Quattro ciati corrispondono a circa 200 ml. Orbene, 200 ml di granaglie corrispondono in media a 150 grammi. Infatti 200 ml di granaverde di riso = 150 gr, di mais intero = 145 gr, di mais macinato medio insieme alla sua farina = 140 gr. La farina di frumento tipo 00 ha un peso specifico basso: 200 ml pesano solo 100 grammi. - Vedi anche: Pesi e misure*.

⁶¹⁰ *Naturalis historia* X,139: Gallinas saginare Deliaci coepere, unde pestis exorta opimas aves et suoapte corpore unctas devorandi. Hoc primum antiquis cenarum interdictis exceptum invenio iam lege Gai Fanni consulis undecim annis ante tertium Punicum bellum, ne quid volucra poneretur praeter unam gallinam quae non esset altilis, quod deinde caput translatum per omnes leges ambulavit.

*ambulavit. Meminit eorundem Cicero*⁶¹¹: *Vides ne, inquiens, ut in proverbio sit ovorum inter se similitudo? Tamen hoc accepimus, Deli fuisse complures salvis rebus illis, qui Gallinas alere permultas, quaestus causa solerent. {Hi} <Ei> cum ovum inspexerant, quae id Gallina peperisset dicere solebant. <A> Petronio Arbitro*⁶¹² *Deliaci Gallinarum curatores <dicti sunt> Molles, veteres, Deliaci manu recisi, id est castrati, ut Scaliger exponit.*

Saginantur autem hyeme melius, quam aestate. Sunt tamen qui asserunt Gallinas potissimum pinguescere, quo tempore arbores florent: maxime, si flores depascantur: ova vero tunc etiam cito corrumpi ac putrescere. Locus ad saginandum {calidissimus} <tepidus> deligendus, et modici luminis, quod motus earum, et lux pinguedini inimica sit, ut Varro⁶¹³ tradit, et experientia suffragatur: unde et Martialis⁶¹⁴ ganeae non imperitus fuisse videri potest, cum non tantum nobis tradiderit, quo loco saginentur, verum etiam, quo cibo maxime. Ait autem:

*Pascitur et dulci facili<s> Gallina farina,
Pascitur et tenebris.}<.> {ingenios agula est}
<Ingeniosa gula est>.*

Vocat autem dulcem farinam, quae ex milio fit mulso lacteve elotam, unde etiam Plinius⁶¹⁵ dicebat: *Inventumque diverticulum est in fraude<m> earum Gallinaceos quoque pascendi lacte madidis cibis, multo ita gratiores approbantur.*

Pinguescunt fere viginti quinque diebus, singulae caveis inclusae, quae ab utraque parte foramina habeant, unum, quo caput alterum, quo caudam

fattened hen; this article of law was later resumed and drifted from law to law. Cicero mentioned them when saying: Are you aware how the likeness of one egg to another is proverbial? Nevertheless we have been told what follows, that at Delos, without damage for those things, a great number of people were in the habit of keeping large numbers of hens for profit purposes. Whenever they looked at an egg they used to tell which hen laid it*. The hens keepers of Delos are called by Petronius Arbiter* The ancient effeminate Delians cut by the hand, that is, castrated, as Giulio Cesare*/Giuseppe Giusto* Scaligero explains.*

They are fattened better in winter than in summer. There are those, however, who assert that hens fatten above all in the season when trees are blooming: especially if they eat flowers: but at that time their eggs are also quickly corrupted and grow rotten. A lukewarm place for fattening hens should be chosen and with a moderate light, because their motion and the light are adverse to fattening, as Varro* reports and experience supports. Hence, also Martial* can appear to have been experienced in carousing since he not only reported the place where hens are to be fattened, but also the food which fattens them most. For he says:

*The hen is easily nourished also with sweet meal,
she is also nourished by darkness. The palate is ingenious.*

And he calls sweet flour that made from millet*, moistened with hydromel or milk, whence also Pliny said: *A loophole to evade these laws has been found by feeding also roosters with foods soaked in milk: in this way they are regarded as much more tasteful.*

They grow fat within almost twenty-five days, enclosed singly in coops which have holes on each side, one for thrusting out their head and another for

⁶¹¹ *Academica* II 57: Videsne ut in proverbio sit ovorum inter se similitudo? Tamen hoc accepimus, Deli fuisse complures salvis rebus illis, qui gallinas alere permultas quaestus causa solerent: ei cum ovum inspexerant, quae id gallina peperisset dicere solebant.

⁶¹² *Satyricon* XXIII: Huc huc convenite nunc, spatulocinaedi, | pede tendite, cursum addite, convolute planta, | femore facili, clune agili et manu procaces, | molles, veteres, Deliaci manu recisi. - Si emenda il testo di Aldrovandi senza troppi fronzoli grafici, altrimenti ne scaturirebbe una confusione maggiore di quanto la tipografia ci propone.

⁶¹³ *Rerum rusticarum* III,9,19: De tribus generibus gallinae saginantur maxime villaticae. Eas includunt in locum tepidum et angustum et tenebricosum, quod motus earum et lux pinguitudinis vindicta, ad hanc rem electis maximis gallinis, nec continuo his, quas Melicas appellat falso, quod antiqui, ut Thetim Thelim dicebant, sic Medicam Melicam vocabant.

⁶¹⁴ *Epigrammi* XIII, 62, *Gallinae altiles*. Pascitur et dulci facilis gallina farina, | pascitur et tenebris. Ingeniosa gula est.

⁶¹⁵ *Naturalis historia* X,139-140: Gallinas saginare Deliaci coepere, unde pestis exorta opimas aves et suoapte corpore unctas devorandi. Hoc primum antiquis cenarum interdictis exceptum invenio iam lege Gai Fanni consulis undecim annis ante tertium Punicum bellum, ne quid volucre poneretur praeter unam gallinam quae non esset altilis, quod deinde caput translatum per omnes leges ambulavit. [140] Inventumque diverticulum est in fraudem earum gallinaceos quoque pascendi lacte madidis cibis: multo ita gratiores adprobantur. § Non si capisce in cosa consista la scappatoia stando alle parole di Plinio. Per la legge Fannia non si poteva porre in tavola alcun volatile eccetto una gallina che non doveva essere stata ingrassata. Ma i galli, nutriti con cibi inzuppati nel latte per renderli di sapore più raffinato, erano anch'essi dei volatili, salvo che li facessero passare per galline asportando cresta e speroni, oppure che i cibi inzuppati nel latte fossero capaci - ma non lo erano - di castrarli e di farli somigliare a galline. Misteri interpretativi! Oltretutto, grazie al latino di Plinio, *quae non esset altilis* potrebbe magari tradursi con *gallina che non fosse grassa = che doveva essere grassa*, come ci permettiamo noi italiani di usare il *non* con il condizionale con finalità affermative anziché negative. Ma se la gallina doveva essere grassa, addio parsimonia nelle spese per le mense, perché ingrassare un volatile costa di più.

exerant, ut scilicet cibum capere, et excrementa deponere queant.

the tail, that is, so that they can both eat and put down their dung.

[233] Pluma omnis in capite, sub alis, atque clunibus {detergatur} <detergetur⁶¹⁶>, illic ne pediculos creet, hic ne stercore naturalia laedantur. Varro⁶¹⁷ ex alis, et cauda pennas evelli iubet. Florentinus extremas, quare et hae{c} eximi poterunt. Substernatur mundissima palea, vel molle foenum. Nam si dure cubent, non facile pinguescunt.

Every feather on head, under wings, and on buttocks should be cleaned, to prevent that they give rise to lice* in first two areas, in the latter point to keep their genital parts from being damaged by dung. Varro* advises the feathers should be plucked from wings and tail. Florentinus* says the outermost ones, therefore these also can be plucked. The cleanest straw must be spread underneath, or soft hay. For if they lie down on something hard they do not easily grow fat.

At non obesas tantum, sed in cibo etiam longe suaviores fore promittunt omnes ferme rei rusticae scriptores, si farina hordeacea recenti aqua mulsa conspersa exhibeatur. Unde Columella⁶¹⁸, postquam, ut videtur, ex Varrone, apud quem eadem leges, nisi quod simplicem eam aquam dulcem vocet, simplici eam aqua conspergit, et ita offas ex eadem fieri iussit, primisque diebus dari parcus, donec plus concoquere consuescant: quod cruditas vitanda sit maxime, tantumque praebendum, quantum digerere possint: neque ante recens exhibenda, quam tentato gutture apparuerit nihil veteris escae remansisse. *Nam illi, inquit, qui volunt non solum opimas, sed etiam teneras aves efficere, mulsa {recente} <recenti> aqua praedicti generis farinam conspergunt, {atque infarciunt} <et ita farciunt>.*

But almost all writers on agriculture assure that they will not only be obese but much more tasteful if they are fed on barley* meal sprinkled with water recently mixed with honey. Hence Columella*, who seemingly gathered it from Varro in whose book you will read the same things, after he simply called water that sweet water, he sprinkles barley meal with unmixed water, and after he prescribed little balls to be made, to be given sparingly in the first days until they get accustomed to digest them in larger amount: since indigestion is to be avoided by all means, and only so much food should be given as they can digest: and, before new food is given, their crop is to be touched lest any previous food remained in it. He says: *For those who wish to make hens not only fat, but also tender, they sprinkle meal of aforementioned kind with fresh hydromel, and thus they fatten them.*

Nonnulli, teste Varrone⁶¹⁹, pane triticeo, vino optimo ac odorato madefacto, et aqua praedicta opimant, ita ut viginti diebus pingues reddant, et teneras. Alii, inquit Columella, tribus aquae partibus unam boni vini miscent, madefactoque eodem pane obesant: et hoc modo farctam avem, quae prima Luna (quoniam id quoque

Some, Varro is witness, fatten them with wheat bread soaked in very good and fragrant wine as well as in the aforementioned water, so that they can grow fat and tender in twenty days. Others, Columella says, mix one part of good wine with three parts of water, and with the same soaked bread they fatten them: and he says a hen fattened in this way, which begun to be

⁶¹⁶ Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 432: Pluma omnis e capite, et sub alis atque clunibus detergetur. Illic ne pediculum creet, hic ne stercore loca naturalia exulceret.

⁶¹⁷ *Rerum rusticarum* III,9,20: Ex iis evulsis ex alis pinnis et e cauda farciunt turundis hordeaceis partim admixtis farina lolleacia aut semine lini ex aqua dulci.

⁶¹⁸ *De re rustica* VIII,7,3-4: [3] Cibus autem praebetur hordeacea farina, quae cum est aqua conspersa et subacta, formantur offae, quibus avis salivatur. Hae tamen primis diebus dari parcus debent, dum plus concoquere consuescant. Nam cruditas maxime vitanda est, tantumque praebendum quantum digerere possint. Neque ante recens admovenda est quam temptato gutture apparuerit nihil veteris escae remansisse. [4] Cum deinde satiata est avis, paululum deposita cavea dimittitur, et ita ne evagetur, sed potius, si quid est quod eam stimulet aut mordeat, rostro persequatur. Haec fere communis est cura farcientium. Nam illi qui volunt non solum opimas sed etiam teneras aves efficere, mulsea recenti aqua praedicti generis farinam conspergunt, et ita farciunt. nonnulli tribus aquae partibus, unam boni vini miscent, madefactoque triticeo pane obesant avem, quae prima luna (quoniam id quoque custodiendum est) saginari coepta vicensima pergliscit.

⁶¹⁹ *Rerum rusticarum* III,9,21: Quidam et triticeo pane intrito in aquam, mixto vino bono et odorato, farciunt, ita ut diebus XX pingues reddant ac teneras. Si in farciendo nimio cibo fastidiunt, remittendum in datione pro portione, ac decem primis processit, in posterioribus ut deminuat eadem ratione, ut vicesimus dies et primus sint pares. Eodem modo palumbos farciunt ac reddunt pingues.

custodiendum est) saginari {caepa} <coepta>, vigesima pergliscere tradit. Varro⁶²⁰ turundis hordeaceis partim {admistis} <admixtis> {ex} farina {hordeacea} <lolleacia>, aut semine lini ex aqua dulci farciri scribit, idque facere iubet usque ad dies viginti quinque tum denique pingues fieri. Laudatur Florentino etiam milium. Et panicum ad Gallinarum Columbarumque saginam potius datur, quam ad hominum alimentum. Cardanus auctor est, Gallinas si pingui lacertae salnitro cyminoque farinam tritici miscueris et hoc cibo eas saginaveris, adeo pinguescere hominesque qui eis aluntur, ita pingue fieri, ut disrumpantur⁶²¹.

Io. Iacobus Weckerus⁶²² eiusmodi sese secretum ab Hollando quodam accepisse tradit, ut Gallinae pinguescant. In culina, inquit, facias tibi capsam, pluribus interstinctam capsulis, singulis cum suis foraminibus, per quae capita extrudere foras possint Gallinae, cibumque capere. His itaque capsulis, Gallinae iuvenes, vel pulli incarcerentur, singulae singulis: cibusque singulis horis offeratur, parum pro vice potu interdicto. Cibus autem sit triticum in aqua modice elixum. Oportet autem capsulas inferius esse pervias, ut excrementa permeare possint singulis diebus diligenter auferenda. Caeterum ultra duas hebdomadas inclusas Gallinas esse non oportet: prae nimia enim pinguedine interirent. Haec ille. Audio etiam apud eosdem populos insigniter pinguescere, et cito, si cervisia eis in potu apponatur pro aqua, item si reliquiis eiusdem cervisiae pascantur, sed et ova ita plura, maioraque, parere.

Columella⁶²³, Plinius, et Florentinus⁶²⁴, cum ad partum promovendum, tum ad saginandum, Cytisum miro modo {comedant}

fattened at the beginning of new moon (since also this must be observed) finishes its fattening by the twentieth day. Varro writes that they are stuffed with barley mash partly mixed with darnel* flour or flaxseeds* kneaded with running water, and he prescribes to do this for twenty-five days, and then they become fat. Millet* is also praised by Florentinus. Also foxtail millet* is given for fattening hens and pigeons rather than for feeding humans. Gerolamo Cardano* asserts that hens, if you will mix wheat flour with a fat lizard, saltpeter and cumin*, and you will nourish them with this food, they fatten up to such an extent, as well as humans eating them grow fat to such an extent that they burst.

Johann Jacob Wecker* reports that he learned from a certain Dutchman the following secret about how hens grow fat. He says: in the kitchen you should make a box divided up into many little boxes, each of them with its own hole through which the hens can thrust their heads and take food. Then pullets or cockerels are imprisoned in these boxes, one pullet in each box: and food is given them hourly, on the contrary the drink is forbidden in dribs and drabs. Furthermore their food should be wheat a little soaked in water. Then it is advisable that compartments are open underneath so that the excrements may pass through and each day must be carefully carried away. The hens should not be shut up, however, for more than two weeks: for they may die from too much fat. Thus far Wecker. I also hear that among those same people they grow very fat and swiftly if beer is given to drink instead of water, likewise if they are fed on the dregs of beer, but thus they lay more and larger eggs as well.

Columella, Pliny, and Florentinus especially recommend the cytissus* both for increasing eggs laying and for fattening, and therefore it is very

⁶²⁰ *Rerum rusticarum* III,9,20: Ex iis evulsis ex alis pinnis et e cauda farciunt turundis hordeaceis partim admixtis farina lolleacia aut semine lini ex aqua dulci. Bis die cibum dant, observantes ex quibusdam signis ut prior sit concoctus, antequam secundum dent. Dato cibo, quom perpurgarunt caput, nequos habeat pedes, rursus eas concludunt. Hoc faciunt usque ad dies XXV; tunc denique pingues fiunt.

⁶²¹ Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 455: Si pingui lacertae, halinitro cyminoque farinam tritici miscueris, gallinae hoc cibo saginatae adeo pinguefaciunt homines, ut disrumpantur, Cardanus.

⁶²² *De secretis* liber VIII.

⁶²³ *De re rustica* VIII,5,1-2: Confecta bruma parere fere id genus avium consuevit. Atque earum quae sunt fecundissimae locis tepidioribus circa Kalendas Ianuarias ova edere incipiunt, frigidis autem regionibus eodem mense post Idus. [2] Sed cibus idoneis fecunditas earum elicienda est, quo maturius partum edant. Optime praebetur ad satietatem hordeum semicoctum, nam et maius facit ovorum incrementum et frequentiores partus, et is cibus quasi condiendus est interiectis cytisi foliis ac semine eiusdem, quae maxime putantur augere fecunditatem avium. Modus cibariorum sit, ut dixi, vagis binorum cyathorum hordei. Aliquid tamen admiscendum erit cytisi, vel si id non fuerit, viciae aut milii.

⁶²⁴ Aldrovandi - estremamente prolisso a proposito di certi argomenti, come quelli religiosi - stavolta è assai sintetico e non riporta il brano di Florentino citato da Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 432: Cibus illis est offerendus, elixum hordeum, aut milium aut frumenti furfur, aut zizania vocata lolium, quae quidem ad nutritionem est commodissima: ac humida folia cytisi. Haec enim eas maxime durabiles et firmas reddunt, (foecundiores potius. *gonimotera*, non *monimotera*.) Florentinus.

<commendant>, eamque propterea in agro haberi plurimum referre. Paucae enim regiones sunt, e quibus non possit eiusmodi arbuscula haberi. Columella eius folia {ieiunis}⁶²⁵, seminaque maxime probari ait: et alibi⁶²⁶ etiam non Gallinis tantum, sed omni pecudum generi utilissimum praedicat, quod ex eo cito pinguescat. Plinius {Aristomachum⁶²⁷} <Amphilochum> viridem cytiseum Gallinis dari iubere scribit, aut si aruerit, madefactum. Denique Florentinus⁶²⁸ eius semina, et folia arida aqua perfusa offerri praecipit quippe quae non minus quam viridia eas nutriant. Eiusmodi Gallinas, quae hoc modo saginabantur, altiles, et farctas vocant, earumque nutritionem saginationem. Iam vero non omnes aptas censebant teste Plinio⁶²⁹, sed eas tantum, quae pinguem in cervice cutem haberent. Sed quia nostra aetas Capos potius, quam Gallinas saginet, itaque eiusmodi victus Capis etiam praescribi poterit, de quibus suo loco⁶³⁰ post fusius dicemus.

advantageous to have it in the farm. For there are few regions from which a shrub of this kind cannot be obtained. Columella says its leaves and seeds are highly appreciated: and elsewhere declares that it is very useful not only for hens but for every kind of animals, because thanks to it they grow fat swiftly. Pliny writes that Amphilochus of Athens* - not Aristomachus of Soli* - recommends green cytismus be given to hens, or moist if it is dried up. Finally, Florentinus advises that its dry seeds and leaves soaked in water should be fed to hens, since they nourish them no less than the green ones. They call hens fattened in this manner *altiles* and *farctae*, and they call *saginatio* their nutrition. But on the other hand, according to Pliny, not all hens were considered suitable for fattening, but only those who had a fat skin on their necks. But since our age preferably fattens capons rather than hens, it is then possible to prescribe the same food also for capons, about whom I shall speak later more widely in its proper place.

⁶²⁵ Si tratta di un errore desunto da Gessner. Infatti Columella dice che se alla crusca non è rimasta attaccata affatto della farina, la crusca non è adatta e neppure gustata dalle galline, anche se digiune. Quindi *ieiunis* non ha nessuna attinenza con le foglie di citiso. Ecco il brano di Columella in cui compare *ieiunis*. *De re rustica* VIII,4,1-2: Cibaria gallinis praebentur optima pinsitum hordeum et vicia, nec minus cicercula, tum etiam milium aut panicum. Sed haec ubi vilitas annonae permittit; ubi vero ea est carior, excreta tritici minuta commode dantur. Nam per se id frumentum, etiam quibus locis vilissimum est, non utiliter praebet, quia obest avibus. Potest etiam lolium decoctum obici, nec minus furfures modice a farina excreti, qui si nihil habent farris, non sunt idonei, nec tamen appetuntur ieiunis. [2] Cytisi folia seminaque maxime probantur et sunt huic generi gratissima, neque est ulla regio in qua non possit huius arbusculae copia esse vel maxima. Vinacea quamvis tolerabiliter pascant dari non debent, nisi quibus anni temporibus avis fetum non edit, nam et partus raros et ova faciunt exigua. - Ed ecco il brano di Gessner che ha coinvolto Aldrovandi nella citazione errata. Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 432: Ieiunis cytisi folia, seminaque maxime probantur, et sunt huic generi gratissima: neque est ulla regio, in qua non possit huius arbusculae copia esse vel maxima, Columella.

⁶²⁶ *De re rustica* V,12,1: Cytisum in agro esse quam plurimum maxime refert, quod gallinis, apibus, ovibus, capris, bubus quoque et omni generi pecudum utilissimum est; quod ex eo cito pinguescit, et lactis plurimum praebet ovibus, tum etiam quod octo mensibus viridi eo pabulo uti et postea arido possis. Praeterea in quolibet agro quamvis macerrimo celeriter comprehendit; omnem iniuriam sine noxa patitur.

⁶²⁷ La notizia è senz'altro tratta da Gessner il quale commette un errore in cui cade ovviamente anche Aldrovandi. L'errore di Gessner sta nell'attribuire l'impiego del citiso come se fosse una prescrizione di Aristomaco. Invece si tratta di una prescrizione di Anfilocco. Vediamo prima Gessner e poi Plinio. Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 432: Aristomachus viridem cytiseum gallinis dari iubet, aut si aruerit madefactum, Plin. - Plinio *Naturalis historia* XIII,130-131: Frutex est et cytismus, ab Amphilocho Atheniense miris laudibus praedicatus pabulo omnium, aridus vero etiam suum, spondetque iugero eius annua HS MM vel mediocri solo redditus. utilitas quae ervo, sed ocior satias, perquam modico pinguescente quadripede, ita ut iumenta hordeum spernant. non ex alio pabulo lactis maior copia aut melio, super omnia pecudum medicina validas a morbis omnibus praestante. [131] quin et nutricibus in defectu lactis aridum atque in aqua decoctum potui cum vino dari iubet — firmiores excelsioresque infantes fore —, viridem etiam gallinis aut, si inaruerit, madefactum. apes quoque numquam defore cytisi pabulo contingente promittunt Democritus atque Aristomachus.

⁶²⁸ A mio avviso in questo momento Aldrovandi sta dando forma a un *pastone*, miscelando idee di Florentino e prescrizioni personali di Gessner. Infatti costui, appena dopo aver citato Florentino, aggiunge considerazioni personali: Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 432: ... non *monimotera*,) Florentinus. Cibis idoneis foecunditas earum elicienda est, quo maturius partum edant. Optime praebet ad satietatem ordeum semicoctum. nam et maius facit ovorum incrementum, et frequentiores partus. Sed is cibus quasi condiendus est interiectis cytisi foliis ac semine eiusdem, quae utraque maxime putantur augere foecunditatem avium. Modus autem cibariorum sit, ut dixi, vagis binorum cyathorum ordei, aliquid tamen admiscendum erit cytisi, vel si supra etiam hoc in capite dictum est, non procul initio.

⁶²⁹ *Naturalis historia* X,140: Feminae quidem ad saginam non omnes eliguntur nec nisi in cervice pingui cute.

⁶³⁰ A pagina 348.

Quod si cibum respuant, fastidiantve, totidem diebus, inquit Varro⁶³¹, minuere oportebit quot iam farturae processerint: ita tamen ne tempus omne opimandi quintam, et vigesimam lunam superveniat. Idem Columella, Cato⁶³², et reliqui Geoponici bis die cibum offerunt. Parum tamen refert, si pluries dederis: modo id observes, ut cruditatem vites, quod praestabis, si cum iterum cibum oblaturus, guttur examines: si enim prior descendit, iterum dandus alius, si non, nequaquam. Qui itaque saepe offerre volunt, ut Hollandus ille, de quo diximus, faciebat, parum exhibeant, idque facilis digestionis.

Quod vero ad potum attinet: si farciantur, Cato meridie tantum dari praecipit, aquamque non plus, quam unam horam ante sinendam. Quae pariunt, et in corte divagantur, potum tota die postulant, isque nequaquam negandus, maxime, si aestus fuerit: sitis enim non aliter ac nobis hisce avibus nocet. Aqua autem mundissima sit⁶³³. Nam stercorosa pituitam concitat: quare cohors per quam vagantur, non tam stercore, quam uligine careat: quae res cum diligentissimum etiam custodem nimia assiduitate stercus colligendi torqueret, aquam tamen interim mundissimam esse oporteat, vasa in hunc usum fabricata clausa habere debent. Ea autem talia sint, qualia his verbis Columella describit.

But if they reject food or show aversion for it, Varro says that it will be suitable to reduce it for as many days as they began to be fattened: in such a manner however that all the time devoted to fattening does not exceed twenty five lunar days. Columella, Cato*, and the other geoponics themselves give food twice a day. It matters little, however, if you feed them again and again: you must only to pay attention to this, that is, to avoid indigestion, which you can accomplish by inspecting their crop when you are about to give food again: for if the previous feeding has descended then you must feed them again, otherwise not at all. Therefore those who, like that Dutchman of whom I spoke, wish to feed them often, they must give them little food and easy to digest.

As far as drinking is concerned: if they are fattened, Cato advises drinking be given only at midday, and that water does not remain in front of them more than one hour. Those who are laying and wandering in the barnyard seek drinking all day long, and it should not be denied them nowise, especially in hot weather: for thirst harms these birds just as ourselves. But the water must be very clean. For if it is filthy with excrements causes the pip*, whence the yard in which they wander must be free not so much from dung as from moisture: this fact, while should torment the most careful keeper in order that he gathers the dung very assiduously, however at the same time it would be necessary that he arranges the water be very clean, and he must have available closed vessels made for this use. And they should be such as Columella describes them by the following words.

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{Sint} <Sunt>, inquit⁶³⁴, qui aut aqua replentur, aut cibo, plumbei canales, quos magis utiles esse, quam

Columella* says: *There are leaden troughs which are filled with either water or food, and which, it has been established, are*

⁶³¹ *Rerum rusticarum* III,9,21: Si in farciendo nimio cibo fastidiunt, remittendum in datione pro portione, ac decem primis processit, in posterioribus ut deminuat eadem ratione, ut vicesimus dies et primus sint pares. - Se nel periodo dell'ingrasso perdono l'appetito a causa dell'eccessivo cibo, bisogna ridurne la razione proporzionatamente in maniera che negli ultimi 10 giorni esso diminuisca con la stessa gradualità con cui ne è cresciuta la dose nei primi 10, e quella dell'ultimo giorno sia identica a quella del primo.

⁶³² *De agricultura*, 89: Gallinas et anseres sic farcito. Gallinas teneras, quae primum parient, concludat. Polline vel farina hordeacia conspersa turundas faciat, eas in aquam intingat, in os indat, paulatim cotidie addat; ex gula consideret, quod satis sit. Bis in die farciat et meridie bibere dato; ne plus aqua sita siet horam unam. Eodem modo anserem alito, nisi prius dato bibere et bis in die, bis escam.

⁶³³ Columella *De re rustica* VIII,3,8-9: [8] Haec erit cohortalis officinae dispositio. Ceterum cohors ipsa, per quam vagantur, non tam stercore quam uligine careat. Nam plurimum refert aquam non esse in ea nisi in uno loco quam bibant, eaque mundissima; stercorosa pituitam concitat. Puram tamen servare non possis nisi clausam vasis in hunc usum fabricatis. Sunt autem qui aut aqua replentur aut cibo plumbei canales, quos magis utiles esse ligneis aut fictilibus conpertum est. [9] Hi superpositis operculis clauduntur, et a lateribus super mediam partem altitudinis per spatia palmaria modicis forantur cavis, ita ut avium capita possint admittere. Nam nisi operculis muniantur, quantulumcumque aquae vel ciborum inest pedibus everritur. Sunt qui a superiore parte foramina ipsis operculis inponant, quod fieri non oportet. Nam supersiliens avis proluvie ventris cibos et aquam conspurcat.

⁶³⁴ Columella *De re rustica* VIII,3,8-9: [8] Haec erit cohortalis officinae dispositio. Ceterum cohors ipsa, per quam vagantur, non tam stercore quam uligine careat. Nam plurimum refert aquam non esse in ea nisi in uno loco quam bibant, eaque mundissima; stercorosa pituitam concitat. Puram tamen servare non possis nisi clausam vasis in hunc usum fabricatis. Sunt autem qui aut aqua replentur aut cibo plumbei canales, quos magis utiles esse ligneis aut fictilibus conpertum est. [9] Hi superpositis operculis

ligneos, [234] aut fictiles compertum est. Hi superpositis operculis clauduntur, et a lateribus super mediam partem altitudinis per spatia palmaria modicis forantur cavis, ita ut avium capita {possint} <possint> admittere. Nam nisi operculis muniantur, quantulumcumque aquae, vel ciborum inest, pedibus {evertitur} <everritur>. Sunt qui a superiore parte foramina ipsis operculis imponant, quod fieri non oportet, nam supersiliens avis proluvie ventris cibos, et aquam conspurcat.

Eiusmodi vasa in Hollandia, sed fictilia, propter minorem impensam passim, cum agris ab agricolis, tum in urbibus fiunt, ut audio, sed aquam tantum, non autem cibum imponunt, vasaque singulis {hebdomatibus} <hebdomadibus> ad minus semel setaceo quodam instrumento, quod indige<n>te sermone ab officio de wasser appellant, quasi lavatorem dicas, abstergunt, ne aqua intus fundo, marginibusque adhaerens putrescat; verum non in Gallinaceo genere tantum, sed in Columbaceo etiam, atque ab hoc nomen obtinere, dici autem *Duvepotten*, id est, vasa Columbacea. Caeterum cum vino aspergi cibum ante ex veteribus rusticae artis scriptores dixerint, agricolas in primis monitos velim, ut a vino, aut eius faecum vapore collecto vi ignis liquore abstineant. Is enim Gallinis pestifer, let{h}alisque existimatur, uti etiam ius e carne salsa.

NATURA. MORES. INGENIUM.

Gallinae teste Aristotele⁶³⁵, ut reliquae aves non altivolae, pulveratrices sunt. Impendio autem pulvere gaudent. Unde dicebat Ephesius Heraclitus⁶³⁶ coeno sues {laetari} <lavari>⁶³⁷, velut cohortales pulvere, aut cinere. Id vero triplicem maxime ob causam faciunt, ut scilicet ita sese volutando velut quodammodo scabant, plumas, pinnasque emendent, et pulices excutiant. Quae omnia alio modo se praestare non posse optime norunt natura docente. Cuius ductu etiam quietum ad pariendum requirunt locum, et cubilia sibi nidosque construunt,

more suitable than wooden or earthenware ones. They are closed by lids placed over them, and are pierced with small holes above the middle of their height a hand's span apart from each other, so that they admit the heads of the chickens. For if they are uncovered whatever small quantity of water or food that remains within will be swept out by their legs. Some people make holes in the upside of the covers themselves, which should not be done because by climbing on the chicken dirties food and water with what comes out from its belly.

As I hear, vessels of this kind are prepared in Holland by farmers in the countries as well as in the cities, but made of earthenware since less expensive, but they place in them only water, no food, and once a week, at least, they clean these vessels with a tool made of bristles which because of language's poverty they call *de wasser* from its function, as you say washer, so that inside the water adhering to bottom and sides does not putrefy. To tell the truth they use them not only for gallinaceous genus but for pigeons too, and hence they take their name, for they are said *duvepotten*, that is, dove vessels. Furthermore, since the ancient writers on agriculture said the food be sprinkled with wine, first of all I would like to warn farmers to abstain from wine or from the liquid obtained with fire's strength by the condensation of the vapor coming from wine's dregs. For this is regarded as dangerous and lethal to hens, as well as the broth of salted meat.

CHARACTER - BEHAVIOR INTELLIGENCE

According to Aristotle*, like the other not high-flying birds, hens are dust-bathing. They enjoy the dust very much. Hence Heraclitus of Ephesus* said that pigs wash themselves with mud as barnyard fowls with dust or ashes. And they do this particularly for three reasons, and precisely, when they roll about in the dust, for scraping themselves in some way, for cleaning their plumes and feathers, and for getting rid of lice*. Under the lessons of Nature, they outstandingly learnt that they cannot obtain all these things in a different way. Under Nature's guidance they also seek a quiet place in which to lay their eggs

clauduntur, et a lateribus super mediam partem altitudinis per spatia palmaria modicis forantur cavis, ita ut avium capita possint admittere. Nam nisi operculis muniantur, quantulumcumque aquae vel ciborum inest pedibus everritur. Sunt qui a superiore parte foramina ipsis operculis imponant, quod fieri non oportet. Nam supersiliens avis proluvie ventris cibos et aquam conspurcat.

⁶³⁵ *Historia animalium* IX,634 b4: ἀλεκτορίς ... καὶ κονίονται καὶ λοῦνται.

⁶³⁶ Eraclito di Efeso, *Sulla natura*, fr. 37 Diels-Kranz. - Citato da Columella *De re rustica* VIII,4,4: Siccus etiam pulvis et cinis, ubicumque cohortem porticus vel tectum protegit, iuxta parietem reponendus est, ut sit quo aves se perfundant. Nam his rebus plumam pinnasque emundant, si modo credimus Ephesio Heraclito, qui ait sues caeno, cohortales aves pulvere lavari.

⁶³⁷ A pagina 230 Aldrovandi non dice che i maiali e i polli gioiscono - *laetari* - ma che si lavano, cioè *lavari*. Nam his rebus, inquit plumas, pennasque emundant, si modo credimus Ephesio {Heraclito} <Heraclito>, qui ait, sues coeno, aves cohortales pulvere vel cinere lavari. - Si può presumere che l'esatta versione dell'affermazione di Eraclito di Efeso sia il fatto che tanto i maiali quanto i polli si lavano, come riferisce anche Conrad Gessner in *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 383: Dixit Ephesius Heraclitus sues coeno lavari, velut cortales aves pulvere aut cinere, siquidem hisce rebus plumam pinnasque emundari.

eosque quam possunt mollissime substernunt, quasi non ignorent ova alias facile collidenda iri, si ea in duriori loco ponerent. Sed in eo non tam ingenii sui acumen produnt, quam cum iam pullos excluserunt, quos ita tueri norunt, ut et pennis foveant, ne ab ambiente frigore, vel calore laedantur⁶³⁸.

Hos tanto prosequuntur amore, ut si noxium quodpiam animal, utpote vel Milvum, vel mustelam, vel maius etiam aliud eis insidiari viderint, vel aliquatenus cognoverint, receptis eis primum sub alarum umbra, seu tegumento sese acerrimas tutrices opponant cum maximo clamore hostibus pavorem incutientes, rostroque alis sese defendentes, adeo ut propriam mortem potius obire in pullorum tutelam, quam illis hostibus relictis fuga salutem quaerere malint. Qua in re egregium nobis specimen exemplarque filios amandi praebeant, tum etiam quando dum illos pascunt, et cibos subinde collectos ore porrigunt se suamque famem negligant. Quem amorem Homerus⁶³⁹ sub Achillis persona olim descripsit. Hic enim suos, quos pro Graecis subierat labores, et pericula prae nimia in eos benevolentia conferens matricis avis (Gallinae nimirum per excellentiam) in pullos affectui, ita apud illum loquitur.

Ὅς δ' ὄρνις ἀπτῆσι {νεοσοῖσι} <νεοσοῖσι>⁶⁴⁰
 προφέρῃσι
 Μάστακ', ἐπεὶ >κε λάβῃσι. κακῶς δ' ἄρα οἱ
 πέλει αὐτῆ.
*Sicut autem avis implumibus pullis offert
 Escam postquam acquisiverit, male autem est ei ipsi.*

and build sleeping places for themselves and nests, and cover them as softly as possible, as knowing that eggs would easily collide each other if they laid them on a harder place. But in this matter they don't show their wit's sharpness as when hatched by then their chicks, whom they knew to defend to such an extent that they protect them also by the use of their feathers lest they be injured by surrounding cold or heat.

They follow their chicks with such a great love that, if they saw any harmful animal, such as a kite* or a beech marten* or someone even larger animal laying an ambush for their little ones, or they recognized them at a certain distance, the hens first gather them under the shadow or covering of their wings, then place themselves in front of enemies like very fierce defenders, striking fear into their enemies by a frightful clamor, defending themselves with beak and wings, so that they would rather die in defense of chicks than seek safety in flight, leaving them at the mercy of the enemies. In this regard they give us an excellent example and pattern in love of offspring, also when they neglect themselves and their own hunger while they graze them offering with beak the food they have just got. Long ago Homer* described this kind of love in the character of Achilles*. For the former, comparing the labors the latter had undergone on behalf of Greeks as well as the dangers because of his exceeding kindness toward them, to the affection towards chicks of a bird which is mother (par excellence certainly to that of a hen), he speaks through him in this way.

*Hos d'ornis aptē, si neossoisi prophē, si
 Mástak', epeíke lábē, si. kakós d'ára oi pélei autē,
 For like the hen offers to featherless chicks
 the food after she got it, this fact goes against herself.*

⁶³⁸ Aldrovandi vende come sue queste considerazioni, che invece sono dovute a Cicerone* e che verosimilmente sono state dedotte dal testo di Gessner che correttamente cita come fonte Pierres Gilles*. Ecco la sequenza delle fonti taciute da Aldrovandi. - Cicerone *De natura deorum* II 129-130: Iam gallinae avesque reliquae et quietum requirunt ad pariendum locum et cubilia sibi nidisque construunt eosque quam possunt mollissime substernunt, ut quam facillime ova serventur; e quibus pullos cum excuderunt, ita tuentur, ut et pinnis foveant, ne frigore laedantur, et, si est calor a sole, se opponant; cum autem pulli pinnulis uti possunt, tum volatus eorum matres prosequuntur, reliqua cura liberantur. [130] Accedit etiam ad nonnullorum animantium et earum rerum, quas terra gignit, conservationem et salutem hominum etiam sollertia et diligentia. Nam multae et pecudes et stirpes sunt, quae sine procuratione hominum salvae esse non possunt. - Conrad Gessner *Historia animalium* III (1555) pag. 423: Gallinae avesque reliquae, sicut Cicero ait, et quietum requirunt ad pariendum locum, et cubilia sibi nidisque construunt, eosque quam possunt mollissime substernunt, ut quam facillime ova ferventur. ex ovis pullos cum excluserunt, ita tuentur, ut et pennis foveant, ne frigore laedantur: et si est calor a Sole, se opponant. Cum autem pulli pennulis uti possunt, tum volatus eorum matres prosequuntur, Gillius.

⁶³⁹ *Iliade* IX,323-24: Come ai pulcini il cibo portare un aligero suole, | quand'ei l'abbia trovato, che nulla per lui ne rimane. (traduzione di Ettore Romagnoli)

⁶⁴⁰ Questa inesattezza tipografica è stata tramandata da Aldrovandi che l'ha desunta sic et simpliciter da Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 423: Ὅς δ' ὄρνις ἀπτῆσι {νεοσοῖσι} <νεοσοῖσι> προφέρῃσι | Μάστακ', ἐπεὶ >κε λάβῃσι. κακῶς δ' ἄρα οἱ πέλει αὐτῆ, Achilles *Iliad.* I. suos quos pro Graecis subierat labores et pericula prae nimia in eos benevolentia, conferens matricis avis (gallinae nimirum per excellentiam) in pullos affectui, quos illa dum pascit, et cibos subinde collectos ore porrigit, se suamque famem negligit. - Inoltre Aldrovandi ha scambiato la lettera iota che identifica il canto IX con il canto I dell'*Iliade*. Infatti nella nota a bordo pagina leggiamo: *Iliad.* I. Achilles Gallinis comparatus.

Citat haec verba alibi Plutarchus⁶⁴¹, ubi haec eius verba leguntur {Ὅτι} <Ὡσπερ> ἡ Ὅμηρικὴ ὄρνις τῷ ἑαυτῆς τρέφει λιμῶ τὰ ἔγγονα καὶ τὴν τροφήν τῆς γαστρὸς ἀπτομένην, ἀποκρατεῖ καὶ πιέζει τῷ στόματι, μὴ λάθῃ καταπιούσα. Gybertus Longolius sic vertit. Homeric a vis sua fame parvulos natos pascit, et nutrimentum quod ventri suo destinaverat, ore retinet, ne eo in ventrem delapso in oblivionem ipsa adducatur. Sed lector, inquit Ornithologus, considerabit, an sic potius reddi debeant verba posteriora. Ventris sui alimentum ore tenens, abstinere tamen, et ne forte nolens etiam diglutiat mordicus premit. Ut ut est, verba illa flagrantissimum Gallinae erga pignora amorem testantur: de quo alibi idem Plutarchus⁶⁴²: *Quid vero Gallinae, inquit, quas observari nostris oculis quotidie domi conspicimus, quanta cura, et sedulitate pullos custodiunt, et gubernant? Aliis alas, quas subeant, remittunt; aliis dorsum, ut scandant, reclinant: neque ulla pars corporis est, qua non fovere illos, si possent, cupiant: neque id sine gaudio, et alacritate, quod et vocis sono testari videntur.*

Plutarch* cites these words in a passage, where the following his own words are read: *Hōsper hē Homērikē ōrnīs tō, heautēs trépheī limō, tà éggona kaì tēn trophēn tēs gastrōs haptomēnēn, apokrateī kaì piézei tō, stómati, mē láthē, katapioúsa.* - As the Homeric bird nourishes their chicks at the price of his own hunger and prevents the nourishment to reach his stomach, he holds it in his beak being afraid of swallowing it without his knowledge. Gisbert Longolius* translates as follows. The Homeric bird feeds its little young with its own hunger and the food she had intended for her own stomach she keeps in her mouth lest when it has descended thither she should be led to forget. But the Ornithologist says the reader will consider whether the last words should not rather be translated as follows. Holding the food for her stomach in her mouth she nevertheless abstains from it and keeps it firmly lest she gulps it down even against her will. Be that as it may, those words testify a very ardent love of the hen toward her children. Plutarch himself wrote about it in another passage: *What to say of the hen, whom we observe each day at home, with what care and solicitude they guard and lead their chicks? For some of them they let down their wings for the chicks to come under, for others they turn back their backs for them to climb up: and there is no part of their bodies with which they do not wish to protect them if they can: nor they do this without joy and enthusiasm, which they seem to testify by the sound of their voice.*

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Canes, et angues (Ornithologus κίρκους, et δράκοντας pro κυνέας, et δρακοντίας ut vulgaris lectio habet forte legendum, summo iudicio conijcit. Canes enim parum expavescent Gallinae: Circus reliquosque Accipitres [235] maxime) *cum de se agitur, solisque sibi metuunt, fugiunt, tum quidem. Si vero pullorum agmini ab his periculum verentur, vindicare illud ab iniuria nituntur, et supra quam vires patiuntur, saepe dimicant. Enim vero huiusmodi affectiones opinabimur istis animalibus ingenerasse naturam, de Gallinarum, Canum, Ursarum propagatione sollicitam, non nobis hoc modo pudorem voluisse incutere? Nimirum reputantes ista naturam sequentibus exemplorum loco esse, duris autem suam exprob<r>are inhumanitatem, propter quos sola hominis incusatur natura, quod amorem gratuitum non ferat, neque nisi utilitatis causa diligere norit.*

When they are dealing with themselves and they fear only for themselves, only then they avoid dogs and snakes (very rightly the Ornithologist thinks that we must read *kírkous* - hawks* - and *drákontas* - dragons, snakes - instead of *kynéas* - dogs - and *drakontías* - little snakes - as the common reading reports. For hens not much fear dogs: to the highest degree the falconiforms of the genus *Circus** and other hawks). *But if they fear that a danger can follow from these enemies for their crowd of chicks, they struggle in avenging it for the offence, and often they fight beyond their own endurance. But if we will think that nature sollicitous for the propagation of hens, dogs, and bears, infused in these animals such feelings, did she not wish by chance to strike shame into us in this way? It is no wonder that when we think over these facts which are examples for those following nature, but reproving unfeeling men for their meanness, because of whom only human nature is blamed, for the latter does not bear a love without reward nor will learn to love except for sake of personal gain.*

⁶⁴¹ In Italia, di Plutarco, è edito da D'Auria *L'amore fraterno e l'amore per i figli* (a cura di A. Postiglione). Aldrovandi dà come fonte il *De amore parent. erga liberos* che corrisponde a *Moralia* 494D = cap. 2 p. 494D. Plutarco non ha ὅτι ma ὡσπερ.

⁶⁴² Eodem libro paulo post. (Aldrovandi) - *Moralia* cap. 2, 494E-F-495A. Il testo greco è più semplice; si tratta piuttosto di una parafrasi. (Roberto Ricciardi)

Haud minor etiam profecto Galli erga totam Gallinaceam familiam amor est, ipseque nobis veri, optimique patrisfamilias exemplar est. Is enim non vigilem tantum sese suorum in primis praebet custodem, et mane, dum tempus est, ad quotidianum invitat laborem, sed ipse primus exilit non tam voce, quam reapse quid faciendum sit ostendens, ipse omnia verrit, omnia explorat, omnia dispicit, et simulatque aliquid escae nactus est, Gallinas, et pullos ad pascendum convocat, interim ceu pater quidam, et symposiarchus excelsus adstat, et ad epulandum invitat, hoc unum semper curae habens, ut suis sit, quod edant. Interea ipse disquirat, ecquid in proximo reperiat, quo reperto, rursus suam familiam citat alta voce. Accurrunt ilico. Ille sublimen se gerens, et undique circumspiciens, ecquid hostile usquam appareat, totam cohortem circumit, et obiter granum aliquando unum sibi sumit, non citra invitationem, ut se sui sequantur.

Unde apud Ausonium⁶⁴³ proverbialiter legitur, *Gallinaceus {Euclionis} <Euclionis>*, in eum qui omnia solet diligentissime perscrutari, et investigare, ne pulvisculo quidem relicto, donec id invenerit, quod exquisita cura conquisiverat. Gallus vero tum ideo quoque amorem, benivolentiamque suam illam manifestat, dum se doloris, quo coniuges suas affici credit, consortem cantu longe alio, quam cucu<r>ritu, sed Gallinarum cantui simillimo {attestatur} <attestatur>. Meminit eius Oppianus⁶⁴⁴ his verbis: *Galli partus Gallinarum levare, et doloris participatione solari videntur, dum placida, et exili voce eis accinunt*: dissentiens in eo ab Aristotele⁶⁴⁵, quem Gallinas absque dolore parere, authorem esse supra diximus. Unde item Porphyrium⁶⁴⁶ falsum ita scripsisse dicendum est: *Maritus etiam inter bruta partus dolores intelligit, et plurimi ex eis, parientibus faeminis condolent, ut Gallinacei: quidam etiam excubando iuvant, ut Columbi*. Verum visus est

Undoubtedly no lesser is the love of the rooster toward the entire gallinaceous family, and he himself is for us an example of a true and best head of family. For he not only shows himself as a watchful guardian firstly of his family members, and in the morning, at the proper time, invites us to our daily labor, but he first sallies forth not so much by voice, as actually showing what must be done, and he himself sweeps everything, explores everything, looks into everything, and as soon as he came across some food, he calls both hens and chicks together to eat, while he stands present like a landlord and a perfect chief of a banquet, inviting them to feast, paying always attention to only a thing, that his family members should have food available. Meanwhile he investigates if he is able to find something nearby, and when he found it, he calls his family again in a loud voice. They run at once. He, stretching himself up and looking around anywhere in case somewhere is appearing something which could be regarded as an enemy, scours the entire barnyard, and now and again incidentally plucks up a grain for himself not without inviting his folks to follow him.

That's why in Ausonius* we read the motto *The rooster of Euclio*, which is directed to the man who is accustomed to examine and investigate everything most diligently, not even neglecting a speck of dust until he has found that which he searched for with meticulous diligence. Truly therefore also the rooster reveals the love and that his fondness when, singing in a manner quite different from his crowing, but very similar to the hens' own song, he testifies that he is sharing the sorrow by which he believes his wives are filled. Oppian of Apamea* mentions this by these words: *Roosters seem to relieve the hens' delivery, and to console them by partaking of their sorrow, when they sing, going along with them, by a quiet and thin voice*. Oppian disagrees in this subject with Aristotle* who states that hens lay eggs without pain, as I said before. Therefore we must say that similarly Porphyrius* wrote a lie as follows: *Even among beasts the male understands the delivery's pains, and many of them share the pain when the females are giving birth, like roosters: some even help by incubation, as pigeons*. In

⁶⁴³ *Griphus ternarii numeri* 1: Latebat inter nugas meas libellus ignobilis; utinamque latuisset neque indicio suo tamquam sorex periret. Hunc ego cum velut gallinaceus Euclionis situ chartei pulveris eruissem, excussum relegi atque ut avidus faenerator inprobum nummum malui occupare quam condere. - Si tratta del gallo del vecchio avaro Euclione, il protagonista dell'*Aulularia* di Plauto*.

⁶⁴⁴ *Ixentica*.

⁶⁴⁵ *De generatione animalium* III,2 752a 31 sg.: Tuttavia non ci si accorge che ciò che diventa guscio è in principio una membrana molle, e compitosi l'uovo diventa duro e secco in modo tanto tempestivo che esce ancora molle (procurerebbe altrimenti sofferenza a deporlo) e appena uscito, raffreddatosi si consolida, perché l'umido evapora velocemente data la sua scarsità e rimane l'elemento terroso. (traduzione di Diego Lanza)

⁶⁴⁶ *De abstinentia ab animalibus* III. (Aldrovandi)

aliquando Gallus, teste Aristotele⁶⁴⁷, mortua Gallina, eius munus obire, hoc est, vel incubare ova, vel iam natos pullos educare, insigni sane benevolentiae signo.

Quid vero de ingenio eius dicemus, quo certe plurimum valere quivis merito dixerit, qui perspectam huius avis naturam habuerit. *Proxime gloriam sentiunt*, inquit Plinius⁶⁴⁸, *et hi nostri vigiles nocturni, quos excitandis in opera mortalibus, rumpendoque somno natura genuit. Norunt sidera, et ternas distinguunt horas interdiu cantu. Cum Sole eunt cubitum quartaque castrensi vigilia ad curas laboremve revocant. Nec Solis ortum incautis sinunt obrepere, diemque venientem nunciant cantu, ipsum vero cantum plausu laterum. Imperitant suo generi, et regnum, in quacunque sunt domo, exercent. Dimicatione paritur hoc quoque inter ipsos, velut ideo tela agnata cruribus suis intelligentes.* <intelligentium,> <nec finis saepe commorientibus. Quod si palma contigit, statim in victoria canunt seque ipsi principes testantur; victus occultatur silens aegreque servitium patitur. Et plebs tamen aequae superba graditur ardua cervice, cristis celsa, caelumque sola volucrum aspicit crebra, in sublime caudam quoque falcata erigens.>⁶⁴⁹ Aelianus⁶⁵⁰ etiam non Solis tantum, sed Lunae etiam ortu laetari Gallinaceos scribit, ubi ait: *Gallinaceum exoriente Luna, quasi divino quodam spiritu afflatum bacchari, atque exultare ferunt. Oriens autem Sol nunquam ipsum fallit tum vehementissima voce contendens, semet magis, magisque cantando vincere conatur.*

fact, according to Aristotle, sometimes, when a hen is dead, a rooster has been seen to take on her tasks, that is, or to incubate eggs, or to rear the already born chicks, undoubtedly as evident sign of fondness.

But what shall I now say about his character, since anyone who has examined the nature of this bird could rightly say that it is of the highest strength. Pliny says: *Nearly likewise - the peacocks - are longing for glory also these our nightly guardians Nature created for arousing mortals to their labor and for breaking their slumber. They are acquainted with the stars and distinguish every three-hour period during the day with their crowing. They go to bed with the sun, and at the fourth camp watch (i.e. between 3 and 6 o' clock) they recall us to our cares and labor. And they do not permit the sunrise to creep upon us unnoticed and announce the coming day with song, and the song itself is announced by flapping the wings. They rule over the animals of their genus and exercise, in whatever home they are, a sort of dominion. This sovereignty is obtained by dueling among themselves, as though they are aware of the weapons grown upon their legs, <nor the fighting has an end since often they die together. But if the palm of victory falls to them, they immediately sing as triumphant, immediately proclaim themselves as sovereigns. That who has been defeated hides in silence and reluctantly suffers the subjugation, however even the common flock, equally proud, walks with head held high, with erect comb. And the rooster is the only bird looking often at the sky, rising upwards also the sickle shaped tail.>* Aelian* writes also that roosters are delighted not only by sunrise but also by moonrise, when he says: *They say the rooster at moonrise gets restless like crazy and leaps about,*

⁶⁴⁷ *Historia animalium* IX,49 631b 13-16: Ἐδέ δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀρρένον τινὲς ὀφθησαν ἀπολομένους τῆς θηλείας αὐτῶν περὶ τὸν νεοτὺς τὴν τῆς θηλείας ποιόμενοι skeuōrian, periāgontés te καὶ ἐκτρέφοντες ὑτὸς ὄστε μέτε κοκκύζειν ἐτι μέτ' ὀχέουειν ἐπιχειρεῖν. - E si sono visti persino alcuni maschi, essendo morta la femmina, prendersi essi stessi cura dei pulcini come la femmina, portandoli in giro e allevandoli cosicché non si mettono né a cantare e neanche ad accoppiarsi. - Iam vero mares quidam visi sunt amissa gallina, ipsimet apparatus ferre pullis: eos etiam circumducere et enutrire ita, ut non amplius cucuriant, aut veneri operam dent. (traduzione di Giulio Cesare Scaligero*)

⁶⁴⁸ *Naturalis historia* X,46-47: Proxime gloriam sentiunt et hi nostri vigiles nocturni, quos excitandis in opera mortalibus rumpendoque somno natura genuit. Norunt sidera et ternas distinguunt horas interdiu cantu. Cum sole eunt cubitum quartaque castrensi vigilia ad curas laboremque revocant nec solis ortum incautis patiuntur obrepere diemque venientem nuntiant cantu, ipsum vero cantum plausu laterum. [47] Imperitant suo generi et regnum in quacunque sunt domo exercent. Dimicatione paritur hoc inter ipsos velut ideo tela agnata cruribus suis intelligentium, nec finis saepe commorientibus. Quod si palma contigit, statim in victoria canunt seque ipsi principes testantur; victus occultatur silens aegreque servitium patitur. Et plebs tamen aequae superba graditur ardua cervice, cristis celsa, caelumque sola volucrum aspicit crebra, in sublime caudam quoque falcata erigens. Itaque terrori sunt etiam leonibus ferarum generosissimis.

⁶⁴⁹ Aldrovandi, attraverso un *quoque* di più, e attraverso *intelligentes* al posto di *intelligentium*, dichiara apertamente di aver copiato il brano da Gessner, ma a un certo punto lo amputa stupidamente, per riprenderlo a pag. 237. Questo non possiamo permetterlo. Poteva amputare ampiamente i nauseanti e ripetitivi *Moralia* di Gregorio Magno! - Per cui si procede a emendare il testo di Plinio. - Ecco invece il testo di Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 385: Imperitant suo generi, et regnum in quacunque sunt domo exercent. Dimicatione paritur hoc quoque inter ipsos, velut ideo tela agnata cruribus suis intelligentes: nec finis saepe commorientibus. Quod si palma contingit, statim in victoria canunt seque ipsi principes testantur. Victus occultatur silens, aegreque servitium patitur. Et plebs tamen aequae superba graditur ardua cervice, cristis celsa: coelumque sola volucrum aspicit crebro, in sublime caudam quoque falcata erigens, Plinius.

⁶⁵⁰ *La natura degli animali* IV,29: Il gallo, così dicono, diventa particolarmente eccitato e saltella quando spunta la luna. Non lascerebbe mai passare inosservato il levar del sole; quando appare, egli supera se stesso nell'intonare il suo canto. (traduzione di Francesco Maspero)

as pervaded by a divine puff. He never fails to notice the sunrise and then applying himself with a very strong voice he goes out of his way with singing to surpass more and more himself.

Res item summa admiratione digna est, Gallum silentio uti, et pulchellam illam suam vocem, cucurritum inquam, celare nosse, cum mortua Gallina coniuge sua, ipse eius officio fungens ova incubat, quod id mulierem decere, et parum virile esse non ignoret, ut idem Aelianus⁶⁵¹ memoriae prodidit. Illud praeterea ingenio harum avium ascribendum est, quod cum sese copia sanguinis immoderati aggravari sentiunt, unguibus cristas tam diu scalpant, donec illato vulnere sanguinis fluxum proluciant, atque ita ab imminentibus malis sibi ipsis medici liberent. Plinius⁶⁵² similiter herbam, quae vocatur helxine agnoscere eos tradit, eaque sese dum indigent remedio, purgare.

Haud ab re igitur D. Iob⁶⁵³ quaerebat: *Quis dedit Gallo intelligentiam?* Verum istaec intelligentia non rerum divinarum cognitio est, ut quispiam ex Plinii verbis, quae paulo ante adduximus, qui nimirum sidera nosse, etc. dixit, arguere possit, sed naturalis, quae tamen nec ipsa cum deliberatione constet. Quomodo etiam cum summa industria terram unguibus scalpendo victum quaerit. Hoc scalpurire Plautus dixit de sepulta olla loquens⁶⁵⁴: *Ubi erat haec (olla) defossa coepit ibi scalpurire unguibus circumcirca:* veteres etiam ruspari, atque hinc eo verbo pro sedulo perscrutari utuntur: unde alibi⁶⁵⁵ idem ait: *Corruspare tua consilia in pectore.* Alibi⁶⁵⁶ denique facetissime eiusmodi ruspationi scriptionem amasiae Calidori comparavit, quia nimirum difficulter ob male formatas literas legi poterat: ait autem.

*An obsecro Hercle habent quoque Gallinae manus?
Nam has quidem Gallina scripsit.*

Likewise it is worthy of great amazement that the rooster keeps silent and knows how to conceal that his beautiful voice, I mean his crowing, when, being died the hen his partner, taking over her duties, he himself sits on the eggs, which he understands is befitting a female and that it is not much manly, as Aelian himself handed down. Moreover the following fact must be ascribed to the intelligence of these birds: when they feel themselves burdened with an immoderate supply of blood, they scratch their combs with their nails so long until they produce a flow of blood by the inflicted wound and, physicians of themselves, until they deliver themselves from imminent ills. Likewise Pliny reports that they know a herb called *helxine* - perhaps *Parietaria officinalis**, Pellitory of the wall - and use it as a purgative when they need a remedy.

Therefore not for no reason Saint Job* wondered: *Who gave the rooster intelligence?* To tell the truth, this intelligence is not knowledge of divine affairs, as someone might argue from Pliny's words, which I quoted a little while ago, that is, he said *he is acquainted with the stars* etc, but an intelligence of nature's affairs, which in itself does not arise from a decisional act. Alike he also seeks food by scratching with the greatest industry the earth with his nails. Plautus* called *scalpurire* - to scratch - this activity when speaking of the buried pot: *Where this (pot) was buried, there he began to scratch all around with his nails.* The ancients also used the word *ruspari*, and therefore they use this verb with the meaning of very carefully to look for. Hence in another comedy he even says: *To weigh carefully your decisions in the mind.* Finally, in another comedy, he has most wittily compared the writing of Calidorus' lover - the courtesan Phoenicium - with such a scratching, just because that bad writing could be read only with great difficulty on account of its badly formed letters: for Plautus - by means of Pseudolus* - says:

I beg you, by Hercules, do hens also have hands?

⁶⁵¹ *La natura degli animali* IV,29: Morta la gallina, egli stesso cova, e fa schiudere i propri figlioletti standosene in silenzio; perché non canta in quel periodo di tempo è dovuto a un qualche motivo strano e misterioso, per Zeus; infatti mi sembra sia consapevole che così sta svolgendo le mansioni di una femmina e non di un maschio.

⁶⁵² *Naturalis historia* VIII,101: Palumbes, graculi, merulae, perdices lauri folio annum fastidium purgant, columbae, turtures et gallinacei herba quae vocatur helxine, anates, anseres ceteraeque aquaticae herba siderite, grues et similes iunco palustri.

⁶⁵³ Già citato da Aldrovandi a pagina 186. - Giobbe 38,36: Chi ha messo nelle nubi la sapienza, o chi ha dato alle meteore l'intelligenza? (*La Sacra Bibbia*, Edizioni Paoline, 1958)

⁶⁵⁴ *Anulularia* 467: Ubi erat haec defossa, coepit ibi scalpurire unguibus circum circa.

⁶⁵⁵ *Fragment. apud Paul. ex. Festo* (ed. by Mueller) 62. (Lind, 1963)

⁶⁵⁶ *Pseudolus* 27-28 - PSEUDOLUS: An, obsecro hercle, habent quas gallinae manus? | Nam has quidem gallina scripsit.

[236] Quorum verborum sensum, atque vim, nemo, quod sciam, omnium quotquot in Plautum commentati sunt, hactenus {assequutus} <assecutus> est. Audio autem apud Hollandos eiusmodi loquendi modum frequentissimum esse, ut videlicet scriptionem parum legibilem *Hennescrapsel*, hoc est, Gallinarum ruspationem vocent. Hetrusci pro ruspate dicunt *sparnazzare*, et metaphorice utuntur in prodigos sua abijcientes inutiliter.

MAGNANIMITAS. PUGNA.

Laus item Gallo maxima in animo plus< >quam regio, adeo ut Oppianus⁶⁵⁷ avium omnium pugnacissimum vocare non sit veritus: cuius nimirum tam excelsus animus est, tanta animi constantia, ut non vitae, quae omnibus animalibus carissima est, pericula tantum subire, sed perdere etiam eam malit, quam alterius imperium, iugumque vel ad unicum tantummodo temporis momentum pati. Scivit hoc Themistocles⁶⁵⁸, sciverunt maiores nostri, qui anniversariis {solennibusque} <sollemnibusque> Gallorum pugnis {solenni} <sollemni> ritu institutis perpetuos nos esse voluerunt Gallorum imitatores. Aiunt vero non Leonem modo ad eorum cantum, sed basiliscum etiam expavescere: quod an verum sit, ut parvi refert, ita certum est nullum animal maiori animo, et excelsiori vel caput cristatum, et caudam erectam falcatamque gerere, vel certamen inire, in quo frequenter ante moritur, quam adversario cedat. Quare iure merito Marti bellorum, pugnarumque Deo sacer habitus fuerit, et proverbialiter Ἄρεως νεοττός, hoc est Martis pullus⁶⁵⁹ vocatur: quasi ad bella, pugnasque magnopere propensus.

No one, so far as I know, has thus far fairly understood the sense and force of these words among all those who have commented upon the works of Plautus*. But I hear that among Dutch this manner of speaking is very common, so that they call a handwriting that is not very legible *Hennescrapsel*, that is, hens scratching. The people of Tuscany say *sparnazzare* for scratching and use it metaphorically for wastrels who uselessly throw away their own things.

COURAGE - FIGHTING

The greatest praise likewise belongs to the rooster for a spirit more than royal, so much so that Oppian of Apamea* did not hesitate to call him the most pugnacious of all birds: his courage is just so huge, so great is his strength of mind that he not only prefers to undergo to perils for life, which is very dear to all animals, but even to lose it rather than to endure the rule and the yoke of someone else for only so much as one moment of time. Themistocles* knew this, our ancestors knew this, who by the institution in a solemn rite of annual cockfights desired that we should be perpetual imitators of the roosters. For they say that not only the lion but the basilisk* itself is frightened at their crowing: as it doesn't matter whether this statement is true, as much it is certain that there is no animal with greater and loftier courage either bearing a combed head and an erect and sickle shaped tail, or entering battle, where he often dies rather than yield to an adversary. Therefore rightly he will have been regarded as sacred to Mars*, the god of wars and battles, and proverbially he is called *Áreas neottós*, that is, chick of Mars as if greatly inclined toward wars and battles.

⁶⁵⁷ *Ixeutica*.

⁶⁵⁸ Eliano *Varia historiae* Libri XIII - II,28: UNDE CERTAMEN GALLORUM GALLINACEORUM INITIUM TRAXERIT - Post devictos Persas, Athenienses lege posuerunt, ut galli gallinacei quotannis uno die certamen in theatro inirent. Unde vero sumpserit occasionem haec lex, planum faciam. Cum Themistocles civicum exercitum adversus barbaros educeret, gallos gallinaceos vidit pugnantes: neque ille spectatorem sese oscitantem eius pugnae praebuit. Sed totum exercitum cohibens, inquit ad ipsos: At hi neque pro patria, neque pro dijs familiaribus, neque vero pro avitis heroibus periculum subeunt, neque pro gloria, neque pro libertate, neque pro liberis: sed tantum, ne alter ab altero superetur, aut alter alteri cedat. Quibus verbis Atheniensium animum confirmavit. Quod ergo tunc eis incitamentum ad virtutem extitit, voluit ad similitudinem rerum et factorum memoriam sempiternam consecrare. (*Claudii Aeliani opera quae extant omnia Graece Latineque*, Tiguri, apud Gesneros Fratres, 1556, pagina 394 - Iusto Vulteio VVetterano interprete)

⁶⁵⁹ In base a quanto riferito da Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 407, *Áreas neottós* proviene da Aristofane*: Gallus sacer erat Marti, et in templis dedicabatur, Eustathius. Hinc forte Aristophanes in Avibus gallum Ἄρεως νεοττόν, hoc est Martis pullum cognominat. Scholiastes quidem sic vocari ait, tanquam fortem et pugnacem. - Aristofane *Aves* 834-35. Platone commediografo* fr. 104 K a proposito di Pisandro*.

Verum non in pugna tantum animositas maxima eius elucescit, sed in coitu etiam: a quo (taceo modo, quod salacissimus sit, et unus multis uxoribus satisfaciens) cum omne animal tristari soleat, solus ipse exhilarescit, et cantu alacritatem spiritus attestatur: et Plato⁶⁶⁰ author est, Gallum degenerem ignavumque antequam vicerit, canere. Nec fere ob aliam causam, quam propter uxorem pugnam init, veritus ne alius amplexus earum illi clam suffuretur: unde scribit Athenaeus Gallinaceum alteri mari cum Gallina coitum absque pugna non permittere: quare Alberto neutiquam crediderim, Gallos scribenti, si multi sint, nimio coitu Gallinas enecare. Haud tamen interim inficias iverim eas a diversis Gallis iniri: nam id furtim fieri putaverim: simul vero degere, vel saltem simul cum Gallinis coire, quod ille supponit, nunquam crediderim: quinim<m>o illud ego ex inspectione didici Gallum unicum semper in uno loco imperium habere, et in alios, si forte clam, ut dixi, cum uxoribus suarum aliqua coierint, vel coire tentaverint, acriter animadvertere: unde item adagium extat satis triviale, *Gallus in suo sterquilinio plurimum potest*, quod scriptum est in ludico Senecae⁶⁶¹: videtur autem innuere quemlibet in alieno solo timidior esse, et in suo regno ferociorem, et animosior. In quo pariter sensu et illud notum est: *Domi pugnans more Galli*⁶⁶² in illos, qui domi rixantur, quum foris sint placidissimis moribus: unde dicebat Plinius⁶⁶³: *Imperitant suo generi, et regnum in quacunque domo sunt, exercent. Dimicatione {pariter} <paritur> hoc {quoque} inter ipsos velut ideo tela agnata cruribus suis intelligentes, nec finis saepe {nisi} <com>morientibus.* Quod vero ait sapientissimus virorum Salamon: *Gallus ambulans inter Gallinas laetus*: id pariter Eucherius imperii significationem esse dicit.

In actual fact not only in battle does his exceeding courage shine forth but also in copulation: after which (I slightly point to the fact that he is most lustful and just one satisfies many females), although every animal is accustomed to droop in sadness, he alone cheers up and attests, by crowing, his ardor of spirit. Also Plato the comedy writer* is author of the statement that a pusillanimous and coward rooster sings before he won. Nor for almost any other cause than for his female does he enter battle, fearing lest he is without knowledge robbed of another mating with their partners. Hence Athenaeus* writes that a rooster will allow no other male to copulate with a hen without a fight. Therefore I did not quite believe Albertus* when he writes that when there are many roosters they kill the hens with too much copulation. By no means, however, I am not inclined to deny that hens are trodden by different roosters, for I would think this is done furtively; but that they live together or at any rate copulate with hens together, as Albertus adds, I could never believe, but on the contrary I learned by observation that only one rooster always holds the rule in just one place, and that he fiercely punishes other roosters if perchance in secret, as I said, they copulated or tried to copulate with anyone of his females. Hence equally arises a rather common adage, *A rooster is extremely powerful in his own dunghill*, which was written in the satire of Lucius Annaeus Seneca*, since he seems to hint that whoever is more timid on alien ground, but more fierce and courageous in his kingdom. In the same meaning is also known that other one adage: *Fighting at home in the fashion of a rooster*, addressed to those are scuffling at their home, while outdoor are behaving very quietly: whence Pliny* said: *They rule over the animals of their genus and exercise, in whatever home they are, a sort of dominion. This sovereignty is obtained by dueling among themselves, as though they are aware of the weapons grown upon their legs, nor the fighting has an end since often they die together.* This is what Solomon*, wisest of men, says: *The rooster walking joyfully among hens*: which Saint Eucherius* also says is a signification of ruling.

Hoc item ceu magnificentiam, animique

He too shows, so to say, nobility and generosity

⁶⁶⁰ Forse nel frammento 104 kock.

⁶⁶¹ *Apocolocyntosis* 7,3: Claudius ut vidit virum valentem, oblitus nugarum intellexit neminem Romae sibi parem fuisse, illic non habere se idem gratiae: gallum in suo sterquilino plurimum posse.

⁶⁶² Confronta Pindaro* *Olimpiche* XII 20-21 ἐνδομάχας ἀτ'ἀλέκτωρ | συγγόνῳ παρ'ἑστίᾳ.

⁶⁶³ *Naturalis historia* X,46: Imperitant suo generi et regnum in quacumque sunt domo exercent. Dimicatione paritur hoc inter ipsos velut ideo tela agnata cruribus suis intelligentium, nec finis saepe commorientibus.

celsitudinem arguit, quod nunquam sui ineundi copiam faciat absque atrocissimo certamine, ut Athenaeus⁶⁶⁴ author est. Denique et illud quod idem author ibidem testatum reliquit, et quotidiana experientia comprobatur, quod scilicet quascunque aedium fores ingressurus, cristam submittat. Quod ab Aeliano⁶⁶⁵ fortassis mutuatus Athenaeus fuerit, quia ita scribit: Illud item in eo mirificum, cum limen intrat, tametsi superum altissimum existit, is tamen sese inclinat: quod quidem ipsum superbia inductus facere videtur, ne scilicet crista uspiam offendatur.

His, si placet, adde, quod pro caris uxoribus, pignoribusque suis adversus serpentes, Milvos, mustelas, et eiusmodi feras alias, viriliter decertet, et nos ad simile certamen, ubi sese occasio offerat, invitet. Hieronymus Cardanus⁶⁶⁶ Gallum ideo decantatissimo illi parricidarum culeo, una cum serpente, cane, et simia inseri a Romanis existimabat, quod superbissimus sit, vel ob gentis similitudinem: quod ipsum Scaliger⁶⁶⁷ ex inscitia historiarum credidisse tradit, quoniam Gallis nondum notis illa lex scripta fuisset: sed nec hic rem acu tetigit. Quomodo enim Gallum includere potuere Romani nondum notum? Quare ego post suo loco⁶⁶⁸ veram, ni fallor, eius rationem assignabo.

Quod vero ad pugnam Gallorum attinet, ad quam vel imago eorum in speculo tantum conspecta eos invitat, teste Athenaeo⁶⁶⁹, ea singulari non caret artificio.

of spirit because he never gives the possibility to be mounted without a very fierce fighting, as Athenaeus* says. Finally, also what the same author has left testified in the same work, and daily experience proves, that is, he lowers his comb when he is on the point of enter through whatever door of a building. This statement Athenaeus probably borrowed from Aelian* because the latter writes thus: Likewise in him a thing is extraordinary, when he enters a doorway, nevertheless the top is very high, however he bows: but it seems that he does so led by haughtiness, that is, in order that the comb is not damaged in some point.

To these characteristics add, if you like, the fact that he bravely fights for his dear wives and sons against serpents, kites*, beech martens* and other beasts of this sort, and invites us to a similar combat when the opportunity arises. Gerolamo Cardano* therefore thought the rooster was shut up by Romans into that very renowned leather bag of the parricides - *culleus** - together with the snake, the dog and the monkey, because he is very haughty or because of his similarity to the Gallic people*: the latter view Giulio Cesare Scaligero* reports as believed on account of ancient ignorance of history, since that law had been written before the Gauls were known. But even he did not touch on a sore point. For how could Romans have shut up a Gaul when he was not yet known? Therefore, I shall assign, if I am not mistaken, the true reason of this later on.

As far as roosters' fighting is concerned, to which invites them as an image of themselves seen only in a mirror, according to Athenaeus, it does not lack a singular ability.

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Dum enim pugnant, naturae ductu terram feriunt, et plumas [237] circum collum erigunt, pennasque caudae, quantum possunt, sursum, atque

For while fighting they strike the earth on natural instinct and erect the plumes around their necks, vibrating the feathers of their tail up and down as

⁶⁶⁴ Liber 9. (Aldrovandi) - IX,46,391e: [...] combattono fra loro e il vincitore monta continuamente il vinto [cfr. Aristotele *HA IX* 614 a7]. Si racconta anche che il gallo, per qualunque porta passi, piega la cresta e non permette ad altri l'accoppiamento senza combattere. - ἱστορεῖται δὲ ὅτι ... τῆς οἰχείας ἐτέρω δ'ίχα μάχης οὐ παραχωρεῖ.

⁶⁶⁵ *La natura degli animali* IV,29: Anche questo tratto del suo carattere è indubbiamente meritevole di ammirazione: quando varca la soglia di una porta, anche se questa è molto alta, si china e lo fa con molto sussiego, come se in tal modo volesse proteggere la sua cresta.

⁶⁶⁶ *De subtilitate* liber X. (Aldrovandi)

⁶⁶⁷ *Exotericarum exercitationum liber quintus decimus: de subtilitate, ad Hieronymum Cardanum* (1557), *exercitatio* 240 *An sui generis quicquam vorent animalia. Canes, alia.*

⁶⁶⁸ A pagina 240.

⁶⁶⁹ Clearco di Soli (scrittore greco del IV-III sec. aC discepolo d'Aristotele) frammento 36W in *Deipnosophistai* IX,42,389f: i galli "dalla falsa immagine riflessa <in uno specchio> sono soltanto spinti al combattimento".

d<e>orsum vibrant, assilientes interim, quo magis calcaribus suis, quae ob id ceu tela in cruribus agnata, teste Plinio⁶⁷⁰, agnoscunt, hostem feriant: unde legas apud antiquissimum Lucilium⁶⁷¹ hos vel versus, vel versuum fragmenta.

*Gallinaceus cum victor se Gallus honeste
Sustulit in digitos, primoresque erigit ungues.*

Ubi, teste Nonio, primores ungues pro anterioribus dixit: quod non putem, cum non iis unguibus, sed calcaribus dimicent, quae etsi in posterioribus tibiaram partibus fere sita sint, inter insiliendum tamen, cum scilicet adversarios feriunt, iis ita uti norunt, ac si ad anteriora locata forent. Ab eiusmodi certamine vulgare extat adagium: *Gallus insilit*, in eum, qui semel victus redintegrat certamen: quod sane saevissimum conspicitur: unde dicebat D. Augustinus⁶⁷²: *Cum ecce ante fores advertimus Gallos Gallinaceos ineuntes pugnam nimis acrem*. Et paulo post pugnam ita describit: *Ut in eiusdem ipsis Gallis erat videre intenta proiectius capita, inflatas comas, vehementes ictus, cautissimas evitationes, et in omni motu animalium rationis expertium nihil non decorum: quippe alia ratione desuper omnia moderante: postremo legem ipsam victoris, superbum cantum, et membra in unum quasi orbem collecta, velut in fastum dominationis*.

Sed doctissime idem certamen hisce versibus quam breviter Angelus Politianus⁶⁷³ complexus est:

*Et regnum sibi Marte parant, quippe obvia rostris
Rostra ferunt, crebrisque acuunt assaltibus iras.
Ignescunt animis, et calcem calce repulsant
Infesto: adversumque, affligunt pectore pectus.
Victor ovans, cantu palmam testatur, et hosti
Insultans victo, pavidum pede calcat iniquo.
Ille silet, latebrasque petit, dominumque superbum
Ferre gemit: comes it merito plebs caetera regi.*

Quanquam etenim Gallus animal natura pugnax est, ac magnanimum, ut diximus, ubi tamen se sentit impari in conflictu, mire deiectus, ac supplex

much as they can, in the meantime launching an attack they wound the enemy chiefly with their spurs, which, as Pliny* reports, because of this they realize to be as weapons grown on their legs: hence you may read in the very ancient Lucilius* these either verses, or fragments of verses:
*When a rooster is victorious he leans on his toes with dignity,
and raises the forepart of his nails.*

Where, according to Nonius Marcellus*, he said *primores* nails for the fore nails: which I do not believe, because they fight not with these nails but with spurs, which, although located at the rear of tarsometatarsus, nevertheless, when they are attacking, that is, when striking their adversaries, they learnt to use them as located in front. From such a manner of fighting a common proverb arises: *The rooster is attacking*, said of him who, once as been defeated, renews the combat: which is regarded as a very relentless thing indeed: hence St. Augustine* said: *When, lo, in front of the threshold we observe the roosters beginning a too much fierce fight*. And, a little later, he thus describes the combat: *As in his own roosters it was possible to see the heads stretched forward more markedly, their backle swollen, the violent strokes, the very quick standing aside, and in every motion of these animals unprovided with reason there was nothing improper: since another kind of reason is guiding from above everything: in short, the law itself of the victor, the proud crow and the limbs gathered together, so to say, in a circular movement, as in an ostentation of absolute power*.

But Angelo Poliziano* summarized very cleverly and briefly such a combat in these verses: *And they get the kingdom for themselves by means of fighting as they strike beaks to beaks and sharpen their anger with frequent assaults. They burn in spirit and drive back the beel with a hostile beel, and hit with the breast the opposite breast. The jubilant victor declares the victory by his crowing, and leaping on the defeated enemy he tramples the faint-hearted with his cruel foot. The latter keeps silent seeking a hiding place, and moans because he must stand a haughty master: the rest of the flock of necessity goes along with the king*.

Although the rooster is a pugnacious animal by nature, and magnanimous, as I said, nevertheless when in a combat is feeling himself inferior he

⁶⁷⁰ *Naturalis historia* X,47: Imperitant suo generi et regnum in quacumque sunt domo exercent. Dimicatione paritur hoc inter ipsos velut ideo tela agnata cruribus suis intellegentium, nec finis saepe commoriantibus.

⁶⁷¹ Lucilius, in E. Warmington, *Remains of old Latin*: Loeb Classical Library. III (1938), 100, frag. 328-29; F. Marx, *C. Lucili Carminum Reliquiae* (Leipzig, 1904), I, p.22, frag. 300. (Lind, 1963)

⁶⁷² *De ordine*, tomus I, liber I. (Aldrovandi)

⁶⁷³ *Rusticus* 392-399.

profugit, seseque occultat pudore suffusus, risum spectatoribus movens. Ita apud Theocritum⁶⁷⁴ {Amyntas} <Amicus> Pollucem ad certamen provocans. Tuus, inquit, ego, tu meus (nimirum victus) vocabere, quia φοινικολόφων, id est, alitum rubricristatarum talia sunt certamina. Signum autem victi, inquit D. Augustinus⁶⁷⁵, elatas a cervice pennulas, et in voce, atque motu<, > deforme{, } totum et eo ipso naturae legibus, nescio quo<d> concinnum, et pulchrum.

Idem scribunt Plinius⁶⁷⁶, et Aelianus⁶⁷⁷: quorum {hic} <ille>: Quod si, inquit, palma contingit, statim in victoria canunt, seque ipsi principes testantur. Victus occultatur silens, aegreque servitium patitur, et plebs tamen aequae superba graditur, ardua cervice, cristis celsa. Caelumque sola volucrum {aspicit, crebro} <aspicit crebra,> in sublime caudam quoque falcata erigens. {Ille} <Hic> vero clarius: Quod si, inquit, cum altero pugnans vincatur, idcirco non canit, quod ex illa mala pugna spiritus fracti illi vocem suppriment. Cuius offensionis verecundia confusus in primam quamque latebram sese occultat. Sed si ex certamine victoriam reportavit, tum oculorum eminentia, tum cervice erecta simul et cantus contentione insolenter effertur et triumphantis similis est.

Hallucinatur igitur alibi Aristophanis interpres, quando a Gallo victo victorem insectari scribit. Fugere autem victum ipsum Aristophanem minime latuisse, ex proverbiali istoc, quod alibi⁶⁷⁸ protulit, dicto, est manifestum Πτήσσει⁶⁷⁹ Φρύνιχος ὡσπερ ἄλεκτωρ, id est, horret Phrynichus sicut Gallus. Fuit autem hic Phrynichus⁶⁸⁰ Melanthae filius,

flees very disheartened and suppliant, and hides himself filled with shame, arousing the laughter of the observers. Thus in Theocritus*, Amycus*, when challenging Pollux* to a contest, says: *I shall be called yours, you shall be called mine* (victim, of course), *because such are the contests of the phoinikolóphon, that is, of red-combed birds*. St. Augustine says: *The signal of the conquered are the ruffled feathers of the neck, and in the voice and in the moving manner, a total deformation, and just because of this, according to the laws of nature, something of graceful and beautiful is lying*.

Pliny and Aelian* say the same thing: the former writes: *But if the palm of victory falls to them, they immediately sing as triumphant, immediately proclaim themselves as sovereigns. That who has been defeated hides in silence and reluctantly suffers the subjugation, however even the common flock, equally proud, walks with head held high, with erect comb. And the rooster is the only bird looking often at the sky, rising upwards also the sickle shaped tail*. But the latter says more clearly: *But if he has been beaten in combat with another, he does not sing because the broken pride by that bad fight makes him lose his voice. Troubled by the shame of such a setback he hides himself in the first hole coming within range. But if from the combat he achieved the victory, both by the prominence of the eyes and by holding the neck upright along with a crowing doggedness he haughty boasts and becomes similar to a triumphant*.

The interpreter of Aristophanes* therefore goes astray elsewhere when writes that the conqueror is chased by the defeated rooster. That Aristophanes was not in the dark about the fact that the defeated flees is clear from this proverbial saying he quoted in a work *Ptēosei Phrynichos hōsper alēktor*, that is, *Phrynichus quakes like a rooster*. Well, this

⁶⁷⁴ Idilli XXII 71-72: <Ἄμ.> σὸς μὲν ἐγὼ, σὺ δ' ἐμὸς κεκλήσῃαι, αἶ κε κτατήσω. <Πολ.> ὀρνίθων φοινικολόφων τοιοῦδε κυδοιμοί.

⁶⁷⁵ Loco citato. (Aldrovandi) - Cioè, *De ordine*, tomus I, liber I.

⁶⁷⁶ *Naturalis historia* X,47: Quod si palma contingit, statim in victoria canunt seque ipsi principes testantur; victus occultatur silens aegreque servitium patitur. Et plebs tamen aequae superba graditur ardua cervice, cristis celsa, caelumque sola volucrum aspicit crebra, in sublime caudam quoque falcata erigens.

⁶⁷⁷ *La natura degli animali* IV, 29: Un gallo sconfitto in un combattimento che lo oppone a un altro gallo non potrebbe più cantare; si sentirebbe troppo abbattuto nello spirito e andrebbe a nascondersi per la vergogna. Se invece vince, diventa spavaldo, rizza il collo e si dà le arie di un trionfatore. (traduzione di Francesco Maspero)

⁶⁷⁸ *Le vespe*, 1490. (Lind, 1963)

⁶⁷⁹ Questo verbo - πτήσσω - viene riportato da Gessner nel suo *Lexicon graecolatium* (1537), ma è assente nei dizionari correnti dove al suo posto - nel senso di rintanarsi, farsi piccolo per la paura o sbigottito o preso da terrore - troviamo πτήσσω derivato da πέτομαι = io volo. Da notare che πτήσις anche nel lessico di Gessner significa il volo.

⁶⁸⁰ Se ne parlerà anche a pagina 273. - Vedi Eliano *Variae historiae* Libri XIII - XIII,17: PROVERBIUM, ET DE PHRYNICHOS - Vespasum examen metuit Phrynichus velut gallinaceus: proverbium convenit in eos, qui damnum patiuntur. cum enim Phrynichus tragicus Mileti captivitatem ageret, Athenienses metuentem perhorrescentemque lachrymantes eiecerunt. (*Claudii Aeliani opera quae extant omnia Graece Latineque*, Tiguri, apud Gesneros Fratres, 1556, pagina 501- Iusto Vulteio VVetterano interprete)

Atheniensis tragoediarum scriptor, quem Athenienses mille drachmis mulctarunt, quod Milesiorum excidium tragoedia complexus esset. Meminit eiusdem adagii Plutarchus⁶⁸¹, qui cum antea fuisset ferox{,} et insolens<,>⁶⁸² ex Socratis familiaritate, cuius singularem integritatem suspiciebat, coepit esse mansuetus ac modestus. Citat autem hunc senarium⁶⁸³ e quopiam poeta.

Ἐπτηξ'ἀλέκτωρ ὡς κλίνας πτερόν, id est,
Davidus refugit more Gallinaei
Cum victus alas ille submittit suas.

Usurpatur vero id adagium in male affectum, et commotum, aut etiam pavitantem. Πτήσσειν enim Graecis fugitare significat, atque expavescere. Peculialiter autem de avibus dicitur. Similiter *superatus es a Gallo quopiam*: iocus⁶⁸⁴ proverbialis dicitur in servos, qui dominos a tergo sequuntur, supplices videlicet, et abiecti, cuiusmodi nimirum solent esse Galli superati in pugna. Non tamen animositate vincuntur hae alites, sed viribus, et eleganter antiquissimus Ion poeta Tragicus⁶⁸⁵ his versibus ostendit.

Nec iam corpore, utroque, et oculo
Ictibus obtuso ille fatiscit,
 [238] *Robore sed labente gemiscit*
Et vivus servire recusat.

Phrynichus* was son of Melantha and an Athenian writer of tragedies whom the Athenians fined a thousand drachmas because he described in a tragedy - *The defeat of Miletus* - the mass slaughter of the inhabitants of Miletus*. Plutarch* mentions the same adage, because he - Alcibiades* - while formerly had been arrogant and insolent, thanks to the close friendship with Socrates* whose was admiring the singular integrity he began to be quiet and moderate. For Plutarch cites this iambic trimeter from some poet:

Ἐπτῆξ'ἀλέκτωρ ὡς κλίνας πτερόν, that is,
He flees frightened like a rooster
When, defeated, lets down its wings.

Actually this adage is used for a person who is troubled, worried, or even frightened. For *ptēssein* for Greeks means to flee as well as to withdraw frightened. It is said particularly of birds. Similarly they say *You have been defeated by some rooster* as a proverbial joke for servants following behind their masters, that is, suppliant and humble, as roosters beaten in combat are accustomed to behave. These birds are not, however, overcome by boldness of spirit but by strength, and Ion from Chios*, the very ancient tragic poet, pointed this out elegantly in these verses:

And when the body and both small eyes
have been struck by the blows, he never leaves off,
but for failing strength he groans
and he refuses to be a living slave.

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Quod postremum, etsi non usque adeo semper verum sit, nisi viribus tamen victum cedere certum est: contra fit in plerisque aliis animalibus, quorum

Although this last statement is not always true to such a degree, nevertheless it is certain that he yields only if subdued by force: the opposite

⁶⁸¹ *Life of Alcibiades** 4.3. (Lind, 1963)

⁶⁸² La posizione di una virgola può far cambiare il senso della frase. Il merito di questa correzione lo dobbiamo a Gessner. Stando alla punteggiatura di Aldrovandi, sembrerebbe che Alcibiade fosse tracotante a causa della familiarità con Socrate. Invece accadde l'opposto: dopo essere diventato intimo di Socrate, Alcibiade cominciò a moderarsi. - Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 410: Meminit huius et Plutarchus in Alcibiade, qui cum antea fuisset ferox et insolens, ex Socratis familiaritate coepit esse mansuetus ac modestus. - Lind addirittura non ha capito - dalla nota a bordo pagina di Aldrovandi - che si trattasse di Alcibiade. Secondo Lind si tratta di un uovo non meglio identificabile: "Plutarch mentioned the same adage of a man who, fierce and insolent before, became gentle and modest when, through association with Socrates, he learned to know that philosopher's singular integrity of character."

⁶⁸³ Nell'edizione degli *Adagia* di Erasmo* del 1550 (Lugduni, apud Sebastianum Gryphium) questo proverbio corrisponde a II,2,26 (Chiliadis II Centuria II - XXVI).

⁶⁸⁴ Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 410: Sumptum est ex Aristophane nisi me fallit memoria. Refertur ab {Eudemo} <Euelpide>, Erasmus. - L'errore Eudemo/Euelpide è contenuto nel proverbio IV,2,78 (Chiliadis III Centuria II - LXXVIII) degli *Adagia* di Erasmo del 1550 (Lugduni, apud Sebastianum Gryphium). - La spiegazione del misfatto di Erasmo, non emendato da Gessner, potrebbe essere assai semplice. Infatti Euelpide in greco viene abbreviato con Ἐυε. ma Erasmo potrebbe aver letto Ἐυδ., facendoci così scervellare alla ricerca di chi fosse questo fantomatico Eudemo*. Erasmo manco si ricordava chi erano i personaggi degli *Uccelli* di Aristofane! Infatti la frase si trova ai versi 70-71: Ἐυε. ἡττήθης τινὸς | ἀλεκτρούνοϋς.

⁶⁸⁵ Dovrebbe trattarsi del frammento 53.

fere semper alia aliis ante initam pugnam sua sponte cedunt.

Quod intelligens Miltiades Atheniensium imperator, cum Rex Persarum excito Asiae robore tam multa milia traiecisset in Europam, quasi ad primum clamorem oppressurus Graeciam, convocatis in {Panatheniaticum} <Panathenaicum> conventum sociis pugnantibus ostendit has alites, ut Philo Iudaeus scriptum reliquit⁶⁸⁶, ratus hoc spectaculum maiorem vim habiturum, ad promovendum eorum animos, quam orationem. Nec eum fefellit sua opinio. Spectata enim, inquit Philo, in brutis patientia, pertinacique contentione usque ad necem pugnantibus invicto pectore, correptis armis eam expeditionem susceperunt, quasi bellaturi cum ingenti strage hostium, contemptis mortibus, et vulneribus, ut saltem insepelirentur libero solo patriae. Nihil enim ad rem gnaviter gerendam excitat, ac deteriorum victoria maior, quam sperari poterat. Tradit item Diogenes Laërtius⁶⁸⁷, Socratem Iphicrati duci animos adiecisse, cum ei ostendisset Gallos Gallinaceos tonsoris Midiae adversus eos, qui erant Calliae, pennis, ac rostro dimicantes. Quam utilitatem agnovit et Chrysippus⁶⁸⁸, dum Gallorum aemulatione injici nobis ad fortitudinem stimulos, et subijci calcaria prodidit.

happens in the best part of other animals, some of whose spontaneously submit to others before the combat began.

Aware of this, Miltiades*, strategist of Athenians, since after the king of Persians - Darius 1st* - aroused the Asian strength and ferried to Europe so many thousand of men as if he were about to subjugate the Greece at the first shout of war, having called his allies together in the panathenaic* meeting showed them these birds in combat, as Philo Iudaeus - Philo of Alexandria* - related in his writings, being Miltiades persuaded that this sight would have more power to stir up their spirits than an oration. Nor did he fail in his expectation. When they observed the endurance of the animals, says Philo, and their stubborn fighting up to cause the death of opponents with invincible spirit, they took up arms and undertook that expedition with intent to fight at the cost of a great overthrow of enemies, scorning death and wounds if only they might find burial in the free soil of their fatherland. For nothing stirs one to a zealous undertaking, and the victory of those who are inferior is greater than it should be hoped. Diogenes Laertius* likewise reports that Socrates* filled the strategist Iphicrates* with courage when he showed him the cocks of the barber Midias, fighting with feathers and beak against those of Callias*. Chrysippus* also recognized their utility,

⁶⁸⁶ L'opera di Filone alla quale si riferisce Aldrovandi è intitolata *Περὶ τοῦ πάντα σπουδαῖον εἶναι ἐλεύθερον* - *Quod omnis probus liber sit* - *Ogni uomo onesto è libero* - *Every good man is free* - *A treatise to prove that every man who is virtuous is also free* come è stata intitolata da Charles Duke Yonge (1812-1891) del quale si riporta il passo tradotto in inglese dal greco: XIX. (131) And moreover any one who considers the matter may find even among the brute beasts examples of the freedom which exists among men, as he may of all other human blessings. At all events, cocks are accustomed to contend with one another, and to display such an actual affection for danger, that in order to save themselves from yielding or submitting, even if they are inferior in power to their adversary they will not bear to be inferior in courage, for they endure even to death. (132) And Miltiades, the famous general of the Athenians, seeing this, when the king of the Persians having roused up all the might of Asia, was invading Europe with many myriads of soldiers, as if he were going to destroy all Greece with the mere shout of his army, having collected all the allies at the festival called the panathenaica, showed them a battle between these birds, thinking that the encouragement which they would derive from such a sight would be more powerful than any argument. (133) And he was not deceived, for when they had seen the patient enduring and honourable feeling of these irrational animals, which could not be subdued by any means short of death itself, they snatched up their arms and rushed eagerly to war, as resolving to fight against their enemies with their bodies, and being utterly indifferent to wounds and death, being willing to die for their freedom, so that at all events they might be buried in the still free soil of their native country; for there is nothing which acts so forcibly in the way of exhortation so as to improve the character, as an unhopèd-for success in the case of those whom men look upon as inferior to themselves. (134) Moreover the tragic writer, Ion, mentions the contentious spirit of those birds in the following lines: "Nor though wounded in each limb, | Nor though his eyes with blows are dim, | Will he forget his might; | But still, though much fatigued, will crow, | Preferring death to undergo | Than slavery, or slight." - Conrad Gessner trattando del gallo in *Historia animalium III* (1555) non fa questa citazione di Filone. È assai verosimile che Gessner non avesse a disposizione l'opera filosofica di Filone in quanto la prima edizione in stampa del testo greco apparve a Parigi nel 1552 grazie all'editore A. Tournèbe.

⁶⁸⁷ *Le vite, le opinioni, gli apoftegmi dei filosofi celebri*, II, Socrate, 12: He also inspired Iphicrates, the general, with courage, by showing him the gamecocks of Midias the barber, pluming themselves against those of Callias;[...] (translated by C.D. Yonge - <http://classicpersuasion.org>)

⁶⁸⁸ *De Iustitia* (Aldrovandi). - *Sulla giustizia* = SVF III, 705, ap. - Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium III* (1555), pag. 407: Proditur memoriae Socratem Iphicrati duci animos adiecisse, quum ei praemonstrasset gallinaceos coram Callia pennis ac rostro dimicantes. Chrysippus etiam in libro de iustitia (ut refert Stobaeus) gallorum aemulatione injici nobis ad fortitudinem stimulos et subijci calcaria prodidit, Caelius.

Quinim<m>o fuisse apud antiquos historia docet, qui Gallos ad certamen instituerent, quos Columella⁶⁸⁹ <rixosarum> avium {lauistas} <lanistas> vocavit. Plinius⁶⁹⁰ author est Pergami Gallorum spectaculum velut gladiatorum quotannis {a}edi. Apud Tarnasaros⁶⁹¹ Indiae populos, nobiliores pugna eorum, ad quam tantummodo eos nutriunt, non oblectantur tantum, sed centum etiam aureos deponunt, quos ille, cuius Gallus in certamine superior evasit, domum victor reportat. Aiunt vero qui eas regiones peragrarunt, Gallorum eorum certamen quinque quandoque horas durare, et victum victori nisi morte cedere quam saepissime. Idem certamen colunt Iavae insulae incolae, necnon qui Pulaoan insulam habitant.

Verum nunquid id longo tempore fecerint, ut saltem verisimile est, mihi nondum cognitum est: Graecos id olim observasse tum ex allata Plinii autoritate, tum ex Aeliano⁶⁹² etiam clarum est, qui Themistoclem contra barbaros exercitum ducentem duos in itinere Gallos forte pugnantes vidisse prodit, ac imperasse, ut miles desisteret, acceptaque de hac pugna occasione, docuisse bonis, et strenuis civibus, pluris patriam, liberos, uxores, parentes, Deosque penates aestimandos, quam Gallis solam victoriae opinionem. Qua de re consule Caelium⁶⁹³. Cum igitur victor redisset, instituisse, ut quotannis

since he handed down that the incitements to be strong are inculcated in us through the emulation of the roosters, and that spurs must be lifted up.

History, nonetheless, teaches us that there were men among the ancients who trained cocks to fight, whom Columella* called trainers of fighting birds. Pliny* says that every year at Pergamum* a spectacle was organized as of gladiators. Among the Tarnasari* people of India, the nobility not only enjoy their fighting, only for which raise them, but also make available a hundred gold coins, which the man whose cock has proved stronger in combat takes home with him as winner. Actually those who traveled in those regions say that their cockfights sometimes last five hours, and very often the defeated yields to his winner only with death. The inhabitants of the island of Java* cultivate the same kind of cockfighting, as do those who dwell on the island of Pulaoan* - or Palawan.

To tell the truth, whether they did so for a long time, as it is at any rate likely, is not yet known to me: that Greeks once esteemed cockfighting is clear from the quoted evidence of Pliny, as well as from Aelian*, who relates that Themistocles*, when he led an army against the barbarians, while marching saw by chance two fighting roosters, and he ordered the army to stop and took the opportunity given him by this fighting to teach that by virtuous and diligent citizens must be esteemed fatherland, children, wives, parents, and household gods more highly than by cocks is

⁶⁸⁹ *De re rustica* VIII,2,5: Nobis nostrum vernaculum maxime placet, omisso tamen illo studio Graecorum, qui ferocissimum quemque alitem certaminibus et pugnae praeparabant. Nos enim censemus instituere vectigal industrii patrisfamiliae, non rixosarum avium lanistae, cuius plerumque totum patrimonium, pignus aleae, victor gallinaceus pyctes abstulit.

⁶⁹⁰ *Naturalis historia* X,50: Pergami omnibus annis spectaculum gallorum publice editur ceu gladiatorum.

⁶⁹¹ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 387: Circa Tarnasari urbem Indiae gallinaceos procerissimos videre memini: ex quorum sane acerrimis conflictibus summam voluptatem cepi. nam quotidie huic ludo per medios vicus Mahumetanorum animi causa opera dabatur, mirumque est Mahumetanorum pro hac re certamen. habent privi privos gallos gallinaceos, eosque committunt aliis, expositis quandoque pro alitum futura victoria utrinque aureis centenis singulo congressu. Conspicati sumus senis horis concertantes alites, nec prius illae modum proelio faciebant, quam occubuissent, Ludovicus Romanus. [Lodovico de Varthema*]

⁶⁹² *Storia varia* libro II. - Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 387: Contra Barbaros cum Themistocles exercitum duceret, et gallos non ignaviter pugnantes animadvertisset, exercitum confirmavit, his verbis ad milites usus: At hi neque pro patria, neque pro penatibus, neque pro sepulchris maiorum, atque libertate, neque pro pueris mala sustinent: sed ut ne vincantur, neuter cedit alteri. Quae cum dixisset, Atheniensibus animum auxit. Itaque id factum, quod eis fuisset significatio (incitamentum) ad virtutem, ad similitum factorum monumentum servari voluerunt, Gillius ex Aeliani lib. 2. Variorum.

⁶⁹³ *Lectionum Antiquarum libri* xx, liber 17, caput 32. (Aldrovandi) - Eliano *Variae historiae* Libri XIII - II,28: UNDE CERTAMEN GALLORUM GALLINACEORUM INITIUM TRAXERIT - Post devictos Persas, Athenienses lege posuerunt, ut galli gallinacei quotannis uno die certamen in theatro inirent. Unde vero sumpserit occasionem haec lex, planum faciam. Cum Themistocles civicum exercitum adversus barbaros educeret, gallos gallinaceos vidit pugnantes: neque ille spectatorem sese oscitantem eius pugnae praebuit. Sed totum exercitum cohibens, inquit ad ipsos: At hi neque pro patria, neque pro diis familiaribus, neque vero pro avitis heroibus periculum subeunt, neque pro gloria, neque pro libertate, neque pro liberis: sed tantum, ne alter ab altero superetur, aut alter alteri cedat. Quibus verbis Atheniensium animum confirmavit. Quod ergo tunc eis incitamentum ad virtutem extitit, voluit ad similitum rerum et factorum memoriam sempiternam consecrare. (*Claudii Aeliani opera quae extant omnia Graece Latineque*, Tiguri, apud Gesneros Fratres, 1556, pagina 394 - Iusto Vulteio VVetterano interprete)

Gallinaceorum pugna Athenis publice exhiberetur. Quem morem etiamnum apud Bohemos in hunc diem durare audio, ubi primores praeparare Gallos aiunt pugnae, quasi gladiatoriae, fierique sponsiones pretii non parvi, dum unusquisque pecuniae summam largam deponit, quam dominus victoris Gallinacei aufert⁶⁹⁴. Et Io. Goropius⁶⁹⁵ id Ambivaritis populis, teste Caesare, Galliae Belgicae in usu fuisse refert, magna ambitione duabus inter se certantibus factionibus, atque id cum in pagis, tum maxime in ipsa urbe, cui a Ducis sylva nomen est, (vulgo Tshertighen bos: est autem Brabantiae nobilis urbs, et regi catholico adversus Hollandos semper maximis in belli periculis fidem servans) per octo integros dies in ipsa curia Gallos ad pugnam committi, ingenti partium studio, et sollicita victoriae expectatione: in hac vero tantum exardescere, ut ipse viderit ex Gallinaceorum certamine ad equestre duellum aliquem alium provocasse, in eoque alterum virum in primis strenuum, et veteranum equitem lancea in fronte ictum occubuisse eodem fere modo, quo Henricus Rex Franciae, cui per oculi alterius cavitatem pars fractae lanceae in cerebri sedem est adacta. Legimus denique apud Gallos eiusmodi Gallinaceorum pugnantium spectacula in scholis edi: quod forte et ipsi fecerint, ut non alacriores tantum iuvenum suorum ad pugnam animos reddant, sed etiam speratae, ac optatae victoriae cupidos.

Veteres, ut Gallinacei in pugna facilius adversus hostes suos tutarentur, stimulis ferreis aeneisque, quos Sipontinus plectra dici asserit, illos armabant: unde etiamnum extat adagium αἶρε πλῆκτρον ἀμυντήριον, id est *tolle calcar ultorium*: in eum nimirum, qui iam ultionem parat: sumptum autem est adagium ex Aristophane⁶⁹⁶, cum ait: αἶρε πλῆκτρον εἰ μάχη, hoc est *tolle calcar, si pugnas*.

esteemed the only renown coming from the victory. Consult Caelio Calcagnini* on this matter. So, when he went back as victor decreed yearly a cockfight to be held in public at Athens. I hear that this custom continues even now among Bohemians*, where, they say, the nobility prepare cocks for as it were a gladiatorial combat, and large bets are made since each man places at disposal a large sum of money which the master of the winner cock bears away with him. And Ioannes Goropius - Jan van Gorp* - reports that this practice, according to Caesar*, was in use among the Ambivariti* people of Belgic Gaul, since two factions were vying each other because of a great ambition, both in the villages and especially in the city itself whose name comes from the forest of their ruler, (commonly called 's-Hertogenbosch*: for it is a renowned city of Brabant*, and which always preserves its faith to the Catholic king against the Dutch, despite the greatest perils of war) and for eight entire days in the curia* itself the cocks were set to fight each other amid huge enthusiasm of opponents and anxious expectation of victory: and during the expectation their spirits burnt up so greatly that Jan van Gorp himself saw that because of the cockfight somebody else challenged another to a duel on horseback, and in this duel either man, a very valiant and skilled horseman, fell hit with a lance in the face, almost in the same way as Henry 2nd* king of France, who died when a portion of a broken lance was driven through one of his eye sockets into his brain. We read finally that such fighting cocks' spectacles were organized among Gauls* in the schools: perhaps they did so not only in order to make their young people more ready-spirited for a fight, but also desirous of a hoped- and longed-for victory.

In order that roosters protect themselves more easily against their adversaries, the ancients armed them with iron and bronze spurs, and Sipontinus - Nicolò Perotto* - affirms they were called *plectra* - plucks: hence even now exists the adage *αἶρε πλῆκτρον ἀμυντήριον*, that is, *Put on the avenging spur*: obviously addressed to the man who already is preparing a vengeance: but the saying is drawn from Aristophanes*, when he says: *αἶρε πλῆκτρον εἰ*

⁶⁹⁴ Filippo Beroaldo il Vecchio*. Il dato si può desumere da Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 387: Avium lanistae a Columella dicuntur, qui gallinas (gallos) parant, instruuntque ad certamen. qui mos hodieque durat apud Boëmos: ubi primores praeparant gallos gallinaceos pugnae quasi gladiatoriae, fiuntque sponsiones pretii non parvi, dum unusquisque pecuniam largam deponit, quam aufert dominus victoris gallinacei, Beroaldus.

⁶⁹⁵ *Origines Antverpianae, sive, Cimmericorum Becceslana, Novem Libros Complexa - Gothodanica* liber VII.

⁶⁹⁶ *Gli uccelli*, 759.

Iucundum vero, inquit Caelius⁶⁹⁷, quod observatum hac parte non reticebimus, Gallinaceis mox compugnaturis allium in cibis obijci solitum, quo acrius decertarent, ex quo facetissime in veteri {comediae} <comoedia>⁶⁹⁸ ἔσκοροδισμένος, id est, allio pastus, quod scorodon vocant, pro vehementi, ac nimis in pugnam proclivi quandoque dicitur. Eodem modo proficiscentes, iique qui bella, et castra sequuntur, allium gustant quod eos agiles reddat, vires addat, et animum acuat. Exhibetur etiam equis una cum pane, et vino, ut ad praelium euntes facilius labores futuros sustineant, ferocioresque fiant.

máchē, that is, *Put on the spur if you fight*.

But at this point we shall not keep silent about a funny observed fact. Celio Calcagnini says:, that is, when cocks were about to fight they were usually given garlic in their food so that will fight harder. Hence in a very funny way sometimes in ancient Greek comedy they say *eskorodisménos*, that is, fed with garlic, which they call *skórodon*, to mean a person vehement and too much prone to clash. In the same way, those who are about to set out and those going to warfare and camps eat garlic because it makes them nimble, energizes and sharpens their mind. It is also given to horses with bread and wine, so that when they go to battle may sustain more easily their future efforts and become more impetuous.

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[239] Plinius⁶⁹⁹ item Gallinaceos pugnaciores reddi author est, si in cibum eorum {politricum} <polytrichon>, {et} <vel> trichomanes adda {n}tur. Idem praestare aiunt adiantum⁷⁰⁰: quod Io. Baptista Porta ideo fieri putat, quia haec herba Galli cristam quodammodo aemuletur.

Likewise Pliny* says roosters become more pugnacious if maidenhair fern* either false maidenhair fern is added to their food. They say maidenhair fern achieves the same effect. Giambattista Della Porta* thinks this happens because of this, because this herb somehow imitates the rooster's comb.

⁶⁹⁷ *Lectioinum Antiquarum libri xx*, liber 16, caput 13. (Aldrovandi)

⁶⁹⁸ La tortuosità di Aldrovandi è impareggiabile! Se ne sovrverte il testo basandoci sulla linearità di quello di Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 386: Gallinaceis mox compugnaturis allium in cibis obijcere solebant, quo acrius decertarent. Ex quo facetissime in veteri comoedia, *eskorodisménos*, id est allio pastus, pro vehementi ac nimis in pugnam proclivi dicitur quandoque, Caelius.

⁶⁹⁹ Dioscoride* parla non di pernici, ma di quaglie e galli che diventano più combattivi, solo quando tratta dell'Adiantum (IV,131) corrispondente al nostro Capelvenere (*Adiantum capillus-veneris*) e non a proposito del Trichomanes. Si veda il testo e l'iconografia di Mattioli* alla voce capelvenere*. Se non bastasse, è la foglia del capelvenere che ricorda la cresta del gallo, come giustamente rimarcato da Giambattista Della Porta. - Plinio *Naturalis historia* XXII,62-65: [62] Aliud adianto miraculum: aestate viret, bruma non marcescit, aquas respuit, perfusum mersumve sicco simile est — tanta dissociatio deprehenditur —, unde et nomen a Graecis alioqui frutici topiario. Quidam callitrichon vocant, alii polytrichon, utrumque ab effectu. Tinguunt enim capillum et ad hoc decoquitur in vino cum semine apii adiecto oleo copioso, ut crispum densumque faciat; et defluere autem prohibet. [63] Duo genera eius: candidius et nigrum breviusque. Id, quod maius est, polytrichon, aliqui trichomanes vocant. Utrique ramuli nigro colore nitent, foliis felicis, ex quibus inferiora aspera ac fusca sunt, omnia autem contrariis pediculis, densa ex adverso inter se, radix mula. Umbrosas petras parietumque aspergines ac fontium maxime specus sequitur et saxa manantia, quod miremur, cum aquas non sentiat. [64] Calculos e corpore mire pellit frangitque, utique nigrum, qua de causa potius quam quod in saxis nasceretur a nostris saxifragum appellatum crediderim. Bibitur e vino quantum terni decerpere digiti. Urinam cient, serpentium et araneorum venenis resistunt, in vino decocti alvum sistunt. Capitis dolores corona ex his sedat. contra scolopendrae morsus inlinuntur, crebro auferendi, ne perurant; hoc et in alopeciis. strumas discutiunt furfuresque in facie et capitis manantia ulcera. [65] Decoctum ex his prodest suspiriosis et iocineri et lieni et felle subfusus et hydropicis. Stranguriae inlinuntur et renibus cum absinthio. Secundas cient et menstrua. sanguinem sistunt ex aceto aut rubi suco poti. infantes quoque exulcerati perunguntur ex iis cum rosaceo et vino. — (Virus folii in urina pueri inpubis tritum quidem cum aphronitro et inlitum ventri mulierum, ne rugosus fiat, praestare dicitur.) — Perdices et gallinaceos pugnaciores fieri putant in cibum eorum additis, pecorique esse utilissimos. - XXVII,138: Trichomanes adianto simile est, exilius modo nigriusque, foliis lenticulae, densis, parvis, adversis inter se. decoctum eius strangurias sanat in vino albo potum addito cumino rustico, lienem. Cohibet capillos fluentes aut, si effluerint, reparat alopeciasque densat tritum in oleo et inlitum. Sternumenta quoque gustatu movet.

⁷⁰⁰ Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 386: Perdices et gallinaceos (Gallos et coturnices, Diosco.) pugnaciores fieri putant, in cibum eorum additis adianti ramulis, Plinius.

Caeterum inter Gallos alii aliis praeferebantur. Laudabantur autem in primis, teste Plinio⁷⁰¹ Rhodii, et Tanagraei: secundo Melici (Lego Medici) et Chalcidici. *Iam ex his, inquit, <quidam> ad bella tantum, et praelia assidua nascuntur, quibus etiam patrias nobilitarunt Rhodum, {ac} <aut> Tanagram. Secundus est honos habitus Melicis, ac Chalcidicis, ut plane dignae aliti tantum honoris {praebeat} <perhibeat>*⁷⁰² *Romana purpura.* Hinc facile hunc Suidae⁷⁰³ locum restituas: ἀλεκτρούνα ἀθλητήν ταναγραῖον, hoc est *Gallinaceum athletam Tanagraeum.* Deest enim copulativa coniunctio⁷⁰⁴, quae et alibi apud eundem habetur: Ἀλεκτρούνα καὶ ἀθλητήν ταναγραῖον, ubi eam proverbialiter {hoc} <hic> accipi scribit: sive Gallinaceum Tanagraeum, sive athl{a}etam Tanagraeum dicas, animosum et strenuum intelligas: elegantius vero fuerit, si hominem, et athl{a}etam pugnacem, ac fortem Gallinaceum Tanagraeum cognomines: quam si athletam Tanagraeum simpliciter. Non enim athletas a Tanagra laudatos legere memini, sed Gallos tantum⁷⁰⁵.

Iam vero ex his, quae dicta sunt, cuivis satis liquido constare arbitror, Gallinaceos Gallos non solum pugnacissimas alites esse, et a servitio, iugoque abhorrere, sed ab antiquis, et a multis nostro aevo ob id in summo honore habitos; adeo ut olim Plato⁷⁰⁶ illorum stoliditatem ridens, sese amicam bonum potius, quam Gallum ἄριστον, id est optimum, seu pugnacissimum malle dixerit. Contra Pallas huiusce bellicosissimi alitis imaginem, ut testatur Pausanias⁷⁰⁷, in casside {suo} <sua> pictam tulit, et

On the other hand among roosters some were preferred to others. For, according to Pliny, were first praised the Rhodian* and Tanagra* cocks; next the Melian (I read Median*) and Chalcidian* ones. *Among these, he says, some are born only for incessant wrestling and fighting, thanks to which they also made renowned their native lands, Rhodes or Tanagra. Median and Chalcidian ones have been given the second place, so that purple-clad Romans bestow so great a honor on a bird which quite deserves it.* Hence you may easily repair this passage of Suidas* lexicon: *alektryóna athlētēn tanagraíon*, that is, *The rooster athlete of Tanagra.* For the copulative conjunction is missing here, which also elsewhere is maintained: *Alektryóna kaí athlētēn tanagraíon* - *The rooster and the Tanagra athlete* - where it writes that this conjunction is used in this case proverbially: both saying Tanagra's rooster and Tanagra's athlete, and you would mean brave and valiant: but it would be more elegant if you call as Tanagra rooster a man as well as a pugnacious and strong athlete than if you simply call him as Tanagra athlete. For I do not recall to have read that athletes from Tanagra were praised, but only the roosters.

Well, from the words I said, I think that it could unequivocally turn out to anyone that roosters are not only very pugnacious birds abhorring slavery and yoke, but that because of this by ancients and by many people of our own time they are held in the highest esteem; to such an extent that once Plato*, making fun of their stupidity, said he preferred to be a good friend rather than an *áriston* rooster, that is excellent, or very pugnacious. On the contrary the Pallas Athena*, according to

⁷⁰¹ *Naturalis historia* X,48: Iam ex his quidam ad bella tantum et proelia assidua nascuntur - quibus etiam patrias nobilitarunt, Rhodum aut Tanagram; secundus est honos habitus Melicis et Chalcidicis -, ut plane dignae aliti tantum honoris perhibeat Romana purpura.

⁷⁰² *Praebeat* invece di *perhibeat* viene da Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 381: Secundus est honos habitus Melicis et Chalcidicis, ut plane dignae aliti tantum honoris {praebeat} <perhibeat> Romana purpura, Plinius.

⁷⁰³ Il testo completo del lessico Suida alla voce *Alektryóna* è il seguente: Ἀλεκτρούνα ἀθλητήν ταναγραῖον. ἄδονται δὲ εὐγενεῖς οὗτοι.

⁷⁰⁴ Il lessico Suida ha Ἀλεκτρούνα ἀθλητήν ταναγραῖον senza καὶ. Gottfried Bernhardy (1834) propose καὶ ἀθλητήν.

⁷⁰⁵ Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 410: Ἀλεκτρούνα ἀθλητήν Ταναγραῖον. Celebrantur enim isti a generositate, Suidas. Sed magis probo copulativam coniunctionem interseri, ut alibi apud eundem habetur, Ἀλεκτρούνα καὶ ἀθλητήν Ταναγραῖον, ubi etiam proverbialiter usurpari scribit. Ut sive gallinaceum Tanagraeum, sive athletam Tanagraeum dicas, animosum et strenuum intelligas. Elegantius autem fuerit, si hominem et athletam pugnacem ac fortem, gallinaceum Tanagraeum cognomines: quam si athletam Tanagraeum simpliciter. Non enim athletas a Tanagra laudatos legere memini, sed gallos tantum.

⁷⁰⁶ *Lysis* 211e. (Lind, 1963)

⁷⁰⁷ *Periegesi della Grecia* VI, Elide II, 26,3: On the Acropolis of the Eleans is a sanctuary of Athena. The image is of ivory and gold. They say that the goddess is the work of Pheidias. On her helmet is an image of a cock, this bird being very ready to fight. The bird might also be considered as sacred to Athena the worker. (*Description of Greece with an English Translation* by W.H.S. Jones, London, William Heinemann Ltd., 1918) - Aldrovandi ne riparla a pagina 304.

Mars sibi sacrum voluit, adeo ut utri{m}que bellorum Deo gratum fuisse videamus, atque hinc forte Aristophanes⁷⁰⁸ aves hominibus, Persis vero in primis imperasse per iocum scripsit: ait autem.

Quod autem non Dei igitur hominibus imperarunt antiquitus,

Sed aves et regnabant: multa sunt signa horum:

Statim autem vobis primum ostendam Gallum quod regnabat

Imperabatque Persis primum omnibus, Dario, et

{Megabizo⁷⁰⁹} <Megabazo>:

*Quare vocatur {Persicus} <Persica> avis a dominatione
adhuc illa.*

Sed verisimilius fuerit primum Persarum regem Gallum fuisse dictum, ut in aequivocis⁷¹⁰ diximus.

Aristoteles⁷¹¹ fortitudinis huius volucris causam in duras eius pennas reijcit: quasi vero non aliae darentur aves durioribus pennis, quae tamen haud aequae fortes sint. {Rases} <Rasis>, penes quem eius rei fides esto, {vinciturum} <victurum> pollicetur causam contra adversarium, si calcar Galli de crure dextro tecum feras: et Kiranides fabulosissimus scriptor cristam capitis Galli cum grano thuris, et paucis cornu cervi timorem omnem nocturnum, si gestatur, omnemque occursum malum auferre: hominemque gestantem intrepidum reddere: quasi eiusmodi arma, quibus Gallus maxime superbit, crista nempe, et calcar ad hominibus animum addendum polleant: quod cum non negaverim, minime tamen affirmaverim, nihil scilicet certi inde habens. Atque haec de Galli pugnacitate dicta sufficiant.

Pausanias*, carried the painted image of this very warlike bird in her helmet, and Mars* wished it to be sacred to him, so that we may see it was dear to both gods of wars, and hence, perhaps, Aristophanes* wrote in jest that the birds ruled over men, but first over the Persians: for he says:

*But therefore in ancient times the gods did not rule men
but also birds did rule: there are many proofs about the
latter ones:*

*at once, I shall point out firstly the rooster since he ruled
and as first dominated over all Persians, over Darius* and
Megabazus*:*

*whence he is still called Persian bird starting from that
hegemony.*

But it is more likely that the first king of Persians was called Rooster, as I said under the heading *Ambiguities*.

Aristotle* attributes the cause of the strength of this bird to its hard feathers, as if there were not other birds with harder feathers which nevertheless are not equally strong. Razi*, in whom we must believe in this matter, promises that you will win your case against an adversary if you carry with you the spur from the right foot of a rooster: and Kiranides*, a writer with a very lively imagination, says that the comb of a rooster's head with a grain of incense* and a bit of deer horn, if carried about with one, drives away every night-time fear and every bad encounter: and makes intrepid the man who carries it, as if such arms in which the rooster takes especial pride, that is, comb and spur, are powerful to imbue humans with courage. Although I should not deny this, I should nevertheless by no means assert that it is true, since evidently thence no certainty can be drawn. And let these words we said about the pugnacity of the rooster to be enough.

SYMPATHIA. ANTIPATHIA.

SYMPATHY - ANTIPATHY

⁷⁰⁸ *Gli uccelli* 481-85. (Lind, 1963)

⁷⁰⁹ La notizia che un certo *Alektryon* fu tiranno dei Persiani prima di tutti, anche di Dario e di Megabazo - e non di Megabizo* -, viene dalla commedia di Aristofane *Gli uccelli*, 483. L'errore è già stato segnalato a pagina 184* dove *Megabazus* viene riportato come *Megabyzus*, anziché *Megabizus* come in questo punto. È probabile che Aldrovandi abbia dedotto l'errore dal testo di Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 404: Alectryon olim tyrannidem gessit, et Persis primus imperavit, etiam ante Darium et Megabyzum: unde etiamnum ab illo imperio Persica avis appellatur, Pisthetaerus apud Aristoph. in Avibus. - A sua volta Gessner potrebbe aver dedotto l'errore da qualche testo come quello di Aldo Manuzio* del 1498 che riporta: *πρῶτον πάντων δαρείου καὶ μεγαβύζου*. In *Aves* 481 sgg. si dice semplicemente che in origine gli uccelli regnavano sugli uomini, e Pistetero mostrerà immediatamente il gallo (*tὸν alektryóna*), come regnava sui Persiani, prima di tutti i Dari e i Megabazi, cosicché il gallo è chiamato "uccello persiano".

⁷¹⁰ A pagina 184.

⁷¹¹ Aristotele in *Physionomia* (Aldrovandi) - Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 381: Quaecunque aves pennas duras habent, fortes sunt, ut coturnices, galli, Aristot. in Physiognom. - Pseudo Aristotele *Fisiognomica* 806b: È possibile osservare questo stesso anche tra gli uccelli, giacché in generale quanti hanno la ali dure sono coraggiosi, quanti le hanno morbide, pavidì e in particolare è possibile osservare questo stesso anche tra le quaglie e i galli. (traduzione di Giampiera Raina, BUR, 1993).

Videtur quidem occulta quaedam sympathiae, seu amicitiae vis, potentiaque subesse, quod aves cicures⁷¹², et domesticae tam audacter equos, asinos, boves, atque id genus iumenta alia contemnant, ac si cum mansuefactis elephantis simul alantur, non modo eos non pertimescant, verum per eos etiam ipsos gradientur, et Gallinacei eorundem dorso insidere audeant. Cavendum tamen Gallinas alentibus, ne ad boum praes<a>epia perrepant, maxime Gallinacei. Nam hoc quod decidit immistum pabulo, teste Columella⁷¹³, necem bubus affert.

Gallinis item cum Pavonibus, Anatibus, Anseribus, et Columbibus mutua intercedit benevolentia: maior vero Gallo cum Porphyryone, si Aeliano⁷¹⁴ credimus, qui Gallum in eodem cum Porphyryone versantem domicilio, tam insolenti miroque amore illi coniunctum fuisse ex inspectione testatur, adeo ut tandem Gallo propter epulas occiso, Porphyrio victore suo privatus, tantum doloris animo conceperit, ut postmodum non amplius cibum ceperit, sed inedia potius sibi mortem accelerare, quam post supervivere maluerit. Sed huius quoque abstrusa videtur, ac occulta ratio, cur deficiente apibus cibo, si ad fores earum crudas Gallinarum carnes, et uvas passas posueris, inedia non sint periturae: quod in sc<h>edulis meis notatum reperio, sed ex quo auctore non memini: et an verum sit, haud scio: curiosus quispiam experiri poterit.

Actually, it seems there is a certain hidden force and influence of sympathy or friendship, since domesticated and domestic birds so boldly do not take into account horses, donkeys and oxen, and other beasts of burden of this kind, and if raised along with tamed elephants, they not only do not fear them but also walk among them, and gallinaceous birds dare to stand upon their backs. Nevertheless, those who raise hens should be careful to keep them, especially the roosters, from creeping into the cattle sheds. For the excrements mixed with fodder, according to Columella*, bring death to oxen.

Likewise there is a mutual affection between hens and peacocks, ducks, geese and pigeons: in fact it is greater between the rooster and the purple swamp hen - or purple gallinule, *Porphyrio porphyrio porphyrio** - if we believe Aelian, who affirms from his own observation that a rooster, who lived in the same house along with a purple swamp hen, was joined to it by such unusual and outstanding love that when finally the rooster was killed because of a banquet, the purple swamp hen, deprived of its companion, formed in its mind such a great grief that from that moment no longer ate and preferred to hasten its own death by starvation rather than survive any more. But there is a deep and hidden reason for this also, that is, why when food for bees is lacking, if you place raw hens' flesh and raisins at their beehive door, they will not die of starvation: I find this written down in my slips of paper, but I do not remember from what author: and I do not know whether it is true or not: whoever is curious will

⁷¹² Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 385: Aves cicures et domesticae audacter contemnunt equos, asinos, boves: ac si cum mansuefactis elephantis alantur, non modo eos non timent, verum per eos etiam ipsos gradiuntur. Et gallinacei ut in eorundem dorsis considerare audent: sic magnum eis metum mustela vel praeteriens injicit. et qui vocem vel mugientium vel rudentium praecclare contemnunt, illius clamorem vehementer horrent, Idem. [Aelianus] - Eliano, *La natura degli animali* V,50: È senza dubbio possibile anche attraverso queste altre osservazioni conoscere le caratteristiche degli animali. Noi vediamo ad esempio che gli uccelli domestici, allevati a contatto diretto con l'ambiente, non hanno più paura dei cavalli, degli asini, dei buoi e dei cammelli dato che si sono abituati alla loro presenza. Non temono neanche gli elefanti (se questi mostrano un'indole mite e mansueta) e addirittura si aggirano in mezzo a loro. I galli poi prendono tanta confidenza che non esitano a volare anche sulla loro schiena. Se invece una donnola corre vicino a loro, si sbigottiscono e vengono presi da un grande terrore. Non si preoccupano se odono il muggito dei bovini o il raglio degli asini, ma come sentono lo squittio della donnola tremano di paura. Non si curano minimamente delle oche, dei cigni e degli struzzi; hanno invece terrore dei falchi, anche se sono molto piccoli. I galli con il loro canto impauriscono i leoni e annientano i basilischi; però non sopportano la vista di un gatto o di un nibbio. (traduzione di Francesco Maspero)

⁷¹³ *De re rustica* VI,5,1: Nullo autem tempore et minime aestate utile est boves in cursum concitari; nam ea res aut cit alvum, aut movet febrem. Cavendum quoque est, ne ad praesepia sus aut gallina perrepat. Nam hoc quod decidit, immistum pabulo, bubus affert necem; et id praecipue, quod egerit sus aegra, pestilentiam facere valet.

⁷¹⁴ *La natura degli animali* V,28: Il pollo sultano, oltre a essere un uccello estremamente geloso, possiede questa peculiarità: dicono che è particolarmente attaccato alla propria stirpe e ama la compagnia dei suoi simili. Mi hanno raccontato che un pollo sultano e un gallo venivano allevati nella stessa casa, prendevano il pasto in comune, camminavano assieme e si stropicciavano con la stessa polvere. Si era dunque stabilito tra loro uno straordinario legame di amicizia. Un giorno, in occasione di una festa, il padrone di entrambi questi uccelli sacrificò il gallo e lo mangiò assieme ai familiari. Il pollo sultano, privato del compagno, non poté sopportare la solitudine e si lasciò morire di fame. (traduzione di Francesco Maspero)

Ut vero illud incertum est, ita hoc cum pueris, tum [240] senibus, et ut dici solet, lippis, et tonsoribus notum⁷¹⁵, et quotidie observatum, nimirum Gallinaceum Gallum cum Sole habere sympathiam. Hunc enim ad omnes mundi angulos, festinantem, exortivum, occiduum, et meridianum voce admodum vocali, et alarum applausu congratulantis in morem, saepenumero salutatur, et resalutat. Adducant modo alii quas velint manifestas rationes. Ego hinc solare animal Gallum vocaverim, uti alii⁷¹⁶ etiam Leonem ferarum generosissimum, qui non caetera animalia tantum, sed fortissimos quoque viros terret, quem tamen Gallus ne minimi quidem facit: at contra, illi et visus, immo auditus tantummodo pavorem incutit, etsi de eiusmodi antipathia {diversimodi} <diversimode> auctores scribant.

Albertus⁷¹⁷ enim duobus in locis hoc de Gallo albo intelligit. Sed ante ipsum item Divus Ambrosius⁷¹⁸ tradidit: *Leo*, inquit, *Gallum*, et *maxime album ver{t}etur*. Cum vero caeteri omnes, nullius coloris facta mentione, id simpliciter de Gallo tradant: itaque, quod cum venia huius sanctissimi patris dixerim, omnes Gallos a Leone timeri crediderim, si modo verum est, quod inter utrosque haec antipathia intercedat. Id enim a me non observatum est, nec ab aliquo observatum video. Sed si Plinio⁷¹⁹, Aeliano⁷²⁰, Solino⁷²¹, Lucretio⁷²², Proclo⁷²³, aliisque credimus, quemvis Gallum a Leone timeri

But, such as that statement is uncertain, likewise what follows is known to both children and old men and, as one is accustomed to say, to blear-eyed people and barbers, and is daily observed, that is, the rooster has a fellow-feeling with the sun. For he frequently greets it and greets it again at all the corners of the world when it hastens, when rises, when sinks and at midday, with a loud voice and clapping his wings as congratulating. Let others bring forward now the evident reasons they wish. I should call the rooster a solar animal for the reason given above, as others also call the lion the bravest of wild animals, who not only terrifies other animals but even the bravest of men, but whom the rooster does not hold neither in the lowest esteem: on the contrary he strikes fear into the lion when this is seeing him, or rather when just hearing him, although apropos of such an antipathy the authors are writing in different ways.

In fact Albertus* in two passages understands this apropos of white rooster. But similarly before him Saint Ambrose* reported that when saying: *The lion fears the rooster, especially a white one*. But all other writers, without making mention of whichever color, simply report that apropos of the rooster: therefore, speaking by the leave of this very holy father, in my opinion all roosters are feared by the lion, if indeed it is true that this antipathy exists between them. But I have not observed this, nor do I see that it has been observed by anyone else. But if we believe Pliny*, Aelian*, Solinus*, Lucretius*, Proclus* and others, it will come out that whatever rooster is feared by the lion. But on

⁷¹⁵ Orazio *Sermones* I 7,1-3: Proscripti Regis Rupili pus atque venenum | hybrida quo pacto sit Persius ultus, opinor | omnibus et lippis notum et tonsoribus esse.

⁷¹⁶ Plinio *Naturalis historia* X,47: Itaque terrori sunt etiam leonibus ferarum generosissimis. - VIII,52: Atque hoc tale tamque saevum animal rotarum orbes circumacti currusque inanes et gallinaceorum cristae cantusque etiam magis terrent, sed maxime ignes.

⁷¹⁷ *De animalibus* 22.23. (Aldrovandi) - Conrad Gessner trae la notizia del gallo bianco temuto dal leone non da Sant'Ambrogio, ma da Razi*: Leonem dicunt gallum album fugere, Rasis 8.8. (*Historia Animalium* III - 1555 -, pag. 385)

⁷¹⁸ *Hexaemeron* liber 6. (Aldrovandi)

⁷¹⁹ *Naturalis historia* X,47: Itaque terrori sunt etiam leonibus ferarum generosissimis. - VIII,52: Atque hoc tale tamque saevum animal rotarum orbes circumacti currusque inanes et gallinaceorum cristae cantusque etiam magis terrent, sed maxime ignes.

⁷²⁰ *La natura degli animali* III,31: Il leone ha paura del gallo e dicono che anche il basilisco lo teme e che quando lo vede comincia a tremare; se poi lo sente cantare, viene preso da convulsioni e muore. È per questo motivo che coloro che viaggiano per la Libia, terra nutrice di tali mostri, per paura del basilisco si portano appresso come compagno di viaggio un gallo, perché li protegga contro un così grande malanno. (traduzione di Francesco Maspero)

⁷²¹ *Collectanea rerum memorabilium* XXVIII: Cantus gallinaceorum et rotarum timent strepitus, sed ignes magis.

⁷²² *De rerum natura* IV, 710-721: Quin etiam gallum noctem explaudentibus alis|auroram clara consuetum voce vocare,|noenu queunt rapidi contra constare leones|inque tueri: ita continuo meminere fugai.|Ni mirum quia sunt gallorum in corpore quaedam|semina, quae cum sunt oculis inmissa leonum,|pupillas interfodiunt acremque dolorem|praebent, ut nequeant contra durare feroces,|cum tamen haec nostras acies nil laedere possint,|aut quia non penetrant aut quod penetrantibus illis|exitus ex oculis liber datur, in remorando|laedere ne possint ex ulla lumina parte.

⁷²³ *De sacrificio et magia*.(Aldrovandi)

constabit. At hi rursus causam huius odii non uno modo tradunt. Plinius bis disertissimis verbis eius mentionem faciens, primo cristam, et cantum, secundo cristam, et falcatam caudam timeri a Leone asserit: cuius verba maioris fidei causa ascribere placuit. Inquit ergo ibi⁷²⁴: *Atque hoc tam saevum animal (Leonem) rotarum orbes circumacti, currusque inanes, et Gallinaceorum crista<e>, cantusque etiam magis terrent, sed maxime ignes: hic vero sic habet*⁷²⁵: *Quod si palma contigit statim in victoria canunt, seque ipsi principes testantur. Victus occultatur silens, aegreque servitium patitur. Et plebs tamen aequae superba graditur, ardua cervice, cristis celsa <, caelumque sola volucrum aspicit crebra, in sublime caudam quoque falcatam erigens>: itaque terrori sunt etiam Leonibus ferarum generosissimis.*

Vides igitur hic cantus nullam facere mentionem, cuius rursus Solinus⁷²⁶ tantummodo meminit, Gallinaceorum cantus timere Leonem asserens. Denique Aelianus⁷²⁷, Lucretius, et Proclus, aliique Gallinaceum simpliciter nominant. Quid ergo dicendum, statuendumque? Ego sum eius prorsus opinionis ut (si verum est, ut dixi, huiusmodi innatum odium; iam enim id praesuppono) Gallum ipsum quatenus tale animal est, a Leone pertimesci putem, nec inde id odium nasci credam, quod utrumque animal solare est, ut Proclus⁷²⁸ existimat, sed occulti quid latere in Gallo, quo Leonem fuget. Atque hanc meam opinionem, quam semper saniori doctorum virorum iudicio subijcio, ex ipsomet Plinio⁷²⁹ depromo. *Qui* < > *qui* a Leonibus, et Pantheris homines non attingi, tradit, qui iure Galli peruncti fuerint, maxime, si ei allium admisceatur. Quae quidem res innatum Leonis timorem indicat, et hanc forte semina illa vocavit Lucretius, quae Leonum oculis incussa, illos ceu caecutire,

the other hand these authors do not hand down univocally the cause of this hatred. Pliny, making mention twice of it with very meaning words, at first affirms that by the lion are feared the comb and the crowing, then the comb and the sickle shaped tail: it seemed proper to me for a greater credibility to write down his words. Well, in the first passage he says: *And this so fierce animal (the lion) is more frightened also by rims of wheels when turning around him, and by empty chariots, and by the comb of roosters and their crowing, but above all by fires.* In the second passage he says: *But if the palm of victory falls to them, they immediately sing as triumphant, immediately proclaim themselves as sovereigns. That who has been defeated hides in silence and reluctantly suffers the subjugation, however even the common flock, equally proud, walks with head held high, with erect comb, and the rooster is the only bird looking often at the sky, rising upwards also the sickle shaped tail: thus they strike terror even into lions the bravest of wild animals.*

You can see therefore that in the second passage he does not mention the crowing, of which on the contrary makes mention only Solinus when he asserts that the lion fears the crowing of the roosters. Finally Aelian, Lucretius, Proclus and others simply mention the rooster. What then must be said and affirmed? I am entirely of such an opinion (if, as I said, such an inborn hatred is true; for at this point I give it as assumption) that I think that the rooster himself being such an animal is feared by the lion, and I am inclined to believe that that hatred does not arise from the fact that both are solar animals, as Proclus thinks, but that in the rooster there is something hidden which would frighten the lion away. And I take this my opinion from Pliny himself and always I subject it to the saner judgment of learned men. He reports: *Those men are not touched by lions and panthers who have been greased with rooster juice, especially if garlic is mixed with it.* Undoubtedly this fact indicates an inborn fear of the lion, and perhaps Lucretius indicated it by those seeds which thrown into the lion's eyes make them the

⁷²⁴ *Naturalis historia* VIII,52: Atque hoc tale tamque saevum animal rotarum orbes circumacti currusque inanes et gallinaceorum cristae cantusque etiam magis terrent, sed maxime ignes.

⁷²⁵ *Naturalis historia* X,47: Quod si palma contigit, statim in victoria canunt seque ipsi principes testantur; victus occultatur silens aegreque servitium patitur. Et plebs tamen aequae superba graditur ardua cervice, cristis celsa, caelumque sola volucrum aspicit crebra, in sublime caudam quoque falcatam erigens. Itaque terrori sunt etiam leonibus ferarum generosissimis.

⁷²⁶ *Collectanea rerum memorabilium* XXVIII: Cantus gallinaceorum et rotarum timent strepitus, sed ignes magis.

⁷²⁷ *La natura degli animali* VI,22: Esiste una grande inimicizia tra il leone, da una parte, e il fuoco e il gallo dall'altra. (traduzione di Francesco Maspero).

⁷²⁸ *De sacrificio et magia*. (Aldrovandi)

⁷²⁹ *Naturalis historia* XXIX,78: Carnibus gallinaceorum ita, ut tepebunt avulsae, adpositis venena serpentium domantur, item cerebro in vino potio. Parthi gallinae malunt cerebrum plagis inponere. Ius quoque ex iis potum praeclare medetur, et in multis aliis usibus mirabile. Pantherae, leones non attingunt perunctos eo, praecipue si et alium fuerit incoctum.

timereque faciant: hic autem ita canit⁷³⁰:

*Quin etiam Gallum nocte<m> explaudentibus alis
Auroram clara consuetum voce vocare,
No<e>nu queunt rapidi contra constare Leones
Inque tueri: ita continuo meminere fugai.
Nimirum quia sunt Gallorum in corpore quaedam
Semina, quae cum {sint} <sunt> oculis immissa
Leonum
Pupillas interfodiunt acremque dolorem
Praebent, ut nequeant contra durare feroces:
Cum tamen haec nostras acies nil laedere possint:
Aut quia non penetrant, aut quod penetrantibus illis
Exitus ex oculis liber datur, in {remeando}
<remorando>
Laedere non {possunt} <possint> ex ulla lumina parte.*

Quod si vero quispiam contra allatam sententiam arguat, dicatque Leones crista maxime perterriti, idque inde constare, quod Capum non timeant: id huic minime negaverim, sed cristam primum, atque evidentissimum signum esse dixerim, quo praesens Gallum agnoscat, uti etiam cucurritus, dum longius abest. Unde is solam cristam, vel tantum duntaxat expavescere iure nequaquam concluderet. Neque etiam mirum fuerit, si et nos rem acu non tetigerimus. Etenim ipsemet Aelianus⁷³¹ causam explicare, cur scilicet Leo, et basiliscus Gallinaceum timeant, utpote abstrusam, atque abditam suam non esse tradidit: in quibus, inquiens, exquirendis etsi permulto abundant otio, plurimum temporis consumunt non tamen optatum assequuntur.

Angui quoque Gallus terrori est: et Simia Gallum odit, sed cum magno eorum, ac hominum condemnatorum detrimento, ac ignominia: nam ob eiusmodi odium cum cane omnes simul parricidarum culeo includebantur, ut nimirum Simia Gallum persequeretur, Gallum fugeret anguis, anguis in hominem penetraret, atque [241] ita vivus parricida, viva sepultura fieret: proinde hoc significans Iuvenalis alibi⁷³² canit.
Clauditur adversis {contraria} <innocia> simia fatis

same as blind and fearful: for he sings as follows:

*Or rather, even the rooster driving away the night with his wings
is accustomed to call the dawn with a ringing voice
and the vehement lions cannot stand before him
or look at: so immediately they think of flight.
Doubtless because in the body of the rooster there are
certain seeds, which, thrown into the eyes of lions
pierce the pupils and cause harsh pain,
so that they cannot put up resistance to wild animals:
but on the contrary these seeds cannot hurt our eyes at all:
either because they do not penetrate or, when they are
penetrating
a spontaneous exit occurs, and if they remain there
they cannot injure the eyes in any point.*

But if anyone should argue against the referred opinion and say that lions are especially frightened by the comb, and that this is proven from the fact that they do not fear the capon, I should by no means deny this to him, but I should say that the comb is a primary and very evident mark by which one, standing before, can recognize a rooster as well as its crowing when being rather far away. Hence such a person by no means can rightly conclude that they fear only the comb or only the crowing. For it nor would be strange if I too had not touched on a sore point. For Aelian himself reported that it was not his job to explain the reason why the lion and the basilisk* fear the rooster since it is difficult and puzzling, adding that those who investigate such matters nevertheless have at their disposal a lot of leisure, waste very much time, but don't attain the hoped-for goal.

Also for the snake the rooster is source of dread: also the monkey dislikes the rooster, with great harm and ignominy for all of them and for humans sentenced to death: for because of such a hate all of them were shut up along with the dog into the leather bag of the parricides - *cullens** - obviously so that the monkey persecuted the rooster, the snake fled the rooster, the snake penetrated into the man, and so the living parricide became a living sepulcher: hence, with this in mind, Juvenal* elsewhere sings:

⁷³⁰ *De rerum natura* IV, 712-723: Quin etiam gallum noctem explaudentibus alis|auroram clara consuetum voce vocare,|noenu queunt rapidi contra constare leones|inque tueri: ita continuo meminere fugai.|Ni mirum quia sunt gallorum in corpore quaedam|semina, quae cum sunt oculis inmissa leonum,|pupillas interfodiunt acremque dolorem|praebent, ut nequeant contra durare feroces,|cum tamen haec nostras acies nil laedere possint,|aut quia non penetrant aut quod penetrantibus illis|exitus ex oculis liber datur, in remorando|laedere ne possint ex ulla lumina parte.

⁷³¹ *La natura degli animali* VIII,28: Non è però compito mio criticare i misteriosi decreti della natura, perché per esempio il leone ha paura del gallo e lo teme anche il basilisco o perché l'elefante si spaventa se vede un maiale. Tutti coloro che consumano molti anni della vita nel ricercarne le cause, non solo disprezzano il valore del tempo, ma non arriveranno mai alla fine delle loro ricerche. (traduzione di Francesco Maspero)

⁷³² *Satira* XIII,156: clauditur adversis innocia simia fatis.

⁷³³ *Satira* VIII,213-214: cuius supplicio non debuit una parari|simia nec serpens unus nec culleus unus.

Item alibi⁷³³ rursus.

*Cuius {in exitium} <supplicio> non debuit una parari
Simia, nec serpens unus, nec culeus unus.*

The innocent monkey because of adverse fate is shut up.

Likewise again in another passage:

For his execution - of Seneca - they have been provided
neither a single monkey, nor a single snake, nor a single leather
bag.*

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Verum illud parum Gallo honoris conciliare videri possit, quod angui sit pavori, qui a leone ferarum generosissimo timebatur, nisi etiam basiliscus ipsum horreret, insigni sane immunitatis privilegio: cuius siquidem locum nulla alioquin ales impune transvolet, infectum nempe semper spiritu pestilenti: quin etiam cuius sibilum caeteri serpentes omnes perhorrescant, tantum abest, ut praesentiam eius tolerare queant. Hunc aiunt, mirabile dictu, cum Gallum videre forte contingit, animo tremere, et cum cucu<r>ientem audit, tanto terrore concuti, ut emoriatur. Quam rem non ignorantes qui per immensas Cyrenensium solitudines, quae pestem illam, et singulare in terris malum gignunt, iter faciunt, Gallum itineris comitem sibi adiungunt, qui cantu suo truculentissimam illam bestiam longe abigat: author est huius historiae Aelianus⁷³⁴.

Iam vero et Gallus suis hostibus cum apertis, tum occultis minime caret. Inter aves in primis non rapacium duntaxat hostilitatem, rapinamque metuit, sed cum Attagene, teste Aeliano⁷³⁵, graviter etiam dissidet. At maior ab unguibus tamquam generis sui praedonibus expavescentia: ideoque cum acutissima acie praeditus est, oculo uno cibum inquit, altero sursum ad aethera erecto insidiatores observat: quibus a longe conspectis, alta voce exclamitat, Gallinas suas convocans, ut si per temporis angustiam liceat, simul cum eo sese in tutum recipiant: sin illi improvisius adsint, tunc quantum potest, sese illis opponit, ac pro liberandis uxoribus,

But it could seem that what I said is bringing little honor to the rooster, since he represents a fear for the snake, he who was feared by the lion the bravest of wild animals, if also the basilisk* wouldn't be terrified by him, undoubtedly because of a singular privilege of immunity: since no bird can however safely fly over the place where it lies, which is just always imbued with its pestilential breath: so much so that all other snakes abhor its hiss to such an extent that they cannot endure its presence. Wondrous to tell, they say that when by chance it happens to see a rooster, it trembles in spirit, and when it hears him crowing is shaken by such a great dread that it dies. Being aware of this fact, those who travel through the immense lonely places of Cyrenaica*, which in their territories give birth to that pest and unrivalled monster, they add as traveling companion a rooster so that with his crowing he drives away that very threatening animal: Aelian* is the author of this tale.

Actually, also the rooster does not lack his own enemies by any means, both manifest and hidden. Among birds not only does he fear at first the hostility and abduction by birds of prey, but according to Aelian he is gravely at odds with the black francolin*. But his greater anxiety proceeds from the hook-nailed birds as being marauders of his genus. Thus, since he is endowed with very keen eye, with one eye he searches for the food and with the other turned up towards the sky he watches under miners: when he sees them from afar, shouts at the top of his voice gathering his hens together so that if short time permits they may safely hide together with him. But if rather suddenly they blow in, then as far as possible

⁷³⁴ *La natura degli animali* III,31: Il leone ha paura del gallo e dicono che anche il basilisco lo teme e che quando lo vede comincia a tremare; se poi lo sente cantare, viene preso da convulsioni e muore. È per questo motivo che coloro che viaggiano per la Libia, terra nutrice di tali mostri, per paura del basilisco si portano appresso come compagno di viaggio un gallo, perché li protegga contro un così grande malanno. (traduzione di Francesco Maspero) - Eliano parla di Libia, mentre Plinio parla di Cirenaica (che è comunque una regione della Libia), per cui verosimilmente Aldrovandi si rifà in parte all'equivalente testo della *Naturalis historia* VIII, 78-79: Eadem et basilisci serpentis est vis. Cyrenaica hunc generat provincia, duodecim non amplius digitorum magnitudine, candida in capite macula ut quodam diademate insignem. Sibilo omnes fugat serpentes nec flexu multiplici, ut reliquae, corpus inpellit, sed celsus et erectus in medio incedens. Necat frutices, non contactos modo, verum et adflatos, exurit herbas, rumpit saxa: talis vis malo est. Creditum quondam ex equo occisum hasta et per eam subeunte vi non equitem modo, sed equum quoque absumptum. Atque huic tali monstro - saepe enim enectum concupivere reges videre - mustellarum virus exitio est: adeo naturae nihil placuit esse sine pare. Inferciunt has cavernis facile cognitae soli tabe. Necant illae simul odore moriunturque, et naturae pugna conficitur. - Infatti Conrad Gessner, facendo preciso riferimento a Eliano, parla di Libia e non di Cirenaica: Basiliscus et ad visum galli contremiscit, et ad vocem convulsus moritur. Quare qui per Libyam iter faciunt, adversus hoc malum comitem itineris gallum sibi assumunt, Idem. [Aelianus] (*Historia Animalium* III - 1555 -, pag. 385)

⁷³⁵ *La natura degli animali* VI,45: I francolini odiano i galli e i galli, a loro volta, odiano i francolini. (traduzione di Francesco Maspero)

liberisque ad necem saepe usque cum eisdem dimicat, unde dicebat Politianus⁷³⁶.

Non illum squamea tuto

{*Aggreditur*} <Aggredit> *serpens non raptor ab aethere Milvus.*

Hunc etenim etsi in rapacium genere ignavissimum in primis observat, tanquam non ignoret, quod prae caeteris aliis incautiorem aliquam e suis e media corte per insidias soleat eripere: unde dicebat Aelianus⁷³⁷. *Quae leones exterret ales et basiliscos metu exanimat, milvos expavescit.*

Verum ut hoc mirum videtur, quod Gallus tam timidam volucrem horreat, cum alias si cum eo congregiendum foret, facile superaret; nam Milvus rapturus vel pullum, vel Gallinam e corte visus ante rapinam suam non impune saepe fert. Quinim<m>o ipsa Gallina ubi vel audierit tantum, aut a longe viderit hunc pullorum praedonem, eos {ocys} <ocius> sub umbra alarum suarum recipiens, et ipsa sese hosti audacter opponit rostro, alis et se, et pullos defendens, tantum abest, ut id Gallus praestare non possit, vel quadruplo Gallina robustior, sed occulta quaedam, de qua agimus antipathia est. Nam tanto odio Milvum hoc avium genus prosequitur, ut si illius caput collo Gallinaceo alligaveris, omnes celerrime arrepta fuga salutem quaerant, im<m>o quod amplius est, et mirum dictu, Gallum non amplius cantaturum aiunt, si cristam sanguine Milvini capitis inunxeris.

Non mirum itaque, si Accipitrem etiam timeant: qui tanto Gallinis praecipue terrori esse dicitur, ut audita tantummodo, dum incubant, eius voce, ova vitari credantur⁷³⁸, sed et huic etiam propter nimium pullorum amorem resistere non verentur, quod hisce versibus Oppianus⁷³⁹ ostendit.

Quanto Gallina domesticus ales

he plants himself in front of them, and in order to set free the partners and the sons he fights with them often till death, whence Poliziano* was saying: *No scaly serpent approaches him safely neither marauder kite* from sky.* For he watches especially upon the latter even though it is the lazier among the genus of birds of prey, as if he knew very well that it usually snatches away unexpectedly from the middle of the barnyard some of his partners more imprudent in comparison with all others: hence Aelian said: *That bird who terrifies lions and frightens to death basilisks, he fears kites.*

To tell the truth, it seems strange that the rooster frightens so fearful a bird, since if in other circumstances it would be necessary to fight against it, the rooster would easily overcome it; for when a kite has been caught in advance about seizing a chick or a hen out of the yard, it does not often achieves its mugging with impunity. But in fact the hen herself when has only heard or seen from afar this plunderer of chicks, gathering them quickly under the protection of her wings boldly clashes with the enemy with beak and wings, defending herself and her chicks, so that it is no wonder that the rooster can do this nevertheless he is four times stronger than the hen, but it is a matter of a certain hidden antipathy, which we are dealing with. For this genus of bird hates the kite so much that, if you tie its head to the neck of a gallinaceous, all of them very quickly seek safety in stampeding, or rather, what is more important and strange to tell, they say that a rooster will no longer sing if you smear his comb with the blood of a kite's head.

Then it is no wonder if they also fear the sparrowhawk*: this is said to be such a terror, chiefly to hens, that while they are incubating if merely hear his voice the eggs are believed to spoil, but they do not fear to keep their end up against it too, because of the great love for their chicks, as Oppian of Apamea* shows by these verses:

With how much love the hen, domestic bird,

⁷³⁶ *Rusticus* 416-417: Non illum squamea tuto | aggredit serpens non raptor ab aethere milvus. (Florentiae: XI Nonas novembres MCCCCLXXXIII) - È verosimile che si tratti di un download da Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 407: Non illum squamea tuto | Aggreditur serpens, non raptor ab aethere milvus, Politianus de gallo.

⁷³⁷ *La natura degli animali* V,50: I galli col loro canto impauriscono il leone e annientano il basilisco, però non sopportano la vista di un gatto o di un nibbio. (traduzione di Francesco Maspero)

⁷³⁸ Plinio, *Naturalis historia* X,152: Si incubitu tonuit, ova pereunt, et accipitris audita voce vitantur.

⁷³⁹ *Cynegetica* o *De venatione*, liber 3. (Aldrovandi) - Gessner deduce gli stessi concetti da Pierre Gilles*: Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 423: Gallina ardet studio et amore pullorum: primum enim ut circum avem rapacem supra tectum gyros agere cognoscit, statim vehementer vociferatur, et cervicem iactans, atque in gyrum contorquens, caput in altum tollit, ac omnibus plumis inhorrescit, tum explicantis alis timidos pullos, et sub alato tegmine pipientes protegit, avemque procacem retrocedere cogit: Deinde eos ex latibulo plumeo prodeuntes studiose pascit, Gillius. - Il brano di Pierre Gilles è tratto da liber XIV caput XXXIII - *De Gallina* - di *Ex Aeliani historia per Petrum Gyllium latini facti: itemque ex Porphyrio, Heliodoro, Oppiano, tum eodem Gyllio luculentis accessionibus aucti libri XVI, de vi et natura animalium* (Lugduni, apud Seb. Gryphium, 1533).

*Nutrit amore suos foetus lasciva tenellos.
 Quae si labentem videat pernicibus alis
 Accipitrem a tecto, sublata voce gracillans
 Arrectis sursum pennis, cervice recurva
 Expandit tumidas pullis glocitantibus alas.
 Tum pavidus miles pipiens se moenibus altis
 Abdit, conglomeratque parens trepida agmina pennis.
 Sic profligat aves audaces sedula mater,
 Et caros pullos ex alitis ore rapacis
 Liberat, implumesque {fonet} <fovet> simulatque
 relinquunt
 Festos et thalamos nitido candore glabrantes.*

*joyful rears her tender young ones.
 And if she sees descending on nimble wings from the roof
 the hawk, cackling in a loud voice
 her feathers raised high, her neck curved back
 she spreads her swollen wings over the clucking chicks.
 Then the fearful soldier chirps and shelters into the depth of
 walls,
 and the fearful mother wraps with her feathers the flock of
 chicks.*

*In this way a careful mother defeats daring birds,
 and frees her dear chicks from the mouth of the rapacious bird
 and warms her featherless sons as soon as they leave
 also the festive nests sleek of shining snowy whiteness.*

Ornithologus⁷⁴⁰ Helvetiis Accipitris genus aut
 Milvum a Gallinarum praeda ait appellari den
 hu<e>nerdieb, id est, Gallinarum furem: et
 Milvum scripsi Belgis a rapiendis {pullo} <pullis>
 Kujckendief dici, unde eidem avi,
 Milvo nempe ea nomina competere suspicarer,
 nisi teste Turnero Rubetarium Accipitrem,
 Anglis hen harroer, idest Gallinarum occisorem,
 appellari cernerem. Palumbarium Accipitrem
 magnitudine superat, et coloris est [242] cinerei.

The Ornithologist says the Swiss call the genus of the
 birds of prey or the kite as *den huenerdieb* from theft of
 hens, that is, hens thief: and I have written that the
 kite is called *Kujckendief* by Belgians from his chicks
 stealing, since I would think these names fit the same
 bird, that is, the kite, except that I see, according to
 William Turner* testimony, that he is called bramble
 hawk, by English known as *hen harroer**, that is, hens
 killer. He is larger than the *accipiter palumbarius** - hawk
 of wild pigeons - and he is of an ashen-grey color.

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Humi sedentes aves in agris, et Gallinas in
 oppidis, et pagis repente adoritur. Praeda
 frustratus tacite discedit, nec unquam secundum
 facit insultum. Hic per humum Accipitrum
 omnium volat maxime⁷⁴¹. Quapropter habere
 oportet, inquit Columella⁷⁴², clausum amplum
 vestibulum, idque retibus munitum, ne Aquila,
 vel Accipiter inolet: et has impensas, et curas
 nisi locis, quibus harum rerum vigent pretia non
 expedit exhibere. Si itaque tantum
 emolumentum non praebat Gallinacea tua
 familia, ut totam cortem retibus munire propter
 impensas nequeas, poteris longe cum minori
 sumptu eiusmodi uncungues <volucres> fugare.
 Plinius {volucres} vite nigra (Petrus

The Hen Harrier - *Circus cyaneus** - suddenly attacks
 birds living on ground in fields, and hens in towns
 and villages. If disappointed by his prey, he dumbly
 goes away and never launches a second attack. This
 one of all the birds of prey flies mostly along the
 ground. Therefore Columella* says one must have an
 ample closed hall and moreover protected by nets so
 that the eagle* or the sparrowhawk* cannot fly in: and
 that it is not worth going to these expenses and cares
 except in places where the prices of these breeding
 products are high. If then your chicken flock does not
 offer so much profit that you can, on account of the
 expenses, cover the entire yard with nets, you can
 keep off such hook-nailed birds with far less
 spending. Pliny* handed down that this can be

⁷⁴⁰ Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 424: Nostri milvum aut accipitris genus a gallinarum praeda vocant den huenerdieb, id est gallinarum furem. Rubetarium esse credo accipitrem illum (inquit Turnerus) quem Angli hen harroer nominant. Porro ille apud nostros a dilaniandis gallinis nomen habet. Palumbarium magnitudine superat, et coloris est cinerei. Humi sedentes aves in agris, et gallinas in oppidis et pagis repente adoritur. Praeda frustratus, tacitus discedit, nec unquam secundum facit insultum. Hic per humum omnium (accipitrum) volat maxime.

⁷⁴¹ Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 424: Nostri milvum aut accipitris genus a gallinarum praeda vocant den huenerdieb, id est gallinarum furem. Rubetarium esse credo accipitrem illum (inquit Turnerus) quem Angli hen harroer nominant. Porro ille apud nostros a dilaniandis gallinis nomen habet. Palumbarium magnitudine superat, et coloris est cinerei. Humi sedentes aves in agris, et gallinas in oppidis et pagis repente adoritur. Praeda frustratus, tacitus discedit, nec unquam secundum facit insultum. Hic per humum omnium (accipitrum) volat maxime.

⁷⁴² *De re rustica* VIII,4,6: Habeat tamen etiam clausa oportet amplum vestibulum quo prodeat et ubi apricetur, idque sit retibus munitum, ne aquila vel accipiter inolet. Quas impensas et curas, nisi locis quibus harum rerum vigent pretia, non expedit adhiberi. Antiquissima est autem cum omnibus pecoribus tum in hoc fides pastoris, qui nisi eam domino servat, nullius ornithonis quaestus vincit impensas. De tutela satis dictum est, nunc reliquum ordinem persequemur.

Crescentiensis⁷⁴³ id de vite alba intelligit, quae passim per Italiam obvia est, nimirum caustica illa) id praestari ex aliorum tamen relatu his verbis memoriae prodidit: *Vite nigra*, inquit⁷⁴⁴, *aiunt si quis villam cinxerit, fugere Accipitres, tutasque fieri villaticas alites*.

Etsi vero eo modo rapacium avium impetus effugere possit Gallinaceum genus, ita contra difficilius a noxiis quadrupedibus sese tueri potest, propter locorum, quibus sese {abdunt} <abdit>, commoditatem. Ex his astutissimam animalium vulpeculam in primis non oderunt modo, sed adeo vero etiam pertimescunt, ut cum subdola Gallinaceos quantumcunque in alto remoto loco intuetur, vel saltem oculos lucentes tamquam faculas eis ostendit, caudaque quasi baculo quodam minatur, prae metu sese deorsum praecipitent, fugereque conantes opprimantur. Rapit autem vulpes ex eis plurimas, adeo ut una nocte quadraginta, et amplius pullos simul cum matribus partim abstulisse, partim semiesos reliquisse meo cum malo observaverim. Cum autem nusquam non domesticis hisce alitibus infestae sint vulpes, tum vero id maxime faciunt in locis montanis, non ignarae nimirum, quod ibi facilius latere queant in sylvis, difficiliusque capiantur.

Ut itaque noxia istaec animalia fuges, Gallinariumque et cortem tuta reddas, placuit hic etiam remedia docere, quibus id praestare queas. Tradit Hector Boëtus⁷⁴⁵, Scotos maxime monticolae tali consilio illarum belluarum perniciem antevertere consuevisse: *Vicis frequentioribus*, inquit, *singulae aedes singulas Vulpeculas nutriunt, easque earum carnibus contusis, coctisque animalium cibis miscere solent. Quae autem pecudes, et volucres domesticae eas degustassent, duos prope menses innoxiae securaeque pascentes oberrant, vulpibus a sui generis esca tam anxie abstinentibus: quod ita esse comprobant. Nam si quae non degustarit, pervagantibus inter Gallinas, Anates, Anseres caeterasque aves innoxiiis vulpibus ea sola illis praeda est quam a genere suo abstinuisse sentiunt, ut appareat inferendis iniuriis nonnunquam iniurias propelli*. Haec ille: quod secretum Plinium ignorasse minime

achieved with black bryony - *Tamus communis** - by these words, even if relying upon the report of others (Pier de' Crescenzi* means this apropos of the white bryony - *Bryonia dioica**, found everywhere throughout Italy, the former one, black bryony, is irritating indeed). He says: *They say if one fenced the farm with black bryony, hawks take flight and poultry is safe*.

But nevertheless by this method the gallinaceous genus can escape the attack of birds of prey, on the other hand he can protect himself with more difficulty from harmful quadrupeds, on account of the handiness of the places where he takes shelter. Among these quadrupeds the chickens firstly not only hate the most cunning of animals, the fox, but really they also fear her so much that when the tricky creature gazes at chickens as far as high and distant is the place where they are, or at least she shows them her eyes shining like torches and menaces them with her tail as if it were a club, because of the dread they fling themselves down and are killed trying to flee. For the fox seizes very many of them, so that as many as forty chicks along with their mothers in one night she has partly stolen, or left behind partly eaten, as I have observed at my own expense. Although there is no place where foxes are not dangerous for these domestic fowls, they do so especially in mountainous places, of course well aware that they can hide there more easily in the woods and are captured with more difficulty.

Therefore, in order that you may drive these harmful animals away and keep your poultry pen and barnyard safe, I thought it proper to give here some advice thanks to which you can do this. Hector Boëce* relates that the Scots, chiefly the mountaineers ones, are accustomed to prevent the damage coming from these beasts by the following trick: *In many villages*, he says, *each home raises a fox cub and is accustomed to mix with the food of their animals the crushed and cooked fleshes of foxes. For the domestic animals and birds who have tasted them go grazing around almost two months unharmed and without danger, since foxes abstain so carefully from a food which belongs to their genus so that they confirm that is exactly how things stand. But if anyone has not tasted that food, it becomes the sole prey for foxes who harmless wander about among hens, ducks, geese, and remaining birds, because they find it abstained from fleshes of their genus; thus it appears that injury is warded off sometimes by inflicting injury*. Thus far Boëce. Pliny

⁷⁴³ *Ruralium commodorum*, capitolo LXXXVI - Delle galline - pagina 240: [...] tendere funi o vite o vitalbe sopra il luogo dove dimorano [...].

⁷⁴⁴ *Naturalis historia* XXIII,24-28. Vedi tamaro*.

⁷⁴⁵ *Descriptio regni Scotorum*. (Aldrovandi)

videtur. Nam et hic alibi⁷⁴⁶ scripsit *Gallinaceos non attingi a vulpibus, qui iecur animalis eius aridum ederint, vel si pellicula ex {ea} <eo>⁷⁴⁷ collo inducta, Galli inierint. Rutam sylvestrem etiam adversus vulpes, et alia animantia Gallinis infesta valere legimus, et multo efficaciorum fore, si vulpis fel cibo {admistum} <admixtum> adhibueris, Democritus affirmat⁷⁴⁸. Idem de cat<t>o scribunt Dioscorides⁷⁴⁹, et {Africanus} <Africanus>, sed diversimode. Tradunt *rutae montanae*, inquit ille, *succum Gallinaceis pullis inspersum feles arcere. Cat<t>us*, ait hic, *non invadet Gallinam, si ruta sylvestris sub eius ala appendatur.**

Cum mustelis magis, quam cum felibus insitam inimicitiam exercent, nam has non praetereuntes duntaxat horrent, sed voce etiam tantum audita, teste Aeliano⁷⁵⁰, fere exanimantur, cum alioqui,

seems to have been well aware of this secret. For he also has written elsewhere: *They are not attacked by foxes those gallinaceous who ate the dry liver of that animal, or if the roosters will mount them - only hens, we hope! - after they put on their neck a piece of skin of that animal.* I have read that wild rue* is good also against foxes and other animals harmful to hens, and Bolos of Mendes* affirms it would be much more effective if you will give gall of fox mixed with the food. Dioscorides* and Julius Sextus Africanus* - not Afranius* - write the same thing about the cat, but in a different way. The former says: *They tell that the juice of mountain rue sprinkled on gallinaceous chicks keeps away cats.* The latter says: *The cat does not attack the hen if wild rue is hung under her wing.*

They show an inborn hostility more towards beech martens* than cats, for they are frightened not only when they pass in front of them, but, according to Aelian*, even in hearing their voice they faint, while

⁷⁴⁶ Ho confrontato il testo di Gessner con due fonti, e ambedue riportano *induta*, non *inducta*. Il verbo *induo* significa indossare, mentre *induco* ha come eminente significato quello di introdurre, e solo in lontana istanza quello di indossare. Per un parallelismo con l'appena citato potere difensivo del cibarsi del fegato di volpe, potrebbe essere esatto *inducta* nel senso di *aver mangiato* un pezzetto di pelle del collo della volpe, visto oltretutto che è difficile immaginare dei galli che se ne fissano un frammento addosso. Quindi si accetta *inducta* e lo si traduce con *ingoiare*. Per la bile - non riferita da Aldrovandi - il discorso è identico: la bevono. Però... C'è sempre un però: i galli potrebbero benissimo strofinarsi la bile di donnola in qualche area del corpo, oppure voltolarsi nella bile. Insomma: un maquillage che è uno scudo antidonnola. - Plinio *Naturalis historia* XXVIII,265-266: *Gallinaceos non attingi a vulpibus, qui iocur animalis eius aridum ederint, vel si pellicula ex eo collo induta galli inierint; [266] similiter in felle mustelae; [...]. - induta è lezione della editio Coloniensis di Jo. Caesarius (1524) e congettura di Ermolao Barbaro* (*Castigationes plinianae*, Romae 1492). Gessner utilizza probabilmente l'editio Coloniensis. I codici hanno *induta*, e così pure le edizioni moderne, come quella di C. Mayhoff (Lipsiae 1897, vol. IV, pag. 366).*

⁷⁴⁷ Gessner, come Plinio, ha *ex eo collo*. - Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 385: *Gallinaceos non attingi a vulpibus qui iecur animalis eius aridum ederint: vel si pellicula ex eo collo inducta, galli inierint, {similia} <similiter> in felle mustelae legimus, Plinius.* - Ho confrontato il testo di Gessner con due fonti latine, e ambedue riportano *induta*, non *inducta*. Anche la traduzione inglese (*Natural History*. Pliny the Elder. John Bostock, M.D., F.R.S. H.T. Riley, Esq., B.A. London. 1855), non corredata da testo latino a fronte, fa pensare a *induta*: "or if the cock, when treading the hen, has had a piece of fox's skin about his neck". - Il verbo *induo* significa indossare, far indossare, mettere addosso, mentre *induco* ha come eminente significato quello di introdurre, e solo in lontana istanza quello di indossare. Le ipotesi interpretative dei telegrafici spezzoni di Plinio possono essere le più caleidoscopiche, visto che stiamo navigando in un mare colmo di magia tutta da verificare. Per un parallelismo con l'appena citato potere difensivo del cibarsi del fegato di volpe, potrebbe essere esatto *inducta* nel senso di *aver mangiato* un pezzetto di pelle del collo della volpe, reiterando così l'attività alimentare dei gallinacci, visto che oltretutto è difficile immaginare dei galli che da soli si fissano addosso un frammento di pelle di volpe. Quindi potremmo accettare *inducta* traducendolo con *ingoiare*. Per la bile - non citata da Aldrovandi - il discorso è identico: essi, usando per la terza volta la bocca, la bevono. Però... C'è sempre un però: i galli potrebbero benissimo strofinarsi la bile di donnola in qualche area del corpo. Insomma: un maquillage, uno scudo antidonnola. Oppure qualcuno gliela strofina addosso, così come qualcuno gli ha messo al collo un pezzetto di pelle di volpe a mo' di amuleto. Nel confronto del testo latino vince *induta* con un bel 3 a 1, per cui, senza emendare il testo, nella traduzione attribuiamo a *inducta* il significato primario di *induta*: mettere addosso. - Plinio *Naturalis historia* XXVIII,265-266: *Gallinaceos non attingi a vulpibus, qui iocur animalis eius aridum ederint, vel si pellicula ex eo collo induta galli inierint; [266] similiter in felle mustelae; [...]*

⁷⁴⁸ *Geoponica* XIV 9,6.

⁷⁴⁹ Dioscorides *De Materia Medica* (ed. by M. Wellmann, Berlin, 1906-14), III, 45,5. - *Geoponica* XIV,21* - UT GALLINA A FELE NON LAEDATUR. AFRICANI. Feles gallinas non contingent, si sub alam ipsis ruta sylvestris suspendatur. Similiter autem neque vulpes, neque aliud aliquod animal ipsas continget, et multo magis si vulpis aut felis fel cibo ammixtum exhibueris ut etiam Democritus confirmat. - traduzione di Janus Cornarius*. § L'errore *Afranius* invece del corretto *Africanus* è presente anche a pagina 270*. Vista la distanza tra questa e tale pagina è assai verosimile trattarsi di un classico errore dal sapore prettamente aldrovandesco. La stessa notizia erronea di pagina 270 è esplicitamente tratta da *Hieroglyphica seu de sacris Aegyptiorum aliarumque gentium literis commentarii* di Giovan Pietro Bolzani*. Due edizioni dei *Hieroglyphica* riportano *Africanus*: 1) Lugduni, sumptibus Pauli Frelon, 1602 - 2) Francofurti ad Moenum, Sumptibus Christiani Kirchneri, Typis Wendelini Moewaldi, 1678. § Se volessimo ammettere che Aldrovandi non poté consultare l'edizione del 1602 dei *Hieroglyphica*, bensì un'altra edizione meno recente (magari la prima di Basilea del 1556) e che questa riportasse *Afranius*, dobbiamo tuttavia accettare che il nostro Ulisse coi *Geoponica* non era assolutamente avvezzo.

⁷⁵⁰ *La natura degli animali* V,50: È senza dubbio possibile anche attraverso queste altre osservazioni conoscere le caratteristiche degli animali. Noi vediamo ad esempio che gli uccelli domestici, allevati a contatto diretto con l'ambiente, non hanno più paura dei

mugitus boum, rugitusque asinorum praeclare contemnant: Ab his quoque Plinius⁷⁵¹ tutos Gallinaceos pullos fore prodidit, si earum cinis in offa istis exhibeantur. Salamandrae pariter nescio quid inesse necesse est, quod occulte Gallinis noceat, nam et hanc referunt in acervo tritici repertam totum id inficere, Gallinasque inde {viscentes} <vescentes> emori, cum alias noxias quasque serpentes impune saepius visae sint devorasse. At Gallinae eo die, quo ovum peperint, a serpente non laeduntur, quin et caro earum tum a serpente morsis remedio est. Item serpentes quosvis absque noxa depascuntur, cum alioqui, quod mirum videtur, ab ipsis morsae moriantur, sed magis adhuc admirandum est, quod tradit Plinius⁷⁵², nimirum superventu eorum, qui serpentium canisve {rapidi} <rabidi> dente aliquando laesi fuerint, Gallinarum incubitus, et pecorum foetus abortu vitiari. Ut ergo non mordeant Gallinas, sic provideto: Circa caveas incendito cornu, cuius {odere} <odore> non fugari tantum, verumetiam eos interimiri referunt.

Cum plantis quibusdam hae volucres antipathiam habere videntur, ac in primis cum nobilissima arbore, quae nobis eximium illud Bacchi donum subministrat, cum vite inquam, cuius florem ipsis in cibo exhibitum efficere ferunt, ut postmodum maturescentium uvarum esu abstineant. Sunt qui id, ut antea⁷⁵³ etiam obiter diximus, {oenanthi} <oenanthae>⁷⁵⁴ sylvestri ascribant, eamque cibo incoctam, et illis proiectam fastidium gignere uvas appetendi: verum Plinius id de uvae flore simpliciter protulit. Ut ut est, utriusque curiosus quispiam poterit cum parvo sumptu, at cum maximo lucro periculum facere. Nam uvarum esus, ut ostendimus<,> Gallinis admodum damnosus

on the other hand they disregard quite clearly the cattle mooing and the asses braying: Pliny related that gallinaceous chicks are safe also from these animals - beech martens - if ashes of beech martens are given them into a mouthful. Likewise, it is necessary that there is in the salamander* something secretly harming hens, for they also say that when it is found in a heap of wheat it spoils all the heap, and that hens eating the wheat die, although in other circumstances they have often been seen to safely devour any harmful snake. But hens are not injured by a snake on that day when they laid an egg, on the contrary their flesh is then a remedy for those who have been bitten by a snake. Likewise, they eat without harm any snake while, and this seems strange, they die if bitten by them, but what Pliny records is even more amazing, that is, because of the sudden arrival of those who by chance have been wounded by tooth of snakes or a rabid dog, hens' incubations and livestock's foetus go bad by abortion. Therefore, take the following steps so that they don't bite the hens: you will burn a horn around their nesting places, and they tell that not only they will be driven away by its smell, but are even killed.

These birds seem to have an antipathy toward certain plants, especially toward that most known tree which gives us that exceptional present of Bacchus, I mean the vine, and they say that its flower given them in food gets them to abstain from afterwards eating the grapes when ripening. There are those who, as before I said in passing, ascribe this effect to the wild vine, and - affirm - that throwing it to them cooked along with food it creates a dislike for the desire of grapes: to tell the truth Pliny simply reported this fact apropos of the flowers of the grape. However it is, if somebody is curious about both points of view, he can carry out a test with little expense but with great gain. For the eating of grapes, as I showed, is quite harmful to hens. Probably because they dislike any

cavalli, degli asini, dei buoi e dei cammelli dato che si sono abituati alla loro presenza. Non temono neanche gli elefanti (se questi mostrano un'indole mite e mansueta) e addirittura si aggirano in mezzo a loro. I galli poi prendono tanta confidenza che non esitano a volare anche sulla loro schiena. Se invece una donnola corre vicino a loro, si sbigottiscono e vengono presi da un grande terrore. Non si preoccupano se odono il muggito dei bovini o il raglio degli asini, ma come sentono lo squittio della donnola tremano di paura. Non si curano minimamente delle oche, dei cigni e degli struzzi; hanno invece terrore dei falchi, anche se sono molto piccoli. (traduzione di Francesco Maspero)

⁷⁵¹ *Naturalis historia* XXX,144: Eiusdem mustelae cinis si detur in offa gallinaceis pullis et columbinis, tutos esse a mustelis.

⁷⁵² *Naturalis historia* XXVIII,31-32: [31] Signum eius familiae est, si modo adhuc durat, vernis temporibus odoris virus. atque eorum sudor quoque medebatur, non modo saliva. Nam in insula Nili Tentyri nascentes tanto sunt crocodilis terrori, ut vocem quoque eorum fugiant. Horum omnium generum insita repugnantia interventum quoque mederi constat, sicuti adgravari vulnera introitu eorum, qui umquam fuerint serpentium canisve dente laesi. [32] Iidem gallinarum incubitus, pecorum fetus abortu vitiatur; tantum remanet virus ex accepto semel malo, ut venefici fiant venena passi. Remedio est ablui primus manus eorum aquaque illa eos, quibus medearis, inspergi. rursus a scorpione aliquando percussi numquam postea a crabronibus, vespis apibusve feriuntur.

⁷⁵³ Page 232*. Vedere là il passo di Plinio.

⁷⁵⁴ Il vocabolo greco di genere femminile *oinanthē* significa: gemma della vite, vite silvestre, fiore della vite, fiore della clematide (Dioscoride).

est. Sed forte cum omni vite antipathiam habuerint, nam idem Plinius⁷⁵⁵, {*Gallinaceis ipsis circulis e sarmentis collo additis* [243] *non canere*} <*At gallinacei ipsi circulo e ramentis addito in collum non canunt*> tradit, quod si verum est, insigne sane, et occultum odium demonstrat.

kind of vine; for Pliny himself tells that *The roosters themselves won't sing when you place on their neck a necklace done with scales of gold*, which, if true, really proves a remarkable and hidden hate.

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Audio denique et aquam vitae, ut vocant, eis let{h}alem esse. Ex Sambuco magis canoram buccinam, tubamque eodem referente⁷⁵⁶, fieri credit pastor, si ibi caedatur, ubi Gallorum cantum frutex ille non exaudiat. Quae res ad quandam pariter antipathiam referri potest: sunt tamen qui physicam illius rationem talem assignent. Materies, inquit, sambuci mire firma traditur: constat enim ex cute, et ossibus: quare venabula ex ea facta praeferunt omnibus. {Quondam} <Quoniam>⁷⁵⁷ vero loca sylvestria, qualia sunt, in quibus Gallorum cantus non auditur, sicciora sunt, ligna etiam illic sicciora, solidioraque fiunt, et ex tali materia tibiam magis canoram tornari credibile est, cum unumquodque corpus eo magis sonorum sit, quo siccus, simulque solidius. Eandem etiam rationem Caelius Calcagninus⁷⁵⁸, quosdam

Finally, I hear that also the whisky* - or usquebaugh, or *aqua vitae* -, as they call it, is lethal to chickens. Pliny* reports that the shepherd believes a more resounding buccin* and trumpet can be made from the elder tree* if this shrub would be cut down where it does not can hear the roosters' crowing. This fact can be referred to a certain antipathy as well: there are some, however, who assign a physical reason for it. According to what they affirm, the wood of the elder tree, they say, is very solid: for it is made of bark and hard central portions: therefore they prefer hunting spits made of it than all others. But since woodland places, as are those where the roosters' crowing is not heard, are dryer, here the wood grows more dry and more compact, and it is likely that from such a wood a more resounding flute can be lathed, since whatever structure is the more sonorous the more dry it is and solid at the same time. Celio Calcagnini* writes that

⁷⁵⁵ Evviva il passaparola che non è affatto un'invenzione della nostra TV: infatti Aldrovandi se ne servì a iosa, e proprio grazie al passaparola è stato capace di trasformare delle scagliette d'oro in tralci di vite. Vediamo questo iter che sa quasi di magico - una magia inversa rispetto a quella di re Mida* - un iter al quale come al solito sottende Gessner. Infatti costui a pagina 385 della sua *Historia Animalium* III (1555) fa un'errata citazione telegrafica di un passaggio di Plinio: *Gallinaceis circulo e sarmento addito collo non canunt*, Plinius. - Ma Plinio quando parla di un *circulus* messo al collo dei galli sta disquisendo di oro, come vedremo tra poco a pagina 243. Eppure Aldrovandi, seguendo Gessner, non solo trasforma le scagliette d'oro di Plinio in tralci di vite, ma si appropria anche di uno strano - seppur accettabile - dativo *Gallinaceis* presente in Gessner, inserendolo nella sua frase che di Plinio possiede solamente la collana dotata del potere di inibire il canto dei galli, una frase caratterizzata oltretutto da un costruito infelice dal sapore tipicamente pliniano, mentre stavolta Plinio si abbandona stranamente a una sintassi corretta. Ecco il testo di Plinio *Naturalis historia*, XXIX,80: *Non praeteribo miraculum, quamquam ad medicinam non pertinens: si auro liquescenti gallinarum membra misceantur, consumunt id in se; ita hoc venenum auri est. At gallinacei ipsi circulo e ramentis addito in collum non canunt.* - Insomma, Plinio dice che le zampe delle galline sono in grado di distruggere l'oro, ma una collana fatta di pagliuzze d'oro ha il grande potere di far tacere i galli. - Questa magia opposta a quella di re Mida doveva essere abbastanza diffusa nel 1500. Infatti anche Pierandrea Mattioli* nel suo commento a Dioscoride - sia in quello latino del 1554 che in quello postumo in italiano del 1585 - affinché non cantino fa cingere il collo dei galli con una collana fatta di *sarmentis*, cioè con un *sarmento di vigna*. Probabilmente il testo in possesso di Mattioli, di Gessner, e quindi di Aldrovandi, era corrotto e riportava *sarmentis* invece di *ramentis*. Ma se Gessner e Aldrovandi enucleano la citazione pliniana dal suo contesto, Mattioli cita tutta quanta la frase di Plinio: pagina 186 - Liber II - cap. XLIII - GALLINAE, ET GALLI - Plinius cum de gallinis dissereret libro XXIX. cap. IIII. haec inter caetera memoriae prodidit. Non praeteribo (inquit) miraculum, quamquam ad medicinam non pertinens: si auro liquescenti gallinarum membra misceantur, consumunt illud in se. Ita hoc venenum auri est. At gallinaceis ipsis circulo e sarmentis addito collo non canunt. - Neppure a Mattioli è balenato che quell'*at* ha un preciso significato: si tratta di una contrapposizione. Infatti l'oro, guastato dalle galline, è tuttavia in grado di prendersi una rivincita facendo ammutolire i galli. Ma nel 1500 nel testo di Plinio gironzolavano i *sarmentis* ed era giocoforza utilizzarli.

⁷⁵⁶ *Naturalis historia* XVI,179: Sui, sed fructectosi generis sunt inter aquaticas et rubi atque sabuci, fungosi generis, aliter tamen quam ferulae, quippe plus ligni est, utique sabuco, ex qua magis canoram buccinam tubamque credit pastor ibi caesa, ubi gallorum cantum frutex ille non exaudiat.

⁷⁵⁷ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 406: Quoniam vero loca sylvestria (qualia sunt in quibus gallorum cantus non auditur) sicciora sunt, ligna etiam illic sicciora solidioraque fiunt, et ex tali materia tibiam magis canoram tornari credibile est, cum unumquodque corpus eo magis sonorum sit quo siccus simul solidiusque.

⁷⁵⁸ La citazione di Aldrovandi della fonte dovuta a Celio Calcagnini è alquanto sintetica: *Epist. Quaest.* liber 2. Con le ricerche nel web del 6 maggio 2004 non è stato possibile conoscere per intero il nome dell'opera citata da Aldrovandi. Tuttavia in base a

assignavisse, scribit, postquam aliorum sententiam examinasset, suamque diversimodam attulisset, his verbis. Cur id fiat{:} (si modo verum est,) nemo facile dixerit. Sunt qui hoc non simpliciter, sed συμβολικῶς traditum putent, more Pythagorico⁷⁵⁹, ut multum diversum, quam dicitur, intelligatur, sicut proditum est, non ex omni ligno Mercurium debere fieri: Deum non populari ritu, sed electo, ac religioso colendum esse. Sic non vulgari sed remotiori musicae incumbendum esse admonentes, non ex obvia quaque Sambuco tibia, sambucamque coagmentari oportere dixerunt, et expedire ut remotiora petantur, atque inde decerpatur, ubi Galli cantus non obstrepat.

Nam sic hodie quoque locum longe sepositum, ad quem nemo adeat significantes, dicunt in eo, ne Gallum quidem unquam exaudire. Aut certe stridula illa, atque admodum obstrepera vox Galli hebetare, et stridore suo quodammodo diffindere, et convellere potest penetrabilem ac fungosam sambuci materiem, utpote qua leo etiam tantae animal constantiae consterneretur. Alii sunt, qui eo dicto nil praeterea ostendi putent, quam sylvestrem sambucum sativae multo esse praeferendam: quod ea procul, locisque abditis, haec prope intra nostra septa adolescat. Quae postrema sententia cum priori conformis est, quam a viris doctis examinari ventilarique velim.

Insigne contra immunitatis privilegium Gallinis (sic enim apud Dioscoridem⁷⁶⁰ ὄρνιθες}

some people assigned the same reason, and after he examined the opinion of other men and brought forward his own which sounds in a different way, using the following words. Why this happens (if it is true) no one could easily say. Some think that this has not been handed down in a naked way, but *symbolikós* - allegorically, in a Pythagorean* manner, so that it is understood in a very different way than it is said, such as it has been handed down that Mercury* ought not to be made from whatever kind of wood: a god is not to be commonly worshipped, but specially and respectfully. So, exhorting that we must devote ourselves not to a common music but farer from common use, they said that a flute and a sambuca* ought to be constructed not from any elder tree coming to hand, and that it is worthwhile that more fine things are searched, and that it must be got thence where rooster's crowing does not resound.

For alike also today, when they want to mean a very secluded place where nobody can go, they say that nor a rooster has never been heard there. At least that shrill and quite noisy rooster's voice can weaken and break and tear in some way with its screeching the penetrable and spongy wood of elder tree, since even the lion, an animal of such a great fearlessness, is frightened by it. Others, according to what has been said, think that does not need further demonstration the fact that the wild elder is to be much preferred to the cultivated one: since the former grows far off and in remote places, while the latter grows near, within our fences. The latter statement is similar to the previous one, which I should like to be examined and discussed by learned people.

On the contrary an exceptional privilege of immunity happened to hens (for I translate in such way *orníthia*

Gessner possiamo presumere che si tratti di *Epistolicae quaestiones*: Hoc cur fiat, si modo verum est, (inquit Caelius Calcagninus in epistolicis quaestionib. lib. 2.) nemo facile dixerit.

⁷⁵⁹ Secondo Pitagora il gallo è interpretato in senso allegorico come uccello del sole. Vedere il lessico Suida* alla voce Πυθαγόρα τὰ σύμβολα etc.

⁷⁶⁰ *De materia medica* liber 4, caput 75. (Aldrovandi) - Τοῦ δὲ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ γεννωμένου τὸν καρπὸν ὄρνιθια ἐσθίοντα, μελαίνεται. (Testo greco di Aldo Manuzio* e Jean Ruel* che recano una numerazione di capitolo diversa da quella di Aldrovandi. Oggi il capitolo viene identificato come 79.) - L'unica citazione dei frutti del tasso da parte di Dioscoride suona così in Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 384: Taxi fructus edentes in Italia gallinae nigrescunt, Dioscorides. Quindi, stando al Dioscoride gessneriano, le galline - che possono aver indotto Aldrovandi a tradurre *orníthes* con galline - diventano *abbronzate* mangiando i frutti del tasso, e ciò accade in Italia. E magari si *abbronzano* perché i semi sono nerastri... Oppure *nigrescunt* in quanto diventano *cianotiche* perché muoiono... - Alcune delle edizioni odierne di Dioscoride parlano delle bacche del tasso nel libro 4 capitolo 79, come già puntualizzato. E secondo i moderni traduttori - a differenza di quelli rinascimentali - Dioscoride affermerebbe che le bacche del tasso uccidono gli uccelli. Non è vero! - Velenoso è il seme del tasso avvolto dall'arillo rosso praticamente atossico, ma sono pronto a scommettere che non c'è ventriglio di uccello che si dedichi alla digestione del seme, che invece verrà espulso tale e quale. L'arillo, pur contenendo tracce del letale alcaloide tassina, non è tossico se mangiato in quantità moderate, ed è ricco di sostanze zuccherine. Gli uccelli - o meglio, gli uccellini, in quanto la traduzione di Jean Ruel (adottata abitualmente sia da Gessner che da Aldrovandi nonché da Pierandrea Mattioli*) riporta *aniculae*, esatta traduzione del greco ὄρνιθια di Dioscoride - gli uccellini, ghiotti di questi frutti, contribuiscono alla disseminazione del tasso attraverso gli escrementi, e in questa disseminazione le galline non contribuiscono in modo sostanziale dal momento che il loro habitat è alquanto ristretto ed essenzialmente domestico. Per cui non era necessario che Aldrovandi mitizzasse le galline rendendole degli uccelli inattaccabili dal letale tasso, in quanto tutti

<ὄρνιθια> transfero) accessit, cum impune baccis taxi, quae alioqui reliquis animalibus pestiferae sunt, vescantur. Quae itaque venena, non venena in illis esse voluit prudentissima natura, eadem contra quae non venena sunt, pestifera illis esse voluit, sparti semine depasto eas emori cupiens, item hominis excremento, qui Helleborum <album>⁷⁶¹ biberit, ut Avicenna testatur.

Albertus quaedam urticarum genera pullis mortifera esse scribit, Gallinamque earum malignitatis consciam eas evellere conari{,}<.> Verum quae hae urticae sint, non explicat. Tradunt item Gallum contra orobanchen herbam⁷⁶² circumferri, vel semina terrae mandanda Gallinaceo sanguine rigari, tanquam et herba leo (nam ita etiam vocatur) non minus, quam animal a Gallo abhorreat⁷⁶³. Oderunt quidem merito hanc herbam agricolae, quoniam cannabi, in quam spem omnem lucri ponunt, nutrimentum eripit, et quo minus ad optatam altitudinem excrescat, impedit, ad radices eius enascens. Poterunt ergo eiusmodi remedium experiri.

Praeterea Gallinae metallorum regi auro venenum sunt, si Plinio⁷⁶⁴ credimus, qui alibi ita

in Dioscorides*) since they safely eat the berries of yew tree*, which are otherwise lethal to other animals. Then the most wise Nature did want that what is a poison is not a poison for them, but on the contrary, that which is not a poison she did want to be lethal to them, wishing them to die after ate the seeds of the esparto*, likewise the excrement of a human being who drank white hellebore* - or white veratrum*? - as Avicenna* testifies.

Albertus* writes that some species of nettles* are deadly to chicks, and the hen, aware of their harmfulness, gets busy to uproot them. But he does not explain what nettles they are. Likewise, they say the rooster has to be taken around in order to fight the herb orobanchen*, or that the seeds which have to be entrusted to earth are irrigated with rooster's blood, as also the herb lion (for it is so called) had an aversion to the rooster no less than toward the animal with the same name. For rightly the farmers hate this herb since it draws away nourishment from the hemp plant* in which they put all hope of profit, and because, taking birth stuck on its roots, keeps it from growing to its proper height. They can therefore experiment such a remedy.

Furthermore, hens are a poison for the king of metals, the gold, if we believe Pliny, who elsewhere writes as

gli uccelli - gli ὄρνιθια di Dioscoride - non muoiono per aver ingerito le bacche del tasso, e non morirebbero neppure le galline. Ovviamente, se Dioscoride affermasse che gli uccelli muoiono mangiando le bacche, dal momento che contribuiscono alla disseminazione, essi moriranno dopo aver defecato oppure contribuiranno alla disseminazione quando il loro cadavere avrà finito di putrefarsi, liberando così i semi. Ma quest'ultima è un'interpretazione alquanto balzana. Inoltre, assisteremmo a un'ecatombe stagionale di piccoli uccelli, specialmente di merli, che di bacche del tasso ne mangiano a iosa. E mettiamocelo bene in mente: in natura, come pure in vivaio senza ricorrere ad artifici, la moltiplicazione del tasso si ottiene per seme, all'aperto, nel mese di marzo, alla profondità di 2,5 cm, oppure alla profondità di poco più di mezzo cm in cassette, sotto copertura fredda o in serra non riscaldata. Se siamo dei vivaisti possiamo ricorrere a talee - misconosciute in natura - prelevate in settembre dai getti (cioè dai germogli) e messe a radicare in terriccio sabbioso sotto copertura fredda durante l'autunno. § Dopo una fruttuosa discussione con Lily Beck (2007) e grazie alla collaborazione di Roberto Ricciardi si è giunti alla conclusione biologicamente corretta che gli uccellini che mangiano le bacche del tasso ingrassano, accumulando energie per l'inverno imminente, mentre se l'uomo si abbuffa di arilli deve aspettarsi una profusa diarrea. Si veda l'esilarante via crucis linguistica - per la quale dobbiamo ringraziare gli amanuensi - alla voce tasso* del lessico.

⁷⁶¹ Aldrovandi tralascia un aggettivo molto importante, che viene invece riportato da Gessner, e che è indispensabile per identificare la pianta. Si tratta di *album*. Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 384: Stercus hominis qui bibit elleborum album, necat gallinas, Avicenna.

⁷⁶² Siccome il leone teme il gallo, da ciò deriverebbe l'impiego del gallo per distruggere l'orobanche o erba leone. Secondo D'Arcy Thompson (pag. 41, 1966) la notizia è tratta da *Geoponica* II,42,3, ma forse facendo confusione fra il gallo e i Galli, i sacerdoti di Cibele: "Hence also the use of a Cock to destroy the Lion-weed, ἢ λέοντειος πόα = orobanchē, Geopon. ii.42.3. A confusion is possibly indicated here with the Galli, priests of Cybele; [...]" - *Geoponica* II,42,3-4: παρθένος ... ἀλεκτρούνα ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἔχουσα, περιελθέτω τὸ χωρίον, καὶ εὐθέως χωρίζεται μὲν ἡλεόντειος πόα, τὰ δὲ ὄσπρια κρείττονα γίνεται, ἴσως καὶ τῆς βοτάνης ταύτης τοῦ λέοντος τὸν ἀλεκτρούνα φοβουμένης. 4. Τινὲς πείρα παταλαβόντες, βούλονται αἵματι ἀλεκτρούνος καταρραίνειν τὰ μέλλοντα σπείρεσθαι, καὶ οὐ βλαβήσεται ὑπὸ λεοντείας βοτάνης.

⁷⁶³ Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 407: Gallus contra orobanchen herbam in arvis nascentem (quae et leo dicitur) circumfertur, vel semina terrae mandanda gallinaceo sanguine rigantur, ut recitavi in Leone H. a., tanquam et herba leo non minus quam animal, a gallo abhorreat.

⁷⁶⁴ *Naturalis historia* XXIX,80: Non praeteribo miraculum, quamquam ad medicinam non pertinens: si auro liquescenti gallinarum membra misceantur, consumunt id in se; ita hoc venenum auri est. At gallinacei ipsi circulo e ramentis addito in collum non canunt. - Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 455: Non praeteribo miraculum, quamquam ad medicinam non pertinens: si auro liquescenti gallinarum membra misceantur, consumunt illud in se. Ita hoc venenum auri est, Plinius.

scribit. *Auro liquescenti si Gallinarum membra misceantur, consumunt id in se. Ita hoc venenum auri est.* Quod si verum est, inquit Scaliger⁷⁶⁵ sane sic praesentius, et commodius adipiscemur aurum esculentum, quam ex inani Cardani indicatione, aurum potabile. Falsum vero vanumque esse medicina posterior innumeris experimentis comperit. Etenim ad deploratos morbos⁷⁶⁶ Gallinaceas carnes incoquant, aurumque adjiciunt, quod tamen absumi non videtur. Sed videndum foret, num periclitantes aurum prius liquidum reddere deberent, quando id de liquescenti auro Plinius prodidit: quinim<m>o sunt, qui eam dictionem (liquescenti) exponunt in oleo per artem chymicam redactum, quasi Plinius huius artis non fuerit ignarus: quod alioqui mihi nunquam lectum. Ut ut est, inde saltem excogitata medicis ratio est parandi iuscula ἀναληπτικά⁷⁶⁷ cum carne Gallinae, et auri foliis.

Postremo cum tonitru Gallinae dissident. Quandoquidem si cum incubant, tonuerit, non modo ova pereunt, ut Aristoteles⁷⁶⁸, et Plinius⁷⁶⁹ tradunt: verumetiam, teste Columella⁷⁷⁰, semiformes pulli interimuntur, antequam toti partibus suis consummentur. Ne itaque tanto detrimento afficiantur agricolae, malo huic obviam ire debent. Remedium autem contra tonitru<m>, teste Plinio, clavus ferreus sub stramine ovorum positus, aut terra ex aratro. Plurimos etiam scribit Columella {intra} <infra> cubilium stramenta, graminis aliquid, et ramulos lauri, nec minus alii capita una cum clavis ferreis subijcere: quod haec cuncta remedia credantur esse adversus eadem tonitrua.

follows: *If pieces of hens are mixed with melting gold, they absorb it in themselves. Thus this is a poison of the gold.* If this is true, says Giulio Cesare Scaligero*, we really may obtain thus more quickly and easily an eatable gold rather than, from Gerolamo Cardano's* groundless statement, a drinkable gold. For the subsequent medicine through innumerable experiments checked that this is false and devoid of contents. For against incurable illnesses they cook the gallinaceous flesh and add gold to them, which nevertheless does not seem to be incorporated into them. But it should be taken into consideration whether experimenters ought first to melt the gold, since Pliny reported this speaking of gold which is melting: or rather there are men who do interpret that word (*liquescenti* - melting) as to be transformed into oil by a chemical artifice, as if Pliny were not unaware of this artifice: but, besides, I have never read this. However it is, hence by physicians has been devised the way to prepare little *analēptiká* - fortifying - broths with hen flesh and gold leaves.

Finally, hens don't get on well with thunder. Since if it thundered when they are brooding, the eggs not only get spoilt, according to Aristotle* and Pliny, but, according to Columella*, the growing chicks are killed before they can be completed in all their parts. Therefore, lest the farmers be afflicted with so great a damage, they must find a remedy for this disaster. Against thunder, as Pliny reports, the remedy is an iron nail placed under eggs bed, or earth from the plow. Columella writes that many people also place under the nest straw some couch grass and laurel* branches, as well as garlic heads along with iron nails: because all these things are believed to be remedies against the thunders themselves.

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[244] **DE AFFECTIBUS CORPORIS
GALLINACEORUM.**

**DISEASES
OF GALLINACEOUS BODY**

⁷⁶⁵ *Exotericarum exercitationum liber quintus decimus: de subtilitate, ad Hieronymum Cardanum (1557), exercitatio 88 Quae ad metalla.*

⁷⁶⁶ Vedi il lessico alla voce Crisoterapia*.

⁷⁶⁷ Termine medico usato per esempio da Galeno* e da Oribasio*.

⁷⁶⁸ *Historia animalium* VI,560a4: Del resto gli uccelli differiscono tra loro anche per la maggiore o minore attitudine alla cova. Se tuona durante la cova, le uova si rovinano. (traduzione di Mario Vegetti)

⁷⁶⁹ *Naturalis historia* X,152: Si incubitu tonuit, ova pereunt; et accipitris audita voce vitiantur. Remedium contra tonitrus clavus ferreus sub stramine ovorum positus aut terra ex aratro.

⁷⁷⁰ *De re rustica* VIII,5,12: Plurimi etiam infra cubilium stramenta graminis aliquid et ramulos lauri nec minus alii capita cum clavis ferreis subijciunt. Quae cuncta remedio creduntur esse adversus tonitrua, quibus vitiantur ova pullique semiformes interimuntur, antequam toti partibus suis consummentur.

Inter affectus corporis quibus Gallinaceum genus infestatur, pituita, sive coryza⁷⁷¹, quae ipsis peculiaris, ac inimicissima est, et {ptiriasis} <phthiriasis⁷⁷²> seu pedicularis morbus, peculiare sunt. De quibus itaque prius dicendum videtur.

Pituita est humor e cerebro in nares, nec non in fauces destillans, edendi, bibendique cupidinem eis auferens, linguaeque officiens. Palladius⁷⁷³ albam pelliculam vocat extremam linguam vestientem: adeo ut saepe periculo non careat id malum, sed interimat etiam. Signa evidenter admodum sunt, nam lingua indurescit, ut pipire, glocire, {glacillare} <gracillare>, cucu<r>rireqe in summa vocem emittere nequeant: marcescunt etiam et cibum capere nolunt. Est autem affectus iste, quem nos vulgo la pívida⁷⁷⁴ dicimus, superiores Germani das {pfippe} <pfipfe⁷⁷⁵>, inferiores de pippe. Quae nomina, ut videtur, per onomatopoeiam ficta sunt, quoniam hoc avium genus ita affectum consimilem vocem edat. Oritur a sordido potu {plerunque} <plerumque>. In assignando tempore, quo maxime hoc malo torquetur, a Plinio Columella dissentit. Plinius⁷⁷⁶ enim inimicissimam esse illi testatur, *maxime inter messis et vindemiae tempus*. Contra Columella⁷⁷⁷, *cum frigore, et cibi penuria laborant*. Quis autem inter messis, et vindemiae tempus frigore torqueri dicat? ut interim de cibo nihil dicam? Nam et cibum in agris, ubi messis fuit, copios<i>orem habent. Quare forte dicendum est, tam ob exuberantem calorem, qualis inter messem, et vindemiam esse solet, quam ex immodico frigore in id malum incurrere.

Among the body's diseases by which the gallinaceous genus is struck they are typical the pip* - in its catarrhal type, or nasal catarrh, which is peculiar to them and very harmful, and the *phthiriasis*, or lousy* illness. So it seems advisable to speak of these firstly.

The pip is a liquid dropping from brain to nostrils, as well as into the throat, depriving them of eating and drinking desire, damaging also the tongue. Palladius* calls as white little skin that one which covers the tip of the tongue: so that often this disease is not devoid of danger, but is also able to kill. The signs of it are quite evident, for the tongue grows hard, so that they cannot peep, cluck, cackle, or crow; in short, they cannot utter the voice: they also pine away and refuse to take food. This is the disease we commonly call *la pívida* in Italian, the northern Germans *das pfípfe*, the southern Germans *de pippe*. These names, as it seems, were formed by onomatopoeia, since this genus of birds when thus afflicted utters a quite similar voice. The disease usually originates from dirty beverage. In assigning the time when these birds are particularly afflicted with this illness, Columella* disagrees with Pliny*. For Pliny testifies that it is very dangerous *chiefly between the time of harvest and grape gathering*. Columella, on the contrary, says *when they are troubled with the cold and poor food*. But who could say that they are afflicted with cold between harvest and grape gathering time? So, shall I say nothing, meanwhile, about their food? For they have also more abundant food in the fields when the harvest has been completed. Therefore, perhaps, we must say that they incur this illness both because of excessive heat usually existing between harvest and grape gathering time, as well as because of an immoderate cold weather.

⁷⁷¹ Il sostantivo greco femminile *κόρυζα* di discussa e incerta etimologia significa scolo nasale, raffreddore, moccio (*mucosus* latino, il muco di origine nasale). Può quindi significare catarro nasale, dal momento che catarro - in greco *katarrhoos* oppure *katarrhos* - deriva da *katarrhéō*, scorrere in basso.

⁷⁷² Dal greco *phtheír*, pidocchio, dal verbo *phtheíro* = distruggo.

⁷⁷³ *Opus agriculturae* I, XXVII *De gallinis*, 2: Pituita his nasci solet, quae alba pellicula linguam vestit extremam. Haec leviter unguibus vellitur et locus cinere tangitur et allio trito plaga mundata conspergitur. Item allii mica trita cum oleo faucibus inseritur: staphis agría etiam prodest, si cibus misceatur assidue.

⁷⁷⁴ Secondo un'indagine linguistica di Paolo Roseano (SOCHNA UNT OARBATN - Ricerca sulla terminologia agricola di una comunità trilingue, 1994-1995) in friulano la pipita è detta *pívide*, da *pívida* in Tischiobongarisch.

⁷⁷⁵ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 431: Pullis iam validioribus factis, atque ipsis matribus etiam vitanda pituitae pernicies erit. quae ne fiat, mundissimis vasis, et quam purissimam praebebimus aquam. nam in cohorte per aestatem consistens, immunda, stercorosa, pituitam (coryzam, nostri vocant das pfípfe) eis concitat, Columella et Paxamus.

⁷⁷⁶ *Naturalis historia* X,157: Inimicissima autem omni generi pituita maximeque inter messis ac vindemiae tempus. Medicina in fame et cubitus in fumo, utique si e lauru aut herba sabina fiat, pinna per transversas inserta nares et per omnes dies mota; cibus alium cum farre aut aqua perfusus, in qua maduerit noctua, aut cum semine vitis albae coctus ac quaedam alia.

⁷⁷⁷ *De re rustica* VIII,5,23: Id porro vitium maxime nascitur cum frigore et penuria cibi laborant aves, item cum per aestatem consistens in cohortibus fuit aqua, item cum ficus aut uva inmatura nec ad satietatem permissa est, quibus scilicet cibus abstinentiae sunt aves.

Addidit porro, et aliam causam Columella, cum scilicet ficus, aut uva immatura ad satietatem permissa est. Ita enim textus legi debet, ut Ornithologus⁷⁷⁸ etiam existimat, non autem cum ficus, et uva immatura nec ad satietatem usque permissa est, ut vulgati codices habent. Nam eo modo sensus verborum non cohaeret. Caeterum ut et alteram causam examinemus, quod scilicet ex cibi penuria pituita oriatur, ut ille tradit, iterum Plinio dissentit, qui alibi disertissimis verbis eius remedium in fame ponit. Quid igitur dicendum? Putarim ego Columellam de penuria cibi praestantioris loqui, ut nempe quid praeter naturam devorare coactae eo malo afficiantur. Plinium vero ex cibi melioris copia, {pleoricum} <plethoricum>⁷⁷⁹ habitum nactas ita affici credere, itaque inedia praescribere.

Ut praeserventur ab eiusmodi malo, Columella⁷⁸⁰ praecipit, ut purissimam illis aquam potandam demus. Id autem praestare non poterimus, nisi cum aquae, tum vasorum etiam curam habeamus, hoc est, nisi aquam puram, limpidamque semper demus, saepiusque ne marcescat, immutemus, vasaque aliquoties intus, et extra abluamus, et immunditiis detergamus. Leontinus origanum in aqua macerat, eamque ita bibendam offert, praeservareque a pituita Gallinas arbitratur. Eodem modo alias herbas ita aquae imponere poterimus, ac similiter a tali affectu Gallinas praeservare. Vult item Columella Gallinaria fumigari, et ab excrementis aliquoties repurgari.

Si vero iam in morbum inciderint, ad alia remedia confugiendum est, idque non solummodo, ut vulgus facit, penna per transversas nares inserta, ac quotidie mota; quandoquidem quae ita curantur, multas saepius interiisse compertum est{:>}. Verum alia etiam tentanda medicamina: quorum magna copia cum apud auctores, recentiores maxime extet, itaque et nos aliquot abducemus, ut

Besides Columella added another cause, that is, when figs or unripe grapes are allowed to satiety. For the text ought to be read thus, as the Ornithologist also believes, and not when figs and unripe grapes are not allowed to satiety, as common manuscripts report. For in this manner the sense of the words does not hang together. Besides, to examine also the other cause, namely, that the pip arises from shortage of food, as Columella reports, he newly disagrees with Pliny who elsewhere in most clear words places the remedy for pip in hunger. What then is to be said? Therefore I should think Columella is speaking of the lack of better food, since when hens are forced to eat something beyond nature they are afflicted with that illness. But Pliny believes they are thus afflicted because acquired a plethoric build thanks to an abundance of better food; thus he prescribes abstinence from food.

In order to preserve them from this illness Columella advises us to give them the purest water to drink. We shall not be able to do this unless we take care of both water and vessels, that is, unless we always give them pure, clean water and, to keep it from becoming stale, unless we change it rather frequently and sometimes washing vessels inside and out and wiping off all dirt. Leontinus - a geponic* writer - soaks oregano* in water and offers it for drinking, and he thinks this preserves hens from pip. In the same way, we can put other herbs in the water and likewise guard the hens from such illness. Columella also insists that the hen houses should be fumigated and sometimes cleared of excrements.

But if hens already fell ill, we must seek other remedies, and not only, as common folk does, by inserting a feather through their nostrils and moving it daily: for it has been found that many of those treated in this way rather frequently died. To tell the truth, other medicaments must be also tried: since there is a large abundance of them among the authors, especially the more recent ones, so that we shall take some of them, and the very learned reader must

⁷⁷⁸ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 431: Inimicissima gallinaceo generi pituita, maximeque inter messis et vindemiae tempus, Plin. Id vitium maxime nascitur cum frigore et penuria cibi laborant aves. Item cum ficus aut uva immatura nec (videtur menda) ad satietatem permissa est, quibus scilicet cibis abstinendae sunt aves: eosque ut fastidiant efficit uva labrusca de vepribus immatura lecta, quae cum farre triticeo minuto cocta (Plinius simpliciter cibo incoctam dari iubet, alibi cum farre miscendam) obijcitur esurientibus: eiusque sapore offensae aves, omnem asperrantur uvam, Columella.

⁷⁷⁹ Dal greco *plēthorikós*, a sua volta dal verbo *plēthō* = sono pieno.

⁷⁸⁰ *De re rustica* VIII,5,20-21: Saepae etiam validioribus factis atque ipsis matribus etiam vitanda pituitae pernicies erit. Quae ne fiat, mundissimis vasis et quam purissimam praebemus aquam. Nec minus gallinaria semper fumigabimus et emundata stercore liberabimus. Nec minus gallinaria semper fumigabimus et emundata stercore liberabimus. [21] Quod si tamen pestis permanserit, sunt qui micis alii tepido mafe faciant oleo et faucibus inferant. Quidam hominis urina tepida rigant ora, et tamdiu conprimunt dum eas amaritudo cogat per nares emoliri pituitae nauseam. Uva quoque, quam Graeci agrian staphylen vocant, cum cibo mixta prodest, vel eadem pertrita et cum aqua potui data.

doctissimus lector ex iis seligat, quod sibi accom<m>odatius videbitur.

Plinius⁷⁸¹ alibi mistum far in cibo prodesse tradidit et alibi acinos ligustri, alibi denique fumum herbae sabinae eiusmodi morbum sanare. Galenus⁷⁸² idem pollicetur ex alliis, et caepris. Allia etiam multi alii commendant, sed diversimode exhibent. Etenim quidam, teste Columella, spicas eorum tepido madefactas oleo <faucibus> inserunt: quod pariter Palladius⁷⁸³ repetiit, sed pro spica mica habet, corrupto, ut videtur, textu. Paxamus eisdem minutim conscis<s>is, et in calidum oleum iniectis, ubi refrixerint, ora Gallinarum colluere iubet, ac, si illa<s> voraverint, efficacius restitui ait. Nonnulli, eodem referente allia in humano lotio elixant, rostrumque Gallinae illis fovent, cavendo quam maxime, ne portio aliqua in oculos influat. Leontinus pariter allio rostri foramina inungit, aut in aquam conijcit, et potandam exhibet. Scilla munda in aqua macerata, et exhibita cum farina idem praestat. Sunt qui ad idem malum origani, hyssopi, et thymi suffitu caput Gallinae fumigent, et mox allio rostrum eius perfricent. Quidam etiam urina tepida rigant ora, et tam diu teste Columella comprimunt, donec eas amaritudo per nares emoliri pituitae nauseam cogat. Uva quoque quam Graeci staphisagiam⁷⁸⁴

choose among them whichever seems more suitable to him.

In a passage Pliny told that emmer* mixed in food is useful, and, in another passage, privet* berries, finally, in another, the smoke of the sabin herb* - *Juniperus sabina* - cures an illness of this kind. Galen* promises the same thing by the use of various kind of garlic* and onion. Many other persons recommend various kind of garlic, but give them in different ways. And in fact some people, according to Columella, insert in throat its cloves moistened with warm oil: Palladius repeated the same thing in the same way, but he has *mica* - bit - instead of *spica* - slice - of garlic, as it seems because of a corrupted text. Paxamus - a geoponic writer - suggests to wet the hens' mouths with them cut up fine and placed in warm oil, when they have cooled off, and if they swallowed them, he says that they will recover even faster. Some people, according to the same source, cook garlic in human urine and bathe the hen's beak with it, taking the greatest possible care that the smallest quantity does not enter the eyes. Leontinus likewise applies garlic to beak's holes, or puts it in water and gives it to drink. Cleaned scilla* - perhaps *Scilla maritima*, sea squill - soaked in water and given with meal, achieves the same result. Some people against the same illness fumigate the hen's head with smoke of oregano, hyssop* and thyme*, and hereupon rub her beak with garlic.

⁷⁸¹ *Naturalis historia* XX,57: Cetero contra pituitam et gallinaceis prodest mixtum farre in cibo. - XXIV,74: Ligustrum si eadem arbor est, quae in oriente cypros, suos in Europa usus habet. Sucus discutit nervos, articulos, algores; folia ubique veteri ulceri, cum salis mica et oris exulcerationi prosunt, acini contra phthiriasin, item contra intertrigines vel folia. Sanant et gallinaceorum pituitas acini. - XXIV,102: Herba Sabina, brathy appellata a Graecis, duorum generum est, altera tamarici folium similis, altera cupresso; quare quidam Creticam cupressum dixerunt. A multis in suffitus pro ture adsumitur, in medicamentis vero duplicato pondere eosdem effectus habere quos cinnamum traditur. Collectiones minuit et nomas conpescit, inlita ulcera purgat, partus emortuos adposita extrahit et suffita. Inlinitur igni sacro et carbunculis cum melle; ex vino pota regio morbo medetur. Gallinacii generis pituitas fumo eius herbae sanari tradunt.

⁷⁸² *Methodus medendi* liber 2. (Aldrovandi)

⁷⁸³ *Opus agriculturae* I, XXVII *De gallinis*, 2: Item alii mica trita cum oleo faucibus inseritur: staphis agria etiam prodest, si cibis misceatur assidue.

⁷⁸⁴ Palladio, *Opus agriculturae* I, XXVII *De gallinis*, 2: [...] staphis agria etiam prodest, si cibis misceatur assidue. - Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 431: Gallinacii generis pituitae medicina in fame: et cubatus in fumo, si utique ex lauro et herba savina fiat, (savinae herbae fumi adversus hunc morbum vis alibi etiam ab eo celebrantur:) penna per transversas inserta nares, et per omnes dies mota. cibis allium cum farre: aut aqua perfusus, in qua laverit noctua: aut cum semine vitis albae coctus, et quaedam alia, Plin. Idem ligustri acinos alibi hoc malum sanare docet, nimirum in cibo. Pituita gallinis nasci solet, quae alba pellicula linguam vestit extremam. haec leviter unguibus vellitur, et locus cinere tangitur, et allio trito plaga mundata conspergitur, Palladius. Sunt qui spicas alli tepido madefactas oleo faucibus earum inferant, (inserant,) Columella. Alii mica (lego, spica) trita cum oleo faucibus inseritur, Palladius. Allia minutim scissa in calidum oleum iniectis, illis ubi refrixerint, ora gallinarum colluunt. quod si illa etiam voraverint, efficacius restituentur, Paxamus. Allio rostri foramina inunge: aut in aquam ipsum allium conijciens, potandum dato, Leontinus. Aliqui in lotio humano elixantes allia, rostrum gallinae fovent: verum circumspecte, ne scilicet portio aliqua in oculos illabatur, Paxamus. Lotio ablue, (rostra nimirum et ora,) Leontinus. Quidam hominis urina tepida rigant ora, et tandiu comprimunt, dum eas amaritudo cogat per nares emoliri pituitae nauseam, Columella. Uva quoque quam Graeci *agriam staphylèn* vocant, (staphisagria, Pallad.) cum cibo (assidue, Palladius. sola, aut mista orobo, Paxamus) mista prodest. vel eadem pertrita, et cum aqua potui data, Columella. Munda etiam scilla, macerataque ex aqua, atque exhibita cum farina, idem praestat, Paxamus. Sunt qui ex origano, hyssopo et thymo suffimentum molientes, caput gallinae exponant ut fumum excipiat, alioque perfricent eius rostrum, Paxamus. Atque haec remedia mediocriter laborantibus adhibentur. nam si pituita circumvenit oculos, et iam cibos avis respuit, ferro rescinduntur genae, (scalpello aperiuntur quae sub gena consistunt partes, Paxamus,) et coacta sub oculis sanies omnis exprimitur. atque ita paulum triti (subtilissime, Paxamus) salis vulneribus infriatur, Columella. Vide supra etiam in C.

vocant, cum cibo mista prodest, vel eadem cum aqua trita potui data.

Others bathe her mouth also with tepid urine and press it, according to Columella, to such an extent until the bitterness forces to eject the repugnance for pip through nostrils. The grape which the Greeks call staphisagria* - *Delphinium staphisagria*, stavesacre; on the contrary *agrian staphylen* in Columella is the *Bryonia alba** or black-berried white bryony - mixed with food is also a help, or the same plant ground up in drinking water.

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[245] Leontinus urina quoque rostra abluere iubet, quasi ea per se sola pituitam curare apta sit. Verum et membrana ipsa leviter unguibus avellitur, ac post allio trito plaga mundata conspergitur.

Leontinus - a geponic* writer - suggests also to bathe the beaks with urine, as if this alone were a remedy for pip*. Really, the membrane itself is delicately pulled away with fingernails and afterward the cleansed wound is sprinkled with ground garlic*.

Eiusmodi vero omnia remedia mediocriter laborantibus Gallinis adhibentur. Nam si pituita circumvenit oculos, et iam cibos avis respuit, ad ferrum deveniendum est. Columella⁷⁸⁵ genas rescindi iubet, Paxamus partes aperiri, quae sub gena consistunt, et coactam sub oculis saniem⁷⁸⁶ omnem exprimi, atque ita paulum triti salis vulneri infricari. Quo tempore ad umbram ducendas esse admonet. Quod ad potum attinet, is talis sit, quem diximus, aqua munda nempe, vel in aqua allium, vel eiusmodi remedia, qualia recitavimus, macerata sint. Andreas Caesalpinus⁷⁸⁷ corticem fraxini internum, aquam in qua maduerit, caeruleam reddere, et Gallinis, cum morbis laborant, apponi scribit, sed ad quos morbos, et cuius auctoritate id faciat, non addit. Fas est credere de pituita loqui. Nam etiam antea eius ligni decocto f{a}elici successu Guaiaci loco usurpari dixerat.

But all these remedies are used for hens only moderately ill. For if the pip surrounded the eyes and the bird at this point rejects the foods, recourse must be had to an iron tool. Columella* tells us to cut the eyelids, Paxamus - a geponic writer - to open the parts lying under the eyelid and to press out all the pus collected under the eyes and then to rub the wound with a little bit of pounded salt. He advises us at this time to lead them into the shade. As for their drinking water is concerned, let it be such as I said, that is, pure water, or garlic or those remedies I said soaked in water. Andrea Cesalpino* writes that the inner bark of the ash tree* makes blue in color the water in which it has been steeped, and this water should be given to hens when they are ill, but he does not say for what diseases or on whose authority he does so. It is reasonable to believe that he is speaking about the pip. For he said also before that we can successfully have recourse to a decoction of that wood in place of guaiacum*.

Secundus morbus, quo Galli, Gallinaeve laborant, {ptiriasis} <phthiriasis>⁷⁸⁸ est, cum scilicet pediculis, atque pulicibus infestantur, maxime cum incubant. Hic autem affectus facilius, quam pituita tollitur: quinim<m>o saepenumero sibi ipsis magistrae eo sese pulverando liberant. Caeterum et hoc malo affectis veteres cum Latini, tum Graeci Geoponici remedia praescribere. Multi illitu olei

The second disease which troubles roosters and hens is phthiriasis, that is, when they are infested by lice* and fleas*, especially when they are incubating. But this disease is removed more easily than the pip: for very often, as mistresses of themselves, they get rid of those parasites by dust bathing. On the other hand also ancient geponic writers, both Greek and Latin, prescribed remedies for those affected by this illness. Many relate that they are very easily treated by

⁷⁸⁵ *De re rustica* VIII,5,22: Atque haec remedia mediocriter laborantibus adhibentur. Nam si pituita circumvenit oculos et iam cibos avis respuit, ferro rescinduntur genae, et coacta sub oculis sanies omnis exprimitur. Atque ita paulum triti salis vulneribus infria[n]tur.

⁷⁸⁶ Il latino *sanies* deriverebbe dall'ebraico *snh* = che deve essere cambiato, in quanto si tratta di sangue che si è tramutato. Si tratta, in parole povere, di sangue putrido o di secrezione putrida. Saniosità è un termine inabituale in italiano, essendo noto l'aggettivo sanioso, ma è correntemente usato dai discepoli di Esculapio*.

⁷⁸⁷ *De plantis* liber 3, caput 13. (Aldrovandi)

⁷⁸⁸ Dal greco *phtheír*, pidocchio, dal verbo *phtheíro* = distruggo.

e lino facillime curari tradunt, staphisagriam, et torrefactum cuminum pari pondere cum vino contusa Palladius⁷⁸⁹, Paxamusque laudant, si malum leve est sin pennarum penetraverit secreta, decoctum lupinorum. Sunt qui proprio experimento edocti Gallinas arena litorali, aut, quod praestantius esse aiunt, cineribus saponariorum a lixivio relictis, cura mulierum sese pulverantes, istoc malo ocyus liberari referunt. Varro⁷⁹⁰ ab eisdem animalculis praeservandas iri tradit, si in cubilibus, cum pepe<re>runt, auferatur substramen, et recens aliud subijciantur.

Aloisius Mundella Capos epilepsiae obnoxios esse prodidit⁷⁹¹. An vero Gallus, et Gallina eodem morbo laborent, ignoro. Ex oculis autem laborare, utrumque certe scio, nam et eorum acie parum valere author est Aristoteles⁷⁹². Si itaque ii male habeant, mulieris lacte, aut portulacae succo, vel sale ammoniaco, et cumino, et melle, aequis portionibus contusis illinito. Ipsas vero sub umbras deducito. Crescentiensis⁷⁹³ haec remedia ita recitat, ac si prodessent etiam ad grana illa, quae sub oculis provenire solent ex esu Lupinorum amarorum, quod minime probo, quandoquidem ea, nisi acu leviter apertis

smearing them with linseed* oil. If the illness is slight, Palladius* and Paxamus recommend staphisagria* - *Delphinium staphisagria* - and parched cumin* in equal weight pounded together with wine, but if it penetrated into the inner part of the feathers, a decoction of lupines*. Some people, acquainted by personal experience, report that hens become quickly free from this illness when dust bathing with a women's zeal using beach sand or, what they say is even better, ashes of the soap* makers, ashes remaining after lye's* preparation. Varro* says that they will be preserved from these little animals if after they laid eggs the straw in nests is carried out and fresh straw is laid down.

Luigi Mondella* related that capons are subject to epilepsy*. Whether rooster and hen suffer from the same disease I do not know. I certainly know that both are taken ill with eyes, for Aristotle* says they are not very flourishing as eye sharpness. Therefore, if eyes are suffering, smear them with woman's milk, or common purslane's* juice, or with ammonium chloride*, cumin's seed and honey equally pounded together. But you must lead them into the shade. Pier de' Crescenzi* mentions these remedies in this way, as if they are helpful also for those granules which are accustomed to come out under the eyes from eating bitter lupines. But I disapprove this at all, since these

⁷⁸⁹ *Opus agriculturae* I, XXVII *De gallinis*, 3: Pediculos earum perimit staphis agria et torrefactum cyminum pari pondere, et pariter tunda cum vino, et amari lupini aqua, si penetret secreta pennarum.

⁷⁹⁰ *Rerum rusticarum* III,9,8: In cubilibus, cum parturient, acus substernendum; cum pepererunt, tollere substramen et recens aliud subicere, quod pulices et cetera nasci solent, quae gallinam conquiescere non patiuntur; ob quam rem ova aut inaequaliter maturescunt aut consenescent.

⁷⁹¹ *Epistolae medicales* (1543) pag 63: Extremum illud addam, multos profecto mihi affirmasse, praesertim Totum nostrum plurimae sane lectionis, nec vulgaris iudicii virum, se videlicet propriis oculis vidisse, quales [sic] comitali morbo corripit: traditum enim a Plinio de coturnicibus, a nullo vero de alpinis nostris coturnicibus, quod sciam, nec hactenus visum, nec auditum. Plinii vero sententia illa, coturnices animalium solas, praeter hominem, talem morbum sentire, nobis profecto dubitandi occasionem praebuit: nonnulla enim alia sunt animalia, quae hoc afficiuntur malo, quemadmodum quos saepe nos vidimus, catti, &, ut ab aliis accipi, capi gallinacei, alaudae, equi, picae.

⁷⁹² Aldrovandi a questo punto dà un'indicazione bibliografica che potrebbe essere riferita alla *Historia animalium* di Aristotele. Lind la riferirebbe invece ad Aloisius Mundella, e precisamente alle *Epistolae medicales* 2.2 e non a un'ipotetica *Historia* di Mondella aldrovandesca, in cui ovviamente Mondella non parlerebbe di occhi, ma di epilessia. Comunque sia, la mia ricerca nella *Historia animalium* non ha trovato alcuna affermazione di Aristotele circa il fatto che l'acutezza visiva oppure il vigore oculare dei polli sarebbero scarsi. Aldrovandi dà la referenza al libro II, capitolo 2. I dati di Aristotele relativi all'occhio dei polli - a occhi sani dei polli - li ho invece trovati in *Historia animalium* II,12: Al pari degli altri animali, tutti gli uccelli hanno due occhi, privi di ciglia. Gli uccelli pesanti [i gallinacei, secondo Mario Vegetti] chiudono gli occhi con la palpebra inferiore, ma tutti hanno il movimento nittitante grazie a certa pelle che copre l'occhio a partire dall'angolo; gli strigiformi lo chiudono anche con la palpebra superiore. Lo stesso fanno anche gli animali a squame cornee, come le lucertole e gli altri animali di questo genere: tutti chiudono gli occhi con la palpebra inferiore, ma non presentano però, a differenza degli uccelli, il movimento nittitante. (traduzione di Mario Vegetti)

⁷⁹³ È inutile che Aldrovandi si metta a mistificare le fonti allo scopo di glorificare un concittadino. Infatti questa terapia oculare è di Palladio *Opus agriculturae* I, XXVII *De gallinis*, 3: Oculos portulacae suco forinsecus et mulieris lacte curemus, vel ammoniaco sale, cui mel et cyminum aequale miscentur. - Pier de' Crescenzi si limita a ripetere pedissequamente quanto riferito da Palladio. Per cui non vale neppure la pena citare quanto contenuto nel suo *Ruralium commodorum* - Libro IX - Di tutti gli animali che si nutricano in villa - capitolo LXXXVI - Delle galline - pagina 241 (traduzione italiana stampata nel 1490, di proprietà della Army Medical Library (n° 32563) Washington DC, USA - pubblicata da <http://gallica.bnf.fr>)

pelliculis auferantur⁷⁹⁴, visum extinguunt, tantum abest, ut tam levibus medicamentis cedant.

Depravatur item huic avium generi appetentia, ac potissimum Gallinis, hisque {niti} <nisi> cum pariunt. Etenim tum quandoque cum propria tum aliena ova depascuntur. Si ergo ita laborent, ut a tam pravo more desuescant ex ovo albumen effundes, et in luteo ipso humidum gypsum iniicies, ut testae duritiem contrahat. Volentes quippe in subiecto ovo gulam explorare, nec in eo amplius invenientes quid succi, ovorum aliorum fastidio capiuntur, atque ita tandem appetentia illa depravata corrigitur.

Si diarrhoea infestat illas, ut fit quandoque, farinae tantum, quantum manu apprehendi possit, tantumdemque c{a}erae⁷⁹⁵ vino levigabis, et pastam conficies atque ante alium cibum devorandum offeres: aut pomorum⁷⁹⁶, Cydoniorumve decoctum bibendum dabis. Quae mala sub cineribus cocta in eodem casu auxiliantur.

Aegrotant praeterea Gallinae, teste Alberto, cum multa pariunt, et non incubant, eo quod non abstrahuntur a partu: quoniam ipsis omnis potentia, ac virtus ob nimium partum exhauritur. Quod, ut videtur, Albertus ab Aristotele mutuatus est, sed qui id universaliter de omnibus avibus prodidit. Rursus, quae incubant aegrotare quibusdam dicuntur, sed tunc animo potius, quam corpore languent. Nam nimius erga

granules can ruin the sight if they are not removed with a needle after the small skin covering them has been delicately opened, so it is near impossible that they will disappear with so slight medicaments.

Likewise, in this genus of birds the appetite twists, and especially in hens, and in them just when are laying. For at such a time they occasionally eat both their own eggs and those of other hens. Therefore if they are so ill, in order to break them of such a bad habit, pour out the white of an egg and put moistened chalk on the yolk itself to attain the hardness of the shell. Thus, those wishing to satisfy their gluttony with the egg put under them, and not finding any more juice in it, they are seized by a dislike for other eggs, and thus that depraved desire is at last recovered.

If diarrhoea troubles them, as sometimes happens, you will pound so much meal as you can take with a hand and you will make it homogeneous with wine and the same amount of wax, and you will make a paste and feed it before any other food: or give them to drink a decoction of apples or of quinces*. These apples baked in ashes are helpful in the same situation.

Hens also grow ill, according to Albertus*, when lay many eggs and do not incubate them, because they are not drawn away from the task of eggs laying: since every strength and energy is exhausted by too much laying. It seems that Albertus got this statement from Aristotle, who nevertheless reported it about all and sundry birds. On the contrary some say that the incubating ones grow ill, but at that time they languish rather in spirit than in body. For their too great

⁷⁹⁴ Se ne è già parlato a pagina 232.

⁷⁹⁵ L'impiego della cera in caso di dissenteria era consigliato anche da Dioscoride* (II,76 nell'edizione di Pierandrea Mattioli*, 1554). Se mettiamo a *caerae* la c maiuscola, ci troviamo di fronte al sostantivo *Caerae* che non esiste. Esiste solamente *Caere*, indeclinabile, che significa Cerveteri*. Dal testo di Aldrovandi - tantumdemque caerae vino levigabis - sembrerebbe che si deve usare vino non di *caerae*, bensì di *Caere*, di Cerveteri, che oggi produce 3 vini DOC. Ma l'errore tipografico diventa palese disponendo del testo di Conrad Gessner (*Historia animalium III*, 1555, pag. 431): Diarrhoea correptas curabis, si farinae (ἀλφίτων. polentae, Cornarius) quantum manu apprehendi possit tantumdemque ex cera vino laevigans, atque pastam conficiens, ante alium cibum obtuleris devorandum: aut pomorum etiam, [432] cydoniorumve decoctum bibendum. Quae mala, etiam sub cineribus cocta, auxiliantur, Paxamus. § Per cui l'errore tipografico di Aldrovandi sta in *caerae* invece di *caerae*. § La conferma che non si tratta di vino di Cerveteri ci viene, oltre che da Gessner, anche dal testo originale di Paxamus e dalle corrette traduzioni di Laguna* e Cornarius*. Eccone i brani. § Paxamus: Διάρροϊαν δὲ ἰάση ἀλφίτων χειροπληθὲς καὶ κηροῦ τὸ ἴσον οἴνω μίξας, καὶ μάζας ποιήσας, καὶ διδοὺς πρὸ τῆς ἄλλης τροφῆς. (*Geoponica sine Cassiani Bassi Scholastici De Re Rustica Eclogae* - recensuit Henricus Beckh - Teubner - Stoccarda e Lipsia - 1994) § Andrés de Laguna: At diarrhoea correptas curabis, si farinae quantum manu apprehendi possit, tantumdemque ex cera vino levigans, atque pastam conficiens, ante alium cibum obtuleris devorandum: [...] (*Geoponica libri XIII-XX*, 1541) § Janus Cornarius: Alvi pro<>fluvio medeberis, polentae manus plenae mensura et cerae pari copia, vino ammixtis, et in massas coactis, si has ante reliquum cibum praebueris. (*Cassii Dionysii Uticensis de agricultura libri XX*, 1543) § Lind - grazie all'inaffidabile Aldrovandi, che giace agli antipodi di Gessner - non essendo in grado di risalire alla fonte della ricetta, cioè Paxamus, non può fare un controllo sul testo greco, per cui emenda l'inesistente *caerae* con *caepae*, traducendo con onion anziché con wax: If diarrhoea troubles them, as sometimes happens, take a handful of meal and pulverise it with the same amount of onion in wine. Make a paste and feed it to the hens before they eat any other food, [...] (*Aldrovandi on Chickens*, University of Oklahoma Press, 1963)

⁷⁹⁶ Paxamus ha μήλων = pomi, mele, con cui pertanto si traduce *pomorum*.

pignora sua amoris affectus, quem immutata vox acutior nempe facta indicat, morbi istius, si ita appellare placet, causa existit. Eodem tempore furere Aristoteles⁷⁹⁷ eas dixit propter inediam. Cum mulieribus vero commune habent, quod abortiunt. Qui sane affectus heris maximo detrimento est, quod ova imperfecta, ac non debito saepe tempore pariant. His ita medetur: ovi candidum assatum, et uvas passas tostas aequo pondere terunt, et ante alium cibum offerunt.

Atque hi ferme Gallorum, Gallinarumque affectus sunt. Quod modo ad pullos spectat, ii quasi primis infantiae diebus persedulo tractandi sunt, plumulaeque sub cauda clunibus subtrahendae, ne stercore coinquinatae durescant, et naturalia praecludant. Sed quanvis id caveatur, saepe tamen evenit, ut alvus exitum non habeat: itaque pinna pertunditur, et iter digestis cibus praebet. Cavendum pariter, ne sterco etiam pedibus eorum adhaereat; nam podagram creat, sed qua Capi magis quam Galli afficiantur, quinim<m>o Capi miris modis, Galli non, si Scaligero⁷⁹⁸ credimus, qui huius quaesiti etiam hanc rationem assignat: Quia Capis pusillus calor, edacitas multa: in Gallo calor multus, cibi abstinentia non minor.

affection for offspring, indicated by a unchanged but sharper voice, is the cause of this illness, if one wishes to call it so. Aristotle said that even at the same time they grow fierce because of abstinence from food. But they have in common with women the fact that they can have abortion. Undoubtedly this illness results in serious loss to landlords because they lay eggs which are not perfect and often not at proper time. A remedy can be found for these things: they crush together an equal weight of cooked egg white and baked dried grapes and offer this mixture to them before any other food.

These are usually the diseases of roosters and hens. As only chicks is concerning, they must be very carefully handled from nearly the first days of their life, and the down under their tails must be plucked away from their buttocks so that it may not grow hard with excrement's contamination, occluding the intestine's opening. But although one is careful about this, it often happens, nevertheless, that the chick's bowels cannot be evacuated: therefore the opening is perforated with a feather and a passage is supplied for digested foods. Take care likewise that excrement does not cling to their feet; for it causes podagra* - bumblefoot, but by which capons are afflicted more than roosters, or rather, capons in an outstanding fashion and roosters not, if we believe Giuseppe Giusto Scaligero*, who for this query gives also this reason: Because the capons have little heat and much voracity: in the rooster there is great heat and no less moderation for food.

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[246] CAPIENDI RATIO.

Quanvis eiusmodi volucres ab aucupibus nec retibus capiantur, nec fallantur laqueis, nec visco denique decipiantur, quoniam eas vel in cortibus vagantes vel gallinariis inclusas habemus, attamen ut vagantes, quae nobis saepe huc et illuc fugiendo {negocium} <negotium> facessunt, absque molestia {ocysus} <ocius>, ubi necessitas urget, allectae e media corte vel ex agris etiam ad praesentem usum nobis cedant

METHOD OF CATCHING THEM

Although birds of this kind are not caught by bird-catchers with nets, nor are deceived by snares, nor finally are taken in by birdlime*, since we have them either wandering in yards or shut up in poultry pens, nevertheless in order that wandering ones, who when fleeing here and there often trouble us and whom we have lured from the middle of the yard or even from the fields, when this must be done in a hurry, they promptly submit to us for the present purpose

⁷⁹⁷ 10 *Probl.* 73 (Aldrovandi). § Non si capisce a chi faccia riferimento Aldrovandi in questa nota a bordo pagina. Verosimilmente si tratta dei *Problemata* di Aristotele, o dello Pseudo Aristotele come oggi si afferma. Tuttavia il rimando potrebbe essere 10,37 anziché 10,73. Infatti in Conrad Gessner *Historia animalium* III (1555) pag. 423 possiamo leggere: Gallinae cum incubant, non cum peperint, furiunt, ratione inediae, Aristot. in Problem. 10.37. § La conferma viene dalla traduzione dei *Problemata* di Teodoro Gaza (*Problematum Aristotelis sectiones duaedequadraginta Theodoro Gaza interprete* Lugduni MDLI) che, cronologicamente, potrebbe essere quella consultata da Gessner per la stesura del testo relativo agli uccelli. Infatti nell'edizione di Gaza la citazione appartiene alla sezione X paragrafo 37. Se non bastasse, la sezione X arriva al massimo a 67 paragrafi e non a 73. § In base al testo di Gaza contenuto nel paragrafo 37 e alla suddivisione della sezione X dei *Problemata* al massimo in 67 paragrafi, si opta per una citazione corretta di Gessner e incorretta di Aldrovandi (anche se probabilmente tratta da Gessner, come era solito fare), citazione incorretta dovuta magari non al povero pluripeccaminoso Ulisse, bensì alla tipografia bolognese.

⁷⁹⁸ *Exercitationes* 277.2. (Aldrovandi)

eiusmodi astus possunt excogitari. Berytius⁷⁹⁹ frumentum lasere, et melle mixtis maceratum, et Gallinis obiectum eas quasi vertigine affici scribit. Quod si verum est, ut multi affirmant, id allectis Gallinis in pastum exhibere possemus, et ceu temulentas capere. Solus Andreas a Lacuna laseri contrariam facultatem tribuit, quod, ut pace eius dixerim, neququam approbare possum, cum nec verba Graeca sic habeant: neque talis aliqua laseris vis legatur apud alios scriptores, sed potius plerisque animalibus venenosa. Tradunt enim pecora eo assumpto, cum aegre habent, aut subinde pristinam sanitatem recuperare, ut plerunque contingit, aut emori. Eodem modo si {hyosciami} <hyoscyami> suffitum percipiant, corripiuntur amentia quadam adeo, ut non de sedibus suis duntaxat abire obliviscantur, sed decidant etiam, et capiendi sui copiam faciant. Quo astu utuntur illi nebulones Aegyptii, quos vulgo Cinganos appellant. Nec verendum est ab eiusmodi Gallinarum esu noxam proficisci. Nam et reliquae quae eodem cibo (loquor autem de frumento, de quo paulo ante) pastae sunt, mox convalescunt. Si assam foetidam exhibueris in victu, pennae omnes decident, et velut mortuae sese capiendas tradent.

Cardanus eosdem scurras Gallinas, Anates, Anseres, cuniculosque suffurari scribit, ita autem cito {hamo a} <a hamo> fixos auferre, ut neque motu alarum, neque voce furtum prodant. Sed huiusmodi furtum nescio quomodo, ut ille putat, bene cedat furi. Etenim esto, quod hamo in gulam iniecto vocem illis adimant, non video, quomodo alarum concussionem impedire queant, et si hoc etiam concedamus, ut nimirum duobus hamis utramque illam actionem, vocem scilicet, et commotionem impediunt, sociae vel Gallinae, vel Gallus maxime vel Anseres elato clamore, ut in consimili casu facere solent, Gallinarios excitabunt, furtumque prodent.

HISTORICA.

without bothering, dodges of the following sort can be devised. Berytius - a geponic* writer - writes that wheat* steeped in a mixture of juice of silphium* and honey, and thrown to hens, they are seized like by a dizzy. If this is true, as many assert, we can give it as food to the hens we have chosen and catch them as if they were tipsy. Only Andrés de Laguna* attributes the opposite effect to the silphium, and, no offence meant, I cannot agree with this affirmation at all, since neither Greek words mean so: nor in other authors is read any similar power of the silphium, but rather that it is poisonous to most animals. For they say that livestock who ate it when ill, either immediately are restored to health as often happens, or die. In the same way, if they receive fumigations of henbane* are seized by a sort of madness so that they not only forget to move away from their pens but even fall down and cause to be caught in mass. Those loafer Egyptians whom common people call Gypsies* use this trick. One need not fear that from eating such hens a damage can follow. For also the other hens, those fed on the same food (I mean wheat, about which just before) soon recover. If you give asafetida* in their food, all their feathers will fall out and they will surrender for capture as though they were dead.

Gerolamo Cardano* writes that those same loafers steal hens, ducks, geese and rabbits, and that they take away so quickly the subjects pierced with a hook that they cannot indicate their abduction neither by flapping wings nor by voice. But I do not know how such a thieving can be successfully carried out by the thief, as he thinks. For even granted that after they sank a hook in the throat deprive them of the voice, I do not see how they can prevent the flapping of wings, and even if we concede what follows, that is, with two hooks they can forestall both activities, that is, voice and flapping, their companion hens, or above all roosters or geese by cackling, as they are accustomed to do in such a situation, will awake the guardians and reveal the theft.

TALES

⁷⁹⁹ Per rendere più comprensibile questo brano - soprattutto per identificare i fantomatici *verba Graeca* - riportiamo l'equivalente brano di Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 431*: Ut gallinae vertigine afficiantur, ὄρνιθας σκοτώσαι: Frumentum maceratum lasere et melle mixtis, obijcito, Berytius. videtur autem hoc fieri, non tantum ad gallinas, sed alias etiam aves, feras praesertim, capiendas. quanquam haec inter ea quae de gallinis scribuntur in Geoponicis Graecis legantur. Andreas a Lacuna hoc fieri ait, ut gallinae vertiginosae non fiant. quod ego probare non possum, cum neque verba Graeca sic habeant: neque talis aliqua laseris vis legatur apud scriptores, sed potius plerisque animalibus prope venenosa. Pecora enim tradunt eo sumpto cum aegrotant, aut sanari protinus, quod fere consequitur, aut emori. si quando inciderit pecus in spem nascentis, hoc deprehendi signo: ove, cum comederit, protinus dormiente, capra sternutante. serpentes avidissimas vini admistum rumpere. praecipitasse se quandam ex alto cum in dentium dolore cavis addidisset inclusum cera.

{Polyarchum} <Poliarchum> referente Aeliano⁸⁰⁰, ferunt, eo mollitiei pervenisse, ut canes etiam, et Gallos, si quibus delectatus fuisset, mortuos efferret publice, et amicos suos ad funus convocaret, splendideque sepeliret, atque, quod maius est, in monumentis eorum columnas erigeret, quibus eorum epitaphia inscriberet. Qui sane Gallo amoris illius in hominem iustam reddidit talionem⁸⁰¹.

Sed ut ad veriora sermonem nostrum convertamus, Laurentius Surius⁸⁰² sanctum Germanum Episcopum {Antisiodorensis} <Autessiodurensis> prodidit, cum in itinere noctis caecitate compulsus mediocris hominum status successisset hospitio (nam id maxime ambitum fugiens requirebat) et in divino opere solito pernoctasset officio, lucem ortam esse nullis Gallorum cantibus nunciatam, cum earum avium copia in eisdem domibus non deesset. Causam novitatis explorasse, audi<i>sse multum iam tempus esse, quo tristis taciturnitas naturale Gallicinium damnasset: ab omnibus vero exoratum mercedem mansionis exolvisse. Acceptum namque triticum benedictione condivisse, avesque eo pastas auditus habitantium usque ad molestiam frequentatis cantibus fatigasse.

Ferunt, et maiorum nostrorum aevo in Hispaniae nobili quodam oppido, et ob miraculum iam per {totum} <totam> Europam celeberrimo, vulgo S. Domenico della Calzada dicto, Gallum mortuum, coctumque canto suo illustre quoddam, at potissimum cauponis filiae facinus prodidisse. Etenim virum quendam una

They say that, according to Aelian*, Poliarchus reached such a degree of licentiousness that he brought out for public burial also dead dogs and roosters if he took delight with some of them, and that he called out his friends to funeral, and that he buried them splendidly and, what is more, that on their tombs he erected columns on which he made epitaphs to be engraved. He really paid a fitting talion punishment to the rooster for its love towards a human being.

But to turn my speech toward more wise matters, Lorenz Sauer* related that St. Germanus*, bishop of Auxerre, since on his way, compelled by darkness, took shelter in a hospice shoddy for humans (for he mostly desired this since shunning vanity) and had spent the night at divine duty with usual care, the day light arose announced by no rooster's crowing, although in that same house was not lacking an abundance of such birds. He inquired about the unusual fact, he heard that since a long time an unpleasant silence swallowed up the natural crowing of the cock at sunrise: beseeched by alls, he footed the bill of the hotel. And precisely, after picked up some wheat, he seasoned it with a benediction, and the birds fed on it, with their frequent crowing worried the ears of inhabitants until nuisance.

They also say that in the times of our ancestors, in a certain renowned city of Spain now very celebrated throughout Europe because of a miracle, usually called in Italian as San Domenico della Calzada - Santo Domingo de la Calzada*, a dead and cooked rooster with his crowing revealed a famous crime, and precisely of the innkeeper's daughter. For a certain

⁸⁰⁰ Aelian is Aldrovandi's reference, but that author has nothing that even resembles the story about Polyarchus. (Lind, 1963) - Invece stavolta Aldrovandi ha perfettamente ragione e le sue fonti erano affidabili. Infatti Eliano parla di Poliarco l'Ateniese in *Storia varia* VIII,4. DE POLIARCHI DELICIIIS. § Se non voleva farsi criticare per l'ennesima volta, Ulisse doveva scrivere Poliarchum al posto di Polyarchum, in quanto si tratta di personaggi totalmente diversi. Infatti in Eliano troviamo Πολιάρχος, mentre Polyarchus, in greco Πολύαρχος, è un altro personaggio citato da Iseo (oratore greco, ca. 420 - ca. 340 aC, nato forse a Calcide di Eubea) oltre a essere anche un medico greco forse del I secolo dC citato da Celso* (*De medicina* libri V e VIII) oltre che da Galeno*, Ezio di Amida*, Marcello Empirico* e Paolo di Egina*. § Nessuna notizia biografica relativa a questo Poliarco cinofilo e gallofilo, eccetto ciò che ci elargisce Eliano.

⁸⁰¹ Questa della legge del taglione è un'aggiunta di Aldrovandi, in quanto il testo di Eliano finisce con epitaphia eorum insculperat. § Taglione deriva dal latino *talio* la cui etimologia è ancora oscura: l'accostamento a *talis* 'tale' può essere solo popolare. Nel diritto penale antico il taglione era la pena inflitta a chi si rendeva colpevole di lesioni personali. Secondo il principio "occhio per occhio, dente per dente" il reo perdeva lo stesso arto o organo di cui aveva privato l'offeso. Questa legge era applicata anche nell'Antico Testamento, espressa nella formula efficace del Levitico (24, 19-20): «come fece... così sarà fatto a lui; il danno che avrà inflitto, quello dovrà sopportare». Nell'antica Roma la pena del taglione era applicata solo alle lesioni più gravi e ne era esecutore la stessa vittima o un parente da lei delegato. La stessa pena si riscontra nell'antico diritto germanico da dove s'introdusse in vari statuti italiani al punto che se ne trovano ancora tracce a Modena nel 1771 e in Toscana nel 1786. È da considerare che la pena del taglione, pur nella sua cruda espressione di pena vendicativa, rappresentò in origine un notevole progresso sulle forme indiscriminate di vendetta privata.

⁸⁰² Verosimilmente i dati sono desunti dal tomos 4, liber 1, caput 8 del *De probatis sanctorum historiis*.

cum uxore, et filio haud deformi iuvene Compostellam, ubi D. Iacobi corpus conservatur, cuius videndi, et adorandi gratia eo se conferebat, ut plurimos quotidie facere videmus, et ego in iuventute mea eadem etiam pietate ductus feci, iter fecisse, casuque in iam dicto oppido in diversorio pernoctasse, filiam vero hospitis amore speciosi illius iuvenis captam, ei corpus suum obtulisse{:}<.>

man together with his wife and his son, who was not an ugly boy at all, traveled to Compostela* where the body of St. James is preserved, where he was going to see and worship it, as we observe many people doing everyday and I also did in my youth driven by the same devoutness, and by chance he spent the night in a inn in the abovementioned town, and the daughter of the innkeeper, seized by love for that handsome youth, offered to him her body.

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Cum vero ille copiam sui negaret, seque iam altiora cogitare diceret, caelestibusque tantum una cum patre, et matre incumbere, ac in sanctissimo itinere esse, in summa nec posse, nec velle illicitae illius libidini obtemperare, illam, quo [247] maximo flagrabat amore in summum converso odium, in abeuntis sarcina clam argenteam patinam celavisse, et cum iam ille aliquot passus⁸⁰³ ab urbe discessisset, altum exclamavisse, patinam illam furto ab eo iuvene ablata fuisse: cauponemque eius patrem convocatis lictoribus illum persequentem ab incoepto itinere redire coegisse, et reperta in sarcina patina, manifesti furti illum apud senatum accusavisse, et ad furibus peculiarem mortem, furcam, nempe condemnatum fuisse.

Since he, however, was denying his availability and was saying that by now he was thinking upon more sublime things, and that along with his father and mother was devoting himself only to celestial things, and that he was on an exceedingly holy journey, in short, that he could not and did not wish to submit himself to her illicit lust, then she, having changed her ardent love into the greatest hatred, secretly hid a silver plate in his knapsack when he was going away, and when by then he had gone some steps away from the town, she declared aloud that that plate had been carried away with a theft by that young man: and the innkeeper her father, running after him with lictors* he had called, forced him to get back from the just undertaken journey, and having been found the plate in his knapsack, he charged him with evident theft before the senate, and he was condemned to death reserved for thieves, that is, hanging.

Parentes vero quamvis tam inopinatum, tamque infamem carissimi filii sui necem maximopere flerent, ab incoepto tamen itinere non destitisse, sed Compostellam appulso D. Iacobum tam obnixe rogavisse, ut dolorum eorum misereretur, quod se fecisse sanctus post edito evidentissimo miraculo declaravit. Nam cum domum revertentes per eandem viam iter haberent, filium suum vivum laetumque reperisse in eodem loco, ubi mortem tam turpem subierat. Unde persolutis primum D. Iacobo gratiis miraculum publicasse, revixisse filium suum laeta voce proclamantes, etsi tamen id illius loci praefecto persuadere non possent, sed nunciantibus miraculum nihil respondisse aliud, quam ita vivere filium eorum, atque Gallus ille, quem iam assum in mensa positum habebat. Quo tempore coctam alitem non cucu<r>risse duntaxat, sed ex patina resumptis pennis etiam exili<v>isse. Tum tam insolenti spectaculo perculsum incredulum illum loci praefectum correctam hospitis filiam, et infandum scelus suum confitentem, qua prius innocentem

But his parents, although crying their eyes out because of a so unexpected and infamous death of their very dear son, did not, however, desist from their set out journey but, having reached Compostela*, prayed so steadfastly to St. James to take pity on their sorrow, a thing which the saint demonstrated after he did a more than evident miracle. For while they were traveling homeward along the same way, they found their son alive and happy in the same place where he had undergone so shameful a death. Then, having first thanked St. James, they broadcasted the miracle proclaiming in a joyous voice that their son had come back to life, although they could not persuade the prefect of that locality about this, who on the contrary replied to them when announcing the miracle nothing but their son was as much alive as that already roasted rooster he had lying on his table. At that moment the cooked bird not only crowed but, having resumed the feathers, jumped up off the platter. Then, amazed by so unusual a spectacle, that incredulous prefect of the locality inflicted the penalty by which he formerly punished the innocent young man on the innkeeper's daughter, repented and admitting her execrable crime.

⁸⁰³ Un passo equivale a circa 1,5 metri ed è costituito da 5 piedi.

iuvenem affecerat, poena mulctavisse. Gallum autem tanti miraculi testem in eo loco conservari, et a peregrinantibus, qui illius in memoriam plumulam e corpore eius evulsam cum magna pietate domum reportant, pie ibi colitur.

Simile propemodum de Gallo cocto, et in frusta conciso, mensaeque ad mandendum imposito miraculum doctissimus mihiq; amicissimus Carolus Sigonius⁸⁰⁴ e S. Petro Damiani recenset his verbis: Verum me religio aliqua tenet, quae aut sancti, aut pii homines posteritati pro re magna consecranda putarunt, ea dum se occasio praebet, quasi contemnenda silentio praeterire. Quare cum per hos annos, authore S. Petro Damiani huius aetatis (circiter annum 1014.) aequali portentum ingens a S. Petro Apostolo Bononiensi in ecclesia editum sit, mihi reticendum esse non duxi. Prudentis, inquit, et honorati cuiusdam apud saeculum diaconi didici narratione, quod refero. In Bononiae partibus duo quidam viri, qui et amicitiae foedere, et compaternitatis, si digne recolo, necessitudine tenebantur, in convivio discumbebant: quibus in mensam allatus est Gallus. Quod videlicet pulmentum unus illorum arrepto cultello, ut mos est, in frusta dissecuit, tritum quoque piper cum liquamine superfudit: Quo pacto, alter protinus ait: Profecto compater, sic explicuisti Gallum, ut ipse S. Petrus, etiamsi velit, redintegrare non possit. Cui mox intulit ille: Plane non modo D. Petrus, sed etsi ipse Christus imperet, hic perpetuo non resurget. Ad hanc vocem repente Gallus vivus, et plumis coopertus exiit, alas percussit, et cecinit, totum et liquamen super eos, qui convalescebant, aspersit. Ilico sacrilegium blasphemae temeritatis digna poena sequitur ultionis: nam et in aspersione piperis lepra percussi sunt, quam videlicet plagam non modo ipsi usque ad obitum pertulerunt, sed et posteris suis in omnes generationes velut quoddam haereditarium reliquerunt. Unde factum est, ut in famulatum redacti sint sanctae Bononiensis Ecclesiae, quae videlicet B. Petri Apostoli est insignita vocabulo. Quorum progenies, ut relator asseruit, hucusque leprosa durae illationis canone censita est ut ex operibus manuum suarum inferant Ecclesiae capisteria. Sic nimirum duplici poenae, leproae simul, et servitutis addicti suppliciis, instruunt alios, ut iam temere de divina potentia non loquantur. Et Gallus, qui dudum arguerat,

On the other hand in that place a rooster is kept as proof of such a great miracle and is piously cherished by pilgrims who, in memory of that other, with great devoutness carry home a little feather pulled from his body - in Santo Domingo de la Calzada*.

An almost similar miracle concerning a cooked rooster cut up in pieces and placed on the table to be eaten is told me by my very learned and most close friend Carlo Sigonio*, drawing it from St. Pier Damiani* by the following words: Really, whenever the opportunity presents itself, a certain scruple keeps me from passing over in silence, as if it were to be scorned, any thing which saints or virtuous men have considered worthy of consecration to posterity as important events. Therefore, since during these years, according to St. Pier Damiani contemporary of such period (around the year 1014), a great portent has been carried out by St. Peter Apostle in the Church of Bologna, I thought I should not keep silent about it. What I am referring, he says, I learned through the account of a certain prudent and highly considered deacon in this time. There were staying down Bologna way two men, both because of close bonds of friendship and, if I well think about, because of close bonds arising from having in common their father, and they were lying at a banquet: a rooster was served up on the board. As you would expect, one of them, after he grasped a small knife, as usual cut up into pieces that course, and also poured ground pepper over it along with gravy. After this has been done, the other man at once says: Brother, you have cut up a rooster so thoroughly that even St. Peter, if he wished to do so, could not put it back together again. The other man immediately replied: Surely, not only St. Peter, but if Christ himself should order it, the rooster would never rise again. At these words the rooster suddenly sprang up, alive and covered with feathers, clapped his wings and crowed, scattering the whole gravy upon the men who were dining together. Straightway a fair punishment follows the sacrilege of blasphemous haughtiness: for as they were sprinkled with pepper they were stricken with leprosy*, a disease which these men not only had to bear until their death, but was left by them as an inheritance to their posterity in all of its generations. Hence it happened that they were included in the servitude of the holy Church of Bologna, on which was just conferred the title of St Peter Apostle. As the storyteller affirmed, their still leprous progeny has been registered with the annual duty of a heavy toll, in order they supply by the work of their hands the

⁸⁰⁴ *De Episcopis Bononiensibus libri quinque* (Bologna, 1586), liber 2, Vita Clementis.

Petrum in terra negantem, tunc probavit Petrum cum eo, quem negaverat, in caelo regnantem.

Laurentius Surius diversam a superioribus historiam de S. Pachomio a cacodaemone in magnum Gallinaceum immutato, vexato, ac tentato refert his verbis: Cumque domum apprehendissent (daemones) speciem praebuerunt, quod eam concuterent adeo ut existimaret Sanctus moveri domum ex fundamentis. Ipse vero minime conturbatus, rursus chordam pulsavit spiritalem, et cum voce cecinit, dicens {,} <:> Deus refugium nostrum, et virtus, adiutor valde in afflictionibus, propterea non timebimus, dum turbabitur terra. Haec autem cum is dixisset, repente fuit quies maxima. Ipsi vero tanquam fumus defecerunt, et paulo post tanquam canes, qui a {m}biguntur, recedunt, et rursus impudenter accedunt. Sic etiam post preces beato illo ad opus {sedenti} <sedente>, malignus, suscepta figura maximi Galli, valde ante ipsum clamabat, continuas, saevasque voces edens, et simul etiam in eum involans, et acerbe eum feriens unguibus. Is autem cum rursus in eum sufflasset, et signum crucis in fronte fecisset, effecit, ut is statim evanesceret etc.

sieves to the Church. Undoubtedly, tormented with a double penalty, leprosy and servitude, thus they instruct others not to speak rashly about divine power. And the rooster, who since long time had demonstrated that Peter while being on earth was a renegade, in that moment gave the proof that he was reigning in heaven with Him whom he had denied.

Lorenz Sauer* with following words tells a different story from those just related, concerning St. Pachomius* worried and tempted by an evil demon changed into a big rooster: (And the demons) since had taken possession of the house, gave such a spectacle to shake it to such a degree that the saint was thinking the house was moving from its foundations. But he, by no means frightened, jarred the strings of the breath and sang aloud in saying: Lord, our refuge and strength, our great helper in afflictions, then I shall not fear when the earth will be shaken. When he had said these words, suddenly there was a very great quiet. For they vanished like smoke, and a short time later they behaved like dogs chased away who come back and boldly rush upon. Likewise, while that saint person after invocations was sitting intent on his work, the evil spirit, having taken the form of a huge rooster, was making a big din, uttering continuous and fierce cries, and at the same time flying also at him and striking him sharply with its claws. But when in his turn he had blown against it and had made the sign of the cross on his forehead, he caused the demon to suddenly vanish, etc.

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[248] COGNOMINATA.

Antiquissimus ille Italiae princeps, conditorque Comerus Galli cognomentum obtinuit. Regnavit hic, teste Beroso, et colonias suas posuit in regno, quod post Italia dicta est anno Saturni decimo, et regionem suam a suo nomine cognominavit, docuitque illos legem, et iustitiam. Fuit iste Comerus primogenitus Iapeti post diluvium, et Gallus paterno epitheto dictus Arameae, et Hebraeae originis quasi inundatus: Unde Ianigenas, qui Umbros vetustissimos Italiae genuerunt, Gallos veteres progenitores Umbrorum vocat Cato⁸⁰⁵, et Solinus⁸⁰⁶ {,}

SURNAMES

That very ancient sovereign and founder of Italy Gomer* - or Comer - received the surname Gallus. He reigned there, according to Berosus*, and founded his colonies in a realm which was later called Italy in the tenth year of Saturn*, and called his region after his surname, and he taught them law and justice. This Gomer was the first-born son of Iapetus* - of Iaphet* - after the Flood, and he was called Gallus by a paternal epithet of Aramaic and Hebrew origin, as if he were flooded. Hence Cato* calls the Gauls*, ancient progenitors of Umbrians*, as descendants of Ianus*, who generated the Umbrians, who are the

⁸⁰⁵ *In fragmen. 2 orig.* (Aldrovandi) § Il brano di Catone citato da Aldrovandi è irreperibile sia in *Originum libri septem* a cura di Albertus Bormann (Brandenburgii MDCCCLVIII) che in *Origines* ed. Hermann Peter, *Historicorum Romanorum Fragmenta* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1883 - pp. 40-67) presente nel web grazie a www.forumromanum.org. Non c'è due senza il tre: assente il brano anche in *Vitae et fragmenta veterum Historicorum Romanorum* - composuit Augustus Krause (Berolini MDCCCXXXIII). § Credo si tratti di uno stralcio elaborato come se fosse di Catone ma dedotto da *Descrittione di tutta l'Italia* (Bologna 1550) di Leandro Alberti* e che riguarda l'Umbria: [84v] Ella è molto antica questa Regione, et ebbero gli Ombri molto antico principio, come dimostra Plinio nel 3. libro dicendo esser quella di tanta antichità, che gli Ombri da i Greci furono nominati, sì come Imbri, per esser quelli solamente rimasi vivi sopra la

*Veterum, inquit, Gallorum prolem Umbros esse M. Antonius asseverat. Hos eosdem, quia in clade aquosa imbribus superstites fuerunt, Graece ὄμβρους*⁸⁰⁷ dictos, scilicet epitheto paterno veterum Gallorum Ianigenarum⁸⁰⁸. Comerus locos, scilicet ubi Ianus avus ante colonias posuerat, a se cognominavit. Nam in {Vetuloniensi} <Volturrenensi⁸⁰⁹> agro est

more ancient of Italy, and Solinus says: *Marcus Antonius Gnipho* asserts that the Umbrians are offspring of ancient Gauls. The latter people, since survived the rains of a water calamity, were called ombros in Greek, that is, with the paternal epithet of the ancient Gauls, descendants of Ianus. Gomer gave his name to the place where obviously the ancestor Ianus had formerly founded the colonies. For in Volturrena's - not Vetulonia's* -*

terra ne i tempi del diluvio universale. Il che conferma Catone nelle origini, dicendo qualmente passasse nel continente della Terra (hora Italia detto) della Scythia Giano con Dirino, ovvero Atlante (secondo i Greci da gli Hetrusci Atlano nomato) co i Galli primogeniti de gli Ombri. Erano questi Galli antichi inondanti, cioè quelli che rimasero sopra l'onde dell'acque, come narra Senofonte ne gli Equivoci, quando scrive fosse Oggige attavo di Nino da i Babiloni dimandato Gallo, perché egli solamente restò vivo con alquanti altri in tanta rovina, et inondatione delle acque. Il qual generò molti figliuoli. Parimente dice G. Solino con autorità di M. Antonio. Sono adunque gli Umbri detti, come Imbri. De i quali gli avoli furono gli antichissimi Gianigeni, che rimasero salvi fra tante procelose onde del Diluvio universale, come dimostra Catone. Et per tanto vogliono costoro, che così Umbri siano nominati de gli Imbri, ovvero dall'acque dell'universal Diluvio, sopra le quali con l'Arca navigarono, cioè Noè, et gli figliuoli, come chiaramente ramenta Beroso Caldeo nel 1. libro dell'antichitati, quando dice, che Noè fabricò una nave coperta, nella quale entrò con tre figliuoli cioè Samo, Giapette, et Chem, et con loro moglie, cioè Titea magna, Pandora, Noela, et Neoglasse. Et che dopo il diluvio passò Giano con i Galli antidetti in questo paese detto Umbria. (trascrizione in elettronico di Dario Giannozzi, Elena Macciocu, Sergio Martino, Ruggero Volpes e Vittorio Volpi - 10 giugno 2007)

⁸⁰⁶ Possiamo essere quasi certi che Aldrovandi disponesse del testo di Solino così come poi sarebbe stato edito da Mommsen nel 1864, dove Bocco*. rimane fuori dalla mischia relativa all'origine degli Umbri dai Galli. Il solo responsabile di questa genealogia, nonché del perché si chiamassero Umbri in quanto sopravvissuti alle piogge durante una calamità idrica, è un Marco Antonio che ci permettiamo di identificare con Marco Antonio Gnifo* del I secolo aC, di origine gallica, ma che sapeva parecchio di greco e latino, essendo stato insegnante anche di Giulio Cesare* giovincello. Altri tre Marcus Antonius (tutti e tre Gordianus, noti come imperatori romani Gordiano I, II e III), erano appena antecedenti a Solino (vissero fra il 157 e il 244 dC), ma non credo avessero afflato per l'etimologia, specialmente greca. Ecco le due versioni del brano di Solino che ci interessa. § *Collectanea rerum mirabilium* II,4,11 Hoc in loco Orestes oraculo monitus simulacrum Scythicae Dianae, quod de Taurica extulerat, prius quam Argos peteret consecravit. A Zanclensibus Metaurum locatum, a Locrensibus Metapontum quod nunc Vibo dicitur, Bocchus absolvit. Gallorum veterum propaginem Umbros esse M. Antonius refert; hos eosdem, quod tempore aquosae cladis imbribus superfuerint, Umbrios Graece nominatos. (Mommsen edition 1864 & 1895 - The Latin Library) § *De mirabilibus mundi* II - Hoc in loco Orestes oraculo monitus simulacrum Scythicae Dianae, quod de Taurica extulerat, prius quam Argos peteret, consecravit. A Zanclensibus Metaurum locatum, a Locrensibus Metapontum, quod nunc Vibo dicitur. - Bocchus absolvit Gallorum veterem propaginem Umbros esse; Marcus Antonius refert eosdem, quod tempore aquosae cladis imbribus superfuerint, Umbrios Graece nominatos. (C.L.F. Panckoucke edition Paris 1847 - The Latin Library)

⁸⁰⁷ Il sostantivo greco maschile *ómbros* significa pioggia, acquazzone.

⁸⁰⁸ Credo che *scilicet epitheto paterno veterum Gallorum Ianigenarum* sia un'aggiunta di Aldrovandi, salvo fosse presente nell'edizione di Solino di cui disponeva.

⁸⁰⁹ Nel 1549 Aldrovandi risulta coinvolto in un processo per eresia quale presunto seguace dell'antitrinitario anabattista Camillo Renato. Arrestato con altri 7 sospetti il 12 giugno 1549, il 1° settembre pronuncia pubblica abiura, senza con ciò per altro evitare di venir condotto a Roma per la prosecuzione del processo. Quivi rimane circa otto mesi (settembre 1549-aprile 1550), parte dei quali trascorsi in carcere, parte in libertà, approfittandone per studiare filosofia e medicina. Il domenicano e suo concittadino Leandro Alberti* (1479-1552) forse non fu responsabile di tutto ciò, ma potrebbe aver sobillato l'Inquisizione contro Ulisse, in quanto ne fece parte nel 1550 e nel 1551. Ecco forse spiegato perché Ulisse non rende alcun merito ad Alberti: infatti si astiene dal citare come fonte di queste sue intricate, fantasmagoriche ed errate notizie geografiche il trattato che rese Alberti maggiormente famoso, *Descrittione di tutta l'Italia* (Bologna 1550, traduzione latina 1567). Ed ecco il testo che ci interessa, dal quale possiamo evincere che senz'altro Aldrovandi si basò su Alberti, in quanto oltretutto ne deduce l'errore Comers, anzi, lo aldrovandizza in Comer, invece di Camars come scrisse Livio. Se non bastasse, trasforma l'irreperibile catoniana Volturrena (documentata più avanti da Alberti) in Vetulonia: [59v] Caminando poi verso le Chiane, appar Sarteano illustrato da Alberto singolare predicatore dell'ordine de' minori. Più oltre scorgesi sopra l'alto, et difficile monte l'antichissima città di CHIUSI annoverata fra le prime 12. Città di Toscana, Clusium dimandata da Catone, Strabone, Polibio, Plinio, Appiano Alessandrino nel 1. lib. Procopio nel 2. lib. delle guerre de' Gotti, Tolomeo, et da Antonino, che dice esser detto Comersol. Onde scrive Annio nel 7. lib. de' comentari, che fu nominato Chiuso vecchio dalla battaglia; concio fosse cosa che gli antichi (secondo Plinio nel 29. c. del 15. lib.) dicevano cluere il combattere. In vero io ritrovo che questa città fu primieramente detta Comersol, come chiaramente dimostra Livio nel 10. lib. quando così scrive, Clusium, quando Comers olim appellabant. Et fu così nominato Comersol da un capitano, secondo Catone col qual si concorda Beroso Caldeo nel 5. lib. delle antichità, quando dice, che Giano costituì Comerio Gallo Re di Vetulonia, dal qual poi furono dimandati i luoghi, et la regione, ove rimasero i vestigi di Chiuso, che prima fu detto Comersol, cioè giogo di Comerio, et anche ritrovavasi nel territorio di Volturrena, la valle detta Comera, et il Rei Comerio, cioè il fiume del Re Comerio, et ne i Falisci, l'Isola Comersana. (trascrizione in elettronico di Dario Giannozzi, Elena Macciocu, Sergio Martino, Ruggero Volpes e Vittorio Volpi - 10 giugno 2007)

⁸¹⁰ *Ab urbe condita* X,25: Vere inde primo relicta secunda legione ad Clusium, quod Camars olim appellabant, [...]

vallis Comera, et Ry Comer{*i*}us<,> in {Phaliscis} <Faliscis> est regio Comersan, a qua oppidum isola Comersana. {Elusium} <Clusium> quoque antea {Comer} <Camars> solum dicebatur, ut autor est Livius⁸¹⁰. Docuit autem Tuscos legem, atque iura, quae scilicet ante viginti annos, et amplius avus eius Ianus in scriptis illis mandaverat, licet brevibus absoluta.

Adaeus quidam e Philippi Macedonum regis militibus Ἀλεκτρυών, id est, Gallus cognominabatur. Cuius Heraclides Comicus apud Athenaeum⁸¹¹ his versibus meminit.

Ἀλεκτρυόνα τὸν τοῦ Φιλίππου παραλαβὼν
Ἄωρὶ κοκκύζοντα καὶ πλανώμενον
Κατέκοψεν· οὐ γὰρ εἶχεν οὐδέπω λόφον.
Ἔνα κατακόψας μάλα συχνοὺς ἐδείπνισε
Χάρης Ἀθηναίους.

Nam hic Chares, inquit Eustathius, Athenienses in foro epulis exceperit, cum sacrificaret {epicenia} <epicedia> propter pugnam prospere contra Philippi peregrinos milites gestam. Dicit autem intempestive illum cecinisse, eo quod pugnam intempestive aggressus sit, et nondum cristam habuisse, hoc est, inermem sese periculo exposuisse. Super qua re vulgata satis paroemia⁸¹² circumfertur, Φιλίππου ἄλεκτρυών, in eum, qui de levi, et nullius ferme momenti facinore quopiam, perinde ut maximo, laudandoque ab omnibus sese iactat. Apparet enim Charetem eius facti etiam nimium crebro, nimisque insolenter apud populum Atheniensem verba fecisse, quod Alektryonem Philippi confodisset.

{Sulpitius} <Sulpicius> Gallus cognominatus consul Romanus cum M. Marcello insignis commemoratur {fnisse} <fuisse> astrologus, ut qui in exercitu P. Aemilii contra Perseum noctu {ecclypsim} <eclipsim> Lunae mirantibus militibus enarravit. De eo ita scribit Valerius Maximus⁸¹³: {Sulpitii} <Sulpicii> Galli maximum

territory there is the Comera valley and the Rei Comero - the river of the king Comerus, in the territory of Falisci* there is the region of Comersan, from which results the name of the city Isola Comersana. Also Chiusi* formerly was only called Camars, as Livy* testifies. He - Gomer - taught the Etruscans* the laws and that right which more than twenty years before his ancestor Ianus handed down to them in writing, although expressed in shortened form.

A certain Adaeus, belonging to soldiers of Philip II king of Macedonians*, was surnamed *Alektryon*, that is, cock. Heraclides*, the comic poet, mentioned him by these verses in Athenaeus*:

Alektryóna tòn toû Philíppou paralabón
Aōri kokkýzonta kai planomenon
Katékopsen; ou gàr eichen oudépo lóphon.
Héna katakópsas mála sychnoús edeípnise
Chárēs Athēnaíous.

After he caught the Cock of Philip, when crowing aforehand, cut him up while wandering around; for he did not yet have the comb. Chares*, after cut up one, blew to meal a lot of Athenians.

For this Chares, says Eustathius of Thessalonica*, received Athenians to dinner at market place since he was offering as a sacrifice the dirges on account of the battle successfully waged against the foreign soldiers of Philip. For he says that he - *Alektryon* - sang out of time, since he took up the battle ahead of time, and that he did not yet have on himself the comb - the helmet's crest, that is, he exposed himself to peril without protection. In this regard a rather well-known proverb is peddled, *Philíppou alektryon*, the cock of Philip, addressed to him who boasts about some slight and nearly trivial undertaking as if it were of very great moment and a matter of praise by all. For it is clear that Chares talked about that fact too often and too insolently among Athenian people, since he killed the Philip's Alektryon.

Caius Sulpicius*, surnamed Gallus, Roman consul with Marcus Claudius Marcellus, is mentioned as a famous astronomer, as he who explained by night the moon eclipse to the astonished soldiers when he was in the army of Paulus Aemilius Lucius* against Perseus*. Valerius Maximus* writes about him as follows: *The very great zeal of Sulpicius Gallus towards the*

⁸¹¹ *Deipnosophistai* XII,43,532e.

⁸¹² Aldrovandi cita già di questo proverbio a pagina 184.

⁸¹³ *Factorum et dictorum memorabilium* VIII,11,1: Sulpicii Galli maximum in omni genere litterarum percipiendo studium plurimum rei publicae profuit: nam cum L. Pauli bellum adversum regem Persen gerentis legatus esset, ac serena nocte subito luna defecisset, eoque velut diro quodam monstro per<ter>ritus exercitus noster manus cum hoste conserendi fiduciam amisisset, de caeli ratione et siderum natura peritissime disputando alacrem eum in aciem misit. Itaque inclytæ illi Paulianæ victoriae liberales artes Galli aditum dederunt, quia, nisi ille metum nostrorum militum vicisset, imperator vincere hostes non potuisset.

in omni genere literarum recipiendo studium plurimum reipublicae profuit. Nam cum L. Pauli bellum adversum regem Persen gerentis legatus esset, ac serena nocte subito Luna defecisset: eo quod veluti {duro} <diro> quodam monstro perterritus exercitus noster manus cum hoste conserendi fiduciam amisisset, de caeli ratione, et siderum natura peritissime disputando, alacrem eum in aciem misit. Itaque illi inclitae Paulianae victoriae liberales artes Galli aditum dederunt: quia nisi ille metum nostrorum militum vicisset, imperator Romanus vincere hostes non potuisset. Meminit eiusdem Plinius⁸¹⁴ his verbis: Et rationem quidem defectus utriusque (Solis, et Lunae) primus Romani generis in vulgus extulit {Sulpitius} <Sulpicius> Gallus, qui Consul cum M. Marcello fuit: sed tum tribunus militum, sollicitudine exercitu liberato, pridie quam Perseus Rex superatus a Paulo est, in concionem ab Imperatore productus ad {praedicandam} <praedicendam> {eclipsim} <eclipsim>, mox et composito volumine.

Galli cognomine gavisus est Cornelius poetarum laudatissimorum haud infimus, nemini non notus, quem adeo adamavit {Virgilius} <Virgilius>, ut quartum Georgicorum librum a medio in finem usque in illius honorem conscripserit, quem postea, iubente Augusto in Aristaei fabulam commutavit. {Hunc Gallum} <Valerium Largum⁸¹⁵> tantae procacitatis fuisse ferunt, ut Dion⁸¹⁶ historicus tradat, Procule<i>um cum illi aliquando occurreret, nasum et os manu compressisse, id scilicet significantem, non alicui tutum esse, illo praesente, nec loqui, nec respirare, tam petulantis, et parum modestae linguae erat: quare procacissimum eum appellavit Ovidius⁸¹⁷, et vulgo etiam Anser dicebatur. Hunc et {Virgilius} <Virgilius> intellexit, dum ait⁸¹⁸: *Inter strepere Anser Olores*. Quod mox proverbii loco usurpatum est, cum indoctus inter doctos

learning of every sort of knowledge was of much utility to Republic. For when he was lieutenant of Lucius Paulus, who was then waging war against king Perseus, and suddenly on a cloudless night the moon underwent an eclipse, so that our army frightened as by a dire monster had lost the courage to engage the enemy, Sulpicius, by most learnedly discoursing about the doctrines of heavens and the nature of stars, sent it full of enthusiasm into battle. Thus the liberal arts of Gallus gave the first move to that famous victory of Paulus: for unless he had overwhelmed the fear in our soldiers the Roman general could not have overcome the enemies. Pliny mentions him by these words: And Sulpicius Gallus has been the first of Roman lineage to supply the people with the reason of eclipsing of both (moon and sun), who has been consul with Marcus Claudius Marcellus: but at that time he was military tribune, and having freed the army from anxiety on the day before king Perseus was defeated by Paulus, since he was let by the general on the tribune in order to predict the eclipse, later also a book has been done about.

Cornelius Gallus*, by no means the last of the most praiseworthy Latin poets and unknown to nobody, rejoiced in the surname Gallus, and Vergil* loved him so enthusiastically that wrote in his honor the fourth book of *Georgics* from half until end, which later on, at the bidding of Augustus*, he transformed into the tale of Aristaeus*. They say that Valerius Largus has been of such a great effrontery so that he led the historian Dio Cassius* to relate that when Proculeius Gaius* sometimes was meeting with him, was pressing hard his own nose and mouth with his hand, as if to indicate that for no one was a prudent thing neither to speak nor to breath in his presence, so impudent and loose tongued he was: hence Ovidius* called him most shameless, and he was also usually called as Goose. Vergil want to hint at him when saying: *A goose shrieking among swans*. What has been soon adopted as proverb, when an ignorant gets himself to dispute among learned men. Propertius* also writes

⁸¹⁴ *Naturalis historia* II,53: Et rationem quidem defectus utriusque primus Romani generis in vulgum extulit Sulpicius Gallus, qui consul cum M. Marcello fuit, sed tum tribunus militum, sollicitudine exercitu liberato pridie quam Perses rex superatus a Paulo est in concionem ab imperatore productus ad praedicendam eclipsim, mox et composito volumine. - Cicerone *De officiis* I,19: Alterum est vitium, quod quidam nimis magnum studium multamque operam in res obscuras atque difficiles conferunt eademque non necessarias. Quibus vitiis declinatis quod in rebus honestis et cognitione dignis operae curaque ponetur, id iure laudabitur, ut in astrologia C. Sulpicium audimus, in geometria Sex. Pompeium ipsi cognovimus, multos in dialecticis, plures in iure civili, quae omnes artes in veri investigatione versantur, cuius studio a rebus gerendis abduci contra officium est.

⁸¹⁵ Si veda il lessico alla voce Proculeio Gaio dove si mette in chiaro il madornale errore di Aldrovandi circa l'identificazione dei personaggi implicati nel tappare il naso e la bocca: Proculeio quando incrociò Valerio Largo.

⁸¹⁶ *Storia romana* LIII, 23-24. Proculeio non si tappò la bocca e il naso incrociando Cornelio Gallo, bensì quando una volta ebbe modo di imbattersi in Valerio Largo. Per il testo di Dione Cassio si veda Proculeio Gaio.

⁸¹⁷ *Tristia* II,435-436: Non fuit opprobrio celebrasse Lycorida Gallo, |sed linguam nimio non tenuisse mero. § Probabilmente si tratta di Cornelio Gallo e di una mima, la liberta Volumnia, cantata dal poeta col nome di Licoride. Donna bella e dissoluta, dovette far soffrire il poeta per i suoi numerosi tradimenti.

⁸¹⁸ *Eclogae* IX,32-36: Et me fecere poetam |Pierides; sunt et mihi carmina; me quoque dicunt/vatem pastores: sed non ego credulus illis; |nam neque adhuc Vario videor nec dicere Cinna |digna, sed argutos inter strepere anser olores. - But Servius*, the commentator on Vergil, says the poet attacked a bad writer of the name Anser here. (Lind,1963)

disputat. De hoc anserem ita etiam Propertius⁸¹⁹.
*Nec minor {bis} <hic> animis, {a} ut si <t> minor
ore, canorus
Anseris indocto {carminis} <carmine> {esset}
<cessit> Olor.*

of this goose as follows:

*And this one is not inferior in inspiration, as far as he is
inferior in voice,
the melodious swan submitted himself to the rough song of the
goose.*

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[249] DENOMINATA.

A gallo fit Gallina; a Gallina Gallinaceus: quae postrema vox vel Gallo additur ad differentiam, ut alibi⁸²⁰ diximus, vel pro eo dicitur, quod ex Gallis, et Gallinis est, ut pullus Gallinaceus, ova Gallinacea Varroni⁸²¹, ὄρνιθία Synesio⁸²², Fel Gallinaceum Ciceroni⁸²³, et ὀρνίθεια κρέα, Gallinaceae carnes Xenophonti⁸²⁴. A Gallo etiam Gallulo verbum est, pro pubem emitto, unde rursus Gallulasco {Naevio}⁸²⁵ <Novio> pro pubesco, quod pubescentes vocem grandiore ad Galli Gallinacei similitudinem faciunt: *Puerum mulieri praestare*, inquit Nonius, *nemo scit, quanto melior sit, cuius vox gallulascit, cuius ramus iam roborascit*. Aristoteles⁸²⁶ id τραγᾶν appellabat, simili nempe metaphora ab hirco, qui τράγος Graecis dicitur.

Gallare item verbum, quod, Nonio teste, Varroni<s> {Eudaemonibus}

ETYMOLOGIES

From *gallus* comes *gallina*, from *gallina* comes *gallinaceus*: the latter word is either added to *gallus* for making a distinction, as I said in another point, or is said in order to indicate something arising from roosters and hens, as *pullus gallinaceus* - gallinaceous chick, *ova gallinacea* - gallinaceous eggs - in Varro*, ὄρνιθία in Synesius*, *fel gallinaceum* - gallinaceous bile - in Cicero*, and *ornítheia kréa*, gallinaceous meat, in Xenophon*. There exists also the verb *gallulo* from *gallus*, which means *I give rise to hair at pubes*, - as said by Nonius Marcellus*, and in its turn in Novius* from *gallulo* we have *gallulasco* which stands for *I am growing up*, since those who are pubescent utter a louder voice like that of the cock. Nonius Marcellus - when quoting Novius - says: *Nobody knows that a boy is better than a woman, how much is better that one whose voice becomes manly, that one whose stick is gaining strength*. Aristotle* called this τραγᾶν - to enter in puberty's phase; to give vent anything on leaves - evidently with a similar metaphor borrowed from he-goat, called τράγος by Greeks.

The same happens for the verb *gallare*, which, as Nonius Marcellus says, in the Menippean* satire *Eumenides** of

⁸¹⁹ *Elegiae* II,34,83-84: Nec minor hic animis, ut sit minor ore, canorus | anseris indocto carmine cessit olor.

⁸²⁰ A pagina 189.

⁸²¹ *Rerum rusticarum* III,9,10: Si ova gallinis pavonina subicias, cum iam decem dies fovere coepit, tum denique gallinacia subicere, ut una excudat. Gallinacii enim pullis bis deni dies opus sunt, pavoninis ter noveni.

⁸²² In *Epistolis*. (Aldrovandi)

⁸²³ *De divinatione* II,29: Cum rerum natura, tanta tamque praeclara, in omnes partes motusque diffusa, quid habere potest commune non dicam gallinaceum fel (sunt enim qui vel argutissima haec exta esse dicant), sed tauri opimi iecur aut cor aut pulmo quid habet naturale, quod declarare possit quid futurum sit?

⁸²⁴ *Anabasi* IV,5,31. (Lind, 1963)

⁸²⁵ Aldrovandi si affida - forse erroneamente - alla sua fonte autorevole, Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 402: Gallulo, pubem emitto. unde gallulasco, pubesco, quod pubescentes vocem grandiore ad galli gallinacei similitudinem faciunt. Cuius vox gallulascit, Naevius. - Già ai tempi di Gessner esisteva un qui pro quo di difficile soluzione: Chi usò il verbo *gallulasco*? Fu Nevio* oppure Novio*? *Gallulasco* non ricorre neppure nei frammenti delle opere comiche di Nevio pubblicate da www.fh-augsburg.de. Nonio Marcello in un'edizione della *Compendiosa doctrina* stampata a Parma nel 1480 così si esprime alla voce GALLULARE: pubescere. Novius in exodio: Puerum mulieri praestare nemo scit quanto melior sit: cuius vox gallula sit: cuius iam ramus roborascit. - È palese l'errore *gallula sit* invece di *gallulascit*, ma si tratta di parole di Novio presenti in un *exodium*, cioè la breve rappresentazione farsesca con cui terminava uno spettacolo teatrale di maggiore estensione. - Una conferma che *gallulasco* viene usato da Novio proviene sia dal dizionario della lingua latina di Ferruccio Calonghi (Torino, 1957) sia dall'edizione della *Compendiosa doctrina* curata da Lindsay (1903). Altre fonti moderne riportano invece *gallulasco* come dovuto a Nevio. - Noi ci atteniamo a quanto scrisse Nonio Marcello.

⁸²⁶ *Historia animalium* V,14: I caproni grassi sono meno fecondi (è per questo che delle vigne poco produttive si dice che «fanno il caprone»), ma se dimagriscono possono accoppiarsi e generare. (traduzione di Mario Vegetti)

<Eumenidibus>⁸²⁷ insanire est: *Deam Gallantes*, inquit, vario {retinebant} <recinebant> studio, eodem namque {vetustas} <venustas> hic <ad>est *Gallantibus*⁸²⁸. An vero eiusmodi verbum a Gallo⁸²⁹ derivetur, Nonius non addidit. Caeterum a Gallina fit Gallinarius, qua voce Plinius⁸³⁰, et Cicero⁸³¹ pro Gallinarum custode utuntur, qui alias Varroni⁸³², et Columellae⁸³³ Gallinarius curator dicitur: cui etiam

Varro means to be mad. Nonius reports: *Those crazed persons like the priests of Cybeles* were singing the goddess with varying zeal, for here thanks to the same the joy is present in those possessed persons.* But Nonius didn't specify whether such a word is deriving from Gallus* - priest of Cybele. *Gallinarius* comes, however, from *gallina*, and Pliny* and Cicero use this word for the guardian of hens, and the *gallinarius* of Varro and Columella* is otherwise said *curator*, caretaker: in Columella is said *gallinarium* also the

⁸²⁷ Stando a Nonio Marcello - che rappresenta la fonte varroniana - i frammenti citati da Aldrovandi provengono non da *Eudaemones*, bensì dalla satira menippea *Eumenides* di Varrone, come risulta chiaramente dall'edizione della *Compendiosa doctrina* di Nonio stampata a Parma nel 1480, dove si legge: GALLARE est ut bacchare. Varro in eumenidibus: [...]. Anche www.intratext.com - seppur con delle varianti rispetto alla citazione di Aldrovandi - riporta il testo relativo ai *gallantes* come appartenente a *Eumenides*. - La fonte di un quasi fantomatico *Eudaemones* di Varrone potrebbe essere rappresentata da *Fragmenta poetarum veterum Latinorum* curato da Robert Estienne (1503?-1559) e edito nel 1564 dal figlio Henri Estienne (1528?-1598), il famoso Stephanus. In tali *Eudaemones* di Estienne sono contenuti frammenti che equivalgono più o meno a quelli riportati da Nonio e da www.intratext.com come appartenenti a *Eumenides*. Invece nell'*Eumenides* di Robert Estienne non ricorre neppure una parola di quelle riportate da Nonio e da www.intratext.com. - La cosa meriterebbe un'indagine simil-poliziesca che esorbita dai nostri compiti. Si emenda con *Eumenides*. Basta così. Altrimenti ci trasformiamo anche noi in *gallantes*.

⁸²⁸ *Saturae Menippeae* EUMENIDES - La ricostruzione dei frammenti è assai discordante a seconda delle fonti. Aldrovandi potrebbe aver consultato Nonio Marcello oppure l'ampia raccolta curata da Robert Estienne - *Fragmenta poetarum veterum Latinorum* - pubblicata nel 1564. Per motivi di comprensibilità del testo si emenda in base a quello fornito da www.intratext.com:

1205 31,140: aedilis signo, synodiam gallantes vario recinebant studio - CXL. 119,1: cum illo veni, video gallorum frequentiam in templo, qui cum e scaena coronam adlatam imponeret aedilis signo, synodiam gallantes vario recinebant studio.

1206 31,139: quae venustas, hic adest gallantibus, quae casta vestis aetasque - CXXXIX. 119,1: nam quae venustas, hic adest gallantibus, quae casta vestis aetasque adulescentium, quae tenera species.

⁸²⁹ Aldrovandi ha la stramaledetta abitudine - o riverenza - di far iniziare con la G maiuscola sia il gallo che i Galli - i Francesi - nonché i Galli - i sacerdoti di Cibebe - e chi più ne ha più ne metta. Così non si sa mai se sta riferendosi all'uccello che fa chicchirichì oppure a qualcuno che giustamente deve essere scritto con la G maiuscola. Sta di fatto che *gallare* deriva proprio da Gallo, ma inteso come sacerdote di Cibebe. La conferma ce l'abbiamo sia dal passo dell'*Eumenides* appena citato sia da *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities* (John Murray, London, 1875) che a pagina 566 alla voce GALLI (the priests of Cybele) riporta: There exists a verb *gallare* which signifies to rage (*insanare, bacchari*) and which occurs in one of the fragments of Varro (p. 273, ed. Bip.) and in the *Antolog. Lat.* vol. i. p. 34, ed. Burmann.

⁸³⁰ *Naturalis historia* X,155: Traditur quaedam ars gallinarii cuiusdam dicentis, quod ex quaque esset.

⁸³¹ *Academici priores* II,86: An tibi erit quaerendus anularius aliqui, quoniam gallinarium invenisti Deliacum illum, qui ova cognosceret?

⁸³² *Rerum rusticarum* III,9,7: Inter duas ostium sit, qua gallinarius, curator earum, ire possit.

⁸³³ Columella usa *curator* solo quando parla dei pavoni. *De re rustica* VIII,11,2: Nec curator aliud facere debet quam ut diei certo tempore signo dato iuxta villam gregem convocet, et exiguum hordei concurrentibus obiciat, ut nec avis esuriat et numerus advenientium recognoscatur. - L'erronea citazione, con piccole modifiche sintattiche, è tutta quanta di origine gessneriana. Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 402: Gallinarius Plinio et Ciceroni 4. Academ. custos est gallinarum qui Varroni et Columellae gallinarius curator dicitur.

⁸³⁴ *De re rustica* VIII,3,1: Totius autem officinae, id est ornithonis, tres continuae exstruuntur cellae, quarum, sicuti dixi, perpetua frons orientem sit obversa. - VIII,3,8: Haec erit cohortalis officinae dispositio. Ceterum cohors ipsa, per quam vagantur, non tam stercore quam uligine careat.

⁸³⁵ Negativa la ricerca della frase in *Rerum rusticarum* I,II,III di Varrone. Per cui bisogna presumere che si tratti di una frase di Longolius. § Presunzione insulsa dopo l'analisi della trascrizione ultimata nel gennaio 2006 da Fernando Civardi* del *Dialogus de avibus et earum nominibus Graecis, Latinis, et Germanicis* (1544) dove a pag. 14-15 circa *cohors* etc. possiamo leggere: PAMPHILUS. Aedicula ista, quae horreo incumbit, unde nunc gallinae crocitantibus devolant, putas ne veteribus nomen aliquod separatum habuisse? LONGOLIUS. Non aliter ac ipsas gallinas. Nam tota ista aedicula, nunc gallinarium, nunc cohors dicitur, a qua et ipsa aves cohortales a Latinis appellantur at altera ista aedicula, cuius parietibus corbes affixos, in iisque gallinas incubantes, officina cohortalis ob id appellatur, quod non aliter ac in officinis nostris cuncta parantur quae in usum huma<n>um veniunt, ita istic ova et pulli, quae in cibum. § Pertanto la fonte di questa citazione di Aldrovandi rimane irrisolta, essendo negativa anche la ricerca in Columella e Palladio* (martedì 13 maggio 2008).

⁸³⁶ Aldrovandi parla dell'*officina cohortalis* a pagina 203 e 229. § Grande la bagarre circa l'interpretazione dei personaggi di cui si parla se non si disponesse delle fonti, per esempio del *Dialogus de avibus* di Longolius. Tant'è che Lind (1963) taglia corto e omette di tradurre *non possum non laudare*: No one has said they sleep in the *corte*. I cannot deny that a small house of this kind, where the hens stay particularly at night and where in the daytime they return to lay their eggs and to incubate them, should be called the courtyard workshop. For as all things which are needed for human use are prepared in our workshops, so in the hens' workshops eggs and pullets are prepared for food.

Gallinarium locus vocatur, in quo nutriuntur. Idem pro Gallinario officinam⁸³⁴ dixit. Gyb. Longolius vulgo cohortem dici putat, ut videtur, ex Varrone, qui⁸³⁵ ita scribit: *In Urbana quoque domo cortem facere poterimus, in qua pascere Ciconias, Grues, Pavones, Gallinas, Anseres, et similia dabitur ad usus quotidianos.* Sed si Itolorum Corte a {Latinore} <Latinorum> corte, seu cohorte dimanet, locus erit diversus, attamen Gallinis destinatus. Hi enim la corte dicunt locum, eum nempe, quem aream Latini nuncupant, et in quo frumenta secta teruntur. Quare mea sententia Gallinarium a cohorte plurimum differt. Etenim Gallinarium vulgus a pullis Gallinaceis, qui simul cum matribus suis noctu illi a Gallinario custode includuntur, pullarium semper vocavit, Italique servato etiamnum eo nomine, pullaro vocant, et Hispani el gallinero donde duormen [duermen?] las Gallinas, hoc est, Gallinarium, ubi Gallinae dormiunt. In corte vero dormire nemo dixerit. Quod vero eiusmodi aediculam, ubi nempe noctu potissimum habitant, et quo interdum pariturae revertuntur, ovaque incubant officinam cohortalem sive cortalem⁸³⁶ ob id appellari inquit, non possum non laudare. Nam ut omnia in nostris officinis parantur, quae in usum humanum cedunt, ita ibi ova, et pulli, quae in cibum.

Ἀλεκτρονοπώλης dicitur Polluci, qui eiusmodi aves vendit, quemque nos vulgo pollarolum, quasi pullos venditantem appellamus. Putat autem usurpari posse tale vocabulum, cum Phrynichus⁸³⁷ usus sit voce ἀλεκτροπωλητήριον, assertque simul ἀλεκτροφόρον ex Aeschinis {Acciocho} <Axiocho>, quos annumerari posse ait τοῖς ὀρνιθευταῖς, seu ὀρνιθοθήραις.

Notanda porro diversa scriptura in his tribus compositis, et primum syllaba *no* excedere caetera procul dubio, vitio typographi, qui parum fuit attentus. Caeterum, ut ἀλεκτροπώλης, sive ἀλεκτρονοπώλης is est, qui venditat Gallinaceos seu Gallinas, ita ἀλεκτροπωλητήριον, sive ἀλεκτρονοπωλητήριον est ipse locus, seu forum, ubi venditantur, et ἀλεκτρονοφόρος, sive ἀλεκτροφόρος is qui baiulat Gallinas seu Gallinaceos emptos, et vendendos portat. Unde nos etiam forte ὀρτυγοφόρον dicere

place in which hens are raised. He again said *officina* for poultry pen. Gisbert Longolius* thinks that by common people it is called courtyard, gathering it, as seems, from Varro, who writes as follows: *Also in a town's house we shall build a pen in which it will be possible to raise storks, cranes, peacocks, hens, geese, and such fowls for daily use.* But if the *corte* of Italians derives from *cors* or *cohors* of Latins, the place is a different one, devoted however to hens. For Italians call *la corte* a place, that is, that one the Latins call *area*, threshing-floor, in which the cut grain is thrashed. Therefore, in my opinion *gallinarium*, poultry pen, differs greatly from *cohors*, courtyard. For common people always called *pullarium* the *gallinarium*, getting it from the gallinaceous chicks who are shut up there at night with their mothers by the guardian of hens. And Italians, having still kept that word, call it *pullaro*, and the Spaniards *el gallinero donde duermen las gallinas*, that is, the hen house where hens sleep. No one had said they sleep in courtyard. Since he - Longolius - says that such a small building, where they just stay particularly at night and where in daytime they return when are about to lay eggs and when incubate them, just because of this it is called *officina cohortalis* or *cortalis* - barnyard workshop - I cannot but praise him. For as all things needed for human use are prepared in our workshops, so here eggs and chicks are prepared, which are for food.

In Julius Pollux* is called *alektryonopolēs* the man who sells such birds and we commonly call *pollarolo* in Italian, as one who sells chicks. For he thinks such a word can be used since comic Phrynichus son of Eunomides* used the word *alektryopolētērion* and at the same time asserts that *alektryophóron* comes from the dialogue *Axíochos* of Aeschines of Sfetto* - or Socraticus, and he says those terms can be attributed to bird-catchers* - *toîs ornithentaîs*, or *ornithothēraîs*.

One must note the different writing in the following three composite words, and that the first one is longer than others because of the presence of the syllable *no*, beyond doubt because of an error of the printer, who was too little attentive. For that matter, as *alektryopolēs* or *alektryonopolēs* is the man who sells roosters or hens, so *alektryopolētērion* or *alektryonopolētērion* is the place itself, or market, where they are sold, and *alektryonophóros* or *alektryophóros* is the man who carries on shoulders hens or roosters he has bought, and carries those who are for sale. Therefore perhaps we will also say *ortygophóron* - carrier of quails*. For *ortygokópos* - beater of quails - is not used, according to Julius Pollux. For it seems to

⁸³⁷ Phrynichus, the comic poet, in T.Kock, *Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta*. The fragment is entitled *In Krono*, Vol. I, 369. (Lind, 1963)

poterimus. Nam ὀρτυγόκοπος non est in usu, teste Polluce. Videtur autem significare eos qui has aves venales gestant, vel ad ludos potius. Nam ὀρτυγόκοπος dicitur, qui in ludo Coturnicem digito ferit.

Porro Gallicinium⁸³⁸ ea pars noctis appellatur, in qua Galli cantant, ut scribit Macrobius⁸³⁹. Primum diei tempus dicitur, mediae noctis inclinatio: deinde Gallicinium: inde conticinium, cum et Galli conticescunt, et homines etiam tum quiescunt. Id temporis spatium ἀλεκτροφωνία Graecis dicitur, ut quidam in {lexecon} <lexicon> vulgare Graecolatinum retulit, sed apud D. Marcum⁸⁴⁰ ἀλεκτροφωνία scribitur, ubi Salvator noster discipulos admonet saepius, ut vigilarent. Ait autem. *Vigilate ergo (nescitis enim {quomodo} <quando> Dominus domus veniat, sero {in} <an> media nocte, an Galli cantu, an mane). Ne cum venerit repente inveniat {nos} <vos> dormientes.*

Danos populos doctissimus Ioannes Goropius⁸⁴¹ a Gallo Gallinaceo ideo sese denominari ait voluisse, quod cum belli studiis potissimum oblectarentur, atque in iis non tam avaritia, quam generoso animo ducti, victoriam, et laudes potius quam divitias quaererent, Gallinaceus Gallus inter omnia animalia naturae dotes ad hunc scopum necessarias habere videretur. Ab hoc igitur, tum bellicae laudis, et generosissimi animi, tum indolis regalis, et strenui militis, et ad omnia momenta vigilis optimo exemplari nomen non solum mutuari voluisse, verum pro symbolo, et synthemate quodam sibi accipere. Vocasse enim se De hanen, et composite per concisionem Danen, aspiratione in media litera de [250] more eorum delitescere.

Ingentes ergo animos, et vigilantes custodias, necnon summum erga suos amorem Dani, qui se hoc nomine nuncuparunt, pollicebantur, unde hactenus in usu ipsis fuisse constat, Gallos semper in militia habere binas maxime ob causas, nimirum, ut tum virtutem eorum

mean those carrying these birds for sale, or rather, for fighting*. For is called *ortygokópos* he who carries a quail on a finger during a fight.

Further, is called *gallicinium** that part of the night in which roosters crow, as Macrobius* writes. The first period of the day is called the turning of midnight: then *gallicinium*: then *conticinium*, when also roosters keep silent and when also humans rest. That space of time - *gallicinium* - is called *alektryophonia* by Greeks, as someone in common Greco-Latin lexicon has set down, but in Gospel of St. Mark it is written *alektorophonia*, where our Savior admonishes his disciples to be frequently watchful. For He says: *Watch therefore (for you don't know when the master of the house could come, whether late or at midnight, or at cockcrow or at morning). Lest when he suddenly comes he finds you asleep.*

The very learned Ioannes Goropius* says that Danish* people wished to take the name from the rooster because, nevertheless they took delight above all in their zeal for battle and were led to it not so much by greed as by their noble spirit seeking victory and praise rather than wealth, the rooster seemed to them among all animals to be given by nature the necessary endowment for this purpose. Therefore, they not only wished to take their name from this best model both of warlike qualities and noblest spirit, both of royal nature and of brave fighter, as well as of ever ready sentry, but they also wished to take it on as a symbol and a sort of banner. For they called themselves *De hanen* and skillfully, by a shortening, *Danen*, with dropping of the aspirate sound in the middle of the word as they usually do.

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Therefore the Danish*, who called themselves with such a name - *De hanen* - *Danen* - roosters, were pledging themselves to have strong spirits, to be watchful guards, as well as to have a very great love toward their relatives, so until this moment it turns out that among them the custom is kept to have always the roosters in

⁸³⁸ Aldrovandi parla del *gallicinium* a pagina 204.

⁸³⁹ *Saturnalia* I,3: Primum tempus diei dicitur mediae noctis inclinatio: deinde gallicinium, inde conticum, cum et galli conticescunt et homines etiam tum quiescunt: deinde diluculum, id es cum incipit dinosci dies: inde mane, cum dies clarus est.

⁸⁴⁰ Vangelo di San Marco 13,35-36: 35 γρηγορεῖτε οὖν, οὐκ οἴδατε γὰρ πότε ὁ κύριος τῆς οἰκίας ἔρχεται, ἢ ὀψὲ ἢ μεσονύκτιον ἢ ἀλεκτοροφωνίας ἢ πρωΐ, 36 μὴ ἐλθὼν ἐξαίφνης εὕρη ὑμᾶς καθεύδοντας. 37 ὁ δὲ ὑμῖν λέγω, πᾶσιν λέγω, γρηγορεῖτε.

⁸⁴¹ *Origines Antverpianae, sive, Cimmeriorum Becceselana, Novem Libros Complexa - Gothodanica* liber VII.

imitarentur, tum pro horologiis cantus eorum haberetur.

Subiungit autem idem Goropius Gallorum mox nomen alios imitatos esse, sed qui a Danis illis fortasse Cimmericorum sobole, genus ducerent: illos, ut nonnihil a parentibus distinguerentur, Alanen se nominasse, quasi dicerent, se omnes aut omnino Gallos esse. Al enim omnem, Han Gallinaceum notare: hinc Alani appellationem, quae gens Ptolomaeo suprema fere ad septentrionem ponitur, a Suobenis non longe remota, et rursus in Sarmatia Europaea sub eiusdem nominis montibus. Ait denique, et probat ex eodem Galli etymo Albanos, {Alonorsos} <Alanorsos>, {Rosolanos} <Roxolanos> eiusdem cum Alanis originis, et linguae fuisse; Albanos vero dictos fuisse quasi montanos Gallos, ex Alb, quo montes significant, et Han, quo Gallinaceus dicitur, {Alonorsos} <Alanorsos>, quasi Alanos degeneres, et spurios ab Horson filium meretricis significante; {Rosolanos} <Roxolanos> quasi equestres Alanos, a Ros, quod equum denotat. Et quem admodum Sacae Alpini Sacalpini, ita Alanos, sive Danos montanos, Albanos esse nominatos, atque hinc fieri potuisse, ut post omnes se Alanos dixerint, eo quod omnes Gallinacei nomen haberent, et id praesertim, cum iam Dani e Sarmatia in Cherronesum {Cymbricam} <Cimbricam>, et Norvvegiam, et insulas vicinas commigrassent, adeo ut tota fere Sarmatia et Asiatica, et Europaea posterioribus temporibus Alania coeperit dici.

Quem Procopius Honoricum vocat (qui Gizerici filius et Vandalorum imperii h{a}eres, tyrannice atque immani saevitia per ignes atque alia suppliciorum tormenta ad Ar{r}ianam sectam compulsisse legitur) alii Hunericum, nonnulli Heinricum, vel potiore scriptura Henricum appellant. Hunericus autem teste Hadriano Iunio⁸⁴² Gallinaceorum, Gizericus Anserum copiis affluentem significat: Heinricus vero domiciliis divitem, aut laris et sanguinis paterni magna progenie clarum.

Galeazius apud Italos maxime nomen proprium est: sed haud scio, an a Gallo: certe tamen novi {Ma<t>thiae} <Matthaei> Vicecomitis cognomento magni (nobilissima haec Mediolanensium familia est)

their army especially for two reasons: both so that they might imitate their courage, and their crow might serve instead timepieces.

Goropius* himself also adds that soon others paraphrased the name of the roosters, and precisely those descending from those Danish perhaps descendants from Cimmericians*. In order to distinguish something themselves from parent stock, they called themselves Alans* as to say that they were one and all or entirely roosters. For *Al* means all and *Han* means rooster: hence the appellation Alans, a northern people who by Ptolemy* is placed nearly in the far north, not too much faraway from Slovenians* and also in European Sarmatia* at the foot of the mountains of the same name. Finally he says, and he gives the proof of this, that Albanos*, Alanorsos* and Roxolanos* had the same etymology from rooster, the same origin and language as the Alans. The Albanos were so called as they were mountain roosters, from *Alb**, by which they indicate the mountains, and *Han*, by which is called the rooster, Alanorsos they are, so to speak, mongrelized and spurious Alans taking their name from *Horson* which means son of a whore; Roxolanos are, so to speak, equestrian Alans, from *Ros* indicating the horse. And like Saks* Alpines are Sakalpines, thus Albanos are said Alans or mountain Danish, and hence it could have happened that afterwards they were all called Alans since all of them were bearing the name of the rooster, and overall since Danish already had migrated from Sarmatia into Cimbrian Chersonese - peninsula of Cimbri*, Denmark -, into Norway and neighboring islands, so that in later times almost all Sarmatia, both Asiatic and European, began to be called Alania.

He whom Procopius* calls Honoricus* (who, as we can read, was son of Gensericus* and heir to the Vandal* empire and who, acting as tyrant and with savage fierceness using fire and other excruciating tortures forced - the African Christians - to embrace the Arian* sect) others call him Hunericus, some Heinricus or, by more correct writing, Henricus. According to Hadrianus Junius*, Hunericus signifies one who is rich in chickens, Gensericus in geese: Heinricus, one who is rich in houses, or famous because of a great progeny resulting from hearth and paternal blood.

Galeazzo is a very important first name among Italians, but I do not know whether it comes from *gallus*: nevertheless I certainly learned that the first-born son of Matteo Visconti* called the Great (this is a most noble family of Milanese) took his name Galeazzo* or

⁸⁴² In *Batavia*. (Aldrovandi)

primogenitum a Gallo Galeazium, seu potius Galliatium nomen accepisse, quod haec ales tota nocte, cum nasceretur, cantaret, quasi pater sub felicibus huius volucris auspiciis natum significare vellet. Galliciorum familia⁸⁴³ nunc extincta, olim in hac urbe generis claritate floruit, et turris ab eis fabricata etiamnum nobilitatis eorum extat testimonium, hanc autem a Gallis avibus nomen habere nonnulli volunt. Ἴππαλεκτρῶν Aristophani⁸⁴⁴ nominatur, id est, Equorum Gallus hoc versu.

Μεγάλα πράττει κάστι νυνὶ ξουθὸς
ἰππαλεκτρῶν.

Magna facit, et est nunc Gallorum equus.

Iam vero praeter plantas, quae mox sequuntur, et ab harum avium partium potissimum similitudine nomen habent, etiam processus unus ossis⁸⁴⁵ λιθοειδῶς, ab inferiori eius parte exorians, solidus, oblongus, et subtilis instar styli, vel acus πλῆκτρον, id est calcar dicitur. Plinius⁸⁴⁶ Alectorolophon vocat herbam, et Romanis cristam vocari asserit, et folia habere similia Gallinaceae cristae, caulem tenuem, semen in siliquis⁸⁴⁷. Quibus verbis multi herbarii nostri plantam quandam, quam Dodonaeus⁸⁴⁸ depingit ob florum congeriem, multiplici<s>, et densae Gallinaceae cristae modo fastigiatam, ob folia multo magis ad simplicis cristae figuram accedentia Alectorolophon, sive cristam Gallinaceam, sive cristam Galli appellarunt. Nascitur passim in

rather, *Galliatius*, from *gallus*, because this bird crowed during the entire night when he was being born, as though the father had wished to signify that his son was born under the happy auspices of this bird. The family of Galluzzi - or Gallucci - now extinct, once distinguished itself in this city - Bologna - for nobility of stock, and the tower they built even now exists as a testimony to their superiority, and some believe that this family takes its name from *galli*, the birds. In Aristophanes* is mentioned the *hippalektryon**, that is, the rooster of horses - the horse-rooster, by this verse:

Megála práttei kásti nunì xouthòs hippalektryon.

*He gives himself great airs, and now he is the horse of the roosters
- a horse-rooster.*

But, in addition to the plants following in a little while and taking their names chiefly from their resemblance to parts of the body of these birds, there is also a process of the petrosal bone of human skull's temporal bone*, rising from its lower part, solid, oblong, and thin like a stylus or a needle which is called *pléktron*, that is, spur. Pliny* calls an herb *alectorolophos* and asserts it is called comb by Romans - *Rhinanthus crista-galli* - Yellow rattlebox* - and that it has leaves like a rooster's comb, a slender stem, the seed in pods - in orbicular capsules. Many of our herbalists called *alectorolophos*, or chicken's comb, or rooster's comb, a certain plant which Rembert Dodoens* represents as having a great number of flowers, with the top shaped like a rooster comb, multiple and thick, with leaves approaching much more the look of a single comb - but is a *Rhinanthus crista-galli* or Yellow rattlebox. The *Rhinanthus* grows here and

⁸⁴³ "Gentile signor Corti, in quell'annuario ecclesiastico della metà del XVII secolo che già le segnalai, è più volte citata la famiglia Galluzzi o Gallucci, e anche la loro Torre che si trova nel luogo ancor oggi denominato Corte Galluzzi, contiguo alla basilica di San Petronio. Il cognome Galluzzi o Gallucci è indicato come di origine bolognese; il cognome Gallizzi non è mai citato nel libro; ritengo però che si tratti della stessa famiglia." (e-mail del 14-4-2005 di Adriano Guarnieri - Ufficio Stampa Arcidiocesi di Bologna) - L'annuario cui il signor Guarnieri fa riferimento è un annuario ecclesiastico della Diocesi di Bologna - *Bologna perlustrata* - il cui autore fu probabilmente Masini e che forse risale al 1666.

⁸⁴⁴ *Uccelli*, 800. CORO DEGLI UCCELLI: [...] Diitrefe per ali ha solo le damigiane; eppure è stato eletto caposquadra e poi ipparco: era un niente e ora si dà grandi arie, che sembra un ippogallo fulvo.

L'ippogallo viene nominato anche nelle *Rane* ai versi 932 e 937:

EURIPIDE: ... quando il dramma era ormai giunto a metà e il Pubblico cominciava a sentirsi annichilito, lui veniva fuori con tutta quella sua inventiva animalesca: caprocervi, ippogalli, e altre storie simili! e il Pubblico là stupefatto a bisbigliare: quanto è grande Eschilo!

PUBBLICO: Sì! sì! faceva proprio così! uah, ha, ha! È vero! è vero!

PUBBLICO: Ippogallo! me lo ricordo anch'io! sarà cavallo gallina o gallina cavallo?

⁸⁴⁵ Contrariamente al solito si è costretti a ricorrere a una traduzione non letterale, altrimenti l'ermetico testo di Aldrovandi risulterebbe incomprensibile.

⁸⁴⁶ *Naturalis historia* XXVII,40: Alectoros lophos, quae apud nos crista dicitur, folia habet similia gallinaceae cristae plura, caulem tenuem, semen nigrum in siliquis. Utilis tussientibus cocta cum faba fresa, melle addito et caligini oculorum. Solidum semen coicitur in oculum nec turbat, sed in se caliginem contrahit; mutat colorem et ex nigro albicare incipit et intumescit ac per se exit.

⁸⁴⁷ In realtà non si tratta di baccelli, caratteristici delle leguminose, bensì di capsule orbicolari, quindi di formazioni rotondeggianti. Salvo dover attribuire al latino *siliqua*, oltre a quello di baccello, anche quest'ultimo significato, che forse è dovuto a una terminologia troppo recente rispetto ai tempi di Plinio.

⁸⁴⁸ Liber 4, cap.57. (Aldrovandi) - Si può presumere, in mancanza di altre indicazioni, che Aldrovandi faccia riferimento all'opera di Dodoens più famosa, nonché fornita di illustrazioni: *Stirpium historiae pentades sex sive libri XXX* (1583).

pratis, et arvis utrobique otiosa, et inutilis.

Io. Baptista Porta⁸⁴⁹ venerem ciere ea ratione scribit, quod cristae Gallinae imaginem repraesentet, eoque magis cum et Gallus salacissima avis ad venerem inutilis reddatur dempta crista. Verum quod folia aspera ferre dicat, hirta, verrucis, et rugis nonnihil aspera, verbasci pube, et aliquibus sclaream dici, in eo non parum mihi allucinari videtur. Siquidem id Gallitricum, non alectorolophum Plinii convenit. Haud me latet tamen recentiores herbarios aliam herbam alectorolophon vocare, sed quae nec ipsa Gallitricum sit, at fistularia aliis dicta, quod ad fistulas, et sinuosa ulcera prosit, aliis item p<h>thirion, sive pedicularis ab effectu, quia in pratis ubi provenit depascentibus iumentis, pecorique pediculorum copiam gignit. Flores edit cristae Gallinae similes, sed minores et rubescentes. Provenit in uliginosis locis ipsis infesta.

Gallitricum vero longe diversa herba est, et Horminis haud dubio congener, estque nulli non nota sub Sclareae nomine: alii centrum Galli vocant, alii matrisalviam. Horminum tamen non est, quo nomine descripsit, et pinxit Fuchsius. Nam folia habet multo maiora, nempe verbasci, admodum hirta. Tota planta odorem spirat non ingratum, sed tam vehementem, ut capitis gravitatem faciat. Sylvaticus hanc herbam cum Sideritide Heraclea, quam hodie eruditi quidam herbam Iudaicam, vel {tethrait} <tetrahit>⁸⁵⁰ Arabice

there in meadows and fields and in either event is worthless and useless.

Giambattista Della Porta* writes that it is an aphrodisiac because it looks like a rooster's comb, all the more since the rooster, a most salacious bird, is rendered unfit for copulation when its comb is cut off - a huge whopper! But since he says that the plant bears rough leaves, bristly and somewhat coarse, with warts and wrinkles, endowed with the hairiness of the Common mullein - *Verbascum thapsus**, and by some people is called Clary sage - *Salvia sclarea**, in this regard it seems to me he got hold of the wrong end of the stick. Since these characteristics befit the Clary sage and not the Pliny's *alectorolophos*. Meanwhile I am not unaware that more recent herbalists call another herb *alectorolophos*, which would not be even the Clary sage, but that one called by others as *fistularia* since it is useful for fistulas and sinuous ulcers, which likewise others call *phthirion* or Lousewort - *pedicularis** - from its effect, because in the meadows where it is growing it creates an abundance of lice* in work animals and flocks feeding on it. It bears flowers like a gallinaceous comb, but they are smaller and reddish. It grows in marshy places and is harmful to them.

Clary sage is a far different herb, no doubt belonging to the same genus of Meadow clary or Meadow sage - *Salvia pratensis**, and is known to everybody under the name *sclarea*: others call it cock-spur, others mother-sage. Nevertheless it is not Meadow sage that one which Leonhart Fuchs* described and portrayed with this name - *horminum*. For it has much larger leaves like the Common mullein and quite rough. The entire plant sends forth a smell which is not unpleasant, but so strong that it causes heavy head. Matteo Silvatico* confuses this herb with Common hemp nettle - *Galeopsis tetrahit**, which today certain scholars think is

⁸⁴⁹ *Phytognomica* liber IV, cap. 12. (Aldrovandi) § La citazione di Aldrovandi è corretta. Infatti nel testo di Della Porta troviamo: Et inter animalium mores est gallinaceus gallus luxuriosissimus inter aves, ex Oppiano. Et cristae luxuriam designant, nam dempta gallo crista, demitur & luxuria. § Quest'affermazione di Giambattista Della Porta - *tolta la cresta gabbata la lussuria del gallo* - è priva di fondamento, come tante sue affermazioni di tipo biologico. Può darsi che il gallo, per riprendersi dal trauma dell'ablazione della cresta, se ne stia meglio per qualche giorno. Anzi, senz'altro se ne starà meglio, finché non sente più dolore. Se l'ablazione della cresta comportasse una successiva perdita perenne dell'abituale libido (etichettata come lussuria, ma che lussuria non è, in quanto è sì un eccesso - questo è il significato di lussuria - ma un eccesso richiesto da Madre Natura per la fecondazione dell'uovo quotidiano), se l'ablazione della cresta comportasse una definitiva perdita dell'abituale libido, allora vedremmo che i galli combattenti, una volta sottoposti ad ablazione della cresta per ragioni di *lavoro*, non avrebbero più discendenza alcuna. Se non muoiono combattendo, ecco che trasmetteranno ai discendenti proprio il meglio di se stessi, con enorme soddisfazione dell'allevatore. Ma c'è di più, e precisamente l'opposto di quanto afferma Giambattista, che senz'altro non sta riferendosi a un gallo evirato* cui è stata asportata anche la cresta, cosa del tutto inutile, visto che si ridurrebbe spontaneamente e rapidamente di volume. Come si specifica nell'apposito capitolo*II-XXIV-1 di *Summa Gallicana*, nel gallo non capponato all'asportazione della cresta fa seguito un aumento di volume dei testicoli e un incremento della produzione di spermatozoi. Questo fenomeno è dovuto presumibilmente al fatto che, essendo la cresta un importante deposito di ormoni maschili, l'ipofisi risponde alla sua ablazione aumentando la secrezione di gonadotropine che hanno come bersaglio le ghiandole sessuali. § Insomma, passato il dolore dovuto alla cresta recisa e grazie all'intervento dell'ipofisi, il gallo riprende a essere lussurioso come al solito, e non dedito alla castità per il resto della sua esistenza, come invece si evince dal testo di Giambattista.

⁸⁵⁰ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 403: Alectorolophos, quae apud nos crista dicitur, folia habet similia gallinae cristae, Plin. Sylvaticus gallitricum vel centrum galli vulgo dictum interpretatur, cuius semen (inquit, oculis immissum)

et vulgo herbariorum <dictam> [251] esse putant confundit.

called Jewish herb also by common herbalists, or *tetrahbit* in Arabic.

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Nam cum alibi {sclaream} <scarleam>⁸⁵¹ dici dixisset, quod visus claritatem {removeat} <renovet>, cuius ratione Germanis Scharlach quoque dicitur, mox, *Heraclea*, inquit, *est quae latine ferraria nigra vocatur, quam recentiores centrum Galli, et Gallitricum sylvestre vocant.*

Videndum etiam num *τζεντογάλη*, quae vox apud Nic. Myrepsum⁸⁵² nominatur unguento 62, sit Gallitricum: item num et hoc a Galli crista nomen habeat. Videtur siquidem vocabulum Graecolatium, qualia barbari multoties efformant. Capillum enim Graeci *τρίχα* appellant. Capilli capitis verticem occupant, uti etiam cristae. Cum vero Horminis herba similis sit, Gallinaceaeque cristae, Porta, ut dixi, Galli vires referre, venerique prodesse plurimum ait; *ὄρμᾶν* enim est impetu, instinctuque, ac ingenti libidine in venerem ferri.

Galli crus Apuleio herba dicitur, cuius cacumen instar pedis Galli dividitur. Herbarii graminis speciem faciunt. Plinius⁸⁵³ {Ischaemum} <Ischaemonem> vocat a sistendo sanguine. Nascitur ubivis, praesertim in hortorum areis cum aliis inutilibus herbis. Radices habet multas, tenues, candicantes, folia milii, ut scripsit Plinius, aspera, et lanuginosa: caules multos, rotundos, florem in spicis, colore herbaceis plerunque quinis, aut septenis.

For, since Matteo Silvatico* elsewhere said that it is called *scarlea*, because it restores clearness of sight, and for this reason is also called *scharlach* - scarlet - by Germans, soon after he says: *Heraclea is what is called in Latin ferraria nigra - black iron mine, which more recent herbalists call cock-spur and woodland Clary sage**.

We have also to see whether the *τζεντογάλη*, a word quoted in Nicolaus Myrepsus* as contained in the ointment number 62, is the Clary sage: and whether, likewise, this takes its name from cock's comb. Since it seems to be a Greek-Latin word, such as foreigners often create. For Greeks call hair *tricha*. Hairs occupy the top of the head, as well as combs. But since it is a herb bearing resemblance to Meadow sages* - *Salvia pratensis* or *Salvia horminum* - and to a gallinaceous comb, Giambattista Della Porta*, as I said, states it gives vigor to strengths of the rooster and is very helpful to his sexual activity; for *hormán* - in Greek - means to be driven toward sex with vehemence and transport, as well as with a huge lust.

In Apuleius Barbarus* - or Pseudo Apuleius - is said Rooster-foot - *Digitaria sanguinalis** or Large crabgrass - a herb whose top is divided like a rooster's foot. Herbalists class it as a sort of grass. Pliny* calls it *ischaemon* because it stops the blood. It grows everywhere, especially in pieces of land planted with greens with other worthless plants. It has many thin, whitish roots, its leaves are similar to those of the millet*, and, as Pliny wrote, rough and downy: the stems are numerous, with a circular section, the

caliginem ad se trahit. Eandem alibi scarleam vocat, (ut nostri scharlach) quod visus claritatem renovet. Et alibi, Eraclea (Heraclea) est (inquit) quae Latine ferraria nigra vocatur: quam recentiores centrum galli, et gallitricum sylvestre vocant. Videtur autem de sideritide Heraclea sentire, quam hodie eruditi quidam herbam Iudaicam vel tetrahit Arabice et vulgo herbariorum dictam esse putant: quibus ego quoque potius assenserim.

⁸⁵¹ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 403: Eandem alibi scarleam vocat, (ut nostri scharlach) quod visus claritatem renovet.

⁸⁵² Sì, l'enigmatico *τζεντογάλη* corrisponde al gallitrico. Il *Nicolai Myrepsi Alexandrini Medicamentorum opus in sectiones quadraginta octo*, tradotto, emendato e annotato da Leonhart Fuchs* e pubblicato a Lione nel 1549, offre la soluzione del dilemma. Tra i vari unguenti, a pagina 219 viene descritto l'unguento n° 62, *Unguentum Prasium ad plagas putrefactas* - Unguento Prasio contro le piaghe in putrefazione, dove il prasio dovrebbe significare *verde porro*, come è il colore del prasio, varietà di quarzo microcristallino usato come pietra di modesto valore per piccoli oggetti ornamentali. Infatti né il prasio né il marrubio* (*prasium*) entrano nella composizione dell'*Unguentum Prasium*. Così come per l'*Unguentum Alabastrum* - n° 61, *ad uterina mala* - l'alabastro non viene affatto impiegato. Invece uno dei componenti dell'*Unguentum Prasium* è il *centrum gallinae*, e Fuchs annota che "Nicolaus depravate dixit *τζεντογάλη*, pro *κέντρον γαλλίνε*. Est autem Centrum gallinae officinis ea herba, quam nomine Gallitricum sylvestre vocant. Vulgus saliviam sylvestrem, horminum sylvestre nomina {n}t." - In sintesi: nel codice di Myrepsus c'era erroneamente scritto *τζεντογάλη* al posto di *κέντρον γαλλίνε* corrispondente a quell'erba che nei laboratori farmaceutici veniva chiamata gallitrico, l'attuale *Salvia sclarea* o sclaraggine.

⁸⁵³ *Naturalis historia* XXV,83: Ischaemonem Thracia invenit, qua ferunt sanguinem sisti non aperta modo vena, sed etiam praecisa. Serpit in terra, milio similis, foliis asperis et lanuginosis. Farcitur in nares, quae in Italia nascitur, et ciet sanguinem, eadem adalligata sistit.

Herba trita, et admota efficacissime fluentem sanguinem sistit. Pueri floris asperis spicis sanguinem a naribus eliciunt, adeo ut pro diverso utendi modo haec herba sanguinem cohibeat, et evocet. Exiguum est gramen apud nos, inquit Porta⁸⁵⁴, surgens calamulis geniculatis, surrectis, singulis in quinas, ternasve exiles florum spicatas caudas, digitatim sparsis, sapore astringenti, et exiccante, unde non vana coniectura Plinianum {Ischoemonem} <Ischaemonem>⁸⁵⁵ possumus existimare, vulgo Galli pes dicitur, quod in summo frutice trifariam Gallinacei pedis imitationem habeat{:}<.> {ius Gallinaceis dysentericis medetur, sed veteris vehementius, ex Plinio⁸⁵⁶:} <Alibi etiam ius e Gallinaceo dysentericis mederi asserit, sed veteris Gallinacei vehementius.>⁸⁵⁷ Ad membranarum cerebri sanguinis profluvium prodesse dicunt sanguinem Galli ex Galeno: ad sanguinis reiectiones ore, et naribus valere ova assa suadent Medici. Haec ille.

Sed sciendum est hanc herbam Sylvatico perperam Gallitricum vocari, vel per errorem tri Syllabam {antepenultimam} <ante ultimam> a typographo additam, et ex duabus vocibus unam factam. Ait autem⁸⁵⁸: *Gallitricus* (lego Galli crus) *id est sanguinaria, eo quod naribus imposita sanguinem suaviter fluere facit. Nascitur circa vias, et saxosis locis. Habet in summitate velut pedes Galli. Pes Gallinaceus Plinio⁸⁵⁹ prima Capni species est, ut hisce verbis apertissime docet: Capnos prima, quam pedes Gallinaceos vocant nascens*

inflorescence gathered into ears with color of grasses, mostly five or seven in number, together. The grass, when crushed and applied, stops most effectively flowing blood. Boys draw blood from their nostrils with the rough spikes of the inflorescence, so that depending on the different way this herb is used, it stops and causes the blood pouring down. Giambattista Della Porta says that there is a small couch grass among us, rising with small knotty stalks, straight, each of them split into five or three thin ends of spike-shaped inflorescences and looking like fingers, with astringent and dehydrating taste, whence with a no groundless conjecture we may think that it is Pliny's *ischaemon*, commonly called Rooster-foot, since at the top of the stem it has a threefold imitation of the foot of a gallinaceous bird. Elsewhere he affirms that also the gallinaceous broth cures dysentery patients, but with more effectiveness if it comes from an old rooster. According with Galen*, they say that rooster blood is useful against the bleeding of brain membranes: physicians suggest fried eggs for bleeding from mouth and nostrils. Thus far Della Porta.

But we must realize that this herb is wrongly called *gallitricum* by Matteo Silvatico, perhaps because of the wrong addition by the printer of the syllable *tri* before the last, and one word has been made out of two. For he says: *Gallitricus* (I read *galli crus* - rooster's foot), *that is, sanguinaria - Digitaria sanguinalis* or Large crabgrass, *since when placed into nostrils causes the blood flowing gently. It grows along roads and in stony places. It has at the top like rooster's feet.* In Pliny the first species of fumitory* is the rooster's foot, as he clearly says by these words: *The first fumitory, which they call feet of cock, growing on rubble and in*

⁸⁵⁴ *Phytognomica* liber IV, cap. 23. (Aldrovandi)

⁸⁵⁵ *Naturalis historia* XXV,83: Ischaemonem Thracia invenit, qua ferunt sanguinem sisti non aperta modo vena, sed etiam praecisa. Serpit in terra, milio similis, foliis asperis et lanuginosis. Farcitur in nares, quae in Italia nascitur, et ciet sanguinem, eadem adalligata sistit.

⁸⁵⁶ La citazione di Aldrovandi è desunta in modo osceno - fermandosi oltretutto a un fatidico punto, e senza minimamente analizzare il testo di Plinio - da Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 393: Ius e gallinaceo dysentericis medetur, sed veteris gallinacei vehementius{:} salsum ius alvum cit, Plinius. - Ben diversa è la frase di Plinio, sia da quella riportata da Gessner, ma soprattutto da quella di Aldrovandi: *Naturalis historia* XXX,57: Ius ex gallinaceis isdem medetur, sed veteris gallinacei vehementius salsum ius alvum ciet. - Aldrovandi dopo i due punti sembra dire che il brodo di *ischaemon* fa guarire i polli con la diarrea, meglio ancora se l'*ischaemon* è vecchio. Ma una simile ricetta è irreperibile in Plinio. Il nostro Ulisse è sempre più inaffidabile! Plinio afferma semplicemente che se il brodo di pollo fa da astringente, un brodo salato di gallo vecchio è più lassativo del solito. - Il bello è che a pagina 283 Aldrovandi riporta la stessa citazione - un po' meno amputata e rimaneggiata - del passo di Plinio e finge poi di dedicarsi a elucubrazioni mediche che sono invece frutto della professionalità di Conrad Gessner. Per ulteriori mie disquisizioni non proprio inutili si veda a pagina 283.

⁸⁵⁷ Si emenda il testo con quello di pagina 283.

⁸⁵⁸ La stessa citazione viene riportata da Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 403: *Gallitricus* (lego Galli crus) *id est sanguinaria; eo quod naribus imposita, sanguinem suaviter fluere facit. Nascitur circa vias et saxosis locis. Habet in summitate velut pedes galli, Sylvaticus.*

⁸⁵⁹ *Naturalis historia* XXV,155-156: Capnos trunca, quam pedes gallinacos vocant, nascens in parietinis et saepibus, ramis tenuissimis sparsisque, flore purpureo, viridis suco caliginem discutit; itaque in medicamenta oculorum additur. [156] Similis et nomine et effectu, sed alia est capnos fruticosa, praetenera, foliis coriandri, cineracei coloris, flore purpureo. Nascitur in hortis et segetibus hordeaciis. Claritatem facit inunctis oculis delacrimationemque ceu fumus, unde nomen. Eadem evolsas palpebras renasci prohibet.

in parietinis et sepibus, ramis tenuissimis sparsisque<,> flore purpureo<,> viridis <suco caliginem discutit>. Dodonaeus hanc herbam putat eam esse, quae multis ramulis fruticat teneris in quibus folia numerosa incisa, colore, sapore, et quadamtenus forma alteri fumariae similia, praetenera viticulis, et capreolis: herba ipsa in sepibus provenit: flosculi eius candidi, caeruleo colore⁸⁶⁰ nonnihil distincti, in siliquis parvis semen: radix singularis, longitudine digitali, vere primo, ut et nostra vulgaris prodit. Maio, et Iunio utraque floret, et carpitur. Haec Capnos, inquit, Plinii imitatione pied de Geline dici potest. Verum cum Plinius Capni primam speciem purpureo flore esse dicat, Dodonaeus suae candidos tribuat, forsane eadem non fuerit; suum tamen interim cuique liberum esto iudicium.

Capnos, sive Capnion, inquit Hermolaus⁸⁶¹, hoc est, fumus, duplex. Alia Dioscoridi descripta nascens in hortis, et segetibus hordeaceis: alia et nomine, et effectum similis, quam pedes Gallinaceos vocant, teste Plinio, in parietibus et sepibus genitam, ramis tenuissimis, sparsisque flore purpureo, ut inquit Plinius{,}<:> quam nonnulli modo {Cymbellarem} <Cymbalarem>⁸⁶² vulgo dictam, nescio quam recte interpretantur, folio hederæ praetenui, ut in Cotyledone etiam commonuimus: et mox crassissimum illorum

hedges, with very slender scattered stalks, with purple flowers, by the juice of its green part dispels dimming of sight. Rembert Dodoens* thinks this herb - *Fumaria officinalis* - is that sending forth many tender shoots, on which there are several leaves with indentations which, for color, flavor, and partly for shape, are similar to the other fumitory - *Fumaria capreolata* or white fumitory - with very tender sprigs and stolons: also this herb grows in hedges: its little flowers are snow white, somewhat marked with blue - crimson, and its seed is in small pods: the root is single, a finger long, and the plant appears in the early spring, as also our variety does, the common one - *Fumaria officinalis*. Both bloom and are pulled out in May and June. This fumitory, he says, because of the resemblance with that of Pliny, can be called *pied de geline* - hen's foot. But since Pliny says the first species of fumitory has a purple flower and Dodoens gives snow white flowers to his fumitory, perhaps they are not the same; however let each man meanwhile make his own free judgment in the matter.

Ermolao Barbaro* says that fumitory, *capnos*, or *capnion*, that is, smoke, is of two kinds. The former, described by Dioscorides*, growing in kitchen gardens and in barley crops: the other, both for name and effect, is similar to that they call rooster's feet, as Pliny testifies, grown on walls and in hedges, with very slender spread stems, with a purple flower, as Pliny says: and that one which sometimes is commonly called Kenilworth ivy - *Linaria cymbalaria** - I don't know how much correctly they can identify it, endowed with a very thin leaf like ivy, as we also reminded when speaking about the Navelwort* - *Cotyledon umbilicus-Veneris*: and soon after

⁸⁶⁰ Nell'*Histoire des plantes* di Dodoens (traduzione di Charles de L'Écluse* - 1557) troviamo scritto quanto segue: Les fleurs petites & amassées en un, blanches, ayans quelque peu de pers entremesté, [...]. § In francese *pers* (di etimologia incerta e discussa) significa glauco, e glauco deriva dal greco *glaukós*, probabilmente 'azzurro chiaro', dal momento che nell'Iliade è un attributo del mare, ma l'etimologia di *glaukós* è sconosciuta. § Quindi, basandosi su Dodoens, giustamente a proposito della *Fumaria capreolata* Aldrovandi trascrive "flosculi eius candidi, caeruleo colore nonnihil distincti", in quanto ceruleo - *pers* - ricorre in Dodoens e corrisponde al colore del cielo sereno, azzurro pallido, che dà il colore glauco al mare. Però, nell'acquarello di Aldrovandi della *Fumaria capreolata* non troviamo alcuna nota di azzurro, anzi, nella didascalia sta scritto FUMARIA PLATYPHYLLOS FLORE ALBO ET AMETHYSTIZONTE IN EXTREMO, per cui l'estremità del fiore è color ametista*/uovo/028_002, quindi color del vino. § Ancora oggi (2008), tanto come ai tempi di Aldrovandi (XVI secolo), se analizziamo le immagini e le descrizioni della *Fumaria capreolata*, scopriamo che i fiori hanno una corolla bianca, biancastra, al massimo crema, con un apice rosso nerastro, oserei dire purpureo, tanto come la *Fumaria officinalis*. Quindi, né all'apice né nel resto dei petali troviamo dell'azzurro. § Non possiamo escludere che Dodoens avesse sotto gli occhi una *Fumaria capreolata* con una corolla lievemente glauca. Tuttavia conviene attenerci al colore odierno, che non ha nulla di ceruleo.

⁸⁶¹ *Corollariorum libri quinque*, 724.

⁸⁶² Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 403: Capnos sive capnion, hoc est fumus, duplex. Alia Dioscoridi descripta, nascens in hortis et segetibus hordeaceis: alia et nomine et effectum similis, quam pedes gallinaceos vocant (teste Plinio) in parietibus et sepibus genitam, ramis tenuissimis sparsisque, flore purpureo, ut inquit Plinius: quam nonnulli modo cymbalarem vulgo dictam, nescio quam recte interpretantur, folio hederæ, praetenui, ut in cotyledone commonuimus, Hermolaus Corollario 724. Ubi etiam mox crassissimum illorum errorem reprehendit, qui ex eo quod capnon Plinius Latine pedes gallinaceos vocari scribit, capnon etiam a Dioscoride monstratum, non aliud genus esse putant, quam quae vulgo sanguinaria et galli crus dicitur. Quae gramini (inquit) tam similis est, ut ab eo forte non admodum seiungi possit: nisi quod folio minore cernitur, et fibris potius quam radice nititur. Id autem quod in utroque summo frutice trifarin (trifarium) <trifariam> gallinacei pedis imitationem habet, candidius in hac quam in gramine conspicitur. Et alibi, Cotyledon non est, ut quidam rentur, quae vulgo cymbalaris appellatur, etiamsi cymbalion a Dioscoride vocetur. Est autem cymbalaris herba folio tenui anguloso, hederaceo, flore parvo, purpureo, in muris terrae nascens, quam quidem nonnulli genus alterum capni dictae faciunt, Haec ille.

errorem reprehendit, qui ex eo quod Plinius Capnon latine pedes Gallinaceos vocari scribit, Capnon <etiam> a Dioscoride monstratum, non aliud genus esse putant, quam quae vulgo sanguinaria, et Galli crus, ut ante diximus, appellatur, quae gramini, inquit, tam similis est, ut ab eo forte non admodum seiungi possit: nisi quod folio minore cernitur, et fibris potius quam radici nititur. Id autem quod in <utroque> summo frutice trifariam Gallinacei pedis imitationem habet, candidius in hac quam in gramine conspicitur. Et alibi: Cotyledon non est, ut quidam rentur, quae vulgo Cymbalaris appellatur, etiamsi Cymbalion a Dioscoride vocetur. Est autem Cymbalaris herba folio tenuis anguloso, hederaceo, flore parvo, purpureo, in muris terrae nascens, quam quidem nonnulli genus alterum capni dictae faciunt. Haec ille.

Vulgaris quidem apud nos haec herba est, et lactis etiam nonnihil habet, flosculo calathiformi ex purpureo ad caeruleum inclinante, radice alba, dulci, ut rapulo sylvestri congener videatur. Oculis a quibusdam utilis creditur, nimirum ut Capnos quoque, ut ab eodem effectu nomen idem contigerit. Foliorum species per aetatem mutatur, ex rotundiori in longam. Quae vero eius pars pedes Gallinaceos referat, non facile dixerim, nisi forte mucrones illi, in quos dividitur calyx, qui florem sustinet, eos repraesentare dicantur, praesertim cum flos deciderit, aut aruerit. Tunc enim in diversa tensi rigentesque <magis>⁸⁶³ apparent.

Baptista Porta⁸⁶⁴ Gallinacei pedis similitudinem capnon habere [252] tradit, ideoque eius succum oculis claritatem facere, et alvum solvere autumat, sed qua parte non addit. *Caucalis* quoque Graecis, et Latinis nominatur herba, quam inter oleracea Theophrastus, Plinius⁸⁶⁵ inter herbas vulgares, et in cibis usitatas meminere. Gaza in Theophrasto pedem Gallinaceum convertit, quo nomine Romani, ut Ruellius⁸⁶⁶ scribit, appellant, quod extremum folium in Galli, aut Gallinae pedem

he blames the very gross error of those who, since Pliny writes that fumitory is called in Latin rooster's feet, indicated as fumitory - *capnos* - by Dioscorides too, are thinking that it is not a different genus from that commonly called, as I said before, Large crabgrass and Rooster-foot, which, he says, is so similar to couch grass that perhaps cannot quite be distinguished from the latter: except that it differs because of a smaller leaf and leans on fibbers instead of a root. Since at the top of both stems has a threefold imitation of a rooster's foot, this appears more whitish than in the couch grass. And elsewhere: the Navelwort - *Cotyledon umbilicus-Veneris* - is not, as some believe, that commonly called Kenilworth ivy, even if it is called *cymbalion* by Dioscorides. For the Kenilworth ivy is a herb with a rather angular leaf like ivy, with a small purple flower, growing in walls of earth, which in reality some think to be a different genus from the so called *capnos* - fumitory. Thus far Ermolao.

This herb is indeed common among us, and has also some milk, with a cup-shaped small flower of a color shading from purple into blue, with a white, sweet root, so that seems to be of the same genus of wild radish*. By some people it is believed to be useful for eyes, just like also fumitory is, so that it got the same name because of the same effect. The appearance of the leaves changes in the course of time from roundish to elongated. But what part of it reminds chickens' feet, I could not easily say, unless we say that perhaps they are representing them those points into which the calyx supporting the flower is dividing itself, chiefly when the flower has dropped off or dried up. For then the points appear more stretching and rising in opposite directions.

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Giambattista Della Porta* reports that fumitory* has a resemblance to a gallinaceous foot, and thus its juice causes an eyes' brightness, and he affirms that it loosens the bowels, but he does not add by what part of the plant. By Greeks and Latins is also mentioned the *Caucalis** herb - e.g. small bur-parsley - which Theophrastus* mentioned among vegetables, Pliny* among common herbs often used in foods. Theodorus Gaza*, in his translation of Theophrastus, translates it as chicken's foot, the name by which Romans call it, as Jean Ruel* writes, because the uppermost leaf is shaped

⁸⁶³ Tutta questa disquisizione appartiene a Gessner, per cui si emenda in base al suo testo contenuto in *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 403: tunc enim in diversa tensi rigentesque magis apparent.

⁸⁶⁴ *Phytognomonica* liber IV, cap. 23. (Aldrovandi)

⁸⁶⁵ *Naturalis historia* XXII,83: Estur et caucalis feniculo similis, brevi caule, flore candido, cordi utilis. Sucus quoque eius bibitur, stomacho perquam commendatus et urinae calculisque et harenis pellendis et vesicae pruritibus.

⁸⁶⁶ *De natura stirpium libri tres*, liber II, cap. 62. (Aldrovandi)

conformetur. Ait item apud Dioscoridem tum eodem nomine, tum etiam pedem pulli ob eandem similitudinem vocari: sed id mihi nondum lectum est, scio tamen, hunc inter {thlaspios} <thlaspeos> nomenclaturas pedis Gallinacei meminisse, et Sylvaticus⁸⁶⁷ portulacam, Macro pedem pulli nuncupari asserit.

Ornithopodion similiter a Gallinae pede denominatum videri cuiquam possit, quoniam ὄρνις, et ὄρνιθις⁸⁶⁸ Graecis Gallina est. Attamen hîc ὄρνιθις in genere sumitur, atque herba ita vocatur a similitudine parvae aviculæ⁸⁶⁹. Denique advertendum est apud Suetonium⁸⁷⁰ quosdam Gallipedem inepte pro {Callipede} <Callippide> legere.

Cunila Gallinacea non alia herba est, quam quae Origanum Heracleoticum Graecis vocatur, teste Plinio⁸⁷¹. Ruellius sic dictam putat, quod eam Gallinae pascantur. Meminit eius plantae Plautus⁸⁷² his verbis.

In Ponto absinthium fit, et cunila Gallinacea.

Cur vero cunilam Gallinaceam vocent, a nemine adhuc traditum reperio. Ego ab effectu ita forte appellari existimem, videlicet quia insigniter venerem stimulat. Puto hoc origanum eisdem fere facultatibus praeditum, quibus cunila simpliciter dicta, quae satureia, seu thymbra alias nominatur. Unde satureiae nonnulli a satyris nomen impositum volunt,

like a foot of rooster or hen. He also says that in Dioscorides is called sometimes by the same name - *caucalis* - and sometimes also chick-foot because of the same similarity: but I have not yet read this, but I know that Ruel among the nomenclature of *Thlaspi** mentioned the chicken's foot, and Matteo Silvatico* asserts that common purslane* is called chick-foot by Floridus Macer*.

Likewise *ornithopodion* - *Ornithopus sativus*? i.e. serradella* - may appear to someone to have taken its name from hen's foot, since for Greeks *ornis* and *ornithis* is the hen. But in this case *ornithis* is used in a general meaning and the herb is so called from its similarity to a small birdie. Finally we must remember that in Suetonius* some people erroneously read *Gallipedes* for *Callippides**.

Cunila gallinacea - *Satureja hortensis** summer savory - is a herb which is not different from that called by Greeks oregano of Heraclea* - *Origanum vulgare ssp. viridulum* Nyman - as Pliny testifies. Jean Ruel thinks it is so named because hens feed on it. Plautus* mentions this plant by these words:

In Pontus grows the wormwood*, and the cunila gallinacea.*

But why they call it *cunila gallinacea* I do not find recorded by anyone up to now. I should think perhaps it is so named from its effect, that is, since it stimulates markedly the sexual appetite. For I think that this kind of oregano is endowed with almost the same attributes as the simply called *cunila*, which otherwise is called summer savory or *thymbra*. Hence some claim that to the *satureia* - summer savory - has been given the name

⁸⁶⁷ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 403: Apud Dioscoridem inter thlaspeos etiam nomenclaturas pes gallinaceus legitur. Item caucalis (apud eundem) tum eodem nomine, tum pes pulli vocatur: nimirum quod extremum folium in gallinae pedem conformetur, ut Ruellius scribit. Portulaca Macro etiam pes pulli dicitur, Sylvaticus.

⁸⁶⁸ Neppure in dizionari relativamente recenti di greco moderno (1856) è rintracciabile *ornithis*. Che non sia un errore tipografico ripetuto due volte al posto di *ornithos*, genitivo singolare di *ornis*?

⁸⁶⁹ In greco antico, uccellino suona *ornithion* oppure *ornyphion*.

⁸⁷⁰ Svetonio *De vita Caesarum - Tiberius* 38: Biennio continuo post adeptum imperium pedem porta non extulit; sequenti tempore praeterquam in propinqua oppida et, cum longissime, Antio tenuis nusquam afuit, idque perraro et paucos dies; quamvis provincias quoque et exercitus revisurum se saepe pronuntiasset et prope quotannis profectionem praepararet, vehiculis comprehensis, comitatibus per municipia et colonias dispositis, ad extremum vota pro itu et reditu suo suscipi passus, ut vulgo iam per iocum "Callippides" vocaretur, quem cursitare ac ne cubiti quidem mensuram progredi proverbio Graeco notatum est. - Per due anni interi, dopo essere divenuto imperatore, non mise piede fuori di Roma; nel periodo seguente se ne assentò solo per andare nelle città vicine, senza oltrepassare Anzio, dove però si recava raramente e unicamente per qualche giorno. Tuttavia aveva più volte annunciato che sarebbe andato a visitare le province e le armate e quasi tutti gli anni preparava la sua partenza, facendo radunare i carri, disporre il materiale necessario nei municipi e nelle colonie, lasciando perfino che venissero iniziati sacrifici per il suo viaggio e per il suo ritorno, tanto che ormai il popolo gli dava, per scherzo, il soprannome di «Callippide», personaggio che, secondo un proverbio greco, continuava a correre, senza avanzare di un centimetro. (www.biblio-net.com) - Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 402: Gallipedem quidam in Suetonii Tiberio inepte pro Callip<p>ide legunt.

⁸⁷¹ *Naturalis historia* XX,170: Est alia cunila, gallinacea appellata nostris, Graecis origanum Heracleoticum. Prodest oculis trita addito sale; tussim quoque emendat et iocinerum vitia, laterum dolores cum farina, oleo et aceto sorbitione temperata, praecipue vero serpentium morsus.

⁸⁷² *Trinummus* IV,934-935: CHARMIDES SENEX. Eho an etiam Arabiast in Ponto? STASIMUS SERVUS. Est: non illa ubi tus gignitur, | sed ubi apsinthium fit atque cunila gallinacea.

quod ut hi salacissimi, libidinosique passim a poëtis {depinguatur} <depingantur>, ita et haec herba homines ad {satyriasim} <satyriasem> impelleret, ut eleganter his verbis demonstrat Martialis⁸⁷³.

Improba nec prosunt iam satureia tibi.

Dodonaeus duo⁸⁷⁴ elatines genera describit, depingitque. Unum, quod a quibusdam morsus Gallinae nuncupatur, et a Germanis Hunerbisz, a Belgis Hoenderbeet, hoc est, Gallinae morsus. Alterum quod ab eisdem Germanis Hunerserb, a Belgis Hoenderserve appelletur, hoc est, Gallinae h{a}ereditas. Prior elatine multis cauliculis fruticat, hirsutis, auriculae muris modo: foliis subrotundis, asperis, et hirsutis, saepius parum incisus: caetera alsinae non multum dissimilis: flores purpureos, et caeruleos edit: deinde parva capitula, in quibus semen includitur. Hanc Fuchsius nomine *Alsines mediae* depinxit. Morsum Gallinae folio hederulae vocat Lobelius. Altera similes priori cauliculos profert, sed longiora folia, {angustiora} <angustiora>, toto ambitu crenata: flores caeruleos, semen in binis folliculis iunctis, radicem fibratam. Utraque locis umbrosis, incultis, secus vias, et in agrorum marginibus frequens. Maio mense, et Iunio florent.

Hippiam recentiorum quidam vocant herbam vulgatissimam, quam Andreas Matthiolus pro alsine depinxit. Haec quoque vulgo morsus Gallinae dicitur, et Gallis morgeline, quod Gallinis, et aviculis grata sit, eaeque caveis inclusae, et cibum fastidientes herba ista recreentur, ut helxine etiam, qua Plinius⁸⁷⁵ *Gallinaceos*, {scribit}, <scribit> *annuum fastidium purgare*; unde non inepte quispiam dubitet, errore aliquo factum esse, ut vel t{h}ypographus, vel Plinius helxine pro alsine scripserint. Germanis dicitur {vogelkraut} <Vogelkraut>, id est, herba avium. Italis centone, Pizzagallina, grassagalline, Pavarina, quod iunioribus Anseribus, quos Pavaros vocant, gratum sit pabulum.

from satyrs* since, like these creatures are everywhere depicted by poets as the most salacious and libidinous, so this herb drives humans to satyriasis, as Martial elegantly shows by these words:

Neither the licentious satureia does you good any longer.

Rembert Dodoens* describes and depicts two kinds of elatine*. One by some is called hen-bite and *Hunerbisz* by Germans, *Hoenderbeet* by Belgians, that is, hen-bite. The other kind would still be called *Hunerserb* by Germans, *Hoenderserve* by Belgians, that is, hen's inheritance. The first elatine sprouts with many small stems, hairy, and shaped like a mouse's auricle: with roundish leaves, rough, and hairy, mostly not much serrated; the other one is not much different from alsine*: it produces purple and sky-blue flowers and then small heads in which the seed is enclosed. Leonhart Fuchs* described the latter under the name of *alsine media*. Mathias de L'Obel* calls it hen-bite with the leaf of small ivy. The other variety produces little stems similar to the former, but longer and narrower leaves indented all around: the flowers are sky-blue, the seed lies in twin involucre and joined together, the root is fibrous. Both are frequent in shady, uncultivated places, along the roads and on the edges of fields. They flower in May and June months.

Some more recent authors call *hippia* a very common herb which Pierandrea Mattioli* described as *alsine*. This also is vulgarly called hen-bite, and *morgeline* by French, because is appreciated by hens and little birds, and when the hens are shut up in pens and refusing food they would be restored by this herb, as well as by helxine - perhaps *Parietaria officinalis**, pellitory of the wall - and Pliny writes that thanks to it *chickens remove the annual dislike for food*, hence someone rightly might doubt that because of some error did happen that either the printer or Pliny wrote *helxine* for *alsine*. It is called *Vogelkraut* by Germans, that is, bird-herb. For Italians it is *centone* - or *centonchio*, *pizzagallina*, *grassagalline*, *pavarina** - *Stellaria media*, because it would be a pleasing food for younger geese, whom they call *pavari* - today *paperi*.

⁸⁷³ *Epigrammata* III,75,3-4: Sed nihil erucæ faciunt bulbique salaces, | improba nec prosunt iam satureia tibi.

⁸⁷⁴ Plinio ne describe solo un genere. *Naturalis historia* XXVII,74: Elatine folia habet casiae, pusilla, pilosa, rotunda, semipedalibus ramulis quinque senisque, a radice statim foliosis. nascitur in segete, acerba gustu et ideo oculorum fluctationibus efficax foliis cum polenta tritis et inpositis, subdito linteolo. Eadem cum lini semine cocta sorbitionis usu dysenteria liberat.

⁸⁷⁵ Aldrovandi ne ha già parlato a pagina 235. Ecco il testo di Plinio *Naturalis historia* VIII,101: Palumbes, graculi, merulae, perdices lauri folio annuum fastidium purgant, columbae, turtures et gallinacei herba quae vocatur helxine, anates, anseres ceteraque aquaticae herba siderite, grues et similes iunco palustri.

Anagallis⁸⁷⁶ Matthiolo etiam grassagallina dicitur, sed quem ob id Dalechampius reprehendat, qui id nominis soli alsinae convenire putat. Ruellius tamen et ipse pariter Gallus anagallidem Gallice morgelinam, sive Gallinae morsum nuncupat, ubi etiam hallucinari eos scribit, qui mouronem vulgo ductum, aut papaverinam [passerinam?⁸⁷⁷] florem {candidam} <candidum> ferentem, huic anagallidum connubio retulerunt, (diviserat autem in marem, et faeminam, {hunc} <illum> flore puniceo, {illam} <hanc> caeruleo⁸⁷⁸) illius virilis, faemineique sexus devortium facientes.

Ornithogalum a lacteo Gallinarum colore, ut vult idem Ruellius⁸⁷⁹, nomen accepisse videtur, quod flores intus lacteo colore niteant, nisi quis sentiat, inquit Dalechampius, ab ovi candidi figura, quam radix prae se fert, dictum: nam avicularum ova imitatur, intus albissima. Arbitratur autem eiusmodi candorem in alis Gallinarum renitere: quod sane non intelligo, quoniam plurimae atrae sunt totae, multae alterius coloris, in quibus profecto nihil candoris reperias: si vero de candidis loquitur, cur in alis potius, quam in aliis partibus candor ille magis reniteat. Videndum an a candore albuminis ovi cocti, praesertim cum id lac Gallinae a quibusdam peritis putetur, Anaxagorae, Alcmaeoni Crotoniati, ut Aristoteles citat⁸⁸⁰, atque magno Hippocrati:

Pimpernel or chickweed - *Anagallis arvensis**, Common pimpernel (USA), Poor man's weatherglass (UK) - is also called *grassagallina* by Mattioli, but Jacques Daléchamps* could reprove him because of this, since he thinks this name is suitable for *alsine* alone. However Jean Ruel, who is a Frenchman as well, calls the pimpernel *morgeline* in French, or hen-bite, when he also writes that are in error those who attached to this marriage of pimpernels what has been commonly translated as *mouron* or *papaverina* - *passerina*? - which bears a snow-white flower (for he had divided them into male and female, the former with a bright red flower, the latter with a blue one) making its separation into a masculine and feminine sex.

The *ornithogalum** - star-of-Bethlehem - seems to have received its name from the milky color of hens, as Jean Ruel himself is thinking, because the flowers shine inside with a milky white color, unless one feels, says Daléchamps, that it is so called from the shape of a white egg which its root is showing: for it imitates birdies' eggs and is very white inside. For - Ruel? - thinks that such a shining whiteness gleams in the wings of hens: to say the truth I cannot understand this since most of them are entirely black, many of another color, in which surely you would find no whiteness: but if he speaks of white ones, one cannot understand why that whiteness should gleam rather in wings more than in other parts. We must take into consideration whether it gets its name from the whiteness of the albumen of a cooked egg, especially since this is considered to be the hen's milk by some experts, in Anaxagoras*, Alcmaeon

⁸⁷⁶ Dalla citazione a bordo pagina non è dato capire se Aldrovandi faccia riferimento ai *Commentari a Dioscoride* di Pierandrea Mattioli oppure all'*Historia generalis plantarum* di Jacques Daléchamps. Il riferimento è: libro 2 capitolo 109. Nel *Commentarii in libros sex Pedacii Dioscoridis Anazarbei De Materia Medica* (Venetiis, apud Valgrisium, 1554) di Mattioli l'anagallide viene commentata nel libro II al capitolo 174, dove Mattioli dice che "Anagallis tam mas, quam foemina, quae officinis vulgo Morsus gallinae dicitur, notissima est". Per cui Mattioli, anche nel prosieguo del suo lungo commento, non la chiama assolutamente grassagallina. Bisogna quindi presumere che libro 2 capitolo 109 sia riferito a Daléchamps. Salvo una svista di Aldrovandi relativa al testo e alla numerazione di Mattioli!

⁸⁷⁷ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 403: Alsine herba Graecis dicta, vulgo morsus gallinae et passerina a quibusdam nominatur, Germanis Huenerdarm, Huenererrb, Vogelkraut [...].

⁸⁷⁸ Dioscoride, nei *Commentarii in libros sex Pedacii Dioscoridis Anazarbei De Materia Medica* (Venetiis, apud Valgrisium, 1554) di Mattioli, dice che l'anagallide femmina ha fiore ceruleo, mentre il maschio ha il fiore rosso.

⁸⁷⁹ *De natura stirpium libri tres* Liber 1, cap. 20. (Aldrovandi)

⁸⁸⁰ *De generatione animalium* III,2: La nascita dall'uovo si ha per gli uccelli perché la femmina cova l'uovo e contribuisce a operare la cozione. L'animale si forma da una parte dell'uovo e ricava i mezzi del proprio accrescimento e compimento dalla restante parte, perché la natura dispone insieme nell'uovo sia la materia dell'animale, sia l'alimento sufficiente alla sua crescita. Dal momento che l'uccello non può portare a compimento la prole dentro di sé, produce nell'uovo anche l'alimento. Mentre per gli animali partoriti vivi l'alimento si produce in un'altra parte (il latte nelle mammelle), per gli uccelli la natura lo produce nelle uova. È tuttavia l'opposto di ciò che ritengono gli uomini e afferma Alcmeone di Crotona: il latte non è costituito dal bianco, ma dal giallo, ed è questo l'alimento dei pulcini. Essi invece ritengono che sia il bianco per la rassomiglianza del colore. (traduzione di Diego Lanza, il quale aggiunge questa nota: "Oltre che di Alcmeone questa dottrina era anche di Anassagora (59 B 22 DK) e si ritrova nello pseudoippocratico *De nat. puer.*, 29-30. Qui però la corrispondenza non è stabilita su una semplice analogia cromatica, quanto sull'analogia funzionale tra l'embrione del viviparo e l'uovo, e con l'individuazione nell'uovo parzialmente covato della parte corrispondente al cordone ombelicale. L'autore ippocratico, dopo aver consigliato l'esperienza di rompere per venti giorni consecutivi un uovo al giorno della stessa covata, annota che «chi non ha ancora osservato questo si meraviglierà che in un uovo di

etsi eiusmodi alioquin opinionem ceu erroneam antea⁸⁸¹ refellerim ex Aristotele dum ait: *Animalibus viviparis cibus, qui lac vocatur, in mammis parentis paratus est. Sed contra quam homines putant et Alcmaeon Crotoniates ait. Non enim albumen ovi lac est, sed vitellus. Hic enim pullis pro cibo est: illi albumen pro cibo esse existimant propter coloris affinitatem.*

of Croton*, as Aristotle* quotes, and in the great Hippocrates*: although I have previously confuted as erroneous an opinion of this sort, quoting from Aristotle when he says: *The food, which is called milk, by viviparous animals is prepared in the breasts of the parent. But contrary to what men think and Alcmaeon of Croton says. For the albumen is not the milk of the egg, but milk is the yolk. For this acts as a food for chicks: those learned men think the albumen acts as a food because of similarity in color.*

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Ornithologus⁸⁸² herbam illam testatur, quam pro aristolochia rotunda pharmacopolae Germani falso [253] acceperunt, a quibusdam Germanice Hanensporn, id est, calcar Gallinacei a floris figura nominari. Quod nomen pariter alsinae corniculatae Clusii convenire posset, utpote quam cornicula ferre scribit, Gallinaceorum calcarium forma.

The Ornithologist affirms that herb which German druggists wrongly took instead of *Aristolochia rotunda** - snakeroot, by some is called *Hanensporn* in German, that is, rooster-spur, from the shape of the flower. The same name likewise could fit the *alsine corniculata* of Charles de L'Écluse*, since he writes that: it has little horns in the shape of roosters' spurs.

Alectoria{s} gemma a Gallo Gallinaceo nomen habet, quod in eius corpore reperitur. Plinius in ventriculo generari putavit, Agricola non in eo duntaxat, sed et in icore⁸⁸³, et in hoc maiores. *Alectorias*, inquit ille⁸⁸⁴, *vocant in ventriculis Gallinaceorum inventas crystallina specie, magnitudine fabae: quibus Milonem Crotoniensem usum in certaminibus invictum fuisse videri volunt. Vicit tamen eum {Tritormas} <Titormus>⁸⁸⁵ bubulcus, ut ex Rhodigino⁸⁸⁶ citat Dalechampius⁸⁸⁷. *Alectoriae*,*

The *alectoria* stone* has its name from the rooster because it is found into his body. Pliny* thought it arises in the stomach, Georg Bauer* not only there but also in the liver, and larger in the latter. The former says: *They call alectoriae those stones of crystalline appearance as large as a broad-bean* which are found in the stomachs of gallinaceous birds: they affirm that it seems that Milo of Croton* used them in wrestling and never has been defeated.* Nevertheless the plowman Titormus* overcame him, as Jacques Daléchamps* cites from

uccello vi sia un cordone ombelicale». Che Aristotele abbia ben presente questo trattato risulta oltre che da questo anche da molti altri passi.”)

⁸⁸¹ A pagina 214.

⁸⁸² Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 403: Herba quam pro aristolochia rotunda pharmacopolae Germani hactenus falso acceperunt, a quibusdam Germanice {Hanenspozn} <Hanensporn>, id est calcar gallinacei, a floris figura, nominatur. Alsine herba Graecis dicta, vulgo morsus gallinae et passerina a quibusdam nominatur, Germanis Huenerdarm, Huenererrb, Vogelkraut ea cum caeteris avibus tum gallinis grata et salubris, et fastidii remedium existimatur: ut helxine etiam, qua Plinius gallinaceos scribit annum fastidium purgare, si modo non errore aliquo factum est ut helxine pro alsine scriberetur.

⁸⁸³ L'affermazione di Georg Bauer è perentoria: "ma nel fegato nascono per lo più maggiori" (*De natura fossilium*, 1550). § Negli uccelli non è descritta la calcolosi colecistica. Sono in corso ricerche per avvalorare l'affermazione di Georg Bauer.

⁸⁸⁴ *Naturalis historia* XXXVII,144: *Alectorias* vocant in ventriculis gallinaceorum inventas crystallina specie, magnitudine fabae, quibus Milonem Crotoniensem usum in certaminibus invictum fuisse videri volunt.

⁸⁸⁵ Lind (1963), anziché drizzare le antenne, si è adeguato ad Aldrovandi e ha tradotto Tritormas con l'inesistente Tritormas. § Per un confronto fra l'esattezza di Tritormas oppure di Titormus non vale neppure la pena mettersi alla caccia dell'irreperibile commento a Plinio di Jacques Daléchamps citato da Aldrovandi come fonte della notizia. Credo basti il testo originale di *Lectioes antiquae* (XI,69) di Lodovico Ricchieri edito nel 1516 e che è reso disponibile nella pagina del lessico dedicata a Milone. Ricchieri scrisse Titormus, e non una volta sola. Se non bastasse, si può aggiungere che senza alcun dubbio Ricchieri ha praticamente tradotto *Varia historia* XII,22 di Eliano*, dove Titormo in greco suona *Titormos*, *Titormus* in latino. § Il capitolo di Eliano si intitola DE TITORMI ET {MISONIS} MILONIS ROBORE ET DE QUODAM DIVERBIO. Anche questo brano, pubblicato nel 1556, si trova nella pagina di Milone del lessico. § Di errori se ne incontrano a bizzeffe, anche in questa traduzione di Eliano del 1556: *Misonis* invece di *Milonis*, e poi Eliano scrisse *paromia* che, chissà perché, pur significando inequivocabilmente detto o proverbio, nel titolo del capitolo fu tradotto con *diverbium* (dialogo) anziché con *proverbium* come troviamo alla fine del brano. Era possibile tradurre *paromia* anche con *adagium* o *adagio/adagionis* (femminile) come ha fatto Ricchieri (che però l'ha mascolinizzato: unde natus adagio), ma *diverbium* è una trovata quasi da incompetente, di uno che non conosce il contenuto di ciò che sta traducendo. Infatti il proverbio che grazie a Milone scaturì dalla gara tra lui e Titormo fu: Hic alter Hercules.

⁸⁸⁶ Lodovico Ricchieri - basandosi completamente su Eliano *Varia historia* XII,22 - ne parla in *Lectioes antiquae* XI,69 (1516), dove Titormus viene etichettato non come *bubulcus* ma come *bussequa*, variante di *busequa*, derivato da *bos+sequi*, colui che segue i buoi.

inquit Agricola, *quanquam raro in Gallorum Gallinaceorum, et Caporum etiam ventriculo, et iecore gignuntur. Sed in iecore plerunque maiores. Nam nuper in Capo inventus est longus unciam⁸⁸⁸, latus digitum⁸⁸⁹, altus sescunciam: inferior pars, quae latior, humiles habet cavernas; superior, quae strictior, ad dextram extuberat: ad laevam humilis est, et fusca, cum reliquum eius corpus in fusco candidum sit. At in ventriculo reperti non raro fere figura sunt lupini, magnitudinem eiusdem, aut fabae, modo in cinereo candidi: modo fusci coloris, sed diluti: {unnc} <nunc> vero crystallina specie, sed coloris obscuri, quae fibras interdum habent subrubras. Crystalli similis, si politus inter oculum, et palpebram inferiorem interponitur, et ex una parte ad alteram transfertur, oculum non laedit. Quod idem facit Saphirus, vel onyx, vel alia gemma polita interposita, modo parva sit.*

His, quae de hoc lapide ab Agricola tradita fuerunt, statim subjicere libuit descriptionem alterius, cuius nimirum, dum haec scriberem, mihi copiam fecit perillustris Eques Hercules Butrigarius, vir medius fidius multae eruditionis, antiquitatisque, et rerum naturalium studiosissimus, quemque se in Capi trimi ventriculo adinvenisse affirmabat. Est mea quidem sententia, verus, et genuinus alectoria{s} lapis, crystallina videlicet specie, licet colore subobscuro, figura sphaerica l{a}eviter utrinque compressa, et undique laevi, nisi quod in superiori parte, qua strictiusculus cernebatur, aliquantulum extuberaret. Nullae in eo cavernulae, quod de suo scribit Agricola: quin ex densa materia compactus, et gravis. Nam cum cerasi fructu aliquanto minor esset, pendebat octo et viginti ceratia, quae caratos vulgo dicimus.

Quod autem in Capi ventriculo repertus fuerit, videtur confirmare recentiorum quorundam sententiam, qui non ex Gallo mare, uti iam ex Plinio, et Agricola diximus, sed castrato, quem Gallinacci nomine imperite, ut antea etiam

Lodovico Ricchieri*. Georg Bauer says: *Alectoriae, although rarely, are generated also in the stomach and in the liver of roosters and capons*. But in the liver they are usually larger. For recently one was found in a capon which was an ounce long - an inch, a finger's breadth wide - nearly 1.8 cm, and an ounce and half thick: the lower part, which is wider, has small hollows: the upper, narrower part, swells out to the right: on the left it is reduced and dark, while the remaining portion is white with traces of dark. Not infrequently they have been found in the stomach with almost the shape of a lupine*, and of the same size, or of that of a broad-bean, sometimes white tending to ash color: sometimes dark in color but attenuated: but this time it had a crystalline appearance, nevertheless dark, and sometimes they have reddish streaks. If the stone, which is crystalline, is smoothed and placed between the eye and the lower eyelid and moved from one side to the other it does not harm the eye. Sapphire*, or onyx*, or any other polished gem, on condition that it is small, if interposed will do the same.*

To what Georg Bauer reported about this stone, I should like to immediately add the description of another one of which made a copy for me, while I was writing this text, the excellent Knight Ercole Butrigario*, who, believe me, is certainly a man of great erudition, enthusiast student of antiquarian matters and of natural history, who affirmed he had found that stone in the stomach of a three-year-old capon. It is, in my opinion, a true and authentic *alectoria* stone, certainly of crystalline sort, although rather dark in color, spherical in shape, lightly compressed on both sides, and entirely smooth except that in the upper part where it is a bit narrow and protrudes somewhat. There are none of the little hollows in it which Georg Bauer describes in his stone: on the contrary it is compact, of dense material, and heavy. Although it is somewhat smaller than a cherry tree fruit, it weighs 28 carob's seeds, which commonly we call carats*.

But the fact that this stone was found in a capon's stomach seems to confirm the belief of some modern scholars who think it is contained not in the male rooster, as already I said on the basis of Pliny and Agricola, but in a castrate rooster, whom they

Alla fine del capitolo Ricchieri puntualizza che secondo alcuni Titormo era dell'Etolia, regione storica della Grecia compresa tra il golfo di Patrasso a sud e il monte Panaitolikón a nord: Titormus fuisse patria Aetolus, prodidere nonnulli. § Tra i *nonnulli* possiamo annoverare Erodoto* che così scrisse nelle sue *Storie* VI,127: Dall'Etolia arrivò Malete, fratello di Titormo, di quel Titormo, l'uomo fisicamente più robusto di tutta la Grecia, che aveva fuggito la comunanza con gli uomini andando a vivere nelle estreme contrade dell'Etolia.

⁸⁸⁷ *In Comment.* (Aldrovandi)

⁸⁸⁸ *Uncia* significa la dodicesima parte di un tutto. Anticamente l'oncia era anche un'unità di misura di lunghezza pari a 1/12 del piede. Essendo il piede pari a circa 29 cm, un'oncia corrispondeva a circa 2,41 cm.

⁸⁸⁹ *Digitus* corrispondeva alla sedicesima parte del piede romano, quindi a circa 1,8 cm.

docuimus⁸⁹⁰, intelligunt, hunc lapidem haberi putant: et quidam, teste Ornithologo⁸⁹¹, Germanice Kapunenstein interpretantur, id est, Caponis lapidem. Albertus, et author de natura rerum quinto vel sexto a castratione anno in iecore alitis inveniri tradunt, quod Sylvaticus⁸⁹² ex Alberto, quem citat, aliter transcripsit, videlicet extrahi dicens ex ventriculo, postquam castratur supra quartum annum: addit insuper, aliquos post nonum extrahi dicere, meliorem esse de Gallo decrepito, maximum in hoc genere fabam aequare. Citat denique Dioscoridem testem⁸⁹³, quod in ventribus Gallorum Gallinaceorum crystallo similis, vel aquae limpidae reperiatur, cum alioqui nihil huiusmodi in nostris exemplaribus Dioscoridis reperiatur.

Albertus⁸⁹⁴ radaim, seu donatidem lapidem nominat, qui niger sit et luceat. *Ferunt autem, inquit, cum capita Gallorum formicis permittuntur, aliquando post multa tempora in capite maris Galli hunc lapidem inveniri. Conferre pollicentur ad rem quamvis impetrandam.* Qui lapis nunquid idem fuerit cum alectoria difficile est iudicare. Video tamen utrique eandem virtutem ascribi, quae superstitionis expers non est. Ut enim Albertus ad omnia impetranda radaim lapidem probari tradit, ita etiam alectorias, ut author obscurus quidam de lapidibus ait.

inaccurately indicate by the name of rooster, as I also pointed out earlier: and some people, according to the Ornithologist, call it *Kapunenstein* in German, that is, capon's stone. Albertus* and an unknown writer on natural history report that the stone is found in the liver of the fowl in the fifth or sixth year after castration, and Matteo Silvatico* transcribed this statement in another manner deriving it from Albertus whom he is quoting, that is, he says the stone is extracted from the stomach about four years after castration: furthermore he adds that some students say it is extracted after nine years and is better when coming from a decrepit rooster, and that the larger stone in this kind of animal equals a broad-bean. Finally he cites Dioscorides* as proof, since a crystalline or like limpid water stone is found in the belly of roosters, while on the other hand in our subjects nothing is found of that sort as said by Dioscorides.

Albertus calls a stone as *radai*, or *donatis*, which is black and shining. He says: *And they refer that when rooster heads are abandoned to the ants, sometimes after a long time this stone is found in the head of the rooster male - of the uncastrated rooster. They promise that it will cause you to obtain whatever thing.* Whether this stone is the same as *alectoria* it is difficult to judge. It seems to me to understand that the same virtue, not free from superstition, is attributed to both. For just as Albertus reports that it is proven that *radai* stone is useful in obtaining everything, the same is happening also for *alectorias*, as says an unknown author about stones:

⁸⁹⁰ A pagina 199*. § Qui Aldrovandi sembra dimenticare che Georg Bauer parla espressamente anche di capponi. Poi Plinio dice *in ventriculis gallinaceorum*, ma *gallinaceorum* include galli, capponi e senz'altro le dimenticate galline. Bisognerebbe poter chiedere a Plinio se la mia affermazione circa l'identificazione dei suoi *gallinaceorum* corrisponde a quanto lui voleva conglobare nel termine *gallinacei*.

⁸⁹¹ Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 382: Alectorias vocant gemmas in ventriculis gallinaceorum inventas crystallina specie, magnitudine fabarum: quibus Milonem Crotoniensem usum in certaminibus invictum fuisse videri volunt, Plinius 37. 10. Ferunt in ventre galli alectorium, id est gallinaceum lapidem. Sed is sarda vel achate fingitur, in quo flammea macula appareat, nam de alectoria vero nihil comperti habeo, Cardanus. Plinius alibi inter remedia calculi, lapillorum meminit qui in gallorum vesica (quasi avis vesicam habeat) reperiuntur. Recentiores quidam non ex gallo mare, sed castrato (quem gallinacei nomine imperite intelligunt) hunc lapidem haberi putant: et quidam lingua vernacula interpretatur Kapunenstein/id est caponis lapidem.

⁸⁹² Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 382: Lapis alectorius Dioscoride teste (nihil huiusmodi in nostris exemplaribus Dioscoridis reperiatur) invenitur in ventribus gallorum gallinaceorum crystallo similis vel aquae limpidae. Albertus scribit lapidem esse nitentem, crystallo obscuro similem. Extrahitur autem ex ventriculo galli gallinacei, postquam castratur supra quartum annum. Quidam post nonum extrahi dicunt. Melior est de gallo decrepito. Maximus in hoc genere fabam aequat. Ore gestantes reges et gladiatores invictos reddit, ac sitim tollit, mulieres viris conciliat, Sylvaticus capite 408.

⁸⁹³ La citazione di Aldrovandi tratta dal testo del suo maestro l'Ornitologo è incompleta e decurtata, in quanto non ci fa sorgere il dubbio se effettivamente Dioscoride parlò della pietra alettoria. Infatti l'Ornitologo, per non farci inutilmente scervellare alla ricerca del passo di Dioscoride (per poi sentirci frustrati com'è accaduto), si premura di puntualizzare che tale passo è inesistente nei testi a sua disposizione. Oggi - lunedì 26 maggio 2008 - ci associamo pienamente a Gessner, salvo dissociarci quando Fernando Civardi* sarà incappato nell'introvabile passo, e ciò magari avverrà quando avrà ultimato di trascrivere il commento* di Pierandrea Mattioli* al *De materia medica* di Dioscoride. § Riecco il testo liberatorio di Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 382, al quale per ora - o magari per sempre - ci associamo: Lapis alectorius Dioscoride teste (nihil huiusmodi in nostris exemplaribus Dioscoridis reperiatur) invenitur in ventribus gallorum gallinaceorum crystallo similis vel aquae limpidae.

⁸⁹⁴ *De metallicis* 2, 17. (Aldrovandi) § ALBERTUS MAGNUS De Mineralibus. Padua (1476). Other editions entitled Liber Mineralium Domini Alberti Magni (1518), De Mineralibus et Rebus Metallicis Libri Quinque, Cologne (1569). (<http://findarticles.com>)

*Hic oratorem verbis facit esse disertum,
Constantem reddens, cunctisque per omnia gratum.
Hic circa veneris facit incentiva vigentes;
Commodus uxori, quae vult fore grata marito.
Ut bona tot praestet, clausus portetur in or{b}e.⁸⁹⁵*

*This stone causes an orator to be incisive with the words.
Making him resolute and pleasant from any point of view.
This stone makes impetuous as far as sexual stimuli is
concerning.
It is useful for a woman who will gratify her husband.
In order to offer so many advantages it must be carried enclosed
in mouth.*

Sylvaticus etiam reges alectoriam gemmam gestantes, et gladiatores invictos reddere scribit, sitimque tollere, et mulieres viris conciliare. Cardanus huiusmodi lapidem sarda, vel achate fingi putat, in quo flammea macula apparet.

Matteo Silvatico also writes that it renders invincible kings and gladiators carrying the *alectoriam* stone, and that it removes thirst and makes women join to men. Gerolamo Cardano* thinks that such a stone in which is present a flaming patch can be faked with the sard* - or with the cornelian* - either with the agate*.

Ad {Gallinam}⁸⁹⁶ <Gallinas> villa Caesarum fuit ad Tyberim, via Flaminea, quae ab eo dicta est, quod Liviae Augustae ex alto abiecit in gremium Aquila conspicui candoris Gallinam, lauri ramum suis baccis foetum rostro tenentem, quam servari iusserant aruspices, ramum vero inseri diligenter: quod ad villam factum est, quae, ut dixi hac de causa ad {Gallinam} ad <Gallinas> dicta fuit.

There was a villa of the Caesars on the bank of the river Tiber, on via Flaminia, named *At Hens*, since an eagle cast down from on high into Livia Drusilla's* - or Julia Augusta - bosom a hen of unusual whiteness holding in its beak a branch of laurel* full of its own berries, the former the haruspices bade should be kept, while the branch to be carefully planted: this was done near the villa which, as I said, was called *At Hens* for this reason.

Gallinaria a Gallinarum copia, ut Calepinus vult, vel ut alii a Gallinis feris sic dicta, insula est in mare T{h}usco, contra montes Ligusticos, ut eam Varro⁸⁹⁷ describit, et Sozomenus⁸⁹⁸. Meminit eiusdem {Sulpitius} <Sulpicius>⁸⁹⁹.

Gallinara* island takes its name from abundance of hens, as Ambrogio Calepino* claims, or, as others assert, is so called from wild hens, and it is an island in Tyrrhenian Sea, facing the mountains of Liguria, as Varro* describes it, and Hermias Sozomenos*.

⁸⁹⁵ Una bella differenza portare una pietra in giro - *in orbe* - magari tenendola in tasca, dal portarla in bocca - *in ore* - come se fosse una caramella. La colpa dell'errore potrebbe essere della tipografia Bellagamba, ma non è escluso che colpevole sia il nostro benemamato Ulisse. Ecco il testo originale di Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 382: Hic oratorem verbis facit esse disertum. | Constantem reddens cunctisque per omnia gratum. | Hic circa veneris facit incentiva vigentes. | Commodus uxori quae vult fore grata marito {,}<.> | Ut bona tot praestet clausus portetur in ore, Author obscurus de lapidibus.

⁸⁹⁶ Svetonio* *De vita Caesarum - Galba* 1: Progenies Caesarum in Nerone defecit; quod futurum, compluribus quidem signis, sed vel evidentissimis duobus apparuit. Liviae, olim post Augusti statim nuptias Veientanum suum revisenti, praetervolans aquila gallinam albam ramulum lauri rostro tenentem, ita ut rapuerat, demisit in gremium; cumque nutriri alitem, pangi ramulum placuisset, tanta pullorum suboles provenit, ut hodieque ea villa ad Gallinas vocetur, tale vero lauretum, ut triumphaturi Caesares inde laureas decerperent; fuitque mox triumphantibus, illas confestim eodem loco pangere; et observatum est, sub cuiusque obitum arborem ab ipso institutam elanguisse. Ergo novissimo Neronis anno et silva omnis exaruit radicitus, et quidquid ibi gallinarum erat interiit; ac subinde tacta de caelo Caesarum aede, capita omnibus simul statuis deciderunt, Augusti etiam sceptrum e manibus excussum est. - Plinio, *Naturalis historia* XV, 136-137: Sunt et circa Divum Augustum eventa eius digna memoratu. Namque Liviae Drusillae, quae postea Augusta matrimonii nomen accepit, cum pacta esset illa Caesari, gallinam conspicui candoris sedenti aquila ex alto abiecit in gremium inlaesam, intrepideque miranti accessit miraculum. Quoniam teneret in rostro laureum ramum onustum suis bacis, conservari alitem et subolem iussere haruspices ramumque eum seri ac rite custodiri: [137] quod factum est in villa Caesarum fluvio Tiberi inposita iuxta nonum lapidem Flaminiae viae, quae ob id vocatur Ad Gallinas, mireque silva provenit. Ex ea triumphans postea Caesar laurum in manu tenuit coronamque capite gessit, ac deinde imperatores Caesares cuncti. traditusque mos est ramos quos tenuerunt serendi, et durant silvae nominibus suis discretae, fortassis ideo mutatis triumphalibus.

⁸⁹⁷ *Rerum rusticarum* III,9,16-17: Gallinae rusticae sunt in urbe raras nec fere nisi mansuetas in cavea videntur Romae, similes facie non his gallinis villaticis nostris, sed Africanis. [17] Aspectu ac facie incontaminatae in ornatibus publicis solent poni cum psittacis ac merulis albis, item aliis id genus rebus inusitatis. Neque fere in villis ova ac pullos faciunt, sed in silvis. Ab his gallinis dicitur insula Gallinaria appellata, quae est in mari Tusco secundum Italiam contra montes Liguscos, Intimilium, Album Ingaunum; alii ab his villaticis invectis a nautis, ibi feris factis procreatis.

⁸⁹⁸ Aldrovandi dà come referenza la *Historia Ecclesiastica* III, cap. 9. Le mie ricerche localizzano invece la citazione dell'isola Gallinaria nel cap. 14, quando si parla di colui che diventerà San Martino vescovo di Tour*. § Hermias Sozomen, *Ecclesiastical History* III,14: [...] and he [Martin] went to an island called Gallenaria, where he remained for some time, satisfying himself with roots of plants. Gallenaria is a small and uninhabited island lying in the Tyrrhenian Sea. (*Ecclesiastical History* - from A.D. 323 to A.D. 425 - translated from the Greek. Revised by Chester D. Hartranft, Hartford Theological Seminary - www.ccel.org)

Ortelius hodie isola de [254] Arbenga dici putat. Gallinaria {sylva} <silva> Straboni⁹⁰⁰, et Ciceroni⁹⁰¹ in Campania. {Pompeio} <Pomponio> vero Sabino⁹⁰² in Cumano. Sanfelicius dicit hodie la peneta⁹⁰³ de {patria} <Patria>⁹⁰⁴ vocari. Alectoriae quaedam pil{ul}ulae alvum purgantes a Nicolao Myreps⁹⁰⁵ describuntur, quas sic dictas apparet, eo quod vi sua purgandi eos, qui sumpserint, a lecto excitent: quo modo Gallum ἀλέκτορα etiam dici antea scripsimus⁹⁰⁶.

Abraham Oertel* thinks that today - the Gallinaria island* - must be called *isola de Arbenga* - island of Albenga*. For Strabo* and Cicero* the Gallinaria wood* is in Campania. Or rather, according to Giulio Pomponio Leto* it is in the territory of Cumae*. Antonio Sanfelice* says it is called today *la peneta de Patria* - the pinewood of Patria Lake*. By Nicolaus Myrepsus* are described some laxative *alectoriae* pills and it is clear that they are so named since thanks to their purgative power they drive from bed those who took them: alike why, as I wrote before, the rooster is also called *aléktor*.

PRAESAGIA.

PRESAGES

⁸⁹⁹ *Vita Martini Turonensis Episcopi* 6,5-6: Cedendum itaque tempori arbitratus ad insulam, cui Gallinaria nomen est, secessit comite quodam presbytero, magnarum virtutum viro. Hic aliquamdiu radicibus vixit herbarum: quo tempore helleborum, venenatum, ut ferunt, gramen, in cibum sumpsit. (6) Sed cum vim veneni in se grassantis vicina iam morte sensisset, imminens periculum oratione repulit statimque omnis dolor fugatus est.

⁹⁰⁰ *Geographia* V,4,4: But according to some, "Cumae" is named after the "Kumata"; for the neighbouring shore is surfy and exposed to the wind. And Cumae also has the best fisheries for the catching of large fish. Moreover, on this gulf there is a forest of scrub trees, extending for many stadia over a waterless and sandy tract, which they call "Silva Gallinaria." Here it was that the admirals of Sextus Pompeius assembled bands of pirates at that critical time when he cause Sicily to revolt. (*The Geography of Strabo* published in the Loeb Classical Library, 1923) § Il testo greco riporta ἡν Γαλλιναρίαν ὕλην καλοῦσι.

⁹⁰¹ Cicerone cita la *Silva Gallinaria* in una delle numerose lettere che scrisse all'amico Papirio Peto: *Ad Familiares* IX,23. Scr. in Cumano post V. Kal. Intercal. priores a.u.c. 708. - CICERO PAETO. Heri veni in Cumanum; cras ad te fortasse, sed, cum certum sciam, faciam te paullo ante certiozem; etsi M. Caeparius, cum mihi in silva Gallinaria obviam venisset quaesissetque, quid ageres, dixit te in lecto esse, quod ex pedibus labores; tuli scilicet moleste, ut debui, sed tamen constitui ad te venire, ut et viderem te et viserem et coenarem etiam; non enim arbitror cocum etiam te arthriticum habere. Exspecta igitur hospitem cum minime edacem, tum inimicum coenis sumptuosus. § PAPIRIUS PAETUS was a friend of Cicero who lived in the outskirts of [Naples], the most working (Greek) Epicurean centre of attraction, together with Verrius [Fam., IX, 26, 1], C. Camillus [Att., V, 8, 3; Fam., V, 20, 3; Fam., XIV]. He beared with detachment some forfeitures following the civil war, and gave a humble dinner party simulating a state of decay as a joke. Cicero recognized his good taste and conviviality ("yours Epicurean drinking party mates" (among them Syro of course) [Ep. CXCIV and, after the seclusion from political life wrote to him: "What do you want I do? I ask it to you, a disciple of a philosopher" [Fam. IX, 25]. "I have thrown myself in the side of Epicurus [...] but imitating your conviviality" [Fam., IX, 20. Rome, in August 46]. As a consolation for big losses from civil war Cicero advised him: "follow your wisdom: hope for good luck, envisage the critical spot, resign yourself to what shall happen [Fam. IX, 17]. In 45 Cicero wished also, through him and mutual "happy" Epicurean friends, to get some bonds of friendship with Siro ("a reliable person") [Fam VI,11.3], who "is memorizing all Epicurus' doctrine" [Acad. 2, 33, 106 & 45]. In 43 BC Cicero recollect a pillar of Epicurus' therapy for his friend: "in order to live serenely: pass your life with decent, amiable and fond persons for company [...] that relaxation of mind which originates from friendly conversation..." [Fam. IX, 24]. (http://wiki.epicurus.info/Papirius_Paetus)

⁹⁰² *Ad 6 Aen.* (Aldrovandi) - Si tratta del commento al VI libro dell'Eneide di Virgilio.

⁹⁰³ Anche Giovenale* la chiama pineta, ma pineta Gallinaria e non pineta del Lago di Patria, usando *pinus* - il pino - col significato di *pinetum*, pineta: armato quotiens tutae custode tenentur | et Pomptina palus et Gallinaria pinus, | sic inde huc omnes tamquam ad vivaria currunt. (*Satira* III 306-308)

⁹⁰⁴ Il merito di aver emendato *patria* con *Patria* è del Professor Antonio Garzya* di Napoli. Durante la mia telefonata dal Piemonte di domenica 8 giugno 2008 gli dico: "Professore, sono dalla sue parti. È tutto il giorno che sto gironzolando nei paraggi di Cuma e della Selva Gallinaria. Ne scrisse anche Antonio Sanfelice che la chiamava la peneta de patria." Al che Garzya aggiunge: "Ah, sì, del Lago di Patria." § Mi metto alla caccia del Lago di Patria e lo trovo subito. Anche il *Campania Antonii Sanfelicii monachi* è subito reperibile qualora si volesse controllare l'esattezza di *Patria* in maiuscolo, ma tale opera è acquistabile al misero prezzo di 300/400 € forse giustamente pretesi dai rivenditori di libri antichi. Non credo valga la pena acquistarlo, visto che si tratta di una P che senza dubbio va scritta maiuscola. Il ridicolo è che in inglese tradussi *patria* della citazione di Aldrovandi con *homeland*: Antonio Sanfelice says it is called today *la peneta de patria* - *la pineta della patria*, homeland pinewood.

⁹⁰⁵ *Nicolai Myrepsi Alexandrini Medicamentorum opus in sectiones quadraginta octo.*

⁹⁰⁶ A pagina 184: Unde etiam sol Homero *ēlēktor* nuncupatur, quia homines *ālektros* facit, sive a lecto discedere, vel potius quod ipse *alēktros*, id est, pervigil sit, hoc est nunquam cubet, ac quiescat.

Imminentes pluvias ab his avibus potius, quoniam nobiscum degunt, quam ab aliis cognoscimus. Eas autem in primis Gallus praesagit, cum paulo post solis occasum, vel primis noctis horis statim a vespertino crepusculo insolens in raucisonum cucurritum non sine alarum motu indefessus prorumpit. *Gallinacei*, inquit Aelianus⁹⁰⁷, *caeteraque domesticae aves alarum percussione concrepantes, et cucu<r>rientes, et sua quadam voce obstrepentes tempestatem nunciant.* Rationem eius alias assignavimus, quod scilicet Auster una cum vaporoso aere vocalia instrumenta ut sensim replet, ita multa pituita infarcit: cuius motum sentientes Galli per eum caeli, et corporis statum facile raucescunt. Caeterum ne gravante hac sarcinula vocis, et motus praesidio sese exonerent, ad cantum modo insolito stimulantur. Adde, si videbitur, laryngis per humidum aëris statum dilatationem, quae ut vocem graviolem, ita raucam, et clangosam solet reddere. Hinc Germani, teste Ornithologo⁹⁰⁸, Gallum tempestatis ein {wetterhan} <Wetterhan> appellant, quasi cantu suo peculiari quadam facultate ad indicandas <aeris> mutationes praeditus videatur.

Aëris etiam mutationem, et ventum praenunciant, si noctu, quam solent, citius canant. Item si Gallinae cum pullis suis in principio pluviae domum se recipiant, aut mane exire recusent, pluviarum copiam indicant futuram. Pediculos quaerentes, aut paludes, vel mare alis more Anatis verberantes, teste Theophrasto, eisdem pertendunt. Avienus Arati interpres Latinus etiam inter pluviae signa ponit.

Pectora cum curvo purgat Gallinula rostro.

Si denique ultra solitum sese in arena concutiant, vel segregentur plures earum in uno loco simul, et in pluviae principio quaerant locum opertum, ubi a pluvia protegantur, signum est maximorum imminentium imbrium.

Contra Gallum tempore pluviae canentem, serenitatem {iustantem} <instantem> polliceri

We know when rains are about to fall more from these birds than from others, because they live among us. For the rooster is first to foretell them, when tireless he bursts forth unusually a little after sunset or in the first hours of night immediately from twilight onward into a raucous crowing accompanied by a flapping of wings. Aelian* says: *The roosters and the other domestic fowls announce a foul weather when are making a din by flapping their wings, and crowing, and making noise with some kind of voice.* I assigned the reason for this behavior in another passage, that is, the Austral wind* as gradually fills up their vocal apparatus with humid air, so fills up them with much catarrh: the roosters perceiving its motion easily grow raucous because of that condition of the weather and of their bodies. Furthermore, in order to not deprive themselves also of motion's protection because of increasing of this little voice's trouble, they are unusually stimulated to song. You may add, if you like, the distension of the larynx because of humid air, which usually makes raucous and noisy the voice as well as heavier. Hence Germans, according to the Ornithologist, call the rooster of foul weather *ein Wetterhan*, as if appearing to be endowed with a peculiar faculty for predicting changes in the weather.

They also announce a change in weather and wind if at night they sing more early than is their custom. Likewise, if hens with their chicks come back home when the rain is beginning to fall or refuse to go out in the morning, they indicate that there will be a heavy rain. According to Theophrastus*, when they are looking for lice* or when whip with their wings as a duck does with the water of marshes or sea, they are expressing future rains. Rufus Festus Avienus*, the Latin translator of Aratus of Soli*, is also placing among rain signs

When the little hen cleans her breast with her curved beak.

Finally, if they turn over in the sand more than usually, or many of them simultaneously isolate themselves in a single place, and when the rain begins are seeking a covered place where to be protected from rain, this is a signal that very heavy rain is coming.

On the contrary, when a rooster crows when it's raining, most people believe that he promises a

⁹⁰⁷ *La natura degli animali* VII,7. § La traduzione citata da Aldrovandi è tratta parola per parola, eccetto *cucurrientes* invece del corretto *cucurrientes*, da *Claudii Aeliani opera quae extant omnia* (Tiguri, apud Gesneros fratres, 1556). § I galli [*alektryónes*] e gli altri uccelli domestici, se svolazzano, se si mostrano irrequieti, se pigolano sommessamente, annunciano cattivo tempo. (traduzione di Francesco Maspero).

⁹⁰⁸ Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 385: *Nostris gallum tempestatis (ein Wetterhan) appellant, qui peculiari quadam facultate ad indicandum aeris suo cantu mutationes praeditus videatur.*

plerique credunt⁹⁰⁹. Gallinae in mutatione pennarum, quando ante hyemem decidunt, si a capite incipiunt deplumari, tempestive serendum, serotine vero si a posterioribus, significant.

USUS IN SACRIS ETHNICORUM.

Non parum profecto gloriari debet hoc volucrum genus, quod tam variis diis quondam sacratum fuerit, atque etiamnum apud quosdam divino afficiatur honore, ut postea probabimus. Suidas ex animatis olim sacrificia in usu fuisse testatur, de ove, sue, bove capra, Gallina, et Ansere. Sed Gallinae nomine Gallum etiam intellexisse verisimillimum est. Nam veteres Gallinaceum Gallum Marti in primis, uti etiam antea, ubi⁹¹⁰ de avis huius pugnacitate, et animositate agebamus, ostendimus, consecrarunt. Causam in eiusmodi fabulam rejciunt. Alectryonem illius Dei, quem ceu bellorum, militiaeque praesidem colebant, comitem, ac satellitem fuisse comminiscuntur, eique tam familiarem, ut dum cum Venere adulterium committeret, foribus eum custodiendis adhibuerit. Sed quia somni violentia oppressus obdormisset, in avem sui nominis fuisse immutatum, quae hactenus veteris negligentiae memor sedulo Solis adventum praenunciat, ut Lucianus⁹¹¹ copiosius demonstrat. Ausonius⁹¹² ad hoc illudens cecinit{.}<:>

*Ter clara instantis Eoi
Signa canit serus deprenso Marte satelles.*

Mihi e contrario Gallus eam ob causam illi Deo sacer habitus videtur, vel quod pugnans summo studio victor e praelio discedere conetur, alteriusque servitium omni conamine pati [255] nolit, et ad necem usque pro eo dimicet, avis scilicet ad dimicandum nata, et a natura ad id instrumentis aptis, rostro nempe robustissimo, calcaribusque instructa, ut rhetor quidam, teste Eustathio scriptum reliquit his verbis {ἀλλὰ τοῦτο τις ὕστερον μυθοποιητικῆς οὐσεμνον ἐστί λάλημα} < ἀλλὰ τοῦτο τῆς ὕστερον

cloudless sky is coming. Hens during feathers molting when falling out before winter, if they begin to loose feathers from head, one must sow at proper time, but late if they begin from buttocks.

USE IN THE SACRED CEREMONIES OF THE PAGANS

This genus of birds should pride itself not a little, since formerly it has been consecrated to so many different gods, and is even now given divine honor among some people, as I shall prove later. The lexicon Suidas* testifies that once among living animals it was custom to sacrifice sheep, pig, ox, goat, hen, and goose. But it is very likely that with the name of hen - *gallina* - the lexicon understood also the rooster - *gallus*. For the ancients first of all devoted the rooster to Mars*, as I also showed previously when I was saying about pugnacity and courage of this bird. They ascribe the reason to the following tale. They imagine that Alectryon* was the comrade and bodyguard of that god, whom they worshipped as protector of wars and armed forces, and that he was so much his friend that while he was committing adultery* with Venus he was using him for watching the entrance. But since overwhelmed by sleep's violence he fell asleep, was changed into the bird which has his name, which, still mindful of its earlier negligence, carefully announces the arrival of the sun, as Lucian* points out at greater length. Ausonius* hinting at this fact sang as follows:

After Mars has been caught, the dumb bodyguard sings thrice the ringing signals of pressing Aurora.

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To me, on the contrary, the rooster seems to have been regarded as sacred to that god - Mars* - for this reason, that is, because fighting with the greatest zeal he goes all out to come off victor from the combat and with much effort he does not wish to suffer servitude to anyone else, and because of this he fights till death, he is certainly a bird born for fighting and has been endowed by nature with suited tools for this purpose, that is, with a very strong beak and spurs, as a certain rhetor, according to Eustathius of Thessalonica*, left written in these words *allà toúto tés*

⁹⁰⁹ Io sfaserei un pochino il momento del canto. Infatti, in base alla mia lunga e ripetuta esperienza, i galli cantano quando sta per smettere di piovere, non mentre piove a diretto. Tant'è che sulla scia di quella vecchia canzone che dice "Quando i grilli cantano, | quando volano le lucciole*, | quando mille stelle tremano, | io mi voglio innamorar!" ho coniato questa variante: "Quando i galli cantano | sta per smettere di piovere...". Ed è vero! Poi magari, dopo una pausa più o meno lunga, riprende a piovere, ma quando sta per smettere, i galli cantano di nuovo.

⁹¹⁰ A pagina 236*.

⁹¹¹ *Il sogno ovvero il gallo - Òneiros è alektryon.*

⁹¹² *Griphus ternarii numeri 2.*

ἔστι λάλημα} < ἀλλὰ τοῦτο τῆς ὕστερον
μυθοποιητικῆς οὐ σεμνόν ἐστι λάλημα>⁹¹³, vel
quod Gallos, id est, milites, ac bellatores
homines in urbibus habendos esse significarent,
et in contubernio retinendos, non tamen rei
sacrae causa, seu urbis vigiles, et custodes
intelligas, quando ii per Gallos significari
videntur.⁹¹⁴

Hinc Romanos, ut milites suos vigilantiae
admonerent, Marti Gallum appinxisse⁹¹⁵ historia
docet, et apud Plutarchum⁹¹⁶ traditum est,

hústeron mythopoiëtikés ou semnón esti lálēma - but this
following content of the fable is not faithful -, that is,
since they want to say that roosters are to be kept in
towns, that is, soldiers, and pugnacious men, and that
they are to be retained in the same tent, not, however,
for religious purposes, but you must understand as
sentries and city-guards, since *they* - the soldiers - seem
to be meant as *the roosters*.

History teaches that hence Romans, in order to
exhort their soldiers to vigilance, added a rooster to
Mars, and in Plutarch* it is recorded that

⁹¹³ Solo grazie a Gessner è possibile emendare l'allucinante greco di Aldrovandi o della tipografia Bellagamba, un testo greco che ha costretto Lind (1963) a tradurre il passo con *but this is some later irreverent babble of storytellers* anziché *but this following content of the fable is not faithful*. § Conrad Gessner *Historia animalium* III (1555) pagina 404: Fabulam memorant Lucianus, et ex eo interpretatus Caelius Rhodiginus, et Aristophanis Scholiastes, et Eustathius in octavum Odysseae, et Varinus. Alectryonem aliquando Martis ministrum et militem fuisse etiamnum testantur, crista, animositas, calcaria, ut rhetor quidam scripsit. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο τῆς ὕστερον μυθοποιητικῆς οὐ σεμνόν ἐστι λάλημα, Eustathius. § Questo passo di Aldrovandi è inoltre caratterizzato da un rimescolamento di dati e notizie senza alcun nesso logico. Infatti la citazione greca di Eustazio ci sta come i cavoli a merenda, mentre assume il suo preciso significato in ciò che viene espresso chiaramente da Gessner: «Raccontano questa favola Luciano e Lodovico Ricchieri che l'ha tradotta dal suo testo, e il commentatore di Aristofane, ed Eustazio di Tessalonica nel commento al libro VIII dell'Odissea*, e Guarino. Che Alettrione sia stato un tempo ministro e soldato di Marte lo testimoniano ancora oggi la cresta, la combattività e gli speroni, come scrisse un retore. *Allà toúto tés hústeron mythopoiëtikés ou semnón esti lálēma* - Ma questo successivo contenuto della favola non è degno di fede, Eustazio.» § Io penso che Eustazio, da buon vescovo, volle semplicemente opporsi alla credenza che un essere umano possa venir tramutato in gallo, come invece piaceva alla mitologia greca, che trasformò esseri umani anche in fiori, come accadde ad Adone* nonché a Narciso, il bellissimo figlio del dio fluviale Cefiso e della ninfa Liriope. Narciso, avendo rifiutato le gioie d'amore (di lui s'innamorò la ninfa Eco, ma non essendo corrisposta morì di dolore), per un eccessivo amore di sé morì prematuramente di vana passione. Infatti, come predetto ai suoi genitori dall'indovino Tiresia, il ragazzo sarebbe vissuto finché non avesse visto la propria immagine. Durante una battuta di caccia la dea Nemese, personificazione della vendetta, lo indusse a sedersi sull'orlo di una fonte per dissetarsi. Il giovane vide la propria immagine riflessa, rimase colpito da quel viso bellissimo a lui sconosciuto (i suoi genitori avevano distrutto tutti gli specchi di casa) e se ne invaghì. Annegò cercando di raggiungere la propria figura riflessa nell'acqua. Eros* ebbe pietà di lui e lo trasformò nel bellissimo fiore che ne porta il nome. Signori narcisisti fate quindi attenzione!

⁹¹⁴ Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 408: Gallum nutrito quidem, ne tamen sacrificato: est enim Soli et Lunae dicatus. Hoc (inquit Lilius Gr. Gyraldus) ab aliquibus inter symbola repositum est. Sunt qui dimidiatum tantum efferant, Gallos enutrias. Nonnulli praeceptum hoc non symbolum faciunt, nec aliud quam gallum ipsum intelligunt. Sed licet etiam symbolice interpretari: vel ut Picus, ut divinam animae nostrae partem, divinarum rerum cognitione, quasi solido cibo et coelesti [caelesti] ambrosia pascamus: Vel simplicius, gallos, id est milites ac bellatores homines in civitate habendos esse, et in contubernio retinendos, non tamen rei sacrae causa. seu urbis vigiles et custodes intelligas, quando ii per gallos significari videntur: et Soli ac Lunae dicati, quoniam tempori hoc hominum genus inserviunt, quod per Solem et Lunam intelligitur: vel quod nos gallus suo cantu admoveat. Alius aliam comminisci poterit expositionem, ut gloriosos et stolidos homines, nimiumque sibi arrogantes, habendos illos quidem, et non penitus eijciendos: non tamen ad sacra, id est arcana admittendos, minusque in seriis et gravioribus sermonibus habendos.

⁹¹⁵ Lilius Gregorius Gyraldus, *Historiae Deorum Gentilium* Syntagma X: Romani summo cultu Martem venerabantur, quod existimarent parentem ipsum fuisse Romuli. Sacerdotesque Salios illi attribuerunt, et carmina salaria. Ardentem vero eum effingebant, nunc in curru, nunc in equo, armatum cum hasta et flagello. Tum illi etiam interdum gallum appingebant, ob militum videlicet vigilantiam: vel propter Alectryonis fabulam, Martis satellitis, in eam avem conversi, ut in eius nominis festivo libello Lucianus scribit, et Ausonius poeta uno pene versu attingit: Ter clara instantis Eoi,/Signa canit serus deprenso Marte satelles. (Basileae, Oporinus 1548)

⁹¹⁶ Plutarco *Vite parallele, Marcello* 22,5: And it is worth our while to notice that the Spartan lawgiver appointed his sacrifices in a manner opposite to that of the Romans. For in Sparta a returning general who had accomplished his plans by cunning deception or persuasion, sacrificed an ox; he who had won by fighting, a cock. For although they were most warlike, they thought an exploit accomplished by means of argument and sagacity greater and more becoming to a man than one achieved by violence and valour. How the case really stands, I leave an open question. (published in the Loeb Classical Library, 1917) Per le notizie su Marcello vedi Marcello Marco Claudio*. - Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 408-409: Romani Marti interdum gallum appingebant, ob militum videlicet vigilantiam: vel propter Alectryonis fabulam, Martis satellitis, in eam avem conversi, ut in eius nominis festivo libello Lucianus scribit, et Ausonius poeta uno pene versu attingit: Ter clara instantis Eoi, Signa canit serus deprenso Marte satelles, Lilius Gr. Gyraldus. Lacedaemonii cum aliquo strategemate victoria potiti essent, Marti bovem immolabant: si vero aperto Marte vicissent, gallum. Id quod ab eis non sine ratione fiebat, quod [409] pluris aestimabant incruentam victoriam, quam cruentam, Lilius Gr. Gyraldus: ut duces suos exercerent, non bellicosos tantum esse, sed etiam *stratēghikōūs* (lego *stratēghēmātikōūs*.) Plutarchus in Laonicis.

Lacedaemonios, cum hostes aperto Marte profligassent, Gallum Marti solitos sacrificare, sin aliquo {strategemate} <strategemate> victoria potiti essent, bovem: id quod ab eis non sine ratione fiebat, quod pluris aestimabant incruentam victoriam, quam cruentam. Soli, et Lunae dicatum fuisse id indicat, quod tempori hoc avium genus inservit, quod per Lunam, et Solem intelligitur, vel quod nos Gallus cantu suo admoneat, quare magi cognatum Soli faciunt, ac inde fieri, ut eius cursus inflexiones sentiat, et cantu mortalibus annunciet.

Insitum autem est Gallis, inquit Proclus, numen Apollinis velut propriis canticis advocare. Nos vero sacris hymnis canimus Gallicinio Luciferum venturae lucis praenuncium excitari, obductum caligine caelum aperiri, dari copiam, ut patefacta iam via errores ambagesque omnes declinemus, canente Gallo valetudinariis, aliquam salutis, aut saltem allevationis spem affulgere, meticulosos trepidatione liberari, et multa, quae per insidias parabantur, dissipari, quae omnia advenientis lucis beneficia sunt.

Aelianus⁹¹⁷, Gallum Latonae quoque sacrum fuisse his verbis docet: *Latonae in amore esse aiunt, et quod ei adfuerit parienti, et quod etiam nunc parientibus adsit, et felices⁹¹⁸ partus efficiat*: eo quod Solis ad h{a}emisphaerium nostrum regressu, calor naturalis augeatur, partum vi sua promovens: quem quia nunciat Gallus Latonae merito gratus est. Maiae, quam et Proserpinam, et Cererem vocant, etiam Gallinaceum consecrarunt, Porphyrio⁹¹⁹ teste, quamobrem initiati huic Deae avibus cortalibus abstinebant. Nam et Eleusine abstinentia ex his alitibus, et piscibus fabisque praecipitur. Romanos quoque nocti Gallos mactasse Ovidius⁹²⁰ docet, quia cantu suo diem nocti contrariam

Lacedaemonians*, if they defeated enemies at open battle, were accustomed to sacrifice a rooster to Mars, but an ox if they won a victory by some subterfuge: they did this not without reason, for they valued a bloodless victory more highly than a bloody one. This indicates that the rooster has been dedicated to Sun and Moon, because this genus of birds is in attendance on the time, and this is meant for Sun and Moon, that is, since the rooster warns us with his crowing, thus the priests regard him as relative of the Sun, and thence it happens that he perceives its changes of course and announces them to mortals by his crowing.

Proclus* says that it is inborn in roosters to invoke the favor of Apollo* as if by their canticles. In truth in our sacred hymns at cockcrow we exhort Lucifer* the messenger of coming light to hasten, to rend the sky covered by darkness, that abundance is given, so that being the road by then opened we can avoid all errors and uncertainties, that with roosters' song some hope of health or at least of relief can smile on those who are ill, that fearful persons are set free from uncertainty, and many things prepared by snare to be dissipated, all things being benefits of coming light.

Aelian* lets us know by these words that the rooster had been sacred also to Latona*: *They say he is cherished by Latona, both because he was beside her when she was giving birth, and because also now he is beside those who give birth, and induces happy childbirths*: since with the return of the sun to our hemisphere the natural warmth increases, promoting childbirth by its force: and since he announces it, the rooster is deservedly welcome to Latona. Porphyrius* relates that they sacred the rooster also to Maia*, whom they call both Proserpine* and Ceres*, that's why the initiates of this goddess abstained from barnyard fowls. For also by Eleusis* - Eleusis Mysteries - is prescribed abstinence from these birds, fishes and broad-beans*. Ovid* tells that Romans sacrificed roosters also to the night

⁹¹⁷ *La natura degli animali* IV,29: Il gallo, così dicono, diventa particolarmente eccitato e saltella quando spunta la luna. Non lascerebbe mai passare inosservato il levar del sole; quando appare egli supera se stesso nell'intonare il suo canto. So che il gallo è l'uccello favorito da Latona. Il motivo è dovuto al fatto che esso assisteva la dea quando, presa dalle doglie, partorì felicemente i suoi due gemelli. Per questa ragione anche adesso viene posto un gallo accanto a una partoriente e sembra che ciò giovi a un felice evento [*euodinas* - generato facilmente]. (traduzione di Francesco Maspero)

⁹¹⁸ Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 408: Gallum Latonae in amore esse aiunt, et quod ei affuerit parienti, et quod etiam nunc parientibus adsit, et faciles partus efficiat, Aelian.

⁹¹⁹ *De abstinentia ab animalibus* IV. (Aldrovandi) § Esatta la referenza di Aldrovandi. Se volessimo essere pignoli: IV,16.

⁹²⁰ *Fasti* I,455-456: Nocte deae Nocti cristatus caeditur ales, | quod tepidum vigili provocet ore diem. § Quasi perfetto, per carenza di un errore (provocat/provocat), il download da Gessner, dove è contenuto lo stesso errore *noctis* invece di *Nocti*: Nocte deae {noctis} <Nocti> cristatus caeditur ales, | Quod tepidum vigili {provocat} <provocat> ore diem, Ovidius in *Fastis*. (*Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 409)

praenuncia<n>t, atque, ut inquit Plinius⁹²¹, *Solis ortum non {patitur} <patiuntur> incautis obrepere.*

*Nocte Deae {noctis} <Nocti> cristatus caeditur ales
Quod tepidum vigili provocet ore diem.*

Mercurio item datus est ob diligentiam nunciationis, et vigilem eius curam, vel ob ipsammet mercatorum vigilantiam, quod omnis {negociator} <negotiator> lucro semper diligentissime invigilet, sive quod ab eius cantu surgant ad peragenda {negocia} <negotia>. Erat autem Mercurii forma homo sedens in throno gale{r}atus, cristatusque et pedibus Aquilinis, sinistra Gallum tenens, aut ignem.

Erat item Gallus Aesculapio dicatus, haud aliam ob causam, quam quod medico vigilantiam, sedulamque curam necessariam esse indicarent. Adde, si placet, quod ab hoc avium genere (nam, ut dicemus, Gallinas illi etiam vovebant) cum alimenta, tum medicamenta omnibus ferme corporis affectibus convenientia depromi queant, etsi interim minime inscius sim Plutarchum⁹²² alibi solius vigilantiae significandae causa id factum esse innuere, ubi ait: *Sicut autem qui Gallum super manu Aesculapii pinxit, matutinum tempus voluit significare, et Solis ortum appetentem.*

{Socracem} <Socratem> Tertullianus, et Lactantius Firmianus ceu nimis superstitiosum redarguunt, quod moriens {Praedonem} <Critonem>⁹²³ admonuisset, ut voto se liberans Aesculapio Gallum persolveret. *Sane*, inquit Tertullianus⁹²⁴, *Socrates facilius diverso spiritu*

because with his crowing they announce the day, contrary to night, and, as Pliny* says, *They do not permit the sunrise to creep upon us unnoticed:*

At night the crested bird is slaughtered for Nyx goddess, because with his vigilant voice he calls forth the tepid day.*

He was also dedicated to Mercury* because of his diligent heralding and watchful attention, or because of merchants' vigilance itself, since every merchant always watches most diligently for his gain, or because of its crow they get up to carry on their business. For the statue of Mercury was a man sitting on a throne, helmeted and crested and with eagle feet, having at left side a rooster or a fire.

Likewise the rooster was sacred to Aesculapius* for no other reason than to indicate that watchfulness and solicitous attention are necessary for a physician. Add, if you like, that from this genus of birds (for, as I will say, they consecrated to him also hens) can be drawn both nourishments and medications suitable for almost every body's illnesses, although in the meantime I am by no means ignorant of the fact that Plutarch in another work points out that this happened only for signifying the vigilance: *Like he who depicted the rooster upon the hand of Aesculapius wished to signify the morning time and that the former is longing for sunrise.*

Tertullian* and Lactantius Firmianus* charge Socrates* with too much superstition because when he was dying he reminded Criton* that in order to become free from a vow had to pay off the debt of a cock to Aesculapio. Tertullian says: *Undoubtedly Socrates was more easily driven by a different spirit. For they*

⁹²¹ *Naturalis historia* X,46: Proxime gloriam sentiunt et hi nostri vigiles nocturni, quos excitandis in opera mortalibus rumpendoque somno natura genuit. Norunt sidera et ternas distinguunt horas interdiu cantu. Cum sole eunt cubitum quartaque castrensi vigilia ad curas laboremque revocant nec solis ortum incautis patiuntur obrepere diemque venientem nuntiant cantu, ipsum vero cantum plausu laterum.

⁹²² *De Pythiae oraculis*. (Aldrovandi) Ma Lind dissente da Aldrovandi: «But it has nothing of the sort in it.» (1963)

⁹²³ Platone, *Il Fedone*, LXVI: “Ὁ Κρίτων,” ἐφῆ, “τὸ, Ἀσκληπιὸ, οφειλομένην ἀλεκτρυόνα· ἀλλὰ ἀπόδοτε καὶ μὲ ἀμελῆσετε.” - Il passo è famoso: ad Asclepio si era soliti offrire un gallo per riconoscenza di una guarigione ottenuta, così qui Socrate pensa simbolicamente alla sua guarigione, che è la morte. In coerenza con tutto lo svolgimento del *Fedone* che ha indicato nell'esistenza terrena una vicenda travagliosa da cui la morte è liberazione, Socrate ora, nel momento di emettere l'ultimo respiro, conferma con il suo solito buon umore e la sua lucida immaginativa, la fiduciosa credenza. Un gallo ad Asclepio egli deve, e Critone lo sacrificherà, perché lasciando, in pace, la sua esistenza terrena egli sta conseguendo la sua guarigione definitiva. Altre interpretazioni, come di chi ritiene il ricordo di un voto espresso nella battaglia di Delo e non ancor soddisfatto, appaiono qui meschine e stonate. (Nilo Casini, *Il Fedone*, Felice Le Monnier, Firenze, 1958) - Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 408: Socrates in Phaedone ad mortem se praeparans, Aesculapio (inquit) o Crito gallum debemus, quem reddite neque negligatis.

⁹²⁴ *De anima* I,4-6: Adeo omnis illa tunc sapientia Socratis de industria venerat consultae aequanimitatis, non de fiducia compertae veritatis. Cui enim veritas comperta sine deo? Cui deus cognitus sine Christo? Cui Christus exploratus sine spiritu sancto? Cui spiritus sanctus accommodatus sine fidei sacramento? Sane Socrates facilius diverso spiritu agebatur, siquidem aiunt daemonium illi a puero adhaesisse, pessimum revera paedagogum, etsi post deos et cum deis daemona deputantur penes poetas et philosophos. [5] Nondum enim Christianae potestatis documenta processerant, quae vim istam perniciosissimam nec unquam bonam, atquin omnis erroris artificem, omnis veritatis avocatricem sola traducit. Quodsi idcirco sapientissimus Socrates secundum Pythii quoque daemonis suffragium scilicet negotium navantis socio suo, quanto dignior atque constantior Christianae sapientiae adsertio, cuius adflatus tota vis daemonum cedit? [6] Haec sapientia de schola caeli deos quidem saeculi negare liberior, quae nullum Aesculapio

agebatur. Siquidem aiunt daemonium illi a puero adhaesisse, pessimum revera pedagogum, etsi post Deos, et cum Deis daemona deputantur penes poetas, et philosophos. Nondum enim Christianae potestatis documenta {praecesserant} <processerant>, quae vim istam {pernitiosissimam} <perniciosissimam>, nec unquam bonam, {antiqui} <atquin> <omnis> erroris artificem, omnis veritatis avocatricem sola traducit. Quod si idcirco sapientissimus Socrates secundum Pythii quoque daemonis suffragium, scilicet {negocium} <negotium> navantis socio suo quanto dignior {constantiae} <atque constantior> Christianae, atque sapientiae assertio, cuius afflatui tota vis daemonum cedit? Haec sapientia de schola caeli Deos quidem saeculi negare liberior, quae nullum Aesculapio Gallinaceum reddi iubens praevaricaretur, nec nova inferens daemona, sed vetera depellens, nec adolescentiam vitians, sed omni bono pudoris informans, ideoque non unius {verbis} <urbis>, sed universi orbis iniquam sententiam sustinens pro nomine veritatis, tanto scilicet perosioris, quanto plenioris, ut et mortem non de poculo per habitum incunditatis absorbeat, sed de patibulo, et vivicomburio per omne ingenium crudelitatis exhauriat, interea in isto tenebrosiore carcere saeculi inter suos Cebetas, et suos Phaedonas, si quid de anima examinandum [256] est, ad Dei regulas diriget, etc.

say that since he was child a demon clung to him, which really is a very bad pedagogue, although among poets and philosophers the demons are taken into consideration after gods and along with gods. For the proofs of the Christian force had not yet been placed at disposal which alone can lead away this most evil power, and never good, but which is the maker of any error and which is able to take away from any truth. Thence if Socrates was very wise according also to the affirmation of the Pythian* demon which surely was solicitous towards its partner, how much more suitable and firm is the affirmation of the Christian learning, at whose breath all power of demons vanishes? This wisdom from heaven's school is indeed more free to deny the paganism's gods, which does not would act dishonestly towards anybody in ordering a cock to be given to Aesculapius, nor bringing in new demons but driving out the old ones, neither corrupting the adolescence but educating any honest person to the modesty, and therefore burdening itself with the unjust judgment not of one city only, but of all the world in the name of truth, that is, the more it is bated the more it is full, so that he does not swallow also the death from a cup by an attitude of joy, but does bring it to an end by scaffold and stake through any kind of cruelty, and meanwhile in this more obscure prison of the paganism if there is something to be examined regarding the soul let him turn to the rules of God remaining among his Cebes*, and his Phaedos*, etc.

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Lactantius⁹²⁵ in eundem Socratem ob id invectus ita inquit: *Quis iam superstitiones Aegyptiorum audeat reprehendere, quas Socrates Athenis auctoritate confirmavit sua? Illud vero nonne summae vanitatis, quod ante mortem familiares suos rogavit, ut Aesculapio Gallum, quem voverat, pro se sacrarent? Timuit videlicet, ne apud Rhadamanthum recuperatorem voti reus fieret ab Aesculapio. Dementissimum hominem putarem, si morbo perisset. Cum vero hoc sanus fecerit, et ipse insanus, qui eum putet sapientem.*

Lactantius*, attacking Socrates* himself for the same reason, begins as follows: *Who now would dare to reprehend the superstitions of the Egyptians, which Socrates at Athens strengthened thanks to his authority? Was not that deed one of the greatest vanity when before his death he asked his friends to offer to Aesculapius* for him the cock he had promised? Surely he feared lest he would be obliged by Aesculapius to fulfill the vow in presence of the judge Rhadamanthus*. I should regard him as most insane man if he had died because of an illness. Since a judicious person would have done this, and he who considers him as wise, he himself is mad.*

Defendit Socratem Caelius Rhodiginus⁹²⁶ his fere verbis: Oblitus est, inquit, Lactantius sententiae illius, nunquam futurum Platonium, qui allegorice non putet Platonem intelligendum.

Lodovico Ricchieri* defends Socrates by more or less these words. He says: Lactantius forgot that statement which says: No one will ever become a Platonist who does not think that Plato* must be understood

gallinaceum reddi iubens praevaricaretur, nec nova inferens daemona, sed vetera depellens, nec adolescentiam vitians, sed omni bono pudoris informans, ideoque non unius urbis, sed universi orbis iniquam sententiam sustinens pro nomine veritatis tanto scilicet perosioris quanto plenioris, ut et mortem non de poculo per habitum iocunditatis absorbeat, sed de patibulo et vivicomburio per omne ingenium crudelitatis exhauriat, interea in isto tenebrosiore carcere saeculi inter suos Cebetas et suos Phaedonas, si quid de anima examinandum est, ad dei regulas diriget, certa nullum alium potiorum animae demonstratorem quam auctorem. A deo discat quod a deo habeat, aut nec ab alio, si nec a deo. Quis enim revelabit quod deus texit? Unde sciscitandum est? Unde et ignorare tutissimum est. Praestat per deum nescire, quia non revelaverit, quam per hominem scire, quia ipse praesumpsit.

⁹²⁵ *De falsa sapientia* III,20. (Aldrovandi) - Il *De falsa sapientia* costituisce il III libro delle *Divinae institutiones* e non è pubblicato nel web (22 giugno 2008).

⁹²⁶ *Lectio Antiquarum* XVI,12. (Aldrovandi)

Quid vero illis involucris sibi Plato voluerit, iam nunc ex Platoniorum sententia promere adoriar. Prisci Aesculapio medico, Phoebi filio Gallum sacrificabant, diei, solisque nuncium, id est, divinae beneficentiae morborum omnium curatrici, quae divinae providentiae filia nominatur, cui diem, id est, vitae lumen, se debere fatebantur. Eiusmodi medicum Socrates in superioribus perquiri iusserat morborum animi curatorem. Praeterea priscorum oracula tradunt, animas remeantes in caelum paeana, id est, triumphalem cantilenam Phoebus canere. Reddit ergo Deo votum, ut alacer paeana canens caelestem repetat patriam. Hactenus Rhodiginus {,} <.>

Postremo alios etiam morientes eidem Aesculapio Gallum vovisse legimus. {Artemidorum} <Artemidorus>⁹²⁷ enim, referente {Paulo} <Lilio> Gyrardo⁹²⁸, alterius cuiusdam somnium enarrat, qui Gallum Aesculapio vovit, si sanus foret. Caeterum Gallinas etiam eidem Deo vovebant, teste Festo⁹²⁹, unde dicebat Iuvenalis⁹³⁰.

Libet expectare quis aegram

Et claudentem oculos Gallinam impendat amico

Tam sterili, id est pauperi, et Prudentius⁹³¹:

Quamvis promittere et ipsi

Gallinam soleant, aut Gallum<,> clinicus {,} ut {sic} <se>⁹³²

Dignetur praestare Deus morientibus aequum.

Non admittebantur vero Gallinae ad eiusmodi sacra, nisi, ut Alexander ab Alexandro⁹³³ scribit,

allegorically. But what Plato meant by those coverings I shall now proceed to explain from the attitude of the Platonists. The ancients used to sacrifice to the physician Aesculapius, son of Apollo* - or Phoebus - a rooster, messenger of the day and of the sun, that is, of the divine beneficence, curative of any illness, which is named the daughter of divine providence, to which they acknowledged to owe the day, that is, the light of life. Socrates bade that among superior entities a physician of this kind to be chosen as curator of the illnesses of the soul. Furthermore the rules of the ancients report that the souls on their return to heaven sing a paeon* to Phoebus, that is, a song of triumph. Therefore he fulfils a vow to the god, so that singing cheerful a paeon he can come back to heavenly fatherland. Thus far Lodovico Ricchieri.

Finally we read that others also vowed a cock to the same Aesculapius when they were dying. For, according to Giglio Giraldis*, Artemidorus of Daldis* tells the dream of someone else who vowed a cock to Aesculapius if he should become healthy. Furthermore, according to Festus*, they vowed also hens to the same god, whence Juvenal* said:

It is pleasant to wait for someone who sacrifices a sick hen and which is closing its eyes for so an unproductive friend, that is, poor.

And Prudentius*:

Although they also are accustomed to promise a hen or a rooster, so that the physician god is so kind as to grant to dying persons what is right.

Hens were not allowed for such sacrifices unless, as Alessandro Alessandri* writes, they had a black beak,

⁹²⁷ *Onirocriticon*. (Aldrovandi) - *Onirocriticon* liber V. (Conrad Gessner)

⁹²⁸ Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 408: Artemidorus quoque in libro Onirocriticon quinto, somnium cuiusdam narrat, qui gallum Aesculapio vovit, si sanus foret, Gyrardus. Et rursus in libro de Symbolis Pythagorae. Aesculapio gallus immolabatur. sunt qui gallinas scribant, et has quidem rostro nigro, nigrisque pedibus, et digitis imparibus. Si enim luteo essent rostro, vel pedibus, impurae putabantur ab aruspibus. - Negativa la ricerca in *Historiae Deorum Gentilium*, per cui è verosimile che la notizia di Artemidoro sia contenuta nel *Symbolorum Pythagorae Interpretatio*.

⁹²⁹ Festo parla di galline immolate a Esculapio alla voce *In Insula* del suo *De verborum significatione*. IN INSULA - Aesculapio facta aedes fuit, quod aegroti a medicis aqua maxime sustententur. Eiusdem esse tutelae draconem, quod vigilantissimum sit animal: quae res ad tuendam valetudinem aegroti maxime apta est. Canes adhibentur eius templo, quod is uberibus canis sit nutritus. Bacillum habet nodosum, quod difficultatem significat artis. Laurea coronatur, quod ea arbor plurimorum remediorum. Huic gallinae immolabantur.

⁹³⁰ *Satira XII*, 95-97: Libet expectare quis aegram | et claudentem oculos gallinam impendat amico | tam sterili;. - Aldrovandi nella nota a bordo pagina riporta la satira 2, ma si tratta evidentemente di un errore dovuto a un'eccessiva fiducia in Gessner, oppure, a un sistematico download da Gessner senza alcuna verifica. Ecco Gessner a pagina 456 della *Historia animalium III* (1555): Libet expectare quis aegram | Et claudentem oculos gallinam impendat amico | Tam sterili, (pauperi,) Iuvenalis Sat. {2.} <12.> immolabant enim nimirum diis, praesertim Aesculapio, pro salute et sanitate donanda gallinas.

⁹³¹ *Apotheosis*. (Aldrovandi)

⁹³² Si emenda in base a un'edizione di Opera Aurelii Prudentii Clementis (cura Rud. Langii, edit. R. Paffroet, Deventer, circa 1490).

⁹³³ Gessner attribuisce la citazione a Giglio Gregorio Giraldis e non ad Alessandro Alessandri. - Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 408: [...]Gyrardus. Et rursus in libro de Symbolis Pythagorae. Aesculapio gallus immolabatur. sunt qui gallinas scribant, et has quidem rostro nigro, nigrisque pedibus, et digitis imparibus. Si enim luteo essent rostro, vel pedibus, impurae

quae rostro essent nigro, nigrisque pedibus, et digitis imparibus. Si enim rostrum pedesque lutea habuissent, velut impurae ab aruspibus credebantur. Plinius huius rei quidem mentionem facit, sed de imparitate non{:} inquit: *Gallinae luteo rostro pedibusque ad rem divinam purae non videntur: ad oportanea sacra nigrae*. Sed num istaec sacra ad Aesculapium pertineant videndum foret. Ea autem seclusa vocabantur Graecis μυστήρια.

Hoc idem avium genus Herculi, eiusque uxori {Mnesias⁹³⁴} <Mnaseas>, referente Aeliano⁹³⁵, miro modo {sacras} <sacrum> fuisse prodidit. Fuisse nempe templum quoddam Herculis, et uxoris eius, hanc ceu Iovis filiam in huius templi ambitu cicures aves multas nutrisse, nempe Gallos, et Gallinas, compavisse autem, et gregatim pro sui generis sexu degisse, et sumptu alites publico, diis, quos diximus, consecratos, Gallinas in aede {Hebae} <Hebes>, Gallinaceos in Herculis pastos. Fluxisse autem in medio rivum perennem, et {lympidae} <limpidae> aquae. Gallinarum nullam ad Herculis templum accessisse, nec ullum Gallorum ad {Hebae} <Hebes>: at suo tempore mares stimulos libidine rivum transvolasse, et postquam impleverant faeminas, ad Deum suum, et suas redisse sedes lustratos, purgatosque interfluenti rivo, quo sexus uterque dispesceretur. Natis deinde tempestive ovis, et exclusis incubitu pullis, faeminas novellas matribus, mares genitoribus accessisse, et altos. Haec ille. Quae nunquid vera sint, alii iudicent. Mihi sane vel fabulam sapere videtur, vel daemonis arte facta.

Plutarchus⁹³⁶, Aegyptios scribit, Osiridi Gallum immolare solitos, alias album, alias nigrum: supera {syncera} <sincera>, et manifesta infera mixta, et varia innuentes. Alibi etiam

black legs, and odd toes*. If they had a yellow beak and legs, they were considered impure by haruspices. Pliny* makes mention of this fact but without speaking of odd number: *Hens with yellow beak and legs are not considered uncontaminated for divine services: the black ones are suitable for secret rites*. But one may inquire whether these rites were concerning Aesculapius. For those taking place covertly were called *mysteria* - secret rites - by Greeks.

Mnaseas*, according to Aelian*, reported that this same genus of birds was sacred in a marvelous way to Hercules* and to his wife - Hebe*. There was just a certain temple of Hercules and of his wife, and she, as daughter of Jove*, raised many tame birds inside the boundary of this temple, that is, roosters and hens, but they were fearing, and they lived in flocks shared out by the sex they belonged, and they were birds - kept - at public expenses, consecrated to the gods I have said, hens in the temple of Hebe, roosters were raised in that of Hercules. But a perennial river of limpid water flowed in between. No hen came to the temple of Hercules nor any rooster to that of Hebe: but in due time the males, stirred by lust, flew across the river and after had fertilized the females returned to their god and to their dwellings, purified and purged by the river running in between, by which each sex was divided. Then when at proper time eggs were hatched and chicks were born thanks to incubation, young females went to their mothers, the males to their fathers, and were raised. This is what Aelian says. Let others judge whether this is true. Really, it seems to me that either this has the taste of a fable or it is a deed of the shrewdness of a demon.

Plutarch* writes the Egyptians were accustomed to sacrifice a rooster to Osiris*, sometimes white, sometimes black: meaning that heavenly things are pure and unambiguous, the things below are mixed

putabantur ab aruspibus. - Giglio Gregorio Giraldi *Historiae Deorum Gentilium* Syntagma XVII: Aesculapio de capra res divina in primis fiebat, quoniam capra nunquam sine febre esse dicitur: salutis vero deus Aesculapius. Sed et gallus illi immolabatur, ut est alibi a me dictum. Sunt qui gallinas scribant, et has quidem rostro nigro, nigrisque pedibus, et digitis imparibus. Si enim luteo essent rostro, vel pedibus, impurae putabantur ab aruspibus. - Karin Zeleny nel suo studio sulle *Historiae Deorum Gentilium* del 1999 riporta che Giraldi scrisse il trattato citato da Gessner, contenuto in *Libellus in quo aenigmata pleraque antiquorum explicantur - Paroeneticus Liber adversus ingratos - Symbolorum Pythagorae Interpretatio, cui adiecta sunt Pythagorica Praecepta mystica a Plutarcho interpretata - Libellus quomodo quis ingrati nomen et crimen effugere possit* (Basileae 1551). Nulla vieta che la stessa frase riportata da Gessner e tratta dal *liber de Symbolis Pythagorae* sia contenuta pari pari nel Syntagma XVII delle *Historiae Deorum Gentilium*. -Io credo a Gessner e non ad Aldrovandi.

⁹³⁴ *Liber de amoribus Iovis*. (Aldrovandi) - Eliano invece scrive: "Mnasea, nel suo trattato sull'Europa, parla di un tempio dedicato a Eracle [...]" (*La natura degli animali* XVII,46 - traduzione di Francesco Maspero)

⁹³⁵ *La natura degli animali* XVII,46. (Aldrovandi) - Aldrovandi ha già citato questo tempio a pagina 206*.

⁹³⁶ *De Iside et Osiride*. (Aldrovandi) - Lind così scrive: "Plutarch *De Iside et Osiride* is the reference given, but it has no such statement in it that I can find." (1963) Lind probabilmente ha ragione, in quanto anche la mia ricerca in Plutarco è stata negativa. Dovrebbe trattarsi di una pura invenzione di Aldrovandi.

Hermanubidi⁹³⁷ immolasse tradit, et Anubidi. Est autem vocabulum, ut videtur, Graecae originis, ὁ ἀναφαίνων τὰ οὐράνια καὶ τῶν ἄνω <φερομένων>⁹³⁸ λόγος, hoc est, ratio superiorum, et caelestia declarans, uti Hermanubis inferiora, sacrificabant autem utrique Gallum, illi album, quod ut diximus, caelestia pura, et lucida sint, huic κροκίαν⁹³⁹, hoc est, pennis, et iubis croceis praeditum, Gyraldus⁹⁴⁰ etiam croceum transtulit. Sed videndum nunquid pro κροκίαν, κορακίαν legendum sit, hoc est nigrum, quem etiam Osiridi diximus sacrificasse.

Albos immolare apud Epirotas ex usu fuisse vel inde constat, quod Pyrrhus rex, ut idem Gyraldus⁹⁴¹ testatur, splene laborantibus medens, albo Gallo sacrum perageret. Author est quoque in citato paulo ante libro Plutarchus Magos Zoroastris exemplo <canes,> Gallinas, et terrestres echinos Bono Deo attribuisse, aquaticos⁹⁴² autem Malo.

and ambiguous. Elsewhere he says that they sacrificed also to Hermanubis and Anubis*. As it seems the latter is a word of Greek origin, *ho anapháinon tà ouránia kai tón áno pheroménon lógos*, that is, the reason of what is aloft and showing heavenly things, as Hermanubis is showing what is below, and they sacrificed a rooster to both, white to the former, since, as I said, heavenly things are pure and clear, and to the latter a *kerokían* one, that is, with saffron* colored feathers and hackle, and also Giglio Giraldi translated the word as saffron-colored. But we must see whether instead of *kerokían* should not be read *korakían*, that is, black, which I said they sacrificed also to Osiris.

Among Epirotas to sacrifice the white ones arose from a custom, or it was due to the fact that King Pyrrhus*, as the same Giraldi testifies, since was treating those suffering from spleen, he carried out a sacred ceremony with a white rooster. Plutarch is also reporting in the book cited earlier that Persian Priests following the example of Zoroaster* ascribed dogs, hens and land hedgehogs* to the Good God, but the

⁹³⁷ Ermanubi viene citato da Aldrovandi anche a pagina 188*. § Plutarco, *Moralia*, Iside e Osiride 61 - 375d-e: 'Ο δὲ Ὑσιρις ἐκ τοῦ ὀσίου <καὶ> ἱεροῦ τοῦνομα μεμιγμένον ἔσχηκε· κοινὸς γάρ ἐστι τῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ τῶν ἐν ἄδου λόγος· ὦν τὰ [375e] μὲν ἱερὰ, τὰ δὲ ὅσα τοῖς παλαί ἔθος ἦν προσαγορεύειν. 'Ο δ' ἀναφαίνων τὰ οὐράνια καὶ τῶν ἄνω φερομένων λόγος Ἄνουβις, ἔστι δὲ ὅτε καὶ Ἑρμάνουβις ὀνομάζεται, τὸ μὲν, ὡς τοῖς ἄνω, τὸ δὲ, ὡς τοῖς κάτω προσήκων. Διὸ καὶ θύουσιν αὐτῷ τὸ μὲν λευκὸν ἀλεκτρούνα, τὸ δὲ κροκίαν, τὰ μὲν εἰλικρινῆ καὶ φανὰ, τὰ δὲ μικτὰ καὶ ποικίλα νομίζοντες. § Sic ergo Osiris nomen habet ex *hosio* et *hiero* (quod est *sancto* et *sacro*) conflatum: communis enim est ratio eorum quae in coelo et apud inferos sunt, quorum altera hiera, altera hosia veteres nuncupabant. Jam qui coelestia ostendit Anubis, superiorum quasi ratio (*ano* enim supra est), aliquando etiam Hermanubis usurpatur: altero nomine superioribus, altero inferis scilicet conveniente: itaque ei immolabatur etiam album, alias flavum gallum: supra sincera et manifesta, infera mixta et varia esse docentes. (Plutarchi *Scripta Moralia tomus primus*, Frederic Dübner, Parisiis, Editore Ambrosio Firmin Didot, 1868) § Osiride ha ricevuto il nome dall'unione di *hósios* (santo) e *hierós* (sacro): infatti il modo di esprimere le cose che stanno in cielo e agli inferi è equivalente; e gli antichi avevano l'abitudine di chiamare *hierà* (sacre) le prime, *hósia* (sante) le seconde. Siccome Anubi è colui che svela le cose celesti e la spiegazione razionale delle cose che si muovono verso l'alto, e talvolta è anche chiamato Ermanubi, in quanto il primo nome riguarda ciò che sta in alto, il secondo ciò che sta in basso. Per cui gli immolano anche un gallo bianco nel primo caso, nel secondo caso uno color zafferano, volendo significare nel primo caso le cose pure e pulite, nel secondo caso le cose mescolate e multiformi. (traduzione di Elio Corti - revisione di Roberto Ricciardi*)

⁹³⁸ Giglio Gregorio Giraldi, *Historiae Deorum Gentilium* Syntagma IX: qui et alio loco eiusdem libri, Anubin et Hermanubin sic distinguere videtur, ὁ δὲ ἀναφαίνων τὰ οὐράνια, καὶ τῶν ἄνω φερομένων Ἄνουβις, λόγος. Ἔστιν δὲ ὅτε καὶ Ἑρμάνουβις ὀνομάζεται. hoc est, Ratio coelestia, et quae superius feruntur ostendit Anubis, est et quando Hermanubis vocetur.

⁹³⁹ Il sostantivo maschile κροκίας in Plutarco *De Iside et Osiride* 375e significa color zafferano, riferito al gallo. § Per l'analisi di generica storica relativa al piumaggio fulvo, si veda *Il gallo di Ermanubi, il primo pollo color zafferano**.

⁹⁴⁰ Lilius Gregorius Gyraldus, *Historiae Deorum Gentilium* Syntagma XVII: Est et apud Plutarchum in libro Isidis et Osiridis, ubi de Anubi agit, et Hermanubi: Ad hunc, inquit, inferiora, sicut ad illum superiora pertinent: quapropter illi candidum gallum, huic croceum immolant.

⁹⁴¹ Lilius Gregorius Gyraldus, *Historiae Deorum Gentilium* Syntagma XVII: Sed Pyrrhus quoque rex, cum splene laborantibus mederetur, albo gallo sacrum peragebat. (Basileae, Oporinus 1548)

⁹⁴² Il testo greco di Plutarco (*Iside e Osiride* 46,267-268) cui fa riferimento la citazione di Aldrovandi - tratta da Gessner - si presenta in due versioni diverse. In una versione troviamo quanto proposto da Aldrovandi (che omette i cani) e ovviamente da Gessner, nell'altra quanto proposto dalla traduzione inglese del testo di Plutarco pubblicata dalla Loeb Classical Library. Si tratta di accettare τοὺς ἐνύδρους (quelli d'acqua) oppure μῦς ἐνύδρους (topi d'acqua). È un problema che Gessner già si era posto in *Historia animalium* I (1551) pagina 830 disquisendo DE MURE AQUATICO e che troveremo dopo le citazioni inerenti il brano in discussione. Vedremo che quasi per ironia della sorte Gessner salva dalle grinfie degli Zoroastriani il ratto delle chiaviche (che forse collaborò nel farlo morire di peste il 13 dicembre 1565*) per sostituirlo, da un esatto punto di vista linguistico, con la tartaruga d'acqua. L'analisi di questi dati è presente nel lessico alla voce ratto*. § Andiamo con ordine e vediamo i vari testi in sequenza, nei quali

Iuvenalis⁹⁴³ Gallos Gallinaceos Laribus etiam sacros habitos [257] esse his versibus nos admonet.

Et {laribus} <Laribus> cristam promittere Galli

Non audent

De Termini sacrificio Prudentius⁹⁴⁴ ita canit.

Et lapis illic

Si stetit⁹⁴⁵ antiquus, quem cingere {sueverit} <sueverat> error

Fasceolis⁹⁴⁶, vel Gallinae pulmone⁹⁴⁷ rogare,

Frangitur, et nullis violatur {terminus} <Terminus> extis.⁹⁴⁸

Juvenal* reminds us that the roosters were held sacred also to the Lares* by these verses:

And they do not dare to promise the comb of a rooster to the Lares.

Prudentius* sings thus concerning the sacrifice of Terminus* - the god of boundaries:

And if an ancient stone stood there, which the error was accustomed to surround with bands, or to supplicate with a hen's lung, it is broken and Terminus is violated with no entrails of victims.

compariranno ricci di mare oppure topi d'acqua. Non stiamo a discutere se ὄρνιθας va tradotto con polli/galline oppure più genericamente con uccelli. § CONRAD GESSNER *Historia animalium III* (1555) pagina 456: Magi Zoroastren secuti canes, gallinas (ὄρνιθας) et terrestres echinos bono deo attribuunt, aquaticos autem malo, Plutarchus in libro de Iside et Osiride. § FREDERICUS DÜBNER: Καὶ γὰρ τῶν φυτῶν νομιζουσι τὰ μὲν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ θεοῦ, τὰ δὲ τοῦ κακοῦ δαίμονος εἶναι· καὶ τῶν ζώων, ὡσπερ κύνας καὶ ὄρνιθας καὶ χερσαίους ἐχίνους, τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ· τοῦ δὲ φαύλου, τοὺς ἐνύδρους εἶναι· διὸ καὶ τὸν κτείναντα πλείστους εὐδαιμονίζουσι. - Nam et de stirpibus ita iudicant, quasdam boni dei esse, mali quasdam genii: et animalium alia, ut canes, aves, et echinos terrestres, bono, aquaticos malo adjudicant; itaque et beatum eum praedicant, qui plurimos interfecerit. (Plutarchi *Scripta moralia* Graece et Latine - Fredericus Dübner - Parisiis - Firmin Didot - 1868) § W. SIEVEKING: Καὶ γὰρ τῶν φυτῶν νομιζουσι τὰ μὲν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ θεοῦ, τὰ δὲ τοῦ κακοῦ δαίμονος εἶναι, καὶ τῶν [369.F] ζώων ὡσπερ κύνας καὶ ὄρνιθας καὶ χερσαίους ἐχίνους τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, τοῦ [δὲ] φαύλου μῦς ἐνύδρους εἶναι· διὸ καὶ τὸν κτείναντα πλείστους εὐδαιμονίζουσι. (ed. W. Sieveking, *Plutarchi moralia*, vol. 2.3, Leipzig 1935) § LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY: In fact, they believe that some of the plants belong to the good god and others to the evil daemon; so also of the animals they think that dogs, fowls, and hedgehogs, for example, belong to the good god, but that water-rats belong to the evil one. (published in the Loeb Classical Library, 1936) § Conrad Gessner *Historia animalium I* (1551) pagina 830 DE MURE AQUATICO. Magos qui Zoroastren sectantur, imprimis colere aiunt herinaceum terrestrem, maxime vero odisse mures aquaticos (μῦς ἐνύδρους,) & quo quisque plures occiderit, eo chariorem deo felicioremque existimare, Plutarchus Symposiacorum quarto quaestione ultima. Et mox, Quare Judaei etiamsi execrarentur suem, occidere deberent, ut magi mures. Caeterum in Commentario de Iside, magos scribit animalia quaedam boni daemonis esse putare, ut canes & gallinas, & terrestres echinos: mali autem aquaticos esse, τοὺς ἐνύδρους εἶναι: lego τοὺς ἐνύδρους μῦς, ex superioribus locis. An vero aquaticos mures intelligat illos de quibus hic scribimus, incertum est; ego testudines aquaticas potius, (nam has quoque mures appellant,) intellexerim. § Plutarco *Convivialium disputationum* Liber IV Quaestio V UTRUM SUEM VENERANTES JUDAEI, AN POTIUS AVERSANTES, CARNE EIUS ABSTINEANT. Magos autem, qui a Zoroastre descendunt, terrestrem echinum quam maxime venerari, mures aquatiles [τοὺς ἐνύδρους μῦς] odisse, diisque carum et beatum iudicare eum qui plurimos interfecerit. Existimo autem Judaeos, si abominarentur porcum, interfectores eum fuisse, sicut mures [τοὺς μῦς] necant magi: nunc tam interficere, quam edere suem iis est religio. (Plutarchi *Scripta moralia* Graece et Latine - Fredericus Dübner - Parisiis - Firmin Didot - 1868)

⁹⁴³ *Satira XIII*, 233-234.

⁹⁴⁴ *Contra Symmachum II*, 1005-1008 - a pagina 664 di *Aurelii Prudentii Clementis opera* interpretate e annotate da Stephanus Chamillard SJ, Parisiis, apud Viduam Claudii Thiboust et Petrum Esclassan, 1687.

⁹⁴⁵ Stephanus Chamillard, pag. 664 - *Lapis illic si stetit*: Terminorum Deus, de quo hic loquitur, colebatur sub figura rudis ac informis lapidis, vel stipitis. Ovid, *Fast. lib. 2: Termine, sive lapis sive es defossus in agro/stipes, ab antiquis tu quoque numen habes*. Et Tibull. lib. 1 eleg. 1: *Nam veneror, sed stipes habet desertus in agris, seu vetus in trivio florida sertis lapis*. In nummis tamen gentis Calpurniae, quae originem a Numa ducebat, modo caput Termini expressum est, modo integrum simulachrum.

⁹⁴⁶ Stephanus Chamillard, pag. 664 - *Cingere fascioliis*: Terminales lapides floribus, fascisque donavit antiquitas, tanquam iudices et arbitros finium, ac proinde pacis et amicitiae custodes. Siculus Flaccus de conditionib. agror.: *Cum Terminos disponerent, ipsos quidem lapides in solidam terram collocabant, proxime ea loca, quibus fossis factis defixuri eos erant, et unguento, velaminibusque, et coronis eos ornabant*.

⁹⁴⁷ Stephanus Chamillard, pag. 664 - *Gallinae pulmone*: Neminem repperi, qui Prudentio astipularetur. Nam Ovidius lib. 2 *Fast.* ubi loquitur de *Terminalibus*, quae fiebant 23 Februarii, quo nempe ita annum quoque terminare viderentur, immolari agnum Termino, seu suillam asserit: *Spargitur et caeso communis Terminus agno, nec queritur lactans cum sibi porca datur*. Quod si Plutarcho credimus: Termino apud Romanos frugibus ignem jactis, et favis, et vino litabatur.

{Methonae} <Methanae> urbis in Troezeniorum agro incolas legimus⁹⁴⁹ Gallum pro vinearum incolumitate mactare solitos, ut Africi venti, qui {eos} <eas>⁹⁵⁰ plurimum infesta<n>t, incursionem vel averterent, vel saltem emollirent: {Cum} <cum> enim flare institeri<n>t, vitium oculos exuri, spemque vindemiae falli. Moniti igitur ab aruspibus, sacri genus hoc instituere, ut viri duo Gallum unum, eumque album, manibus apprehenderent, et in diversa abeuntes trahendo discerperent, partemque uterque suam manu praeferentes vineta loci omnia perlustrarent, donec ita omnibus expiatis, in eundem convenirent locum, ubi Gallum dissecuissent, ibique partibus utriusque humi defossis, nullum eius anni incommodum se passuros persuasum habeant: iuvitque sors, ut quandiu sacrum hoc celebrare, res illis ex voto succederet.

Vetus etiam {Pythagorae} <Pythagorae> symbolum Gallo albo abstinendum esse admonet. Diogenes Laërtius⁹⁵¹ ideo eum interdixisse scribit, quod mensi sacer, et supplex. Quod autem mensi sacer haberetur etiam Aelianus meminit, inquit: *Gallum album mensi sacrum, utpote horarum nuncium credidit Pythagoras.* Iamblicus tamen Pythagoram sectatoribus

We have read that the inhabitants of the town of Methana*, in the region of Troezen's* inhabitants, are accustomed to sacrifice a rooster for the safety of vineyards, so that the African winds*, which damage them greatly, either were addressing their attack somewhere else, or at least to soften it: for if they go on with blowing, the buds of vines are burned and the hope of grape harvest vanishes. Advised therefore by haruspices, they established this kind of rite, that two men caught with their hands only a cock, and white, and moving in opposite directions, they tore it by traction, and each one, carrying in hand before himself his own portion, had to go through all the vineyards of the place, until, after they were all purified, they had to meet each other in the same place where they tore the rooster, and here, after they buried their own parts, they were persuaded that they would suffer no damage during that year: fate willed that as long as they celebrated this rite, the thing was successful because of the votive offering.

Also an ancient symbol of Pythagoras* advises that we must abstain from white rooster. Diogenes Laërtius* writes that he forbade it because it is sacred to the month and is a suppliant. Aelian* also mentions that it was regarded as sacred to the month, saying: *A white rooster is sacred to the month since Pythagoras believed him to be a messenger of the hours.* Iamblichus* reports that however Pythagoras allowed his

⁹⁴⁸ Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 456: De Termini sacrificio Prudentius contra Symmachum ita canit: Et lapis illic | Si stetit antiquus, quem cingere sueverat error | Fasceolis, vel gallinae pulmone rogare, | Frangitur, et nullis violatur Terminus extis.

⁹⁴⁹ Aldrovandi non precisa dove ha letto ciò che sta riferendo. La fonte è comunque Pausania*, *Periegesi della Grecia, Corinto*. Il *ventus Africus* è detto da Pausania *Líps*, genitivo *Libós*, che è l'africo o libeccio*, il quale spira da sudovest. § Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, Corinth, II,34,1-3:[1] Stretching out far into the sea from Troezenia is a peninsula, on the coast of which has been founded a little town called Methana. Here there is a sanctuary of Isis, and on the market-place is an image of Hermes, and also one of Heracles. Some thirty stades distant from the town are hot baths. They say that it was when Antigonos, son of Demetrius, was king of Macedon that the water first appeared, and that what appeared at once was not water, but fire that gushed in great volume from the ground, and when this died down the water flowed; indeed, even at the present day it wells up hot and exceedingly salt. A bather here finds no cold water at hand, and if he dives into the sea his swim is full of danger. For wild creatures live in it, and it swarms with sharks. [2] I will also relate what astonished me most in Methana. The wind called Lips, striking the budding vines from the Saronic Gulf, blights their buds. So while the wind is still rushing on, two men cut in two a cock whose feathers are all white, and run round the vines in opposite directions, each carrying half of the cock. When they meet at their starting place, they bury the pieces there. [3] Such are the means they have devised against the Lips. The islets, nine in number, lying off the land are called the Isles of Pelops, and they say that when it rains one of them is not touched. If this be the case I do not know, though the people around Methana said that it was true, and I have seen before now men trying to keep off hail by sacrifices and spells. (*Description of Greece* with an English Translation by W.H.S. Jones, Litt.D. in 4 Volumes. Volume 1. Attica and Corinth, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press; London, William Heinemann Ltd., 1918)

⁹⁵⁰ Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 408: Scribit Pausanias in Lacon. (lege, Corinthiacis) Methanam urbem ad Isthmum, in qua cives contra Africum vineis florentibus ac germinantibus infestum, galli pennis albis ac niveis (alas omnino candidas habentis, Loescherus Pausaniae interpretes.) remedio usos fuisse: quem gallum homines in diversa trahentes, discerpebant, per vineas discurrentes: demum in eundem locum redeuntes, ubi discerperant, gallum sepeliebant. Adeo hi diversi fuere a Pythagorae institutis, quem tradunt gallum adeo amasse,[...].

⁹⁵¹ *Liber 8 de vita philosophorum in vita Pythagorae.* (Aldrovandi) - *Le vite, le opinioni, gli apotelemi dei filosofi celebri*, VIII, Pitagora, 19: He also forbade his disciples to eat white poultry, because a cock of that colour was sacred to Month, and was also a suppliant. He was also accounted a good animal; and he was sacred to the God Month, for he indicates the time. (translated by C.D. Yonge - <http://classicspersuasion.org>)

suis, qui civiles, id est, politici dicti sunt, permisisse author est, ut Gallum, agnum, et alia quaedam ante nata praeter vitulum rite sacrificarent. Et Plutarchus⁹⁵² discipulorum nonnullos eum accusare memorat, ut qui in commentario de iustitia scripsisset de Gallis Gallinaceis utiliter eos esitasse, quod et somno nos excitent, et scorprios conquirit, et in pugna nobis studium, aemulationemque fortitudinis quandam ingenerent. Unde non sacrificasse tantum Gallos solitum, sed esum eorum permisisse videmus. Quod ad sacrificia attinet, Suidas etiam sacrificasse illum Gallos testis est, quin vero et ipse Diogenes⁹⁵³ *sacrificiis*, inquit, *utebatur Pythagoras inanimis; sunt qui dicunt, Gallis Gallinaceis, et hoedis, etiam lacteolis, quos teneros dicunt: agnis autem minime.*

Quod vero ad eorum {eum} <esum>, Aristoxenus apud Gellium⁹⁵⁴ cuncta illum animata in cibum permisisse ait, bove aratore, et ariete exceptis. Alii contra Pythagoram, licet praeter sua instituta, immolasse tamen quandoque Musis bovem, Iovi vero Gallum album⁹⁵⁵. Alii tradunt Gallum album adeo ab eo⁹⁵⁶ amatum, ut si quando videret, fratris Germani loco salutaret, et apud se haberet. Unde aperte constare arbitror Pythagorae praecepta vel perperam posteritati tradita, vel ipsum in determinatione illorum inconstantem exitisse. Nihil aliud hoc loco quidam Pythagoram

followers, who were called civilians, that is, politicians, to sacrifice in proper fashion the rooster, the lamb, and certain other animals before they were born, except the calf. And Plutarch* mentions that he upbraided some of his disciples because one of them in a commentary on justice had written about roosters that they had often eaten them with benefit because they wake us from sleep and search around for scorpions and by their fighting they engender in us both zeal and a certain emulation of bravery. Hence we see that not only he was accustomed to sacrifice roosters but also allowed them to be eaten. As far as sacrifices is concerned, also the lexicon Suidas* testifies that he sacrificed roosters, or better still Diogenes Laertius himself says: *Pythagoras used sacrifices of inanimate beings; there are some who say that he did make use of roosters, and kids, even suckling, which they say be tender: but almost not at all of lambs.*

As far as eating them is concerned, Aristoxenus* in Aulus Gellius* says he - Pythagoras - allowed as food all living creatures with the exception of plowing ox and ram. Others, on the contrary, say that Pythagoras, although against his own prescriptions, sometimes nevertheless sacrificed an ox to the Muses* and a white rooster to Jove*. Others report that he loved the white rooster to such an extent that if he casually saw one, he greeted it like a blood brother and kept it near him. Hence I think it is clearly evident that either the precepts of Pythagoras have been handed down to posterity in a mistaken form or he was an inconstant in marking their boundaries. Someone at

⁹⁵² *De Stoicorum repugnantibus* (Le contraddizioni degli Stoici). (Aldrovandi)

⁹⁵³ *Le vite, le opinioni, gli apotelemi dei filosofi celebri*, VIII, Pitagora, 18: He used to practise divination, as far as auguries and auspices go, but not by means of burnt offerings, except only the burning of frankincense. And all the sacrifices which he offered consisted of inanimate things. But some, however, assert that he did sacrifice animals, limiting himself to cocks, and sucking kids, which are called *apalioi*, but that he very rarely offered lambs. Aristoxenus, however, affirms that he permitted the eating of all other animals, and only abstained from oxen used in agriculture, and from rams. (translated by C.D. Yonge - <http://classicspersuasion.org>)

⁹⁵⁴ Nessun riferimento al bue aratore e all'ariete nell'edizione in mio possesso di *Noctes Atticae* - libro IV,11 - dove, come dice Aulo Gellio, Quae qualiaque sint, quae Aristoxenus quasi magis comperta de Pythagora memoriae mandavit; et quae item Plutarchus in eundem modum de eodem Pythagora scripserit. Il testo completo di questo brano delle *Noctes Atticae* viene riportato nella biografia di Gellio*.

⁹⁵⁵ Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 408: Gallus etiam Cybeli dicatus fuit, Gyraldus. Sunt qui tradant Pythagoram praeter sua instituta, bovem quandoque Musis, et Iovi gallum album immolasse: quoque vix crediderim, propter ea quae de eo in Symbolis retuli, Idem. § Lilius Gregorius Gyraldus, *Historiae Deorum Gentilium* Syntagma XVII: Sunt qui tradant, Pythagoram praeter sua instituta, bovem quandoque Musis, et Iovi gallum album immolasse: quod vix crediderim, propter ea quae de eo in Symbolis retuli.

⁹⁵⁶ Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 408: Adeo hi diversi fuere a Pythagorae institutis, quem tradunt gallum adeo amasse, ut si quando videret, fratris germani loco salutaret, et apud se haberet, (vide inter proverbia, Gallo albo abstineas) suis vero sectatoribus, qui civiles id est politici dicti sunt, permisisse ait Iamblichus, ut gallum, agnum et alia quaedam paulo ante nata, praeter vitulum, rite sacrificarent. Idem scribit Suidas. Sed et Laertius, *Sacrificiis* (inquit) utebatur Pythagoras inanimis. Sunt qui dicant, gallis gallinaceis, et hoedis etiam lacteolis quos teneros dicunt, agnis autem minime. Caeterum Aristoxenus apud Gellium, cuncta illum animata in cibum permisisse ait, bove aratore et ariete exceptis. § pag. 409: Gallo albo abstineas, []: id est Candido gallo ne manum admoliaris, quod mensi sacer sit, utpote horarum nuncius, Erasmus in *Chiliadibus* inter Symbola Pythagorica. Gallo albo abstinendum, id est salutis cuiusque purissime favendum, (mihi haec interpretatio non satisfacit,) Plutarchus in *Symbolis* Pythag. interprete Gyraldo. Pythagoram ferunt gallum album adeo amasse, ut si quando videret, fratris germani loco salutaret, et apud se haberet, Gyraldus.

intellexisse volunt, quam Gallum ipsum. Si quis tamen altius hoc considerare voluerit, ad reliquorum symbolorum rationem, modumque interpretari poterit, ut scilicet nos philosophus moneat Gallos nutrire, ut divinam animae nostrae partem divinarum rerum cognitione quasi solido cibo, et caelesti ambrosia pascamus.

Verum ut ad recentiorum superstitionem, seu idolatriam potius sermonem nostrum divertamus. Petrus Bellonius⁹⁵⁷, interprete Carolo Clusio, amoenam nefarii illius Mahumeti{s}, Turcarum pseudoprophetae in paradysum profectionem, quam nocturno tempore hic se confecisse splendidissime mentitur, describens insignes de Turcarum paradiso nugas recenset, inter alias vero, illum comminisci, se in coelo variae formae angelos vidisse, ut boum, hominum, equorum, avium, inter quas Gallus fuerit, pedibus primum coelum premens, et capite secundum attingens: interrogantique Mahumeto, quid ista sibi vellent, angelum, a quo se eo conductum finxerat, respondisse, angelos esse, qui pro iis, qui in mundo sunt, Deum orant, humanaeque formae angelos pro hominibus orare, bubulae pro bubus, equinae pro equis, Gallinae pro Gallis, atque cum ingens ille Gallus caneret, reliquos Gallos cum caelestes, tum terrestres canere.

Author est Ludovicus Romanus <Patritius>⁹⁵⁸ Calecutenses⁹⁵⁹ cacodaemonis sacerdotes sanguine Gallinae cultello argenteo iugulati carbonibus ignitis aspersi, ei sacrum peragere. Abaculum, inquit, habent vice altaris, quem variis floribus, ac flagrantibus pulvisculis sternunt. Tunc sanguinem Galli in vas argenteum ignitis carbonibus oppletum, imponunt, additis variis suffumentis. Gallum

this point are of the opinion that Pythagoras meant nothing other than the rooster itself. However, if anyone wished to consider this more thoroughly, he could interpret the matter according to the motivation and the unit of measurement of the other symbols, that is, since the philosopher is urging us to raise roosters in order to nourish the divine part of our soul with the knowledge of divine things as they were complete food and heavenly ambrosia*.

So, let me turn my discourse to the superstition or rather to the idolatry of more recent fellows. Pierre Belon*, as translated by Charles de L'Écluse*, when describing the funny departure for Paradise of that iniquitous Mohammed* the false prophet of Turks, which very wonderfully he makes up to have done at night, passes in review the outstanding trifles regarding Turkish Paradise, and among other ones, that he concocts to have seen angels of various appearance in heaven, for example of oxen, humans, horses, birds, among which there would have been a rooster treading the first heaven with his feet and reaching the second with his head: when Mohammed asked what these things meant, an angel, by whom he invented to have been led there, replied that they were angels praying God for those who are on earth, and that angels with human appearance pray for humans, those with shape of ox for oxen, those in the shape of horse for horses, those in the shape of rooster for roosters; and when that huge rooster crowed, the other roosters, both heavenly and terrestrial, crowed also.

Lodovico de Varthema* tells that the priests of an evil demon of Calicut* carry out in its honor a sacred ceremony with the blood of a rooster after having cut its throat with a silver knife and sprinkled it with burning coals. Instead of the altar, he says, they have a tablet which they cover with various flowers and fragrant powders. Then they place the blood of the rooster in a silver vase filled with burning coals, adding various kinds of aromatic herbs. Then they

⁹⁵⁷ L. 3 obs. C. 7. (Aldrovandi) - Petri Bellonii Cenomani plurimarum rerum in Graecia, Asia, Aegypto, Iudaea, Arabia aliisque exteris Provinciis ab ipso conspectarum observationes tribus libris expressae Carolus Clusius Atrebas e Gallicis Latinas faciebat - Antverpiae 1589 § Quanto narrato da Pierre Belon non è contenuto nel Corano. Sia il testo originale di Pierre Belon che la traduzione latina di Charles de L'Écluse sono presenti nel lessico alla voce Maometto*.

⁹⁵⁸ Si può presumere con quasi certezza che si tratta di Ludovicus Patritius, forse latinizzato anche in Romanus in quanto morì a Roma nel 1517. Questa presunzione viene dal testo di Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555). Infatti Gessner cita una prima volta i polli del Tarnasari* a pagina 381 e attribuisce la notizia a Ludovicus Patritius: Circa Tarnasari urbem Indiae gallos gallinasque proceriores vidisse memini quam usquam alibi, Ludovicus Patritius. - Quindi ne parla una seconda volta a pagina 387 attribuendo la consimile notizia a Ludovicus Romanus: Circa Tarnasari urbem Indiae gallinaceos procerissimos videre memini: ex quorum sane acerrimis conflictibus summam voluptatem cepi. nam quotidie huic ludo per medios vicos Mahumetanorum animi causa opera dabatur, mirumque est Mahumetanorum pro hac re certamen. habent privi privos gallos gallinaceos, eosque committunt aliis, expositis quandoque pro alitum futura victoria utrinque aureis centenis singulo congressu. Conspicati sumus senis horis concertantes alites, nec prius illae modum proelio faciebant, quam occubuissent, Ludovicus Romanus.

⁹⁵⁹ Nella nota a bordo pagina troviamo la grafia corretta: Calecutenses quomodo Gallum immolant.

dein mactant cultro argenteo, {cruentunque} <cruentunque> cultellum nonnunquam igni admovere solent. Sanguis Galli totus accensis funalibus crematur circa altare.

sacrifice the rooster with a silver knife and sometimes place the bloody knife near the fire. All the blood of the rooster is burned on torches lighted around the altar.

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Quem sacerdos [258] immolaturus lacertos et pedes exornat argento. Verum quod maius est Indos⁹⁶⁰ Gallum adorasse Iosephus Acosta scribit, et Lucianus⁹⁶¹ pro Deo olim cultum fuisse.

The priest who is about to sacrifice it - the rooster - adorns with silver its legs and feet. Truly, and this is more significant, José de Acosta* writes that Amerindians worshipped the rooster, and Lucian* says that formerly it has been venerated as a god.

⁹⁶⁰ L'abbaglio di Aldrovandi è enorme. Infatti chi adorava i galli non erano gli Inca, bensì gli Ateniesi. A scanso d'equivoci, in data 5 luglio 2008 ho chiesto la consulenza di due persone che lo spagnolo, anche del 1590, lo masticano molto bene assai: Livia Marchioni, una bolognese DOC, bolognese di nascita e di stirpe, nonché suo marito e mio collega Leslye Haslam Pineda, nicaraguense di nascita, inglese per via paterna, spagnolo per via materna, bolognese d'adozione. Aldrovandi starà rivoltandosi nella tomba sapendo che è proprio una bolognese a dare la conferma che elargiva baggianate a ogni piè sospinto. Procediamo con ordine. § In *De natura novi orbis Libri duo* (Salamanticae, 1589) non parla di galline e galli neppure quando analizza in che modo gli animali possano aver raggiunto questo Nuovo Mondo - Liber I,21 QUOMODO BESTIAE ET PECUDES AD HUNC NOVUM ORBEM EX ALTERO PERVENERINT. Soprattutto non parla di polli quando analizza gli uccelli ivi presenti: Neque solum quadrupedibus vacuae: ipsas volucres raras habent, & psit<t>acos quidem multos, quos esse volatus perniciosissimi & gregatim volitare constat, tum alios quosdam passeris raras ut dixi: perdices vero quales in hoc Peru, nullas vidisse me memini, multoque minus proprios huius regionis Guanacos, aut Vicuña, genus sylvestrium caparum velocissimum, in quarum ventre lapides illi Beezartici, qui in magno pretio plerisque sunt, [...]. § Di galline parlerà invece in *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* Libro cuarto Capítulo XXXV DE AVES QUE HAY DE ACA, Y COMO PASARON ALLA EN INDIAS - Pero dejando estas aves, que ellas por si se gobiernan, sin que los hombres cuiden de ellas, si no es por vía de caza; de aves domésticas me he maravillado de las gallinas, porque, en efecto, las había antes de ir españoles; y es claro indicio tener nombres de allá, que a la gallina llaman *gualpa* y al huevo *ronto*; y el mismo refrán que tenemos de llamar a un hombre gallina, para notalle de cobarde, ese propio usan los indios. Y los que fueron al descubrimiento de las islas de Salomón refieren haber visto allá gallinas de las nuestras. (Fué impreso en Sevilla, casa de Juan de León, junto a las Siete Revueltas, 1590) § Ed eccoci a documentare l'enorme abbaglio di Aldrovandi: infatti chi adorava i galli non erano gli Inca, bensì gli Ateniesi. *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* Libro quinto Capítulo V DE LA IDOLATRÍA QUE USARON LOS INDIOS CON COSAS PARTICULARES - No se contentó el demonio con hacer a los ciegos indios que adorasen al sol, y la luna, y las estrellas, y tierra, y mar y cosas generales de naturaleza; pero pasó adelante a darles por dioses, y sujetallos a cosas menudas, y muchas de ellas muy soeces. No se espantará de esta ceguera en bárbaros, quien trajere a la memoria que de los sabios y filósofos dice el Apóstol, que habiendo conocido a Dios, no le glorificaron ni dieron gracias como a su Dios; sino que se envanecieron en su pensamiento, y se escureció su corazón necio, y vinieron a trocar la gloria y deidad del eterno Dios, por semejanzas y figuras de cosas caducas y corruptibles, como de hombres, de aves, de bestias, de serpientes. Bien sabida cosa es el perro Osiris, que adoraban los egipcios, y la vaca Isis, y el carnero Amon; y en Roma la diosa Februa de las calenturas, y el ánser de Tarpeya; **y en Atenas la sabia, el cuervo y el gallo**. Y de semejantes bajezas y burlerías están llenas las memorias de la gentilidad, viniendo en tan gran oprobio los hombres por no haber querido sujetarse a la ley de su verdadero Dios y Criador, como San Atanasio doctamente lo trata escribiendo contra los idólatras. Mas en los indios, especialmente del Perú, es cosa que saca de juicio la rotura y perdición que hubo en esto. Porque adoran los ríos, las fuentes, las quebradas, las peñas o piedras grandes, los cerros, las cumbres de los montes que ellos llaman apachitas, y lo tienen por cosa de gran devoción; finalmente, cualquiera cosa de naturaleza que les parezca notable y diferente de las demás, la adoran como reconociendo allí alguna particular deidad. En Cajamalca de la Nasca me mostraron un cerro grande de arena, que fué principal adoratorio o guaca de los antiguos. Preguntando yo qué divinidad hallaban allí, me respondieron, que aquella maravilla de ser un cerro altísimo de arena en medio de otros muchos todos de Peña. Y a la verdad era cosa maravillosa pensar como se puso tan gran pico de arena en medio de montes espesísimos de piedra. Para fundir una campana grande tuvimos en la ciudad de los Reyes necesidad de leña recia y mucha, y cortóse un arbolazo disforme, que por su antigüedad y grandeza, había sido largos años adoratorio y guaca de los indios. (Fué impreso en Sevilla, casa de Juan de León, junto a las Siete Revueltas, 1590)

⁹⁶¹ *De Syria Dea*. (Aldrovandi) § *Della Dea Siria* (traduzione di Luigi Settembrini - 1862): 48. - Ma le processioni più grandi sono quelle che vanno al mare: di queste non posso dire niente di certo, ché io non v'andai, nè volli tentare quel viaggio: ma quel che fanno al ritorno io l'ho veduto, e lo racconterò. Ciascuno porta una brocca piena d'acqua, e suggellata con cera: e non l'aprono essi, e poi la versano; ma v'è un gallo sacro [115] che abita presso al lago, e che come gli presentano le brocche, ne osserva i suggelli, e ricevuta una mercede, scioglie la legatura, e manda via la cera: e molte belle mine per questa operazione raccoglie il gallo. Indi entrati nel tempio, versano quell'acqua a poco a poco, e fatto un sacrificio, vanno via. § Ma Luigi Settembrini pensa si tratti di un Gallo*, sacerdote di Cibele: [115] *Gallo sacro*, così il testo, ma credo sia guasto, e debba dir *Gallo*, uno dei castrati di cui ha parlato innanzi, e parlerà tra poco. Potrebbe ancora il credulo scrittore aver detto veramente un *gallo*, un uccello sacro, che si credeva facesse l'ispezione delle brocche suggellate e le aprisse. § 48. - But the greatest of these sacred assemblies are those held on the sea coast. About these, however, I have nothing certain to say. I was never present at their celebrations, nor did I undertake the journey thither; but I did see what they do on their return, and I will at once tell you. Each member of the assembly carries a vessel full of water. The vessels are sealed with wax; those who carry the water do not unseal the vessels and then pour out the water; but there is a certain holy cock [59] who dwells hard by the lake. This bird, on receiving the vessels from the bearers, inspects the seal, and after

Porro cum ovorum etiam olim purgandis piaculis, lustrationibusque adeo quotidianus usus fuerit, ut Orpheus, teste Suida, *Ooscopica*, id est, de divinatione ex ovis scripserit, eaque meo iudicio in Gallina magis conspicua sint, familiari nobis prae caeteris alite, itaque paucula istaec hic referre libuit. Adhibebantur⁹⁶² autem ova in Bacchi orgiis, aliorumque Deorum sacrificiis, ubi pro homine aliquid Deo solvendum esset. Omittimus interim quae in Orphicis, et Bacchi Orgiis, in hac ipsa re observata ab antiquis traduntur. Id solum ex eis repetemus, ideo religioni ova inservi<i>sse, et in tanto honore gentibus fuisse, quod capiente omni mundo tot animalium naturas, et genera, nullum fere est, in quo non ex ovo species aliqua nascatur. Volucres passim ovum gignunt: aquatilia in mari pene infinita. In terrestribus {lacertae} <lacertae>: in ambiguis, et quibus in terra aequae, quam in aqua victus est, crocodili: in bipedibus aves, in carentibus pedibus angues: in multipedibus attelabi⁹⁶³; et ne longiores

Furthermore in past times there was such a customary use of eggs for expiating the sins and for purifying rituals, so that Orpheus*, according to the lexicon Suidas*, wrote *Ooscopica*, that is, the divination by means of eggs, and in my opinion these things would be more evident in the hen, a bird which for us is homely in comparison with other ones, and therefore I had the pleasure of reporting here these few notes. But eggs were used in the orgies* of Bacchus* and in the sacrifices of other gods, when something on behalf of humans was to be paid to the god. I omit for the moment those things which have been observed on this same matter in Orphic and Bacchic orgies which are handed down by ancients. I shall only quote from them what follows, that eggs helped the religion and have been held in so much honor by peoples because, since all the world contains so many types and kinds of animals, there is almost none in which a species does not grow out of the egg. Birds everywhere lay an egg: aquatic animals in the sea lay almost an infinite number of them. Among land animals the lizards: among those of uncertain classification and having food both on land and in water, the crocodiles: the birds among bipeds,

receiving a reward for this action he breaks the thread and picks away the wax, and many minae are collected by the cock by this operation. After this the bearers carry the water into the temple and pour it forth, and they depart when the sacrifice is finished. (translation by Herbert A. Strong and John Garstang, 1913) § I traduttori concordano con Luigi Settembrini: [59] Ἀλεκτρυὼν ἱπός. The narrative is unintelligible unless we suppose that the words by allusion or textual change signify some special priestly office. Thus Blunt (*Works of Lucian*, London: Briscoe, 1711, p. 267) translates "a sacred cock, or priest, called Alectryon." Is it possible that the word in this sense was in common vogue, on the analogy of the Latin *Gallus*, a cock? (Cf. an inscription on an urn in the Lateran Museum at Rome, cited by Frazer, *op. cit.* p. 233, on which the cock is used as emblem of the Attis-priest, with a punning reference to the word.) Belin de Ballu, in his translation (Paris, 1789), v. 178, following Paulmier de Grentruéuil, unhesitatingly substitutes Γάλλος, and translates accordingly.

⁹⁶² Aldrovandi non fornisce la provenienza del lungo brano che segue, quasi fosse una sua creazione. Innanzitutto è tratto da pagina 456 di *Historia Animalium* III (1555) di Conrad Gessner, il quale alla fine della sua citazione ne fornisce l'origine: Marcellus Vergilius, nimirum ex Saturnalibus Macrobianis 7. 16. (vedi Marcello Virgilio Adriani*) § Ecco il brano completo di Gessner. Ovorum quondam purgandis piaculis, lustrationibusque quotidianus erat usus: et in Bacchi Orgiis aliorumque deorum sacrificiis, ubi pro homine solvendum aliquid deo esset, adhibebantur. Omittimus quae in Orphicis et Bacchi Orgiis, in hac ipsa re observata ab antiquis traduntur. id solum ex eis repetemus, ideo religioni ova inservi<i>sse, et in tanto honore cunctis gentibus fuisse, quod capiente omni mundo tot animalium naturas et genera, nullum fere est in quo non ex ovo species aliqua nascatur. Volucres passim ovum gignunt. Aquatilia in mari pene infinita. In terrestribus lacertae<, > in ambiguis et quibus in terra aequae quam in aqua victus est, crocodili. In bipedibus aves. In carentibus pedibus, angues. In multipedibus attelabi: et ne longiores simus, in pluribus generibus aliis plura alia. Ob quae totam referre naturam credita fuerunt: et in religione ad placanda exorandaque numina gratiorem habere potestatem: Marcellus Vergilius, nimirum ex Saturnalibus Macrobianis 7. 16. cuius verba superius retuli. § Ed ecco un frammento tratto dai *Saturnalia* di Macrobio*, quando egli disquisisce se sia nato prima l'uovo o la gallina e che abbiamo in parte citato a proposito di pagina 219* del testo di Aldrovandi. Macrobio, *Saturnalia*, VII,16: [...] quin potius, si quid callet vestra sapientia, scire ex vobis volo, ovumne prius extiterit an gallina? [...] Aut enim gradiuntur animantia aut serpunt aut nando volandove vivunt. In gradientibus lacertae et similia ex ovis creantur: quae serpunt ovis nascuntur exordio: volantia universa de ovis prodeunt excepto uno quod incertae naturae est: nam vespertilio volat quidem pellitis alis, sed inter volantia non habendus est qui quattuor pedibus graditur formatosque pullos parit et nutrit lacte quos generat: nantia paene omnia de ovis oriuntur generis sui, crocodilus vero etiam de testeis, qualia sunt volantium.

⁹⁶³ Si tratta di un classico download da Gessner, ma Aldrovandi non si degna di specificare la fonte sia secondaria che primaria della citazione, come invece impeccabilmente si comporta lo Zurighese. Giustamente Gessner afferma trattarsi di una rielaborazione da parte di Marcellus Vergilius - alias Marcello Virgilio Adriani* - del contenuto dei *Saturnalia* VII,16 dove Macrobio* disquisisce se sia nato prima l'uovo o la gallina, di cui eccone l'esordio: Inter haec Euangelus gloriae Graecorum invidens et inludens: Facessant, ait, haec quae inter vos in ostentationem loquacitatis agitantur: quin potius, si quid callet vestra sapientia, scire ex vobis volo, ovumne prius extiterit an gallina? Tale rielaborazione appartiene al commento all'uovo di Dioscoride, libro II capitolo 43 DE OVO, ma *attelabus* è presente anche nel commento al libro II capitolo 45 DE LOCUSTIS (*Pedacii Dioscoridae Anazarbei de Medica materia libri sex a Marcello Virgilio Secretario Florentino latinitate donati cum eiusdem commentationibus*, 1523) § Il greco *attélabos*, con la variante ionica *attélebos*,

simus in pluribus generibus aliis plura alia. Ob quae totam referre naturam credita fuerunt, et in religione ad placanda, exorandaque numina gratiorem habere potestatem.

Ova expiationibus apta monstrat illud Iuvenalis⁹⁶⁴{.><:>

Nisi se centum lustraverit ovis.

Sed et Ovidius⁹⁶⁵ ova haec lustralia indicat his versibus:

*Et veniat, quae lustret anus, lectumque locumque,
Praeferat et tremula sulphur, et ova manu.*

Ovi, quod in Cereali pompa solitum fuerit esse primum, meminit Varro⁹⁶⁶ his verbis: *Nam non modo illud ovum sublatum est, quod ludis Circensibus novissimi curriculi finem facit quadrigis, sed ne illud quidem ovum vidimus, quod in Cereali pompa solet esse primum.* Ovorum hecatombe ab Ephippo nominatur per iocum apud Athenaeum⁹⁶⁷.

AUGURIA. PRODIGIA.

Quod ad auguria in primis spectat, in his hoc avium genus tantum praerogativae obtinuit privilegium, ut publice ad ea aleretur. Tantum vero apud Romanos in nefariis eiusmodi

the snakes among those lacking legs: the locusts without wings* among many-footed creatures; and, to extend the list no further, among many other genera many others. Because of these facts the eggs were believed to reproduce all living beings, and to have in religion a more favorable power for placation and arousing gods' pity.

Eggs are suited for purifications and Juvenal* indicates this:

Unless she purifies herself with a hundred eggs.

But Ovid* also indicates these expiatory eggs in the following verses:

*And let the old woman come to purify both bed and room,
bearing in her trembling hand both sulphur and eggs.*

Varro* made mention of the egg which usually would have been the first one in the procession of Ceres*: *For not only was that egg carried away which at the circus games marks the end of the last lap of the quadrigae, but we did not even see that egg which usually is the first one in Ceres' procession.* In Athenaeus* by Ephippus* joking is mentioned a hecatomb of eggs.

OMENS - PRODIGIES

Where omens is first of all concerned, among them this kind of birds held such a privilege of preference that they were raised at State's expense for such a purpose. For among Romans they were regarded as having such

indica una locusta senza ali. Si tratta di un termine derivato dal semitico oppure dall'egiziano. In Plinio* *Naturalis historia* XXIX,92 troviamo *attelebus*: Noctua apibus contraria et vespis crabronibusque et sanguisugis; pici quoque Martii rostrum secum habentes non feruntur ab iis. Adversantur et locustarum minimae sine pinnis, quas attelebos vocant. § Nessun'altra ricorrenza di *attelebus* è segnalata nei lessici di latino classico, tantomeno di *attelebus*. Come abbiamo già detto, in base a quanto riferito da Conrad Gessner in *Historia animalium* III (1555) pagina 456, *attelebus* venne impiegato da Marcello Virgilio Adriani (1464-1521) in una rielaborazione dei *Saturnalia* di Macrobio VII,16 dove costui disquisisce se sia nato prima l'uovo o la gallina. § Ecco i testi di Gessner tratti da *Historia animalium* III. - pagina 456: Volucres passim ovum gignunt. aquatilia in mari pene infinita. in terrestribus lacertae<,> in ambiguis et quibus in terra aequae quam in aqua victus est, crocodili. in bipedibus aves. in carentibus pedibus, angues. in multipedibus attelebi: et ne longiores simus, in pluribus generibus aliis plura alia. Ob quae totam referre naturam credita fuerunt: et in religione ad placanda exorandaque numina gratiorem habere potestatem: Marcellus Vergilius, nimirum ex Saturnalibus Macrobiani 7. 16. cuius verba superius retuli. - pagina 452: Nec importune elementis de quibus sunt omnia. ovum comparaverim. omni enim genere animantium, quae ex coitione nascuntur, invenies ovum aliquorum esse principium instar elementi. In gradientibus enim, lacertae et similia ex ovo creantur. Quae serpunt, ovi nascuntur exordio. Volantia universa de ovis prodeunt, excepto uno quod incertae naturae est, (vespertilio.). Natantia pene omnia de ovis oriuntur generis sui, crocodilus vero etiam de testeis qualia sunt volantium. Et ne videar plus nimio extulisse ovum elementi vocabulo, consule initiatos sacris Liberi patris: in quibus hac veneratione ovum colitur, ut ex forma tereti ac pene sphaerali, atque undique versum clausa, et includente intra se vitam, mundi simulacrum vocetur, Disarius apud Macrobius Saturn. 7. 16.

⁹⁶⁴ *Satira* VI, 518.

⁹⁶⁵ *Ars amatoria* II,329-330.

⁹⁶⁶ *Rerum rusticarum* I,2. § La citazione di Aldrovandi corrisponde a quella di Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 456, che è molto più breve: Ovi quod in Cereali pompa solitum fuerit esse primum, meminit Varro de re rust. 1. 2. § L'edizione Aldina del 1533, forse quella usata da Gessner, contiene *cereali*. Anche una citazione a piè di pagina in DESCRIPTION OF THE CIRCUS IN VIA APPIA NEAR ROME (Rev. Richard Burgess, London, 1828) riporta *Cereali* con c maiuscola come Gessner. § La mia fonte elettronica - *Rerum rusticarum* I,2 www.thelatinlibrary.com - recita qualcosa che è alquanto discordante da Gessner: Illi interea ad nos, et Stolo, Num cena comessa, inquit, venimus? Nam non L. videmus Fundilium, qui nos advocavit. Bono animo este, inquit Agrius. Nam non modo ovum illud sublatum est, quod ludis circensibus novissimi curriculi finem facit quadrigis, sed ne illud quidem ovum vidimus, quod in cenali pompa solet esse primum.

⁹⁶⁷ *Deipnosophistai* II,50,58a. § And Ephippus says: Cakes made of sesame and honey, sweetmeats, | Cheese-cakes, and creamcakes, and a hecatomb | Of new-laid eggs, were all devoured by us. (translated by C. D. Yonge in *Deipnosophists or Banquet of the learned*, London, Henry G. Bohn, 1854 - traduzione basata sull'edizione del testo greco di Schweighäuser, Strasburg, 1801-1807)

significationibus momenti habere credebatur, ut quae indicaret verissima, et sacrosancta haberentur. Quod Plinius⁹⁶⁸ Galli laudes commemorans eleganter demonstrat: *Ut plane dignae aliti tantum honoris {praebeat} <perhibeat> Romana purpura. Horum sunt tripudia solistima* (quae laeta erant cum prodeuntes e cavea cibum oblatum capere non recusabant, et inter edendum nihil non in terram ex ore decidebat: quorum alterutrum si accideret., triste, ac {pernitiosum} <perniciosum> censebatur, uti alibi abunde docuimus.) *Hi magistratus nostros quotidie regunt, domosque {ipsit} <ipsis> suas claudunt, {ac retinent,} <aut reserant.> <Hi fasces Romanos inpellunt aut retinent,> iubent acies, aut prohibent, victoriarum omnium toto orbe partarum auspices: hi maxime terrarum imperio imperitant, extis etiam fibrisque haud aliter, quam {optimae victoriae} <optimae victimae> Diis grati.*

Varro⁹⁶⁹ vero non solum augures Romanos ex his avibus auguria captasse memorat, sed etiam patresfamiliae rure. Quadrupliciter vero maxime auguria faciebant, videlicet per solistima tripudia, per praeposteros eorum, vespertinosque cantus, ut Plinius⁹⁷⁰ tradit, et cum cibo spreto etiam, e caveis avolabant, quod maximi infortunii signum habebatur: et per eorum pugnam. Erant praeterea, eodem Plinio teste, et exta Diis grata.

Qui pullorum curam habet, et qui e pastu pullorum captat auspicia, Cicero⁹⁷¹, et Livio⁹⁷² pullarius dicitur: *Attulit {e} <in> cavea pullos*, inquit alibi Cicero⁹⁷³, *is qui ex eo <ipso>*

a great importance in such foul omens that whatever they revealed was considered extremely true and sacrosanct. Pliny* clearly demonstrates this fact when extolling the rooster's praises: *So that purple-clad Romans bestow so great an honor on a bird which quite deserves it. To them are due the solemn ritual dances* - the favorable omens* (which were propitious when, coming forth from coop, they did not refuse the given food and while eating it something was dropping from mouth to the ground: if only one or the other of these deeds took place it was regarded as ill-fated and evil, as I have elsewhere profusely explained). *They daily manage our magistrates and shut or open their houses. They restrain or incite the lictorian Roman fasces* - they restrain or incite to high offices, they order or forbid troops marshalling, auspices of all victories gained all over the world: they especially rule the sway of the world, welcome to gods concerning entrails and guts, not otherwise than fat victims are.*

But Varro records that not only Roman augurs took auguries by means of these birds, but so also did the family fathers in country. But chiefly they took four kinds of auguries, that is, through the favorable omens, through their crowing out of usual time and in the evening, as Pliny relates, and also when scorning food they flew away from coops, which was considered a sign of the greatest misfortune, as well as through by their fighting. Furthermore, according to the same Pliny, also their entrails were pleasing to the gods.

He who cares for chickens and takes auspices from their feeding is called *pullarius* in Cicero* and Livy*: Cicero elsewhere says *Has placed chickens in the coop he who, just because of this, is called pullarius*. For among Roman

⁹⁶⁸ *Naturalis historia* X,48-49: Iam ex his quidam ad bella tantum et proelia adsidua nascuntur - quibus etiam patrias nobilitarunt, Rhodum aut Tanagram; secundus est honos habitus Melicis et Chalcidicis -, ut plane dignae aliti tantum honoris perhibeat Romana purpura. [49] Horum sunt tripudia solistima, hi magistratus nostros cotidie regunt domusque ipsis suas claudunt aut reserant. Hi fasces Romanos inpellunt aut retinent, iubent acies aut prohibent, victoriarum omnium toto orbe partarum auspices. Hi maxime terrarum imperio imperant, extis etiam fibrisque haud aliter quam opimae victimae diis grati.

⁹⁶⁹ *Rerum rusticarum* III,3,5: Earum rerum cultura instituta prima ea quae in villa habetur; non enim solum augures Romani ad auspicia primum pararunt pullos, sed etiam patres familiae rure.

⁹⁷⁰ *Naturalis historia* X,49: Habent ostenta et praeposteri eorum vespertinique cantus: namque totis noctibus canendo Boeotiis nobilem illam adversus Lacedaemonios praesagivere victoriam, ita coniecta interpretatione, quoniam victa ales illa non caneret.

⁹⁷¹ *Ad Familiares* X,12: Recitatis litteris oblata religio Cornuto est pullariorum admonitu, non satis diligenter cum auspiciis operam dedisse, idque a nostro collegio comprobatum est; itaque res dilata est in posterum.

⁹⁷² *Ab urbe condita* VIII,30: In Samnium incertis itum auspiciis est; cuius rei vitium non in belli eventum, quod prospere gestum est, sed in rabiem atque iras imperatorum vertit. namque Papirius dictator a pullario monitus cum ad auspiciis repetendum Romam proficisceretur, magistro equitum denunciavit ut sese loco teneret neu absente se cum hoste manum consereret. - IX,14: Agentibus divina humanaque, quae adsolent cum acie dimicandum est, consulibus Tarentini legati occursare responsum expectantes; quibus Papirius ait: "auspicia secunda esse, Tarentini, pullarius nuntiat; litatum praeterea est egregie; auctoribus dis, ut videtis, ad rem gerendam proficiscimur". - X,40: Tertia vigilia noctis iam relatis litteris a collega Papirius silentio surgit et pullarium in auspiciis mittit. Nullum erat genus hominum in castris intactum cupiditate pugnae; summi infimique aequae intenti erant; dux militum, miles ducis ardorem spectabat. Is ardor omnium etiam ad eos qui auspicio intererant pervenit; nam cum pulli non pascerentur, pullarius auspiciis mentiri ausus tripudium solistimum consuli nuntiavit.

⁹⁷³ *De divinatione* II,34: Tum ille: "Dicito, si pascentur." "Pascentur". Quae aves? Aut ubi? Attulit, inquit, in cavea pullos is, qui ex eo ipso nominatur pullarius. Haec sunt igitur aves internuntiae Iovis! Quae pascentur necne, quid refert? Nihil ad auspicia; sed quia,

nominatur pullarius. Erat autem moris Romanis ducibus pugnam inituris advocare eiusmodi pullarium, ut offam hisce volucris obijceret ad augurium captandum. Pulterem vero iis dabant potissimum, quia ex ea necesse erat <aliquid> decidere, quod {trepudium} <tripudium>, hoc est terripuvium faceret. Puvire enim ferire est⁹⁷⁴. Bonum enim, ut diximus, augurium esse putabant, si pulli per quos auspicabantur comedissent: praesertim si eis edentibus aliquid ab ore decidisset.

Sin autem omnino non edissent, periculum imminere, ut Flamini exemplo docemur, qui cum terripudio auspicaretur, pullarius, teste Cicerone⁹⁷⁵, diem praelii committendi differebat. Valerius⁹⁷⁶ etiam, atque Livius⁹⁷⁷ auctores sunt Hostilio Mancino consuli in Hispaniam ituro hoc accidisse prodigium, cum sacrificium [259] facere vellet, pullos cavea emissos in proximam sylvam devolasse, et summa cura requisitos reperiri nequivisse.

leaders about to take out a battle it was custom to call such a chickens' keeper so that he might throw food to these birds in order to take an omen. They most usually gave them mash, because it was necessary that something was falling to the ground, since from this a good omen would come out, that is, the earth would have been struck. For *puvire* means to strike. For, as I have said, they thought of good omen if the chickens had eaten by intervention of those by whom they were bidden foretell: above all if, while they were eating, something had fallen from mouth.

But if they did not eat at all, some danger was imminent, as we are acquainted with the example of Caius Flaminius*, who, according to Cicero, since was searching omens through a favorable omen, the chickens' keeper was postponing the day for joining battle. Also Valerius Maximus* and Livy report that occurred this prodigy to the consul Caius Hostilius Mancinus* about to go to Spain, that is, since he wished to make a sacrifice, the chickens gotten out of the coop flew into the nearby woods, and being sought with the

cum pascuntur, necesse est aliquid ex ore cadere et terram pavire (terripavium primo, post terripudium dictum est; hoc quidem iam tripudium dicitur) - cum igitur offa cecidit ex ore pulli, tum auspicanti tripudium solistimum nuntiatur.

⁹⁷⁴ Neanche stavolta il download da Gessner è stato fatto con accuratezza, in quanto esiste un *trepudium* invece del gessneriano *tripudium*. Il resto ricalca il testo di Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 409: Puls potissimum dabatur pullis in auspiciis, quia ex ea necesse erat aliquid decidere, quod tripudium faceret: id est terripuvium. puvire enim ferire est. Bonum enim augurium esse putabant, si pulli per quos auspicabantur, comedissent: praesertim si eis edentibus aliquid ab ore decidisset. Sin autem omnino non edissent, arbitrabantur periculum imminere, Festus. § Ai tempi di Festo Sesto Pompeo* (II-III secolo dC), che è la fonte del testo, probabilmente *terripavium* e *pavire* si erano trasformati in *terripuvium* e *puvire*, come dimostra il suo *De verborum significatione*.

⁹⁷⁵ *De divinatione* I,35,77: Quid? Bello Punico secundo nonne C. Flaminius, consul iterum, neglexit signa rerum futurarum magna cum clade rei publicae? Qui exercitu lustrato cum Arretium versus castra movisset et contra Hannibalem legiones duceret, et ipse et equus eius ante signum Iovis Statoris sine causa repente concidit nec eam rem habuit religioni, obiecto signo, ut peritis videbatur, ne committeret proelium. Idem, cum tripudio auspicaretur, pullarius diem proelii committendi differebat. Tum Flaminius ex eo quaesivit, si ne postea quidem pulli pascerentur, quid faciendum censeret. Cum ille quiescendum respondisset, Flaminius: "Praeclara vero auspicia, si esurientibus pullis res geri poterit, saturis nihil geretur!" Itaque signa convelli et se sequi iussit. Quo tempore cum signifer primi hastati signum non posset movere loco, nec quicquam proficeretur [?] plures cum accederent, Flaminius re nuntiata suo more neglexit. Itaque tribus iis horis concisus exercitus atque ipse interfectus est.

⁹⁷⁶ *Factorum et dictorum memorabilium* I,6,7: Flamini autem praecipitem audaciam C. Hostilius Mancinus vaesana perseverantia subsequitur. Cui consuli in Hispaniam ituro haec prodigia acciderunt: cum Lavinii sacrificium facere vellet, pulli cavea emissi in proximam sylvam fugerunt summaque diligentia quaesiti reperiri nequiverunt. Cum ab Herculis portu, quo pedibus pervenerat, navem conscenderet, talis vox sine ullo auctore ad aures eius pervenit, 'Mancine, mane'. Qua territus, cum itinere converso Genuam petisset et ibi scapham esset ingressus, anguis eximiae magnitudinis visus e conspectu abiit. Ergo prodigiorum <numerum> numero calamitatum aequavit, infelici pugna, turpi foedere, deditioe funesta.

⁹⁷⁷ Aldrovandi dà come referenza *Lib. 45*, che penso vada inteso come *Ab urbe condita* XLV, dove però Livio non parla del console Hostilius Mancinus, salvo che Aldrovandi volesse indicare la *Periocha* 55 dell'opera di Livio e che per errore tipografico è stato scritto 45. I dati relativi a Hostilius Mancinus sono infatti contenuti nelle *Periochae* 55 e 56: *Periocha* LV: C. Hostilius Mancino cos. sacrificante pulli ex cavea evolaverunt; conscendenti deinde in navem, ut in Hispaniam proficisceretur, accidit vox: "Mane, Mancine". Quae auspicia tristia fuisse eventu probatum est. Victus enim a Numantinis et castris exutus, cum spes nulla servandi exercitus esset, pacem cum his fecit ignominiosam, quam ratam esse senatus vetuit. XXXX milia Romanorum ab III milibus Numantinorum victa erant. - *Periocha* LVI: Ad exsolvendum foederis Numantini religione populum Mancinus, cum huius rei auctor fuisset, deditus Numantinis non est receptus. § Ne parla anche Giulio Ossequente*, *Liber prodigiorum*. M. Aemilio C. Hostilio Mancino coss. [AUC 617/137 aC] - 24. Cum Lavinii auspicaretur, pulli e cavea in sylvam Laurentinam evolarunt neque inventi sunt. Praeneste fax ardens in caelo visa, sereno intonuit. Terracinae M. Claudius praetor in nave fulmine conflagravit. Lacus Fucinus per milia passuum quinque quoquo versum inundavit. In Graecostasi et in comitio sanguine fluxit. Esquiliis equuleus cum quinque pedibus natus. Fulmine pleraque decussa. Hostilius Mancinus consul in portu Herculis cum conscenderet navem petens Numantiam, vox improvise audita "Mane, Mancine." Cumque egressus postea navem Genuae conscendisset, anguis in nave inventus e manibus effugit. Ipse consul devictus, mox Numantinis deditus.

Tradunt vero eiusmodi auspicia tristia fuisse idque exitu probatum. Victum .n. fuisse Hostilium a Numantinis, et castris exutum, moxque cum nulla superesset servandi exercitus spes, pacem cum his fecisse, eamque adeo ignominiosam, ut ratam esse Senatus vetuerit.

Contra Themistocli⁹⁷⁸ Atheniensium clarissimo duci, quem adolescentiam suam in omni luxus, lasciviaeque genere {peregrisse} <peregrisse>, tandem vero cum vir evasisset iuventae suae maculas praeclarissimis gestis delevisse, historia testis est, priusquam in Xerxem, ad quem postmodum ab ingrata patria pulsus confugit, exercitum duceret, pridie auditus Gallorum cantus victoriam promisit. Ex huiusmodi cantu felix augurium cepisse Iustinum Sophiamque Corippus⁹⁷⁹ testatur his versibus.

*Limen ut augustae sacro pede conti{n}git aulae,
Omnia Gallorum strepuerunt culmina cantu.
Exactam noctem primi sensere volucres,
Et laetum cecinere diem, alarumque dedere
Plausibus assiduis, et acuta voce favorem<.>*

Insuper Gallos omnes, Paulus Morigia⁹⁸⁰, anno millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo septimo ea nocte, qua Otto Archiepiscopus, et Mediolanensium exercitus praefectus victoria adversus Turrianos potiebatur continuo cecinisse, eademque nocte Galeatium⁹⁸¹ in Vicecomitum item familia eius nominis primum natum esse, et ab eiusmodi felici Gallorum augurio nomen accepisse.

Cantum vero avium harum victoriae signum habitum ideo Plinius⁹⁸² docet, et Cicero⁹⁸³

They relate that such omens were inauspicious, and this is proved by the result. For Caius Hostilius Mancinus* was defeated by Numantines and driven away from his camp, and at once, since no hope of saving his army remained, he made peace with them, so shameful that the Senate forbade that it was ratified.

On the contrary for Themistocles*, very renowned leader of the Athenians, who spent his youth in any sort of lust and lasciviousness, but who finally when became a man wiped out the stains of his youth by his very glorious deeds, the history is witness that before he led the army against Xerxes I*, by whom he took refuge since he was banished by his ungrateful fatherland - not, he took refuge by Artaxerses I*, the crowing of the roosters he heard the day before forecasted the victory. Corippus* testifies in these verses that Justinus II* and Sophia* took a happy augury from such a crowing:

As soon as with the sacred foot he touched the threshold of the august palace, any top of the buildings rang with the crowing of roosters. The birds were the first ones in sensing that night had passed and heralded with crowing a favorable day, and with an endless flapping of wings and with shrill voice brought the joy.

Furthermore Paolo Morigia* - tells - that in the year 1277, on that night when Ottone Visconti*, archbishop and commander of the army of Milanese, won a victory against Torriani* - or Della Torre - all the roosters crowed incessantly, and that likewise on that same night Galeazzo I* was the first of such a name to be born within the family of Visconti, and received his name from such favorable augury of the roosters.

Pliny* tells, and Cicero* smiles, that the crowing of these birds has been considered a sign of victory

⁹⁷⁸ Aldrovandi ha già parlato di Temistocle a pagina 236*. e 238*. § In questo caso si tratta di uno stralcio dedotto da Gessner il quale lo cita come dovuto ad Alessandro Alessandri*. Solo che Gessner non si sogna neppure di cadere nell'errore storico di Aldrovandi, il quale afferma che Temistocle si rifugiò presso Serse anziché presso Artaserse. § Ecco il testo di Gessner *Historia animalium III* (1555) pagina 409*: AUGURIA. Inter divinationum genera aliqui etiam alectryomantiam numerant, Gyraldus. Praeposteros aut vespertinos gallorum cantus optimi eventus multi notare. Themistocli pridie quam Xerxem duceret, auditus gallorum cantus, victoriae mox futurae praenuncium fecit: idque ideo, quod victus nequaquam canit: victor vero obstrepit et murmurat. contra vero gallinarum. nam diri aliquid imminere, aut futurum incommodum illarum cantus designavit, Alexander ab Alex.

⁹⁷⁹ *In laudem Iustini minoris* liber I. (Aldrovandi) § Il brano citato corrisponde ai versi 197-201 del I libro e si emenda in base a *De laudibus Iustini Augusti Minoris libri IV* in *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, Bonnae, 1836 - Recognovit Immanuel Bekkerus.

⁹⁸⁰ *Historia dell'antichità di Milano* o *Historiae urbium et regionum Italiae rariores*, Venezia 1592.

⁹⁸¹ Aldrovandi ha già parlato della nascita di Galeazzo Visconti I a pagina 250*.

⁹⁸² *Naturalis historia* X,49: Habent ostenta et praeposteri eorum vespertinique cantus: namque totis noctibus canendo Boeotiis nobilem illam adversus Lacedaemonios praesagivere victoriam, ita coniecta interpretatione, quoniam victa ales illa non caneret.

ridet, quod victae silere soleant, canere victrices. Uterque vero celebris illius Boeotiorum contra {Lacedaemones} <Lacedaemonios> victoriae exemplo comprobatur. *Totis noctibus, inquit ille, canendo Boeotiis nobilem illam adversus Lacedaemonios praesagivere victoriam, ita coniecta interpretatione, quoniam victa ales illa non caneret.* Cicero⁹⁸⁴ vero paulo aliter fusiusque, *Lacedaemoniis, ait, paulo ante Leu<c>tricam calamitatem quae significata est, cum in Herculis fano arma sonuerunt, Herculisque simulacrum multo sudore manavit{.}<!/> At eodem tempore Thebis, ut ait Callisthenes, in templo Herculis valvae clausae repagulis, subito se ipsae aperuerunt armaque quae fixa in parietibus fuerant, ea humi sunt inventa: cumque eodem tempore apud Lebadiam Trophonio res divina fieret Gallos Gallinaceos in eo loco sic assidue canere coepisse, ut nihil intermitterent, tum augures dixisse Boeotios, Thebanorum esse victoriam, propterea quod avis illa victa silere soleret, canere si vicisset.*

Alibi⁹⁸⁵ vero ita eiusmodi vanitates ridet. *Quas autem res tum natura, tum casus affert, {in quibus} nonnunquam etiam errorem creat similitudo, magna {stulita} <stultitia> est earum rerum Deos facere effectores, causas rerum non quaerere. Tu vates Boeotios credis Lebadiae vidisse ex Gallorum Gallinaceorum cantu victoriam esse Thebanorum, quia Galli victi silere sole<re>nt canere victores. Hoc igitur per Gallinas Iuppiter tantae civitati signum dabat? An illae aves, nisi cum vicerint, canere non solent? At tum caneant, nec vicerint. Id enim <est>, inquires, ostentum, magnum vero, quasi pisces, non Galli cecinerint. Quod autem est tempus, quo illi non cantent, vel nocturnum, vel diurnum? Quod si victores alacritate, et quasi laetitia ad canendum excitantur: potuit accidisse alia quoque laetitia, qua ad cantum moverentur. Democritus quidem optimis verbis causam explicat, cur ante lucem Galli canant: depulso enim de pectore et in omne corpus {diffuso, et modificato} <diviso et mitificato> cibo, cantus edere quiete*

because they are accustomed to be silent when defeated, to crow when victorious. Both are confirming this by the example of that famous victory of Boeotians* against Lacedaemonians*. The former says: *By crowing for entire nights they foretold to Boeotians that famous victory against Lacedaemonians, and the conjectured interpretation is as follows, since that bird if conquered doesn't would crow.* But Cicero speaks of this somewhat differently and at greater length: *The defeat of Leuktra* was foretold to Lacedaemonians a little before, when the weapons in Hercules'* temple rang out, and when the statue of Hercules dripped with much sweat! But at the same time at Thebes, as Callisthenes* says, in the temple of Hercules the leaves of the door which were shut with bolts suddenly opened by themselves and the weapons which had been fixed to the walls were found on the earth: and when at the same time near Lebadia* a sacred rite was taking place in honor of Trophonios*, the roosters in that place began to crow so insistently that they did not stop for a moment, and then Boeotian augurs said the victory was of Thebans because that bird when defeated is accustomed to keep silence, and to crow if has been winning.*

Elsewhere he mocks such lies as follows: *For those things which both nature and chance are causing, sometimes the similarity gives rise also to an error, it is a great stupidity to consider the gods as source of such things and not to seek the reason of the events. You believe the Boeotian soothsayers at Lebadia saw by the crowing of roosters that the victory was of Thebans since defeated roosters would be accustomed to keep silent, to crow if are winner. So, did Jupiter give this omen to so great a city by means of hens? Or are those birds not accustomed to crow unless when they won? But then they crowed and had not won: for this is, you will say, a portent. Indeed a great one, as if fishes, not roosters, had crowed! But what is the time at which they do not crow, either night or day? Since if as victors they are excited to crow by eagerness and by a sort of joy, it could have happened also another joy by which they were stirred to crow. Democritus*, in fact, explains in the choicest language just why roosters crow before dawn: after they removed from digestive apparatus and divided and made soft throughout the whole body the food, satisfied by rest they begin to crow: and in the silence of the night, as Ennius* says, they show agreement in uttering their crow*

⁹⁸³ *De divinatione* II,26,56: Tu vates Boeotios credis Lebadiae vidisse ex gallorum gallinaceorum cantu victoriam esse Thebanorum, quia galli victi silere solerent, canere victores. Hoc igitur per gallinas Iuppiter tantae civitati signum dabat? An illae aves, nisi cum vicerunt, canere non solent?

⁹⁸⁴ *De divinatione* I,34,74: Quid? Lacedaemoniis paulo ante Leu<c>tricam calamitatem quae significatio facta est, cum in Herculis fano arma sonuerunt Herculisque simulacrum multo sudore manavit! At eodem tempore Thebis, ut ait Callisthenes, in templo Herculis valvae clausae repagulis subito se ipsae aperuerunt, armaque, quae fixa in parietibus fuerant, ea sunt humi inventa. Cumque eodem tempore apud Lebadiam Trophonio res divina fieret, gallos gallinaceos in eo loco sic assidue canere coepisse, ut nihil intermitterent; tum augures dixisse Boeotios Thebanorum esse victoriam, propterea quod avis illa victa silere soleret, canere, si vicisset.

⁹⁸⁵ *De divinatione* II,26,56-57: Tu vates Boeotios credis Lebadiae vidisse ex gallorum gallinaceorum cantu victoriam esse Thebanorum, quia galli victi silere solerent, canere victores. Hoc igitur per gallinas Iuppiter tantae civitati signum dabat? An illae aves, nisi cum vicerunt, canere non solent? "At tum caneant nec vicerint: id enim est", inquires, "ostentum." Magnum vero, quasi pisces, non galli cecinerint! [...] [57] Democritus quidem optimis verbis causam explicat cur ante lucem galli canant: depulso enim de pectore et in omne corpus diviso et mitificato cibo, cantus edere quiete satiatos; qui quidem silentio noctis, ut ait Ennius, "... favent faucibus rursus | cantu, plausuque premunt alas."

*satiatos: qui quidem silentio noctis, ut ait Ennius*⁹⁸⁶, *favent {faucibus, rursus}*⁹⁸⁷ <faucibus russis> *cantu plausuque premunt alas*. Haec omnia Cicero, quibus superstitiosas illas Romanorum augurum vanitates et vera daemonis praestigia apertissime superstitiosus alioqui et ipse, rejicit, et parvi etiam eiusmodi auguria fecisse Publius Claudius videri potest, qui, ut Valerius⁹⁸⁸ annotavit, bello Punico primo cum pra<e>lium navale committere vellet, auspiciamque more maiorum petisset et pullarius vix exire cavea pullos nunciavisset, abijci in mare eos iussit, dicens, si esse nolunt, bibant.

Quemadmodum vero vana antiquitas Galli cantum pro bono augurio {habebant} <habebat>, ita contra Gallinarum cantus diri aliquid imminere, aut futurum incommodum ipsis significabat. {Sergio} <Servio> Galbae item auspicanti, teste Tranquillo⁹⁸⁹, pullos evolasse futurae eius caedis signum fuit. Antonius ex pugna Gallorum, et {Cornicum;} <Coturnicum,> ut Plutarchus⁹⁹⁰ meminit, tale hausit augurium, ut se Caesare inferiorem, ac impotentiorum agnosceret, cum penes Caesarianas aves victoriam esse videret. Inde enim {Ariolo} <Hariolo> Aegypto eorum uni, qui {natalitas} <natalicias> praedictiones exercent, ei, inquam, qui libere aliquando ei

through the red jaws and applaud by flapping wings. All these are the words of Cicero by which he, nevertheless in other respects superstitious, very clearly is rejecting those superstitious falsehoods of Roman augurs and true deceptions of a demon, and we can also realize that Publius Claudius Pulcher* took little account of such omens, who in first Punic War*, as Valerius Maximus* noted down, since was willing to join a naval battle and having asked for omens according to the custom of ancestors and since the chickens' keeper announced that chickens would not come out willingly of their coop, he bade to throw them into the sea, saying: if they do not want to eat, drink.

But so as silly ancients considered the crowing of the rooster as a good augury, on the contrary to the same extent the singing of the hens was heralding them that something evil was approaching or a future misfortune. According to Suetonius Tranquillus*, for Servius Galba*, who was drawing omens, the chickens which flew away have been the presage of his future assassination. As Plutarch* mentions, Marcus Antonius* from roosters' and quails' fighting* drew such an augury that he admitted to be inferior and less powerful than Caesar Augustus*, since he was realizing that the victory was up to Caesar's birds. Then he began to place his trust in an Egyptian soothsayer, one of those who make predictions on nativities, in him who, I go back to repeat, had once frankly told him that his

⁹⁸⁶ *Scenica*, 219-221. - Filippo Capponi in *Ornithologia Latina* (1979) riporta il testo dell'edizione Vahlen: *favent faucibus russis | Missis cantu plausuque premunt | Alas; (a pagina 262, alla voce Gallus)*.

⁹⁸⁷ Il download dell'errore è stato perpetrato a carico dell'erroneo testo di Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 383: *Qui quidem, ut ait Ennius, silentio noctis favent faucibus, rursum cantu plausuque premunt alas*.

⁹⁸⁸ Aldrovandi non cita dall'opera originale di Valerio Massimo (*Factorum et dictorum memorabilium libri novem*) in cui il brano è assente, ma, seppure con piccolissime differenze, dall'*Epitome Valerii Maximi* di Giulio Paride: *P. Claudius bello Punico primo, cum proelium navale committere vellet, auspiciamque more maiorum petisset, et pullarius non exire cavea pullos nuntiasset, abici eos in mare iussit, dicens 'quia esse nolunt, bibant!'*. (J. Briscoe, Leipzig, Teubner 1998 - I 4,3, p. 34,41) § L'episodio relativo a Publius Claudius è presente, per esempio, in Livio, *Periocha* XIX: *Caecilius Metellus rebus adversus Poenos prospere gestis speciosum egit triumphum, XIII ducibus hostium et CXX elephantis in eo ductis. Claudius Pulcher cos. contra auspicia profectus - iussit mergi pullos, qui cibari nolebant - infeliciter adversus Carthaginienses classe pugnavit, et revocatus a senatu iussusque dictatorem dicere Claudium Gliciam dixit, sortis ultimae hominem, qui coactus abdicare se magistratu postea ludos praetextatus spectavit*.

⁹⁸⁹ Svetonio *De vita Caesarum - Galba* 18: *Magna et assidua monstra iam inde a principio exitum ei, qualis evenit, portenderant. [...] Observatum etiam est kal. Ian. sacrificanti coronam de capite excidisse, auspicanti pullos avolasse; adoptionis die neque milites adlocuturo castrensem sellam de more positam pro tribunali oblitis ministris, et in senatu curulem perverse collocatam*.

⁹⁹⁰ In *Antonio*. (Aldrovandi) - Plutarco, *Vite parallele*, Antonio 33,1-3: *After this settlement, Antony sent Ventidius on ahead into Asia to oppose the further progress of the Parthians, while he himself, as a favour to Caesar, was appointed to the priesthood of the elder Caesar; everything else also of the most important political nature they transacted together and in a friendly spirit. But their competitive diversions gave Antony annoyance, because he always came off with less than Caesar. [2] Now, there was with him a seer from Egypt, one of those who cast nativities. This man, either as a favour to Cleopatra, or dealing truly with Antony, used frank language with him, saying that his fortune, though most great and splendid, was obscured by that of Caesar; and he advised Antony to put as much distance as possible between himself and that young man. "For thy guardian genius," said he, "is afraid of his; and though it has a spirited and lofty mien when it is by itself, when his comes near, thine is cowed and humbled by it." [3] And indeed events seemed to testify in favour of the Egyptian. For we are told that whenever, by way of diversion, lots were cast or dice thrown to decide matters in which they were engaged, Antony came off worsted. They would often match cocks, and often fighting quails, and Caesar's would always be victorious. At all this Antony was annoyed, though he did not show it, and giving rather more heed now to the Egyptian, he departed from Italy, after putting his private affairs in the hands of Caesar; and he took Octavia with him as far as Greece (she had borne him a daughter). (published in the Loeb Classical Library, 1920)*

dixerat, fortunam eius splendidissimam alioquin, et maximam a Caesaris fortuna obscurari fidem adhibere coepit, atque ita rebus suis Caesari commissis Italia excessit.

Triste sane quoque Vitellio principi Gallinaceus augurium attulit, cui Viennae referente Suetonio⁹⁹¹, pro tribunali iura reddenti supra humerum, ac deinde in capite astitit. Quo ostento significabatur imperium per se retinere non posse, im<m>o vero exitium eius, et clades, quam mox passus est. Gallinaceus enim ille significabat, venturum imperatorem in alicuius Gallicani hominis potestatem, uti res ipsa postmodum suc<c>essit. Nam ab Antonio {primo} <Primo> adversarum partium duce [260] oppressus est, qui T{h}olosae natus cognominatus fuit {Beceus} <Beccus>, quod valet, ut diximus⁹⁹², Gallinaceum rostrum.

great and shining good fortune would be obscured by the fortune of Caesar Augustus, and that therefore, turned over his affairs to Caesar, he went away from Italy.

Really the rooster has been heralding an ill-fated omen also to the emperor Vitellius*, as Suetonius tells, which stood erect on his shoulder and then on his head when at Vienne - in Narbonensis Gaul, near Lyon - was doing justice in front of the seat of the magistrate. From this portent it was heralded that he could not preserve for himself the supreme power, but on the contrary his violent death and the defeat which soon after he met with. For that rooster indicated that the emperor would come into the power of some Gallic man, as actually did happen. For he was overwhelmed by Marcus Antonius Primus*, leader of the opposing factions, who being born at Toulouse was nicknamed Beccus*, which is equivalent, as I said, to the beak of a gallinaceous.

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Pierius⁹⁹³ hanc locutionem a Scythis omnium antiquissimis emanasse ait, quod illi cibum *bech* dicant vocabulo genuino. Sed cur quaeso eam vocem potius a Belgis, quos Gallos esse nemo nescit, non petiit, qui rostrum omnium avium *bec* vocant?

Pierius Valerianus* - Giovan Pietro Bolzani - says this word - *beak** - has spread from Scythians* who are the most ancient of all, since by their native language they call *bech* the food. But why, I ask, did he not derive this word rather from Belgians, whom everyone knows to be Gauls*, who call the beak of all birds *bec*?

Huc⁹⁹⁴ quoque pertinet decantatum illud Liviae Augustae augurium, quam referunt⁹⁹⁵ prima sua iuventa Tiberio Caesare ex Nerone gravidam, cum parere virilem sexum admodum cuperet, tali usam fuisse pu<e>llari augurio, ovum in sinu fovendo; atque dum deponendum haberet, nutrici per sinum tradendo, ne intermitteretur tepor. Eidem Liviae tale evenisse quoque⁹⁹⁶ prodigium Dion⁹⁹⁷, Suetonius⁹⁹⁸, ac {Plinins}

Here belongs also that extolled omen of Livia Drusilla* - or Julia Augusta, whose they say that because in her early youth she was pregnant with Tiberius* future emperor thanks to Tiberius Claudius Nero*, since she was extremely longing for give birth to a male she put into practice an omen typical of young women, by warming an egg in her bosom, and when she had to lay it aside, she gave it to a nurse who in her turn put it in her bosom so that the

⁹⁹¹ *Vitellius*, 9: [...] mox Viennae pro tribunali iura reddenti gallinaceus supra umerum ac deinde in capite astitit. Quibus ostentis par respondit exitus; nam confirmatum per legatos suo imperium per se retinere non potuit. - 18: Periit cum fratre et filio anno vitae septimo quinquagesimo; nec fefellit coniectura eorum qui augurio, quod factum ei Viennae ostendimus, non aliud portendi praedixerant, quam venturum in alicuius Gallicani hominis potestatem; siquidem ab Antonio Primo adversarum partium duce oppressus est, cum Tolosae nato cognomen in pueritia Becco fuerat; id valet gallinacei rostrum.

⁹⁹² Aldrovandi ne ha parlato a pagina 196*.

⁹⁹³ *Hieroglyphica, sive de sacris Aegyptiorum literis commentarii* Liber 24. (Aldrovandi)

⁹⁹⁴ Aldrovandi ne ha già parlato a pagina 207* e 226*.

⁹⁹⁵ Plinio, *Naturalis historia* X,154: Quin et ab homine perficiuntur. Iulia Augusta prima sua iuventa Tib. Caesare ex Nerone gravida, cum parere virilem sexum admodum cuperet, hoc usa est puellari augurio, ovum in sinu fovendo atque, cum deponendum haberet, nutrici per sinum tradendo, ne intermitteretur tepor; nec falso augurata proditur. Nuper inde fortassis inventum, ut ova calido in loco inposita paleis igne modico foverentur homine versante, pariterque et stato die illinc erumperet fetus.

⁹⁹⁶ Aldrovandi ne ha già parlato a pagina 253.

⁹⁹⁷ *Storia romana* XLVIII,52,3-4: Again, the incident that happened to Livia, although it caused her pleasure, inspired the rest with dread; a white bird carrying a prig of laurel with the berries on it was thrown by an eagle into her lap. As this seemed to be a sign of no small moment, she cared for the bird and planted the laurel, which took root and grew, so that it long supplied those who celebrated triumphs in after time; and Livia was destined to hold in her lap even Caesar's power and to dominate him in everything.

<Plinius>⁹⁹⁹ tradunt, quod ei voluptatem, aliis metum attulit; est autem tale: Aquila Gallinam albam in gremium eius abiecit, quae ramum lauri fructum suum gerentis gestabat. Livia (verba Dionis sunt) quod id ostentum haud exiguum duceret, Gallinam adservavit diligenter: laureum autem ramum sevit, atque is radicibus actis adoluit, ita ut postea temporis frondes triumphantibus diu admodum suppeditaverit: ac futurum erat, ut Livia suo in sinu potentiam Caesaris, ipsumque omnibus in rebus parentem sibi haberet. Verba Plinii, et Suetonii, hic lubens praetereo, quod ea alibi¹⁰⁰⁰ citaverim.

Apuleius¹⁰⁰¹ pro prodigio recitat mirabili, quod Gallina cum ovum parere soleat, eius vice vivum edidisset pullum: Scribit vero hunc fere in modum: *Iam his poculis mutuis altercantibus mirabile prorsus evenit ostentum. Una de caetera cohorte Gallina per mediam cursitans aream, clamore {gemino} <genuino> velut ovum parere gestiens personabat. Eam suus dominus intuens, o bona, inquit, ancilla, et satis foecunda, quae multo iam tempore nos quotidianis partibus saginasti, nunc etiam cogitas, ut video, gustulum praeparare, et heus inquit, puer calathum foetui destinatum angulo solito collocato, ita uti fuerat iussum, procurante puero, Gallina, consuetae lecticulae spreto cubili, ante ipsos pedes domini praematurum, sed magno prorsus futurum {scrupolo} <scrupulo> prodidit partum, non enim ovum, quod scimus illud, sed pinnis, et*

warmth did not stop. Dion Cassius*, Suetonius* and Pliny* relate that to Livia herself occurred also such a prodigy which brought pleasure to her and fear to others: it is as follows: an eagle threw from on high in her bosom a white hen carrying a laurel* branch with its fruit. Livia (they are words of Dion), since she was not at all regarding this portent as endowed with small importance, preserved the hen carefully: but she planted the laurel branch, and this, after took root, grew to such an extent that in following years for a long time supplied in plenty the triumphant persons with branches: and it would have happened that Livia had inside in her womb the power of the emperor and him who would have obeyed her in all the things. I willingly pass by the words of Pliny and Suetonius since I have cited them elsewhere.

Apuleius* declaims as an extraordinary prodigy the fact that a hen, which usually lays an egg, gave birth to a live chick instead of the former. He writes this in more or less this fashion: *At this point, while the glasses were squabbling each other, a quite extraordinary prodigy happened. A hen of the remaining flock, running through the middle of the courtyard, was cackling with a cry as yearning to lay the egg. Her owner looking attentively at her said: "Oh good and fairly fruitful maid, who by then since a long time nourished us with daily deliveries, as I can see, also in this moment you are thinking of prepare a little sample." And he cried: "Hey boy, place in the usual corner the basket destined to the hen's eggs laying." When the boy was doing as he was ordered, the hen, after she refused as bed the usual nest, presented in front of the feet of the master himself a premature son but which certainly would have become such with big*

(Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, Loeb Classical Library, 9 volumes, Greek texts and facing English translation: Harvard University Press, 1914 thru 1927. Translation by Earnest Cary)

⁹⁹⁸ Suetonio *De vita Caesarum - Galba* 1: Progenies Caesarum in Nerone defecit; quod futurum, compluribus quidem signis, sed vel evidentissimis duobus apparuit. Liviae, olim post Augusti statim nuptias Veientanum suum revisenti, praetervolans aquila gallinam albam ramulum lauri rostro tenentem, ita ut rapuerat, demisit in gremium; cumque nutriri alitem, pangi ramulum placuisset, tanta pullorum suboles provenit, ut hodieque ea villa ad Gallinas vocetur, tale vero lauretum, ut triumphaturi Caesares inde laureas decerperent; fuitque mox triumphantibus, illas confestim eodem loco pangere; et observatum est, sub cuiusque obitum arborem ab ipso institutam elanguisse. Ergo novissimo Neronis anno et silva omnis exaruit radicitus, et quidquid ibi gallinarum erat interiit; ac subinde tacta de caelo Caesarum aede, capita omnibus simul status deciderunt, Augusti etiam sceptrum e manibus excussum est.

⁹⁹⁹ *Naturalis historia* XV, 136-137: Sunt et circa Divum Augustum eventa eius digna memoratu. Namque Liviae Drusillae, quae postea Augusta matrimonii nomen accepit, cum pacta esset illa Caesari, gallinam conspicui candoris sedenti aquila ex alto abiecit in gremium inlaesam, intrepideque miranti accessit miraculum. Quoniam teneret in rostro laureum ramum onustum suis bacis, conservari alitem et subolem iussere haruspices ramumque eum seri ac rite custodiri: [137] quod factum est in villa Caesarum fluvio Tiberi inposita iuxta nonum lapidem Flaminiae viae, quae ob id vocatur Ad Gallinas, mireque silva provenit. Ex ea triumphans postea Caesar laurum in manu tenuit coronamque capite gessit, ac deinde imperatores Caesares cuncti. traditusque mos est ramos quos tenuerunt serendi, et durant silvae nominibus suis discretas, fortassis ideo mutatis triumphalibus.

¹⁰⁰⁰ *Ornithologiae* tomus 1 liber 2. (Aldrovandi)

¹⁰⁰¹ *Metamorphoseon* IX, 33: Iamque iis poculis mutuis altercantibus mirabile prorsus evenit ostentum. Una de cetera cohorte gallina per mediam cursitans aream clangore genuino velut ovum parere gestiens personabat. Eam suus dominus intuens: "O bona" inquit "ancilla et satis fecunda, quae multo iam tempore cotidianis nos partibus saginasti. Nunc etiam cogitas, ut video, gustulum nobis praeparare." Et "heus", inquit "puer calathum fetui gallinaceo destinatum angulo solito collocato." Ita, uti fuerat iussum, procurante puero gallina consuetae lecticulae spreto cubili ante ipsius pedes domini praematurum sed magno prorsus futurum scrupulo partum. Non enim ovum, quod scimus, illud; sed pinnis et unguibus et oculis et voce etiam perfectum edidit pullum, qui matrem suam coepit continuo comitari.

unguibus, et oculis, et voce etiam perfectum edidit pullum, qui matrem suam continuo coepit comitari. Illud etiam prodigiosum est, quod in annalibus Plinius¹⁰⁰² inveniri testatur, nempe: M. Lepido, Q. Catulo Coss. in agro Ariminensi, in villa Gal{L}erii locutum Gallinaceum. Quam autem rem semel duntaxat evenisse credit.

Augures etiam, ut ait Aristoteles¹⁰⁰³, pro ostento habebant, quando ova tota lutea nascuntur, vel cum {discissa Gallina}¹⁰⁰⁴ <discisso Gallo> talia ova sub septo transverso, quo loco faeminis ova adhaerent, inventa sunt magnitudine ovi perfecti. E quibus discimus, ad Iamblichus usque aetatem inter sapientiae professores, eam fuisse opinionem, maximam Apollinaris naturae facultatem in Gallo Gallinaceo vigere. Sed tempestivum est, ut relictis hisce superstitiosis gentilitatis vanitatibus, ad alia, eaque veriora sermonem nostrum dirigamus.

MYSTICA.

scruple. For we are sure that that one was not an egg, but she gave birth to a chick complete with feathers, and claws, and eyes and voice too, which began at once to go along with its mother. It is also extraordinary what Pliny relates to be found in the annals, that is, in the consulship of Marcus Aemilius Lepidus and Quintus Catulus - 78 BC - in the territory of Rimini in the estate of Galerius a rooster talked. He believes this happened only once.*

As Aristotle* says, the augurs regarded it as a portent when all yellow eggs were laid, or when a rooster was cut up and such eggs, the size of a complete egg, are found under the transverse septum where eggs adhere in the females. From these things we learn that until times of Iamblichus* among knowledge's teachers - philosophers - there was the opinion that in the rooster was dwelling a very great strength of the qualities of Apollo*. But it is timely to leave aside these superstitious futilities of pagans and to direct our discourse toward other subjects which are also more true.

HOLY SUBJECTS

¹⁰⁰² *Naturalis historia* X,50: Invenitur in annalibus in agro Ariminensi M. Lepido Q. Catulo cos. in villa Galerii locutum gallinaceum, semel, quod equidem sciam.

¹⁰⁰³ Aldrovandi mistifica il testo di Aristotele, il quale dice, giustamente, che la mostruosità risiede nel fatto che simili formazioni vengano rinvenute in un gallo. Inoltre Aristotele non parla assolutamente di *augures*. *Augures* è un'aggiunta di Teodoro Gaza* che è la fonte di Gessner che a sua volta è la fonte di Aldrovandi. Infatti il testo greco di Giulio Cesare Scaligero* corrisponde a quello di Mario Vegetti (Vengono tenute in conto di mostruosità) ed è il seguente: ὁ ἐν τέρατος λόγῳ τιθέασιν. Scaligero lo traduce così: [...] quae in prodigiis loco deputare consuevere. - Aristotele *Historia animalium* VI,2 559b 16-20: È accaduto di osservare formazioni simili all'uovo in un certo stadio del suo sviluppo (cioè tutto uniformemente giallo, come lo sarà più tardi il vitello), anche in un gallo sezionato sotto il diaframma, laddove le femmine hanno le uova; queste formazioni sono interamente gialle d'aspetto, e grandi come le uova. Vengono tenute in conto di mostruosità. (traduzione di Mario Vegetti)

¹⁰⁰⁴ Questa citazione di Aldrovandi - già presente a pagina 215* - è del tutto incomprensibile, ma diventa appena intelligibile se integrata con la bistrattata fonte, rappresentata come al solito da Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 420*: Iam quale certo tempore est ovum in gallina, tale aliquando prodiit luteum totum, qualis postea pullus est. Gallina etiam discissa talia sub septo, quo loco foeminis ova adhaerent, inventa sunt, colore luteo tota magnitudine ovi perfecti: quod pro ostento augures capiunt, Aristot. § Anche Gessner doveva trovarsi in un momento di *strana* disattenzione: infatti non si trattava affatto di una *gallina* che aveva le uova sotto il setto trasverso come le hanno le *femmine*, bensì di un gallo!!! Penso che riusciremo a salvare sia Gessner che Aristotele dall'accusa di essere dei superficiali, quindi dei naturalisti da strapazzo. Questa *gallina* proviene da Teodoro Gaza (*Aristotelis libri de animalibus*, 1498) e questa *gallina* non viene corretta da Gessner con un logico *gallus*, nonostante abbia corretto un intraducibile *suscepto* di Gaza con un corretto *sub septo*. Non si può escludere che Gaza avesse come fonte lo stesso testo greco usato da Giulio Cesare Scaligero per il suo *Aristotelis historia de animalibus* (1619). Infatti anche Scaligero ha *gallina*, e il suo testo greco è inequivocabile per *gallina*, detta *alektoris*: Τοιαῦτα καὶ ἐν ἀλεκτορίδι διαιρουμένη ὑπὸ τὸ ὑπόζωμα, οὔτερ αἱ θήλειαι ἔχουσι τὰ ὠὰ. § Mario Vegetti così traduce questo passo di Aristotele: È accaduto di osservare formazioni simili all'uovo in un certo stadio del suo sviluppo (cioè tutto uniformemente giallo, come lo sarà più tardi il vitello), anche in un gallo sezionato sotto il diaframma, laddove le femmine hanno le uova; queste formazioni sono interamente gialle d'aspetto, e grandi come le uova. Vengono tenute in conto di mostruosità. (1971) - D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson traduce così: Cases have occurred where substances resembling the egg at a critical point of its growth - that is, when it is yellow all over, as the yolk is subsequently - have been found in the cock when cut open, underneath his midriff, just where the hen has her eggs; and these are entirely yellow in appearance and of the same size as ordinary eggs. Such phenomena are regarded as unnatural and portentous. (1910) § Si può presumere che sia Vegetti che D'Arcy Thompson si siano basati sulla versione greca del classicista e naturalista tedesco Johann Gottlob Schneider (1750-1822) che nel 1811 pubblicava a Lipsia la sua revisione dell'*Historia animalium* di Aristotele. Qui non troviamo la gallina, bensì il gallo (*alektryon* al maschile - al femminile sarebbe la gallina), che al dativo suona *alektryóni* accompagnato dal maschile *diairouménoi*: Τοιαῦτα καὶ ἐν ἀλεκτρυόνι διαιρουμένων ὑπὸ τὸ ὑπόζωμα, οὔτερ αἱ θήλειαι ἔχουσι τὰ ὠὰ. - Anche i tipografi tedeschi commettevano errori: θήλεια invece di θήλειαι. § Peccato non poter resuscitare Aristotele! A mio avviso è nel giusto Schneider, in quanto mi sembra una ridondanza superflua - molto cara agli antichi - parlare di un gallina sezionata sotto il diaframma, laddove le femmine hanno le uova. È scontato che una gallina è una femmina!

Quid Gallus mystice significet, D. Gregorius¹⁰⁰⁵ exponens illud D. {Iobi¹⁰⁰⁶} <Iob¹⁰⁰⁷>, *Quis posuit in visceribus hominis sapientiam, vel quis dedit Gallo intelligentiam?* hunc ferme in modum exponit: Qui hoc loco alii Galli nomine designantur, nisi modo alio repetiti iidem praedicatores sancti, qui inter tenebras vitae praesentis student venturam lucem praedicando, quasi cantando nunciare<?>. {Dicit} <Dicunt> enim: Nox praecessit, dies appropinquavit. Qui vocibus suis somnum nostri {temporis} <torporis> excutiunt, clamantes: *Hora est iam nos de somno surgere. Et rursus: Evigilate iusti, et nolite peccare.*

De hoc Gallo rursus scriptum est¹⁰⁰⁸: Tria sunt, quae bene gradiuntur, et quartum, quod feliciter incedit. Leo fortissimus bestiarum, qui ad nullius pavebit occursum. Gallus succinctus lumbos, et aries, nec est rex, qui resistat ei. Ipse qui<ppe> hoc loco Leo ponitur, de quo scriptum est: *Vicit Leo de tribu Iudae:* qui fortissimus bestiarum, quia in illo hoc quod infirmum est Dei, fortius est hominibus. Qui ad nullius pavet occursum. Dicit enim: *Venit enim princeps mundi huius, et in me non habet quicquam.* Gallus succinctus lumbos, id est, praedicatores <sancti>, inter huius noctis tenebras verum mane nunciantes. Qui succincti lumbos sunt, quia a membris suis luxuriae fluxa {restinguunt} <restringunt>. In lumbis quippe

What the rooster signifies from a holy point of view St. Gregory* in his commentary on that passage of Saint Job* *Who has placed wisdom in the bowels of the man, or who has given intelligence to the rooster?* is explaining approximately in this manner: Who other in this passage is designated by the name of the rooster, unless the same holy preachers themselves remembered in another manner, who amid the shadows of present life are eager in their heralding the coming light by preaching, almost crowing? For they say: *Night has passed, the day approached.* Those by their voices shake off the sleep of our inertness, crying: *It is now the hour to rise from sleep.* And again: *Wake up, ye just men, and do not sin.*

Concerning this rooster it has been written again: *Three things there are which move well and a fourth which proceeds happily. The lion, the bravest of beasts, he fears the meeting of no one. The rooster, with his loins girt up, and the ram, and there is no king who resists him.* In this passage is obviously put the lion himself, about whom it has been written: *The lion of the tribe of Judah won:* he who is the bravest of beasts, because in him that which is fearful of God, is braver for men. He who fears the meeting of no one. For he says: *For the prince of this world came, and nothing is in me.* The rooster with loins girded, that is the holy preachers, amid the shadows of this night heralding at morning the truth. Those who are girt up in their loins put away the flow of lust from their male members. For lust lies in loins. Hence

¹⁰⁰⁵ *Moralia* 30 c. 4 et 5, c. 38d. (Aldrovandi) § The passages from Scripture quoted are, in order: Romans 13 : 12; 13 : 11; I Corinthians 15 : 34; Proverbs 30 : 29; Apocalypse of John 5 : 5; John 14 : 30; Luke 12 : 35; Psalms 28 : 1; Proverbs 30 : 32; Daniel 8 : 12; Proverbs 30 : 31. (Lind, 1963)

¹⁰⁰⁶ Già citato da Aldrovandi a pagina 186 e 235. - Giobbe 38,36: "Chi ha messo nelle nubi la sapienza, o chi ha dato alle meteore l'intelligenza?" (*La Sacra Bibbia*, Edizioni Paoline, 1958)

¹⁰⁰⁷ Le correzioni al testo di Aldrovandi si basano su *Sancti Gregorii Papae I cognomento Magni Opera Omnia*, Ex Typographia Sansoniana, Venetiis, 1769. § Aldrovandi riporta di seguito i capitoli 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 (solo l'inizio), 14 (circa una metà), 15 e quasi tutto il capitolo 16 del libro XXX dei *Moralia*.

¹⁰⁰⁸ *Proverbi* 30,29-31: Vi sono tre cose che hanno un bel passo, anzi, quattro di nobile andatura: il leone, il re degli animali, che non indietreggia di fronte a nessuno, il gallo, che passeggia spavaldo fra le galline, il caprone, che marcia in testa al suo gregge, il re, quando arringa il suo popolo. (*La Sacra Bibbia*, Edizioni Paoline, 1958) § La traduzione italiana corrisponde alla versione dei Settanta*: 29 τρία δέ ἐστίν, ἃ εὐόδως πορεύεται, καὶ τὸ τέταρτον, ὃ καλῶς διαβαίνει· 30 σκύμνος λέοντος ἰσχυρότερος κτηνῶν, ὃς οὐκ ἀποστρέφεται οὐδὲ καταπήσει κτήνος, 31 καὶ ἀλέκτωρ ἐμπεριπατῶν θηλείαις εὐψυχος καὶ τράγος ἡγούμενος αἰπολίου καὶ βασιλεὺς δημηγορῶν ἐν ἔθνει. § Come nella citazione di Aldrovandi, anche nella Vulgata*, nella bibbia di King James, nella sua versione riveduta, nella versione italiana della CEI e nella Nova Vulgata - forse per puri motivi di maschilismo e non linguistici - sono scomparse le femmine, le galline. Ecco i cinque spezzoni. - 29 tria sunt quae bene gradiuntur et quartum quod incedit feliciter 30 leo fortissimus bestiarum ad nullius pavebit occursum 31 gallus succinctus lumbos et aries nec est rex qui resistat ei (Vulgata) - 29: There be three things which go well, yea, four are comely in going: 30: A lion which is strongest among beasts, and turneth not away for any; 31: A greyhound; an he goat also; and a king, against whom there is no rising up. (King James' Bible, la versione autorizzata da Giacomo I re d'Inghilterra e Scozia, 1611) - 29: Three things are stately in their tread; four are stately in their stride: 30: the lion, which is mightiest among beasts and does not turn back before any; 31: the strutting cock, the he-goat, and a king striding before his people. (Revised standard version) - [29] Tre esseri hanno un portamento maestoso, anzi quattro sono eleganti nel camminare: [30] il leone, il più forte degli animali, che non indietreggia davanti a nessuno; [31] il gallo pettoruto e il caprone e un re alla testa del suo popolo. (CEI, 1974) - 29 Tria sunt, quae bene gradiuntur, et quattuor, quae incedunt feliciter: 30 leo fortissimus bestiarum ad nullius pavebit occursum, 31 gallus succinctus lumbos et aries et rex, qui secum habet exercitum. (Nova Vulgata, 1979) - Anche nella citazione di Gessner in *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 407 mancano le galline: Gallus succinctus lumbos suos, et aries, nec est qui ei resistat, Proverb. 30.

luxuria est. Unde et eisdem a Domino dicitur: *Sint lumbi vestri praecincti*. Et aries nec rex est, qui resistat ei. Quem alium hoc loco arietem accipimus nisi primum intra ecclesiam ordinem sacerdotum? De quibus scriptum est: Afferte Domino filios arietum, qui per exempla sua gradientem populum, quasi subsequentem ovium gregem trahunt. Quibus spiritualiter, recteque viventibus, nullus rex sufficit omnino resistere, quia quilibet {persecutor} <persecutor> obviet, intentionem eorum non valet praepedire.

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Sciunt enim ad [261] eum, quem desiderant, et anxie currere, et anxie <moriendo> pervenire. Ponitur ergo primus Leo, secundus Gallus, tertius aries. Apparuit enim Christus, deinde sancti praedicatores Apostoli, et tunc demum spiritales pat<r>es, ecclesiarum praepositi, videlicet duces gregum, quia doctores sequentium <populorum>.

Sed haec adhuc melius affirmamus <, si eiusdem loci etiam reliqua exponendo subiciamus>. Nam quia post haec et Antichristus apparebit, hoc illic quartum subdidit dicens. Et qui stultus apparuit, postea quam elevatus est in sublime. Si enim intellexisset, ori imposuisset manum. Ipse quippe in sublime elevabitur, cum Deum sese esse mentietur<. Sed> elevatus in sublime, stultus apparebit, quia in ipsa elevatione sua per adventum veri iudicis deficient. Quod si intellexisset, ori imposuisset manum, id est, si supplicium suum, quum superbire exorsus est, praevidisset, bene aliquando conditus in tantae iactationem superbiae non fuisset elatus. De quo nequaquam moveat, quod superius dictum est. Quartum, quod incedit feliciter. Tria quippe bene incedere dixit, et quartum feliciter. Non enim omne, quod feliciter, bene, neque in hac vita, omne, quod bene, feliciter. Nam Leo, Gallus, et aries bene incedunt, sed non hic feliciter, quia persecutionum bella patiuntur. Quartum vero feliciter, et non bene incedit, quia in fallacia sua Antichristus gradi<e>tur, sed iuxta breve tempus vitae praesentis ipsa illi fallacia prospera<bi>tur, sicut de eo sub Antiochi specie per Daniele dictum est. Robur datum est ei contra iuge sacrificium propter peccata, et prosternetur veritas in terra, et faciet, et prosperabitur. Quod Salomon ait. Incedit feliciter; hoc Daniel dicit, prosperabitur. Iuxta hoc igitur testimonium, quod per Salomonem dicitur, Gallus succinctus lumbos, apte etiam hoc loco Gallum sanctos praedicatores accipimus.

also to them is said by Lord: *Let thy loins be girded up by a dress*. And the ram there is no king who resists him. What other ram do we realize in this passage except first of all the order of priests in the bosom of the Church? Of these it has been written: *Bring to the Lord the sons of the rams*, who by their examples drive the walking people like imitating a flock of sheep. No king suffices at all to resist those who live spiritually and rightly, because whatever persecutor looming up in front of them cannot hinder their purpose.

For they know to breathlessly run and by dying to reach Him whom they desire. Therefore the lion is put first, second the rooster, and third the ram. For Christ appeared, then the holy preaching Apostles, and then finally the spiritual fathers the leaders of the communities, that is, leaders of the crowds because they are the teachers of the peoples of the followers.

But we confirm these matters thus far more thoroughly if we add the remaining things of the same passage in exposing them. For after these things the Antichrist also will appear, and he added this fourth thing in saying. *And he who appeared foolish afterward has been lifted on high. For if he had understood he would have placed his hand on his mouth*. He himself will be lifted on high, when he will lie to be God he himself, and lifted on high he will appear a fool. But when lifted on high he shall appear fool because during his own lifting on high he shall crumble by the arrival of the true judge. If he had understood he would have placed his hand over his mouth, that is, if he had foreseen his torture, when he began to be proud, based on a good foundation he would not have been lifted up to the boast of such great pride. He moves from it not at all, which was said earlier. *The fourth thing which proceeds happily*. For he said three things go well, and a fourth happily. For not everything which goes happily goes rightly nor in this life everything going rightly goes happily. For the lion, the rooster and the ram walk well but not happily on this earth because they must suffer the fights of persecutions. But the fourth walks happily and not rightly because the Antichrist will go ahead with his trickery, but only for a short time in the present life his trickery will prosper for him, as was said of him under the appearance of Antioch IV* by Daniel*. *Strength is given him against the perennial sacrifice because of sins, and the truth shall be flung to earth and it will be productive and will prosper*. Solomon* says this. *He walks happily*, Daniel says this, *he will prosper*. Therefore in consequence of this declaration, which is uttered by Solomon, *The rooster whose loins are girded up,*

Ad se ergo cuncta referens Dominus, dicit: Quis posuit in visceribus hominis sapientiam, vel quis dedit Gallo intelligentiam? Ac si diceret, In cor hominis humana sapientis supernae sapientiae gratiam quis infudit, vel ipsis sanctis praedicatoribus quis, nisi ego, intelligentiam dedit, ut sciant quando, vel quibus debeant {futurum} <venturum> mane nunciare? Idcirco enim quando, et quid {agunt} <agant>, sentiunt, quia hoc intrinsecus me revelante cognoscunt. Notandum vero est, quod sapientia divinitus inspirata in visceribus hominis ponitur, quia nimirum quantum ad electorum numerum spectat, non in solis vocibus, sed etiam in sensibus datur, et iuxta quod loquitur lingua, vivat conscientia, ut lux eius tanto clarius {respondeat} <resplendeat> in superficie, quanto verius inardescit in corde. Haec omnia D. Gregorius.

Magni vero laboris est hoc, quod additur: *Vel quis Gallo dedit intelligentiam?* Subtiliore adhuc expositione discutere. Intelligentia quippe Doctorum tanto subtilior esse debet, quanto se ad penetranda invisibilia exercet, quanto nil materiale discutit, quanto et per vocem corporis loquens, omne quod est corporis transit. Quae profecto nullatenus summis congrueret, nisi cantanti eam Gallo, id est praedicanti Doctori ipse summorum conditor ministraret. Intelligentiam quoque Gallus accepit, ut prius nocturni temporis horas discutiat, et tunc demum {voces} <vocem> excitationis emittat, quia videlicet sanctus quisque praedicator in auditoribus suis prius qualitatem vitae considerat, et tunc demum ad erudiendum congruam vocem praedicationis format. Quasi enim horas noctis discernere, est {praedicantium} <peccatorum> merita diiudicare. Quasi horas noctis discernere est {actionum} <actionum> tenebras {acta} <apta> increpationis voce corripere. Gallo itaque intelligentia desuper tribuitur, quia doctori veritatis virtus discretionis, ut noverit quibus, quid, quando, vel quomodo inferat, divinitus ministratur.

Non enim una eademque exhortatio cunctis convenit, quia nec cunctos par morum qualitas astringit, ut inquit Eucherius¹⁰⁰⁹. Saepe enim aliis officiant, quae aliis prosunt. Nam et {plerunque} <plerumque> herbae, quae haec

I accept also suitably in this passage that rooster means holy preachers.

Therefore, referring all things to Himself, the Lord says: *Who has placed wisdom in bowels of the man, or who has given intelligence to the rooster?* As if He said: Who has poured into the heart of the man the human qualities of a wise which is the grace of divine wisdom, or who except I has given intelligence to the holy preachers themselves so that they know when or by what means they announce at morning what will happen? For therefore when and whatever they do they realize that they know it within themselves since I am who is revealing it. It must be noted that divinely inspired wisdom is placed in the bowels of the man, because in fact where the number of the elects is concerned, not in voices alone but also in senses it is put, and according to what the tongue speaks let the conscience live, so that its light may shine all the more brightly on the surface the more it burns more truly in the heart. Saint Gregory* says all these things.

But it is a big task to discuss by a further more fine commentary what is added: *Or who gave intelligence to the rooster?* For the intelligence of teachers has to be much more subtle insofar as it exercises itself upon the penetration of invisible things, insofar as it discusses nothing material, insofar as speaking with the voice of the body it transcends everything which is bodily. Which would not be corresponding at all to the perfections unless He does not give it to a crowing rooster, that is, to a preaching teacher, who is he himself creator of perfections. The rooster received also intelligence so that he might first dispel the hours of night-time and then finally send forth the cry of awakening, since just any holy preacher first considers the quality of life in his listeners and then finally in order to teach he gives birth to a suitable preaching's voice. For to divide the hours of night is like to judge the merits of the sinners. It is almost as to divide the hours of the night to seize upon the shadows of actions by resorting to a suitable voice of reproach. Thus intelligence is attributed to the rooster from above because the virtue of discernment is divinely conferred to the teacher of the truth, so that he may know against whom, what, when, and how he should throw himself.

For one and the same exhortation is not suitable to all because, as Eucherius* bishop of Lyon says, neither an equal quality of morals does not constrain all people. For often they hinder others what for others is good. For even quite often herbs restoring to health

¹⁰⁰⁹ Eucherio non viene citato in *Sancti Gregorii Papae I cognomento Magni Opera Omnia*, Ex Typographia Sansoniana, Venetiis, 1769.

animalia reficiunt, alia occidunt, et lenis sibilus equos mitigat, catulos instigat, et medicamentum, quod hunc morbum imminuit, alteri vires addit, et panis, qui vitam fortium roborat, parvulorum necat. Pro qualitate igitur audientium formari debet sermo doctorum, ut ad sua singulis congruat, et tamen a communis aedificationis arte, nunquam recedat. Quid enim sunt intentae mentes audientium, nisi quasi quaedam in cithara tensiones stratae chordarum? Quas tangendi artifex, ut non sibimetipsis dissimilem cantum faciant, dissimiliter pulsat. Idcirco chordae consonam modulationem reddunt, quia uno quidem plectro, sed non uno impulsu feriuntur. Unde, et doctor quisque ut in una cunctos virtute charitatis aedificet, ex una doctrina <sed> non una eademque exhortatione tangere corda audientium debet. Aliter namque viri, aliter admonendae sunt faeminae, aliter iuvenes, aliter senes, aliter inopes, aliter locupletes, aliter laeti, aliter tristes, etc.

Habemus vero aliud, quod de Galli huius intelligentia considerare debeamus, quia profundioribus horis noctis valentiores, ac productiores {a}edere cantus solet, quum vero matutinum iam tempus appropinquat, leniores, et minutiores omnimodo voces format. In quibus Galli huius intelligentia quid nobis innuat, considerata praedicatorum discretio demonstrat. Qui cum iniquis adhuc mentibus praedicant, altis, et magnis vocibus aeterni iudicii terrores intimant, quia videlicet, quasi in [262] profundae noctis tenebris clamant.

Quum vero {cam} <iam> auditorum suorum cordibus veritatis lucem adesse cognoscunt, clamoris sui magnitudinem in lenitatem dulcedinis vertunt, et non tam illa, quae sunt de paenis terribilia, quam ea, quae sunt blanda de praemiis proferunt. Qui etiam minutis tunc vocibus cantant, quia appropinquante mane subtilia quaeque de mysteriis praedicant, ut sequaces sui eo minutiora quaeque de caelestibus audiant, quo luci veri{ti}tatis magis appropinquant, et quos dormientes longus Galli clamor excitaverat, succisor vigilantes delectet. Quatenus correcto cuilibet de regno cognoscere subtiliter dulcia libeat, qui prius adversa iudicii formidabat. Est adhuc aliud in Gallo solerter intuendum, quia cum {a}edere cantus parat, prius alas excutit, et semetipsum feriens vigilantiores reddit Quod patenter cernimus, si

these animals are killing others, and a gentle whistle calms horses, sets on puppy dogs, and a medicine which checks one disease gives strength to another, and bread, which strengthens the life of strong persons, destroys that of babies. Therefore the speech of the teachers must be shaped in regard to the nature of listeners and it must be fitting to the things of each one, without however never moving away from the cleverness of the common edification. For to what are they turned the minds of listeners but as they were as stretched strings of a lyre? The artist of the touch plucks them differently in order that they may give out a melody not dissimilar to themselves. Thus the strings give out a harmonious modulation because they are struck with one plectrum indeed but not by the same impulse. Hence also any teacher in order to edify all in the same virtue of charity must touch the string of listeners with only one doctrine but not with the same identical exhortation. For males must be admonished in one way, females in another, in one way young people, in another old people, in one way poor, in another rich, in one way happy, in another sad, etc.

But we have something else which we must consider in regard to the intelligence of this rooster, because he is accustomed to crow better and more effectively in the deeper hours of the night, for when morning time is approaching he utters cries anyway which are more light and feeble. What the intelligence of this rooster is meaning for us in this regard, the cleverness of discernment of preachers is pointing out, which we have considered. They who, when preaching to still iniquitous minds in a loud and strong voice, strike the terrors of eternal judgment, because they cackle, I mean, as during the darkness of the deep night.

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But when by then they - the preachers - realize that that light of truth is present in the heart of their listeners, their change the intensity of their cackling into lightness of sweetness, and they begin to speak not so much of those terrible things regarding punishments, but of the tempting things regarding rewards. Then they also sing with faint voice, because with the approach of morning they preach whatever fine thing about mysteries, so that their followers may hear any kind of quite fine things about the heavenly ones since they are more approaching to the light of truth, and those whom the long cry of the rooster has awakened, the woodcutter can delights those who are awake. Since to know in smallest detail the sweetness regarding an improved realm would give pleasure to anyone who before was fearing the adversities of judgment. There is still something else to be attentively considered in the rooster, because when he

sanctorum praedicatorum vitam intuemur <vigilanter videamus>. Ipsi quippe, cum verbum praedicationis monent, prius se in sanctis actionibus exercent, ne in semetipsis torpentes opere, alios excitent voce, sed ante se per sublimia facta excutiunt, et tunc ad bene agendum alios sollicitos reddunt. Prius cogitationum alis semet ipsos feriant, quia quicquid in se inutiliter torpet, sollicita investigatione deprehendunt, distincta animadversione corrigunt. Prius sua {putrire} <punire> fletibus curant, et tunc quae aliorum sunt punienda denunciant. Prius ergo alis insonant, quam cantus emittant, quia antequam verba exhortationum proferant, omne, quod {locuturi} <locuturi> sunt, operibus clamant, et quum perfecte in semetipsis vigilant, tunc dormientes alios ad vigiliam vocant.

Sed unde tanta {doctori haec} <haec doctoris> intelligentia, ut et sibi perfecte vigilet, et dormientes ad vigiliam sub quibusdam clamoris profectibus vocet, ut et peccatorum tenebras prius caute discutiat, et discrete postmodum lucem praedicationis ostendat, ut singulis iuxta modum, et tempora congruat, et simul omnibus, quae illos sequantur, ostendat? Unde ad tanta, et tam subtiliter tenditur, nisi intrinsecus ab eo, a quo est conditus, doceatur? Quia ergo laus tantae intelligentiae non praedicatoris virtus est, sed authoris, recte per eundem authorem dicitur. Vel quis dedit Gallo intelligentiam? Ac si diceret, nisi ego, qui doctorum mentes, quas mire ex nihilo condidi, ad intelligenda, quae occulta sunt, mirabilis instruxi.

Et tertia parte Pastoralis¹⁰¹⁰. Ad beatum (inquit) Iob dicitur: Quis dedit Gallo intelligentiam? Praedicator etenim sanctus, dum calig<i>noso hoc clamat in tempore, quasi Gallus cantat in nocte, dum dicit: Hora est iam nos de somno surgere. Et rursum. Evigilate, iusti, et nolite peccare. Gallus autem profundioribus horis noctis altos {a}edere cantus solet: quum vero matutinum iam tempus in proximo est, minutas, ac tenues voces format, quia nimirum qui recte praedicat, obscuris adhuc cordibus aperta clamat,

is about to utter crows, he first flaps the wings, and, thus striking himself he makes himself more vigilant. We discern this quite evidently if we attentively glance at the life of the holy preachers. For, since they are teaching the preaching's message, they first exercise themselves in holy actions, so that because of being idle with themselves they do not awaken the others by their voice, but first they do shake themselves by means of sublime deeds, and then they render others solicitous for doing good. They first strike themselves with the wings of meditations, because whatever is uselessly torpid in themselves they seize upon with careful investigation and correct it with a precise punishment. First they take care to punish their own faults with tears, and then they point out what must be punished in others. Then, before they utter the crow, they make din with wings, just as before they utter the words of exhortations they proclaim with their deeds everything which they are about to say, and since they are perfectly watching over themselves, then they call the others who are still sleeping to become awake.

But whence this such great intelligence of the teacher arises, that he is either completely vigilant by himself or calls the sleepers to vigilance with some increase of his clamor, so that he both before carefully drives away the shadows of sins, and afterwards discreetly points out the light of his preaching, so that it may be suitable for each one according to manners and times, and shows to all at once those things they are following? Whence does one move, and so subtly, to such great goals, unless one is taught inwardly by Him by Whom he has been created? Therefore, because the praise of such great intelligence is not a virtue of the preacher but of the author, and it is rightly said to be through the author himself: *Or who gave intelligence to the rooster?* As if He said, unless I, who taught rather marvelously the minds of the teachers which I have marvelously created from nothing in order to understand the hidden things.

And in the third part of the *Regula Pastoralis*. To the blessed Job* (he says) it is said: *Who gave intelligence to the rooster?* For the holy preacher, while he cries out in this gloomy time, is almost as a rooster who crows at night, when he says: By now it is time for us to awake from sleep. And again. Wake up, ye just men, and stop to sin. For the rooster is accustomed to utter loud crows in the more deep hours of the night, but when the morning time is by now at hand, he utters small cries thin and feeble, because who preaches rightly declares things that are clear to hearts still in

¹⁰¹⁰ *Regula Pastoralis* Tertia pars, caput XXXIX - in *Sancti Gregorii Papae I cognomento Magni Opera Omnia Tomus secundus*, Parisiis, sumptibus Claudii Rigaud, 1705.

nihil de occultis mysteriis indicat, ut tunc subtiliora quaeque de caelestibus audiant, quum luci veritatis appropinquant.

Sed inter haec ad ea, quae iam superius diximus, charitatis studia, retorquemur, ut praedicator quisque plus actibus, quam vocibus insonet, et bene vivendo vestigia sequacibus imprimat, ut potius agendo, quam loquendo, quo gradiatur, ostendat, quia et Gallus ipse, quem pro exprimenda boni praedicatoris specie in locutione sua Dominus assumit, cum iam {a}edere cantus parat, prius alas excutit, et semetipsum feriens vigilantiorum reddit, quia nimirum necesse est, ut hi, qui verba sanctae praedicationis movent, prius studio bonae actionis evigilent, ne semetipsi torpentes opere, alios excitent voce. Prius se per sublimia facta excutiant, et tunc ad bene vivendum alios sollicitos reddant. Prius cogitationum alis semet ipsos feriant, et quicquid inutiliter torpet, sollicita investigationeprehendant, {districta} <distincta> animadversione corrigant, et tunc demum aliorum vitam loquendo componant. Prius punire propria fletibus curent, et tunc quae aliorum puniendae sunt denuncient, et antequam verba exhortationis insonent omne, quod locuturi sunt, operibus clament. Unde recte dicebat venerabilis Beda¹⁰¹¹. *Gallum puto esse unumquemque sanctorum, qui in nocte, et tenebris huius mundi accipiunt per fidem intelligentiam, et virtutis constantiam clamandi ad Deum, ut {aspiceret} <aspiciat>*¹⁰¹² *iam dies permanens, et amoveantur umbrae vitae praesentis, qui urgent etiam sequenti clamore precum suarum, dicentes. Emitte lucem tuam, et veritatem tuam: Quod de Prophetis intelligere possumus, qui certatim annuntiaverunt diei et Solis adventum.* Christus salvator noster, quia peccata populi tulit, Gallus ut exponit Iacobus de Vitriaco Cardinalis, etiam dicitur dormientes excitans, et quasi calcaribus com<m>inationum, ut eis verbis utar, pungens, et stimulans.

Cum vero de Galli cantu inter Evangelistas, qui Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum iam ad salutiferam mortem rapiendum D. Petro dixisse tradunt eum se ter negaturum, antequam Gallus cantaret, quaedam videatur controversia, itaque conciliare eos placuit, priusquam mysticum eius

darkness, does hint nothing at hidden mysteries, and then they hear any subtle thing coming from heavens when they are approaching to the light of truth.

But amid these matters let us return to those studies of charity which I spoke of earlier, so that each preacher can chatter more with deeds than with shouting, and by his good life he impresses traces in his followers, so that he shows rather by action than by speech until where it is possible to arrive, just as the rooster himself, whom the Lord takes for the purpose of expressing a figure of good preacher in his speech, when by now he gets ready to utter crows first flaps his wings and striking himself he makes himself more vigilant, because it is in fact necessary that those who pour out the words of the holy preaching to firstly awake with the pledge of a good action, so that being thoroughly flustered they do not awake others by voice. First they get a move on by means of sublime deeds and then they make others solicitous to live a good life. First they strike themselves with the wings of reasoning and with careful examination seize whatever is uselessly sluggish in themselves and they correct this with a careful analysis, and then finally they set aright the lives of others by speaking. First they take care to punish their own faults with tears, and then they denounce those faults which must be punished in others, and before the words of their exhortation resound, their deeds proclaim everything they are about to say. Hence the Venerable Beda* rightly said: *I think that is a rooster each one of the saints who in the night and in the deep shadows of this world is receiving through faith the intelligence and the constancy of the skill of crying out to God so that He should watch over them while it is still day and that the shadows of their present life should be kept away, they who are pressing with the following shout of their prayers when saying: Send forth Thy light and Thy truth: We can understand this by prophets who in rivalry have announced the advent of the day and of the sun.* Christ our Savior, since bore the sins of the people, as Cardinal Jacques de Vitry* explains, is also said rooster, since he awakes those who are sleeping, and, to use those words, as if he was pricking and stimulating them with the spurs of his threats.

Since it seems that concerning the cockcrow there is some controversy among the Evangelists, who are handing down that Our Lord Jesus Christ, when by now was around to be dragged to the rescuer death, told Saint Peter that he would have denied Him thrice before the cock crowed, therefore it seemed proper to

¹⁰¹¹ *In expositione Tobiae* lib. 9, c. 7. (Aldrovandi). § Lind non è d'accordo con la citazione di Aldrovandi: "But I find no such exact statement in that author's *In Librum Tobiae allegorica interpretatio* in P.L. 91 (1862), 931." (Lind, 1963)

¹⁰¹² Emendato in base al susseguirsi dei tempi degli altri verbi di questo brano riferito a Beda.

cantus sensum explicemus. Cum enim tres Evangelistae asserant, Dominum dixisse, Petrum se ter negaturum, antequam Gallus cantaret: non autem omnes dicant quoties Gallus cantaret, Marcus¹⁰¹³ hoc solus narravit expressius, inquit: *Antequam Gallus bis vocem dederit*, quod [263] quomodo postea sit impletum in sequentibus distincte enarravit, ex quo consequitur, Petrum non ter Galli cantu Dominum negasse, ut dicunt tamen tres Evangelistae.

me to reconcile them before I explain the mystic sense of its crowing. For, since the three Evangelists assert that the Lord said that Peter would deny Him thrice before the cock crowed, but not everyone of them is saying how many times the cock would have crowed, only Mark told this with more precision in saying: *Before the cock has crowed twice*, and he told with exactness in the following verses as later on this would be fulfilled, whence it follows that Peter did not deny our Lord when the cock crowed thrice, as nevertheless the three Evangelists say.

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Matthaeus¹⁰¹⁴ enim dixit: *Amen dico tibi quia in hac nocte antequam Gallus cantet, ter me negabis*. Lucas¹⁰¹⁵ autem, *dico tibi, Petre, non cantabit hodie Gallus, donec ter abneges, nosse me*: Ioannes¹⁰¹⁶ autem: *Amen, amen dico tibi, non cantabit Gallus donec ter me neges*.

For Matthew said: *Verily I tell you that on this night before the cock crows you will deny me thrice*. And Luke, *I say to you, Peter, the cock will not crow today until you thrice deny that you know me*. And John: *Verily, verily I tell you, the cock will not crow until you deny me thrice*.

Divus Augustinus¹⁰¹⁷ hanc tractans difficultatem, sic eam putat dissolvendam, ut dicantur tres Evangelistae dixisse trinam Petri negationem futuram ante Galli cantum, quia ante {illam} <illum> coepta fuit, et in ipso etiam animo consummata, ut sic sit dictum: Ter me negabis, quomodo si alicui diceretur; Antequam cantet Gallus ad me scribes epistolam, in qua mihi ter {convitiaberis} <conviciaberis>. Id enim vere quis dixerit, etiamsi epistola non fuerit absolvenda ante omnem cantum Galli, sed ante cantum Galli incepta.

Saint Augustine*, discussing on this difficult passage, thinks it should be resolved in this way, so that the three Gospel writers may be said to have affirmed that a threefold denial of Peter would take place before cockcrow, because it had been commenced and also consummated in his mind, so that words could run thus: You will deny me three times, as if it were said to someone: Before the cock crows you will write me a letter in which you will revile me three times. Someone would rightly affirm that, even if the letter were not to be completed before any cockcrow, nevertheless was started before the cockcrow.

Quo vero dilucidiora haec videantur D. Augustini verba ascribere non gravabor, quae talia sunt. *Diversis <enim> verbis, et verborum ordine eandem explicaverunt sententiam dixisse Dominum, quod antequam Gallus cantaret, ter eum Petrus esset negaturus. Rursus si totam trinam negationem ante peregisset, quam cantare Gallus inciperet superfluo dixisse Marcus deprehenderetur ex persona Domini. Amen dico tibi quia tu hodie in nocte hac prius quam Gallus bis vocem dederit, ter me negaturus es. Quid enim attinebat dicere prius quam bis, quando si ante primum Galli cantum tota illa trina negatio completeretur simul, et ante secundum, et ante tertium, et ante omnes Galli cantus eiusdem noctis completa inveniretur, quae ante ipsum primum impleta probaretur. Sed quia ante primum Galli cantum coepta est illa trina negatio,*

But since these words of Saint Augustine seem rather clear, I won't regret to quote them so as they are. *For they - the Evangelists - related with different words and with a different sequence of words the same phrase the Lord said, that is, before the cock should crow, Peter was to deny Him thrice. Furthermore if he went through the whole triple denial before the cock began to crow, Mark would be embarrassed personally by the Lord for having spoken beyond the reality. Verily I say unto thee, that today, during this night, before the cock crowed twice, thou will deny me thrice. For, of what importance would it be to say before the second time, since that entire threefold denial would have been totally fulfilled, and would have found itself totally fulfilled both before the second and the third and before all the cockcrowings of that same night, being that it would have proved itself fully realized before the first crowing itself. But since that threefold denial was started*

¹⁰¹³ Marco 14:30: Et ait illi Iesus: "Amen dico tibi quia tu hodie in nocte hac, priusquam bis gallus vocem dederit, ter me es negaturus."

¹⁰¹⁴ Matteo 26:34: Ait illi Iesus amen dico tibi quia in hac nocte antequam gallus cantet ter me negabis.

¹⁰¹⁵ Luca 22:34: Et ille dixit dico tibi Petre non cantabit hodie gallus donec ter abneges nosse me.

¹⁰¹⁶ Giovanni 13:38: Respondit Iesus: "Animam tuam pro me ponis? Amen, amen dico tibi: non cantabit gallus donec me ter neges".

¹⁰¹⁷ De consensu Evangelistarum III,2,7-8. (Aldrovandi) - Le correzioni sono fatte in base al testo pubblicato in www.augustinus.it.

attenderunt illi tres, non quando eam completurus esset Petrus, sed quanta futura esset, et quando coeptura, id est, quia trina, et quia ante Galli cantum, quamquam in animo eius, et ante primum Galli cantum, peracta sit tota illa trina negatio: tamen affectione animi, et timore Petri ante primum tota coepta est. Nec interest quantis morarum intervallis trina voce enunciata sit, cum cor eius etiam ante primum Galli cantum tota possiderit: tam magna scilicet formidine imbibita ut posset Dominum non solum semel, sed et iterum, et tertio interrogatus negare. Et rectius diligentiusque attendentibus, quomodo iam moechatus est mulierem in corde suo, qui eam viderit ad concupiscendum: sic Petrus quaecumque verbis {a}deret timorem, quem tam vehementem animo conceperat, ut perdurare possit usque ad tertiam Domini negationem, tota trina negatio ei tempori deputanda est, quando eum trinae negationi sufficiens timor invasit. Ex quo etiam, si post primum Galli cantum {inciperet pulsatio interrogationibus potuere} <inciperent, pulsato interrogationibus pectore,> verba illa negationis erumpere, nec si<c> absurde, atque mendaciter ante Galli cantum ter negasse diceretur, quando, et ante Galli cantus timor obsederat mentem, qui eam posset usque ad tertiam negationem perducere. Multo minus igitur movere debet, quia trina negatio etiam trinis negantis vocibus ante Galli cantum coepta, etsi non ante primum Galli cantum peracta est. Tanquam si alicui diceretur, hac nocte antequam Gallus cantet, ad me scribes epistolam, in qua mihi ter conviciaberis: non utique si eam ante omnem Galli cantum finiret, ideo dicendum erat, falsum fuisse praedictum. Marcus ergo de ipsarum vocum intervallis planius elocutus est, qui dixit ex persona Domini. Priusquam bis Gallus vocem dederit, ter me negaturus es. Ita gestum esse apparebit, cum ad eundem locum narrationis Evangelicae venerimus, ut etiam illic ostendatur Evangelistas sibi congruere. Si autem quaeruntur ipsa omnino verba, quae Petro Dominus dixerit, neque {invenire} <inveniri> possunt, et superfluo quaeruntur, cum sententia eius, propter quam cognoscendam verba proferuntur, etiam in diversis Evangelistarum verbis possit esse {novissima} <notissima>. Sive ergo diversis sermonum Domini locis commotus Petrus singillatim ter enunciaverit praesumptionem suam, et ter ei Dominus suam negationem praedixerit, sicut probabilius {indicatur} <indagatur>: sive aliquo narrandi ordine possint omnium Evangelistarum commemorationes in unum redigi, quibus demonstretur semel Dominum praedixisse Petro praesumentem, quod eum negaturus esset, nulla hic Evangelistarum repugnantia deprehendi poterit, sicut nulla est. Hactenus D. Augustinus.

before the first crowing of the rooster, those three Evangelists did not pay attention to when Peter would have carried out it, but of what entity would have been, and when it would have been started, that is, since it would have been threefold and before the crowing of the rooster, nevertheless all that threefold denial had been completed in his mind and before the crowing of the rooster: nevertheless it all was begun before the first crowing by the disposition of mind and by the fear of Peter. Neither it does matter at how many intervals of time it has been enunciated because of a triplex crowing, since it all possessed also his heart before the first crowing of the rooster: it was certainly imbued by such a big fear that, questioned, he was able to deny the Lord not only once, but twice and thrice. And for those who rather better and with more diligence pay attention, it is as when in his hearth has by now committed adultery with a woman he who has looked her to covet her: thus Peter in any moment would declare the fear he had conceived so strong in the mind so that he succeeded in withstanding up to the third negation of the Lord, all the threefold denial is to be ascribed to that time when a sufficient fear of the third negation invaded him. Therefore if even those words of denial, having been his heart struck by doubts, had begun to burst out after the first crowing of the rooster, it could not be told so absurdly and mendaciously that he had denied three times before the crowing of the rooster, since also before the crowings of the rooster the fear had occupied the mind and the former could lead it up to the third negation. Therefore it has to shake very less, since the threefold denial was started before the crowing of the rooster also with a triplex voice of he who denies, even if it has not been completed before the first rooster's crowing. As if to someone it was said, this night before the rooster crows you will write me a letter in which you will insult me thrice: not necessarily if he had carried out it before whatever crowing of the rooster, therefore it was necessary to say that the forgery had been foretold. Then Mark has spoken more clearly with regard to the intervals of the crowings themselves since he told it taking it from the Lord himself. Before the rooster has crowed twice, you will have denied me thrice. It will be clear that things occurred in this way when we will reach the same verse of the evangelical narration, so that also here is shown that the Evangelists are in agreement. For if the words themselves the Lord would have said to Peter are inquired into depth, they cannot even be found, and they are in vain investigated, since his affirmation, to know which the words are alleged, also in the different words of the Evangelists it could be very well known. Or therefore Peter moved by different passages of the discourses of the Lord could have expressed singularly thrice his rashness and the Lord would have foretold to him thrice his denial, as with great probability it is discovered: or through a some order of narration all the Evangelists could be made as only a thing, through which it could be shown that only once the Lord foretold to Peter that he was foreseeing that since he would have denied him, in this regard no contrast of the Evangelist would have been detected, as no one is existing. Until here the words of Saint

Augustine.

Verum eiusmodi eius solutionem non esse convenientem ex eo patere vult Cornelius Iansenius¹⁰¹⁸ Episcopus Gandavensis, quod tres illi Evangelistae, qui dicunt Dominum dixisse, Petrum negaturum se ter, antequam Gallus cantaret, postea ostensuri impletam fuisse Domini praedictionem, omnes tres Petri negationes narrent ipso opere impletas priusquam tradant Gallum cecinisse. Unde, inquit, patet eos non illo sensu accepisse, quod nunc dicunt, Dominum dixisse Petrum se negaturum ante Galli cantum: quia ante eum trina negatio erat incipienda, sed quia ante eum erat consummanda. Proinde omissis aliis rationibus, quibus quidam student conciliare Evangelistas, dicendum est tres Evangelistas de illo loqui cantu Galli, qui ab hominibus maxime solet observari, a quo scilicet ultima noctis pars, quae quarta olim dicebatur vigilia, dicitur Gallicinium¹⁰¹⁹. Duabus enim potissimum vicibus Galli in nocte canere {consueverunt} <consueverunt>: semel non diu post medium noctis, et secundo, cum iam adhuc duo, aut tres, vel circiter noctis horae supersunt: quoniam in cantu perseverant usque ad tempus, quod conticinium¹⁰²⁰ dicitur, a quo secundo cantu quarta noctis vigilia [264] dicitur Gallicinium.

Really, Cornelius Jansen* bishop of Gent thinks that such his solution clearly turns out not suitable since those three Evangelists, who affirm that the Lord said that Peter would have denied him three times before the rooster crowed, who subsequently would have shown that the prediction of the Lord had come fully true, all three of them narrate that the denials of Peter just fulfilled themselves before reporting that the rooster had crowed. Then, he says, it is clear that they didn't mean it in that sense, since they now say that the Lord said that Peter would have denied him before the crowing of the rooster since the triplex denial had to begin before it, but because it had to have ended before it. Insofar, laid aside the other lucubrations with which some try hard to reconcile the Evangelists, we must say that the three Evangelists speak of that crow of the rooster which mostly is usually taken into consideration by human beings, and precisely that one thanks to which the last part of the night, that once was said fourth watch, is called *gallicinium* - crow of the rooster, dawn. For the roosters get into the habit of crowing twice in succession during the night: once not very afterwards the midnight and the second time when are still remaining almost two or three hours, or approximately, of the night: since they are perseverant in crowing up to that moment that is said *conticinium* - the moment of the silence, the first part of the night -, and the fourth nighttime watch is said *gallicinium* from second crow.

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Marcus itaque rei in Petro gestae, ut ab ipso Petro audierat, accuratam praescribens historiam, utriusque Galli cantus meminit, cuius mentionem facit et Iuvenalis¹⁰²¹ dicens { . }<:>

*Quod tamen ad cantum Galli facit ille secundi
Proximus ante diem caupo sciet.*

Per cantum Galli secundi intelligens secundum cantum Galli, et per hoc describere volens tempus illud, quod Gallicinium dicitur. Reliqui vero tres Evangelistae posteriores tantum Galli cantus meminerunt, ut qui sit praecipuus, et a quo pars noctis dicatur Gallicinium: proinde idem ab omnibus est significatum, nempe ter Petrum negaturum ante tempus illud noctis, quod Gallicinium dicitur, quod tempus

Therefore Mark, reconstructing an accurate history of what happened in Peter as he heard it from Peter himself, recorded both cockcrows, of which Juvenal* also makes mention:

*Nevertheless, what he does at the crowing of the second cock
the next innkeeper will know before daybreak.*

Meaning by the crow of the second cock the second crowing of the cock and wishing by this to describe that time which is called *gallicinium* - crow of the rooster, dawn. The three other Evangelists mentioned only the following cockcrows, since it is the principal one and from which the part of the night would be called *gallicinium*. Hence the same thing has been said by all of them, that is, that Peter would deny thrice before that time of night called *gallicinium*; that time

¹⁰¹⁸ *Commentariorum in suam concordiam ac totam historiam evangelicam partes quatuor* III,33

¹⁰¹⁹ Aldrovandi parla del *gallicinium* anche a pagina 204* e 249*.

¹⁰²⁰ Aldrovandi parla del *conticinium* anche a pagina 204* e 249*.

¹⁰²¹ *Satira* IX, 107-108: quod tamen ad cantum galli facit ille secundi | proximus ante diem caupo sciet, [...]. - Già citato a pagina 204*.

secundum communem quidem loquendi modum simpliciter notatur per Galli cantum: secundum accuratiorem vero loquendi rationem, notatur per secundum Galli cantum.

Ex praedictis, et sequenti Marci narratione patet, quod cum hic dicitur apud eum, Priusquam Gallus bis vocem dederit, illud bis accipiendum esse pro duabus diversis vicibus, et temporibus, non autem simpliciter, ut duplicatum significet sonum. Cum emphasi autem apud Marcum dicit Dominus Petro: Tu hodie, tu, inquit, singulariter, qui prae aliis te singulariter putas constantiorem, non quidem post aliquot dies, sed hodie, im<m>o in nocte hac praesenti, idque diu ante finem eius, nimirum ante Gallicinium, praeterquam quod cum aliis, me derelicto, fugies, etiam negabis, idque non semel tantum, sed ter in tam brevi temporis spatio. Quomodo autem Petrus erat Dominum negaturus, explicatur a Luca¹⁰²² cum dicit: Donec ter abneges, nosse me, id est, donec abneges, quod noveris me. Haec itaque ille de eiusmodi Evangelistarum discrepantia.

Ad eiusmodi negationis mysticum sensum explicandum Iacobus Vitriacensis¹⁰²³ Cardinalis sic scribit. Permissus est Petrus negare, ut in Ecclesiae principe remedium poenitentiae conderetur, et nemo auderet de sua virtute confidere. Post resurrectionem satisfacit, cum ipsum se amare confessus est. Ante Galli cantum, dum adhuc tenebrae sunt, in ascensu negat Petrus, postquam Gallus cantavit, cum iam tenebrae sunt, Petrus poenituit. Gallus, id est, praedicator somnolentos increpat, dicens. *Evigilate, iusti, et nolite peccare.* Post eius vocem multi prius factis Christum negantes poenitent, et flent amare. Quam noxia pravorum colloquia, quae Petrum negare cogunt, qui inter discipulos Christum confessus est Dei filium, intus autem in societate impiorum poenitet. Ter autem Christum negavit, primum ad vocem ancillae, et cantavit Gallus, secundo negat ad vocem alterius ancillae, et ad vocem calefacientium se ad prunas: tertio ad vocem servi principis sacerdotum, qui erat cognatus Malchi¹⁰²⁴, et tunc

which, according to the common mode of speech, is simply indicated as cockcrow: according to a more accurate manner of speaking it is indicated as the second cockcrow.

From what has been said before and from the succeeding narrative of Mark it is clear that when he says in his verse "Before the cock shall have crowed twice", that *twice* must be meant as two different times in succession and two different moments, and not simply as signifying a duplicate sound. For with emphasis the Lord says to Peter in Mark: You today, he says, you yourself, who think yourself especially more constant than the others, not indeed in a few days' time but today, nay, this night itself and at length before its end, that is, before *gallicinium*, apart from after you abandoned me you will flee with the others, you will also deny me, and this not only once, but thrice in so short a space of time. In what manner Peter was to deny the Lord is cleared up by Luke when he says: Until you thrice deny that you know me, that is, until you deny that you could know me. Thus far Cornelis Jansen* concerning such a discrepancy among Evangelists.

Cardinal Jacques de Vitry* writes as follows in order to explain the mystic meaning of such a denial. Peter was allowed to deny in order that the remedy of penitence might be established in the prince of the Church, and no one would dare to trust in his own virtue. He made satisfaction after the resurrection when he acknowledged that he loved Him. Before the cockcrow, while there are still deep shadows, Peter denies for raising himself, after the cock crowed, while by now deep shadows are going away, Peter repented. The cock, that is, the preacher, urges the sleepy ones, saying: *Wake up, ye just men, and do not sin.* After his recall many who before denied Christ by their deeds repent and weep bitterly. How evil are the conversations of the wicked men who force Peter to deny, he who among the disciples acknowledged that Christ is the son of God, but inwardly he does penance within the community of impious men. For three times he denied, first at the call of a handmaid, and the cock crowed, the second time he denies at the call of another handmaid and at the call of those warming themselves at a fire: the third time at the call

¹⁰²² Luca 22:34: Et ille dixit dico tibi Petre non cantabit hodie gallus donec ter abneges nosse me.

¹⁰²³ Fer. 6 Paras. (Aldrovandi)

¹⁰²⁴ Giovanni 18:10: Simon ergo Petrus habens gladium eduxit eum et percussit pontificis servum et abscidit eius auriculam dextram erat autem nomen servo Malchus. - Allora Simon Pietro, che aveva una spada, la trasse fuori e colpì il servo del sommo sacerdote e gli tagliò l'orecchio destro. Quel servo si chiamava Malco. § 18:26-27: Dicit unus ex servis pontificis cognatus eius cuius abscidit Petrus auriculam nonne ego te vidi in horto cum illo [27] iterum ergo negavit Petrus et statim gallus cantavit. - Ma uno dei servi del sommo sacerdote, parente di quello a cui Pietro aveva tagliato l'orecchio, disse: "Non ti ho forse visto con lui nel giardino?". [27] Pietro negò di nuovo, e subito un gallo cantò.

Gallus iterum cantavit. Tertia igitur negatio est inchoata ante Galli cantum et consummata est, antequam Gallus bis cantaret: primo simpliciter negat Petrus, dicens: Non novi hominem, et non sum discipulus eius.

Non solum enim negat Christum, sed se negat esse Christianum, vel discipulum eius: secundo cum iuramento negavit: tertio coepit anatematizare, quia perseverare in peccato dat incrementum scelerum, et qui modica spernit, cadit in maiora. Spiritualiter autem prima ancilla titubatio est: secunda consentio, tertius vir, id est, operatio, sic perficitur trina negatio. Ad vocem ancillae negat, qui carnis delectatione mortaliter peccat. Ad vocem calefacientium se ad prunas negat, qui per avaritiam peccat, qui se turpi quaestu calefieri desiderat, vel qui exemplo cupiditatis alienae a via veritatis deviat. Ad vocem cognati Malchi negat, qui vitio elationis contra Deum peccat. Malchus enim rex interpretatur. Potentum enim cognatum est vitium elationis. Hucusque ille.

Eundem sensum ita Iansenius interpretatur, et ut videtur, dilucidius. Ut bene, inquit, nocti tribuit scandalum discipulorum, et Petri negationem, quod nocti convenient peccata, et errores, ita bene finem negationum imponit in cantu Galli, quod per hunc lux annuncietur instare, et homines a somno excitentur, ut quo signo monentur homines surgere a somno, eodem et Petrus moneretur agnoscere suum errorem. Petrum autem prae aliis Dei providentia cadere gravius erat permissura, iusto quidem iudicio, nimirum quia de se nimis praesumendo aliis praetulerat, sed tamen propter bonum aliquod, nempe ut discerat Petrus, et nos in illo, quanta sit temeritatis hominem considerare in se ipso, quamque necessarium sit Dei implorare gratiam, sine qua nostra dilectio, et propositum non possit, vel ad breve tempus perseverare, etc.

In eandem fere sententiam ita quaerit Franciscus Georgius Venetus¹⁰²⁵: Cur datus fuit Galli cantus in signum negationis Petri? An, ut Christus

of a servant of the chief of priests, who was a relative of Malchus*, and then the cock crowed again. Therefore the third negation started before the cockcrow and ended before the cock crowed twice: first Peter simply denies, saying: I do not know the man, and I am not his disciple.

For not only does he deny Christ, but he denies he is a Christian or a disciple of him: the second time he denied with an oath: the third time he began to curse, because to persevere in sin gives an increase to wickedness, and who spurns moderation falls into greater things. But, from a spiritual point of view, the first handmaid is the wavering: the second is a consent, the third man is the pursuit, and thus the third denial is done. At the call of the handmaid he denies who sins mortally because of the delight of the flesh. At the call of those warming themselves by the fire, he denies who sins through avarice, who desires to warm himself by filthy gain or who wanders from the way of truth by the example of the cupidity of someone else. At the call of the relative of Malchus, he denies who sins against God through the vice of arrogance. For Malchus means king. For the vice of arrogance is a relative of powerful men. Thus far Jacques de Vitry.

Cornelis Jansen interprets in this way the same meaning and, as it seems, more clearly. As, he says, the scandal of the disciples was attributed to the night and the denial of Peter also, because sins and errors are suitable to night, as well again he places the end of the denials in the crowing of the cock, since through it the light is announced to be approaching, and humans are roused from sleep, so that by this sign humans are warned to rouse from sleep and Peter by it was warned to recognize his error. The providence of God was about to allow that Peter was falling headlong more heavily than others, even though because of a right reason, that is, because in his presumption he regarded himself above the others, but nevertheless for a good aim, and precisely so that Peter learned, and we with him, how is a sign of great rashness the fact that the man places his trust in himself, and how necessary it is to implore the grace of God, without which our love and purpose cannot, or persevere in a short term, etc.

According to almost the same opinion Francesco GIORGIO* wonders as follows. Why was the cockcrow meant as a sign of the denial of Peter? Or

¹⁰²⁵ Aldrovandi non fornisce alcuna referenza circa l'opera di Francesco GIORGIO da cui è tratta questa citazione, se cioè da *In Scripturam sacram Problemata* (1536) oppure da *De Harmonia mundi totius Cantica tria* (1525). L'unica opera a mia disposizione è *De Harmonia mundi totius Cantica tria* (Parigi 1545). In essa Francesco Giorgio accenna alla sinderesi e parla dei galli, ma non mi è stato possibile, nonostante il copiosissimo indice analitico, localizzare il canto del gallo inteso come la negazione di Pietro. Per cui propendo a pensare che Giorgio ne parli in *In Scripturam sacram Problemata*.

vaticinaretur tanquam verus Propheta negotium hoc, sicut et multa alia, quae ipsi superventura erant? Nam mortem, et resurrectionem suam ante praedixerat. An cum omnia acta, et gesta Christi sint plena sacramentis, hoc signum tradidit, ut indicaret Galli cantum, qui fit in mente omnium peccantium, per synderesim, et portionem [265] superiorem remurmurantem?

perhaps, so that Christ as true prophet might predict this event, just as many others events which were about to fall upon him? For he had prematurely predicted his death and resurrection. Or perhaps, since all the acts and deeds of Christ are full of mysteries, did he hand down this sign in order to indicate the cockcrow, which is occurring in the mind of all sinners, by a process of synderesis* and by a superior resounding portion?

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Quam portionem Gallum vocant sapientes: qui interpretantur dictum Socratis, quod moriens, teste Platone dixit, Gallum Aesculapio debeo, reddite. Et bene Gallus vocatur lumen illud, quod a supramundano sole procedit: cum inter solares aves Gallus primum locum tenet. Hinc praeco est lucis, quae inde venit: de qua luce Ioannes¹⁰²⁶ ait: *Erat lux vera, quae illuminat omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum.*

The wise men call rooster that duty: they who interpret the phrase of Socrates*, since when about to die, as recorded by Plato*, he said: I owe a cock to Aesculapius*, give it to him. And that light which proceeds from the sun being over-earth is correctly called rooster: since among solar birds the rooster holds the first place. Hence is coming the herald of the light which comes from there: concerning this light John says: *That was the true light which illuminates every man coming into this world.*

Quae sane doctrina congruit omnino, ut videtur, D. Ambrosio¹⁰²⁷, ita scribenti: Est etiam Galli cantus suavis in noctibus, nec solum suavis, sed etiam utilis, qui quasi bonus cohabitator et dormientem excitat, et sollicitum admonet, et vianem solatur, processum noctis canora significatione protestans. Hoc canente, latro suas relinquit insidias, hoc ipse Lucifer excitatus oritur, caelumque illuminat, hoc canente moestitiam trepidus nauta deponit, omnisque crebro vespertinis flatibus excitata tempestas, et procella mitescit, hoc canente devotus affectu exilit ad precandum, legendi quoque munus instaurat, hoc postremo canente, ipsa ecclesiae petra culpam suam diluit, quam priusquam Gallus cantaret ter negando contraxerat. Istius cantu spes omnibus redit, aegris levatur incommodum, minuitur dolor vulnere, febrium flagrantia mitigatur, revertitur fides lapsis, Iesus titubantes respicit, errantes corrigit. Denique respexit Petrum, et statim error abscessit. Quod non fortuito accidisse, sed ex sententia Domini, lectio docet. Sic enim scriptum est, quia dixit Iesus ad Simonem: Non cantabit Gallus priusquam me ter abneges. Bene fortis in die Petrus, nocte turbatur, et ante Galli cantum labitur, etiam tertio: ut scias non inconsulta effusione sermonis esse prolapsus, sed mentis quoque mutatione turbatum. Idem tamen post Galli cantum fit fortior, et iam

Undoubtedly this doctrine fully agrees, as it seems, with Saint Ambrose*, who writes as follows: Also the crowing of the cock is sweet in the night-times, not only sweet, but even useful, since as a good fellow-tenant he wakes the sleeper, calms down the restless and reassures the wayfarer, testifying by a singing signal the progress of the night. When he crows the brigand leaves his trap aside, the same Lucifer* awaked by him rises and illuminates the sky, when he crows the frightened sailor lets fall the sadness, and whatever tempest and storm often wakened up by winds of evening is placated, when he crows the devout person full of desire gets astir to beg and also renews the task of reading, finally when he crows the same stone on which the Church has been founded attenuates its guilt, of which had stained itself in denying three times before the rooster crowed. At his crow the hope is coming back to everybody, to the sick the suffering is attenuated, the pain of the wounds is reduced, the ardor of the fevers is mitigated, the trust comes back to those who have been wrong, Jesus takes care of those who are hesitant, He puts on straight and narrow path unstable persons. Finally He took care of Peter and suddenly the error disappeared. The text teaches that this didn't happen casually, but for wish of the Lord. For it has been written as follows, since Jesus said turned to Simon: The cock shall not crow before you deny me thrice. Peter, nice and strong during the day, during the night is troubled, and he goes to fall before

¹⁰²⁶ *Giovanni 1:9: Erat lux vera quae inluminat omnem hominem venientem in mundum.*

¹⁰²⁷ *Hexaameron libri sex, L. 5. (Aldrovandi)*

dignus, quem Christus aspiciat. Oculi Domini super iustos. Agnovit venisse remedium, post quod iam errare non posset: et in virtutem ab errore mutatus amarissime flevit, ut lachrymis suis deleteret peccatum.

Ad Galli eiusmodi cantum hymnus Prudentii¹⁰²⁸ legitur elegantissimus, quem eo maxime adijcere placuit, quod totam mysticam historiam proxime superioribus accommodatam, ac consentientem complectatur.

Ales diei nuncius
Lucem propinquam <prae>cecinit
Nos excitator mentium
Iam Christus ad vitam vocat.
[5] Auferte clamat lectulos
Aegros, sopores, desides,
Castique, recti, ac sobrii
Vigilate iam sum proximus.
Post Solis ortum fulgidi
[10] Serum est cubile spernere,
{Ne} <Ni> parte noctis addita
Tempus labori adieceris.
Vox ista, qua strepunt aves
Stantes sub ipso culmine
[15] Paulo ante quam lux emicet
Nostri figura est {indicis} <iudicis>.
Tectos tenebris horridis
Stratisque opertos segnibus
Suadet quietem linquere
[20] Iam iamque venturo die.
Ut cum coruscis flatibus
Aurora caelum sparserit,
Omnes labore exercitos
[25] Confirmet ad spem luminis.
Hic somnus ad tempus datus
Est forma mortis perpetis,
Peccata ceu nox horrida
Cogunt iacere, ac stertere.
[30] Sed vox ab alto culmine
Christi docentis praemonet
Adesse iam lucem prope
Ne mens sopori serviat.
Ne somnus usque ad terminos
[35] Vitae socordis opprimat,
Pectus sepultum crimine,

cockcrow, even for the third time: and you have to know that he has not fallen because of an ill-advised speaking, but also because upset by a change happened in the brain. However after the cockcrow he becomes stronger and by now worthy that Christ looks to him. The eyes of the Lord are aimed at the just. He realized that the therapy had come, after which he would not have been able by now to be wrong: and changed by the error into virtue he wept most bitterly to wipe out the sin with his tears.

An elegant hymn of Prudentius* can be read, devoted to the crowing of that rooster, that seemed me very suitable to be inserted since it contains all the mystic history which suits very closely the previous ones and which agrees with them.

The winged messenger of the day
announced by his crowing the light by then near;
Christ, who stirs our minds,
now calls us to life.

[5] Take away, he cries, the beds
sick, somnolent, lazy,
and chaste, right, sober men
keep watch, by now I am close.
After the shining sun has risen
[10] it is late to spurn the bed,
unless by adding part of the night
you give more time to your toil.
This voice, by which the birds chatter
standing up under the same eaves
[15] a little while before the light shines forth
is the figure of our Judge.
Them who are covered by horrifying shadows
and covered up by blankets of laziness
he persuades to leave the rest
[20] for the day is by then arriving.
So that when with her sparkling breaths
the dawn has speckled the sky
all those who are accustomed to the toil
[25] you reassures in the hope of the light.
This sleep given in a due time
is an image of perpetual death,
the sins or the fearful night
force to sleep, to sleep heavily.
[30] But the voice from the high building
foretells that of Christ the teacher
the light is by now at hand
so that the mind may not be enslaved to slumber.
So that the sleep until the extreme limits
[35] of a sluggish life doesn't oppress us,
with the bosom buried by sin,

¹⁰²⁸ *Cathemerinon*. (Aldrovandi) - *Hymnus primus* - Le correzioni al testo di Aldrovandi sono state fatte sulla base di quello contenuto in *Aurelii Prudentii Clementis opera* interpretate e annotate da Stephanus Chamillard SJ, Parisiis, apud Viduam Claudii Thiboust et Petrum Esclassan, 1687.

Et lucis oblitum suae.
 Ferunt vagantes daemones
 Laetos tenebris noctium
 [40] Gallo canente exterritos
 Sparsim timere, et cedere.
 Invisa nam vicinitas,
 Lucis, salutis, numinis,
 Rupto tenebrarum situ,
 [45] Noctis fugat satellites.
 Hoc esse signum praescii
 Norunt repromissae spei,
 Qua nos soporis liberi
 Speramus adventum Dei.
 [50] Quae vis sit huius alitis,
 Salvator ostendit Petro,
 Ter antequam Gallus canat
 Sese negandum praedicans.
 Fit namque {peccator} <peccatum> prius,
 [55] Quam praeco lucis proxima
 Illustret humanum genus,
 Finemque {precandi} <peccandi> ferat.
 Flevit negator denique
 Ex ore prolapsum nefas
 [60] Cum mens maneret innocens
 Animusque servaret fidem.
 Nec tale quicquam postea
 Linguae locutus lubrico est
 Cantuque Galli cognito
 [65] Peccare iustus destitit.
 Inde est, quod omnes credimus
 Illo quietis tempore
 Quo Gallus exultans canit
 Christum redisse ex inferis.

and forgetful of its own light.
 They say that demons wander
 happy in the darkness of nights
 [40] and that frightened by the crowing cock
 here and there fear and run away.
 For the hostile closeness
 of light, salvation, divinity,
 after having torn the place of darkness,
 [45] puts to flight the ministers of night.
 That this is a sign of an omen
 they know, of a sure hope,
 thanks to which free from sluggishness
 we hope for God's coming.
 [50] What is the power of this bird,
 the Savior showed to Peter,
 that thrice before the cock crowed
 predicting he would deny Him.
 For the sin occurs before
 [55] the herald of the close light
 shines on humankind,
 and brings the end of sinning.
 At last the denier wept
 the evilness that fell from mouth
 [60] while the mind remained innocent
 and the spirit kept faith.
 Nor afterwards something of similar
 he uttered deceitfully with tongue
 and when he heard the cockcrow
 [65] the just man ceased to sin.
 Thence it follows what we all believe
 that at that time of rest
 when the cock crows exultant
 Christ came back from underworld.

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[266] [70] Tunc mortis oppressus {vigor}
 <rigor>,
 Tunc lex subacta est Tartari:
 Tunc vis diei fortior
 Noctem coegit cedere.
 Iam iam quiescant improba,
 [75] Iam culpa furva obdormiat,
 Iam noxa let{h}alis suum
 Perpressa somnum marceat.
 Vigil vicissim spiritus
 Quodcunque restat temporis
 [80] Dum meta noctis clauditur,
 Stans, ac laborans excubet.
 Iesum ciamus vocibus
 Flentes, precantes, sobrii:
 Intenta supplicatio
 [85] Dormire cor mundum vetat.
 {Stat} <Sat> convolutis artibus
 Sensum profunda oblivio
 Pressit, gravavit, obruit,
 Vanis vagantem somniis.

[70] Then the inflexibility of death was crushed,
 then the law of Tartarus* was subjugated:
 then the strength of day being stronger
 forced the night to go away.
 Now let sinfulness lie quiet,
 [75] now let dark sin go to sleep,
 now let mortal punishment at once
 wither its own sleep.
 Let the vigil spirit in its turn
 whatever time remains
 [80] while the end of night closes itself,
 standing up and working to be on the alert.
 Let us call upon Jesus
 weeping, praying, in our soberness:
 intense supplication
 [85] forbids the pure heart to sleep.
 With enough rolled up limbs
 a deep oblivion the thought
 oppressed, overloaded, flooded,
 which wander through empty dreams.
 [90] For they are false and frivolous

[90] Sunt nempe falsa, et frivola
 Quae mundiali gloria
 Ceu dormientes egimus,
 Vigilemus, hic est veritas.
 Aurum, voluptas, gaudium,
 [95] Opes, honores, prospera,
 Quaecunque nos instant mala,
 Fit mane, nil sunt omnia.
 Tu Christe somnum {disiice} <disdice>,
 Tu rumpe noctis vincula,
 [100] Tu solve peccatum vetus,
 Novumque lumen ingere.

Sed hactenus Gallus in bonam partem acceptus est, possit etiam in malam accipi, et significare, ut avis est libidini dicata maxime, qui muliebria sectatur, et voluptatum magis amator est, quam Dei, unde apud Esaiam¹⁰²⁹ dicitur: *Ecce Dominus asportari te faciet, sicut asportatur Gallus Gallinaceus.*

Superest modo, ut de Gallina etiam dicamus: de qua D. Augustinus¹⁰³⁰ in expositione huius versus Psalmistae: *Exurge in occursum mihi, et vide: Aliquid, inquit, me dicere admonet in hoc loco capitis ipsius nostri sublimitas, quoniam infirmatus est usque ad mortem, et assumpsit infirmitatis carnem, ut pullos Hierusalem colligeret sub alas suas, tanquam Gallina infirmata¹⁰³¹ cum parvulis. Non enim in aliqua ave hoc aliquando conspeximus, earum etiam, quae nidificant ante oculos nostros, sicut parietum Passeres, sicut Hirundines, tanquam annuae nostrae hospites, sicut Ciconiae, sicut aliae aves, quae ante oculos nostros nidificant, et ovis insidunt, pullos alunt, sicut ipsae Columbae, quas cotidie videmus, aliquando avem <in>firmari cum parvulis non agnovimus, non vidimus. Gallina quomodo hoc habet? Certe notam rem dico, quae in conspectu nostro quotidie versatur, quomodo raucescit vox, quomodo sit hispidum totum corpus, demittuntur alae, laxantur plumae, et vides circa pullos nescio quid aegrotum, et ea est materna charitas, quae invenitur infirmitas. Quare ergo Dominus nisi propter hoc Gallina esse voluit in sancta scriptura, dicemus. Hierusalem,*

those things which for the glory of this world
 we have done as though asleep,
 let us be wakeful, the truth is here.
 Gold, pleasure, joy,
 [95] wealth, honors, prosperities,
 every evil thing is overhanging us,
 morning comes, all of them are nothing.
 You, Christ, drive away the slumber,
 You break the bonds of night,
 [100] You wipe out old sin,
 and bring new light inside.

But until this moment the rooster has been accepted in right side, let him be accepted also in the bad one and indicate it, since he is a bird extremely devoted to lust chasing after womanly things and he is more a lover of pleasures than of God, whence it is said in Isaiah*: *Lo, the Lord will cause you to be transferred just as a rooster is transferred.*

It remains only to speak also of the hen: of which Saint Augustine* speaks during the commentary on this verse of the Psalmist: *Jump up to come towards me, and behold: The sublimity of our Head Himself at this point urges me to say something, since He submitted Himself to human weakness up to the death, and He took on Him the flesh of the weakness, to gather under His wings the chicks of Jerusalem, as a weakened hen does with her little ones. For we never observed this among any bird, also among those nesting in front of our eyes as sparrows of walls, as swallows which are, so to speak, our annual guests, as storks, as other birds nesting in front of our eyes and crouching on eggs, raise the chicks, as the doves themselves that we see every day, we have never known, we have never seen a bird to weaken with its little ones. How does the hen possess this characteristic? Certainly I say a known thing, that is present daily in front of our eyes, how the voice grows hoarse, as the whole body is ruffled, the wings are held low, the feathers are opened, and you can see around the chicks something sick, and it is the maternal love finding itself to be weakness. Therefore we can just say that the Lord exactly for this wanted the hen to be present in the Holy Scripture. Jerusalem, Jerusalem, how many times have I willed to gather*

¹⁰²⁹ La citazione ricorre anche a pagina 186*. § Isaia 22,17-18: “Ecco che il Signore ti getterà via e ti arrotolerà, ti aggomitolerà come una palla in paese spazioso;” (*La Sacra Bibbia*, Edizioni Paoline, 1958) - 17 ἰδοὺ δὴ κύριος σαβαωθ ἐκβαλεῖ καὶ ἐκτρίψει ἄνδρα καὶ ἀφελεῖ τὴν στολήν σου 18 καὶ τὸν στέφανόν σου τὸν ἔνδοξον καὶ ῥίψει σε εἰς χώραν μεγάλην καὶ ἀμέτρητον, καὶ ἐκεῖ ἀποθανῆ· καὶ θήσει τὸ ἄρμα σου τὸ καλὸν εἰς ἀτιμίαν καὶ τὸν οἶκον τοῦ ἄρχοντός σου εἰς καταπάτημα, [...].

¹⁰³⁰ *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, Psalmus 58,10. (Aldrovandi)

¹⁰³¹ A mio avviso si tratta di un plagio da parte di Sant'Agostino. È la solita mania di strumentalizzare gli esseri viventi ai propri fini propedeutici senza aver mai avuto a che fare con l'animale in questione. La gallina sarà senz'altro un po' estenuata e smagrita dalla cova durata in media 21 giorni, ma non le passa neanche per l'anticamera di in una fibrocellula muscolare né di un neurone cerebrale di sentirsi stanca. La chioccia è aggressiva verso gli estranei, resistente e indefessa nell'allevare i propri pulcini. Non vedo dove stia quella debolezza tanto sbandierata da Sant'Agostino. In quanto all'affetto della chioccia per i pulcini concordo pienamente con il grande Dottore della Chiesa, costantemente seguito e guidato da una chioccia impareggiabile e indefessa: Monica.

*Hierusalem, quoties volui congregare filios tuos tanquam Gallina filios suos sub alas, et noluisti?*¹⁰³² *Congregavit autem omnes gentes tanquam Gallina pullos suos, qui infirmatus est propter nos, accipiens carnem a nobis, id est, a genere humano, crucifixus, contemptus alapis caesus, flagellatus, ligno suspensus, lancea vulneratus. Ergo hoc maternae infirmitatis est, non amissae maiestatis. Quum ergo talis esset Christus, et tamen carnem sine peccato suscepisset, factus est particeps nostrae infirmitatis, non iniquitatis, ut ex eo quod nobiscum communicavit, infirmitatem solveret nostram iniquitatem.*

Et¹⁰³³ rursus exponens illud Psalmographi: *Et sub alis eius sperabis: Si Gallina, inquit, protegit pullos suos sub alis, quanto magis tu sub alis Dei tutus eris, et adversus diabolum, et angelos eius, quae aëreae potestates, tanquam Accipitres circumvolitant, ut infirmum pullum auferant? Neque enim sine causa comparata est Gallina ipsi sapientiae Dei. Nam ipse Christus dominus noster, et salvator tanquam Gallinam se dixit: Hierusalem, Hierusalem, etc. Noluit illa Hierusalem, velimus nos, illa rapta est ab aeris potestatibus fugiens alas Gallinae, praesumens de viribus suis quum esset infirma, nos confitentes infirmitatem nostram, sub alas Dei fugiamus. Erit enim nobis tanquam Gallina protegens pullos suos. Non est enim iniuriosum nomen Gallina. Attendite caeteras aves. Multae aves ante nos foetant, calefaciunt pullos suos, nulla sic avis infirmatur cum pullis suis, quomodo Gallina. Attendat charitas vestra, Hirundines, Passeres, et Ciconias videmus extra nidos suos, nec cognoscimus utrum foetus habeant: at Gallinam cognoscimus in infirmitate vocis, et in relaxatione plumarum, tota mutatur a foetu pullorum, quia illi infirmi sunt, infirmam sese facit. Quia ergo et nos infirmi eramus, infirmam se fecit sapientia Dei, quia verbum caro factum est, et habitavit in nobis, ut sub alis eius speremus.*

Et rursus alibi¹⁰³⁴: *Hoc, inquit, genus animantis magnum affectum in filios habet, ita ut eorum infirmitate <affecteda> et ipsa {infirmitate} <infirmetur>, et quod difficilius in caeteris {animalibus} <animantibus> invenies, alis suis filios suos protegens contra Milvum {pugnat} <pugnet>: sic etiam mater nostra sapientia Dei per carnis susceptionem infirmata quodammodo, dicente Apostolo: Quod infirmum est Dei, fortius est hominibus¹⁰³⁵, protegit infirmitatem nostram, et resistit diabolo, ne nos rapiat. In qua defensione, quod illa*

your children as the hen is doing with her children under the wings, and you didn't want it? But He has gathered all the peoples as the hen is doing with her chicks, He who tired Himself because of us, taking from us the flesh, that is, from the humankind, He was crucified, despised, struck with slaps, flagellated, hung upon a pole, wounded with a lance. Then this is sign of maternal weakness, not of lost majesty. Then since Christ was such and had nevertheless assumed the flesh without having sinned, He shared our weakness, not our iniquity, so that He could dissipate our iniquity since He shared the weakness with us.

And afterwards, explaining what the psalmist writes he says: *And under His wings you will hope: If the hen protects her chicks under the wings, how much more you will be safe under the wings of God, and in front of the devil and his messengers, those celestial authorities flying around as hawks* to sweep away the weak chick? And not for no reason the hen has been compared to the wisdom itself of God. For Christ Himself our Lord and Savior said to be like a hen: Jerusalem, Jerusalem, etc. That Jerusalem didn't want Him, we have to want Him, she was abducted by celestial authorities running away from the wings of the hen, relying upon her strength since the latter was weak, confessing our weakness we must see to shelter under the wings of God. For He will be for us like a hen protecting her chicks. In fact the epithet of hen is not insulting. You pay attention to the other birds. Many birds lay eggs in front of us, they heat their chicks, no bird weakens so much with its chicks as the hen. Your love must watch out, we see the swallows, the sparrows and the storks out of their nests, neither we know if they have some offspring: but we recognize the hen from the weakness of the voice and from the unfolding feathers, she is entirely changed by the birth of chicks, because they are weak she makes herself weak. Then, since we also were weak, the wisdom of God made itself weak, because the Word grew flesh, and He dwelt in us, so that we hope under his wings.*

And afterwards he says elsewhere: *This kind of living being - the hen with a brood of chicks - shows a great fondness towards her children, so that moved by their weakness she herself is weakening, and, a thing that you will find more hardly in other animals, protecting with her wings her children she fights against the kite*: so also our mother the Wisdom of God taking the flesh has grown weak somehow, according to what the apostle says: What of God is weak is stronger than men, it - the wisdom - protects our weakness, and set itself against the devil so that he don't abduct us. In this defense,*

¹⁰³² Matteo 23:37: Hierusalem Hierusalem quae occidis prophetas et lapidas eos qui ad te missi sunt quotiens volui congregare filios tuos quemadmodum gallina congregat pullos suos sub alas et noluisti.

¹⁰³³ *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, Psalmus 90,5. (Aldrovandi)

¹⁰³⁴ *Quaestiones Evangeliorum* I,36. (Aldrovandi) - Le correzioni sono fatte in base al testo pubblicato in www.augustinus.it.

¹⁰³⁵ Paolo, *Corinti* I,1,25: quia quod stultum est Dei sapientius est hominibus, et quod infirmum est Dei fortius est hominibus. - perché la follia di Dio è più sapiente degli uomini, e la debolezza di Dio è più forte degli uomini. (*La Sacra Bibbia*, Edizioni Paoline, 1958)

adversus Milvum conatur affectu, haec adversus diabolum perficit potestate.

Item rursus¹⁰³⁶ in haec verba: *Nos ovum nostrum sub alis illius Gallinae ponamus, inquit, Evangelicae Gallinae, quae clamat Hierusalem Hierusalem illi falsae, et perditae, quoties volui congregare filios, tanquam Gallina pullos, et noluisti? Non nobis dicatur, quoties volui, et noluisti. Illa enim Gallina divina sapientia est, sed assumpsit carnem, ut pullis congrueret. Videte Gallinam hispidam plumis, demissis alis, voce fracta, et quassa, et lassa, et languida congruere [267] parvulis suis. Ovum ergo nostrum, id est, spem nostram sub alis illius Gallinae ponamus.*

what for love she undertakes against the kite, the latter by power gets it against the devil.

Likewise afterwards toward these words he says: *We have to set our egg under the wings of that hen, of the evangelical hen, who cries Jerusalem Jerusalem to that false and corrupt, how many times have I wanted to gather your children, as the hen does with chicks, and you have not wished it? It must not be said to us how often I wished and you did not wish it. For that hen is divine Wisdom, but It assumed the flesh for to be suitable to chicks. You look at the hen with ruffled feathers, lowered wings, tired voice, weak, worn-out, exhausted, adapting to her babies. Then let us place our egg, that is our hope, under the wings of that hen.*

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Et alibi¹⁰³⁷ iterum: *Nutrit ergo ipse infirmus infirmos, tanquam Gallina pullos suos. Huic enim se similem fecit. Quoties volui, inquit ad Hierusalem, congregare filios tuos sub alas tanquam Gallina pullos suos, et noluisti? Videtis autem, {patres} <fratres>, quemadmodum Gallina infirmetur cum pullis suis;}<.> Nulla enim alia avis, quod sit mater agnoscitur. Videmus nidificare Passeres quoslibet ante oculos nostros, Hirundines, Ciconias: Columbas quotidie videmus nidificare, quas nisi quando in nidis videmus parentes esse agnoscimus. Gallina vero sic infirmatur in pullis suis, ut etiam si pulli ipsi non sequantur, filios, non videas, matrem tamen intelligas, ita fit alis demissis, plumis hispida, voce rauca, omnibus membris demissa, et abiecta, ut quemadmodum dixi etiamsi filios non videas, matrem tamen intelligas.*

And again - Saint Augustine* - elsewhere: *Then, He himself weak, nourishes the weak like the hen her chicks. In fact He likened Himself to her. How many times have I wanted, He said to Jerusalem, to gather your children under the wings as a hen does with her chicks, and you didn't want it? But you look, brethren, as the hen is weakening together with her chicks. For no other bird is recognized to be a mother. We see any sparrow to nest in front of our eyes, the swallows, the storks: every day we see the doves to nest, which we don't realize to be parents except when we see them in the nests. But the hen weakens so much because of her chicks that if they don't also follow her and you don't see her children, nevertheless you realize that she is mother, and this happens because of lowered wings, ruffled feathers, hoarse voice, so humble and neglected in all her parts that, as I said, even if you don't see her children, nevertheless you would realize that she is mother.*

Postremo illum etiam Psalmistae locum exponens, ubi Propheta ait: *Si me non protegas, quia pullus sum, Milvus me rapiet. Dicit enim, ait, quodam loco Dominus noster ad Hierusalem quandam civitatem illam, ubi crucifixus est Hierusalem, Hierusalem, quoties volui filios tuos congregare, tanquam Gallina pullos suos, et Nolui? Parvuli sumus; ergo protegat nos Deus sub umbraculo alarum suarum.* Haec omnia D. Augustinus.

Finally, expounding also that passage of the psalmist where the prophet says: *If you don't protect me, since I am a chick, the kite* will abduct me. For he says: Elsewhere our Lord says to Jerusalem, that certain city where he was crucified: Jerusalem, Jerusalem, how many times have I wanted to gather your children as the hen does with her chicks and you didn't wish it? We are babies, therefore let God protect us under the sunshade of His wings. All these drags by Saint Augustine.*

Alloquebatur autem Dominus procul dubio sub civitatis nomine ipsos cives (dixerat enim

Without doubt the Lord using the name of the city was addressing the inhabitants themselves (for he said

¹⁰³⁶ *Sermones*, Sermo 105 - De verbis Evangelii Lc 11, 5-13: "Quis vestrum habebit amicum, et ibit ad illum media nocte" et cetera - 8,11. Aldrovandi dà come referenza il Sermo 29. - Nos ovum nostrum sub alis illius gallinae ponamus evangelicae, quae clamat: *Ierusalem, Ierusalem, illi falsae et perditae, quoties volui colligere filios tuos, tamquam gallina pullos suos, et noluisti? Non nobis dicatur: Quoties volui, et noluisti? Illa enim gallina divina Sapientia est: sed assumpsit carnem, ut pullis congrueret. Videte gallinam hispidam plumis, dimissis alis, voce fracta, et quassa, et lassa, et languida congruere parvulis suis. Ovum ergo nostrum, id est, spem nostram sub alis illius gallinae ponamus.*

¹⁰³⁷ *In Evangelium Ioannis tractatus*, Omelia 15. (Aldrovandi) § Non si dispone del testo latino, ma sia Lind che la seguente traduzione invece di *padri* hanno *fratelli*. - Omelia 15,7: È con la sua debolezza che egli nutre i deboli, come la gallina nutre i suoi pulcini: egli stesso del resto si è paragonato alla gallina: *Quante volte - dice a Gerusalemme - ho voluto raccogliere i tuoi figli sotto le ali, come la gallina i suoi pulcini, e tu non l'hai voluto!* Non vedete, o fratelli, come la gallina partecipa alla debolezza dei suoi pulcini? Nessun altro uccello esprime così evidentemente la sua maternità.

Hierusalem, Hierusalem, quae occidis Prophetas, etc.) unde postea facta mutatione dicit: Relinquetur domus vestra deserta: sequitur quod insigne est charitatis divinae iudicium. Quoties volui congregare filios tuos, quemadmodum avis nidum suum sub alis, et noluisti? Magnae charitatis fuit, quod non semel tantum, sed multoties adeo cupiverit eius filios, hoc est, inhabitatores, omnesque Iudaeos, qui ad eam tanquam matrem confluebant, ad se congregare, idque ea semper reluctante, sed id adhuc magis Dei charitatem argui, quod non simpliciter filios eius congregare voluerit, sed eo modo, quo avis nidum suum, id est, ut interpretes omnes fere vertunt, pullos suos sub alas, hoc est summo cum desiderio, et sollicitudine. Est autem Graecis pro dictione avis, ὄρνις, quam dictionem ancipitem esse diximus¹⁰³⁸ ad avem, et Gallinam. Et quidem uti paulo ante D. Augustinus dicebat, *mirus est amor omnibus fere avibus, ad confovendos, et protegendos pullos, sed praecipue Gallinis*: unde magis conveniebat vertere Gallinam, quemadmodum D. Matthaei interpretes optime fecit.

Porro quam apte Dominus se Gallinae comparavit, ex eodem D. Augustino partim demonstravimus, et Hylarius, et D. Chrysostomus etiam innuunt. Ille enim enarrans illum versum: *Semitam meam*, etc. *Quod autem, inquit, per tritam praedicationis semitam ambulaverit, audiamus ipsum dicentem: Hierusalem, Hierusalem, etc. quoties volui congregare, etc. frequentiam numerosae significationis ostendit. Nihil ergo novi et egit, et passus est, cum per nolentem congregari filios suos Hierusalem, toties inauditus, et inhonoratus est in Prophetis. D. vero Chrysostomus¹⁰³⁹ ad illa D. Matthaei verba: Quoties volui congregare, etc. Hinc patet, inquit, quod semper se ipsos peccando disseminabant, amorem autem suum ab imagine significavit. Ferrenti nempe amore aves pullos diligunt suos. Crebro autem haec imago avis, et alarum apud Prophetas invenitur, et in cantico et in Psalmis mirabilem providentiam, et eximiam protectionem denotans, sed noluistis ait.*

Et rursus¹⁰⁴⁰ secundum alteram expositionem in Matthaeum: *Quoties, inquit, volui congregare, etc. Quum te in Aegypto quasi sanguinarius Accipiter {persequabatur} <persequabatur> Pharaon, nisi super te {Mosen} <Mosem>, et Aaron, quasi duas mollissimas*

Jerusalem, Jerusalem, Which kills the prophets etc.) whence subsequently, having made the exchange, He says: Your house will be desert: it follows what is the great verdict of the divine love. How many times have I wanted to gather your children like a bird does with its offspring under the wings, and you didn't want? It was sign of a big love, since not only once, but to such an extent He would have desired many times to gather near Himself Its children, that is, the inhabitants and all the Jews who were there converging as if It were a mother, and being It always reluctant in this regard, but I have so much more inferred that this is the love of God, since He would not have liked simply to gather Its children, but likewise a bird does with its offspring, that is, as almost all the expounders translate, Its chicks under the wings, that is with high desire and care. In fact among Greeks for the word *avis* there is *ornis*, and we said that this word is ambiguous, referring itself both to bird and hen. And besides as a little before Saint Augustine was saying, *admirable is the love in almost all the birds turned to heat and protect the chicks, but especially in hens*: then it was more fitting to translate hen like excellently has done the translator of St. Matthew.

Moreover how much appropriately the Lord compared himself to a hen we have partly shown from Saint Augustine himself, and both Saint Hilary* and Saint John Chrysostomus* are also giving an indication of this. For the former, expounding that verse *My path* etc. says: *In fact since he would have walked on a beaten path of preaching, we would hear himself to say: Jerusalem, Jerusalem, etc. how many times I wanted to gather etc. it shows the frequency of a manifold meaning. Therefore He has done or suffered nothing new, since through Jerusalem which didn't want its children be gathered, so many times He is not heard and not honored in the prophets. But Saint John Chrysostomus towards those words of Matthew How many times I wanted to gather, etc. says: From this it is evident that, since sinning they always propagated themselves, He pointed out His love through an image. For birds love of an ardent love their chicks. For this image of a bird and the wings is often found in prophets, and in Song of Songs and Psalms it represents an admirable providence and an extraordinary protection, but He says you didn't want it.*

And again, according to another commentary to Matthew: *How many times, He says, I wished to gather etc. When the Pharaoh in Egypt pursued you like a bloodthirsty hawk*, if there had not been above you Moses and Aaron, as if they were two soft feathers of my mercy, and after having freed*

¹⁰³⁸ A pagina 252*.

¹⁰³⁹ *Homilia 75 in Matthaeum.* (Aldrovandi)

¹⁰⁴⁰ *Homilia 46 in Matthaeum.* (Aldrovandi)

pennas misericordiae meae, et liberatos vos de unguibus eius rapui in desertum, et nolulistis sequi me, facientes vobis vitulum in Horeb ut serviretis potius idolo mortuo quam Deo viventi. Quoties volui congregare, etc. Percurre si vis Iudicum librum quoties peccaverunt, et tradidit illos Deus, et iterum liberavit. Gallinam posuit ecclesiae similitudinem. Sicut enim pulli Gallinarum pastum suum quaerentes, per diversa vagantur, et maternis vocibus congregantur, sic et populus Dei per malam voluptatem et mundialem concupiscentiam sequentes, per diversos vagantur errores, quos Ecclesia mater per sacerdotes modo increpationibus, modo blandimentis, qui si quibusdam vocibus congregare et allectare festinat. Et quemadmodum Gallina habens pullos vocando illos non cessat, ut assidua voce vagositatem corrigat pullorum suorum. Sic et sacerdotes in doctrina cessare non debent, ut studio, et assiduitate doctrinarum suarum negligentiam populi errantis emendent. Et quemadmodum Gallina habens pullos non solum suos calefacit, sed etiam cuiusque volatilis filios exclusos a se, diligit, quasi suos, ita et Ecclesia non solum Christianos suos studet vocare, sed sive Gentiles, sive Iudaei si suppositi illi fuerint, omnes fidei suae calore vivificat, et in baptismo regenerat, et in sermone nutrit et materna diligit charitate.

Et paulo post. *Quotiescunque enim, ut diximus inter haereticos, et fideles fidei movetur certamen, evidenter vult illos Dominus congregare sub veritate alarum suarum, id est, sub duorum testamentorum, quotiescunque leguntur apud eos verba prophetarum et Apostolorum: illi autem non quasi domestici pulli Gallinae, quae est Ecclesia, sed quasi sylvestres pulli sanguinari Vulturis, aut Accipitris, non solum ad veritatem duorum testamentorum venire non acquiescunt, sed adhuc irruunt super ipsam Gallinam, id est, Ecclesiam, et diripiunt, et dispergunt pullos eius, et evellicant eam: toties vult illos congregare, illi autem nolunt. Hucusque ille, proverbialis igitur istaec allegoria facile nobis malum diligendi iuvandique nostros ante alios, praescribit.*

you from its claws I dragged you in the desert, and you didn't want to follow me, building for you a calf in the locality of Horeb - perhaps the Sinai - in order to serve rather a dead idol than a living God. How many times I wished to gather etc. If you will, read the Book of Judges to see how many times they sinned and God bestowed it on them, and again he freed them. He fixed as similarity of the Church the hen. In fact as the chicks of the hens when looking for their food stroll about everywhere and gather at the signal of the maternal voices, so act also the people of God, in following through a bad voluptuousness and a worldly lust wander in errors of every sort, that the mother Church hastens to gather and to attract through the priests as if they were voices now of reproach now of flattery. And likewise a hen having chicks doesn't stop calling them, in order to correct with her continuous shouting the strolling about of chicks. So also the priests don't must stop in teaching, to be able to put a shelter to the negligence of the wandering people through the study and the continuous practice of their teachings. And like the hen having chicks doesn't beat her owns only, but she loves as if they were her owns also the children of any bird she hatched, so also the Church is not only pledging itself to recall its Christians, but if the Pagans or the Jews were subdued to it, it vivifies all of them with the heat of its faith, and it regenerates them in the baptism, and it nourishes them with the sermons and loves them with maternal love.

And a little more ahead. *For every time that, as we said, a contrast gets going between heretics and believers on matter of faith, the Lord clearly wants to gather them under the truth of his wings, that is under the wings of the two Testaments, every time that the words of the prophets and the apostles are read to them: the formers - the heretics - not as domestic chicks of a hen, that is, the Church, but like wild chicks of a vulture* or of a bloodthirsty hawk not only don't agree to adhere to the truth of two Testaments, but even they rush upon the hen herself, that is, the Church, and they tear asunder and scatter her chicks, and eradicate her: as many times she wants to gather them but they don't want it. Until here his words, therefore this proverbial allegory easily prescribes us to love a bad person and to help ours before the others.*

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Debemus parentibus in primis, ut pietate illis respondeamus: quod bruta animalia [268] praestare minime norunt, praeter Ciconias, quae auctore Aeliano¹⁰⁴¹ parentum senectutem nutriunt. Summa haec est, allegoria faciet ad ostendendam vim pietatis, ac benevolentiae cuiusquam erga suos. Nullum enim animal, teste D. Bernardo¹⁰⁴², circa pullos suos tanta

First of all we have to do this towards our parents, to repay them with affection: the animals devoid of reason don't know to do this at all, except storks, which, as Aelian* reports, nourish the old age of their parents. This is the final touch, the allegory will be proper to express the strength of the love and the benevolence of whoever towards his relatives. For no animal, as Saint Bernard of Clairvaux* affirms, is

¹⁰⁴¹ *La natura degli animali* III,23: Le cicogne vogliono assicurare il nutrimento ai loro genitori, quando sono diventati vecchi, e lo fanno con molto impegno. (traduzione di Francesco Maspero)

¹⁰⁴² *Tractatus de passione Domini* c. 5. (Aldrovandi)

compassione movetur, sicut Gallina{,}<.> Fit enim non solum, ut diximus, toto corpore hispida, voce rauca, sed toto etiam fervens animo, et omnibus membris infirma, et usque ad supremum defectum perveniens. *Si ergo*, inquit D. Bernardus, *in tantum pullis suis Gallina animal irrationale compatitur, quanto putas optimum Iesum humano generi fuisse compassum? Ad quantam pietas eum debilitatem, et infirmitatem pervenisse? Quanta putas ipsum macie confectum fuisse, qui pro omnibus cognoscitur doluisse?* Unde {Esaias} <Isaias>: *Vere languores nostros ipse tulit, et peccata nostra ipse portavit.*

MORALIA.

Omnes in primis Galli Gallinacei vitae actiones veri patrisfamilias, et qui in eo omnem suam curam ponit, et studium, ut familiae suae de omnibus necessariis prospiciat, significare {potest} <possunt>¹⁰⁴³. Haec enim ales tota die quicquid virium habet, id totum ad suorum confert salutem, et nullius rei minus, quam sui ipsius sollicita est. Unde sapientissimus Pythagoras tam providam animalis, et erga suos promptam naturam considerans, dixit, nutriendum quidem Gallum esse: at non immolandum, quod ut alii aliter interpretantur, ita ego inter caetera hoc dico denotare, homini hanc Galli sollicitudinem ad res corporis curandas esse quidem necessariam verum non sic esse necessariam, ut eam etiam ad sacrificium, et cultum divinum ferre debeamus ut quem {omnes} <omnis> aeternae curae liberum esse decet, nec ulla terreni pabuli sollicitudine {destineri} <detineri>. Absit ergo Gallinaceus a sacrificiis hac quam dico ratione. Iam et illud {moneri} <monere> videtur caetera quidem animalia immolari posse, Gallum citra piaculum non posse, eo quod is qui optimum totius vitae exemplar occidit, videatur indicare sibi nihil amplius opus esse laudatissimis huiusce animalis dotibus, citra quas tamen probo, sapientique viro non fuerit vivendum. Alendus igitur Gallus, et perpetuo, dum vivimus, imitandus, tum in familia alenda, et propugnanda, tum in vitae officiis per oportunas temporum vices distribuendis.

Eodem pariter modo nobis liberalitatis, ac benignitatis exemplar est. Quemadmodum enim omnia, quae habet, Gallus suis impartit, ita vir

moved by so much compassion towards its chicks as the hen. For as we said she not only becomes ruffled in the whole body, with hoarse voice, but also shaken in the whole mind, and weak in all parts, and who gets to the point of the extreme weakness. Saint Bernard says: *If therefore the hen, irrational animal, does suffer so deeply together with her chicks, how much do you think that the very good Jesus has suffered together with humankind? The love, to how much weakness and exhaustion led him? By how much emaciation do you think he has been worn out, he who is known for to have suffered for everybody? Whence Isaiah*: Truly He burdened Himself with our weakness, and He Himself undertook our sins.*

MORAL MATTERS

Firstly all roosters are able to symbolize the activities of a true head of family, since he spends all his attention and care to such an extent that he supplies his family with everything is necessary. For this bird during the whole day devotes any energy he possesses to the comfort of members of his family and he doesn't worry about nothing, less than about himself. Hence the most wise Pythagoras*, examining a so much thoughtful nature and available toward its family of an animal, said that without doubt the rooster must be fed: but not that he must be immolated, a thing that, as others interpret otherwise, so among other things I say that it points out what follows, that for a human being this sollicitude of the rooster in taking care of the bodily things is without doubt necessary, but that in truth it is not so necessary that it ought be addressed to the sacrifice and the divine cult, as he whom suits to be free from any eternal worry, neither to be hindered by any nagging thought for the worldly food. Therefore the rooster should be absent from sacrifices for the reason I am explaining. Certainly it seems that also that point of view is saying that the other animals can be immolated, but not the rooster out of an expiatory sacrifice, since he who kills an excellent model of all a life would seem to point out that he doesn't any longer need the very precious qualities of this animal, without which nevertheless I think that also to a wise man it would not be worthwhile to live. Therefore the rooster must be raised, and until we are alive he must be perpetually imitated, both in maintaining and protecting the family, as well as in distributing the duties of the life through proper turnovers of times.

In the same identical way he is for us a model of generosity and goodness. For as the rooster shares with his family everything he possesses, so any man

¹⁰⁴³ La nota a margine recita così: *Gallus patremfamilias denotat, quia frugi est.* Quindi il soggetto del verbo *possum* è rappresentato da *Omnes Galli gallinacei.*

quispiam pius ac liberalis sua, quae corrasit, non sibi soli servare debet, sed pauperibus etiam benigniter aliquid erogare, iuxta illud Iob: *Non comedi ex eis solus*, etc. Principem item ecclesiasticum eleganter Gallo comparaveris, etenim uti hic oculo uno grana, ut diximus familiae suae dividit: altero Accipitrem observat, et contra irruentem in eam sese alacris opponit. Ita ille duo ob oculos potissimum ponere debet, curam nempe humanarum mortaliumque ac caelestium, aeternarumque rerum. Illas bene administrare cognoscitur, si alienus ab omni avaritiae macula pauperibus, subditisque de necessariis prospiciat, vel saltem quae sibi supersunt, eis communicet, nihilque sibi praeter necessaria reservet.

Harum vero curam gerere dicitur, si contra omnem diaboli vim sese subditosque Gallum imitans defendat. Diabolus autem verus Accipiter est, qui nobis futuram aeternitatem invidet, nosque suae poenae socios perpetuos asciscere conatur. Grana vero, quorum esu quotidie fruimur, egregie necessaria nobis designant. Praeterea tam fervens Galli erga suos amor nos etiam admonet, ut uxores nostras, abiectis omnibus scortis, quae mera maritorum pestis sunt, ac pernitias, amemus. Quare veteres insignis, legitimique matrimonii coniunctionem significaturi, mortuorum sepulchris Gallum, et Gallinam insculpebant, se invicem deosculantes.

Satis superque supra ostendimus a nonnullis Theologis Christianis {concionatores} <contionatores>, et divinos homines intelligi, qui nobis verba salutis enunciant, quique iacentibus in tenebris, et umbra mortis, lucem, quae Deus est, praenunciant, et a nobis mentis nostrae veternum, ac torporem suo cantu excutiunt. Alius aliam comminisci poterit expositionem.

Possunt autem et Thrasones, gloriosique ac stolidi homines, nimium sibi arrogantes per Gallos notari. Nam uti hos habendos esse quidem Pythagoras dicebat, et non penitus abijciendos, non autem ad sacra admittendos, ita illi ab arcanis, et seriis gravibusque sermonibus rejiciendi sunt. Quod secus tamen hodie (proh dolor) a Regibus plerisque et Principibus fieri

devoted toward his relatives and magnanimous doesn't have to hold only for himself the things he accumulated, but has to give something with benevolence also to poor people, according to that verse of Job*: *I have not eaten only from them*, etc. Similarly you will be able in an elegant way to compare a boss of the Church to a rooster, and in fact like this, as we said, with an eye he distributes the grains to his family, with the other he keeps a close watch on the hawk* and with ardor he clashes with it while it is attacking him. Thus the former has to set in front of his eyes above all two things, and precisely the care of human and deadly things and of celestial and eternal ones. You understand that he knows to manage them well if extraneous to any stain of avarice he is able to provide the poor men and the subordinates with necessary things, or at least to share with them what he has in excess, and he doesn't hold for himself nothing except those things necessary to him.

But it will be said that he has care of these things if is able to defend himself and the subordinates in imitating the rooster. For the devil is a true hawk which envies us the future eternity, and it tries hard in order to receive us as perennial sharing of its punishment. But the grains, of which we take advantage as food every day, indicate very well the things which are necessary for us. Furthermore a so ardent love of the rooster toward his relatives exhorts us also to love our wives pushing away all the prostitutes who are an authentic plague and ruin of husbands. Therefore the ancients, when they want to signify the union of a special and legitimate marriage, carved on tombs of dead persons a rooster and a hen kissing each other.

Previously we have shown in plenty that by some Christian theologians they are intended as instigators and divine men those who reveal us the words of salvation, and those who preannounce the Light, that is God, to those people lying in darkness and gloom of death, and that with their song they move away from us the apathy and the numbness of our mind. Whoever will conceive whatever interpretation.

In fact those braggart - as a Thraso* - and vainglorious and excessively arrogant men can be branded as roosters. For Pythagoras said that they must be judged like these, and that they don't must be entirely despised, but that they don't must be admitted to the sacred ceremonies, so much they are to be kept away from secret things and from serious and important discourses. A thing that otherwise

videmus. Alius amantes, et qui continue amore deperunt, interpretari per Gallum poterit, quo pacto videntur Athenienses significasse, cum Anterotis¹⁰⁴⁴ aram constituerunt, in qua pueri nudi et formosi signum inerat, in ulnis geminos sustinentis generosos Gallos, et se in caput impellentis, quibus Timagoram, et {Meletam} <Meletem>¹⁰⁴⁵, seu Melitum (utrunque enim legimus) qui amore perierunt, significabant. Historia notissima est apud Pausania, et Suidam¹⁰⁴⁶, quanquam nonnihil inte<r> se {e}varient. <ille in Attica, hic in dictione Melitus, Gyraldus. Gestat autem puer gallinaceos: quod una cum duobus gallis, quos a Melito sibi dono datos ulnis gestabat, ex arce Athenis se praecipitasset. Pausanias aliter hanc historiam referens, gallinaceorum quoque non meminit.>¹⁰⁴⁷

today (oh, what a pain) nevertheless we see to be carried out by most of kings and princes. Another through the rooster can interpret the lovers and those who are continuously melt of love, as it seems that Athenians wanted to represent when they set up the altar of Anteros* on which there was the image of a naked and charming boy sustaining on forearms a couple of pure-bred roosters, and throwing himself headlong down, by whom they indicated Timagoras and Meles, or Melitus (for we can read both these names) who died for love. The history is well-known in Pausanias* and in the lexicon Suidas*, although they disagree quite a lot between them: Pausanias in *Attica*, the lexicon Suida at the word *Mélitos*, as Giglio Gregorio Giraldis* is referring. For the boy carries the roosters: since in Athens he would have thrown himself from the acropolis together with the two roosters he was carrying on forearms and given him as gift by Melitus. Pausanias reporting otherwise this history doesn't mention the roosters too.

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[269] Tota denique castrensis disciplina Galli imagine denotari potest. Cristam enim pro galea, calcaria pro ense gerit, excubias cantu testatur, pugnat acie aperta, absque insidiis hostem invadit, caudae erectione vexilla imitatur, victoriam cantu, triumphumque ostendit.

Finally the entire discipline of military life can be denoted by the image of the rooster. In fact in place of the crest he carries the comb, the spurs in place of the sword, with his crowing he attests guard duties, he fights in open field and attacks the enemy without traps, with the erection of the tail he imitates the banners, he declares the victory and the triumph with his crowing.

HIEROGLYPHICA.

SYMBOLOGIES

¹⁰⁴⁴ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 404: Athenienses Anterotis aram constituerunt, in qua pueri nudi et formosi signum inerat, in ulnis geminos sustinentis generosos gallos, et se in caput impellentis, quibus Timagoram et Meletum, seu Melitum (utrunque enim legimus) qui amore perierunt, significabant. Historia notissima apud Pausaniam et Suidam: quanquam nonnihil inter se {e}varient, ille in Attica, hic in dictione Melitus, Gyraldus. Gestat autem puer gallinaceos: quod una cum duobus gallis, quos a Melito sibi dono datos ulnis gestabat, ex arce Athenis se praecipitasset. Pausanias aliter hanc historiam referens, gallinaceorum quoque non meminit.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Pausania *Periegesi della Grecia* I, Attica, 30,1. § Il nome greco di persona *Mélēs, Mélētos*, accusativo *Mélēta*, Melete in italiano, viene latinizzato da Giglio Gregorio Giraldis in *Meletum* anziché *Meletem*. Se la sua flessione latina corrisponde a quella del fiume della Ionia *Meles*, anche il nome di persona fa *Meletem* all'accusativo. La conferma l'abbiamo da Ludwig Dindorf alias *Ludovicus Dindorfius* (Lipsia 1805-1871), che pubblicò il *Pausaniae descriptio Graeciae* a Parigi nel 1845: al nominativo scrive *Meles*, all'accusativo *Meletem*. - Ecco il testo di Pausania in traduzione inglese, *Description of Greece* I, Attica, 30,1: Before the entrance to the Academy is an altar to Love, with an inscription that Charmus was the first Athenian to dedicate an altar to that god. The altar within the city called the altar of Anteros (Love Avenged) they say was dedicated by resident aliens, because the Athenian Meles, spurning the love of Timagoras, a resident alien, bade him ascend to the highest point of the rock and cast himself down. Now Timagoras took no account of his life, and was ready to gratify the youth in any of his requests, so he went and cast himself down. When Meles saw that Timagoras was dead, he suffered such pangs of remorse that he threw himself from the same rock and so died. From this time the resident aliens worshipped as Anteros the avenging spirit of Timagoras. (*Description of Greece* with an English Translation by W.H.S. Jones, Litt.D. in 4 Volumes. Volume 1. Attica and Corinth, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press; London, William Heinemann Ltd., 1918)

¹⁰⁴⁶ *In dictione Mileto*. (Aldrovandi) § Conrad Gessner ha invece "in dictione Melitus", e *Melitus* corrisponde al greco *Mélitos* del lessico Suida.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Inseriamo a questo punto il rimanente testo di Conrad Gessner che è stato drasticamente amputato da Aldrovandi nonostante abbia fedelmente ricopiato la precedente parte ricavata da Gessner. Se così non facessimo, la citazione di Timagora e Melete rimarrebbe quasi senza senso.

Victoriae hieroglyphicum erat Gallinaceus Gallus. Hinc Lacedaemonii, ut apud Plutarchum¹⁰⁴⁸ est, cum hostem viribus profligassent, Gallum immolabant. Alibi¹⁰⁴⁹ etiam idem Spartanos scribit ante Leutricam cladem Gallum immolasse. Sed quid illud sibi vult, quod Harpocratem silentii Deum Galli Gallinacei vocalissimae alioquin alitis guttur sinistro cubito prementem depingerent? Id sane mysterio carere minime putandum est. Cum enim Gallus maximum sui usum hominibus praestet, cantu suo quotidianas docens oportunitates, et ea ratione is habeatur veluti magister quidam operum omnium per horas distribuendorum; sic Harpocrates otium quaerere dicebatur, et omnium operum externorum vacationem, itaque non permittit Gallo, ut hoc excitandi ad labores munere fungatur, et ideo quemadmodum digito sua labia compescit, ita huic cubito guttur coercescit.

Sed interroget quis, si nulla huius avis utilitas sit ad ea vel praestanda, vel iuvanda, quae Harpocratis symbolo denotantur, cur ad partes vocetur? Cur non potius, ut nihil ad rem faciens omittatur, perinde ac Picae, Corniculae, Grac{c}uli, Philomelae, et {caetera} <ceterae> id genus aviculae, aut garrulae, aut canorae? Et certe si nocturnum quaeratur silentium, Luscinia potius quam Gallus compesci debuisset, quod ea sola totas fere noctes canendo ducat insomnes; hic vix ter stridulam, et minime durantem vocem exhalet. Est quidem hoc, verum ut ante¹⁰⁵⁰ ostendimus, Gallus animal solare est, et inter omnia solaria tenet principatum, adeo ut non frustra videatur erigere cristas. Igitur diligenter diurni temporis vices observans, atque homines ad agendum incitans, non potuit apud Harpocratem asymbolus manere. Cum enim maxima cupiditate id quod quiescens agit, agere videatur, ut Cupidinis arma declarant, quid gratius habere potuisset, quam animal sub cubito tenere, in cuius gutture iam vocem moliente

The rooster was a symbol of the victory. Therefore Spartans*, as it's found in Plutarch*, when had defeated enemies with their own strength, immolated a rooster. In another point the same author writes that Spartans immolated a rooster before the defeat of Leuctra*. But what does it mean the fact that they were representing Harpocrates* the god of the silence in the act of compressing with his left elbow the throat of the rooster that otherwise is a bird singing a lot? By no means this can be considered as lacking in mystery. Since the rooster offers a big use of himself to human beings, informing with his crowing about the right time of the day, and that for such a reason he is thought as a teacher of all the activities which are to be distributed over the hours; thus it was said that Harpocrates required the rest and the abstention from all external activities, and therefore he doesn't allow the rooster to carry out this task of stirring to activities, and therefore as he is compressing his own lips with his finger, so he closes the throat of the rooster with his elbow.

But someone may ask: if some utility of this bird doesn't exist in order to show or to help those things expressed by the symbol of Harpocrates, why he is called to take part of it? In order that nothing is omitted concerning the matter, why similarly do you not rather call to become part of it magpies, little crows, crows, nightingales and the other garrulous or singing birdies of this kind? And without doubt if a nighttime silence is desired, one would to eliminate nightingale rather than rooster, since only the former when singing makes sleepless almost all nights, while the latter is uttering barely three times a strident voice and a very briefly lasting one. As we have shown before, this is indeed a truth, that the rooster is a solar animal, and among all solar animals he holds the record, so that he doesn't seem to rise the combs without a reason. Thus, observing attentively the alternating diurnal time, and inciting the humans to act, he wasn't able to remain for Harpocrates as one who doesn't pay his share. For since one who is resting seems to do with extreme cupidity what he is doing, as are showing the weapons of Eros* - or

¹⁰⁴⁸ *Vite parallele*, Marcello 22,5: And it is worth our while to notice that the Spartan lawgiver appointed his sacrifices in a manner opposite to that of the Romans. For in Sparta a returning general who had accomplished his plans by cunning deception or persuasion, sacrificed an ox; he who had won by fighting, a cock. For although they were most warlike, they thought an exploit accomplished by means of argument and sagacity greater and more becoming to a man than one achieved by violence and valour. How the case really stands, I leave an open question. (Loeb Classical Library, 1917)

¹⁰⁴⁹ *Vite parallele*, Agesilao*: Agesilaus being now in years, gave over all military employments; but his son, Archidamus, having received help from Dionysius of Sicily, gave a great defeat to the Arcadians, in the fight known by the name of the Tearless Battle, in which there was a great slaughter of the enemy without the loss of one Spartan. Yet this victory, more than anything else, discovered the present weakness of Sparta; for heretofore victory was esteemed so usual a thing with them that for their greatest successes they merely sacrificed a cock to the gods. (translated by John Dryden)

¹⁰⁵⁰ A pagina 265*.

sentiretur tacitum, et internum incitamentum? Quanvis enim vocem edere nequiret, urgebatur tamen ad vocem: et quod exterius praestare non posset, id musculis, et vocalibus instrumentis moliebatur: quod facile erat ei sentire, qui cubito guttur pressum teneret. Gallus igitur hic sic positus est, ut non cantet ille quidem, nec silentium rumpat, sed usum tamen illum praestet, ut tacita corporis molitione solaris cursus det significationem.

Quia vero Gallus, inquit Pierius Valerianus¹⁰⁵¹, a prima mediae noctis inclinatione {explaudentibus} <explaudentibus>, ut Lucretius¹⁰⁵² ait, alis

Auroram clara consuetus voce vocare

matutino crepusculo, matutinis astris Deum item laudantibus quotidie commodulatur, excubiarum, et vigiliarum signum apud antiquos fuit, eaque de causa Mercurio dicatus ferebatur.

Et rursus: Neque praetereundum est illud, quod ex imagine Gallinacei impietas ipsa hieroglyphice figuratur. Is enim matrem salit, ut Hippopotamus: et patrem etiam immaniter incessit: eaque de causa sapientissimi legum latores Gallum una cum vipera, simia, et cane in parricidae culeum¹⁰⁵³ includendum censuerunt, ut qui eius criminis rei sunt eodem supplicio simul afficerentur, et poenas pares luerent. Notum illud apud Aristophanem, quod {Philippides} <Phidippides>, qui patrem verberaverat, exemplo Galli factum tuetur suum: patrem enim ille male mulctat.

Mulierem tribadem, vel quae maris officium aggredi non erubescit, vel etiam, quae viro dominari affectat, per Gallinam, quae cristam, caudamque erigit, cuique etiam parva calcaria prominent, intelligi veteres tradiderunt. Ea siquidem ubi marem, quod nonnullae faciunt, pugnando vicerit, cucu<r>rire incipit, et exemplo marium tentat coitu supervenire, Gallinasque reliquas perinde ac si rem peragere

Cupid, what would he have been able to retain more pleasant than to hold an animal under his elbow, in whose throat, which was already preparing the voice, a silent and inside stimulus was perceived? For despite he didn't succeed in uttering the voice he was nevertheless persisting in uttering the voice, and since he wasn't able in doing this outside, he prepared it with his muscles and with vocal tools: which was easy to be perceived for he who was holding tightened the throat with elbow. Then in this representation the rooster is positioned in such a manner that he is not able to sing and that he doesn't break the silence, but nevertheless that he can offer that use in giving an indication of the course of the sun through a tacit effort of his body.

Giovan Pietro Bolzani* says that since the rooster, beginning from first turning of midnight, by clapping his wings, as Lucretius* says

He is accustomed to call the dawn with a ringing voice

he every day is pacing the morning's twilight and the morning's stars which similarly praise God, among the ancients he was the symbol of guards and watches, and for this reason he was said sacred to Mercury*.

And more: Neither we must to omit that through the image of the rooster the impiety itself is symbolically represented. For he mates his mother as the hippopotamus does: and he also attacks in terrible way his father: and for this reason the most wise legislators decreed that the rooster was shut up in the parricide's bag - *culleus** - together with viper, monkey and dog, so that those who are guilty of that crime might suffer the same torture together and pay the same penalty. In Aristophanes* - *Clouds* - is famous the fact that Phidippides*, who had struck his father - Strepsiades* - following the example of the rooster, safeguards his own interest: for he badly punishes his father.

The ancients handed down that a lesbian woman, or that one who doesn't feel ashamed to perform the task of a male, or even that one who feigns to be dominated by a man, is regarded as a hen, rising comb and tail and in whom also some small spurs are sticking out. And then if by chance, a thing that some of them are doing, she has defeated the male in fighting, she begins to crow, and following the example of the males she tries to fuck, and she

¹⁰⁵¹ *Hieroglyphica, sive de sacris Aegyptiorum literis commentarii* lib. 24. (Aldrovandi)

¹⁰⁵² *De rerum natura* IV,712-713: Quin etiam gallum noctem explaudentibus alis | auroram clara consuetum voce vocare, [...]

¹⁰⁵³ Aldrovandi ha già parlato del culleo a pagina 236* e 240*.

possit, sollicitat, {at} <et>¹⁰⁵⁴ saliendo fatigat, cristam caudamque tollit, ac ea incedit specie, ut non facile inde sit, utrum mas, an faemina sit, internoscere.

Virum vero, qui opulentissimas divitias dilapidavit, et, ut apud Horatium est¹⁰⁵⁵, res maternas, atque paternas fortiter absumpsit, significare volentes, Gallinam aureos nummos depascentem pingunt: de qua miraculum illud proditur¹⁰⁵⁶, quod si auro liquescenti eius membra misceantur, illud in carnes eius consumi deprehendatur, atque ita sit, ut Gallina sit auri venenum.

Coniectores autem autumant eum, qui per somnium Gallinarum gregem ad se venientem, et domum ingredientem inspexerit, et divitiis, et honoribus auctum iri: quin etiam addunt, si per quietem ita visae Gallinae pusillae admodum apparuerint, earundem rerum tenuitatem praesagiri. Qui fabulas delectabili philosophandi genere commenti sunt, {Sirenas} <Sirenes> confinxere blanditiis amatoriiis, et voluptuosa nequitia [270] homines ad se trahere, illecebrisque irretire, ita ut apud eas mollitudinis omnifariae luto inhaesitantes foede computrescerent.

pursues the other hens as if she could carry it out, and by fucking she makes them exhausted, rises comb and tail, and walks in such a fashion that it is not easy to infer whether she is a male or a female.

But when they wish to depict a man who squandered enormous wealth and, as it is written in Horace*, deeply frittered away the substances of his mother and father, they draw a hen feeding on gold coins: apropos of which is handed down that miracle, so if to melting gold are mixed pieces of hen, it is captured for being absorbed inside its fleshes, and it would be because of this that the hen would be a poison of the gold.

But the interpreters of dreams assert that he who in a dream has seen a flock of hens coming towards him and entering his house, he will grow in wealth and honors: but rather they add that if during the sleep the hens so seen will appear extremely small, a shortage of those same things is foreseen. Those people who invented fables belonging to the delightful kind of philosophizing, they invented that the Sirens* attract to themselves the humans with loving flatteries and with a voluptuous dissoluteness, and that they enmesh them with flatteries, so that those who get entangled amid them by every kind of seduction are growing rotten in a horrible way.

¹⁰⁵⁴ *Hieroglyphica, sive de sacris Aegyptiorum literis commentarii* lib. XXIV - TRIBAS Cap. XI: [...] et saliendo defatigat [...] (*Hieroglyphica, Sive De Sacris Aegyptiorum Aliarumque Gentium Literis Commentarii* - Francofurti ad Moenum Sumptibus Christiani Kirchneri, Typis Wendelini Moewaldi, 1678).

¹⁰⁵⁵ *Epistulae* I, XV,26-28: Maenius, ut rebus maternis atque paternis | fortiter absumptis urbanus coepit haberi | scurra, vagus non qui certum praesepe teneret,[...].

¹⁰⁵⁶ Già a pagina 243* viene citato questo miracolo, e la fonte è Plinio, *Naturalis historia* XXIX,80: Non praeteribo miraculum, quamquam ad medicinam non pertinens: si auro liquescenti gallinarum membra misceantur, consumunt id in se; ita hoc venenum auri est. at gallinae ipsi circulo e ramentis addito in collum non canunt.

Harum pedes Gallinaceos fuisse tradunt, intellectu a superiore non dissimili. Scribunt enim eiusmodi fabularum interpretes, significari ex hoc hominem libidinibus deditum, fortunas suas perseveranti studio dispergere, inutiliterque prodigere, cuiusmodi esse Gallinarum morem, cum pleno acervo pascuntur, aspiciamus.

Sunt qui ratione habita quotidiani foetus, et geminorum aliquando pullorum, qui ovo ex unico excluduntur: ovorum etiam, quae nonnullae gemina singulis diebus {a}edunt, tertio etiam nonnunquam addito, verum eo abortivo, sola quippe cartilagine conspicuo, foecunditatem per Gallinam, et ovum significari velint. Haec omnia Pierius¹⁰⁵⁷, qui hoc etiam ex propria sententia addit, inquiens: Atqui veluti per lauri surculum in ore Columbae, et per platani folium in Ciconiae nido securitatem significari prodidimus, cur non etiam per Gallinam, ad alam cuius ramusculus rutae applicitus sit, securitatem eodem modo pingi, hieroglyphicumque sapere fateamur? Siquidem {Africanus}¹⁰⁵⁸ <Africanus> in iis, quae de re agraria Constantinus Caesar¹⁰⁵⁹ colligi mandavit, ait Gallinas a fele tutas fore, si rutae sylvestris ramusculus sub eius [earum¹⁰⁶⁰] alam applicetur. Quin Democritus etiam tradit, eo praesidio munitas, neque a vulpibus, neque ab infesto quopiam alio animali contingi.

SOMNIUM.

Galli pugnaces in somniis seditio, et contentio {tantummudo} <tantummodo> significativi sunt. Verum non alia<s> in similem

They tell that their feet - of Sirens* - were as those of a gallinaceous and of intellect not dissimilar from the aforesaid. For interpreters of such fables write that this expresses that human being is devoted to sexual pleasures, that with constant zeal he wastes his fortunes and that uselessly squanders them, so as we see the hens are acting when eating on a reach heap.

There are some who would like to hint at the fertility through the hen and the egg by computing from daily laying, and sometimes from twin chicks hatching from a single egg: also from the number of eggs that some hens lay twice in a day, sometimes with the addition of a third one, but abortive, that shows in fact only a cartilaginous covering. Giovan Pietro Bolzani* says all these things, who also adds the following according to his own deduction, in saying: Well, as we reported that safety is represented by a twig of laurel* in the mouth of the dove and by a leaf of plane-tree in the nest of the stork, why we don't confess that the security can be represented in the same way also through the hen, to whose wing a twig of rue* is applied, and that we know its symbol? Since Sextus Iulius Africanus* - not Afranius*, among data that Constantinus I the Great* ordered him to gather with regard to agriculture, is saying that hens will be safe from cat if a twig of wild rue is hung under one of their wings. In truth also Bolos of Mendes* or Pseudo Democritus reports that provided with such a protection they are not touched neither by foxes nor by any other harmful animal.

DREAM

Fighting roosters appearing in dreams are meaningful only of tumults and contentions. In truth they never have an effect which can be compared to that of

¹⁰⁵⁷ *Hieroglyphica, sive de sacris Aegyptiorum literis commentarii* lib. 24. (Aldrovandi)

¹⁰⁵⁸ E dagli con Afranio! O si tratta di un vizio della tipografia lo scrivere *Afranius* invece di *Africanus*, oppure è assai verosimile che si tratti di un errore dalle tinte prettamente aldrovandesche. § Sempre a questo proposito Sesto Giulio Africano e Bolos di Mendes - o Pseudo Democrito - vengono già citati a pagina 242*. § La conferma dell'errore *Afranius* anziché *Africanus* l'abbiamo da Giovan Pietro Bolzani in *Hieroglyphica, sive de sacris Aegyptiorum literis commentarii* lib. XXIV - SECURITAS Cap. XVI: [...] Siquidem, Africanus in iis, quae de re agraria Constantinus Caesar colligi mandavit, ait, gallinas a fele tutas fore, si Rutae sylvestris ramusculus sub eius alam applicetur. Quin Democritus etiam tradit, eo praesidio munitas: neque a Vulpibus, neque ab infesto quopiam alio animali contingi. (*Hieroglyphica, Sive De Sacris Aegyptiorum Aliarumque Gentium Literis Commentarii* - Francofurti ad Moenum Sumptibus Christiani Kirchneri, Typis Wendelini Moewaldi, 1678). § Se non bastasse il testo di Bolzani, ecco *Geoponica* XIV,21* - UT GALLINA A FELE NON LAEDATUR. AFRICANI. Feles gallinas non contingent, si sub alam ipsis ruta sylvestris suspendatur. Similiter autem neque vulpes, neque aliud aliquod animal ipsas continget, et multo magis si vulpis aut felis fel cibo ammixtum exhibueris ut etiam Democritus confirmat. - traduzione di Janus Cornarius*. § Anche in *Hieroglyphica seu de sacris aegyptiorum aliarumque gentium literis commentarii* (Lugduni, sumptibus Pauli Frelon, 1602) troviamo *Africanus*. Se volessimo ammettere che Aldrovandi non poté consultare l'edizione del 1602 dei *Hieroglyphica*, bensì un'altra edizione meno recente (magari la prima di Basilea del 1556) e che questa riportasse *Afranius*, dobbiamo tuttavia accettare che il nostro Ulisse coi *Geoponica* non era assolutamente avvezzo.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Non si capisce cosa c'entri Costantino (il primo imperatore a chiamarsi Costantino fu Costantino il Grande (280-337)) con il geponico Sesto Giulio Africano. Costui sì che morì dopo il 221, ma servì sotto Settimio Severo (145-211) ed ebbe contatti con Eliogabalo* (204-222). Bisognerebbe poterlo chiedere a Bolzani.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Non si emenda con *earum* in quanto Bolzani scrisse *eius*.

cum Coturnicibus eventum habent. Nos de iis suo loco¹⁰⁶¹ egimus ex Artemidoro, quem locum lector adire poterit.

EMBLEMATA.

Emblema est Andreae Alciati sub lemmate VIGILANTIA ET CUSTODIA, quod tale est.

*Instantis quod signa canens {dat}<det>¹⁰⁶² Gallus Eoi,
Et revocet famulas ad nova pensa manus.*

Turribus in sacris effingitur: aerea mentem

Ad superos pelvis quod revocet vigilem.

Est Leo: sed custos oculis quia dormit apertis,

Templorum idcirco ponitur ante fores.

Ex Oro Apolline, inquit Franciscus Sanctius Alciati commentator, ut mox ostendemus. Addit tamen Alciatus campanam, et Gallum ex communi usu. Obscurum est emblema, et male dispunctum in codicibus, quos mihi hactenus contigit videre. Dicam tamen quod sentio, liberum cuique interpretandi campum relinquens.

Titulus igitur huius epigrammatis est, VIGILANTIA ET CUSTODIA. Videamus ergo, quo pacto haec ex epigrammate eliciantur. Ac primum duplicem hic depingit Alciatus vigilantiam alteram corporis, mentis alteram. Corporis vigilantiam Gallus referat, qui homines ad labores solet excitare. Campana vero quia mentem ad Deum excitat, symbolum interioris vigilantiae contineat. Hactenus de vigilantia. Custodiam autem repraesentet Leo, qui apertis oculis solet dormire, tunc sic structuram ordino: Gallus effingitur in sacris turribus, quod det signa instantis Eoi, et quod revocet famulas manus ad nova pensa. Aerea pelvis scilicet effingitur in sacris turribus, quod revocet mentem vigilem ad superos. Sed Leo custos est, quia dormit oculis apertis. Hoc totum sumpsit Alciatus ex Oro Apolline Niliaco, qui libellum de hieroglyphicis notis Graece composuit, cuius verba subiiciam. Vigilantem, vel custodem cum voluissent significare, Leonis caput pingebant. Solet enim, cum vigilat, oculos habere clausos Leo, cum vero do<r>mit, apertos, quod quidem custodiae signum est. Hinc symbolice Leones

quails*. We have dealt with the latter in the proper chapter drawing data from Artemidorus of Daldi*, and the reader can consult it.

EMBLEMS

There is an emblem of Andrea Alciato* under the motto VIGILANCE AND CUSTODY which is as follows:

*Since the rooster when singing gives the signal of pressing dawn,
and he recalls the maidservant hands to new deeds.*

*He is represented on the sacred towers: a bronze bowl since he
recalls the vigilant mind to the gods of the heavens.*

*There is the lion: but since the keeper sleeps with open eyes,
because of this he is put in front of the thresholds of the temples.*

Francisco Sánchez*, commentator of Alciato, says that it comes from Horapollo*, as soon I will prove. However Alciato adds the bell and the rooster because of the same use. The emblem is obscure and badly reproduced in the books which I have thus far happened to see. Nevertheless I would say what I think, leaving to anyone a free field for interpretation.

Then the title of this epigram is VIGILANCE AND CUSTODY. Let us see therefore how these things can be derived from the epigram. And first of all Alciato there represents a double vigilance, one of the body, one of the mind. The rooster should refer to the vigilance of the body, since he is accustomed to stir up humans to their works. But the bell, since it makes the mind raising to God, should hold the symbol of the inner vigilance. Thus far about vigilance. But the lion should represent the custody, being accustomed to sleep with open eyes, that's why I arrange the whole series of elements as follows: the rooster is represented on sacred towers since he would give the signals of pressing dawn, and since he recalls the maidservant hands to new deeds. Naturally a bronze bowl is represented on sacred towers because it would recall the vigilant mind to the gods of heavens. But the lion is the keeper because he sleeps with open eyes. Alciato took all this from Horapollo of the Nile who composed a brochure in Greek - in Copt translated in Greek - about the known hieroglyphs, whose words I will quote. If they wanted to signify an overseer or a custodian they represented the head of a lion. In fact, when watching, the lion is accustomed to

¹⁰⁶¹ *Ornithologiae tomus alter Liber XIII - Cap. XXII DE COTURNICE LATINORUM - SOMNIUM - pag. 169: Coturnices, inquit Artemidorus [Onirocriticon L.3 c.5], his, qui eas libenter alunt. Nuncios significant per mare affuturos iniucundos, et malos; et per mare quidem: quantum etiamsi ipsae quidem vernaculae regionis incolae sint, tamen per mare accedunt. Iniucundos vero, quod pugnaces sint, et brevis vitae, et in sodalitatibus, et amicitiiis, et nuptiis, et vitae commertiis, seditionum, et contentionum significationem habent, et aegrotis, siquidem traiciant, mortem significant propter vitae brevitatem, non traicientes, minus periculum. Sed et ad peregrinationem malae sunt: dolos enim, et insidias, et depraedationem significant. Nam et ipsae e domibus discedentes, in manus incidunt eorum, qui ipsis insidias struunt. (il testo latino non è stato emendato)*

¹⁰⁶² Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 411: *Instantis quod signa canens det gallus eoi, | Et revocet famulas ad nova pensa manus, [...].*

templorum claustris solent opponi, veluti custodes. Haec Orus.¹⁰⁶³

Gallus ita depictus, ut sub pedibus tubam teneat, cum lemmate, PACIS, ET ARMORUM VIGILES, significabit, quantum intersit inter belli, et pacis conditiones. Author est Claudius Paradinus. Gallum vero audacter invadere, et terrere Leonem, indicat, synderesim praevalere contra diabolum, qui dicitur leo, si non sit nimio peccatorum pondere praegravata.

Tale Emblema depinxi in suburbano meo cum titulo: CEDITE FATIS. Gallus, et Cycnus simul capientes cibum in vase alabastrino, in quod descendat e caelo manna, nix, et lac: cum verbis, SIC ANIMUS significat hominem, [271] qui ostendat candorem animi sui, non posse a quavis externa iniuria turbari, nec offendi.

Habet id Emblema Io. Baptista Pittonus, Aesopicus Gallus¹⁰⁶⁴, qui gemmam inventam spernit, et vil<i>orem cibum quaerit, cum verbis, PAR IGNORANZE, significat hominem, qui inscius virtutis dulcissimos fructus spernit, vitiis sese immergens, et nutriens. Huius emblematis idem¹⁰⁶⁵ author est.

Eadem denique ales cum lauri ramo in rostro, et cum verbo VIGILANDO, hominem denotat, qui in vigiliis, non autem in somno, et otio vitam degat, ut bene operando aeternam adipiscatur gloriam.

keep his eyes closed, but when sleeping he has them open, which indeed is a sign of custody. Then usually the lions are symbolically placed at gates of temples, as if they were custodians. These the words of Horapollo.

A rooster so represented that is holding a trumpet under his feet with the motto OVERSEERS OF PEACE AND WEAPONS will have the meaning of what there is in common between the deeds of war and peace. Claude Paradin* is its author. The rooster boldly attacking and terrifying the lion points out the synderesis* of prevailing against the devil who is called lion, if it is not weighted by an excessive weight of sins.

In my country house I represented the following emblem with the inscription: YIELD TO THE FATE. A rooster and a swan eating together from an alabaster vase in which manna, snow and milk would descend from heaven: with the words SO THE MIND to mean that a human being showing the candor of his spirit cannot be disturbed nor offended by any external injury.

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Giovanni Battista Pittoni* has this emblem, the rooster of Aesop* spurning the gem he found and seeking after a humbler food, with the words PAR IGNORANZE, that means a man who, unaware of virtue, despises the sweetest fruits, plunging himself into the vices and feeding on them. He himself is author of this emblem.

Finally the same bird with a laurel* branch in his beak, and with the verb KEEPING WATCH, denotes a man who spends his life in alertness, and not in sleep and idleness, so that acting fairly he may attain eternal glory.

¹⁰⁶³ *Hieroglyphica* 1,19: Dimostrando un uigilante o custode, pingono il capo d'un Leone; perche quando uegghia, tiene gli occhi chiusi; ma come ei dorme, aperti: laqual cosa è ueramente segno di uegghiare. Onde non immeritamente [9r] pongono alle porte de i templi li Leoni, come quasi fussero guardiani. - traduzione italiana di Pietro Vasolli da Fivizzano - edito da Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, Venezia, 1547.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Nell'edizione del 1562 di *Imprese di diversi principi* etc. di Giovanni Battista Pittoni, di cui sono venuto in possesso grazie a <http://www.archive.org/>, è assente l'emblema con il gallo di Esopo che disprezza la perla, magari presente in altre edizioni. La favola fu ripresa da Fedro* che così la rese in latino: III,12. PULLUS AD MARGARITAM - In sterculino pullus gallinacius | dum quaerit escam margaritam repperit. | "Iaces indigno quanta res" inquit "loco! | Hoc si quis pretii cupidus vidisset tui, | olim redisses ad splendorem pristinum. | Ego quod te inveni, potior cui multo est cibus, | nec tibi prodesse nec mihi quicquam potest." | Hoc illis narro qui me non intellegunt. § Un galletto stava cercando qualcosa da mangiare in un letamaio, e vi trovò una perla. "In che posto indegno stai", disse, "preziosa come sei! Se ti avesse visto chi è avido del tuo valore, saresti già tornata allo splendore di un tempo. Ma ti ho trovata io, che preferisco di gran lunga il cibo, e questo non può giovare assolutamente né a te né a me". Riferisco questa storia a chi non mi capisce. § A cockerel was looking for something to eat in a dunghill, and here he found a pearl. "In what an unworthy site you are", said, "precious as you are! If had seen you he who is avid of your value, you would already have returned to the shine of once. But I have found you, preferring by far the food, and this cannot absolutely benefit neither to you neither to me". I report this history to whom don't understand me.

¹⁰⁶⁵ *In insigni Frid. Sigis. Fuccari*. (Aldrovandi). See his *Imprese di diversi Principi, Duchii etc.* (1566, 1568, 1583). (Lind, 1963)

Idem¹⁰⁶⁶ porro de Gallina ex Alpheo in {epigrammatibus} <epigrammatis> Graecis εἰς φιλοστοργίαν hexastic<h>on legitur. Χειμερίας νιφάδεσσι παλυνομένα τιθάς ὄρνις, Τέκνοις εὐναίας ἀμφέχου πτέρυγας, Μεσφάμιν οὐράνιον κρύος ὄλεσ{ο}σεν. ἧ γὰρ ἔμεινεν Αἰθήρος οὐρανίων ἀντίπαλος νεφέων. Πρόκνη, καὶ Μήδεια, κατ'αἶδος αἰδέθητε Μητέρες, ὀρνίθων ἔργα διδασκόμεναι.¹⁰⁶⁷

Quos versus Franciscus Sanctius¹⁰⁶⁸ a quodam Alphonso Nunio {Metylenensi} <Mitylenensi - Mitylenensi¹⁰⁶⁹> egregia indole iuvene, sibique amico ita {redditum} <redditos> tradit. Gallina {hybernis} <hibernis¹⁰⁷⁰> nivibus cooperta cubili Compacto ex plumis pignora<ta> cara¹⁰⁷¹ fovet. Donec eam saevum frigus male perdidit, atque Aethereis mansit nuda parens nivibus. Sit pudor, o Medea ferox, atque improba {Progne} <Procne>¹⁰⁷², Et matres volucrum discite nunc opera.

{Vetisse} <Vertisse> etiam eadem carmina Fernandum Sanctium patrem suum ait, sed velut periphrastice sic. Canus December, brumae saeviens Montes, et agros texuerat nive. Gallina pullos, mitis ales, Frigore non poterat tueri, Nec fata caris¹⁰⁷³ filiolis valet

Moreover, the same is read concerning the hen, a composition in six lines *eis philostorgían* - on tenderly loving - drawn from Alpheus of Mytilene* and which is present among Greek epigrams - see Greek Anthology*:

Cheimériais niphádesi palynoména tithás órnis, Téknōis eunaías amphéchee pterugas, Mesphamín ouránion kryós ólesen. é gár émeinen Aithéros ouranión antípalos nephéon. Próknē, kai Mēdeia, kat'aídos aidéthēte Mētēres, orníthōn érge didaskómēnai.

The domestic hen, covered by the winter snowflakes, Was wrapping the chicks with the wings acting as nest, until the cold of the sky killed her. In fact she remained to fight against the clouds of the sky that are in air. Procne*, and Medea*, mothers who are in the Hades*, be ashamed, receiving teaching from what the birds are doing.

Francisco Sánchez* hands down them to us translated as follows by a certain Alphonsus Nunius of Mytilene, a youth of exceptional mind and friend of him:

*The hen covered by winter snows
In the nest made of feathers beats her beloved sons.
Until the fierce cold didn't kill her, and
The mother hen became naked because of the snows of the sky.
Shame on you, cruel Medea and wicked Procne,
and, mothers, now learn what the birds do.*

He says that also his father Fernando Sánchez translated the same verses, but in somewhat periphrastic manner as follows:

*Hoary December and raging winter cold,
Had interwoven with snow mountains and fields.
The hen, mild bird, has not been able
To protect her chicks from the cold
Nor she is able to keep away the death*

¹⁰⁶⁶ In insign. Petri Malvetij. (Aldrovandi)

¹⁰⁶⁷ Si trascrive il testo così come riportato in *Commentarii in Andreae Alciati emblemata* (1573) di Francisco Sánchez, in quanto il testo greco di Aldrovandi presenta come al solito troppi errori.

¹⁰⁶⁸ In comm. embl. Alciati. (Aldrovandi)

¹⁰⁶⁹ Non si emenda in quanto *Metylenensi* è l'aggettivo improprio usato da Francisco Sánchez. § Conviene tuttavia specificare che in greco Mitilene viene scritta sia *Mitylênē* che *Mytilênē*, il che spiega le due forme dell'aggettivo latino: *Mitylenensis* e *Mytilenensis*.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Non si emenda in quanto *hybernis* è l'aggettivo improprio usato da Francisco Sánchez.

¹⁰⁷¹ Forse per errore, o forse volutamente, Aldrovandi trasforma *chara* di Sánchez in *cara*, forse neutro plurale, a indicare le cose care, le proprie creature, i pulcini, il che starebbe per il greco *téknōis*. Da notare che *chara* è un termine usato da Giulio Cesare che viene tradotto con *cara*, una pianta commestibile. § Intraducibile è *pignora*, che sarebbe l'imperativo presente II singolare del verbo *pignoro* = dare in pegno, vincolare a sé una persona. Salvo si tratti di un fantomatico participio passato neutro plurale riferito a *cara*, le cose care a sé vincolate, i figli. Pertanto si emenda con *pignorata*.

¹⁰⁷² Si emenda in quanto, pur essendo accettabile *Progne*, Francisco Sánchez ha *Procne*.

*Auferre, verum nidificat suis
 Plumis, et alas ponit, et quam
 Perdiderant, reparant salutem.
 Ast ipsa vitam perdidit, et tulit
 Mortem libenter. {Procne} <Procne> aliter tamen
 {Colchisque} <Cholchisque¹⁰⁷⁴> foedare utra audax
 Passa manus proprio cruore.
 Eiusdem aliter.
 Bruma fremebat atrox, pennas Gallina reliquit,
 Frigus ut a natis pelleret, atque obiit.
 Hinc {Maedaea} <Medea¹⁰⁷⁵> ferox, hinc Procne
 discite: namque haec
 Bis vitam pullis praebuit, ac moritur.*

Andreas Alciatus vero longe aliter vertit in
 emblemate nonagesimo tertio, cui titulus est,
 AMOR FILIORUM.

*Ante diem vernam boreali cana Palumbes
 Frigore nidificat, praecoq, et ova fovet.
 Mollius, et pulli ut iaceant, {ibi} <sibi> vellicat alas,
 Queis nuda {hyberno} <hiberno¹⁰⁷⁶> deficit ipsa gelu.
 Ecquid Cholchi pudet, vel te Procne improba? mortem
 Cum volucris propriae prolis amore subit?*

Super eodem erga pullos amore Gallinae
 eiusmodi emblema habet Nicolaus Reusnerus¹⁰⁷⁷
 sub lemmate, NIL CHRISTO TRISTE RECEPTO.

*Praedatur pullos, pedibusque eviscerat uncis
 Milvus edax, si quod devius error agit.
 Colligit, et fidis tegit hos Gallina sub alis
 Glocitu matrem testificata piam.
 Terribilis Sat{h}anas sanctos affligit, et angit,
 Et quacunque potest arte nocere, nocet.
 Protegis alarum quos Christe {potente} <potenti> sub
 umbra,
 Et saevo tutos solus ab hoste facis.*

*From her dear children, nevertheless she makes a nest
 With her feathers, and lays on them her wings,
 And they recover the life they had lost.
 But she herself lost the life, and gladly
 Bore death. Nevertheless in different way Procne
 And the woman of the Colchis - Medea - both bold
 Tolerated to have to soil their hands with their own blood.
 Always of him, in another way:
 Atrocious the cold quivered, the hen left her feathers to fall
 To send away the cold far from her children, and she died.
 From this, fierce Medea, from this Procne you must learn: and
 in fact she
 Has given twice the life to chicks, and she dies.*

But Andrea Alciato* translates in a quite different way
 in the emblem 93rd, whose title is THE LOVE FOR
 CHILDREN:

*The wild dove before the spring's arrival
 Nests because of hoary northern cold, in advance, and heats her
 eggs.
 And so that chicks may lie more softly she plucks her wings,
 naked of which she herself dies because of winter cold.
 Woman of Colchis, or you wicked Procne, are you perhaps
 feeling ashamed?
 Since the bird suffers death for love of her offspring?*

Nikolaus Reusner* apropos of the same love of the
 hen toward chicks has the following emblem, under
 the title NOTHINGNESS WHEN CHRIST HAS BEEN
 SADLY ACCEPTED:

*Abducts chicks, and disembowels them with his hooked claws
 The voracious kite*, if by chance an injudicious error is acting.
 The hen gathers and covers them under her trustworthy wings
 After she testified with her cackling that she is a devoted
 mother.
 The terrible Satan afflicts the saints, and torments them,
 And damages them with any possible harmful artifice.
 Christ, you protect them under the powerful shade of your
 wings,
 And you alone make them sure from the cruel enemy.*

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[272] AENIGMATA.

Poetarum nostri aevi coryphaeus Scaliger de
 Gallina bina haec condidit aenigmata: quorum
 primum tale est.

*Cui lux ante diem, tenebrae sunt ante tenebras,
 Sic {utrumque} <utrumque> simul sedula segnis erit.
 Quaerere posterius, natone, priusve parente*

RIDDLES

Giulio Cesare Scaligero*, coryphaeus of the poets of
 our age, framed these two riddles about the hen, the
 first of them sounding as follows:

*She who has the light before the day, has the darkness before
 the darkness,
 Thus she will be at the same time both zealous and lazy.*

¹⁰⁷³ Anche qui Francisco Sánchez ha *charis*, il che conforterebbe l'elucubrata interpretazione del precedente *cara/chara*.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Non si emenda in quanto *Colchisque* è dovuto a Francisco Sánchez.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Francisco Sánchez ha *Medaea*.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Non si emenda in quanto anche nella trascrizione di Francisco Sánchez è presente *hyberno*.

¹⁰⁷⁷ *Emblemata* L.2. (Aldrovandi) - Lind riporta invece Book 22. (1963)

*Possumus, hoc quod nunc est quod et ante fuit.
Fit melior peior, generique tuoque suoque:
Sed peior melior post modo vita tibi est.*

Etsi in primis Gallo istaec omnia, ac ea in primis, quae priori disticho dicuntur, competant, maluit tamen poeta id de Gallina dixisse, quod ea, non autem Gallus ad mensas lautiores saginetur. Est vero primi distichi sensus: Cum hoc animal lucem ante diem, et noctem ante noctem agnovit, non tamen ante lucem ad pastum, nec ante noctem ad quietem sese recipit; ad utrumque opus merito deses dicitur: etsi alias naturaliter sedula, quo enim noctu in tenebris sese recipiat? Cur longe ante noctem vesperi cubitum eat? Secundum ad communem eam tritamque quaestionem, quam nos etiam antea¹⁰⁷⁸ obiter attigimus, alludit, nempe num Gallina prius, an ovum extiterit. Tertium mea quidem sententia ita intelligendum: Quae Gallina pinguior, et esui aptior est, ea tuo, suoque generi, hoc est, soboli nasciturae, quae tam tua est, quam eius, peior est aliis, quia scilicet Gallinam occidendo spem futurae prolis auferas: atque ita haec suae, tuaeque proli peior est, et tibi melior postea vita, quoniam scilicet tam lauto cibo nutritus vitae tuae incolumitati consulas.

ALIUD

*Magnanimam gentem imbelli de pectore promet.
Tantum posteriora piger tibi textor habeto
Quae tamen ut sapido lucro tibi prima putabit.*
Magnanimam } Galli. Posteriora } Lina. Prima }
posteriora Gallinae.

*We can wonder if the parent was born before or after,
This that now is there has been also before.
The worse becomes better, both for your and her offspring:
But at least afterwards the worse life for you is the better.*

Although before everything else all these things, and especially those which are said in the first couplet, are concerning the rooster, nevertheless the poet preferred to say this about the hen, since she and not the rooster is fattened for lavish tables. In truth the meaning of the first couplet is as follows: Since this animal recognized the light before the day and the night before the night, nevertheless she is not devoting herself to the food before the light, nor to the rest before the night, she is rightly said lazy in regard to both deeds: even if for other reasons the animal is zealous for nature, for what a purpose does she take refuge at night-time in darkness? Why does she go to roost at twilight very before the night? The second couplet alludes to that common and trite question which also before we have incidentally touched, and that is, if existed first hen or egg. The third couplet in my opinion must be understood this way: That hen who is fatter and more suited to be eaten, she is worse than others for your and her offspring, that is for offspring that is to be born, which is as much yours as it is hers, since it is clear that killing the hen you are nullifying the hope of a future offspring: and so she is worse for her and your offspring, and afterwards for you the life will be better, since it is obvious that nourished by a so lavish food you can provide for the safety of your life.

SECOND RIDDLE

*She will draw out of an unwarlike heart a magnanimous
progeny.
Lazy weaver, bold only for you the posterior parts
Which nevertheless she will judge as first fruits because of a
savory profit for you.*
Magnanimous = of the rooster. Posterior parts =
linen. First fruits = posteriors of the hen.

¹⁰⁷⁸ A pagina 219*.

ΕΠΙΤΑΦΙUM.

In Gallinaceum Anytes epitaphium in epigrammati{bu}s Graecis¹⁰⁷⁹.

Οὐκ ἔτι μ'ὡς τὸ πάρος πυκιναῖς πτερύγεσιν
ἐρέοσων

Ἵρσεις δ'Εὐνῆς, ὄρθριος ἐγρόμενος.

ἼΗ γὰρ σ'ὕπνωοντα σίνις λάτρηδὸν ἐπελθὼν
ἼΕκτεινεν λαιμῷ ῥίμφα καθεῖς ὄνυχα.

ΑΠΟΠΗΤΗΓΜΑΤΑ.

Platonem legimus hominem definivisse animal {biceps} <bipes>¹⁰⁸⁰ sine plumis: Diogenem vero Cynicum irridendi gratia in academiam eius Gallinaceum deplumatum immisisse, hunc hominem Platonis esse inclamitando, quare postea Platonem πλατυόνυχον, id est latis unguibus praeditum, differentiae causa addidisse.

Diogenes Cynicus {citharaedum} <citharoedum>, qui quoties canebat, ab auditoribus deserebatur, obvium ita salutabat; Salve Galle. Quum ille offensus salutationis novitate diceret, Quid ita? Quoniam, inquit, cantu tuo excitas omnes. Iocum captavit ex ambiguitate verbi Graeci. Ἀναγείρειν enim dicitur, et qui excitat dormientem, quod solent Galli Gallinacei male canentes, et qui sedentem excitat, ut surgat, ut ille solet.

C. Iulius Hel<v>io (alii apophthegma hoc Crasso ascribunt) Mancipi saepius obstrepenti sibi dixit, etiam ostendam qualis sis: et Hel<v>io instanti, ut ostenderet, qualis esset, Iulius digito demonstravit Gallum in Mariano scuto Cimbrico depictum, nodis distortum, erecta lingua, buccis fluentibus, cui manceps tunc simillimus est visus. Taberna autem erat apud forum, ac scutum illud signi gratia positum¹⁰⁸¹. Ingens omnium risus {consequutus} <consecutus> est.

ΕΠΙΤΑΦΗ

Epitaph by Anyte* devoted to the rooster among Greek epigrams:

*Ouk éti m'hos tò páros pykinaís pterygessin erésson
Órseis ex Eunés, órthrios egrómenos.*

*É gár s'hypnoonta sínis lathrédòn epelthòn
Ékteinen laimo, rhimpha katheís onycha.*

You don't awake any longer so early, you don't beat with thick wings | as before and you frighten me up from the bed: Ah! | A thief killed you, who furtively approached you when sleeping and | suddenly he flung his fingernails in your throat.

MAXIMS

We read that Plato* defined the human being as a biped animal without feathers: and Diogenes the Cynic* to make fun of him threw in his Academy a plucked rooster, shouting that this was the man of Plato, therefore subsequently Plato in order to differentiate him - from the rooster - added *platýónychon*, that is, with broad nails.

Diogenes the Cynic thus greeted a lyre player who was abandoned by his listeners every time he was singing: Hi rooster. Therefore he, struck by the novelty of greeting manner, would have said: Why this way? Diogenes said: because with your song you wake everybody. He deduced the joke from the ambiguity of a Greek word. For *anagétrein* is said either when someone awakes a sleeper, as are accustomed to do badly singing roosters, or when someone makes standing up a sitting person, as he - the lyre player - is accustomed to do.

Caius Julius Caesar* (others ascribe this joke to Lucius Licinius Crassus*) said to the entrepreneur of public work Helvius, who rather frequently troubled him by cackling, I will also let you see how you are: and with the finger Julius showed to Helvius, who was pressing him, a rooster represented on a shield that Caius Marius* had attained from Cimbric*, deformed by knots, with erect tongue, drooping cheeks, to which the entrepreneur in that moment very closely resembled. Nearby the Forum there was a shop and

¹⁰⁷⁹ L. 3 sect. 24. (Aldrovandi) - Vedere Antologia Palatina*. § Lo stesso epigramma è riportato da Conrad Gessner *Historia animalium* III (1555) a pagina 407*: Epitaphium Anytes in gallinaceum, Epigrammatum Graecorum lib. 3. sect. 24. Οὐκ ἔτι μ'ὡς τὸ πάρος πυκιναῖς πτερύγεσιν ἐρέοσων | Ἵρσεις δ'Εὐνῆς, ὄρθριος ἐγρόμενος. | ἼΗ γὰρ σ'ὕπνωοντα σίνις λάτρηδὸν ἐπελθὼν | ἼΕκτεινεν λαιμῷ ῥίμφα καθεῖς ὄνυχα.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 407*: Platonem legimus hominem definivisse animal bipes, sine plumis: et cum Diogenes Cynicus irridendi gratia in academiam eius gallinaceum deplumatum immisisset, hunc hominem Platonis esse clamitans, illum postea *platýónychon*, id est latis unguibus praeditum, differentiae causa addidisse.

¹⁰⁸¹ Cicerone* *De Oratore* II,266: Valde autem ridentur etiam imagines, quae fere in deformitatem aut in aliquod vitium corporis ducuntur cum similitudine turpioris: ut meum illud in Helvium Manciam "iam ostendam cuius modi sis," cum ille "ostende, quae?" demonstravi digito pictum Gallum in Mariano scuto Cimbrico sub Novis distortum, eiecta lingua, buccis fluentibus; risus est commotus; nihil tam Manciae simile visum est; ut cum Tito Pinario mentum in dicendo intorquenti: "tum ut diceret, si quid

that shield was placed as sign. Big laugh arose from everybody.

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Chrysippus¹⁰⁸² scribit, quendam somnium suum, quo ova a lecto suo pendentia viderat {;} <, > ad [273] divinatorem retulisse: audiisseque ex illo, inventurum se ubi foderet, thesaurum. Et cum, vase, in quo aurum, argentumque erat invento ad vatem argenti nonnihil attulisset, dixisse illum, τοῦ δὲ νεοττοῦ οὐδὲν μοι δίδως<;> hoc est, *de vitello vero nihil ne mihi dabis?* Author est Suidas¹⁰⁸³. Lusit autem is pulchre circa somnium ovorum, in quibus candidum, et luteum continentur, illud ad argentum, hoc ad aurum referens, cum in somnii interpretatione, tum magis argenti <tantum¹⁰⁸⁴> parte muneri oblata.

Cleomenes Cleombroti, ut refert Plutarchus¹⁰⁸⁵, cum quidam ei Gallinaceos pugnaces offerret, {quos pugnando etiam pro victoria emori dicebat} <quos pugnando pro victoria etiam emori dicebat>¹⁰⁸⁶: quin tu de illis potius, dixit mihi dato, a quibus occiduntur. Illi enim praestabunt. Ab Alcibiade Socratem interrogatum, cur tam iurgiosam uxorem domo non exigeret, ferunt respondisse, cur tu Gallinas clamosas alis? Cumque Alcibiades respondisset, quia sibi ova parerent, dixisse, et uxorem sibi liberos parere.

PROVERBIA.

Aliquot proverbiorum in superioribus rubricis, maxime capite de magnanimitate¹⁰⁸⁷ meminimus, qualia in primis sunt, *Gallus insilit*¹⁰⁸⁸. Ἀλεκτρυὼν ἐπιπηδᾷ. Egregie, apteque quadrat, ubi quis vel in acie, pugnave succumbens vel in

Chrysippus* writes that he reported to a soothsayer a his own dream in which had seen some eggs hanging from his bed: and that he heard from him that where he had dug would have found a treasure. And since after he found a vase in which there was gold and silver he brought some silver to forecaster, this said *τοῦ δὲ νεοττοῦ οὐδὲν μοι δίδως?* that is, but will you give me nothing of the yolk? The lexicon Suidas* is reporting it. He well joked about the dream of the eggs, in which white and yellow are contained, referring the former to the silver, the latter to the gold, since at that time in the interpretation of a dream only a silver piece was given as gift to soothsayers.

As Plutarch* reports, Cleomenes II*, son of Cleombrotus II*, since a man was offering him some fighting cocks affirming that they were also dying in fighting for victory, he said: come on! you will give me them rather by choosing among those by whom they are killed. For they will be better. They tell that Socrates*, questioned by Alcibiades* why he didn't drive out of house such a very quarrelsome wife, he replied: why do you raise hens who are cackling? And since Alcibiades replied that it was because they laid him eggs, then he said that also his wife bore him children.

PROVERBS

In previous chapters, especially in the chapter about the courage, we quoted some proverbs, which are, fist of all, *The rooster dives in. Alektryon epipedā.* It fits excellently and aptly whenever someone, being defeated in battle or in fight or during a quarrel, after

vellet, si nucem fregisset." - Quintiliano* *Institutio oratoria* VI,3,38: Rarum est ut oculis subicere contingat, ut fecit C. Iulius: qui cum Helvio Manciae saepius obstrepenti sibi diceret: "iam ostendam qualis sis", isque plane instaret interrogatione qualem tandem se ostensurus esset, digito demonstravit imaginem Galli in scuto Cimbrico pictam, cui Manciam tum simillimum est visus: tabernae autem erant circa forum ac scutum illud signi gratia positum.

¹⁰⁸² *In lib. De Orac.* (Aldrovandi) - *Stoicorum veterum fragmenta.*

¹⁰⁸³ In {νεοττόν} <νεοττόν> (Aldrovandi) - Il lessico Suida lo riferisce alla voce *neottōn* accusativo di *neottōs* o *neossōs* = piccolo di uccello, uccellino, tuorlo d'uovo.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 452-453: Et cum vase in quo aurum argentumque erat invento, ad vatem argenti nonnihil attulisset: dixisse illum, Τοῦ δὲ νεοττοῦ οὐδὲν μοι δίδως; hoc est, De vitello vero nihil ne mihi dabis? Suidas in *Νεοττόν*. Lusit autem is pulchre circa somnium ovorum, in quibus candidum et luteum continentur, illud ad argentum, hoc ad aurum referens, [453] cum in somnii interpretatione, tum magis argenti tantum parte muneri oblata.

¹⁰⁸⁵ *Moralia*, in Laconicis. (Aldrovandi)

¹⁰⁸⁶ La posizione di *etiam* è corretta e sensata nel testo di Gessner, col quale si emenda quello di Aldrovandi. - Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 407: Cleomenes Cleombroti cum quidam ei gallinaceos pugnaces offerret, quos pugnando pro victoria etiam emori dicebat: Quin de illis potius (dixit) mihi dato a quibus occiduntur. illi enim praestabunt, Plutarchus in Laconicis.

¹⁰⁸⁷ A pagina 236*.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Già citato a pagina 237*.

disputatione resumptis viribus praelium redintegrat. Similis paroemia est, αἶρε πλῆκτρον ἀμυντήριον, id est, *tolle calcar ultorium*: cuius etiam mentionem fecimus¹⁰⁸⁹. Recte autem dicitur, cum quis sese ad vindictam praeparat. Extat adagium apud Aristophanem¹⁰⁹⁰, Αἶρε πλῆκτρον εἰ μάχει, id est, *tolle calcar si pugnas*. Metaphora ut videtur sumpta est a ferreis illis stimulis, qui Gallis pugnaturis a dominis alligantur, quo se in pugna tueantur.

Proverbiali etiam ioco dici diximus¹⁰⁹¹ ἡττήθης τινὸς ἀλεκτρούνοσ in famulos, qui dominos suos a tergo sequuntur, supplices videlicet, et abiecti, quales scilicet Galli esse solent in pugna superati, quia victi silere solent, canere victores. Cui finitimum est ἐνδομάχας ἄτ'ἀλέκτωρ, id est, *domi pugnas ad instar Galli*¹⁰⁹². Item et illud: *Gallus in suo sterquilinio plurimum potest*¹⁰⁹³. Nam dicuntur eiusmodi proverbialia in eos, qui domi viribus praestant, in bello vero, vel alibi cuius virtute cedunt, pugnacitateque. Αὐτὸς αὐτὸν ἀύλει, id est, {ipsemet} <ipse semet> canit {seu} <seu>¹⁰⁹⁴ ipse suimet tibicen <est>. Proverbium hoc a Gallis desumptum apparet: nam his praecipue mos est, cum se e pugna prorumpunt, canere si victores sint, quasi victoriae suae tibicines, quare proverbium convenit, cum alias, tum in illos, qui semetipsos laudant, Thrasones, nasutulosque, de quibus Plato¹⁰⁹⁵ forte dicebat: *Videmur mihi <ignavi>*¹⁰⁹⁶ *Galli in morem, quum ante victoriam a sermone resilierimus, canere.*

he got back his strength he is resuming the fight. Similar is the proverb *aire pléktron amyntèrion*, that is, *put on the avenger spur*: which we have also mentioned. It is rightly said when someone prepares himself to a revenge. An adage is found in Aristophanes*, *Aire pléktron ei máchei*, that is, *Put on the spur if you fight*. It seems that the metaphor has been gathered from those iron goads which are tied to the roosters by their owners when they are about to fight so that can protect themselves during the combat.

We told that as proverbial joke it is also said *hèttèthēs tinòs alektruónos* - *you have been overcome by some rooster* - towards servants following their masters behind, that is, suppliant and humble, just as roosters beaten in fight are accustomed to behave, since if defeated they are accustomed to keep silent, but to sing if they are winners. To which is similar *endomáchas hát'aléktor*, that is, *you fight at home in the fashion of a rooster*. Similar is also that other one: *a rooster is extremely powerful in his own dunghill*. In fact such proverbs are said towards those who at their home are superior in strength, but in war or elsewhere are inferior to the qualities and the combativeness of anybody. *Autòs autòn auléi*, that is, *he sings himself*, that is, *he himself is the flautist of himself*. It is clear that this proverb has been deduced from the roosters: for when they fling themselves out of a fight they are chiefly themselves having the habit of crowing if winners, as if they were flautists of their victory, thence the proverb is not only suitable for other circumstances but also for those who are praising themselves, the braggarts - like a Thraso*, and the little funny persons, about whom perhaps Plato* was speaking - in the dialogue Theaetetus: SOCRATES: *It seems that, like a coward rooster, we crow before having won, jumping down from reasoning.*

¹⁰⁸⁹ A pagina 238*.

¹⁰⁹⁰ *Gli uccelli*, 759. - Già citato a pagina 238*.

¹⁰⁹¹ A pagina 237*: *superatus es a Gallo quopiam*. § Questo proverbio/facezia è pronunciato da Euelpide negli *Uccelli* di Aristofane* ai versi 70-71: Ἐυε. ἡττήθης τινὸς | ἀλεκτρούνοσ. § Nella nota a piè pagina di pagina 237 abbiamo dimostrato come erroneamente sia stato attribuito a un fantomatico Eudemo* anziché a Euelpide nel proverbio IV,2,78 (Chiliadis IIII Centuria II - LXXVIII) degli *Adagia* di Erasmo* del 1550 (Lugduni, apud Sebastianum Gryphium).

¹⁰⁹² Citato a pagina 236* come *Domi pugnant more Galli*. § Confronta Pindaro* *Olimpiche* XII 20-21 ἐνδομάχας ἄτ'ἀλέκτωρ | συγγόνω παρ'έστιά.

¹⁰⁹³ Già citato a pagina 236*. § La fonte è Lucio Anneo Seneca*, *Apocolocyntosis* 7,3: Claudius ut vidit virum valentem, oblitus nugarum intellexit neminem Romae sibi parem fuisse, illic non habere se idem gratiae: gallum in suo sterquilino plurimum posse.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 405*-406: Ipse semet canit, Αὐτὸς [406] αὐτὸν ἀύλει, ipse suimet tibicen est: proverbium conveniens cum alias tum in illos qui semetipsos laudant, qui mos est gallis gallinaceis, etiam quum e pugna se proriperint.

¹⁰⁹⁵ In *Theaeteto*. (Aldrovandi) - Aldrovandi omits the word *agennous*, "low-born". (Lind, 1963)

¹⁰⁹⁶ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 406*: Plato in Theaeteto, [...], id est, Videmur mihi ignavi galli in morem, quum ante victoriam a sermone resilierimus canere, Erasmus.

Cicero¹⁰⁹⁷ quoque proverbialiter scribit{,} < similitudo vituperationis causa> ut in invidiam adducat hoc modo. *Iste qui divitias suas iactat, sicut Gallus e Phrygia, aut ariolus quispiam depressus, et oneratus auro clamat et delirat.*

Ὅταν Νίβας κοκκύσῃ, id est¹⁰⁹⁸, *cum Nibas coccyssaverit.* Simillimum est adagium illi ad Graecas Kalendas. Tradunt enim, ut annotavimus, in Thessalonica Macedoniae civitate vicum esse, cui nomen Nibas, ubi Galli nunquam vocem {a}edant. Hesychius addit, Nibades dici capras cristatas, ut ab iis expectetur τὸ κοκκύζειν, quod est Gallinaceorum.¹⁰⁹⁹

Socratis Gallus. Hoc adagii vice Nonius Marcellus e Varrone citat in {significationem} <significationem> calvitiei, apud quem se invenisse quispiam ait, cum dormire coepisset tam glaber, quam Socratis Gallus, esse factum ericium cum pilis, et proboscide. Sentit quisquis illic loquitur, se cum iret cubitum, fuisse levi corpore, nec ullos habuisse pilos toto corpore, in somno transformatum in ericium, qui totus hirsutus est, et {suum}¹¹⁰⁰ <suium> more proboscidem habet. Scio, inquit author adagiorum¹¹⁰¹ locum esse mendosum, et Aldina editio pro Gallo legit calvum: et fortassis non male: nam nostra editio Varronis verba ita recitat. Invenisse <se> cum dormire coepisset tam glaber, quam Socrates, calvum esse factum ericium e pilis albis: Conveniet adagium in nudos, et inopes.

Also Cicero* writes in a proverbial manner: A simile with the purpose of blaming, so that it should induce to envy, must be done in this way: *This person who flaunts his wealth is shouting and is delirious like a Phrygian Gaul* - priest - or like a soothsayer submerged and overloaded with gold.*

Hótan Nibas kokkýse, that is *when Nibas shall have crowed.* It is a proverb very similar to that saying *at Greek Calends.* For, as we reported, they tell that on outskirts of the Macedonian* city of Thessalonica* there is a village whose name is Nibas, where the roosters would never crow. Hesychius of Alexandria* adds that goats endowed with crest are called from Nibas, since they are expected to crow - τὸ κοκκύζειν, which is characteristic of the roosters.

The cock of Socrates. Nonius Marcellus* quotes this as though it were a proverb drawn from Varro* to mean the baldness, and in Nonius someone fellow says to have discovered himself transformed into a hedgehog* with quills and trunk, while he began to sleep as bald as the rooster of Socrates. Whoever is able to understand that that man want to say that when he went to sleep he had a smooth body and that he had no hair throughout the body, and that during the sleep he was transformed into a hedgehog which is entirely bristly. And it has the snout like pigs. The author of the *Adagia* - Erasmus of Rotterdam* - says: I know that the passage is corrupt, and the Aldine edition* for rooster - *gallus* - has bald - *calvus*: and perhaps it is not wrong: for our edition of Varro reports the words in the following way: While he started to sleep being as hairless as Socrates, he found himself like a bald hedgehog with white quills: The proverb will fit those who are naked and poor.

¹⁰⁹⁷ L. 4 ad Herenn. (Aldrovandi) - Il trattato *Rhetorica ad Herennium** venne ritenuto di Cicerone per tutto il Medioevo, dal quale egli attinse per il suo *De inventione*, ma è di un anonimo. - *Rhetorica ad Herennium* IV: Ut in invidiam adducat, hoc modo: "Iste, qui divitias suas iactat, sicut Gallus e Phrygia aut hariolus quispiam depressus et oneratus auro clamat et delirat."

¹⁰⁹⁸ Dei galli di Nibas si è già parlato a pagina 193* e 203*.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Conrad Gessner è di avviso alquanto diverso. Secondo lui si tratta di semplici capre selvatiche che vivono sulle cime innevate, e non di capre fornite di *lóp̄hos*, cioè di ciuffo, o magari di una cresta carnosa come quella del gallo. Secondo lui si tratta solo di come vengono interpretate le parole greche: ciò può creare l'equivoco e far nascere una nuova razza di capre, le capre di Nibas, che invece sono semplici capre delle nevi. Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 406*: Tradunt in Thessalonica Macedoniae civitate vicum esse, cui nomen Nibas, ubi galli nunquam vocem aedant [edant], (ut Nibas per synecdochen dicatur pro gallinaceis qui in eo vico sunt.) Hesychius addit (ait) nibades dici capras cristatas, ut ab iis expectetur τὸ κοκκύζειν, quod est gallinaceorum, Erasmus. *Nibádes, hai toús lóp̄hos échousai aígēs*, Hesych. et Varinus. ego capras feras quae montium iuga nivosa incolunt, interpretarer, non ut Erasmus cristatas, nam et *niba* nivem exponunt: et *niphóbolon, hupselón*.

¹¹⁰⁰ Anche in Erasmo troviamo *suum*.

¹¹⁰¹ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 410*: Socratis gallus, aut callus, Nonius Marcellus e Varrone citat Socratis gallum in significationem calvitiae [calvitiei]: invenisse se, quum dormire coepisset tam glaber quam Socratis gallus, esse factum ericium cum pilis et proboscide. Sentit quisquis illic loquitur, se quum iret cubitum fuisse laevi corpore, nec ullos habuisse pilos toto corpore. in somno transformatum in ericium, qui totus hirsutus est, et {suum} <suium> more proboscidem habet. Scio locum esse mendosum. Aldina aeditio pro gallo legit calvum. ego calvum malim, etc. Adagium conveniet in nudos et inopes, Erasmus. Nostra aeditio Varronis verba sic citat, Invenisse se cum dormire coepisset tam glaber quam Socrates, calvum esse factum ericium e pilis albis etc.

Vesparum examen metuit Phrynichus, velut Gallinaceus: Hic Phrynichus Tragicus¹¹⁰² Mileti captivitatem agebat: Athenienses vero metuentem, per{r}horrescentemque lachrymantes eum eiecerunt: Author est Aelianus¹¹⁰³: sed alii aliter. Quadrat in damnum passos. *Indecens est, ut Gallina ante Gallum cantet:* hoc est, non decet, ut mulier pro viro gubernacula teneat, quod neque animi magnitudo, qua potissimum civitatis salus nititur, neque consilium, quod ad urbanarum rerum temperationes maximam vim habet, satis praesidii ad constituendam remp. in ea vigeat. Feliciter natum, *Albae Gallinae filium* dicunt, ut Iuvenalis¹¹⁰⁴{.}<:> *quia tu Gallinae filius albae*{:}<.> Vel quod laeta, et auspicata {latini} <Latini> alba vocant, vel quod proverbium alludit ad fatalem illam Gallinam¹¹⁰⁵, de qua antea cum auguriis ageremus, ex Suetonio [274] locuti fuimus.

Phrynichus feared a swarm of wasps, like a rooster. This Phrynichus*, a writer of tragedies, was held captive in Miletus*: for Athenians in tears sent him away full of fear and terror: Aelian* is author of this: but others told this otherwise. It fits those who suffered amends. *It is improper that a hen crows in front of a rooster:* that is, it is improper that a woman holds the rudders instead of a man, since neither the greatness of soul on which the salvation of a State is largely standing, nor the wisdom which has the greatest importance for a balanced organization of the things of a city, in her there is not enough help for rearranging a republic. One who is happily born is called *Son of a white hen*, like Juvenal*: *Because you are son of a white hen.* Either because Latins call white the cheerful things and with favorable auspices, or because the proverb alludes to that hen wanted by the fate of which we have previously spoken, gathering data from Suetonius*, while we were dealing with the prophecies.

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Lac Gallinaceum ὀρνίθων γάλα, dicitur in opulentos, et quibus quidvis rerum suppeditat, ut copiae cornu, aut dicitur de raris inventu, atque ob id pretiosis, ut sit hyperbole significans nihil omnino deesse. Plinius in praefatione historiae mundi, irridens Graecorum deliciosas quasdam, et magnificas inscriptiones. {Cerion} <Cerium - Κηρίον>¹¹⁰⁶, inquit, *inscripserunt, quod volebant intelligi favum*, alii κέρασ Ἀμαλθείας, quod copiae cornu, velut lactis Gallinacei sperare possis in volumine haustum. Meminit eiusdem Aristophanes¹¹⁰⁷.

Ornithon gála, milk of hens, is said towards the rich people and for those having anything superabundant, as the cornucopia*, or it is said about rarely found things, and then precious, as if it were a hyperbole meaning that nothing at all is lacking. Pliny*, in the preface of world's history, deriding some delicious and marvelous titles of Greeks says: *They gave the title kērion because they wanted to indicate the honeycomb, others kēras Amaltheias - the horn of the goat Amalthea* - which is the cornucopia, so to let you hope that in that book you can drink milk of hen.* Aristophanes* mentioned the same thing:

¹¹⁰² Se ne parla già a pagina 237*.

¹¹⁰³ *Variae historiae* Libri XIII - XIII,17: PROVERBIUM, ET DE PHRYNICHIO - Vesparum examen metuit Phrynichus velut gallinaceus: proverbium convenit in eos, qui damnum patiuntur. cum enim Phrynichus tragicus Mileti captivitatem ageret, Athenienses metuentem perhorrescentemque lachrymantes eiecerunt. (*Claudii Aeliani opera quae extant omnia Graece Latineque*, Tiguri, apud Gesneros Fratres, 1556, pagina 501- Iusto Vulteio VVetterano interprete)

¹¹⁰⁴ *Satyra 13.* (Aldrovandi) - *Satira XIII*,141.

¹¹⁰⁵ Si tratta della gallina di bianca di Livia Drusilla o Giulia Augusta*, di cui si parla anche a pagina 260*.

¹¹⁰⁶ *Kērion* in greco significa favo. Gli corrisponde il latino *cerium* usato da Plinio nel senso di foruncolosi, vespaio. *Naturalis historia*, Praefatio, 24: Inscriptionis apud Graecos mira felicitas: *kērion* inscribere, quod volebant intellegi favum, alii *kēras Amaltheias*, quod copiae cornu, ut vel lactis gallinacei sperare possis in volumine haustum;[...] § Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pagina 457: Plinius in praefatione historiae mundi, irridens Graecorum deliciosas quasdam et magnificas inscriptiones: Cerion (inquit) inscribere, quod volebant intelligi favum: alii *kēras amaltheias*, quod copiae cornu, velut lactis gallinacei sperare possis in volumine haustum.

¹¹⁰⁷ *Le vespe*, 508-509. (Aldrovandi & Lind) - Conrad Gessner pare suggerire che la fonte sia *Gli Acarnesi* di Aristofane. *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 457: Aristophanes in Vespis, (in Acharnensibus,) id est, Non lac hercle gallinaceum, Hacce pro vita capiam, quam mi adimis in praesentia. - Ma il suggerimento di Gessner è errato.

Ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐδ' ἂν ὀρνίθων γάλα
Ἄντι τοῦ βίου λάβοιμ' ἂν οὐ̅ με νῦν
ἀποστερεῖς, id est.

Non lac Hercule Gallinaceum

Hacce pro vita capiam, quam mi adimis in praesentia.

Eustathius¹¹⁰⁸ citat hoc adagium ex Anaxagorae
{fabula} <Physicis>¹¹⁰⁹, cui titulus Ὠά.

Legitur et aliud apud eundem Aristophanem¹¹¹⁰
hoc modo:

Δάσομεν ὑμῖν | Ἄυτοῖς, παισί, παίδων παισίν |
Πλουθυγείαν, εὐδαιμονίαν, | Βίον, εἰρήνην,
νεότητα, γέλωτα, | Χορούς, θαλίᾳς,
γάλατ' ὀρνίθων. | Ὡστε παρέσται ὑμῖν κοπιᾶν |
Ἵπὸ τῶν ἀγαθῶν. id est.

Dabimus vobis ipsis, filiis, filiorum filiis,

Opulentiam bonae valetudinis,

Felicitatem, facultates, pacem,

Iuventam, risum, choros,

Festa, Lac Gallinarum,

Ut sitis prae bonorum copia laboraturi.

Strabo¹¹¹¹ Samiorum agros, quod omnium rerum
ampliter feraces essent, extollens, illud vulgo de
illis iactatum esse addit, quod lac etiam ferrent
Gallinaceum, testaturque hoc adagium apud
Menandrum¹¹¹² Comicum inveniri.

Egō gār oud' ἂn orníthōn gála

Antì toú bíou láboim' ἂn oú̅ me nún apostereís, that is:

By Hercules, I won't take milk of hen

for this life, of which you now deprive me.

Eustathius* quotes from the work *About nature* of
Anaxagoras* this adage, whose title is *Οά, The eggs.*

Another one is also read still in Aristophanes which
sounds as follows:

Dosomen hymín

Autoís, paisí, paídon paisín

Plouthygéian, eudaimonían,

Bíon, eirēnēn, neótēta, gélōta,

Choroús, thalías, gálat' orníthōn.

Oste paréstai hymín kopíān

Hypò tōn agathōn. that is:

We shall give you yourselves, children, children of children,

an abundance of conditions of good health,

happiness, wealth, peace,

youth, laughter, dances,

feast days, milk of hens,

so that you will grow weary of abundance of good things.

Strabo*, when praising the fields of Samians* since
they were extremely fruitful in every kind of products,
adds what was the common boast about such a
subject, that is, they also produced milk of hen, and
there is proof that this adage is also found in the
comedy writer Menander*.

¹¹⁰⁸ *In Odys.* 4. (Aldrovandi)

¹¹⁰⁹ Conrad Gessner *Historia animalium III* (1555) pagina 457: Eustathius in quartum Odysseae, citat hoc adagium ex Anaxagorae fabula, cui titulus Ὠά, (decipitur Erasmus, aut Eustathius ex quo citat: lege, Anaxagorae Physicis.) § Aldrovandi non è stato colto da alcun dubbio sulla correttezza della citazione di Eustazio, ma noi stavolta vogliamo credere a Gessner, per cui si emenda la *fabula* di Anassagora con *Physicis*, la sua opera *Sulla natura*.

¹¹¹⁰ *In Avibus* (Aldrovandi) - *Gli uccelli* 729-735.

¹¹¹¹ *Lib. 14* (Aldrovandi) - *Geografia XIV*.

¹¹¹² Aldrovandi colloca un rimando per il riferimento alla commedia di Menandro e poi non dà alcuna indicazione. Si può presumere che dei campi di Samo produttori anche di latte di gallina si parli nella commedia *Donna di Samo*, di cui ci è giunta l'ultima parte.

Athenaeus¹¹¹³ ex mediae {comaediae} <comoediae> scriptore quodam Mnesimacho Senarios hos adducit.

Καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον, | Σπανιώτερον πάρεστιν ὀρνίθων γάλα, | Καὶ φασιανός ἀποτετιλμένος καλῶς. id est.

Lac suppetit res rara Gallinaceum, ac Plumis revulsis Phasianus adprobe.

Et rursum eodem libro adducit ex {Numenio} <Nicandro>¹¹¹⁴.

Ἦδ' ὅπερ ὀρνιθος καλέεται γάλα, id est.

Atque quod Gallinae dicitur Lac.

Alibi etiam Aristophanes¹¹¹⁵ Pisthetaerum Herculi loquentem inducit ita.

Καταστήσω σ' ἐγὼ | Τύραννον, ὀρνίθων παρέξω σοι γάλα.¹¹¹⁶

Ubi¹¹¹⁷ Scholiastes hoc proverbium locum habere ait in iis, qui admodum fortunati sunt, et nihil non possident, ita ut etiam circa res impossibiles aliquid lucrentur. Etenim nequit fieri, ut unquam lac e Gallinis habeatur. At fortunati homines id quoque, si voluerint, comparare sibi possunt. Meminit et Suidas<.> Βούλουντο μὲν ἂν καὶ τῶν ὀρνίθων γάλα παραχεῖν, <Synesius in epistolis.>¹¹¹⁸

Cum vero in harum alitum ovis magis, quam in aliis eluceant, quae passim de ovis ab authoribus tradita sunt, itaque et proverbia, quae ab ovis proferuntur, hoc loco subijcere placuit, ne lector studiosissimus ulla re, quae avium historiam

Athenaeus* quotes these senarii from Mnesimachus*, a writer of middle comedy*:

Kaì tò legómenon,

Spaniōteron párestin orníthōn gála,

Kaì phasianós apotetilménos kalós. that is:

<And using a backneyed phrase,>

As a rare thing it is enough the milk of hen,

and a pheasant with very well plucked feathers.

And still in the same book he quotes from Nicander* - not from Numenius of Heraclea*:

Èd'hóper orníthos kaléetai gála, that is:

Also that which is said milk of hen.

As well elsewhere Aristophanes lets Pisthetaerus - Companion-swindler - turned to Hercules*, saying these words:

Katástēsō s'egō | Týrannōn, orníthōn paréxō soi gála,, I will make you sovereign, I will give you hens' milk.

On this point the scholiast* of Aristophanes says that this proverb fits those who are quite fortunate and possessing everything, so much as they succeed in drawing something from impossible things. And in fact never it can happen that milk from hens is drawn. But fortunate men could get also this if they wished. Also the lexicon Suidas* mentions this. *Boúlointo mèn ἂν καὶ orníthōn gála paracheîn, If in fact they want to pour on also the hens' milk,* Synesius of Cyrene* in the letters.

Since data given by authors here and there about eggs are more conspicuous for the eggs of these birds than for other eggs, therefore it seemed proper to me to set down here also the proverbs taking origin from eggs, so that the reader is not deprived of anything

¹¹¹³ L. 9 *Deipnosoph.* (Aldrovandi) - *Deipnosophistai* IX,37,387b.

¹¹¹⁴ *Deipnosophistai* IX,12,371c. § Il verso non è dovuto a Numenio di Eraclea, bensì a Nicandro di Colofone* ed è contenuto nel II libro delle *Georgiche*. Ciò è possibile affermarlo con certezza dall'edizione dei *Dipnosophisti* di Teubner (recensuit Georgius Kaibel, 1888 - Teubner, Stuttgart, 1985). Lo scambio di persone è dovuto anche stavolta a Erasmo da Rotterdam*. Gessner ha dedotto l'errore da Erasmo ma lo cita come fonte e gli presta fede. Aldrovandi invece omette la fonte, tant'è che non potremmo accusare Erasmo di questo ennesimo misfatto e solo un colpo di fortuna ha potuto risolvere il qui pro quo che altrimenti sarebbe rimasto un busillis. § Questo verso di Nicandro nell'edizione di Teubner è reperibile nella biografia di Numenio di Eraclea*. § Conrad Gessner *Historia animalium* III (1555) pagina 457: Rursum lib. 9. adducit ex Numenio, Ἦδ' ὅπερ ὀρνιθος καλέεται γάλα. id est Atque quod gallinae dicitur lac, Erasmus. § Credo non valga la pena andare a scandagliare Erasmo. Mi fido di Teubner, il quale riporta κλέεται invece di καλέεται.

¹¹¹⁵ *In Avib.* (Aldrovandi) - *Gli uccelli* 1672-1673.

¹¹¹⁶ Gessner non dà la traduzione latina dei versi di Aristofane e Aldrovandi ovviamente non si sprema per fornircela. § Conrad Gessner *Historia animalium* III (1555) pagina 457: Καταστήσω σ' ἐγὼ | Τύραννον, ὀρνίθων παρέξω σοι γάλα, Pisthetaerus Herculi in Avibus Aristophanis.

¹¹¹⁷ Aldrovandi non dà referenze. Dovrebbe trattarsi di *Gli Acarnesi* di Aristofane, come si può desumere da Conrad Gessner *Historia animalium* III (1555) pagina 457: Scholiastes Aristoph. in Acharn. hoc proverbium locum habere ait in iis qui admodum fortunati sunt, et nihil non possident, ita ut etiam circa res impossibiles aliquid lucrentur, impossibile enim est ut unquam lac e gallinis habeatur. at fortunati homines id quoque si voluerunt comparare sibi possunt. Meminit et Suidas. - Trattandosi di un'annotazione del commentatore di Aristofane, credo sia logico il fatto che una mia ricerca elettronica nel testo de *Gli Acarnesi* tradotto da Ettore Romagnoli abbia dato un risultato negativo sia per latte che per gallina.

¹¹¹⁸ Come al solito Aldrovandi vorrebbe farci scervellare mandandoci al lessico Suida in quanto decurta la sua fonte rappresentata da Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 457: Βούλουντο μὲν ἂν καὶ τῶν ὀρνίθων γάλα παραχεῖν, Synesius in epistolis.

illustrare, amplificare, ac explicare possit, defraudetur. ὄν κολλήεις (si recte legitur, malim κολλᾶς) id est, *ovum glutino compingis*. Refertur a Diogeniano¹¹¹⁹. Ridicule laborat, qui fractum ovi putamen glutino sarcire, et coagmentare conetur. Dicitur in eos, qui frustra ex impossibilibus possibilia reddere conantur, quales sunt, quos vulgus alchymistas appellat, qui nimirum ex iis, quae aurum non sunt, aurum facere elaborantes, aurum, quod ante possidebant, et oleum, et operam perdunt. Ab ovo usque ad mala proverbiali figura dixit Horatius¹¹²⁰, pro eo, quod est, ab initio convivii usque ad finem. Ait autem.

Si collibuisse ab ovo

*Usque ad mala citaret, lo} <io> Bacche modo summa
Voce, modo hac resonat quae chordis quatuor ima.*

Antiquitus etenim caenam ab ovis auspicabantur, malis finiebant. Nos ab acetariis ordimur, at saltem in eo cum illis convenimus, quod malis, aut {pyris} <piris> eam finiamus. Erit venustius, si longius trahatur, ab ovo usque ad mala: id est, toto colloquio, tota navigatione, [275] aut toto opere.

which may illustrate, amplify and explain the search about birds. ὄν κολλήεις (if it is exactly reported, I would prefer κολλᾶς), that is, *You weld the egg with glue*. It is reported by Diogenianus of Heraclea*. He who would try to patch up and rejoin with glue a broken eggshell is performing a labor in a ridiculous way. It shall be said towards those who are uselessly striving to make possible things out of impossible ones, as they are those whom common people call alchemists*, who exactly, applying themselves in getting some gold from those things which are not gold, are losing the gold they possessed before, and oil, and exertion - they waste time and energies. *From egg to apples* - from hors d'oeuvre to fruit - said Horace* proverbially in a figurative way to indicate from the beginning at the end of a banquet. For he says:

If he was in the proper mood

he would have begun to sing "hurray Bacchus" from egg to apples, now with the whole voice he possesses,
now with this lowest note resounding with the tetrachord.*

And in fact in antiquity they began the banquet with eggs and ended with apples. We start from salad dressed with vinegar, but at least we agree with them since we finish it with apples or pears. It will be more pleasant the longer it is extended, from egg to apples: that is, for the whole conversation, for the whole navigation, or for the whole activity.

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Qui rem altius repetunt, quam oportet, notantur hoc versu Horatiano¹¹²¹. *Nec gemino bellum Troianum orditur ab ovo*. Ἐξ ὄου ἐξήλθεν, *ex ovo {prodidit}*¹¹²² <prodiit>: aiunt dici solitum de magnopere formosis, ac nitidis, quasi neges communi hominum more natos, sed ex ovo more Castoris, et Pollucis. Siquidem est in poetarum fabulis, Ledam {Tyndaris}¹¹²³

Those who go back to a thing more far off than necessary, they are branded by this verse of Horace*: *Nor we must begin to speak of the Trojan war starting from the twin egg* - that with two yolks from which Helen* was born. *Ex οού ἐξέλθεν*, *He came forth from an egg*: they say that it is usually said of very beautiful and attractive young people, as if you were denying that they are born in the usual way for human beings, but

¹¹¹⁹ DIOGENIANUS: He has a proverb slightly different from the one quoted by Aldrovandi: "You pluck an egg (*oon tilleis*)."
Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum, I, 187; II, 258. I can find no proverb such as Aldrovandi's. (Lind, 1963) - La fonte di Aldrovandi dovrebbe essere Gessner il quale si è appoggiato a Erasmo da Rotterdam*. Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 457: *Ovum adglutinas, Oón kollēeis*, (si recte legitur. malim κολλᾶς) id est, *Ovum glutino compingis*. refertur a Diogeniano. Ridicule laborat, qui fractum ovi putamen glutino sarcire et coagmentare conetur, Erasmus. § Tutto il testo, compreso Diogeniano, provengono dagli *Adagia* (1550) di Erasmo. Il proverbio appartiene alla Chilia I Centuria IV e reca il numero 67.

¹¹²⁰ *Serm. Sat.* (Aldrovandi) - *Satirae* I,3,6-8: [...] si collibuisse, ab ovo | usque ad mala citaret 'io Bacche' modo summa | voce, modo hac, resonat quae chordis quatuor ima.

¹¹²¹ *Ars poetica* 146-147: *Nec reditum Diomedis ab interitu Meleagri, | nec gemino bellum Troianum orditur ab ovo; [...]*

¹¹²² L'errore viene ripetuto 2 volte: nel testo e nella nota a bordo pagina. § Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 457: *Ex ovo prodiit, Ἐξ ὄου ἐξήλθεν*, aiunt dici solitum de magnopere formosis ac nitidis: quasi neges communi hominum more natus, sed ex ovo, more Castoris et Pollucis.

¹¹²³ Gli errori passano di mano in mano come le caramelle, o, per essere più *à la page*, come uno spinello. La fonte dell'errore secondo cui Leda era figlia di Tindaro, e non sua moglie, e neppure figlia di Testio, è rappresentata come al solito da Erasmo da Rotterdam*, da cui ghermisce l'errore *sic et simpliciter* Conrad Gessner. Poi Aldrovandi lo fa suo, cercando di propinarcelo, aggiungendo però un *Tyndaris* che in Gessner suona correttamente *Tyndari*. - Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag.

<Tyndari>} <Thestii> filiam ex Iovis concubitu duo peperisse ova, e quorum altero prodire gemini Castor, et Pollux insigni forma iuvenes: ex altero nata est Helena, cuius species literis omnium est nobilitata. *Ovo prognatus eodem*: hoc fortassis simpliciter dictum <est> ab Horatio.¹¹²⁴ Quandoquidem ad fabulam quoque respicit Leda, quae gravida ex Iove in Cycnum conversum ovum peperit, unde gemini prognati, et Castor, et Pollux, ut diximus. Hoc vero ovum Pausanias¹¹²⁵ refert ostendi apud Lacedaemonios suspensum taeniis a testudine templi.

Verum si quis hoc dictum deflectat {ad} <ab> iisdem natos parentibus, aut ab eodem eruditos praeceptore aut ita consimilibus ingeniis, ut eodem ovo nati videri possint, aequae fuerit proverbiale, veluti, si dicas, Vultus, ingenium, mores, facta, ac prorsus omnia sic huic cum hoc conveniunt, ut iures eodem prognatos ovo. Aristoteles quidem ostendit iuxta naturam fieri posse, ut ex eodem ovo duo pulli nascantur¹¹²⁶.

Extant apud auctores aliquot similitudinis adagia, quorum de numero est. *Non tam ovum ovo simile* de rebus indiscretae similitudinis. Hinc dicebat Tullius¹¹²⁷: *Vides ne ut in proverbio sit ovorum inter se similitudo?* {Tamen hoc accepimus Deli fuisse complures, qui Gallinas alere quaestus causa solerent: ovum cum inspexerant, quae id Gallina peperisset, discernere novisse.} <Tamen hoc accepimus, Deli fuisse complures salvis rebus illis, qui gallinas alere permultas quaestus causa solerent: ei cum ovum inspexerant, quae id gallina peperisset dicere solebant.> Idem proverbium refertur a F.

rather from an egg as Castor* and Pollux*. Since in the fables of the poets it is found that Leda*, daughter of Thestius - wife of Tyndarus, from an intercourse she had with Jupiter gave birth to two eggs, from one of which the twins Castor and Pollux were born, boys of outstanding beauty: from the other egg Helen was born, whose appearance has been extolled by literary works of everybody. *Born from the same egg*: this proverb perhaps has been said only by Horace. Since it also concerns the fable related to Leda who, made pregnant by Jupiter* who had turned himself into a swan*, gave birth to an egg from which the two twins Castor and Pollux were born, as we said. Pausanias* reports that this egg is exposed among Spartans* and that it is kept suspended with bandages down from the vault of a temple.

In truth if someone were changing this axiom into *born from the same parents*, or *educated by the same tutor*, or into *so similar for temperament that it could be thought that they were born from the same egg*, it would be equivalent as proverb, as if you should say: Face, temperament, behavior, deeds, and in short for all the characteristics they are corresponding each other to such an extent that you would be ready to swear that they were born from the same egg. For Aristotle* shows that according to nature it can happen that from a same egg two chicks are hatched.

There are extant among authors some adages referring to the similarity, to the crowd of which is belonging this one: *After all an egg is not so similar to an egg*, concerning things of an indistinguishable similarity. Therefore Marcus Tullius Cicero* said: *Are you aware how the likeness of one egg to another is proverbial? Nevertheless we have been told what follows, that at Delos, without damage for those things, a great number of people were in the habit of keeping large numbers of hens for profit purposes. Whenever they looked at an egg they used to tell which hen laid it**. The same proverb is reported by Marcus Fabius Quintilian*. It is also employed by Seneca* in a

457: Siquidem est in poetarum fabulis Leda Tyndari filiam, ex Iovis concubitu duo peperisse ova, e quorum altero prodire gemini Castor et Pollux, insigni forma iuvenes: ex altero nata est Helena, cuius forma literis omnium est nobilitata, Erasmus.

¹¹²⁴ *Satirae* 2,1,26: Castor gaudet equis, ovo prognatus eodem. § Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 457: Ovo prognatus eodem. Hoc fortassis simpliciter dictum est ab Horatio.

¹¹²⁵ *Description of Greece* III, Laconia, 16,1: Near is a sanctuary of Hilaeira and of Phoebé. The author of the poem *Cypria* calls them daughters of Apollo. Their priestesses are young maidens, called, as are also the goddesses, Leucippides (Daughter of Leucippus). One of the images was adorned by a Leucippis who had served the goddesses as a priestess. She gave it a face of modern workmanship instead of the old one; she was forbidden by a dream to adorn the other one as well. Here there has been hung from the roof an egg tied to ribands, and they say that it is the famous egg that legend says Leda brought forth. (*Description of Greece* with an English Translation by W.H.S. Jones, London, William Heinemann Ltd., 1918)

¹¹²⁶ Aldrovandi ne ha già trattato ampiamente a pagina 194*.

¹¹²⁷ Già citato a pagina 232*. *Academica* II 57: Videsne ut in proverbio sit ovorum inter se similitudo? Tamen hoc accepimus, Deli fuisse complures salvis rebus illis, qui gallinas alere permultas quaestus causa solerent: ei cum ovum inspexerant, quae id gallina peperisset dicere solebant.

Quintiliano. Usurpatur, et a Seneca¹¹²⁸ in libello, quem in Claudium Imperatorem lusit. Ovorum vero inter se miram, ac prope indiscretam similitudinem saepenumero apud animum meum non sine stupore perpendi. Alium enim aliū si compares, fallitur examen, hebescitque intuentis obtutus: tanta prorsus parilitas est, tantaque geminitudo¹¹²⁹. Ὠίου πολύ λευκότερον, id est, ovo multo candidius, Sappho dixit Apud Athenaeum¹¹³⁰.

FABULA.

Lucianus¹¹³¹, et ex eo Caelius {Rhodoginus} <Rhodiginus>¹¹³², iuvenem quendam nomine Alectryonem vocatum, hoc est, Gallum, Marti adeo familiarem factum fuisse fabulantur, ut cum eo subinde commessaretur, foretque amorum illius conscius. Sicubi ergo ad Venerem itaret Mars, adfuisse comitem Alectryonem. Quia vero suspectum, praecipue habebat solem, ne rem conspicatus Vulcano renunciaret, pro foribus excubare adolescentem iussisse, ut ubi comparuisset sol, indicaret. Forte autem evenisse, ut cum sopitus excubias proderet adolescens, fieretque speculatio caeca, ac superveniente clam Sole, Mars Venusque complexi deprehenderentur, in utramque quod dicitur, aurem Alectryonis fiducia decumbentes. Factum itaque certiore Vulcanum catenis praetenuibus utrumque mox illaqueasse, irretisseque¹¹³³, quas ad eum usum diu antea erat commolitus: sed emissum denique e vinculis eiusmodi Martem, in Alectryonem prorsus factum commotiorem, nec prius iram deferbuisse, quam in eius nominis avem deformasset male fidum, custodem, atque ita ut crista videretur celsus, sicuti cum hominem

satirical pamphlet he delighted in writing toward the emperor Claudius*. Very often I have meticulously weighed in my mind not without amazement the astonishing and almost perfect similarity of the eggs each other. In fact if you compares them each other the needle of the balance is deceived and the sight of whom is looking is weakened: absolutely so great is their likeness and so great is their equivalence. *Οίου πολύ λευκότερον*, that is, *Very more snowy than an egg*, Sappho* said in Athenaeus*.

LEGEND

Lucian*, and Lodovico Ricchieri* gathering it from him, tell the fable of a certain youth named Alectryon*, that is, Rooster, who became such a great friend of Mars* that straightaway he became his table companion and aware of his love affairs. Therefore, since Mars was often repairing to Venus*, Alectryon had to act as companion. Since Mars above all had the suspicion that if the Sun* had realized the thing would report it to Vulcan*, ordered the youth to take over facing the entrance, so that as soon as the Sun had appeared he was notifying this. But casually it happened that, since the youth who fell asleep had failed in taking over and the watch had become blind, and that with the arrival of the Sun without their knowledge Mars and Venus were caught hugged each other, since they say that they were lying in bed relying on both the ears of Alectryon. Vulcan, turned even more certain, later on trapped and enmeshed both with very thin chains he had previously reworked for a long time for such a purpose: but finally when Mars was freed from such chains he turned himself just rather irritated towards Alectryon, and he didn't cool down his anger before having transformed in a bird with his own name the bad trustworthy keeper, and in such a way that he seemed

¹¹²⁸ *Apocolocyntosis* 11: Ego pro sententia mea hoc censeo:" atque ita ex tabella recitavit: "quandoquidem divus Claudius occidit socerum suum Appium Silanum, generos duos Magnum Pompeium et L. Silanum, socerum filiae suae Crassum Frugi, hominem tam similem sibi quam ovo ovum, Scriboniam socrum filiae suae, uxorem suam Messalinam et ceteros quorum numerus iniri non potuit, placet mihi in eum severe animadverti, nec illi rerum iudicandarum vacationem dari, eumque quam primum exportari, et caelo intra triginta dies excedere, Olympo intra diem tertium."

¹¹²⁹ Chi ha scritto questa frase non è stato Aldrovandi, bensì Lodovico Ricchieri *. § Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 457: Ovorum inter se miram ac prope indiscretam similitudinem, saepe numero apud animum meum non sine stupore perpendi. Alterum enim alteri si compares, fallitur examen, hebescitque intuentis obtutus: tanta prorsus parilitas est, tantaque geminitudo, Caelius.

¹¹³⁰ *Deipnosophistai* II,50,57d.

¹¹³¹ *Il sogno ovvero il gallo - Ὀνειρος ἔ αλεκτρυον*.

¹¹³² Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 404*: Fabulam memorant Lucianus, et ex eo interpretatus Caelius Rhodiginus, et Aristophanis Scholiastes, et Eustathius in octavum Odysseae, et Varinus. - Raccontano questa favola Luciano e Lodovico Ricchieri che l'ha tradotta dal suo testo, e il commentatore di Aristofane, ed Eustazio di Tessalonica nel commento al libro VIII dell'Odisea, e Guarino. - Are telling this fable Lucian and Lodovico Ricchieri who translated it from his text, and the expounder of Aristophanes, and Eustathius of Thessalonica in the commentary of the 8th book of the Odyssey and Varinus.

¹¹³³ Aldrovandi ne ha già accennato a pagina 230*, dove commette un madornale errore: a essere irretito era stato Vulcano e non Marte. Forse con un po' più di attenzione, oppure con l'aiuto di un computer, non avrebbe commesso l'errore di pagina 230.

ageret, galeam gestaret.

Atque hinc Gallos ex antiqui admissi memoria, ut se Deo expurgent, illatque damni formula satisfaciant, morem perpetuo servare diu ante ut praecinant, ubi mox oriturum praesenserint solem: unde Ausonius¹¹³⁴

Ter clara instantis Eoi

Signa canit serus, deprenso Marte, satelles.

APOLOGI.

CANIS ET GALLUS - Canis, et Gallus inita societate iter faciebant, vespere autem superveniente, Gallus conscensa arbore dormiebat, at canis ad radicem arboris excavatae. Cum Gallus, ut assolet, noctu cantasset, vulpes, ut audivit, accurrit, et stans inferius, ut ad se descenderet rogabat, quod cuperet, {commendabili} <commendabile> adeo cantu animal complecti. Cum autem is dixisset, ut ianitorem {potius} <prius> excitaret ad radicem dormientem, ut cum ille aperuisset, descenderet. Et illa quaerente, ut ipsum vocaret, canis statim prosiliens, eam dilaceravit. <Affabulatio.> Fabula significat prudentes homines {inimico} <inimicos> insultantes ad fortiores astu mittere. <Aesopus.>

fierce of his comb as when living as man he was flaunting the helmet's crest.

Hence the roosters, to apologize to God because of the memory of the ancient misdeed, and to pay the punishment on the model of the brought damage, forever they must to observe the custom of singing long before, as soon as they have had the presentiment that the sun is about to rise: whence Ausonius*:

After Mars has been caught, the dumb bodyguard sings thrice the ringing signals of pressing Aurora.

FABLES

THE DOG AND THE COCK - A dog and a rooster, after they allied each other, went on a journey together, and when the evening came, the rooster slept on a tree on which had climbed, but the dog near the root of a hollow tree. Since the rooster, as accustomed, crowed during the night, the fox, as heard him, rushed, and standing below begged him that he went down at her, because she craved to embrace such a praiseworthy animal because of the song. But the rooster said that before she should wake up the doorkeeper sleeping at the root, so that when this fellow had allowed he could come down. And while she was asking that he himself called him, the dog immediately jumped out and tore her to pieces. Moral. The fable means that judicious persons when insulting enemies, they give the task to stronger people by resorting to a stratagem. Aesop*.

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[276] {FELIS} ¹¹³⁵ <FELES> ET GALLUS - {Felis} <Feles¹¹³⁶>, comprehenso Gallo, cum rationabili ipsum causa devorare vellet{:}<,> accusabat ipsum, dicendo molestum esse hominibus,

THE CAT AND THE COCK - A cat - a weasel*? a beech marten*? - after had caught a rooster, since for obvious reasons wished to devour him, accused the rooster in saying that he was troublesome for humans,

¹¹³⁴ *Griphus ternarii numeri 2.* - Versi già citati a pagina 254*.

¹¹³⁵ Si può presumere che Aldrovandi abbia dedotto tutte queste favole dall'edizione di Aldo Manuzio* del 1505 in cui, tra le altre cose, spiccano la vita di Esopo* scritta dal poligrafo bizantino Massimo Planude (Nicomedia ca. 1260 - Costantinopoli 1310), numerose favole di Esopo (VITA ET FABELLAE AESOPI CUM INTERPRETATIONE LATINA) nonché 43 composizioni di Babrio* che viene sistematicamente propinato come *Gabrius* non solo in latino, ma anche in greco dove suona *Gábrios* (GABRIAE FABELLAE TRES & QUADRAGINATA EX TRIMETRIS IAMBIS, PRAETER ULTIMAM EX SCAZONTE). § Il lessico Suida invece riporta *Bábrios*, tant'è che Conrad Gessner in *Historia animalium III* (1555) a pagina 382* riporta una citazione tratta dal lessico Suida e attribuita a Babrio, e questo poeta in Gessner non suona *Gabrius* bensì nel corretto *Babrius*: Suidas: qui et haec Babrii verba citat, Ἀλεκτορίδων ἦν μάχη Ταναγραίων, οἷς φασιν εἶναι θυμὸν ὥσπερ ἀνθρώποις. et hoc proverbium, Ἀλεκτρούνα καὶ ἀθλητὴν ταναγραῖον. celebrantur autem (inquit) tanquam generosi. § Difficile arguire da dove Aldo Manuzio abbia dedotto *Gábrios*. § L'edizione aldina entrata gratuitamente in mio possesso, grazie all'inesauribile Gallica, purtroppo è assai scompagnata. Tuttavia non mi è stato possibile reperire solamente la favola di Esopo che inizia con *Gallus verrens stercorarium* e la composizione di Babrio che inizia col verso *Dum rigido fodit ore fimum, dum quaeritat escam*. § Il testo di Aldrovandi è stato emendato in base a questa edizione aldina del 1505.

¹¹³⁶ Nel testo greco troviamo *ailouros* che pare significhi solamente gatto, *feles* in latino, ma *feles* ha anche altri significati, e proprio per questo, visto che ad aggredire i polli sono sì i gatti, come posso confermare in base alla mia esperienza, ma anche altri animali, propongo gli altri significati latini di *feles*: donnola e faina. Anche costoro nella mia esperienza sono degli avidi e insulsi aggressori dei polli, con ecatombi - forse solo grazie alla faina - che rispecchiano assai da vicino quelle perpetrate dall'uomo quando si scatena in eccidi di altri suoi consimili. E l'uomo per ora rimane insuperato.

quoniam nocte clamaret, neque somno frui permitteret. Eo vero respondente ad illorum utilitatem id se facere, ut ad consueta opera excitarentur{. Rursus felis} <, rursus feles> causam afferebat, quod impius esset erga naturam, cum matre¹¹³⁷, ac sororibus coeundo. Eo autem et hoc ad utilitatem dominorum facere dicente, cum multa hinc ipsis ova pariantur, {felis} <feles> praefatus, sed si tu multis abundas evidentibus responsionibus, ego tamen ieiunus non perstabo, ipsum devoravit. Affabulatio¹¹³⁸<. Fabula> significat pravam naturam peccare volentem, si non verisimili cum praetextu facere id possit, aperte tamen malignari.

{GALLUS} <GALLI> ET PERDIX - Gallos quidam habens domi, emptam et Perdicem cum illis pasci dimisit, qui cum illam verberarent, ac expellerent, illa tristabatur valde {existimas} <existimans> ut alienigenam haec se pati a Gallis. Cum vero paulo post et illos videret pugnare, et seipsos caedere, moerore soluta, ait: sed ego posthac non tristabor <videns et ipsos pugnare inter se. Affabulatio.> {Apologus} <Fabula> significat, prudentes facile ferre ab alienis iniurias, cum ipsos videant nec a suis abstinere.

GALLI DUO PUGNANTES - Duobus Gallis pugnantibus de Gallinis faeminis, alter alterum in fugam vertit, ac victus in locum obscurum profectus delituit: sed qui vicit, in altum elevatus, stansque super alto pariete magna voce clamavit, et statim advolans Aquila eum rapuit. At qui in tenebris delitescebat, ex illo intrepide Gallinas conscendit. <Affabulatio.> Fabula docet, dominum superbis opponi, dare autem humilibus gratiam.

Gallus verrens stercorarium offendit gemmam, cuius cum usum ignoraret, secum loquebatur, si hanc gemmam aurifex quispiam reperisset, nihil ei gratius accidere potuisset. Ego granum hordei pluris facio. Morale significat multos, dum de magnis iudicant, velut minima, et inutilia spernunt. Apologum eundem leges hoc tetrasticho comprehensum.

Dum rigido fodit ore fimum, dum quaeritat escam,

because he cackled during the night and didn't allow them to enjoy their sleep. But he replied that he was doing this in their interest, so that they were driven to carrying out their usual jobs. The cat was putting forward another reason, that he was impious towards nature since he fucked his mother and sisters. But since he was saying that he also did this for profit of masters, since it follows that they lay many eggs for them, the cat prevented him in saying: but if you have in plenty so many evident replies, I shall not, however, remain hungry; and he ate up him. Moral. The fable means that when a wicked nature desires to sin, if it cannot do this with a likely pretext, then acts openly in a wicked way.

THE COCKS AND THE PARTRIDGE - A man who had at home some roosters sent to pasture with them also a partridge he had bought, and since they struck her and drove her away, she was saddened quite a lot, thinking that she had to suffer these things from the roosters because she was foreign. But a short time later when seeing that they also fought between themselves, and killing each other, she dispelled her sadness and said: but henceforward I won't grow sad since I see that they also fought between themselves. Moral. The fable means that judicious persons easily bear insults brought by extraneous when they realize that the latter do not abstain even from bring insults to the likes of them.

TWO FIGHTING COCKS - While two roosters were fighting because of hens their wives, one drove the other into flight, and the defeated, retired in a dark place, hid himself: but the winner, alighted aloft, and standing on a high wall, started to shout at the top of his voice, and at once an eagle in flying swooped down on him and swept him away. But he who was hiding himself in the darkness, came forth from his hiding-place and boldly fucked the hens. Moral. The fable teaches that the sovereign clashes with those who are proud, and that he grants his benevolence to humble persons.

A rooster while scratching dung knocked against a gem, and since he ignored its use was saying to himself: if some goldsmith had found this pleasant gem, nothing more pleasant could have happened to him. I appreciate more a grain of barley*. The moral means that many people when judging important things spurn them as quite insignificant and useless. You can read the same tale contained in these four verses:

¹¹³⁷ L'edizione aldina ha *matri*, che è errato.

¹¹³⁸ Il testo greco per *affabulatio* ha *epimythion*, che significa aggiunta alla favola, morale.

*Dum stupet inventa iaspide Gallus, ait:
Res vili pretiosa loco, nitidique decoris
Hac in sorde manens, nil mihi messis habet.*

GALLINA ET HIRUNDO - Gallina serpentis ovis inventis diligenter calefacta {excludit} <excudit>. Hirundo autem cum eam vidisset, ait, o demens, quid haec nutris? Quae cum excreverint, a te prima iniuriam auspicabuntur. Significat apologus implacabilem esse pravitatem, licet afficiatur maximis beneficiis.

GALLINA AUREA OVA PARIENS - Gallinam quis habens ova aurea parientem, ratus intra ipsam auri massam inesse, occisam aliis Gallinis similem reperit. Hic multum sperans invenire divitiarum, et exiguis illis privatus est. Monet apologus, oportere contentum esse praesentibus, et fugere inexplebilitatem. De hac fabula tale carmen {Gabriae}¹¹³⁹ <Babrii> exstat auctoris Graeci.

Ἔτικτε χρυσοῦν ὄν ὄρνις εἰσάπαξ,
Καὶ τις πλανηθεὶς χρυσεραστῆς /
χρυσεοαστῆς¹¹⁴⁰ τὴν φρένα,
Ἔκτεινε ταύτην χρυσοῦν ὡς λαβεῖν θέλων.
Ἐλπίς δὲ, μείζον δῶρον ὠλέκει τύχης. id est.

*Ovum aureum Gallina semel peperit,
Quidamque avarus deceptus animo
Eam occidit aurum accepturus.
Sed spes perdidit maius fortunae donum.*

<Affabulatio. In eos qui spe lucri in damnum ex pusillanimitate incidunt.>

<MULIER ET GALLINA> - Mulier quaedam <vidua> Gallinam habebat, singulis diebus ovum sibi parientem, rata vero si plus Gallinae hordei proiceret, bis parituram die, hoc fecit. Sed Gallina pinguefacta ne semel quidem die parere potuit. Fabula innuit eos, qui ob avaritiam plurimum sunt appetentes, et quae adsunt, amittere.

USUS IN MEDICINA.

Tantum equidem hoc Gallinaceum genus ad

While he is digging manure with his stiff beak, while he is stubbornly seeking for food, while he is surprised for the discovery of a jasper, a rooster says:
A precious thing and of shining beauty in a vile place remaining in this dirt doesn't represent a crop for me at all.*

THE HEN AND THE SWALLOW - A hen, having found some serpent eggs, diligently warmed and hatched them. But a swallow, having seen her doing this, said: You mad, why are you rearing them? When they will have grown up you will be the first to whom they will begin to do harm. The fable means that the wickedness is implacable, even though it receives very big benefits.

THE HEN LAYING GOLDEN EGGS - A man, who had a hen laying golden eggs, persuaded that inside her there was a gold heap, after killed her discovered that she was identical to other hens. This man, hopeful of finding a great deal of wealth, deprived himself of the small too. The fable teaches that we must be satisfied with present things and to shun insatiability. On this fable the following composition is existing by the Greek author Babrius*:

*Étikte chrysoûn òn òrnīs eisápax,
Kai tis planētheís chryserastēs / chryseoastēs tēn phréna,
Ékteine taútēn chrysoûn hōs labeîn thélōn.
Elpís dē, meízōn dōron olékei týchēs. that is:
Only once a hen laid a golden egg.
And a miser man, deceived in his reasoning,
killed her to take the gold.
But the hope destroyed the greatest gift of fortune.*

Moral. It is addressed to those people who in the hope of profit fall in a damage due to meanness.

THE WOMAN AND THE HEN - A widowed woman had a hen laying an egg every day, but persuaded that if she had given the hen more barley the bird would have laid twice a day, she did so. But the hen, grown fat, didn't succeed in laying neither once a day. The fable hints at those who desire too much because of avarice and lose what is at hand.

USE IN MEDICINE

This genus of gallinaceous offers so great an utility

¹¹³⁹ Lind traduce così: Concerning this fable the following poem is extant by a Greek author named Gabria: "Once a hen laid a golden egg, and a certain miser, deceived in his mind, killed the hen to obtain her gold. But his hope destroyed the greater gift of fortune." (1963) - Nella nota a fondo pagina specifica: Gabria: This is Babrius, *Fabulae Aesopaeae* (ed. by O. Crusius, Leipzig, Teubner, 1897), fable 123. § Si vede che Lind non ha voluto contraddire e umiliare Aldrovandi.

¹¹⁴⁰ Ambedue i vocaboli sono irreperibili nei comuni lessici, ma più di tanto non mi è stato possibile interpretare il greco sia di Aldrovandi che di Aldo Manuzio.

medicinae usum hominibus utilitatem praebet, ut nullus propemodum corporis cum internus, tum externus sit affectus, qui praeterquam quod, teste Rase, (qui centum annos medicinam fecit, omniaque ex diuturna experientia nobis scripta prodidit) nullus alius cibus est, qui in aegritudine alat, et non oneret¹¹⁴¹, excepto eo, qui ab his avibus petitur, hinc sua non hauriat remedia. Unde nimirum sapienter, etsi alioqui superstitiose veteres Aesculapio suo Gallinas immolabant tanquam salubritatis indicium.

indeed to human beings for its use in medicine that there is almost no illness of the body both internal and external which doesn't draw remedy from it, apart from that there is no other food which is able to sustain during an illness and doesn't burden, as Razi* affirms (who practiced medicine for a century [± 860 - 932 AD] and handed down to us in his writings everything coming from his diuturnal experience), except that food made from these birds. Hence in a wise way indeed, although in other respects superstitiously, the ancients immolated to their Aesculapius* the hens as reward for healthiness.

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Ferunt enim id sacrificii genus ideo institutum, quod earum caro sit [277] levissimae digestionis, ac perinde languentibus commoda, tum vero eo maxime, quoniam nulla fere in iis particula sit, (nec excrementa excipio) ex qua suam medicus non agnoscat utilitatem.

For they report that this kind of sacrifice has been instituted because their flesh - of hens - is of very easy digestion, and therefore useful to patients, but especially since in it there would be almost no particle (I understand *neither discards*) of which a physician doesn't would recognize the utility.

Quod iam astruere aggredior, a morbis universalibus exorsus. Plurima praeterea remedia ab ovis accipiuntur, quae, quod de Gallinaceis tantum intelliguntur, non ab re, im<m>o necessarium fuit hic pertractare. Hippocrates¹¹⁴² medicorum omnium coryphaeus febrientem ovorum trium, aut quatuor candidum, id est, albumen bibere iubet in aquae congio concussum: idque valde frigefacere, atque aegrum ad alvum exonerandam conturbare pollicetur. Quod si verum est, ut certe credendum est, utpote ab Hippocratico oraculo pr<a>efectum, et a Brasavolo ante aliquot annos expertum, qui reperisse se ait, qui ex sorbili ovo ter, quaterve excernerent, frustra tam pretiosis remediis medici nostri temporis utentur. Quod si vero victum convenientem praescribere medicus velit, unde quaeso meliorem utilioreque haustus? Galenus¹¹⁴³ in feбри, quae {sincopem} <syncopen> coniu<n>ctam habet, ova (ovorum vitellos) ante quartam diem exhibuit, et post ea etiam carnem. Sed haec sit Gallinarum castratarum¹¹⁴⁴, etsi Galenus, caeterique veteres

Therefore now I begin to make my affirmations starting from systemic diseases. Furthermore, a lot of remedies are drawn from eggs which, since only those of hen are meant as such, because of good reasons it is quite necessary to deal deeply with them in this chapter devoted to the chickens. Hippocrates*, coryphaeus of all physicians, bids the feverish patient to drink the white, that is, the albumen, of three or four eggs beaten up in a *congius* of water [3.27 liters]: and this induces a strong cooling and he assures that it stirs the sick man to the point where he empties his bowels. If this is true, as certainly we must believe, since it has been stated by Hippocratic oracle, and some years ago it has been experimented by Antonio Brasavola*, who says he found persons evacuating the bowel three or four times after having drunk an egg, the contemporary physicians are uselessly resorting to very expensive medicines. Then if a physician wanted really to prescribe a proper feeding, if you please, whence can he draw a better and more useful one? Galen*, in fever associated with faint, gave as food some eggs (egg yolks) before four days had gone by, and after eggs also flesh. But this has to be of

¹¹⁴¹ Bisognerebbe disporre del testo di Razi per verificare se vi sono state impiegate le identiche parole di Plinio* *Naturalis historia* XXIX,48: *Cibo quot modis iuvent [ova], notum est, cum transmeant faucium tumorem calfactaque obiter foveant. Nullus est alius cibus, qui in aegritudine alat neque oneret simulque vim potus et cibi habeat.* § Plinio sta parlando di uova e non del pollo nella sua totalità, e lo stesso sta facendo Gessner, che cita appunto le parole non come dovute a Razi bensì a Plinio: Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 436*: Pars II. De ovorum salubritate simpliciter. *Cibos quot modis iuvent ova, notum est. Nullus est alius cibus qui in aegritudine alat neque oneret, simulque vim potus (quidam legunt vini usum) et cibi habeat, Plin.* § Questo passo di Gessner viene citato pari pari da Aldrovandi a pagina 298 a proposito delle uova e Ulisse adduce ovviamente Plinio, non Razi.

¹¹⁴² *De morbis* liber 3. (Aldrovandi)

¹¹⁴³ *Methodus medendi* liber 12. (Aldrovandi)

¹¹⁴⁴ Mai sentito dire che si castrassero anche le galline, nonostante sia possibile. Che Aldrovandi volesse intendere carne di cappone? Questa seconda ipotesi è alquanto verosimile se ammettiamo che Ulisse abbia letto frettolosamente un passo di Gessner

earum non meminerint. Harum enim caro candidior, melior, et friabilior est, et facile, et cito coquitur, teneraque est, ac grata palato.

Sed hic minime praeterire volo, nec debeo Gelu¹¹⁴⁵ illud praestantissimum cum expresso Gallinacei pulli succo in Gallia usitatissimum, ut audio, pro febrientibus, et aliis ad vires restaurandas. Carnem pulli, et pedes vituli, aut vervecis discoques, donec caro incipiat dissolvi, tum percolabis, et exprimes succum, cui adijcies bonam partem sacchari, ac pollinis cin<n>amomi: purificabis cum albuminibus, et testis ovorum, colabis denuo, addesque crocum, aut aliud quippiam pro colore, quem desideras, viride, rubrum etc. Si acidum placuerit aceti aliquid, vel rob, id est, defrutum aliquod eius saporis, ut de ribes, aut berberis addi potest.

Perpetuo omnibus hectica¹¹⁴⁶ febre laborantibus, inquit Trallianus¹¹⁴⁷, Gallorum testes commodi sunt, cum abunde nutrire, et vires augere possint, ubi probe concocti fuerint. Quapropter id alimentum semper exhibendum est, ubi vires non ad extremum collapsae fuerint. In Epiala¹¹⁴⁸ febrili, in qua exteriora calent, frigent interiora, iis cibis commode uteris, qui {haemitritaeo} <hemitritaeae>¹¹⁴⁹ phlegmaticae conveniunt.

castrated hens*, although Galen and other ancients did not mention it. In fact their flesh is whiter, better, and more friable, and is easily digested and quickly, and it is tender and pleasant to the palate.

But at this point I don't want, neither absolutely I have to pass over that excellent ice with juice made by squeezing a chicken, very used in France, as I hear, for those who have fever and for others to bring back their energies. You will cook for a long time flesh of chicken and foot of calf or of castrated ram until the meat begins to dissolve and thereafter you will filter it and press out the juice, to which you will add a good quantity of sugar and powdered cinnamon*: you will purify it with egg whites and eggshells, strain it a second time and add saffron* or something else of green, red, etc., according to the color you desire. If you like it sour, some vinegar can be added, or *rob**, that is, a juice of the same taste as that obtained from currant*, or from barberry*.

Alexander of Tralles* says that for all those persistently suffering from continuous fever the testicles of roosters are useful, since if properly cooked they are able to feed quite a lot and increase quite a lot the energies. Therefore such food must always be given if strengths have not dwindled till the end. In fever with shivers, in which external parts burn and those inside are frozen, you can conveniently use those foods suited for semi-tertian

tratto da Sylvius - Jacques Dubois* - e che viene citato quando Gessner parla dei criteri in base ai quali scegliere la carne dei gallinacci. Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 391*: Gallinas albas nigris aliqui suaviores esse tradunt, Chrysippus apud Athenaeum. Gallorum et gallinarum caro alimenti est inter aves optimi. quia facile in sanguinem vertitur, et parum excrementosa est. Caro autem gallinarum est melior quam gallorum, nisi sint castrati. nigrarum quoque et quae nondum peperunt caro est melior et levior. Veterum autem, praecipue gallorum, caro nitrosa est et salsa, cibo inepta, Sylvius. § Magari a Bologna, per la festa di San Pellegrino*, si castravano, oltre ai galli, anche le galline, ma Aldrovandi, quando a pagina 294 parlerà della castrazione di massa del 1° agosto, non accenna minimamente a galline *evirate*. § Tutto questo sproloquio contro Aldrovandi deve essermi perdonato. Non si è mai finito d'imparare! C'era chi castrava le galline! Lo scopro attraverso la citazione completa di Gessner a pagina 433*, il quale aveva il *vizio* di citare sistematicamente le fonti: forse l'*eviratore* di galline era il medico Michele Savonarola*, nonno del famosissimo Girolamo*: Febrientibus magis conveniunt gallinae castratae, quanquam veteres castrationis earum non meminerunt. ego castratas domi alo, quarum caro albior, melior et friabilior est. Facile et cito coquantur, et tenerae fiunt et gratae palato, Mich. Savonarola. E a pagina 434* Gessner ripete: Febrientibus magis conveniunt gallinae castratae, Savonarola. § Le galline castrate furono decantate anche dal medico e poeta Giovanni Battista Fiera*. Si veda a pagina 294: Sic humens Gallina vices huic cedet honoras | Vel nigra, vel partus sit licet indocilis.

¹¹⁴⁵ Aldrovandi non riferisce la fonte, ma si tratta di Gessner, il quale a sua volta molto verosimilmente ha tratto la ricetta da Balthasar Staindl* - ex libro Germanico Baltasaris Stendelii - in quanto nel testo di Gessner la ricetta del *Gelu* si trova inframmezzata ad altre ricette di Stendelius. - Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 389*: Gelu cum expresso succo carnis gallinacei pulli, in Gallia usitatum pro febrientibus et aliis ad vires restaurandas. Carnem pulli et pedes vituli aut vervecis discoques donec caro incipiat dissolvi, tum percolabis et exprimes succum, cui adijcies bonam partem sacchari ac pollinis cinnamomi: purificabis cum albuminibus et testis ovorum, colabis denuo, addesque crocum, aut aliud quippiam pro colore quem desideras [desideras], viride, rubrum, etc. si acidum placuerit, aceti aliquid, vel , id est defrutum aliquod eius saporis, ut de ribes aut berberis addi potest.

¹¹⁴⁶ Febbre continua, dal greco *hektikós* = che ha un'abitudine, abituale, da cui *hektikòs pyretós* = febbre continua che porta alla consunzione.

¹¹⁴⁷ Liber 12 cap. 5. (Aldrovandi) - Con ogni verosimiglianza si tratta del *Libri duodecim de re medica*.

¹¹⁴⁸ Febbre con brividi: da *ēpialéo* = ho la febbre; *ēpialos* = febbre con brividi. Per l'ubicazione di questa febbre rispetto alle altre antiche e fantasmagoriche febbri può essere utile dare uno sguardo al *Lignum febrinum**.

¹¹⁴⁹ Febbre semiterzana, cioè di due giorni e mezzo, da *hēmitritaíos pyretós*: Ippocrate, Galeno. (Lorenzo Rocci) § *Hēmitritaíos* è un aggettivo e non un sostantivo, per cui il termine latino *haemitritaeo* usato come sostantivo dovrebbe essere errato, visto che oltretutto

Gallus antiquus post longam cum altero demicationem occidatur, coquaturque cum hordeo, passulis enucleatis, pulegio, hyssopo, thymo, et violis, tempereturque cum oxymelite acri. Propinato quantum uno haustu sorbere potest aeger.¹¹⁵⁰ Vel pro eadem febre, cum a simplici pituita dependet praesertim in homine frigidae naturae, senescentem Gallum praedicto modo defatigatum parato ad hunc modum. {Chamomaeli} <Chamaemeli>¹¹⁵¹ sesqui manipulum, ficuum aridarum, passularum enucleatarum, singulorum manipulum, hordei ab uno cortice exuti pugillos tres, coquito sufficienter, et colato. Cum libra¹¹⁵² huius iuris misceto adipis Anatis recentis uncias tres, aceti albi e pulegio unciam, salis parum. Bulliant iterum donec permisceatur. Dato calidum quantum uno haustu sorberi possit. Efficacissimum est ad crassos humores, et lentos febrem generantes. Idem cum Capo, et pullo efficere possis, sed {inefficatius} <inefficacius>. Eiusmodi sorbitio ex adipe Anatis dici potest. Brudus Lusitanus in opere suo de victu febricitantium¹¹⁵³ haec recenset remedia, multaque alia cum pullis, et Gallinis coquenda praecipit febribus diversis salubria, ut cucurbitam, pruna, uvam acerbam, quae brevitatis gratia hic sponte praeterimus¹¹⁵⁴. Sed postquam in iuris Gallinacei, cuius tam frequens apud nostrates medicos usus est, mentionem incidimus, in iuniorum gratiam paulo altius, fusiusque de eo dicendum nobis videtur.

Sciatur itaque tyronum ingenia ius Galli iunioris,

fever caused by phlegm*. Kill an old rooster after a long fight with another rooster, and let him cook with barley*, small raisins from which have had their seeds removed, pennyroyal* - *Mentha pulegium*, hyssop*, thyme* and violets, and all is mixed with strong vinegar and honey. Give as much of it as the patient can swallow at one draught. Or for the same fever, when depending on a simple cold especially in a person feeling the cold for nature, you have to prepare in the following way an old rooster worn out in the above-mentioned way. A handful and a half of chamomile, a handful of each of dried figs*, raisins without seeds, three fistfuls of naked barley with only a husk, let cook sufficiently and strain. Mix with a pound [327.45 g] of this broth three ounces [about 82 g] of fresh duck fat, an ounce [27.28 g] of white vinegar with pennyroyal, a little salt. They must boil again until they are not well mixed. Give it hot in the quantity that can be swallowed with only a gulp. It has a lot of effectiveness against obtuse and indolent humors which generate fever. The same thing you can do with a capon and with a chicken, but it is less effective. Such potion can be called *with fat of duck*. Manuel Brudo* in his treatise on food of feverish patients examines these remedies, and he prescribes many other useful things in different kinds of fever which are to be cooked with chickens and hens, as pumpkin, plums, sour grapes, which for sake of brevity I willingly pass by here. But since we happened to mention the chicken's broth used so frequently by our physicians, it seems to me advisable to speak about it a little bit more deeply and widely for benefit of younger physicians.

Therefore the minds of the beginners must know that

è seguito da un aggettivo al femminile: *phlegmaticae*. § L'origine di questo termine semigreco - cui è sottinteso *pyretós* - è ovviamente Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 394*: In febre hepiala, in qua exteriora calent et frigent interiora, iis cibis utere qui hemitritaeo phlegmaticae conveniunt. § Io non ho letto il relativo testo dei due medici greci, ma propenderei per una febbre che dura un giorno e mezzo. Il significato di febbre terzana e quartana, caratteristiche della malaria, non è che queste febbri durano rispettivamente tre e quattro giorni, ma che compaiono ogni terzo giorno (un giorno di febbre, uno di apiressia, uno di febbre) oppure ogni quarto giorno (febbre, due giorni di apiressia, febbre). Nel XXI secolo non ho mai sentito parlare di febbre semiterzana. Nel mio frondosissimo e antico *Lignum februum* - appeso a una parete della scala - la sequenza, a partire dal tronco *febris*, è la seguente: - *putrida* - *intermittens_discreta* - *periodica* che si triforca nei rami *quartana*, *quotidiana*, *terciana*. Dal ramo *terciana* si stacca il ramoscello *hemitritens* che si intreccia a formare un'aureola con una febbre quotidiana che si stacca da un'altra suddivisione del ramo *putrida*. L'*hepiala* è il rametto terminale di questa seconda *quotidiana*. Avete ragione! Per capirci qualcosa, date uno sguardo all'intricatissimo *Lignum februum**.

¹¹⁵⁰ La fonte è Manuel Brudo*, come puntualizza Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 394*: [...] tempereturque cum oxymelite acri. propinato quantum uno haustu sorbere possit aeger, Brudus Lusitanus.

¹¹⁵¹ Camomilla, dal greco *chamaimèlon*, melo terrestre, mela nana, per l'affinità dell'odore con certe mele. - Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 394*: Chamaemeli manipulum sesqui: ficuum aridarum, passularum enucleatarum, singulorum manipulum: hordei ab uno cortice exuti manipulos tres, coquito sufficienter et colato.

¹¹⁵² Vedi: Pesi e misure*.

¹¹⁵³ *De ratione victus in singulis febribus secundum Hippocratem, in genere sigillatim libri III* (Venetiis: per Ioannem Rubeum, 1559)

¹¹⁵⁴ È una bugia: Aldrovandi non dice nulla degli altri rimedi di Brudus Lusitanus non per non essere prolisso, ma perché non ne dice nulla Gessner dal quale Aldrovandi ha tratto la frase e al quale ha dovuto giocoforza adeguarsi. - Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 394*: Idem Brudus passim in opere suo de victu febricitantium, diversa remedia cum gallinis aut pullis coquenda praecipit, febribus diversis salubria, ut cucurbitam, pruna, uvam acerbam etc. quae propter prolixitatem omittimus.

et Gallinae, diversa omnino, ac plene contraria a iure Galli veteris vi pollere. Iunioris enim Galli, Gallinaeve ius, maxime si et ipsa iuvenis fuerit, vitiosos humores temperat quidem, at non educit, et in ardoribus stomachi, auctore Dioscoride, etsi ea verba Ruellius vel neglexit, vel illegitima iudicavit (leguntur enim in antiquissimo codice, teste Marcello, et a Serapione etiam referuntur¹¹⁵⁵) simpliciter paratum datur: atque ita Plinius intelligendus est, dum Gallinaceorum decoctum¹¹⁵⁶ <ius> acria molire, id est, mordaces humores temperare dixit. Nam, ut diximus id Gallinarum, earumque iuniorum iuri magis convenit, gallinaceorum, nisi plane iuvenes fuerint, minus et minime quidem veterum. Nam et Averroes ait¹¹⁵⁷. *Ius Gallinae iuvenis, et pinguis temperat complexionem, et est optima medicina leprosis*. Porro, si Galeno¹¹⁵⁸ credimus, ius Galli veteris alvum ducit, Gallinarum astringit, et quod magis admirandum videtur, caro Gallinae veteris.

Ius vero Galli veteris ad multa in actu pratico commendatur. Lavat enim, abstergit, aperit, flatu dissipat, provocat, alvum solvit, atque

the broth of a rather young rooster and of a hen are endowed with a different and quite opposite power to that of the broth of an old rooster. For the broth of a rather young rooster or of a hen, above all if she also is young, really restrains corrupted fluids, but doesn't drive out them, and made in a simple manner it is given in heartburns, as Dioscorides* affirms, although Jean Ruel* either omitted these words or judged them as spurious (for they can be read in an ancient code, as Marcellus Virgilius* alias Marcello Virgilio Adriani reports, and they are reported by Serapion* too): and so has to be understood Pliny* when he said that the broth of overcooked chickens drives away acidities, that is, it calms prickly humors. For, as I said, this more befits hen's broth, and of rather young hen, less that of rooster, except it is quite young, not at all that of old rooster. For also Averroes* says: *The broth of young and fat hen tempers individual constitution, and it is a very good medicine for lepers**. Furthermore, if we believe Galen, the broth of old rooster rids the bowel, that of hens acts as astringent, and what seems to be even more surprising, the flesh of old hen.

In truth in practice the broth of old rooster is recommended for a lot of illnesses. For it purifies, washes away, acts as appetizer, eliminates flatulence,

¹¹⁵⁵ Nella prima edizione della traduzione latina - senza testo greco a fronte - di Jean Ruel del *De materia medica di Dioscoride* (1516) viene tralasciata una frase che è stata oggetto di contestazione circa la sua autenticità, difesa invece a spada tratta da Marcellus Virgilius. Questa frase riguarda l'impiego del brodo di gallo giovane. Nell'edizione del 1549 della traduzione di Ruel l'editore parigino - o la vedova dell'editore - Arnold Birkman, grazie alla collaborazione di Jacobus Goupylus, include la frase greca facendola precedere da un asterisco per metterne in evidenza la sospetta non autenticità, e ovviamente manca la rispettiva traduzione latina di Ruel, in quanto era morto nel 1537. Parte del testo di Aldrovandi sembra tratto dal commento* a Dioscoride di Pierandrea Mattioli* che si affidava alla traduzione di Ruel. Pertanto Mattioli tralasciò di inserire la frase nel testo di Dioscoride in latino (in quanto Ruel non la tradusse dal greco) e nel commento a II,43 *Gallinae, et Galli* dice: "Codices Graeci typis expressi hoc in loco habent ὁ δὲ ξωμός τοῦ νόσασκος μάλιστα δίδοται ἐπικράσεως χάριν φαυλοτήτων, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν στόμαχον πυρουμένων λιτῶς σκευασθεῖς. hoc est ad sensum: Ius galli iunioris maxime datur ad contemperandos humores vitiosos, et in ardoribus stomachi simpliciter paratum. Verba illa Ruellius, cuius interpretationem alioquin sequimur, vel neglexit, vel illegitima iudicavit. Nos vero huc ea afferenda duximus, non solum quod in vulgatis codicibus, ac antiquissimo (teste Marcello) legantur; sed quia etiam a Serapione referuntur. Quibus etiam subscribere videtur verborum series, et communis rei usus." (*Commentarii in libros sex Pedacii Dioscoridis Anazarbei De Materia Medica*, 1554, pag. 186) § Si può aggiungere che nell'edizione del 1499 del solo testo greco del *De materia medica* di Dioscoride curata da Aldo Manuzio* la frase greca incriminata manca ed è stata scritta, sembra a mano, a bordo pagina.

¹¹⁵⁶ *Naturalis historia* XXX,68: Alvum ciet gallinaceorum discoctorum ius et acria mollit, ciet et hirundinum fimum adiecto melle subditum. § L'errore della citazione, come è ovvio, proviene da Gessner. Un conto è preparare uno stracotto, una carne stracotta, e usare questa carne, oppure preparare un consommé - che è un brodo ristretto, ottenuto facendo ridurre con lunga bollitura a fuoco lento del comune brodo di bue, di pollame o di pesce - un conto è invece preparare un brodo facendo stracuocere il pollo, come sta affermando Plinio. Ecco il testo del colpevole, Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 393*: Alvum cit et gallinaceorum decoctum ius, et acria mollit, Plinius.

¹¹⁵⁷ Gessner riporta il singolare: *complexionem*. Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 393*: Ius gallinae iuvenis et pinguis temperat complexionem, et est optima medicina leprosis, Averrois.

¹¹⁵⁸ *Ad Pisonem, et de simpl.* (Aldrovandi) § La referenza esatta e completa a Galeno - senza Pisone, cui fu dedicata la Teriaca - la dobbiamo a Pierandrea Mattioli *Commentarii in libros sex Pedacii Dioscoridis Anazarbei De Materia Medica*, 1554*, pag. 186: Tametsi Gallinarum ius simplex (ut Galeno proditum est libro XI. simplicium medicamentorum) retinendi vim habeat; gallorum tamen veterum cum sale diutius decoctorum, subducendi facultatem obtinet. § Mattioli non puntualizza, come fa Aldrovandi, l'ottimo potere astringente intestinale da parte della carne di gallina vecchia, che così viene ad agire in senso opposto al brodo - fatto con carne - del suo coetaneo maschio. § Oppure, se non vogliamo leggere la Teriaca dedicata da Galeno a Pisone, dobbiamo credere a quanto afferma Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 390*: Gallorum veterum caro astringit, ius solvit. (vide infra in G.) gallinarum vero ius astringit, Galenus in opere de simplicibus, et ad Pisonem.

melancholiam purgat, ut Serapio testatur, sed Antonius Musa Brasavolus¹¹⁵⁹, cum id experiretur verum esse non reperisse se scribit. Lenit enim, inquit, et ea educit, quae in ventriculo, et intestinis continentur.

provokes the escape of intestinal gases, frees the bowel and removes black bile, as Serapion testifies, but Antonio Musa Brasavola, since he would have experimented this, writes that he didn't find this as corresponding to the truth. It has lenitive properties indeed, he says, and it provokes the escape of what is contained in stomach and bowel.

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Senam etiam quandoque se miscuisse ait, atque ita atram bilem eduxisse: alias denique turbit pro pituita detrahenda, alias mirabolanos citrinos pro bile [278] flava: quod penultimum autoritate Mesues¹¹⁶⁰ fecisse videri potest, qui non turbit tantum pro educenda pituita, sed {enicum} <cnicum>¹¹⁶¹ Gallinaceo iuri miscet, ac ob id arthriticis doloribus ex hac natis conferre scribit: melanc<h>oliam vero {eum} <cum> epithymo, et polypodio, et cum iisdem, atque thymo<,> hyssopo, anetho, et sale gemmae arthriticos iuvare. Serenus¹¹⁶² febribus chronicis prodesse dixit hoc versu.

*Febribus aut longis Galli nova iura vetusti
Subveniunt<,>¹¹⁶³ etiam tremulis medicantia membris.*

Sed Plinius¹¹⁶⁴, ex quo Serenus videtur mutuatus fuisse, prae caeteris iuris Gallinacei encomia ita

Antonio Brasavola* says that sometimes - with broth of old rooster - he also mixed sena* - or senna - and that in this way he drew out the black bile*: finally other times he mixed turbit* - the Indian jalap - to get out the cold, other times lemon-coloured cherry plums* to draw out the yellow bile: it seems that he has done the second-last mixture relying upon Mesue the Young* - or Pseudo Mesue, who mixes with rooster's broth not so much the turbit to eliminate the cold but the safflower*, and he writes that because of this it is useful for arthritic pains that sprang from the cold: for with the addition of flowers of thyme*, of polipody*, it is good for black humor, and with the addition of the same ingredients besides thyme, hyssop*, dill* and rock salt it is good for arthritics. Serenus Sammonicus* said that it is effective in the chronic fevers by these verses:

Just made broths of old rooster are helpful in even though long-lasting fevers, and treat also trembling limbs.

But Pliny*, from whom Serenus seems to have taken information, before everything else strikingly praises

¹¹⁵⁹ Quest'affermazione di Brasavola è contenuta nel suo *In libros de ratione victus in morbis acutis Hippocratis et Galeni commentaria et annotationes* (Venetijs, apud Hieronymum Scotum, 1546) come si può desumere dalla citazione di Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 393*: Sed plura de his iuribus scripsi in Commentariis nostris in librum de ratione victus in morb. acut. Antonius Musa Brassav. Et rursus, Ius e vetere gallo atram bilem educere, ut Serapio scribit, cum experirer verum esse non reperi. Lenit enim et ea solum educit quae in ventriculo et intestinis continentur. Senam quandoque miscui, et atram bilem eduxit: alias turbit, pro pituita detrahendas: alias myrobalanos citrinos pro bile flava.

¹¹⁶⁰ *De simplicibus* cap. 23. (Aldrovandi)

¹¹⁶¹ Lo *κνίκος* di Dioscoride, in latino *cnicus*, che in Ippocrate, Aristotele e Teofrasto è scritto *κνήκος*, dovrebbe corrispondere al cartamo, *Carthamus tinctorius*. Per Pierandrea Mattioli* "è notissima pianta, e chiamasi in Italia volgarmente zaffarano Saracinesco, quantunque gli spetiali, imitando gli Arabi lo chiamano Carthamo. Usano alcuni il suo fiore ne i cibi in vece di zaffarano. Il semo solo è quello, che s'adopera nell'uso della medicina. Enne di due spetie domestico cioè, e salvatico come recita Teofrasto al 4. cap. del 6 lib. dell'istoria delle piante [...] Solve il Carthamo (diceva Mesue) la flemma per di sotto, e parimente per vomito, e similmente l'acquosità del corpo, e vale alle infermità, che si generano da quelle, come dolori colici, e simili. Al che giova parimente messo ne i clisteri. Mondifica, conformato in lettouario, il petto, e'l polmone, e rischiara la voce: aumenta il suo uso il seme humano. Il suo fiore tolto con acqua melata, giova al trabocco di fiele. Questo tutto del Carthamo scrisse Mesue." (pag. 804, *Discorsi*, 1585 - commento al capitolo 189 del libro IV di Dioscoride, *Del Cnico*)

¹¹⁶² *Liber medicinalis*.

¹¹⁶³ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 393*: Febribus aut longis galli nova iura vetusti | Subveniunt, etiam tremulis medicantia membris, Serenus.

¹¹⁶⁴ *Naturalis historia* XXIX,78-80. (Aldrovandi) - [78] Carnibus gallinaceorum ita, ut tepebunt avulsae, adpositis venena serpentium domantur, item cerebro in vino potio. Parthi gallinae malunt cerebrum plagis inponere. Ius quoque ex iis potum praeclare medetur, et in multis aliis usibus mirabile. Pantherae, leones non attingunt perunctos eo, praecipue si et alium fuerit incoctum. [79] Alvum solvit validius e vetere gallinaceo, prodest et contra longinquas febres et torpentibus membris tremulisque et articulariis morbis et capitis doloribus, epiphoris, inflationibus, fastidiis, incipiente tenesmo, iocineri, renibus, vesicae, contra cruditates, suspiria. [80] Itaque etiam faciendi eius extant praecepta: efficacius coci cum olera marino aut cybio aut cappari aut apio aut herba Mercuriali,

egregie prosequitur statim ubi pennas, et cerebrum adversus serpentium venena valere dixisset: *Ius quoque ex his potum, inquit, praeclare medetur et in multis aliis usibus mirabile. Pantherae, leonesque non attingunt perunctos eo, praecipue si allium fuerit incoctum: alvum solvit, validius e veteri Gallinaceo. Prodest et contra longinquas febres, et torpentibus membris (stupori, tremori, quoniam pituitam educit) tremulisque et articulariis morbis et capitis doloribus, epiphoris, inflationibus, fastidiis, incipienti tenesmo, {iocinori} <iocineri>, renibus, vesicae: contra cruditates, suspiria. Itaque etiam faciendi eius extant praecepta. {Efficacius} <Efficacius> enim coc{t}i cum olere marino, aut cybio, aut cappari, aut apio, aut herba mercuriali, aut polypodio, aut anetho. {Utilissima} <Utilissime> autem in congiis tribus aquae ad tres heminas¹¹⁶⁵ cum supradictis herbis, et refrigeratum sub dio dari tempestivi<u>s antecedente vomitione. Hactenus Plinius.*

Quae eius iuris parandi praecepta ex Dioscoride transcripsisse videtur, uti etiam Avicenna, et Mesues, sicuti doctissimus Io. Costaeus Laudensis¹¹⁶⁶ in hoc almo nostro archigymnasio Bononiensi medicinae theoricæ professor primarius, mihiq; amicissimus luculenter quoque demonstrat, licet interim uterque Galenum citet, quando tamen in Galeni, quae extant monumentis, de hac re nihil legere liceat. Dioscorides¹¹⁶⁷ vero ius Gallinaceum hunc in modum praeparat. *Abiectis, inquit, interaneis, salem conijci oportet, et consuto ventre decoqui in viginti sextariis aquae, donec ad tres heminas rediga<n>tur, totum id refrigeratum sub dio datur. Aliqui incoquunt olus marinum, mercurialem, cnicum, aut filiculam. At circa hanc praeparationem, illud in primis scitu dignum est, an integro Galli corpore, ut iam ex Dioscoride diximus, an, ut alii volunt, decerptas in frusta carnes praestet usurpare: tum etiam si integrum illud sumendum sit, qualenam sal iniiciendum, crassumne, an tenue: an item statim ubi repletum est sale, igni committi debeat, an potius tantisper desistendum, ut in intimas carnes sal penetret. Et rursus an ea aquae mensura, quam praescribit Dioscorides oportuna sit, an vero potius {cotilae} <cotylae - cotulae> viginti satisfaciant, ut iubet secundo loco*

the chicken's broth in the following way, soon after he said that feathers and brain are helpful against poisons of snakes. *Also to have drunk their broth, he says, is very effective and it is also extraordinary in many other uses. Panthers and lions don't attack those who smeared it all over themselves, especially if garlic* has been cooked with it: it frees the bowel, more effectively if gotten from an old rooster. It is also good against lasting fevers and for stiffened and trembling limbs (against numbness, tremor, since it draws out the chill) and for illnesses of articulations and headaches, for lachrymations, flatulences, inappetences, incipient intestinal stabbing pains, for liver, kidneys, bladder: against indigestions and breathlessness. And therefore are also extant prescriptions for making it. For it is more effective if cooked with sea kale*, or with a slice of salty tuna, or with capers*, or with celery*, or with annual Mercury herb*, or with polipody, or with dill. In truth it is made very profitably in three congi of water [3.27 liters x 3] with the aforesaid herbs until to reduce it to three heminae [750 ml] cooled in the open air, if a rather short time before vomit has been provoked. Thus far Pliny.*

It seems that he transcribed from Dioscorides* these instructions for preparing such a broth, as well as Avicenna* and Mesue the Young did, as also the learned Giovanni Costeo* is outstandingly showing, leading professor of theoretical medicine in this our illustrious *archigymnasium* of Bologna and my big friend, since both are quoting Galen* although meanwhile in Galen's works we have available, one can read nothing about this subject. In truth Dioscorides prepares the chicken's broth in this way. He says: *After the bowels have been removed it is necessary to put salt inside and after the abdomen has been sewed up we have to cook in 20 sextarii of water [10 liters] until they are reduced to three heminae [750 ml], and all this quantity after cooled must be given in open air. Some cook together sea kale, annual Mercury herb, safflower or polipody. But regarding this recipe, first of all it is suitable to know whether it is better to use the entire body of the rooster, as we already said deducing it from Dioscorides, or, as others think, its flesh cut up into bits: moreover if it is necessary to use it intact, what kind of salt to put inside, whether thick or light: and likewise whether as soon as it has been filled with salt it must be put on fire, or on the contrary it is necessary to wait for some time so that the salt can penetrate inside the flesh. And then whether that quantity of water Dioscorides prescribes is proper, or on the contrary they are*

polypodio aut anetho, utilissime autem in congiis III aquae ad III heminas cum supra dictis herbis et refrigeratum sub diu dari, tempestivius antecedente vomitione.

¹¹⁶⁵ Vedi Pesì e misure*.

¹¹⁶⁶ *In comment. ad Mesuem.* (Aldrovandi)

¹¹⁶⁷ *De materia medica* liber 2 cap. 43. (Aldrovandi) - La numerazione del capitolo corrisponde a quella di Pierandrea Mattioli e il testo latino è identico, per cui corrisponde alla traduzione di Jean Ruel.

Avicenna, vel non tam certo servato pondere, ut ait Mesue: tandemque quis coctioni praescribendus sit modus, an ut ad tres {cotilas} <cotylas - cotulas> aqua absumatur, quod illi praecipiant, an ut ad tertias, quod Mesue, an quid aliud. Itaque cum luculenter, et docte admodum praefatus Io. Costaeus super eiusmodi quaestionibus disputet, benevolum lectorem ad doctissima eius in Mesuem commentaria remitto¹¹⁶⁸. Illud interim obnixè precabor, ut omnino ea {legant} <legat>: quia egregie eiusmodi controversias conciliat: Illud etiam obiter admonens, Marcellum Virgilium¹¹⁶⁹ ad Dioscoridis verba de iure suspicari sextariorum, et heminarum numeros, pro rei necessitate maiores, vitiumque in eorum notis fortassis esse.

Mesue ad eiusmodi ius purgatorium praeparandum Gallos eligit ruf{f}os potissimum, qui ad motum sint alacres, ad coitum ardentis, ad dimicandum fortes, inter obesos, et {macilentes} <macilentos> medios, et quo vetustiores, eo magis esse medicamentosos asserit. Quantum autem ad solvendum alvum ex hoc iure exhibendum sit, ex proprio periculo ita docet Antonius Musa Brasavolus: Veteris Galli iure usi sunt frequenter prisci pro medicamento alvum molliente, et ad ichores¹¹⁷⁰ educendos. Alvum mire proritat, si satis copiose sumatur, hoc est ad tres, vel quatuor communes pateras (nam una patera nihil efficit, alibi etiam a libra¹¹⁷¹ una ad duas bibi iubet) in qua copia potum etiam Capi ius ventrem emollit. Gallinacei vero pulli ius, etiamsi multo copiosius hauriatur, nihil omnino educet.

Sed tempestivum est, ut reliqua, quae medico praestat hoc Gallinaceum genus, remedia prosequamur. Rasis cerebrum Gallinarum adversus cerebri tremorem commendavit. Idem ingenium, memoriamque iuvat adeo, ut nonnullos, qui iam delirare coeperant, resipiscere

sufficient twenty *heminae* [5 liters], as Avicenna is advising in second instance, or without observing such a precise quantity, as Mesue the Young says: and finally what entity must be established for cooking, or if water must be consumed up to become three *heminae* [750 ml], a thing that they prescribe, or up to a third, a thing that Mesue the Young prescribes, or what else. Therefore since the above-mentioned Giovanni Costeo disserts brilliantly and quite learnedly about such matters, I send the benevolent reader to his learned commentaries on Mesue the Young. In the meantime I will beg earnestly so that absolutely he reads them since he settles very excellently such controversies. Also remembering in the meantime that Marcellus Virgilius*, as far as the words of Dioscorides about the broth is concerned, he thinks that necessarily the number of *sextarii* and *heminae* are rather great, and that perhaps there is an error in their transcription.

Mesue to prepare this laxative broth chiefly chooses reddish roosters active in the movements, very longing to mate, strong in fighting, and those who are something in between fat and thin, and he affirms that the older they are the more are therapeutic. But the quantity of this broth that must be given for freeing the bowel is so prescribed at his risk by Antonio Musa Brasavola: The ancients has often used the broth of an old rooster as a medicine able to soften the bowel and to bring forth the liquids contained in the blood. It stimulates in marvelous way the bowel if it is swallowed in enough abundant quantity, that is, up to three or four usual cups (for only a cup gets nothing, in another point he also prescribes to drink from one to two pounds of it) and also the broth of capon drunk in such a quantity softens the faeces. In truth the broth of a young chicken, even if assumed in more abundant quantity, won't evacuate nothing at all.

But it is the moment of relating the rest of the remedies which this gallinaceous genus offers to the physician. Razi* recommended hen's brain against trembling head. Still the brain is helpful to the mind and the memory to such an extent that it brought some people to their senses who by then had begun

¹¹⁶⁸ L'opera di Giovanni Costeo - il commento a Mesuè - che Aldrovandi invita a leggere è probabilmente la seguente, per cui si tratta di un commento a Mesuè il Giovane*, o Pseudo Mesuè, morto nel 1015: Mesue <m. 1015> - *Mesuae medici clarissimi Opera, a Ioanne Costa [Costaeo] medico Laudensi nunc recognita, et aucta adnotationibus, quibus à recentiorum calumnijs divinus hic scriptor vindicatur. Accessere bis varia diversorum* - Venetiis: apud Iuntas, 1570 (Venetijs, in officina Iuntarum, 1568). [da OPAC ICCU]

¹¹⁶⁹ Marcellus Virgilius nel suo commento al *De materia medica* (1523) conclude il questo modo la sua interpretazione al libro II, capitolo 42 (e non 43) - *De Gallinaceis* - di Dioscoride: Non omitteremus et illud videri nobis sextariorum et heminarum numeros: quia hoc capite docent pro rei necessitate maiores: vitiumque in eorum notis forte esse.

¹¹⁷⁰ In greco *ichor*, gen. *ichôros*, plur. *ichôres* significa icore, la parte acquosa del sangue simile a siero.

¹¹⁷¹ Vedi Pesi e misure*.

fecerit. Epilepsiam ex venenati animalis morsu contingere praeclarissimi quique medicorum unanimiter tradunt. In quo casu quamcunque avem, sed Gallinam maxime, pullum, aut Pipionem, Columbamve per dorsum scindes, et loco morsus calidam impones. Nam sua caliditate venenum ad se trahit, vel sic Gallus Gallinave deplumetur circa anum, et imponatur anus loco morsus, et attrahet ad se, aegerque sanabitur.

Sextus¹¹⁷² Philosophus Platonius epilepticis eiusmodi quoque remedium praescribit: *Galli, inquit, testiculos contritos cum aqua ieiuno dabis potandos: abstineant autem a vino diebus decem: debebunt autem testiculi sicci servari, et cum fuerint necessarii, continuo sumantur.*

to ramble. Unanimously all the most illustrious physicians report that the epilepsy follows the bite of a poisonous animal. In that case you will have to split right down the middle at the back whatever bird, but above all a hen, a chicken or a pigeon or a dove, and you will have to place it still warm upon the point of the bite. For by its heat it attracts the poison to itself, or else with the same purpose you can pluck around the anus a rooster or a hen and apply the anus in the place of the bite, and it will attract the poison to itself, and the patient will recover.

The Platonic philosopher Sextus Placitus Papyriensis* prescribes also the following remedy to epileptics. He says: *Give to drink on an empty stomach the testicles of a rooster ground up in water: the patients have to abstain from wine for ten days: and the testicles must be preserved dried, and when there is need of them, they must be taken at once.*

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[279] De eisdem testiculis, quod nempe comitialibus, et caducis remedio sint, Plinius¹¹⁷³ sic refert *Quidam bibendos cense<n>t testes Gallinacei ex aqua, et lacte antecedente quinque dierum abstinentia vini ob id inveteratos.* Dissentiunt nimirum parum Sextus¹¹⁷⁴, et Plinius, quod ille ex aqua tantum potandos testiculos velit, et decem dierum a vino abstinentiam laudet, hic cum aqua et lacte exhibeat bibendos, et quinque dierum abstinentiae vini meminit. Serapio etiam pro epilepticis medicamentum probat e testibus Galli Gallinacei confectum: Caelius Aurelianus ut videtur, improbat. Ornithologus¹¹⁷⁵ in manuscripto quodam Germanico libro remedium tale ad epilepsiam invenisse asserit. Fel Gallinacei aeger cum aqua mixtum bibat, et diebus decem abstemius esto.

Pliny* reports in the following way about the same testicles, since they would just be a remedy for epileptics and people suffering of falling-sickness: *Some persons think that it is necessary to drink testicles of rooster put in water and milk with a previous abstinence from wine for five days, and because of this they are let grow old.* Really Sextus Placitus Papyriensis* and Pliny disagree a little bit within them, since the former would be of the opinion that the testicles must be drunk only with water and he thinks good an abstinence from wine of ten days, the latter would give them to drink with water and milk and he remembers an abstinence from wine of five days. Also Serapion* prizes a medicine from testicles of rooster: Caelius Aurelianus*, as it seems, doesn't agree. The Ornithologist affirms he has found in a German manuscript book this remedy for epilepsy: the patient has to drink chicken's bile mixed with water and has to be teetotal for ten days.

Amatus Lusitanus catulum, vel Columbum vivum dissectum per spinam supra caput mulieris melanc<h>olicae, vel desipientis imponi consulit. Similiter Ornithologus¹¹⁷⁶ quosdam Gallinam nigram dissectam in eodem

Amatus Lusitanus* - alias João Rodriguez do Castelo Branco - advises to place on the head of a melancholic or half-mad woman a living puppy or a pigeon split down the backbone. Likewise the Ornithologist reports he heard some people are

¹¹⁷² *Liber medicinae ex animalibus* cap. 8. (Aldrovandi)

¹¹⁷³ *Naturalis historia* XXX,92: Quidam pectus eius [vulturis] bibendum censent in cerrino calice, aut testes gallinacei ex aqua et lacte, antecedente V dierum abstinentia vini; ob id inveterant.

¹¹⁷⁴ *Liber medicinae ex animalibus.*

¹¹⁷⁵ La mia ricerca di questo libro manoscritto tedesco in Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) da pagina 379 a pagina 468 ha dato esito negativo, come pure tra gli *Emendanda vel addenda* di pagina 778-779. § È assai verosimile che il riferimento venga fatto alla seguente frase di Gessner di pagina 399*: Serapion pro epilepticis probat medicamen confectum e testibus galli gallinacei: Caelius Aurelianus, improbens ipse ut videtur. § Ma Aldrovandi non dice di aver tratto da Gessner "Serapio etiam pro epilepticis medicamentum probat e testibus Galli Gallinacei confectum: Caelius Aurelianus ut videtur, improbat." e cita Gessner in modo improprio attraverso il fantomatico libro manoscritto tedesco. Poteri di Ulisse, che invano ci fa torcere e spremere la materia grigia!

¹¹⁷⁶ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 395*.

casu audi<i>sse se refert admovere. Quod si vel capitis, vel alterius cuiusque membri dolorem sedare velis, noli ab ovi Gallinacei albumine recedere. Plinius¹¹⁷⁷ Gallinaceum capitis dolori remedio esse ait, si inclusus abstineat die ac nocte pari inedia eius, qui doleat, evulsis collo plumis circumligatisque vel cristis. Idem sed paulo aliter Marcellus¹¹⁷⁸ attestatur. Albumen enim, teste principe Avicenna, dolores, etsi acres magis, quum ulla alia res eiusdem etiam facultatis compescit, quoniam suo glutine dolentibus partibus adhaeret, nec facile recedit, ut lac. Et Kiranides omnes dolores ovum crudum sanare dixit: unde etiam ovo (albumine potissimum) tanquam sine morsu exiccante ad anacollemata¹¹⁷⁹, quae fronti imponuntur, utimur.

Maximopere sane semper student medici, ut moderato somno utantur aegri: id quoque ovi albumen fronti cum linteolo applicatum luculenter praestat. Pedes etiam Gallinaceos comesos vulgus somnum conciliare existimat. Sunt qui Gallinae pennam intinctam in aceto ad somni profunditatem conferre tradant: quod si verum est in immoderatis vigiliis, quibus in ardentibus febribus aegri frequenter contorquentur, eiusmodi vilissimi pretii remedium laudatissimumque erit. Destillationibus, et rheumatismis ovum acrochliaron¹¹⁸⁰, id est, leviter calefactum sorptumque remedio esse Dioscorides scripsit, tanquam de albumine privatim atque ita Avicenna debet intelligi ubi ova coryzae conferre prodidit. Albumen enim fronti applicatum fluxiones a capite descendere prohibet. Est enim insigni astrigendi facultate praeditum adeo, ut Plinius¹¹⁸¹ dicat: *Candidum ex ovis admixtum calci*

placing a quartered black hen in this same pathology. And if you want to soothe headache or pain in any other part of body don't forget the albumen of hen's egg. Pliny says that a rooster represents a remedy for headache if after having been confined fasting day and night, as he who has pain is fasting, and after the feathers have been removed from neck and wounded around the head, or using the combs. Marcellus Empiricus* attests the same thing but a little bit otherwise. In fact the albumen, as the very reliable Avicenna* affirms, holds off the pains, even if piercing, more than any other thing even though endowed with the same property, since it sticks to aching parts with its glueyness and doesn't peel off easily, like the milk does. Also Kiranides* said that raw egg lets recover from all pains: hence we use also the egg (chiefly the albumen) since it dries without smarting to make poultices to be placed on forehead.

In truth the physicians are always very busy in order that patients can enjoy of some sleep: the albumen of the egg assures also this in an excellent way when placed on forehead with a handkerchief. People think that also eating chickens' feet makes sleepy. Some people report that a hen's feather dipped in vinegar is useful for a sound sleep: if this is true, it will be an excellent remedy of negligible cost for the terrible sleeplessness when patients are often tossing and turning because of a high fever. Dioscorides* wrote as specific of the albumen that the *acrochliaron* egg - lukewarm, that is, lightly heated and drunk, is a remedy for catarrhs and rheumatisms, and thus has to be understood Avicenna when he said elsewhere that eggs are helpful when we have a cold. For the albumen placed on forehead prevents the liquids flowing down from head. For it is endowed with a so excellent astringent property that Pliny says: *The white obtained from eggs mixed with quicklime joins the fragments of glass*: in truth the strength in it is so great (obviously in

¹¹⁷⁷ *Naturalis historia* XXIX,112-113: Capitis doloribus remedio sunt coclearum, quae nudaee inveniuntur nondum peractae, ablata capita et his duritia lapidea exempta — est autem calculi latitudine, eaque adalligantur, set minutae fronti inlinuntur tritae, item oesypum —, ossa e capite vulturis adalligata aut cerebrum cum oleo et cedria, peruncto capite et intus naribus inlitis, [113] cornicis cerebrum coctum in cibo sumptum vel noctuae, gallinaceus, si inclusus abstineatur die ac nocte, pari inedia eius, cuius doleat, evulsis collo plumis circumligatisque vel cristis, mustelae cinis inlitis, surculus ex nido milui pulvino subiectus, murina pellis cremata ex aceto inlito cinere, limacis inter duas orbitas inventae ossiculum per aurum, argentum, ebur traiectum in pellicula canina adalligatum, quod remedium pluribus semperque prodest.

¹¹⁷⁸ *De medicamentis empiricis, physicis ac rationalibus liber*.

¹¹⁷⁹ In greco *anakollēma* è un cosmetico, un cataplasma, un empiastro.

¹¹⁸⁰ L'aggettivo greco *akrochliaron* significa caldo alla superficie, in Dioscoride significa tiepido, come dimostra la traduzione di Jean Ruel* del *De materia medica* (1549) II,55 CANDIDUM OVI: summe tepidum prodest vesicae rosionibus [...]. - Stando alla suddivisione in capitoli dell'edizione di Jean Ruel si tratta in effetti dell'azione dell'albumine. Invece Pierandrea Mattioli*, pur adottando la traduzione di Ruel, congloba nel capitolo II,44 OVUM i capitoli di Ruel 54 OVI NATURA e 55 CANDIDUM OVI. Pertanto dal dipanarsi del testo di Dioscoride riferito da Mattioli potrebbe essere aleatorio riuscire a individuare quanto appartiene all'effetto dell'uovo nella sua totalità oppure al solo albumine, ma solo se la lettura è assai frettolosa.

¹¹⁸¹ *Naturalis historia* XXIX,51: Et, ne quid desit ovorum gratiae, candidum ex iis admixtum calci vivae glutinat vitri fragmenta; vis vero tanta est, ut lignum perfusum ovo non ardeat ac ne vestis quidem contacta aduratur.

viva glutinat vitri fragmenta: vis vero tanta est (ovi candido nempe, ut Hermolaus exponit) ut lignum perfusum ovo non ardeat, ac ne vestis quidem contacta aduratur¹¹⁸². Unde non mirum est, si Galenus, Avicenna, et Serapio ovi albumen medicamentis sanguinis profluvium ex cerebri involucris, supprimentibus, quae citra morsum obstruere, et astringere possunt, utiliter misceant. Laudat et Avicenna contra sanguinis fluxum eiusdemque mictum si sorbeatur, ovum crudum: quod ob albuminis vim astringentem infarcientemque solam dixisse videri posset, nisi Plinium¹¹⁸³ authorem haberemus, cruenta excreantibus luteum ovi prodesse.

Gallarum item cerebrum comestum conferre iis, qui ex percussione fluxum sanguinis narium pariuntur, legimus, sed diversimode: *Cerebellum Gallinarum*, inquit Marcellus¹¹⁸⁴, *naribus sanguine fluentibus prodest*. Dioscorides¹¹⁸⁵, et Plinius¹¹⁸⁶ sic: *Cerebellum Gallinarum sanguinem a cerebri membrana profluentem sistit*. Avicenna per nares a cerebri velaminibus, Rasis contra fluxus sanguinis a cerebro. Idem etiam praestare sanguinem Gallinae nonnulli voluerunt, et apud Serenum¹¹⁸⁷ habemus.

*Aut Galli cerebro, vel sanguine tinge Columbae
Quod nisi supprimitur sanguis potandus et ipse est.*

Sed Galenus¹¹⁸⁸ eiusmodi facultatem non agnovit, quando dis{sertissimis verbis eos reprehendit, qui id asserant, inquiens. *Sunt qui scribant, sanguinem Galli, et Gallinae ad meningum, id est, membranarum cerebri sanguinis profluvium prodesse. Quem ego cum nihil egregium praestiturum sperare, experimentum de eo sumere nolui, ne vel curiosus, vel stolidus esse indicarer, si multis probatisque remediis ad hunc usum neglectis, maiorem e sanguine istarum alitum non compertam hactenus utilitatem expectarem, praesertim cum sanguinis ab hac parte profluvium valde*

egg white, as Ermolao Barbaro* clarifies) that a wood piece sprinkled with egg doesn't burn, and even a clothing smeared with it doesn't catch fire. Hence it is no wonder that Galen*, Avicenna and Serapion usefully mix egg albumen with those medicines which staunch blood from the membranes enveloping the brain, since without irritating they can act as haemostatics and astringents. Also Avicenna against menorrhagia and blood in urine praises the egg if drunk raw: and it would seem that he has told this only because of the astringent and haemostatic property of the albumen, unless we take in greater account that Pliny said that egg yolk is helpful to those who are spitting blood.

We read that likewise to eat hen's brain is helpful to those showing a nose bleed from a blow, but in different way: Marcellus Empiricus says: *The hen's brain is helpful when nostrils are bleeding*; Dioscorides and Pliny are expressing themselves in this way: *The hen's brain stops the blood flowing out from the membrane enveloping the brain*. Avicenna says that it is useful for blood flowing from the membranes enveloping the brain and going along nostrils, Razi* says that it is useful against flows of blood arising from brain. Some were of the opinion that the same result is achieved by hen's blood, and in Serenus Sammonicus* we have:

*Apply either brain of rooster, or blood of dove
And if the blood is not stopped it is to be drunk too.*

But Galen didn't admit this property, since he confutes with very clear words those who assert this in saying: *Some write that blood of rooster and hen are helpful in meningeal bleeding, that is, of the membranes enveloping the brain. Since I didn't have any hope in assuring something unusual, I didn't wish to undertake an experiment on this subject, with the purpose of not to be branded either as curious or as foolish if, having set aside many and proven remedies for this use, I expected a greater hitherto undiscovered utility from the blood of these birds, chiefly because the hemorrhage from this district is rather dangerous. For such a testing is dangerous at*

¹¹⁸² Aldrovandi passa dal corsivo della citazione al non corsivo, per cui saremmo erroneamente indotti a pensare che l'impiego ignifugo dell'albume sia una trovata di Ulisse, mentre è di Plinio. - Tali sono i poteri della non revisione del testo stampato, oppure della tipografia Bellagamba.

¹¹⁸³ *Naturalis historia* XXIX,43: Cruenta excreantibus V ovorum lutea in vini hemina cruda sorbentur,[...].

¹¹⁸⁴ *De medicamentis empiricis, physicis ac rationalibus liber*.

¹¹⁸⁵ *De materia medica* II,43 di Mattioli: sanguinem a cerebri membrana profluentem sistit - II,42 di Marcellus Virgilius: Compescit idem ex cerebri membranis erumpentem sanguinem.

¹¹⁸⁶ Plinio parla dell'efficacia del cervello di gallina solo in caso di *profluvia ex cerebro* e non *a cerebri membrana* come Dioscoride. Ma, secondo gli antichi, l'epistassi umana originava dal cervello o semplicemente dal naso? - *Naturalis historia* XXX,112: Sanguinem sistit in naribus sebum ex omento pecudum inditum, item coagulum ex aqua, maxime agninum, subductum vel infusum, etiam si alia non prosint, adipis anserinus cum butyro pari pondere pastillis ingestus, coclearum terrena, sed et ipsis extractae testis; e naribus fluentem cocleae contritae fronti inlita, aranei tela; gallinacei cerebellum vel sanguis profluvia ex cerebro, item columbinus ob id servatus concretusque. Si vero ex vulnere inmodice fluat, fimi caballini cum putaminibus ovorum cremati cinis inpositus mire sistit.

¹¹⁸⁷ *Liber medicinalis*.

¹¹⁸⁸ *De simplicibus* liber 10. (Aldrovandi)

*periculosum sit. Est enim omnino experientia huiusmodi periculosa et a solis regibus circa facinorosos homines usurpanda.*¹¹⁸⁹

Alibi vero idem Galenus¹¹⁹⁰ ex Asclepiade, ad sanguinis narium eruptionem tale medicamentum praescribit. Putaminis ovi partem unam, gallae omphacitidis¹¹⁹¹ partem unam, trita linamento torto aqua, aut aceto madefacto excipito, et indito: frontem vero, aut nasum gypso aut luto figulino integito: aures autem obturare iubeto. Sunt qui ad hoc remedium putamine usto uti malint. Alibi¹¹⁹² rursus ad eandem profusionem hoc medicamentum recenset: Ovi putamen integrum {cumburito} <comburito>, et liquorem ex eo extractum cum fissili arsenico permisceto, in naresque patientis immittito: si arsenicum praesto non fuerit, solus ovi liquor sufficiet.

Putaminis cinis, inquit Plinius¹¹⁹³, *in vino potus sanguinis eruptioni medetur*; quod Kiranides etiam repetiit: alii tamen etiam non usto utuntur.

all and it must be done only by important persons in criminals.

But elsewhere Galen himself, drawing information from Asclepiades the Younger*, prescribes the following remedy for nose bleed. One part of eggshell, one part of nut of gall*, after you ground them place them in a twisted bandage soaked with water or vinegar and apply it: but you must cover forehead or nose with chalk or with potter clay: the ears are prescribed to be sealed up. Some would prefer to use burnt eggshell for this remedy. Then elsewhere he reports the following medicament for the same kind of bleeding: Burn up an intact eggshell and mix the extracted liquid with crushed arsenic* and put it into the nostrils of the patient: if arsenic is not available, the juice of the egg alone will be enough.

Pliny says: *The ash of an eggshell drunk in wine heals bleedings*; a thing which also Kiranides repeated: however others use it even if unburned.

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Rursus Plinius, si bene memini¹¹⁹⁴, ad sanguinem fluentem [280] e naribus, aliqui, ait, thuris farinam cum calicis ovi cinere, et vermiculato gummi ex ovi candido linamento in {nares} <nares> conijciunt. Ornithologus¹¹⁹⁵ ex libro Germanico manuscripto ad sanguinem sistendum tale medicamentum recenset: Cortices ovorum in aceto acri, donec molliantur, maceratos, in sole siccabis, conteres, et insperges, ubicunque sanguis fluit: vel pulverem ex ovorum corticibus cum fuligine pistoria mixtum insperge, et mox sistetur. Si vero sanguis immodice ex inflicto vulnere fluat, fimi caballini cum putaminibus ovorum cremati cinis

Again Pliny*, if I well remember, says that some people for nosebleed by a gauze place in nostrils dust of incense* with ash of eggshell and worm-shaped gum done with egg white. The Ornithologist quotes from a German manuscript the following remedy to staunch blood: You will dry in the sun eggshells soaked in sharp vinegar until they are softened, you will grind up them and sprinkle them wherever the blood flows: or sprinkle a mixture gotten from dust of eggshells with baker's soot, and suddenly it will stop. But if blood runs immoderately because of an inflicted wound, an ash obtained from cremation of horse's dung jointly with eggshells, and placed upon, will staunch it in an amazing way, as are bearing

¹¹⁸⁹ Le sperimentazioni alla Hitler non sono quindi una novità, ammesso e non concesso che tutti gli *ospiti* dei campi di concentramento fossero dei criminali.

¹¹⁹⁰ *De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos*, 13,362-1058. (Aldrovandi-Lind)

¹¹⁹¹ Il sostantivo greco femminile *omphakitis*, al genitivo *omphakitidos*, significa noce di galla in Dioscoride e Galeno.

¹¹⁹² *Euporista* 3,77. This is the title of one of Dioscorides' works on common family medicines and is doubtless used by Aldrovandi for reference to Galen's similar work, *De remediis parabilibus* 14,311 ff. (Lind, 1963) - *Euporista* viene attualmente attribuito a Oribasio*.

¹¹⁹³ *Naturalis historia* XXIX,46: Membrana putamini detracta sive crudo sive cocto labrorum fissuris medetur, putaminis cinis in vino potus sanguinis eruptionibus. Comburere sine membrana oportet. Sic fit et dentifricium. Idem cinis et mulierum menses cum murra inlitis sistit. Firmitas putaminum tanta est, ut recta nec vi nec pondere ullo frangantur nec nisi paulum inflex rotunditate.

¹¹⁹⁴ Chi viene colto da dubbi sulla proprie capacità mnemoniche non è Aldrovandi, bensì Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 445*: Ad sanguinem fluentem e naribus, aliqui thuris farinam cum calicis ovi cinere, et vermiculato gummi ex ovi candido linamento in nares conijciunt. Plinius si bene memini. - È assai verosimile che si tratti proprio di un lapsus mnemonico di Gessner Infatti la ricerca in Plinio di questa ricetta è negativa. § A pagina 450* Gessner dà la conferma che Plinio non ne parla, specificando che la citazione proviene da fonte incerta: Ad sanguinem fluentem e naribus, aliqui thuris farinam cum calicis ovi cinere et vermiculato gummi, ex ovi candido, linamento in nares conijciunt, Incertus.

¹¹⁹⁵ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 449*.

impositus mire sistit, teste Plinio¹¹⁹⁶, et Sereno¹¹⁹⁷, dum ait.

Si vero infrenus manat de vulnere sanguis

Fimus equi recte cum testis uritur ovi.

Sunt qui fimi Gallinae parte alba duntaxat intus sumpta sanguinem concretum {reijci} <discuti>¹¹⁹⁸ tradant.

Raucedini vocis a causa calida ¹¹⁹⁹ {acrochilaron} <acrochliaron>¹²⁰⁰ ovum prodesse asserit Avicenna, quod ex Dioscoridis¹²⁰¹ libris transcripsisse videri potest, qui tale ovum ad gutturis scabritiem commendat. Plinius¹²⁰² vero luteum duntaxat inquiring faucium scabritiae {illinitur} <devoratum> luteum ovi. Celsus¹²⁰³ albumen, Galenus Dioscoridi subscribit: Ova sorbilia, ait, in quibus liquidum, id est, albumen, coactum adhuc, densatumque non est, ad leniendas gutturis asperitates idonea sunt: et alibi¹²⁰⁴ in inflammationum arteriae principiis lenissima remedia sunt ova sorbilia. Et rursum: Ovum sorbile, inquit, miscetur iis, quae contentos in thorace, et pulmone humores

witness Pliny, and Serenus Sammonicus* when the latter says:

But if blood runs unchecked from a wound

It's good to cremate horse dung with eggshells.

Some affirm that coagulated blood is dissolved by intake of only white part of hen's dung.

Avicenna* affirms that lukewarm egg is helpful in hoarseness of voice - obviously of voice! the only other uttered sounds are the anal ones! - due to a warm cause, a thing that it seems he could have transcribed from the treatise of Dioscorides*, who recommends such an egg against the inflammation of the throat. But for Pliny only the yolk, when he says that egg yolk must be gulped down against inflammation of fauces. Celsus* recommends the egg white, Galen* joins with Dioscorides. Galen says: sucking eggs, in which the liquid, that is, the albumen has not yet coagulated and grown dense, are proper for soothing the irritations of the throat: and elsewhere he says that sucking eggs are very soothing remedies at the beginning of trachea's inflammations.

¹¹⁹⁶ *Naturalis historia* XXX,112: Si vero ex vulnere inmodice fluat, fimi caballini cum putaminibus ovorum cremati cinis inpositus mire sistit.

¹¹⁹⁷ *Liber medicinalis*.

¹¹⁹⁸ Si emenda il testo in quanto la frase è chiaramente tratta da Gessner e il significato di *discutio* - spacco, sciolgo - è ben diverso da quello di *reicio*. Il significato terapeutico verrebbe mistificato dal verbo *reicio*, in quanto sembrerebbe che lo sterco fa espellere un coagulo. - Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 400: Sunt qui huius fimi parte alba duntaxat intra corpus sumpta, sanguinem concretum discuti referunt.

¹¹⁹⁹ Non riesco a immaginare una raucedine dovuta a qualcosa di caldo, salvo si tratti di una raucedine dovuta a una faringo-laringite provocata da una sorsata di liquido troppo caldo trangugiato inavvertitamente. - Altra ipotesi: una faringo-laringite scatenata da un cibo "caldo", ma non in senso termico: caldo in quanto metabolicamente scalda più degli altri, come le proteine, una quota delle quali viene trasformata in calore, e pertanto sconsigliate nella stagione estiva. Ma l'ipotesi della sorsata di liquido bollente mi sembra più verosimile, anche se alquanto rara come causa di raucedine.

¹²⁰⁰ L'aggettivo greco *akrochliaros* significa caldo alla superficie, in Dioscoride significa tiepido, come dimostra la traduzione di Jean Ruel* del *De materia medica* (1549) II,55 CANDIDUM OVI: summe tepidum prodest vesicae rosionibus [...]. - Stando alla suddivisione in capitoli dell'edizione di Jean Ruel si tratta in effetti dell'azione dell'albumen. Invece Pierandrea Mattioli*, pur adottando la traduzione di Ruel, congloba nel capitolo II,44 OVUM i capitoli di Ruel 54 OVI NATURA e 55 CANDIDUM OVI. Pertanto dal dipanarsi del testo di Dioscoride riferito da Mattioli potrebbe essere aleatorio riuscire a individuare quanto appartiene all'effetto dell'uovo nella sua totalità oppure al solo albumen, ma solo se la lettura è assai frettolosa. Questa nota è presente anche a proposito di *akrochliaros* di pagina 279, che è la pagina precedente a questa.

¹²⁰¹ Per esempio, Mattioli *De materia medica* II,44 OVUM: summe tepidum prodest vesicae rosionibus, renum exulcerationibus, gutturis scabritiae, reiectionibus sanguinis, destillationibus, et thoracis rheumatismis.

¹²⁰² *Naturalis historia* XXIX,42-43: Prodest et tussientibus per se luteum devoratum liquidum ita, ut dentibus non attingatur, thoracis destillationibus, faucium scabritiae. Privatim contra haemorrhoidas morsui illinitur sorbeturque crudum. [43] Prodest et renibus, vesicae rosionibus exulcerationibusque. § Il passo di Plinio cui Aldrovandi fa riferimento dovrebbe essere quello appena citato. È l'unica ricorrenza di impiego di *luteum* per *faucium scabritiae* tratto da Plinio sia nel suo testo che in quello di Gessner. È palese che Aldrovandi passa da *devoratum* a *illinitur* saltando dalla tosse alle emorroidi - o al morso dei serpenti emorroide - sulle quali il tuorlo viene spalmato. È il classico saltare di palo in frasca. Ma il colpevole è Gessner, ed è sempre questione di punti o di virgole. In ambedue le mie fonti pliniane disponibili il punto viene posto dopo *scabritiae*. Gessner lo mette dopo *attingatur*. È logico che il tuorlo dall'essere ingoiato contro il mal di gola passa a essere spalmato. E Aldrovandi cade nella trappola, perché si fida ciecamente di Gessner, o meglio, ne approfitta ciecamente. § Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 448* (non emendato): Prodest et tussientibus per se luteum devoratum liquidum, ita ut dentibus non attingatur. thoracis distillationibus [destillationibus], faucium {scabritiae} <scabritiae>, privatim contra haemorrhoidum morsum illinitur, sorbeturque crudum, (Dioscorides hanc vim albumini tribuit.) Prodest et renibus, vesicae rosionibus exulcerationibusque, et cruenta excreantibus, Idem [Plinius].

¹²⁰³ *De medicina* V,13: Levat id, quod exasperatum est, spodium, hebenus, cummi, ovi album, lac, tragacanthum.

¹²⁰⁴ *De alimentis; De bono et malo succo*. (Aldrovandi) - This is *De probis pravisque alimentorum sucis* 6,749 ff. (Lind, 1963)

in{s}cidunt¹²⁰⁵, et usurpatur in illis quorum guttur exasperatum est clamore, vel acrimonia humoris. Tenacitate enim sua partibus affectis adhaeret, et immoratur instar cataplasmatis, et pariter substantiae suae lenitate omnis morsus experti easdem mitigat, curatque qua ratione asperitates etiam circa stomachum, ventrem, intestina, et vesicam obortas curat. Elluchasem¹²⁰⁶ ova sorbilia vocem clarificare dixit, et Marcellus¹²⁰⁷, si raucus, inquit, ova incocta recentia per triduum ieiunus hauserit, statim remediabitur: quod pariter in nothis Galeno attributis reperitur. Sed forte Marcell. incocta ova ad exasperatam vocem commendat, ut iam subito a partu, dum adhuc naturali calore intus, ac extra calent, sorbeantur.

Hippocr.¹²⁰⁸ ei, cui pulmonis arteria exulcerata est Galli carnem assam conferre scripsit: et Avicennae caro Gallinae vocis claritatem efficit. Ad occultas anginas Nicolaus Myrepsus¹²⁰⁹ Galli stercus album, et cerussam colore referens exiccatum reservari iubet, et usu postulante cum aqua, aut mel{ }icrato¹²¹⁰ subigi, coclearque propinari, et desperatos sanare pollicetur: quod si vero aegri nequeant bibere, praecipit ut cum melle subactum intimis partibus illinatur. Plinius¹²¹¹ thoracis destillationibus {illiniri} <devorari> ovi luteum testatur. Ius Galli veteris asthmatis prodest; et defectum cordis patientibus¹²¹². Et Avicenna ovum

And he says again: The sucking egg is mixed to those substances acting against the liquids contained in thorax and lung, and is used in those whose throat is irritated by noisiness or sharpness of inflammatory liquid. For with its toughness it sticks to the affected parts and stays there like a poultice, and likewise with the softness of the material by which is composed, devoid of any irritating effect, softens them and recovers them, which is why it recovers also burnings arisen in stomach, belly, bowels and bladder. Elluchasem Elimithar* said that sucking eggs clear up the voice and Marcellus Empiricus* says that if a person with hoarse voice will suck for three days on empty stomach recent raw eggs, immediately he will recover: this is also found in the spurious works ascribed to Galen. But perhaps Marcellus recommends raw eggs for hoarse voice so that they are sucked as soon as are laid, as long as are still warm because of natural heat both inside and outside.

Hippocrates* wrote that roast flesh of rooster is helpful for one having an irritated trachea: and according to Avicenna hen's flesh clears up the voice. Nicolaus Myrepsus* suggests for sore throat of unknown origin to preserve rooster's white dung dried up, that one which because of its color is remembering white lead*, and when the employ is requiring, to mix it with water or mead, and to give a spoon of it, and he promises that it recovers sick persons believed as unrecoverable: but if patients cannot drink it, he prescribes to smear it inside mixed with honey. Pliny reports that egg yolk must be gulped down in catarrhal states of the thorax. The broth of old rooster is helpful for asthma and for

¹²⁰⁵ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 441*: [...] iis vero quae contentos in thorace et pulmone humores incidunt, sorbile, hoc est leviter elixum dum incalescat tantum, Galenus.

¹²⁰⁶ *Tacui Sanitatis ... de sex rebus non naturalibus... conservandae sanitatis*. Aldrovandi dà come referenza il libro 7.

¹²⁰⁷ *De medicamentis empiricis, physicis ac rationalibus liber*.

¹²⁰⁸ *De affectionibus internis*. (Aldrovandi)

¹²⁰⁹ *Nicolai Myrepsi Alexandrini Medicamentorum opus in sectiones quadraginta octo*.

¹²¹⁰ La conferma di *melicratum* anziché *mellicratum* ci viene da Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 400*: Illitio ad occultas anginas: Galli stercus album, et cerussam colore referens, exiccatum habeto, et usu postulante subige cum aqua aut melicrato, propinato cochlearium. Desperatos enim sanat. Quod si bibere nequeant, cum melle subactum intimis partibus illinito, Nic. Myrepsus.

¹²¹¹ *Naturalis historia* XXIX,42-43: Prodest et tussientibus per se luteum devoratum liquidum ita, ut dentibus non attingatur, thoracis destillationibus, faucium scabritiae. Privatim contra haemorrhoidas morsui inlinitur sorbeturque crudum. [43] Prodest et renibus, vesicae rosionibus exulcerationibusque. § In caso di tosse e di faringite Plinio non dice di spalmare il tuorlo, ma di berlo. Raccomanda invece di spalmare e di bere il tuorlo crudo in caso di morso del serpente emorroide* - oppure di emorroidi, come si discuterà a pagina 292. - Il motivo di questa discordanza tra Plinio e Aldrovandi è appena stato analizzato, e consiste in un punto e una virgola fuori sede, ereditati da Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 448* (non emendato): Prodest et tussientibus per se luteum devoratum liquidum, ita ut dentibus non attingatur. thoracis distillationibus [destillationibus], faucium {scabritiae} <scabritiae>, privatim contra haemorrhoidum morsum illinitur, sorbeturque crudum, (Dioscorides hanc vim albumini tribuit.) Prodest et renibus, vesicae rosionibus exulcerationibusque, et cruenta excrementibus, Idem [Plinius].

¹²¹² Visto che manca un collegamento terapeutico con l'uovo, sembrerebbe trattarsi di una prosecuzione del testo di Plinio, mentre la fonte di questa prescrizione collocata fuori sede è Alberto Magno*, come si può desumere da Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 393-394*: Iura decrepitorum gallorum prosunt [394] asthmatis et defectum cordis patientibus, Albertus. - L'unico

{acrochilaron} <acrochliaron>¹²¹³ ad dyspn<o>eam laudat. Edulium in asthmate, et aliis pectoris affectionibus, cum aegri admodum infirmi sunt, tale praescribit Arnoldus¹²¹⁴: pullum, vel Gallinam iuvenem pinguem cum hordeo puro discoquito, donec liquefiat. Tum tere pullum cum pulpa, et ossibus, et parum ptisanæ infunde, exprime, cola. Praestabit quidem pullo, dum teritur, aquam rosarum affundere, et diligenter miscere. Idem alibi¹²¹⁵ album ferculum, inquit, de pullis Gallinarum frequenter sumi poterit, modo ne fiat de pulpis effilatis (sic loquitur) sed ex transverso subtiliter incisis, et postea contritis, ac ligatis cum lacte amygdalarum, paucove amylo, vel polline oryzae.

Pleuritidi, teste Avicenna ovum {acrochilaron} <acrochliaron> confert, et id Laurentius Ioubertus Medicus praestantissimus statim a Gallina depositum, et exhibitum magis convenire ait, quam igne calens: {sanguinem} <sanguinem> vero iam spuentibus aegris, idem ovum, ut Dioscorides¹²¹⁶, et Avicenna asseverant, leviter calefactum, vel materno tepore calens proderit, sed id valentius forte praestabit, si quid amyli adijciatur. Plinius¹²¹⁷ enim alibi amydon cum ovo his dari refert, qui sanguinem reiecerint. Si autem exasperata pectoris loca, unde sanguinem plerunque excreamus, l{a}evigare duntaxat velimus, sola id ova meo iudicio praestare poterunt: quare alibi dicebat Avicenna: Ova sorbilia prosunt tussi, et pleuritidi, phthisi, et raucedini vocis ex caliditate¹²¹⁸, et stricturae anhelitus, et sputo sanguinis, praesertim cum sorbetur vitellus eorum tepidus. Et Constantinus, ac Aesculapius

those suffering from cardiac insufficiency. And Avicenna praises the lukewarm egg for breathlessness. Arnaldus from Villanova* prescribes the following food in case of asthma and other thorax diseases, when patients are very ill: cook properly a chicken or a young fat hen with pure barley* until became mash. Then grind up the chicken with pulp and bones and mix a little barley decoction, squeeze, strain. But it will be useful to pour on the chicken, while it is minced, water of roses and to remix carefully. The same author elsewhere says that a white dish often will be eaten made with chicks of hens, as long as it is not done with stringy flesh (he says so), but cut in thin bits transversally and then crushed and amalgamated with milk of almonds or with little starch or rice flour.

As Avicenna affirms, a lukewarm egg is useful in case of pleurisy, and the very talented physician Laurent Joubert* says that it is more helping if given as soon as laid by hen rather than heated with fire: but the same egg, as Dioscorides and Avicenna assure, slightly heated or still warm because of maternal warmth, will be helpful for those who spit blood, but perhaps it will be more effective for this purpose if some starch is added. For Pliny elsewhere reports that starch must be given with the egg to those who vomited blood. But if we want to soothe only the inflamed parts of the breast whence mainly we spit blood, in my opinion only the eggs can achieve this: hence somewhere Avicenna said: Sucking eggs are useful in case of cough and pleurisy, of phthisis and hoarse voice due to something warm, and of difficult breath, and spitting of blood, above all when their yolk is drunk lukewarm. And Constantinus Africanus* as well as Aesculapius* report that five raw egg yolks with three *cyathi* [around 150 ml] of wine are useful to

collegamento è fra l'asma di Alberto e la dispnea di Avicenna: nel primo caso si consiglia brodo di gallo decrepito, nel secondo caso l'uovo intiepidito. Forse era meglio che Aldrovandi iniziasse la frase relativa ad Avicenna con *at* anziché con *et*.

¹²¹³ L'aggettivo greco *akrochliaros* significa caldo alla superficie, in Dioscoride significa tiepido.

¹²¹⁴ *Liber de aquis*. (Aldrovandi)

¹²¹⁵ *Liber de conservanda sanitate*. (Aldrovandi e Gessner) - *De conservanda bona valetudine*. (Lind, 1963)

¹²¹⁶ Dioscoride non si lascia andare al profluvio di parole attribuite a lui e ad Avicenna da Aldrovandi. Egli si limita a dire che soprattutto se l'album è tiepido, e non se tutto quanto l'uovo è tiepido, senza specificare se lo è grazie alla gallina o al fuoco, giova a tutta una serie di malanni, inclusa l'emottisi*. Ecco il testo di Dioscoride nella traduzione di Jean Ruel* *De materia medica* (1549) II,55 CANDIDUM OVI: summe tepidum prodest [...] reiectionibus sanguinis. § Per esempio, chi parla di uovo intiepidito e di sputo ematico, e basta, non è Dioscoride (non mi si chieda di controllare anche Avicenna), bensì Elluchasem Elimithar*, come specificato da Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 442*: Sanguinem spuentibus salutare est ovum sorbile, Elluchasem.

¹²¹⁷ *Naturalis historia* XXII,137: Amylon hebetat oculos, et gulæ inutile, contra quam creditur. Item album sistit, epiphoras oculorum inhibet et ulcera sanat, item pusulas et fluctiones sanguinis. Genas duras emollit. Datur cum ovo iis, qui sanguinem reiecerint, in vesicæ vero dolore semuncia amyli cum ovo et passi tribus ovis subfervefacta a balneo. Quin et avenacea farina decocta in aceto naevos tollit.

¹²¹⁸ Si ripete il commento presente a inizio pagina. - Non riesco a immaginare una raucedine dovuta a qualcosa di caldo, salvo si tratti di una raucedine dovuta a una faringo-laringite provocata da una sorsata di liquido troppo caldo trangugiato inavvertitamente. - Altra ipotesi: una faringo-laringite scatenata da un cibo "caldo", ma non in senso termico: caldo in quanto metabolicamente scalda più degli altri, come le proteine, una quota delle quali viene trasformata in calore, e pertanto sconsigliate nella stagione estiva. Ma l'ipotesi della sorsata di liquido bollente mi sembra più verosimile, anche se alquanto rara come causa di raucedine.

{vitellus} <vitellos> ovorum quinque crudos cum vini cyathis¹²¹⁹ tribus haemoptoicis prodesse tradunt¹²²⁰. Denique Marcellus vitellos totidem cum vini veteris aut mulsi cyathis tribus permixtos, et calide per triduum potos excreationes cruentas emendare dixit.

Sunt qui etiam ad sanguinis e pectore reiectionem ovorum cinerem testante Sereno, prodesse putent. Si vero malum iam inveteratum est, ac simul cum sanguine pus expuat: valentioribus remediis opus fuerit, quae tamen et ipsa ab his avibus peti possunt. Marcellus in tali casu ad sanguinis scilicet, atque puris excreationem ovum crudum cum pari mensura succi de porro sectivo expressi, tantumdemque optimi (Graeci, Plinius¹²²¹) mellis permixtum, calefactum aegros {ieiunos} <ieiunos> bibere iubet. Hippocr.¹²²² Galli carnes ad pectus, et dorsum dirupta commendat, sed cum hac cautela, ut probe cum iusculo praeparentur, et aeger iusculum absorbeat, et sorbitionibus priusquam cibo utatur.

those who spit blood. Finally Marcellus Empiricus said that the same number of yolks mixed with three *cyathi* of old wine or sweetened with honey and drunk hot for three days recover from blood expectorations.

As Serenus Sammonicus testifies, some are thinking that egg's ash is helpful against emission of blood from thorax. But if the illness is by then engrained and also pus is spitted jointly with blood, there will be need of more effective remedies, which however can be obtained from these birds. Marcellus Empiricus in such a pathology, that is against bloody and purulent spitting, prescribes to the patient to drink on empty stomach a warmed up raw egg jointly with the same quantity of juice from squeezed kitchen-leek* and mixed to the same amount of best honey (Pliny says *Greek honey*). Hippocrates recommends rooster's fleshes for torn breast and back, but with this precaution, that they are prepared with a little broth, and that the patient sips the little broth and that he drinks it before eating.

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Castor referente Plin.¹²²³ vomicas rumpere, purgare, persanare [281] promittens, marrubii succum in ovum inane conijcit, ipsumque ovum infundit <cum> melle aequis portionibus {tepefactam} <tepefactum>. Idem remedium Serenus¹²²⁴ repetiit, iniquens:

*Ovum defundes in fictile, deinde putamen
Marrubii succo implebis, post melle liquenti
Omnia consociata tepenti prospera potu
{Sumantur} <Sumuntur>¹²²⁵, reserantque malum,
purgantque, levantque.*

Sed clarius idem medicamentum a Marcello¹²²⁶ traditur his verbis: *Ovum incoctum, hoc est, crudum in*

As Pliny* reports, Antonius Castor*, vouching for breaking open, purging and healing abscesses, places cooled white horehound* juice in an empty egg, and pours on them the same warmed egg with honey in equal parts. Serenus Sammonicus* repeated the same remedy in saying:

You will pour an egg in a clay vase, and then you will fill the eggshell with horehound juice, then the whole put together with lukewarm fluid honey is drunk profitably, and it breaks open the swelling, and drains it, and makes it disappear.

But the same remedy is more clearly quoted by Marcellus Empiricus* with these words: *An uncooked*

¹²¹⁹ Vedi Pesì e misure*.

¹²²⁰ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 448*: Vitelli ovorum crudi quinque cum vini tribus cyathis haemoptoicis prosunt, Constantinus et Aesculapius.

¹²²¹ *Naturalis historia* XXIX,47: Tota ova adiuvant partum cum ruta et anetho et cumino pota e vino. Scabiam corporum ac prurium oleo et cedria admixtis tollunt, ulcera quoque umida in capite cyclamino admixta. Ad puris et sanguinis excreationes ovum crudum cum porri sectivi suco parique mensura mellis Graeci calefactum hauritur.

¹²²² *De affectionibus internis*. (Aldrovandi)

¹²²³ *Naturalis historia* XX,244: Castor marrubii duo genera tradit, nigrum et, quod magis probat, candidum. In ovum inane sucum addit is ipsumque ovum infundit cum melle aequis portionibus, tepefactum vomicas rumpere, purgare, persanare promittens. Inlinit etiam vulneribus a cane factis tusum cum axungia vetere. - La spiegazione di questa fantasmagorica preparazione viene fornita tra poco da Marcello Empirico.

¹²²⁴ *Liber medicinalis*.

¹²²⁵ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 445*: Ad vomicam aut similem tumorem, Ovum defundes in fictile, deinde putamen | Marrubii succo implebis, post melle liquenti | Omnia consociata tepenti prospera potu | Sumuntur, reserantque malum, purgantque levantque, Serenus.

¹²²⁶ *De medicamentis empiricis, physicis ac rationalibus liber*.

calicem effunditur, et testa eius succo marrubii impletur, et in ipsum (eundem scilicet, in quem ovum depletum est) calicem defunditur, et mellis optimi despumati tantundem. Omnia haec in se permiscuntur, ac tepefacta hauriuntur, miro modo vomicas rumpunt, et ad sanitatem laborantem stomachum perducunt. Verum huiusmodi remedium ad hanc historiam minime pertinet: siquidem ovi testa praeter mensuram nullum alium hic usum praestat.

Gallinaceum adipem intra corpus empyicis¹²²⁷ tantum dari legimus apud eundem Marcellum Empiricum¹²²⁸: cuius haec sunt verba: *Anethi sicci veteris pulverem, et resinae pityinae¹²²⁹ pulverem cum adipe veteri Anserino aut Gallinaceo edendum mane ieiuno empyico cochlearia tria, et vespere tantundem dabis, mire subvenies.* Ad phthisim iam aegro vergenti sorbilia ova Avicennae laudantur maxime. Marcellus ad phthisicos *ova cruda*, inquit, *duo in calicem verguntur, eo adijciuntur olei optimi, gari floris, passi Cretici singulorum unciae¹²³⁰ quinque: cumque haec in calicem conieceris axungiae vetustissimae tantundem in vase igne dissolves, eundemque {liquorum} <liquorem>¹²³¹ calidum caeteris rebus adijcies: omniaque pariter super aquam ferventem remittes, et calida phthisicis bibenda praebebis.* Pro hecticis¹²³² albos pullos Marsilius praefert, tanquam minus calidos: sed Gilbertus Anglicus¹²³³ vulgo experimento cognitum esse dicit albos pullos in ventriculo non facile coqui.

Cum vero in iam dictis pectoris affectibus aegri tussiant, itaque videndum nunquid et tussis hinc sua remedia promere queat. Avicenna in primis ovum sorbibile tussi prodesse scribit, sed Plinius¹²³⁴ solo luteo liquido devorato, ita ut dentibus non attingatur, eam vim attribuit. Idem etiam alibi¹²³⁵ tussientibus ova cruda cum passo, oleique pari modo dari asserit. Datur item ovo

egg, that is, raw, is placed in a cup, and its shell is filled with white horehound juice which is poured in the same cup (that is, the same in which the egg has been emptied), and the same amount of best refined honey. All these things are mixed and drunk lukewarm, in marvelous way they break open the abscesses and recover a suffering stomach. In truth such a remedy is not pertaining to this topic at all: since the eggshell in this case serves to no other purpose than as a measure.

Still in Marcellus Empiricus we read that chicken's fat is given internally only to those suffering of suppuration, and his words are as follows: *In the morning on empty stomach as well as in the evening, you will give to one who is suffering suppuration three spoons of old dry dill* dust and pine resin dust jointly with aged goose's or chicken's fat to be eaten, and you will help him marvelously.* For a patient evolving toward phthisis sucking eggs of Avicenna* are very praised. Marcellus says: *For phthisical patients two raw eggs are poured in a cup, five ounces each [136.4 g] are added of good oil, of pick of fish sauce, of Cretan raisin wine: and after you placed these things in a cup, you will melt with fire in a vase the same quantity of very old fat, and you will add this warm liquid to other things: and likewise you will put all of them on boiling water and give them to phthisical patients to be drunk warm.* For those suffering of continuous fever Marsilio di Santa Sofia* prefers white chickens since they are less warm: but Gilbertus Anglicus* says that it is known by common experience that white chickens are not easily digested in the stomach.

But since in the above-mentioned thoracic diseases the patients cough, one must then analyze if also the cough can get remedies hence. In first place Avicenna writes that the sucking egg is helpful in case of cough, but Pliny attributes this power only to the yellow liquid swallowed in such a way that it is not touched by teeth. He still affirms elsewhere that those having a cough are given raw eggs with raisin wine and

¹²²⁷ L'aggettivo greco *empyikós* significa purulento, sofferente si suppurazione.

¹²²⁸ *De medicamentis empiricis, physicis ac rationalibus liber.*

¹²²⁹ L'aggettivo greco *pityinos* significa di pino, ricavato dal pino.

¹²³⁰ Vedi Pesi e misure*.

¹²³¹ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 443*: *Cumque haec in calicem conieceris, axungiae vetustissimae tantundem in vase igne dissolves, eundemque liquorem calidum caeteris rebus adijcies: omniaque pariter super aquam ferventem remittes, et calida phthisicis bibenda praebebis, Marcellus.*

¹²³² 'Che ha la febbre continua', dal greco *hektikós* = che ha un'abitudine, abituale, da cui *hektikós pyretós* = febbre continua che porta alla consunzione. - La notizia viene da Antonio Guainerio*, come riferito da Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 391*: *Marsilius tamen praefert albos pro hecticis, tanquam minus calidos, {Gaynerius} <Guainerius>.*

¹²³³ *Compendium medicinae* (circa 1250).

¹²³⁴ *Naturalis historia* XXIX,42: *Prodest et tussientibus per se luteum devoratum liquidum ita, ut dentibus non attingatur, thoracis destillationibus, faucium scabritiae.*

¹²³⁵ *Naturalis historia* XXIX,47: *Dantur et tussientibus cocta et trita cum melle et cruda cum passo oleique pari modo.*

mel permixtum, aut ova trita cum melle, ut Plinii verbis utar, unde et Serenus¹²³⁶ ait
*Ovum melle teres domitum ferventibus undis,
Et sumes.*

Sed si ita non cedat tussis, in ovum sorbibile ex Marcelli praecepto {mastichae} <mastiches> pulverem immittes: at opus esse ait, ut mox coagitatum statim sorbeas, ne delatione fiat crusta: quo exhausto tussim facile sedanda iri pollicetur, modo id saepe reiteraveris. Alibi etiam omnem tussim, etsi gravem maiorum natu intra quinque dies, parvulorum intra triduum sanare dixit, qui sulphuris triti quantum tribus digitis prehendere potest, in ovo semicocto sorbili per triduum ieiuno aut per quinque dies dederit.

Plinius¹²³⁷ vero medicos, refert, propter tussim resina in ovo fere {in} <e> larice uti. Marcellus ad humidam tussim, ventriculi Gallinaei membranam¹²³⁸, qua sordes aqualiculi continentur arefactam diligenterque tritam, et cum vino potui datam plurimum conferre, quin im<m>o sanare promittit. Si syncope ab humoribus tenuioribus dependeat, vitelli ovorum dandi erant, iubente Galeno, quod, cum facillime coquantur subito, et multum, et probe nutriant. Sunt qui Gallinae plumam intinctam in aceto, et naribus inditam, ac illitam statim {syncopem} <syncopen> curare referant.

Qui praecordiorum ardore vexantur, etsi febriant, et lumbricis infestentur, hoc remedio, teste Marcello sanabuntur: *Ovum crudum inquit, summitter apertum <exinanies>*¹²³⁹, *idque implebis oleo viridi, et defundes, et lotio virginis pueri implebis, et defundes: tum adijcies parum mellis, et in unum cum ovi ipsius interioribus permiscebis, et potandum ieiune dabis, hoc stercus vetustissimum et lumbricos noxios pellit, et febrem acutissimam relevat.*

matching amount of oil. Likewise honey is given mixed with egg, or minced eggs with honey, to use Pliny's words, hence also Serenus Sammonicus says:
*Crush an egg with honey after you boiled it,
And you will take it.*

But if cough doesn't yield in this way, according to a recipe of Marcellus Empiricus you will put dust of resin of mastic tree* in a sucking egg: but he says that it must be immediately drunk as soon as mixed, so that a crust doesn't take shape because of a delay: he assures that after it has been drunk the cough will be easily relieved, as long as you often repeat this. Elsewhere he also said that he who for three days will give on empty stomach, otherwise for five days, an amount of powdered sulphur* as he can take with three fingers and mixed in a soft-boiled egg, he will succeed in curing within five days whatever cough even if serious in adult persons, in children within three days.

In truth Pliny reports that physicians for cough use larch resin mostly put in egg. Marcellus assures that the membrane of chicken's gizzard* - or muscular stomach, in which are contained the dregs of the belly, dried and well crushed, and given to be drunk with wine, is very helpful in case of humid cough, or better, is healing it. If a faint comes from not very thick liquids, it was necessary to give egg yolks, as Galen* was recommending, because, since they are very easily digested, they nourish quickly, quite a lot and well. Some affirm that a hen's feather dipped in vinegar and introduced in nostrils, and rubbed, solves a faint at once.

Those who are suffering from breast burning, even though they have fever and are infested by worms, they will be recovered by this remedy as Marcellus is assuring in saying: *You will empty a raw egg open at its top and fill it with green oil and pour it out, and fill it with urine of a virgin boy and pour it out: then you will put a small amount of honey and mix it until became all one with the content of the egg itself, and give it to be drunk on empty stomach; this preparation expels the oldest feces and the harmful worms, and mitigates the most high fever.*

¹²³⁶ *Liber medicinalis.*

¹²³⁷ *Naturalis historia* XXIV,33: Medici liquida [resina] raro utuntur et in ovo fere, e larice propter tussim ulceraque viscerum — nec pinea magnopere in usu —, ceteris non nisi coctis. Et coquendi genera satis demonstravimus.

¹²³⁸ Aldrovandi ne fa una lunga disquisizione a pagina 199*. Si tratta della membrana di coilina* del ventriglio, o stomaco muscolare. Nei gallinacci è facilmente staccabile con le sole mani, per cui il pollo è un uccello *kasher* e oggi ogni Ebreo può cibarsene purché lo abbia accuratamente dissanguato.

¹²³⁹ Nella fretta Aldrovandi si è dimenticato di svuotare prima di tutto l'uovo: Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 443*: *Ovum crudum summitter apertum exinanies, idque implebis oleo viridi, et defundes: et lotio virginis pueri implebis, et defundes: [...].*

Stomachicis Dioscorides¹²⁴⁰ tradit subditam ventriculo Galli membranam cornu non absimilem, cuius pellis in decoctionibus detrahi solet, siccari, terique et in vino utilissime dari in potu scripsit: Sed Galenus¹²⁴¹ id esse penitus falsum experimento comprobasse se ait. Unde subit admirari, inquit Sylvius, nimium Galeno addictus in ea {haeresi} <haerese> falsa medicos omnes etiam hodie permanere. Putant, opinor, eam vim illi esse quod ea similis sit tunicae internae ventriculi nostri, sed vi tanta coquendi praedita, ut lapillos conficiat. Sed aequius fuerit ex Struthiocamelo sumere, quippe cui mira sit natura coquendi, quae sine delectu devoravit, ut refert Plinius¹²⁴², ut ferrum, et ossa vervecum integra. Unde et pelles eorum¹²⁴³ cum plumis mollioribus concinnatas stomachicis applicant. Et rursus: An non vident, inquit, harum pellicularum temperamentum vitari siccatione, et vim illam coquendi vivis inesse, non superesse mortuis: nec fortasse pellibus illis insitam, sed potius a carne multa crassa densaque pelliculam hanc ambiente?

Dioscorides reports for those having stomach trouble to dry that horn-like membrane adhering to rooster's gizzard, that pellicle usually peeling off when boiling, and he wrote to crush it and give it with wine, with the utmost advantage. But Galen says that by an experiment he showed that this is quite false. Hence Jacques Dubois*, too much follower of Galen, says that he cannot but be surprised that still today all physicians are standing in that false thesis. In my opinion, they think that it has such a power since is similar to the inner coating of our stomach, but that is endowed with so a great digestive power that it crumbles pebbles*. But it would have been more correct to take it from the ostrich, since the latter is endowed with an extraordinary digestive power of the things it swallowed without tasting, as Pliny reports, as iron and entire bones of castrated rams. Hence they apply to those having stomach trouble also their skin - ostriches' skin - arranged jointly with the softest feathers. And Jacques Dubois says again: But do they not realize that the power of these membranes of coilin* is ruined by drying, and that such a digestive power is present in alive subjects, while it doesn't remain in dead bodies: and that perhaps it is not even present in those skins, but that rather it comes from the big amount of thick and dense flesh surrounding all over this membrane?

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Verum, quod pace cum Galeni, tum [282] sequentis Sylvi dixerim, recentior medicina ad hos usus mire hanc membranam celebrat. Antonius Guainerius praeparatam miscet medicamento ad confortandum ventriculum: item Leonellus medicamento ad eiusdem dolorem. Praeparatur vero, ut Sylvius ex {Bartolomaeo} <Bartholomeo> annotat, hoc modo: lixivio calido hora una maceratur, ter lavatur, deinde vino ter¹²⁴⁴ maceratur, et ter

In truth, with all the due respect to Galen* and his follower Jacques Dubois*, the most recent medicine praises exceedingly this membrane - of coilin* - for these uses. Antonio Guainerio*, after it has been prepared, mixes it with a remedy to strengthen the stomach: likewise Leonello Vittori* joins it to a remedy for stomach-ache. As Jacques Dubois writes inferring from Bartolomeo Montagnana*, really it is prepared in this way: the membrane must be steeped for one hour in warm lye* and is washed three times,

¹²⁴⁰ *De medicinali materia* - traduzione di Jean Ruel* - liber II cap. LIII.

¹²⁴¹ *De simplicibus* liber 11. (Aldrovandi)

¹²⁴² *Naturalis historia* X,2: Concoquendi sine dilectu devorata mira natura, sed non minus stoliditas in tanta reliqui corporis altitudine, cum colla frutice occultaverint, latere sese existimantium. Praemia ex iis ova, propter amplitudinem pro quibusdam habita vasis, conosque bellicos et galeas adornantes pinnae.

¹²⁴³ Come si può desumere dal capitolo dedicato allo struzzo di Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pagina 713*, questa affermazione di Jacques Dubois è riferita alla pelle non dei polli, ma degli struzzi: Struthocameli ventriculus falso laudatur ceu medicamentum quod iuvat coctionem, Galenus 3. de alim. facultatibus. Struthiocamelis mira natura coquendi quae sine delectu devoravit, ut ferrum, et ossa vervecum integra. unde et pelles eorum cum plumis mollioribus concinnatas stomachicis applicant, Sylvius.

¹²⁴⁴ Sembra ovvio che bisogna ricambiare il vino tre volte, ma non si specifica quanto tempo deve intercorrere tra una macerazione e l'altra. Magari si cambia il vino dopo un'ora e si lava la membrana. Bisognerebbe disporre del testo di Montagnana. Potrebbe esserci scritto, che ne so, *terna*, sottinteso *hora*, per esprimere in un modo un po' insolito una macerazione in vino che deve durare tre ore, senza però ricambiarlo. Ma questa ipotesi è strampalata, perché dopo ciascuna macerazione in vino la

lavatur: iterum lixivio, post vino, et siccatur clibano, ex quo panis extractus est.

Porro Plinius¹²⁴⁵ dissolutum stomachum pullos ovorum cum gallae dimidio confirmare ait, ita ut ne ante duas horas cibus sumatur. Sed stomachum in primis roborant, et vires restaurant ova semicocta, ut alibi legimus inter notha Galeno adscripta, ubi pariter ovum crudum sitim prohibere dicitur. Marcellus¹²⁴⁶ vero sitire aegrum desinere tradit, si sorbeat ovi vitellum semicoctum, oleoque permixtum. Ad vomitum nimium reprimendum sulphuris vivi pusillum, et ramenti cornu<s> cervi tantumdem in ovo sorbili tritum, et permixtum {bili} <bibi>¹²⁴⁷ utile est, authore Marcello, qui hoc etiam saepe expertum esse asseverat, non vomiturum amplius, qui in ovo sorbili cimicem unum contritum ieiunus ignorans biberit. Ovorum vitelli cum vino, et oleo cocti, adiecta polenta mane sumpti medentur his, si Constantino credimus, qui cibos non continent.

Quod si autem vomitum promovere medicus velit, sterco Gallinae certo vomitum educit: unde etiam contra venena propinatur: quod Guainerius quoque testatur, sed misceri iubet cum lini urticaeve semine cum aqua decocto, aut aqua et butyro: et Villanovanus stercoris Gallinae pulli drachmas¹²⁴⁸ duas dissolutas in multa aqua calida, et {petas} <potas> vomitum proritare memorat. Dolores stomachi lenit ovi vitellus tostus, et in farina comminutus, et cum polenta potus: author est Archigenes apud Galenum¹²⁴⁹. Inter neotericos medicos nunquam satis laudandus Guilhelmus Rondotelius¹²⁵⁰ cinerem intestinorum{.} Gallinae ad dolorem, et humectationem ventriculi dari scribit.

Amatus Lusitanus pro muliere quadragenaria, quae maximo dolore ab ore stomachi ad imum pectinem cruciabatur, febricitabat, vomebat, nec

and then is steeped three times in wine and three times is washed: again in lye, then in wine, and is dried in an oven from which the bread has been taken out.

Furthermore Pliny* says that chicks contained in eggs with half a gallnut* strengthen a weakened stomach, so that no food is taken earlier than two hours elapsed. But chiefly soft-boiled eggs strengthen the stomach and restore energies, as we read somewhere in spurious works ascribed to Galen, where it is said that likewise a raw egg holds off thirst. Really Marcellus Empiricus* reports that a patient ceases to be thirsty if he drinks the yolk of a half-cooked egg and mixed with oil. According to what Marcellus affirms, in order to choke back an immoderate vomit, a little amount of pure sulphur* is useful to be drunk and the same amount of splintered deer horn crushed in a sucking egg, who also assures that often he experimented what follows, that is, he who will drink unaware on empty stomach a bug* crushed in a sucking egg will not vomit any longer. Egg yolks cooked with wine and oil with addition of barley* polenta and taken in the morning cure those who don't succeed in holding the food - in stomach, if we believe Constantinus Africanus*.

But if a physician wishes to rouse the vomit, surely chicken's dung provokes the vomit: hence it is given also against poisons: also Antonio Guainerio affirms this, but he prescribes to mix it with flax* or nettle* seeds cooked a long time with water, or with water and butter: and Arnaldus from Villanova* remembers that two drachmas [around 7 g] of young chicken's dung dissolved in much warm water and drunk, bring on the vomit. The yolk of a roasted egg soothes stomach-ache, either cut up fine in flour, or drunk with barley polenta: Archigenes* in Galen testifies this. Among recent physicians, the never sufficiently praised Guillaume Rondelet* writes that ash of hen bowels must be given to soothe the pain of stomach and to moisten it.

Amatus Lusitanus* - alias João Rodriguez do Castelo Branco - to a forty years old woman worried by a strong pain from stomach's mouth right down to

membrana va lavata, e va lavata tre volte. Si tratta di libertà prescrittive che solo le menti eccelse sanno elargire a noi comuni mortali. Oppure è per lasciare il tutto alla nostra inventiva.

¹²⁴⁵ *Naturalis historia* XXIX,45: Stomachum dissolutum confirmant pulli ovorum cum gallae dimidio ita, ne ante II horas alius cibus sumatur. Dant et dysintericis pullos in ipso ovo decoctos admixta vini austeri hemina et pari modo olei polentaeque.

¹²⁴⁶ *De medicamentis empiricis, physicis ac rationalibus liber*.

¹²⁴⁷ Non possiedo il testo di Marcello Empirico, ma la versione di Gessner è - come direbbero gli anglofoni - *more reliable*. Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 443: Ad vomitum nimium reprimendum sulphuris vivi pusillum, et ramenti de cornu cervi tantumdem, in ovo sorbili tritum et permixtum bibi utile est, Marcellus.

¹²⁴⁸ Vedi Pesì e misure*.

¹²⁴⁹ *De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos & Eup.* 1.97. (Aldrovandi)

¹²⁵⁰ *De ponderibus sive de justa quantitate et proportione medicamentorum liber*, cap. 18. (Aldrovandi)

quicquam alvo reddebat, post caetera remedia ius Galli praescripsit hoc modo. Gallum veterem quatuor ad minimum annorum defatigatum interfice, et exenterato immitte salis gemmae drachmas tres, seminis cnici¹²⁵¹, polypodii de quercu recentis, et contusi ana unciam¹²⁵² unam, seminis Dauci, anethi, am<m>eos¹²⁵³ ana semunciam turbith drachmas tres, misce et in libris duodecim aquae fiat decoctio ad media<s>. Huius decoctionis, inquit, uncias sex ieiuna bibebat, et ex eadem interdum clyster parabatur, quibus alvus secessit, ac dolor, ex toto levatus est. Trallianus etiam cava iecoris Galli veteris iure purgat¹²⁵⁴. Dolore hepatis propter flatus contracto, per diem sanat aegrum, etsi vehementer affectum oleum ovorum.¹²⁵⁵

In icteris sulphur cum ovo sumptum, expurgat, ut legitur in libello de cura icteri, qui Galeno tribuitur. Gallina si sit luteis pedibus, prius aqua purificatis, dein collutis vino quod bibatur, morbo regio, teste Plinio¹²⁵⁶ resistit. At in eodem libello Galeno ascripto Galli a cibo ictericorum, nisi moderate carnosus fuerint, excipiuntur. Ornithologus¹²⁵⁷ tamen pelliculam interiorem ventriculi Gallinae nigrae quosdam asserit e vulgo adversus eundem morbum bis, aut ter edendam suadere.

pubes, who was feverish, vomiting, and didn't eliminate anything from bowel, after other remedies he prescribed a rooster broth prepared in this way. Kill a rooster at least four years old and worn-out, and after you removed its entrails put inside three drachmas of rock salt [around 10 g], an ounce each [around 27 g] of safflower* seeds, of fresh polypody* grown near an oak and crushed, a half-ounce of carrot seeds, of dill* and of *Ammi majus** - bishop's weed or bullwort, three drachmas [around 10 g] of turbith* - or Indian jalap, mix, and the cooking has to be made in twelve pounds of water [around 4 liters] until to reduce them to half. He says that on empty stomach she was drinking six ounces of this decoction and that sometimes a clyster was prepared with it, and thanks to these remedies the bowel was emptied and the pain completely removed. Alexander of Tralles* cleans up also the gorges of the liver with old rooster broth. The oil extracted from eggs cures in one day a person suffering of liver pain acquired because of flatulence, even if fiercely struck by it.

In jaundices the sulphur taken with an egg cleans up, as we read in a booklet attributed to Galen on the treatment of jaundice. As Pliny reports, a hen, if yellow legged, previously cleaned up with water and then washed with wine which has to be drunk, is efficacious against jaundice. But still in that pamphlet attributed to Galen the roosters unless enough fleshy are excluded from diet of jaundice patients. However the Ornithologist affirms that some among common people recommend against the same illness to eat twice or thrice the inner membrane of the gizzard of a black hen.

¹²⁵¹ Lo κνίκος di Dioscoride, in latino *cnicus*, dovrebbe corrispondere al cartamo, *Carthamus tinctorius*.

¹²⁵² Vedi Pesi e misure*.

¹²⁵³ Il sostantivo greco neutro *ammi*, che al genitivo fa *ammios* e *ammeos*, in Galeno e in Dioscoride viene identificato con la pianta *ammi copticum*. § Anche Conrad Gessner riporta *ameos*. È quindi evidente che l'errore viene tramandato da Aldrovandi che sta citando parola per parola il testo di Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 394*: Amatus Lusitanus pro muliere quadragenaria, quae maximo dolore ab ore ventriculi ad imum pectinem cruciatur, febricitabat, vomebat, nec quicquam alvo reddebat, post caetera remedia, ius galli praescripsit huiusmodi. Gallum veterem quatuor ad minimum annorum, defatigatum interfice, et exenterato immitte, salis gemmae drachmas tres, seminis cnici, polypodii de quercu recentis et contusi, ana unciam unam, seminis dauci, anethi, ameos, ana semunciam. turbith drachmas tres. misce et in libris duodecim aquae fiat decoctio ad medias,[...]. § Ma il download è stato inaccurato: *ad media* invece di *ad medias*. Stando ad Aldrovandi - e forzando alquanto assai la sintassi - si dovrebbe fare una cottura a metà, secondo Gessner si fa cuocere sino a raggiungere due litri d'acqua. Una bella differenza!

¹²⁵⁴ Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 393*: Cava iecoris purgat galli veteris ius, Trallianus.

¹²⁵⁵ Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 442*: [Oleum ovorum] Per diem curat aegrum vehementer affectum dolore hepatis propter flatus contracto. Colorem corruptum restituit, praesertim in albedine oculorum, Arnoldus de Villano.

¹²⁵⁶ *Naturalis historia* XXX,93: Morbo regio resistunt sordes aurium aut mammarum pecudis denarii pondere cum murrae momento et vini cyathis II canini capitis cinis in mulso, multipeda in vini hemina, vermes terreni in aceto mulso cum murra, gallina, si sit luteis pedibus, prius aqua purificatis, dein collutis vino, quod bibatur, [...]

¹²⁵⁷ Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 397*: Hanc pelliculam de gallina nigra quidam e vulgo adversus regium morbum edendam suadent, bis aut ter.

Ad hydropem, si hepatis causa ortum habeat, Hippocrates¹²⁵⁸ Galli carnem hoc modo praescribit: *Quum autem decem dies praterierint cibos accipiat paucos, et obsonium habeat Galli carnem assatam calidam.* {Caeliacis} <Coeliacis> ova decoquuntur in aceto, donec durescant, et vitelli eorum tosti cum pipere esui dantur, quod remedium Marcellus plurimum probat. Serenus¹²⁵⁹ eosdem recreari putat pane, inquiens{.}<:>

*Quem madido farre efficies, ac mollibus ovis.
Quorum testa fero prius emollescat aceto.*

Sed Marcellus, et Serenus forte id remedii ex Plinio¹²⁶⁰ transcripserint, qui sic habet. *Ova in aceto macerata, ut emolliatur putamen, cum farina in pane subigunt, quibus {caeliaci} <coeliaci> recreantur.* Quidam ita resoluta in patinis torreri utilius putant.

Alias vero Marcellus membranam, quae est in ventriculo Gallinae siccata, tritam, et cum vino austero potui ieiuno datam {caeliaco} <coeliaco> mederi testatur, ita ut ipsa Gallina prius biduo abstineat cibo, et qui potionem accepturus est, ante diem frugi sit, et non caenet. Sed et hoc remedium Plinius¹²⁶¹ habet. *Membrana Gallinarum, inquit, tosta et data in oleo, ac sale {caeliacorum} <coeliacorum> dolores mulcet. Abstineri autem frugibus ante et Gallinam, et hominem oportet*¹²⁶². Et Constantinus: *Pellis interior, inquit, de ventriculo Galli, et cum vino pota ventrem abstringit.* Sed Dioscorides totam eam vim ventriculo tribuere videtur, dum ait: *Gallorum ventriculus* (Marcellus Virgilius¹²⁶³ interpres addit in senectute, quoniam proxime de veterum Gallinaceorum iure dixerat author) inveteratus, et in umbra siccatus pondere trium unciarum (ῥσον γ' ¹²⁶⁴, sic habet codex noster¹²⁶⁵ impressus, corrupta ut apparet,

Against dropsy - or anasarca* - if caused by liver, Hippocrates* prescribes flesh of rooster in this way: *When ten days have passed, the patient must take a little food, and as dish he must have roasted warm flesh of rooster.* For those suffering from intestinal pains some eggs are cooked in vinegar until they are hard and their yolks are given roasted with pepper, a remedy that Marcellus Empiricus appreciates very much. Serenus Sammonicus* thinks that these sick persons are strengthened by bread, when saying:

You will do it with soaked spelt and raw eggs.
Whose shell first has to become soft in very sharp vinegar.*

But perhaps Marcellus and Serenus transcribed this kind of remedy from Pliny, who has it thus: *When making bread they mix with flour eggs soaked in vinegar so that the shell gets soft, and those suffering from intestinal pains are relieved by them. Some think more useful that they are roasted in a pan after they have been thus softened.*

But on the other hand Marcellus assures that the membrane of hen's gizzard, dried and crushed, given on empty stomach as drink with dry wine him who suffers from intestinal pains, restores to health, but before the hen has to abstain for two days from food, and who is about to receive the potion has to be frugal the day before and to have no dinner. But also Pliny has this remedy. He says: *The hens' membrane roasted and given with oil and salt soothes pains in those suffering from bowel. It is proper that previously both hen and person abstain from cereals.* And Constantinus Africanus says: *The inner membrane of rooster's gizzard drunk with wine acts as intestinal astringent.* But Dioscorides* seems to attribute all that power to gizzard when he says: *The assumption of the roosters' gizzard* (Marcellus Virgilius*, the translator, adds *when old aged*, since just before the author had spoken about broth of old roosters) *aged and dried in the shade and weighting three ounces* [around 80 g] (*hóson γ'*, so has our printed code, as it seems with

¹²⁵⁸ *De affectionibus internis.* (Aldrovandi)

¹²⁵⁹ *Liber medicinalis.*

¹²⁶⁰ *Naturalis historia* XXIX,49: Maceratorum in aceto molliri diximus putamen; talibus cum farina in panem subactis coeliaci recreantur. Quidam ita resoluta in patinis torrere utilius putant, quo genere non alvos tantum, sed et menses feminarum sistunt, aut, si maior sit impetus, cruda cum farina et aqua hauriuntur. Et per se lutea ex iis decocuntur in aceto, donec indurescant, iterumque cum trito pipere torrentur ad cohibendas alvos.

¹²⁶¹ *Naturalis historia* XXX,58: Membrana gallinarum tosta et data in oleo ac sale coeliacorum dolores mulcet — abstineri autem frugibus ante et gallinam et hominem oporteat —, fimum columbarium tostum potumque.

¹²⁶² Vale la pena segnalare che *oportet* è indicativo presente - vedi caso - anche in Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 398*: Membrana gallinarum tosta et data in oleo ac sale, coeliacorum dolores mulcet. abstinere autem frugibus ante et gallinam et hominem oportet, Plinius. § Non si emenda il testo di Aldrovandi né quello di Gessner con *oporteat*, anche se Plinio con *oporteat* esprimeva una prescrizione che non era rigida e imperativa come viene invece formulata da *oportet*.

¹²⁶³ Nel commento al *De materia medica* (1523) liber II cap. XLII.

¹²⁶⁴ In greco significa *circa 3 - roughly 3*.

¹²⁶⁵ Potrebbe trattarsi di un'ulteriore appropriazione indebita, in quanto forse il codice non era assolutamente a disposizione di Aldrovandi, ma solo di Gessner. Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 397*: [...] inveteratus (κοιλία ταριχευθεῖσα)

ponderis nota, drachmae fortassis, quae designatur alibi in Dioscoride instar maiusculi lambda iacentis, hoc modo <) *sumptus praesenti remedio est contra nimias {purgationas} <purgationes>, quae a deijcientibus alvum medicamentis fiunt. Quamprimum enim purgationes eas sistit. In quem usum terendus est, et [283] cum aqua bibendus.*

the corrupted symbol of the weight, perhaps of the drachma, which in Dioscorides elsewhere is represented as a capital horizontal lambda, thus <) *is an instantaneous remedy against immoderate evacuations following the remedies which empty the bowel. For it stops in a while such evacuations. For this use it must be crushed and drunk with water.*

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Ventris fluxiones etiam exiccat ovum, si aceto coctum comedatur: authores sunt Galenus, et Simeon Sethi. Constantinus albumen vel etiam totum ovum combustum, et cum vino, vel aceto potum, vel impositum, omnes fluxiones sistere memorat. Serenus¹²⁶⁶ eandem facultatem putamini torrefacto assignat hoc versu.

Torridus ex vino cortex potabitur ovi.

Hippocrates¹²⁶⁷ alibi carnibus Gallinaceis assatis citra condimenta in alvi fluxu utendum praecipit. Ius Gallinaceorum, referente Avicenna, coquitur aliquando cum remediis astringentibus ad dysenteriam, et cum lacte ad ulcera vesicae. Aetius ova lacti commixta dysentericis prodesse monet. Talia autem ova oogala nuncupant. Dysentericorum, qui ardorem sentiunt, clysteribus ova cruda adduntur eodem tradente, cum modico, ac largo rosaceo conquassata. Plinius¹²⁶⁸ <cruenta excreantibus> quinque ovorum lutea in vini hemina ¹²⁶⁹ cruda sorberi dysentericis ait cum {iure} <cinere>¹²⁷⁰ putaminis sui, et papaveris succo, et vino. Alibi¹²⁷¹ etiam fieri dysentericis remedium prodit singulare ovo effuso in fictili novo, eiusdemque ovi mensura, ut paria sint omnia, melle, mox aceto, <item oleo> confusis, crebroque permixtis. Quo fuerint ea {praestantiora} <excellenteriora>, hoc praesentius remedium erit.

The egg also stops intestinal evacuations if eaten cooked in vinegar: Galen* and Simeon Sethi* testify this. Constantinus Africanus* recalls that the egg albumen or even the entire fried egg drunk with wine or vinegar, or locally applied, stops any kind of flowing. Serenus Sammonicus* attributes the same power to roasted eggshell with this verse:

The roasted eggshell will be drunk with wine.

Elsewhere Hippocrates* prescribes in case of diarrhea to use roasted chicken's meat, except seasonings. According to what Avicenna* reports, sometimes the chicken's broth is cooked with astringent remedies against dysentery, and with milk against bladder ulcers. Aetius of Amida* advises that eggs mixed with milk are helpful for dysentery patients. For they call such eggs *oogala* - eggs and milk. He still reports that some raw eggs are added to clysters of dysentery patients feeling burning, whisked in few or in abundant rose oil. Pliny* says that spitting blood patients* have to drink five yolks of raw eggs in a hemina [250 ml] of wine, dysentery patients jointly with ash of their shell and with juice of poppy* and wine. Elsewhere he also reports to realize a singular remedy for dysentery patients with an egg poured in a new earthenware pot and to take care so that all components are of the same amount of the egg, mixing honey and then vinegar as well as oil, and mixing up repeatedly. The more the components are

et in umbra siccatus pondere trium unciarum (ῥσον γ', sic habet codex noster impressus, corrupta ut apparet ponderis nota, drachmae fortassis, quae designatur alibi in Dioscoride instar maiusculi lambda iacentis, hoc modo <,) sumptus, [...].

¹²⁶⁶ *Liber medicinalis.*

¹²⁶⁷ *De diaeta* 3. (Aldrovandi)

¹²⁶⁸ *Naturalis historia* XXIX,43: Cruenta excreantibus V ovorum lutea in vini hemina cruda sorbentur, dysintericis cum cinere putaminis sui et papaveris suco ac vino. § Aldrovandi non si è peritato di prendere in mano il testo di Plinio, né ha analizzato la citazione fatta da Gessner, che, eccetto *iure* invece di *cinere*, corrisponde alla ricetta di Plinio. Infatti chi deve bersi un quartino di vino non sono i dissenterici, ma coloro che sputano sangue. I dissenterici bevano vino *ad libitum*. - È d'obbligo emendare alla bell'e meglio.

¹²⁶⁹ Vedi Pesi e misure*.

¹²⁷⁰ L'origine di *iure* non è pliniana. È ovviamente gessneriana: Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 448*: Quinque ovorum lutea in vini hemina cruda sorbentur dysentericis, cum iure putaminis sui, et papaveris [449] succo ac vino, Plin.

¹²⁷¹ *Naturalis historia* XXIX,50: Fit et dysintericis remedium singulare ovo effuso in fictile novum eiusdemque ovi mensura, ut paria sint omnia, melle, mox aceto, item oleo confusis crebroque permixtis; quo fuerint ea excellentiora, hoc praesentius remedium erit. alii eadem mensura pro oleo et aceto resinam adiciunt rubentem vinumque; et alio modo temperant, olei tantum mensura pari pineique corticis II sexagensimis denarii, una eius quod rhum diximus, mellis obolis V simul decoctis, ita ut cibus alius post IIII horas sumatur.

Alii eadem mensura pro oleo, et aceto resinam adijciunt rubentem, vinumque; et alio modo temperant, olei tantum mensura pari, pineique corticis duabus sexagesimis {denariorum} <denarii>¹²⁷², una eius quod rhus dicimus, mellis obolis¹²⁷³ quinque simul decoctis, ita ut cibus alius post quatuor horas sumatur. Haec ille.

Celsus¹²⁷⁴ ova dura alvum astringere scribit, magis vero si assa sunt: ita Galenus (legitur autem in nothis ei ascriptis) ova assata in cinere sine fumo, mederi ait solutioni ventris, et dysenteriae, cum sumuntur cum quibusdam astringentibus, et aqua agrestae: item, ut Avicenna addidit, asperitati (ulcerationi) intestinorum, et vesicae: quod Galenus scribit de ovis in aceto coctis, ut paulo ante diximus, maxime vero ita aegros iuveris, quod si etiam admiscueris aliquid eorum, quae dysentericis, et coeliacis prosunt, deinde super igni mediocri, et minime fumoso, qualis carbonum est, frixeris, et exhibueris aegris. Convenienter autem addetur huic remedio omphacium, et rhus, tum ruber dictus, qui obsoniis aspergitur, tum succus ipsius, et galla, et sidia¹²⁷⁵, et cinis cochlearum, quae integrae tostae fuerint: necnon vinacea, et fructus myrti, mespili, corni. His medicatiora sunt balaustia, cytini, et hypocistis.

Nicolaus Myrepsus¹²⁷⁶ dysentericam quandam potionem laudatam describit, in qua membrana ventriculi Gallinacei cum caeteris miscetur. Marcellus¹²⁷⁷ vero vestem, id est, tunicam ovi delicatam interiorem siccata conterit, vino miscet, et colat, et ex aqua dysenterico bibendam exhibet. Et Plinius¹²⁷⁸ esse ait, qui dysentericis pullos dent in ipso ovo decoctos, admixta vini austeri hemina, et pari modo olei polentaeque sed nescio num pro remedio, an pro cibo: qui certe ab hoc avium genere, si ab ullo alio, maxime in hoc affectu

excellent, the more this remedy will be helpful. Others in place of oil and vinegar put the same amount of red resin and wine; they merge them in a different way too, only a quantity of oil of the same amount and with two sixtieths of denarius [100 mg] of pine bark, a sixtieth of what we call sumac*, five obols [around 2.5 g] of honey cooked together, so that after four hours other food can be taken. Thus far Pliny.

Celsus* writes that hard eggs act as intestinal astringent, but more if they are fried: thus Galen (but this is read in spurious works attributed to him) says that eggs roasted in ash without smoke cure diarrhoea and dysentery when taken with some astringent and water of verjons*: likewise, as Avicenna added, they are helpful in case of roughness (ulceration) of bowel and bladder: Galen writes this about cooked eggs in vinegar, as we said shortly before, and you will be particularly helpful to patients in the following way, if you will also mix something of what is helpful to patients suffering from dysentery and intestinal pains, and then you will fry them upon a moderate fire and almost without smoke as that of charcoals, and you will give them to patients. But it will come in useful to add to this remedy some verjons and sumac, then called *ruber*, sprinkled on foods, then juice of the latter, and sour wine and barks of pomegranate* and ash of snails which have been roasted whole: as well as grape-stones and fruits of myrtle*, of medlar*, of cornel*. The flowers of pomegranate, its calyces and the hypocistis* are more helpful than these last ingredients.

Nicolaus Myrepsus* describes a praised potion against dysentery, in which the membrane* of chicken's gizzard is mixed with other components. On the contrary Marcellus Empiricus* minces the veil, namely, the inner and delicate tunic of the egg when it has been dried, he mixes it with wine and strains it, and gives it with water as drink to dysentery patients. And Pliny says that some people give to dysentery patients the chicks cooked in the egg itself mixing a hemina [250 ml] of dry wine and the same amount of oil and barley* polenta, but I don't know whether as remedy or food: without doubt, especially in this

¹²⁷² Vedi Pesi e misure*.

¹²⁷³ Vedi Pesi e misure*.

¹²⁷⁴ *De medicina* II,30,2: Contra astringunt panis ex siligine vel ex simila, magis si sine fermento est, magis etiam si ustus est, [...] [2] dura ova, magisque si assa sunt; [...].

¹²⁷⁵ Il sostantivo greco neutro *sidion* significa scorza di melagrana. La melagrana corrisponde al sostantivo femminile *sidi*.

¹²⁷⁶ *Nicolai Myrepsi Alexandrini Medicamentorum opus in sectiones quadraginta octo*.

¹²⁷⁷ *De medicamentis empiricis, physicis ac rationalibus liber*.

¹²⁷⁸ *Naturalis historia* XXIX,45: Dant et dysentericis pullos in ipso ovo decoctos admixta vini austeri hemina et pari modo olei polentaeque.

petitur. Alibi¹²⁷⁹ etiam ius e Gallinaceo dysentericis mederi asserit, sed veteris Gallinacei vehementius <salsum ius alvum ciet>. Verum ut iunioris Galli ius in hoc affectu conferre facile dixerim¹²⁸⁰, utpote quod astringere ex Galeno dixi, ita an veteris Gallinacei ius dysentericos iuuet, maxime addubito: et verbum vehementius ita interpretari velim, quasi hoc ius vehementius, magisque medicamentosum sit, quam ut dysentericos iuuet: non autem quasi vehementius, aut efficacius illis medeatur. Itaque Galli iunioris ius dysentericis utile dixerim, veteris inutile, salsum, insuper noxium. Quare si torminosi, vel coeliaci propter frequentes desurrectiones viribus deficient Marcellus prudenter eis Gallinae pinguis in butyro excoctae ius exhibendum esse admonet.

Laudatur item inter cibos dysentericorum ab Aetio edulium quoddam spongiosum ex ovis confectum, quod suo loco describetur. Si iam gravis dysenteria fuerit, intestinaque ulcera, et putrefactionem senserint, Avicenna clysterem ex ovi albumine cum meliloto inijci iubet. Ad dolorem ventris ab ovi testa tale medicamen ponit Serenus¹²⁸¹:

*Praeterea nivei sterilis testa uritur ovi
Quae postquam in tetram fuerit conversa farinam,
Et calidis potatur aquis, et pota medetur.*

Ileo resistit Gallinaceorum iecur assatum cum ventriculi membrana, quae abijci solet, inveterata, admixto papaveris succo. Alii recentem torrent ex vino bibendam. Secus

illness, we get the latter from this kind of birds in comparison with any other. Elsewhere he affirms that chicken's broth also cures dysentery patients, but salted broth of old rooster is laxative with more effectiveness. In truth I would have said that in this illness undoubtedly the broth of young rooster is helpful, in as much as basing myself on Galen I said that it has an astringent property, hence I am very doubtful that old rooster's broth is helpful for dysentery patients: and I would like to interpret the word *vehementius* as follows, as if this broth were the most effective and curative, rather than it is helpful for dysentery patients: for it is not curing them with a greater potency and effectiveness. And therefore I would say that the broth of young rooster is good for dysenteries, useless that of old rooster, moreover the salty one is harmful. Hence, if those who suffer from colic or intestinal pains are losing strength because of frequent getting up, Marcellus Empiricus advises to give them prudently broth of a fat hen cooked with butter.

Likewise among foods for dysentery patients by Aetius of Amida is praised a spongy food made from eggs, which will be described in due time. If the dysentery has been serious and the intestine shows ulcerations and fermentation, Avicenna prescribes to give a clyster made from egg white and melilot* - or yellow sweetclover. Serenus Sammonicus for stomach-ache suggests the following remedy made from eggshell:

*Furthermore the empty shell of a snow white egg is burnt
Which, after has turned itself into a dark dust,
Is drunk with warm water, and after has been drunk lets
recover.*

The chicken's liver roasted jointly with an aged gizzard membrane, which is usually thrown away, is efficacious against intestinal occlusion, mixing poppy juice. Others roast the fresh one, which must be

¹²⁷⁹ *Naturalis historia* XXX,57: Ius ex gallinaceis isdem medetur, sed veteris gallinacei vehementius salsum ius alvum ciet.

¹²⁸⁰ Con le dovute modifiche, Aldrovandi finge di meditare, ma in effetti si tratta di un'elucubrazione di Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 393*: Ius e gallinaceo dysentericis medetur, sed veteris gallinacei vehementius { } salsum ius alvum cit, Plinius. hic quoque ut galli iunioris ius in dysenteria prodesse facile concesserim, ita an veteris quoque gallinacei ius ei conveniat, addubito: et verbum vehementius ita interpretari malim, quasi hoc ius vehementius magisque medicamentosum sit, quam ut dysentericos iuuet: non autem quasi vehementius aut efficacius illis medeatur. Itaque galli iunioris ius dysentericis utile dixerim, veteris inutile, salsum insuper noxium. § Un semplice punto ha la capacità di far incriminare un povero Plinio che, oltretutto, forse non s'era mai interessato di brodi di pollo. Il tipografo - oppure un amanuense - hanno messo un punto di troppo, un punto assente nelle attuali edizioni, e che altera il senso della frase di Plinio, come subito fa correttamente rilevare Gessner nella sua breve disquisizione clinica che avrebbe potuto essere evitata. Infatti secondo il Plinio del XX-XXI secolo - quello senza il punto fra *vehementius* e *salsum* - se il brodo di pollo fa da astringente, un brodo salato di gallo vecchio è più lassativo del solito. E il potere lassativo dobbiamo ascriverlo in primo luogo al sale! E Gessner - nonostante il punto - approda a questa interpretazione, che si basa sul potere osmotico di un qualunque cibo o bevanda salati: il sale richiama acqua nell'intestino e idrata le feci. Stavolta Plinio aveva ragione, ma cancellando il fatidico punto, che verosimilmente non fu mai suo. E Gessner era un bravo medico. E Aldrovandi imparava da Gessner.

¹²⁸¹ *Liber medicinalis*.

Aretaeus¹²⁸² {Iulio} <Iunio> Paulo Crasso Patavino interprete, videtur sentire, qui in iliaco affectu alimenta alvum ducentia exhiberi iubet, et revera, meo iudicio recte: at quod iuscula Gallinarum ille praescribit, ego minus ob iam dictas causas probaverim. Ulcera renum, et vesicae mirifice tollere tradunt ova ex aceto decocta. Alex. Trallianus ova cruda in inflammatione renum sorberi consulit: et Plinius¹²⁸³ in eorundem rosionibus prodesse ovi luteum prodidit. Idem Dioscorides de ovo sorbili. Fimum Gallinaceum album, et frictum adversus colicam in potu confidenter exhibet Aetius.

drunk with wine. Aretaeus of Cappadocia*, in the translation by Giunio Paolo Grassi* from Padua, seems to think this otherwise, since in case of intestinal occlusion he advises to give foods stimulating the bowel, and in truth according to my judgment this is correct: but since he prescribes little hen's broths, I would less go along with him because of aforesaid reasons. They report that the eggs cooked in vinegar swallow up in amazing way ulcerations of kidneys and bladder. Alexander of Tralles* suggests to drink raw eggs in case of nephritis: and Pliny handed down that egg yolk is helpful in renal colic. Dioscorides* said the same thing about sucking egg. Aetius of Amida against a renal colic trustily gives white and toasted chicken's dung as a drink.

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Clysteris ad omnem colicam apud Ornithologum [284] descriptio ex Ioanne {Goveroto} <Goevrot>¹²⁸⁴ Galliarum regis medico talis legitur: Gallus, quem vetustissimum inveneris, virgis verberatus decolletur, et in situlam aquae injiciatur: deplumati, exenteratique ventri immittantur haec medicamenta: anisi, faeniculi, cumini, polypodii, seminis cnici¹²⁸⁵, singulorum semuncia, turpeti, senae, agarici in subtili linteo ligati de singulis drachmae binae. Florum chamaemeli¹²⁸⁶ manipulus. Decoquantur usque ad ossium separationem. Huius decocti libra cum oleis de anetho, et de chamaemelo (duabus, vel tribus unciis utriusque) et duobus ovi vitellis misceatur, fiatque clyster, qui tepidus ventriculo vacuo exhibeatur.

In the treatise of the Ornithologist we can read the description of the following clyster suitable for every kind of colic, drawn from Jean Goevrot* physician of king of France - Francis I*: A rooster, the oldest you will have found, after has been beaten with sticks has to be decapitated, and place him in a bucket of water: in the belly of the plucked bird and freed from entrails put the following medicaments: a half-ounce each [around 14 g] of anise*, fennel*, cumin*, polypody*, seeds of safflower*, two drachmas each [around 7 g] of turbith*, sena*, larch agaric* - *Fomes officinalis* - wrapped up in a thin napkin. A handful of chamomile flowers. Cook them a long time up to separation of bones. Mix a pound of this decoction [around 327 g] with dill* and chamomile oil (two or three ounces [50-75 g] of both) and with two egg yolks, and made a clyster, that must be inserted lukewarm in an empty rectum.

Ius Galli veteris cum polypodio, et anetho in colico affectu, teste Avicenna, saluberrimum est. Fimus item Gallinaceus adversus eiusdem affectus cruciatus ex aceto, aut vino iuxta Dioscoridem, cum aqua calida, et molle iuxta Rasem bibitur. Medicus quidam Mysus, ut scribit

As Avicenna* testifies, the broth of old rooster with polypody and dill is very efficacious in case of colic. Likewise chicken's dung dissolved in vinegar, or in wine according to Dioscorides*, with warm water and soaked according to Razi*, is drunk against diseases of the same kind. As Galen writes, a Mysian* physician

¹²⁸² *Delle cause, dei segni e della cura delle malattie acute e croniche.*

¹²⁸³ *Naturalis historia* XXIX,43: Prodest et renibus, vesicae rosionibus exulcerationibusque. Cruenta excreantibus V ovorum lutea in vini hemina cruda sorbentur, dysintericis cum cinere putaminis sui et papaveris suco ac vino.

¹²⁸⁴ *Sommaire de toute médecine et chirurgie* (1530) - Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 394*: Clyster ad omnem colicam ex descriptione Io. Goevroti medici regis Galliarum. Gallus quem vetustissimum inveneris, virgis verberatus decolletur, et in situlam aquae injiciatur. deplumati exenteratique ventri immittantur haec medicamenta: Anisi, foeniculi [faeniculi], cumini, polypodii, seminis cneci [cnici], singulorum semuncia. turpeti, senae, agarici in subtili linteo ligati, de singulis drachmae binae. florum chamaemali [chamaemeli] manipulus. decoquantur usque ad ossium separationem. Huius decocti libra cum oleis de anetho et de chamaemelo [chamaemelo] (duabus vel tribus unciis utriusque) et duobus ovi vitellis misceatur, fiatque clyster, qui tepidus ventriculo vacuo exhibeatur.

¹²⁸⁵ Lo κνίκος di Dioscoride, in latino *cnicus*, dovrebbe corrispondere al cartamo, *Carthamus tinctorius*.

¹²⁸⁶ Camomilla, dal greco *chamaimèlon*, melo terrestre, mela nana, per l'affinità dell'odore con certe mele.

Galenus¹²⁸⁷, hunc fimum potandum exhibebat iis, qui diutius coli dolore fuissent vexati ex {oximellite} <oxymelite>¹²⁸⁸, vel si id non aderat, ex aceto, aut vino aqua diluto. Et rursus alibi¹²⁸⁹ ex Asclepiade. Gallinarum interanea omnia, inquit, exempta, et in vas fictile coniecta assato, ac trita reponito: usus vero tempore cochlearium unum, et dimidium, et seminis dauci Cretici tusi, et cribrati tantundem ex aquae mulsae calidae cyathis¹²⁹⁰ tribus exhibeto. Ornithologus in libro quodam manuscripto Germanico albam tantum huius fimi partem adversum eundem dolorem salubriter bibi legisse sese ait: ex vini cochleario. Gallinae tibiae cum pedibus coctae, et cum sale, oleo, acetoque comestae coli sanant dolorem: ex Constantino, et Aesculapio: at quidam pro coli hic colli legunt: ego coli legendum arbitror¹²⁹¹. Marcellus enim Empiricus¹²⁹² simile habet medicamentum pro eodem dolore. *Gallinam*, inquit, *per totum diem a cibo abstineto: dein postero die, cum eam occideris, crura eius cum sale, et oleo inassato, et ieiuno colico, qui se pridie cibo abstinerit, manducandum dato, mirifice profueris*. Idem Marcellus praesentaneum remedium colicis parat sic: Ova putidissima in Sole poni iubet ut persiccentur: cum aruerint, conteri, et minutissime percibrari, et ad praesidium in doliolo vitreo condi: cumque in aliquo auspicabitur coli dolor, in hemina aquae calidae dari bibenda cochlearia tria.

Ioannes Guinterius Andernacus¹²⁹³ clarissimus medicus potionem ex decocto Gallinae veteris, quae ad colicum dolorem, tam ex pituita quam ex flatibus contractum efficax est, praescribit,

was giving to drink this dung in vinegar and honey or if it was not available in vinegar or in wine diluted with water to those persons tormented from very long time by colon's pain. And then in another treatise drawing information from Asclepiades the Younger* he says: After all the bowels of the hens have been removed and placed in an earthenware pot they must be fried and after have been crushed lay them aside: at proper time you will use a spoon and a half of them and the same amount of Cretan* carrot seeds crushed and sieved and you will give it to drink with three *cyathi* [around 150 ml] of warm water mixed with honey. The Ornithologist says he has read in a German manuscript book that against the same kind of pain only the white part of these excrements has to be drunk to get a benefit from it: with a spoon of wine. The hen's legs cooked with feet and eaten with salt, oil and vinegar carry off colon's pain: this can be inferred from Constantinus Africanus* and Aesculapius*: but some in this point instead of *coli* are reading *colli*, of the neck: I think that it has to be read *coli*, of the colon. For Marcellus Empiricus has a similar remedy for the same pain. He says: *Let a hen to abstain from food for the whole day: then the following day, when you will have killed her, roast her legs with salt and oil, and give them to eat on empty stomach to a person suffering from colon's pain and who the day before abstained himself from food, and you will help him wonderfully*. The same Marcellus prepares an instantaneous remedy for those suffering from colon's pain as follows: He prescribes that very rotten eggs have to be placed in the sun so that they dry: when dried up it is necessary to crush and pass them through a very fine sieve and put in a small glass barrel in reserve: and when a colon's pain will start in someone, three spoons in a hemina of warm water [250 ml] have to be given to drink.

The most distinguished physician Johann Günther von Andernach* prescribes a potion gotten by a decoction of an old rooster effective for colic pain due both to cold and flatulence, whose composition is

¹²⁸⁷ *De simplicibus* liber 10. (Aldrovandi)

¹²⁸⁸ Gessner riporta vino mielato. Chi è dotato di buona volontà - o di estrema curiosità dettata dalla precisione - può benissimo controllare il testo di Galeno. Comunque, così riferisce Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 399*: Medicus quidam Mysus hoc fimum bibendum dabat iis qui diutino coli dolore fuissent vexati ex oenomelitate: vel si id non aderat, ex aceto, aut vino aqua diluto, Galenus lib. 10. de simplic.

¹²⁸⁹ *De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos*. (Aldrovandi)

¹²⁹⁰ Vedi Pesì e misure*.

¹²⁹¹ Appropriazione indebita. Chi *arbitratur* non è Aldrovandi, bensì Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 396*: Gallinae tibiae cum pedibus coctae, et cum sale, oleo acetoque comestae, coli (alias colli) sedant dolorem, Constantinus et Aesculapius. Ego coli legendum puto ex Marcello Empirico, cuius haec sunt verba: Gallinam per totum diem a cibo abstineto. dein postero die cum eam occideris, crura eius cum sale et oleo inassato, et ieiuno colico qui se pridie cibo abstinerit manducanda dato, mirifice profueris.

¹²⁹² *De medicamentis empiricis, physicis ac rationalibus liber*.

¹²⁹³ *De medicina veteri et nova tum cognoscenda tum faciunda commentarii duo* To. 2 dial. 7 (Aldrovandi-Lind)

quae talis est: Hyssopi, calaminthae singuli manipuli, uvarum passarum purgatarum sescuncia: anisi, faeniculi, carvi, singulorum drachmae sex: seminis cnici unciae duae, polypodii quercini recentis sescuncia: trium florum cordi familiarium singuli pugilli, florum chamaemeli pugillus dimidius. Omnia Gallinacei cursu agitati, defatigatique et praeparati, uti decet, ventri imposita, ex aquae sextariis quinque ad ternas decoquito. In fine dum adhuc fervent adjicito foliorum senae purgatorum uncias duas, et dimidiam, agarici recenter in pastillos redacti drachmas decem, sinito per noctem macerari, deinde ius colo trajiciatur, serveturque usui. Cum necessitas postulat, quatuor uncias sumito additoque syrupi violacei unciam, ac potui exhibeto. Si parum proficere medicina videbitur, quod aeger forte alvum habeat difficilem, electuarii diaphoenicon¹²⁹⁴, aut benedictae¹²⁹⁵ sesquidrachmae, aut duarum drachmarum instar adjicito.

Haec potio ad morbos tum ex atra bile, tum ex pituita ortos plurimum valet. Verum praecipuus eius usus est ad colicos dolores partim ex flatuosa materia, partim ex pituita creatos. Sed in huiusmodi potionibus observandum esse admonet, quod quanquam {agaricus} <agaricum> hisce addi soleat, tamen consultius in doloribus intestinorum omitti: primum quod clysteribus iniectum essentiae suae levitate adhaerens, interanea pungat, stimulet, defluxionemque ad ipsa provocet, ac frequentissimam desidendi cupiditatem pariat: deinde, quod vim humoris a longinquis partibus attrahendi obtineat. Chamaemelum autem recte hisce decoctis imponi asserit quanquam alias medici hoc in illis uti non soleant. Constare autem ipsa experientia huius solius decoctum omnibus internis doloribus praesertim colicis, et nephriticis praesentissimum esse remedium, ut permulti magno salutis suae commodo comprobarunt. Aqua stilliticia chamaemeli idem fere praestat, sed decoctum efficacius. Sin autem delicatiores hoc propter amarorem assumere

as follows: One handful each of hyssop* and calaminthe*, one ounce and a half [around 40 g] of choice raisin: six drachms each [around 20 g] of anise, fennel and caraway seeds* - *Carum carvi*: two ounces [around 55 g] of safflower* seeds, one ounce and a half of fresh oak polypody*: one handful each of three favorite flowers, half a handful of camomile flowers. Cook in water a long time all these things placed in the belly of a rooster raced and tired, and properly prepared, beginning from five sextarii [2.5 l] until you have three of them [1.5 l]. At the end, when they are still boiling, add two ounces and a half [around 65 g] of choice leaves of sena*, ten drachms [around 35 g] of larch agaric - *Fomes officinalis* - just reduced in tablets, let soak for the whole night, then strain the stock through a filter and preserve it for use. When you need it, take four ounces of it [around 100 g] and add one ounce of violet syrup and give it to drink. If it seems that the remedy is of scarce help, since perhaps the patient has an unmanageable bowel, add a drachma and a half or approximately two drachms of a dates or blessed thistle* based electuary*.

This potion is very efficacious against diseases arisen both from black bile* and cold. In truth its specific use is against colic pains produced partly by substances giving flatulence, partly by cold. But he advises that in such potions it is necessary to take care that, although usually larch agaric is added to them, nevertheless it is more prudent that it is omitted in intestinal pains: firstly because after it has been given with clysters, since it sticks for lightness of its structure, irritates the bowel, stimulates it, and provokes in it a diarrhetic situation and causes an unrestrained desire to stool: besides, since it has the power of attracting liquids from the most remote districts. And he affirms that rightly chamomile is added to these decoctions even if on the other hand physicians are not accustomed to use it in these preparations. But according to the experience it follows that a decoction of chamomile alone is a very suitable remedy for all inner pains, above all if colic and nephritic, as many people experienced through the big advantage for their health. The chamomile water poured drop by drop provides almost the same result, but the decoction is more effective. But if

¹²⁹⁴ Diaphoenicon: [...] of the Greek word Phoenix, which signifies also a Palme-tree. Which is a fallacy of equivocation, from a community in name inferring a common nature; and whereby we may as firmly conclude, that Diaphoenicon, a purging Electuary hath some part of the Phoenix for its ingredient; which receiveth that name from Dates, or the fruit of the Palme-tree, from whence as Pliny delivers, the Phoenix had its name [NH XIII,42]. (Sir Thomas Browne (1646; 6th ed., 1672), *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* III:xii)

¹²⁹⁵ Il cardo benedetto - *blessed thistle* in inglese - ha ricevuto nomi scientifici diversi, tra i quali è poi prevalso quello di *Cnicus benedictus* datogli da Linneo. Tali nomi erano: *Calcitrapa lanuginosa Lam.* / *Carbenia benedicta Benth et Hook* / *Carduus benedictus* / *Centaurea benedicta L.*

recusent, {zaccharo} <saccharo> gratius reddere poterunt.

Rursus aliam ex Gallinacei iure potionem ad colicos pariter dolores praestantissimam hanc praescribit. Gallinaceum veterem quatuor nimirum annorum cursu defatigatum interficito, exinanitoque et repleto salis fossitii drachmis tribus, seminis cnici, polypodii quercini recentis, et contusi, hyssopi, singulorum uncia, seminis dauci, anethi, am<m>eos¹²⁹⁶, singulorum semuncia, turpet<h>i drachmis tribus. Deinde resarto ventre in duodecim aquae libris ad dimidias coquito: iuris decocti uncias quatuor, aut sex potui exhibeto: nonnunquam etiam libram ab inferioribus¹²⁹⁷ per clysterem infundito. Kiranides contra eosdem, et nephriticos cruciatus ova Gallinarum imparia ex urina asini elixata, et esa mirifice laudat: et pelliculam alias interiorem de ventriculo Galli [285] in vino mixtam siccata, ac tritam cum sale potam cum vino, vel condito {niphrium} <nephriticos>¹²⁹⁸ sanare perfecte pollicetur.

those who are more finicky refuse to drink the decoction because of its bitterness, they can make it more pleasant with sugar.

Then he prescribes another potion from rooster's broth as equally very efficacious against colic pains. Kill a rooster unquestionably four years old exhausted by racing and then empty him, and fill him with three drachms [around 10 g] of salt extracted from earth - rock salt, one ounce each [around 28 g] of safflower seed, of fresh and crushed oak polypody, and of hyssop, a half-ounce each [around 14 g] of carrot seeds, of dill and *Ammi majus** - bishop's weed or bullwort, three drachms [around 10 g] of turbith. Then after the belly has been closed cook him in twelve pounds of water [around 4 l] reducing this to half: give to drink four or six ounces [around 100-150 g] of broth long-cooked: sometimes also give a pound of it [around 325 g] through the anus with a clyster. Kiranides* against the same and nephritic pains praises in extraordinary way hen eggs in odd number cooked in donkey urine and then eaten: and on the other hand he assures that the inner membrane* of rooster gizzard mixed with wine, dried and crushed with salt, drunk with wine or with pepper and honey aromatized wine cures perfectly nephritic patients.

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Calculos terit, teste Avicenna, cinis putaminum ovorum a quibus exclusi sunt pulli. Constantinus membranam interiorem nimirum ventriculi cum vino potam non frangere solum lapides scribit sed per urinam etiam eijcere. Nam nonnulli etiam, ut refert Alexander Benedictus inter calculi remedia eam membranam celebrant. Sed et ante Plinii tempora hac facultate pollere credebatur, ut diserte ipse testatur, inquires¹²⁹⁹. *Membrana<m> e ventriculo Gallinacei aridam, vel, si recens sit, tostam utiliter contra calculos bibi traditur.* Fieri quidem potest, ut aliqui huic membranae vim calculos dissolvendi inesse sibi persuaserint ex eo quod Gallinae etiam lapillos concoquere vulgo credantur, ut Dioscorides¹³⁰⁰ etiam

As Avicenna* testifies, ash of eggshells from which chicks are hatched is breaking the stones into fragments. Constantinus Africanus* writes that the inner membrane*, of gizzard of course, drunk with wine not only breaks up the stones but also causes them to pass out by urination. For, as Alessandro Benedetti* reports, some praise also such a membrane among the remedies for stones. But even before the times of Pliny* it was believed to excel for this property, as he clearly testifies in saying: *They hand down that the dried membrane of a chicken's gizzard is successfully drunk against stones, or roasted if fresh.* In truth it can be that some people have come to believe that in this membrane is laying the property of dissolving stones since by common people the hens are thought

¹²⁹⁶ Il sostantivo greco neutro *ámmi*, che al genitivo fa *ámmios* e *ámmeos*, in Galeno e in Dioscoride viene identificato con la pianta *ammi copticum*.

¹²⁹⁷ Un clistere viene abitualmente somministrato per via anale, salvo che ai tempi di Günther von Andernach (1505-1574) fosse già in uso la lavanda gastrica, il che giustificherebbe la precisazione *ab inferioribus*.

¹²⁹⁸ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 398*: De ventriculo galli interior pellicula in vino missa et siccata ac trita cum sale, posita (pota) cum vino vel condito, nephriticos perfecte sanat, Kiranides.

¹²⁹⁹ *Naturalis historia* XXX,67: [...] item membranam e ventriculo gallinacei aridam vel, si recens sit, tostam, fimum quoque palumbinum in faba sumi contra calculos et alias difficultates vesicae, [...].

¹³⁰⁰ Salvo leggere tutto quanto il testo di Dioscoride nelle svariate edizioni, nonostante un accanimento e una perseveranza da certosino mi è risultato impossibile localizzare questa affermazione di Dioscoride riferita da Aldrovandi e che suona più ampia in Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 383*: Gallinae calida natura praeditae sunt. nam et venena conficiunt, et

credidit. Ego quia experientiam huius effectus hactenus nullam audivi, nec rationem aliquam, qua id effici possit video, {assertionem} <assensionem>¹³⁰¹ meam adhuc cohibeo. Alex. Benedictus inter calculorum remedia a recentioribus autoribus ovorum testas celebrari scribit: et Plinius¹³⁰² ex aliorum relatu calculos ovi candido pelli prodidit. Qui in vesicae dolore semunciam amyli cum ovo, et passi{s} tribus ovis (ea nimirum passi mensura, quantam tres ovorum testae caperent) suffervefacta<m> a balneo probat. Sed Dioscorides in vesicae rosionibus ovum {acrochilaron} <acrochliaron>¹³⁰³, hoc est, leviter calefactum, sorptumque prodesse tradidit, et renum exulcerationibus, tanquam privatim de albumine: videtur tamen de toto ovo sorbili recte eadem vis praedicari posse.

Sunt qui guttur Gallinae combustum ieiuno in tepida <aqua> potum incontinentiae urinae mederi affirmant. Galenus¹³⁰⁴ vero ad sistendam {exuperantiam} <exuberantiam> mictionis¹³⁰⁵ hoc recenset remedium. Accipe pelliculas, quae sunt in ventre Gallinarum, ex quibus in Sole siccatis drachmam miscebis cum thure masculo, glande sicca, balaustiis, galla ana 3 iii. Trita omnia melle rosato excipies, et ex frigida propinabis ieiuno. Et rursum¹³⁰⁶ ad involuntarium mictum in stratis: Galli guttur ustum lingulae mensura ieiuno ex aqua

able in digesting even pebbles, as Dioscorides* also believed. Because until now I have not heard of any experience about this power nor I can see any reason why this can take place, for the moment I put the brakes on my agreement. Alessandro Benedetti writes that by more recent authors the eggshells are praised among remedies for stones: and Pliny, basing himself on what by others has been reported, handed down that stones are expelled by egg white. The latter praises a half-ounce [around 14 g] of starch* with one egg and three eggs of raisin wine (obviously that amount of raisin wine which three eggshells could contain) nearly boiled in a bain-marie*. But Dioscorides handed down that in case of bladder's burning and of harsh kidneys' pains an egg *acrochliaron* is helpful, that is cooled, and sucked, as if it were specifically the albumen: nevertheless it seems that after due consideration the same effectiveness can be praised about the whole sucking egg.

Some are affirming that burned hen's crop drunk on empty stomach in lukewarm water recovers from urine incontinence. In truth to stop excessive urination Galen reports this remedy. Take the membranes of hens' gizzard and after you dried them in the sun mix a drachma [3.41 g] of them with three drachms each of better incense*, dry acorn, pomegranate* flowers and gallnut*. After all these ingredients have been crushed you will put them in rosy honey and give them on empty stomach in cold water. And moreover against involuntary bed wetting: give in water on empty stomach a spoon of burned

aridissima quaeque semina consumunt. et nonnunquam arenas lapillosque ingluvie sua devoratos dissolvunt, Dioscor. § Dioscoride può benissimo aver affermato tutto ciò, oppure si tratta di un'erronea citazione di Gessner ripresa pedissequamente da Aldrovandi.

¹³⁰¹ L'assenso a quanto affermato da alcuni viene negato non da Aldrovandi, ma da Gessner. Il tipografo può aver scambiato *assensionem* con *assertionem*, ma è più verosimile che Aldrovandi anche in questo caso abbia voluto appropriarsi di una considerazione clinica di Gessner senza citarne la fonte. Infatti qui l'Ornitologo non compare proprio. Eppure, vedi caso, ritroviamo lo stesso testo - eccetto *assertionem* sostituito con *assensionem* - in Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 398*: Celebrant quidam inter calculi remedia gallinae ventris interiorem membranam, Alex. Benedictus. Fieri quidem potest ut aliqui huic membranae vim calculos dissolvendi inesse sibi persuaserint, ex eo quod gallinae etiam lapillos concoquere vulgo credantur, ut Dioscorides etiam credidit. Ego quoniam experientiam huius effectus hactenus nullam audivi, nec rationem aliquam qua id effici possit video, assensionem meam adhuc cohibeo.

¹³⁰² *Naturalis historia* XXIX,41: Aiunt et vulnera candido glutinari calculosque pelli. - XXII,137: Amylon hebetat oculos, et gulae inutile, contra quam creditur. Item alvum sistit, epiphoras oculorum inhibet et ulcera sanat, item pusulas et fluctiones sanguinis. Genas duras emollit. Datur cum ovo iis, qui sanguinem reiecerint, in vesicae vero dolore semuncia amyli cum ovo et passi tribus ovis subfervefacta a balneo. Quin et avenacea farina decocta in aceto naevos tollit.

¹³⁰³ L'aggettivo greco *akrochliaros* significa caldo alla superficie, in Dioscoride significa tiepido, come dimostra la traduzione di Jean Ruel* del *De materia medica* (1549) II,55 CANDIDUM OVI: summe tepidum prodest vesicae rosionibus [...]. - Stando alla suddivisione in capitoli dell'edizione di Jean Ruel si tratta in effetti dell'azione dell'albumine. Invece Pierandrea Mattioli*, pur adottando la traduzione di Ruel, congloba nel capitolo II,44 OVUM i capitoli di Ruel 54 OVI NATURA e 55 CANDIDUM OVI. Pertanto dal dipanarsi del testo di Dioscoride riferito da Mattioli potrebbe essere aleatorio riuscire a individuare quanto appartiene all'effetto dell'uovo nella sua totalità oppure al solo albumine, ma solo se la lettura è assai frettolosa. Questa nota è presente anche a proposito di *akrochliaros* di pagina 279* e 280*.

¹³⁰⁴ *Euporiston* 2.133. (Aldrovandi)

¹³⁰⁵ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 398*: Ad sistendam exuberantiam mi<n>ctionis:[...].

¹³⁰⁶ *Euporiston* 2.78. (Aldrovandi)

propinato. Et rursus¹³⁰⁷: Gallinae gulam pariter cum gutture ure, et tere diligentissime, ac ex vino vetere propina. Idem remedium Rasis e crista Gallinae¹³⁰⁸ promittit, inquit: *Cristam Gallinae aridam da in cibo ei, qui mingit in lecto, nescienti, curabitur.*

Galenus¹³⁰⁹ rursus ad involuntarium urinae exitum in stratis, Galli testem unum edendum apponi iubet. Quod si vere lotium cum ardore exeat, eiusmodi ardores ova ex aceto decocta mirifice sanant. Sin urina elicienda est, ex ovo recente interiora nempe album, et vitellum effundas, et testam digitis in calicem vinum continentem confriato, et mox pariter ebibito, urina statim sequetur. Ornithologus¹³¹⁰ ex quodam obscuro. Sunt qui ad hoc remedium testa ovi, ex quo pullus exclusus sit utantur. Suidas¹³¹¹ adversus dysuriam eiusmodi carmen recitat{;}<:>

Gallus bibit, et non mingit, myxus¹³¹² <non> bibit, et mingit.

Sed huiusmodi cantilenae credere, quod nimirum contra eiusmodi malum valeat, superstitiosum est. Quare in eodem affectu Nicolaum Florentinum sequere, qui mirifice commendat corticem ovi, e quo pullus exclusus est, cuius a pellicula sua repurgati drachmam propinat. Quod remedium summum esse Gattinaria¹³¹³ proprio experimento refert: siquidem cum nobili cuidam faeminae id exhibuisset, duodecim vitrea (vasa) urina plena reiecisisset. Alii simpliciter testam ovi e vino propinant. Eisdem cortices, a quibus pullus exierit, et eodem pondere Leonellus cum aqua saxifragae bibi consulit ad provocandam urinam. Idem remedium bestiis

rooster crop. And again: burn the throat jointly with the crop of a hen, and mince very carefully, and give with old wine. Razi* assures the same remedy with a hen's comb saying: *Give as food to a without knowing bed-wetter the dried comb of a hen, and he will recover.*

Newly Galen against involuntary bed wetting prescribes to give a rooster's testicle to be eaten. But if urine comes out giving burning, overcooked eggs in vinegar cure such burning in an extraordinary way. If on the contrary it is necessary to provoke that urine comes forth, pour out the content of a fresh egg, that is, white and yolk, and with fingers crumble the shell in a goblet containing wine and gulp down at once, and instantly the urine will gush out. The Ornithologist says this by drawing the information from an unknown author. <And he adds>: There are some that to make this remedy use the shell of an egg from which a chick hatched. The lexicon Suidas* reports the following magic formula against the retention of urine:

The rooster drinks and doesn't urinate, the lamprey - that is, the penis of the donkey - doesn't drink and urinates.*

But it is superstitious to believe such a litany as effective against that illness. Hence in the same illness you have to follow Nicolaus Florentinus - alias Niccolò Falcucci*, who exceedingly recommends the shell of an egg from which a chick hatched, and he gives one drachma [3.41 g] of it after has been cleaned from membranes. According to his own experiment Marco Gattinara* reports that such a remedy is the maximum one: since he affirms that having given it to a noble lady, she sent out twelve glass containers (pots) brimful of urine. Others simply give eggshell with wine. Leonello Vittori* thinks that these eggshells from which the chick came out and the same weight are to be drunk with saxifrage's* water

¹³⁰⁷ *Euporiston* 3.238. (Aldrovandi)

¹³⁰⁸ Lo so che in questo caso, in cui non necessitano ormoni, la differenza tra la cresta di un gallo e quella di una gallina non dovrebbe essere causa di insuccesso terapeutico, ma ciascuno di noi, quando è malato, va alla ricerca del meglio. È necessario recuperare il testo originale di Razi. Infatti ne vengono date due versioni. Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 396*: Gallinae cristam aridam da in cibo ei qui mingit in lecto nescienti: curabitur, Rasis. - pag. 398*: Idem remedium Rasis e crista galli promittit.

¹³⁰⁹ *Euporiston* 3.257. (Aldrovandi)

¹³¹⁰ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 449*: Ad eliciendam urinam: Ex ovo recente interiora (album et vitellum) effundas: et testam digitis in calicem vinum continentem confriato: et mox pariter ebibito, urina statim sequetur, Obscurus. Sunt qui ad hoc remedium testa ovi ex quo pullus exclusus sit, utantur.

¹³¹¹ Il lessico Suida ha **μύξος**, che nei nostri lessici corrisponde a un pesce: la lampreda. Lo stoppino in greco veniva detto **μύξα** da cui derivano il latino *myxa* e *myxus*, che significano ambedue stoppino. Aldrovandi si è sforzato di tradurre in latino l'incantesimo contro la ritenzione urinaria dell'asino, ma ha dimenticato il *non*. Senza le correzioni apportate al testo di Gessner, il lessico Suida recita lo stesso incantesimo come riferito da Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 407*: Ἀλέκτωρ πίνει καὶ οὐκ οὐρεῖ, {μύξος} <μύξος> (forte μυοξὸς) οὐ πίνει καὶ οὐρεῖ, incantatio in dysuriam asini apud Suidam.

¹³¹² Il problema esegetico è molto complesso, per cui si veda il lessico alla voce *myxos**.

¹³¹³ *De curis aegritudinum particularium noni almansoris practica uberrima* (1504, postumo).

etiam, et pecoribus prodesse reperio. Ornithologus autem in Germanico quodam codice manuscripto invenit ventriculi Gallinaceorum membranam¹³¹⁴ utiliter bibi contra stranguriam.

Si ramex in scrotum descenderit, sunt qui locum cinere e testis ovorum f{a}eliciter illini velint, mixto cum vino. Sic enim intestina in locum suum redire: ex quodam obscuro¹³¹⁵. Anum (habet autem extalem¹³¹⁶) nimis prominentem reprimit vitellus Gallinaceus, teste Marcello, si <coctus> integer ab ipso aegro illic calidus <assidue> contineatur. Et Plinius¹³¹⁷ ad cohibendas alvos lutea ovorum per se in aceto cocta, donec indurescant, iterumque cum trito pipere torreri tradit.

Et quamvis Avicenna inter caetera ova praecipue Passerum venerem promovere dicat, Rasis tamen alique Gallinae, et Perdicum ova semen augere aiunt, et ad coitum homines stimulare. Gallinacei dexter testis, ut Plinius¹³¹⁸ autor est, arietina pelle adalligatus, venerem concitat. Et alibi, *Magi*, inquit, *tradunt inhiberi venerem pugnatoris Galli testiculis Anserino adipe illitis, adalligatisque pelle arietina. Item cuiuscunque Gallinacei si cum sanguine Gallinacei lecto subjiciantur.* Sed hic locus utpote superiori, ac ipsi vero contrarius ex Sexto ita corriges. *Galli testiculi cum adipe Anserino in arietis pelle brachio suspensi concubitus excitant: suppositi lecto cum ipsius sanguine efficiunt ne concumba<n>t, qui iacent.* At et postremum illud, nempe quod sanguis Gallinaceus concubitus inhibeat, ut Plinius, et Sextus volunt, vel proprietati cuidam occultae ascribendum est, vel alioquin negandum.

for provoking the urine to come out. I find written that the same remedy is also useful for animals and livestock. But the Ornithologist in a German manuscript codex has found that the membrane of chicken's gizzard is successfully drunk against strangury - to urinate drop by drop.

If a hernia went down in the scrotum, some are thinking that the area is successfully smeared with ash from eggshells mixed with wine. For in this way the bowel goes back to its place: the information comes from an unknown author. As Marcellus Empiricus* testifies the hen's egg yolk makes a too much prominent anus to retrogress (but he says rectum bowel) if, cooked intact, it is tenaciously held there warm by the patient himself. And Pliny to hold back the diarrhoea reports that egg yolks are useful if cooked in vinegar alone until they became hard and then to toast them with crushed pepper.

And although Avicenna among other things is saying that sparrows' eggs chiefly stir up the libido, however Razi and others say that hen's and partridges'* eggs increase the semen's amount and excite human beings to coition. The right testicle of a rooster, as Pliny reports, bound up with the skin of a ram stirs up the libido. And in the following paragraph he says: *The magi report that sexuality is inhibited by testicles of a fighting rooster smeared with goose fat and bound up with ram skin. The same is happening with those of whatever rooster if they are placed under the bed with the rooster's blood.* But since this passage clashes with the previous one, you have to correct it according to Sextus Placitus Papyriensis* as follows: *Rooster testicles hung to an arm in a ram skin with goose fat stir up copulation: placed under the bed jointly with their blood they cause those are lying there to don't fuck.* But also that last thing, that is, that rooster's blood inhibits coition, as Pliny and Sextus are thinking, has to be ascribed either to some hidden power, or must be

¹³¹⁴ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 398*: In Germanico quodam codice manuscripto invenio hasce membranas tritas utiliter bibi contra stranguriam. § Le membrane citate poco prima da Gessner sono *gallinae gula cum gutture* che sono diverse dalla *membrana ventriculi gallinaceorum* riferita da Aldrovandi. La disquisizione è puramente accademica, non certo farmacologica.

¹³¹⁵ Stavolta la citazione è corretta. Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 450*: Si ramex in scrotum descenderit, utiliter illinitur cinere de testis ovorum mixto cum vino. sic enim intestina in locum suum redeunt, Obscurus.

¹³¹⁶ Marcello Empirico ha perfettamente ragione di chiamarlo *extalis* - intestino retto - in quanto nel prolasso anale ciò che fuoriesce è la porzione terminale del retto. L'ano infatti è solo un orifizio. Aldrovandi deve essersi lasciato trarre in errore da Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 447*: Extalem (id est anum) nimis prominentem reprimit gallinaceus vitellus si coctus integer ab ipso aegro illic calidus assidue contineatur, Marcellus. Ma Aldrovandi ha dimenticato *assidue*.

¹³¹⁷ *Naturalis historia* XXIX,49: Et per se lutea ex iis decocuntur in aceto, donec indurescant, iterumque cum trito pipere torrentur ad cohibendas alvos.

¹³¹⁸ *Naturalis historia* XXX,141: In urina virili enecata lacerta venerem eius, qui fecerit, inhibet; nam inter amatoria esse Magi dicunt. Inhibent et cocleae, fimum columbinum cum oleo et vino potum. Pulmonis vulturini dextrae partes venerem concitant viris adalligatae gruis pelle, item si lutea ex ovis quinque columbarum admixta adipis suilli denarii pondere ex melle sorbeantur, passeris in cibo vel ova eorum, gallinacei dexter testis arietina pelle adalligatus. - XXX,142: Ibium cinere cum adipe anseris et irino perunctis sic conceptos partus contineri, contra inhiberi venerem pugnatoris galli testiculis anserino adipe inlitis adalligatisque pelle arietina tradunt, item cuiuscunque galli, si cum sanguine gallinacei lecto subjiciantur. Cogunt concipere invitas saetae ex cauda mulae, si iunctis evellantur, inter se conligatae in coitu.

Nam si testiculos Veneris stimulos addere verum est, quid [286] ni et sanguinem praestare illud statuendum est, quando ex eo semen in testibus generari debet? Plinius¹³¹⁹ tantam ad generationem promovendam vim hisce testibus tribuit, ut mulierem si a conceptu subinde eos edat, marem parituram existimet. Et Aetius, qui in hac pal<a>estra minus strenui sunt, inter caetera Gallinaceos testiculos esitare praecipit. Inter recentiores Alex. Benedictus Gallinaceum pinguem verno tempore, dempta cute, et inter{r}aneis, sale farctum in umbra suspensum donec arefiat, mox exossatum, atque una cum sale contritum, et in vitrea hamula ad usum conservatum, si obolis¹³²⁰ duobus bibatur, mire veneris certamina promovere memorat.

Quemadmodum vero quod libidinem augeant testiculi Gallinacei, atque ipsa ova Gallinarum, ita haec testiculorum humanorum vitia etiam sanant: quod Plinius¹³²¹ quoque his verbis memoriae prodidit: *Infunduntur, inquit, ova, ad virilitatis vitia singula cum ternis passis cyathis*¹³²², *amylique semuncia*. Galenus¹³²³ pariter ad dolorem, et inflammationem penis, cuminum, et ovorum putamina bene decoqui iubet, ac foveri, indeque effectum mirabilem promittit. Recentiorum nonnulli ad geniturae profluvium corticis ovi cinerem laudant¹³²⁴. Sistunt non alvum tantum, sed et menses faeminarum ova in aceto macerata, ut emmolliatur putamen, et in patinis tosta, aut, si maior sit impetus, cruda cum farina ex aqua hausta: ex Plinio¹³²⁵. At Sextus ad idem malum Gallinae ovum totum (cum testa nimirum) comburi vult, et conteri, et in vino mixtum illini. Kiranides vero, crudum si sorbeatur, eiusmodi fluxum sistere scripsit. Quod si alba profluvia fuerint, cineris corticis ovi, cineris cornu<s> cervi, farinae succini, seminis anethi singulorum drachmas duas misce,

For if it is true that testicles are increasing sexual lust, why we have not to affirm that also blood is doing this since in testicles the semen has to arise from it? Pliny* attributed so a great value to these testicles in promoting generative aptitude that if a woman eats them immediately after conception she will give birth to a male. Also Aetius of Amida* among other things is bidding those who are less strapping in this kind of athletic activity to often eat rooster testicles. Among most recent authors Alessandro Benedetti* reminds that in spring a fat rooster fosters in marvelous way sexual skirmishes if drunk in dose of two obols [around 1 g] after skin and entrails have been removed and has been crammed with salt and kept hung up in the shade until dried, then boned and crushed with salt and preserved in a glass vase ready for use.

But, as rooster testicles as well as hen eggs are increasing the lust, likewise the eggs are also curing the diseases of human testicles: also Pliny handed down this by these words: *Eggs are given one at a time against virility disorders along with three cyathi [around 150 ml] of raisin wine and a half-ounce [around 14 g] of starch**. Similarly Galen* against pain and inflammation of penis prescribes to overcook cumin* and eggshells, and to pack, and from this he promises a marvelous effect. Some most recent authors to increase the flow of seminal liquid praise the ash of eggshell. Eggs soaked in vinegar until have softened, and roasted in frying pan, are not only holding up the bowel but also menstruation, or else, if the entity - of the flow - is greater, drunk raw with flour in water: Pliny says this. But Sextus Placitus Papyriensis* against the same affection thinks that the whole hen egg (that is, with shell) has to be burned and grinded up and smeared mixed with wine. But Kiranides* wrote that if it is drunk raw it stops such a flow. But if the flows were white, mix two drachms each [around 7 g] of eggshell ash, of deer horn ash, of yellow amber* dust, of dill* seeds, sieve, make a dust from it, use it with water.

¹³¹⁹ *Naturalis historia* XXX,123: Gallinaceorum testes si subinde a conceptu edat mulier, mares in utero fieri dicuntur.

¹³²⁰ Vedi Pesi e misure*.

¹³²¹ *Naturalis historia* XXIX,47: Infunduntur et virilitatis vitiis singula cum ternis cyathis passis amylique semuncia a balneis; adversus ictus serpentium cocta tritaque adiecto nasturtio inlinuntur.

¹³²² Vedi Pesi e misure*.

¹³²³ *Euporiston* 3.279. (Aldrovandi)

¹³²⁴ La fonte è Alessandro Benedetti*. - Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 450*: Recentiores ad geniturae profluvium corticis ovi cinerem laudant, Alex. Benedictus.

¹³²⁵ *Naturalis historia* XXIX,49: Quidam ita resoluta in patinis torrere utilius putant, quo genere non alvos tantum, sed et menses feminarum sistunt, aut, si maior sit impetus, cruda cum farina et aqua hauriuntur.

cribra, fiat pulvis, utatur cum aqua. Cinis testarum ovi, Plinio¹³²⁶ asserente, cum myrrha illitus menses mulieris sistit. Idem praestant, eodem authore, lutea ovorum cocta, et ex vino pota. Si quae mulier menses ordinato tempore non habuerit, tria ova recentia ad duritiem cocta, putamine separato, et minutatim concisa lateri ignito infundat, et vaporem (quod per canalem, aut infundibulum fieri poterit,) utero concipiat: sic fiet, ut paulatim hoc vitium emendetur: Ornithologus¹³²⁷ ex libro Germanico manuscripto. Videtur autem, inquit, hoc remedium non provocandis mensibus, sed coercendis illis, qui intempestive fluunt, destinatum esse.

Si ab inflationibus tentetur vulva, cruda ovorum lutea cum oleo ac vino illita Plinius¹³²⁸ curare ait. Hippocrates nitro cum resina cocto, et in glandem efformato, adipe Gallinaceo tincto, ac uteri collo imposito foetum mortuum educit. Et Kiranides cor Gallinae adhuc palpitantis coxae alligatum, partum optime accelerare refert: sed Plinio¹³²⁹ potius adhaeserim, partum adiuvari dicenti tota ova cum ruta, et anetho, et cumino pota ex vino. Nicolaus Myrepsus¹³³⁰ ad secundas mulieris morantes hoc remedium praescribit: Sapae cyathos duos, ovum crudum unum, et aquae calidae quod satis est, simul mixta bibenda praebeto. Et si sequitur quidem, inquit, confestim ipsam subvertet, atque ea vomente statim {secunda eijcietur} <secundae eicientur>. Si vero non excideri<n>t, foenugraecum cum aqua coquito ad tertias, praebeto bibendum. Est enim probatum.¹³³¹ Si mulieri matrix prociderit, sunt qui eam ablui cum aqua suadeant, et linteo abstergi, et ungi unguento, quod Martiatum appellant, et postremo inspergi testas ovorum tritas, e quibus pulli exclusi fuerint¹³³².

According to what Pliny affirms, eggshells ash sprinkled jointly with myrrh* stops menstruation. Even according to him the same result is attained by hard-boiled egg yolks drunk with wine. If a woman did not menstruate at proper time she has to place on a scorching brick three fresh eggs hard-boiled, without shell, and lightly minced, and she must let the vapor enter up to uterus (and this can be achieved with a pipe or a funnel): so it will happen that little by little this trouble will work out: the Ornithologist reports this drawing it from a German manuscript book. And he adds: but it seems that this remedy is suitable not to provoke menstruation but to halt those coming in advance.

If the vulva is struck by swellings, Pliny says that raw egg yolks with oil and wine locally spread lead to recovery. Hippocrates* brings forth a dead fetus with saltpeter cooked with resin and acorn shaped, dipped in chicken's fat and applied to the uterus neck. And Kiranides reports that the heart of a still jolting hen laced to the thigh quickens in a marvelous way the childbirth: but I would rather agree with Pliny, when he says that eggs drunk whole with wine jointly with rue*, dill and cumin make easy the childbirth. Nicolaus Myrepsus* prescribes this remedy against the delay of woman's placenta expulsion: Give to drink two *cyathi* [around 100 ml] of cooked must, a raw egg and enough warm water mixed together. And he adds: and if she follows the prescription, immediately it will put her upside-down, and while she is vomiting the placenta will be expelled at once. But if this won't go out, cook fenugreek* with water up to reduce it to a third and give to drink. For it is proven. If a uterine prolapse took place in a woman, some are suggesting to wash it with water and to cleanse it with linen*, and to rub it with a perfumed unguent they call *Martiatum*, and finally to sprinkle it

¹³²⁶ *Naturalis historia* XXIX,46: Membrana putamini detracta sive crudo sive cocto laborum fissuris medetur, putaminis cinis in vino potus sanguinis eruptionibus. Comburri sine membrana oportet. sic fit et dentifricium. Idem cinis et mulierum menses cum murra inlitus sistit. Firmitas putaminum tanta est, ut recta nec vi nec pondere ullo frangantur nec nisi paulum inflex rotunditate.

¹³²⁷ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 444*.

¹³²⁸ *Naturalis historia* XXIX,44: Sistunt et menses mulierum cocta et e vino pota, inflationes quoque vulvae cruda cum oleo ac vino inlita.

¹³²⁹ *Naturalis historia* XXIX,47: Tota ova adiuvant partum cum ruta et anetho et cumino pota e vino.

¹³³⁰ *Nicolai Myrepsi Alexandrini Medicamentorum opus in sectiones quadraginta octo*.

¹³³¹ Il *download* da Gessner è evidente dalla sintassi e dai vocaboli usati. Salvo si tratti di un costrutto di Nicolaus Myrepsus, il quale però scriveva in greco, il cui trattato fu tradotto in latino da Leonhart Fuchs*: *Nicolai Myrepsi Alexandrini Medicamentorum opus in sectiones quadraginta octo*. § Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 443*: Ad secundas mulieris morantes: Sapae cyathos duos, ovum crudum unum, et aquae calidae quod satis est, simul mixta bibenda praebeto. Et si sequitur quidem, confestim ipsam subvertet, eaque vomente statim {secunda eijcietur} <secundae eicientur>. Si vero non excideri<n>t, foenugraecum [foenumgraecum] cum aqua coquito ad tertias. praebeto bibendum. est enim probatum, Nic. Myrepsus.

¹³³² La fonte è un autore *obscurus*, come precisa Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 450*: Et ungt unguento quod Martiatum appellant, et postremo inspergat testas ovorum tritas e quibus pulli exclusi fuerint, Obscurus.

Atque isti omnes hactenus corporis affectus interni curam suam Gallinaceo generi acceptam referunt. Iam dicendum est de externis, qui hinc pariter sua habent remedia. Ad ignem itaque sacrum Plinius¹³³³ candido ovorum {trito} <trium> cum {amilo} <amylo> quosdam ait uti: et alibi¹³³⁴, ova cum oleo trita ignes sacros¹³³⁵ lenire, betae foliis superinligatis asserit, quod Serenus¹³³⁶ ex eo repetiit, dum canit:

Ovaeque cum betis prosunt saepe illita tritis.

Rasis crustam ignis Persici rumpi a stercore Gallinae testatur, si ex eo cataplasma fiat cum melle, et illinatur.

Ubi fervor fuerit, inquit Sextus, corpus ovo crudo illines, et desuper folium betae impones, et miraberis sanitatem. Galenus ambustis ovum crudum mox imponit, sive totum una cum vitello agitatam, sive albumen tantum. Refrigerat enim moderate, et sine morsu siccatur. Quin im<m>o Plinius¹³³⁷ ovis tantam ad ambusta facultatem attribuit, ut si a fervente aqua ustio fuerit, et statim ovo ambusta occupentur, pustulas non sentire dixerit: quosdam vero admiscere farinam hordeaceam, et salis parum: quod ex Dioscorid{a}e¹³³⁸ transtulit in suam

with crushed eggshells from which chicks hatched.

And so far all these authors recognize that their healing of an internal body disease are due to gallinaceous genus. Now we have to speak about the external ones, which likewise draw their remedies from it. Therefore against the sacred fire - carbuncle*, erysipelas*, shingles* - Pliny says that some use the albumen of three eggs with starch: and elsewhere he affirms that eggs whisked with oil mitigate sacred fire's lesions binding over them beet leaves, and Serenus Sammonicus* has drawn this from him when singing:

And often eggs are helpful smeared with ground beets.

Razi* assures that the scab of Persian fire* is shattered by hen dung if a poultice is made from it with honey and smeared.

Sextus Placitus Papyriensis says that where an inflammation is present, you have to smear the body with raw egg and to place over a beet leaf, and you will be astonished by recovery. Galen on burns immediately places a raw egg, either whole shaken with yolk, or only the albumen. For it fairly cools and dries them without giving burning. Or rather, Pliny attributed to the eggs so a great power against burns that he affirmed that if the scald is due to hot water and the scalded areas are immediately covered with egg, they don't give rise to vesicles: and that some mix barley flour* and a little salt: he drew this from

¹³³³ *Naturalis historia* XXIX,41: [...] ad ignem sacrum candido ovorum trium cum amylo. aiunt et vulnera candido glutinari calculosque pelli. § O Aldrovandi disponeva dello stesso testo pliniano di Gessner, o, molto verosimilmente, ha perpetrato *sic et simpliciter* uno dei suoi tanti download da Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 447*: Ad ignem sacrum candido ovorum trito cum amylo utuntur, Plinius. § Discussa è l'interpretazione di cosa fosse l'*ignis sacer*, che magari fu anche chiamato *ignis Persicus* - fuoco persiano*. Umberto Capitani e Ivan Garofalo (*Naturalis historia* di Plinio, libro XXVIII, Einaudi, 1986) non citano il carbonchio*, e puntualizzano che Celso in *De medicina* V,26,31 e 28,4 fa una distinzione fra erisipela* e herpes zoster* (o fuoco di Sant'Antonio*), per cui il fuoco sacro dovrebbe poter corrispondere all'herpes zoster. Affascinanti problemi insoluti di medicina antica!

¹³³⁴ *Naturalis historia* XXIX,40: Eadem cum oleo trita ignes sacros leniunt betae foliis superinligatis. Candido ovorum in oculis et pili reclinantur Hammoniaco trito admixtoque et vari in facie cum pineis nucleis ac melle modico. Ipsa facies inlita sole non uritur. Ambusta aquis si statim ovo occupentur, pusulas non sentiunt — quidam admiscunt farinam hordeaciam et salis parum —, ulceribus vero ex ambusto cum candido ovorum tostum hordeum et suillo adipe mire prodest.

¹³³⁵ Discussa è l'interpretazione di cosa fosse l'*ignis sacer*, che magari fu anche chiamato *ignis Persicus* - fuoco persiano*. Umberto Capitani e Ivan Garofalo (*Naturalis historia* di Plinio, libro XXVIII, Einaudi, 1986) non citano il carbonchio*, e puntualizzano che Celso in *De medicina* V,26,31 e 28,4 fa una distinzione fra erisipela* e herpes zoster* (o fuoco di Sant'Antonio*), per cui il fuoco sacro dovrebbe poter corrispondere all'herpes zoster. Affascinanti problemi insoluti di medicina antica!

¹³³⁶ *Liber medicinalis*.

¹³³⁷ *Naturalis historia* XXIX,40: Ambusta aquis si statim ovo occupentur, pusulas non sentiunt — quidam admiscunt farinam hordeaciam et salis parum —, ulceribus vero ex ambusto cum candido ovorum tostum hordeum et suillo adipe mire prodest.

¹³³⁸ II,44 OVUM - CANDIDUM OVI nell'edizione di Pierandrea Mattioli* del 1554. In questa edizione di Dioscoride quando si sta parlando dell'albumine non si fa alcun cenno alla farina d'orzo in caso di ustioni: Ambusta, si statim eo perungantur, pustulas non sentiunt. § Credo che Ulisse voglia farci andare fuori di testa, in quanto il *qui* di "qui privatim id de albumine scriptum reliquit" non si capisce se è riferito a Plinio o a Dioscoride. Io ritengo che *qui*, anche se più consona per Dioscoride, vada riferito a Plinio, che oltretutto per l'orzo fa riferimento sia in caso di ustioni che di ulcere da ustioni, ma nel primo caso usa la farina d'orzo con l'uovo intero, nel secondo caso orzo tostato con l'albumine. § Mille volte più chiaro e preciso come al solito è Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 441*: Ambusta aquis si statim ovo occupentur, pustulas non sentiunt. quidam admiscunt farinam hordeaceam, et salis parum, Plin. E a pagina 445* (DE REMEDIIS EX ALBUMINE OVI): Ambusta si statim eo perungantur pustulas non sentiunt, Dioscor.

historiam¹³³⁹, qui privatim id de albumine scriptum reliquit: Avicenna tamen, si bene memini¹³⁴⁰, vitellum pariter, et albumen humectantis naturae facit, at non nutrimenti magis, ut Ornithologus¹³⁴¹ existimat, quam medicamenti ratione. Nam et Plinium¹³⁴² authorem habemus, ovorum vitella durata in aqua, mox super prunas putaminibus exustis, prodesse ad ambusta, si tum lutea ex rosaceo illinantur: praeterea et ipse Ornithologus nescio quo auctore, ceu sui oblitus¹³⁴³ combustionis vestigia, et ex aliis laesionibus <cutis> relicta sanare aqua<m> ex vitellis, et ex albumine destillatis asserit. Et {Arnoldum} <Arnoldus>¹³⁴⁴ dolorem ambustorum ab oleo ovorum mitigari scribit. Id autem ex vitellis, non ex albuminibus fit.

Dioscorides* and placed in his *Naturalis historia*, and the latter left this written specifically about albumen: Avicenna* however, if I correctly remember, thinks both yolk and albumen as having evenly matched emollient properties, but not, as the Ornithologist is thinking, because they are rather a nourishment instead of a remedy. For we have also Pliny as witness to the fact that egg yolks hardened in water, with shells immediately crumbled on embers, are useful against burns if yolks are smeared with rose oil: furthermore the Ornithologist again, and I don't know according to what author, as if he is forgetting himself, the water distilled from yolks and whites of eggs heals the marks of burning and of other lesions of the skin. And Arnaldo from Villanova* writes that burns' pain is mitigated by oil obtained from eggs. But this happens thanks to yolks and not to egg whites.

¹³³⁹ E adesso addentriamoci in un dedalo che cercheremo di rendere il meno tortuoso possibile. Innanzitutto bisogna interpretare "ex Dioscoride transtulit in suam historiam". Per *historia* va ovviamente intesa la *Naturalis historia* di Plinio. Altrimenti bisogna rivolgersi a un'altra opera di Plinio il Vecchio che sia una *historia*, un resoconto di carattere medico, quale potrebbe essere l'apocrifo *De re medica libri quinque ab innumeris mendarum millibus repurgati libri* comparso a Roma nel 1509, attribuito a Plinio, sì, e anch'egli a quanto pare comasco, ma si tratterebbe di Plinius Valerianus (di poco posteriore a Plinio il Vecchio) che assemblò in quest'opera notizie tratte dalla *Naturalis historia* e da Dioscoride, ma moltiplicando gli errori dei testi originali su cui si basava. Plinio il Vecchio nacque nel 23/24 e morì nel 79 dC. I primi dieci libri della *Naturalis historia* comparvero nel 77, gli altri 27 sono postumi. Dioscoride visse circa dal 40 al 90 dC e scrisse il suo trattato pare nel 64 dC, secondo altri nel 77 dC. Secondo i più autorevoli studiosi Plinio dovrebbe non aver letto - o meglio, non si sarebbe fatto leggere - l'opera di Dioscoride. Nella *Naturalis historia* ricorre una volta sola Dioscurides (XXXVII,8), ma si tratta dell'incisore greco di gemme e cammei attivo a Roma tra la fine dell'età repubblicana e gli inizi di quella augustea. Se ci fidiamo di Plinio, tra le sue migliaia di fonti non compare alcun Dioscurides.. Ma la bagarre non è ancora finita: Dioscoride è stato accusato di aver tratto le sue notizie da Plinio. Ma se Dioscoride pubblicò nel 64 ciò è impossibile, e se pubblicò nel 77 è altrettanto impossibile. In conclusione: Plinio e Dioscoride per tutta una serie di dati si sono affidati a ciò che la pratica medica del loro tempo metteva a disposizione. Quindi, a mio avviso, avevano a disposizione le stesse fonti con tutte le possibili varianti circa l'efficacia terapeutica del tale o talaltro rimedio.

¹³⁴⁰ Ecco il solito *lapsus memoriae* dovuto ad appropriazione indebita e ad accidia. Bastava che Aldrovandi controllasse Avicenna: così il *lapsus memoriae* di Gessner sarebbe stato emendato. - Mi associo all'accidia di Ulisse.

¹³⁴¹ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 445*: Avicenna (si bene memini) vitellum pariter et albumen humectantis naturae facit, nutrimenti nimirum magis quam medicamenti ratione.

¹³⁴² *Naturalis historia* XXIX,45: Utilia sunt et cervicis doloribus cum anserino adipe, sedis etiam vitii indurata igni, ut calore quoque prosint, et condylomatis cum rosaceo; item ambustis durata in aqua, mox in pruna putaminibus exustis, tum lutea ex rosaceo inlinuntur.

¹³⁴³ Gessner riporta - correttamente come al solito - l'autore da cui ha tratto la citazione dell'acqua ricavata dai tuorli. Si tratta di Ryffius, cioè Walther Hermann Ryff*. Forse chi non era certo dell'identità di Ryffius era Ulisse, che così ha tacciato di deficit mnemonico il povero Gessner, ormai nella tomba. § Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 449*: Aqua de vitellis destillata vestigia combustionis et ex aliis laesionibus cutis relicta sanat (ut etiam de albumine destillata) et omnem scabiem cutis: sed multo efficacius ad haec est oleum de vitellis, (de quo supra scripsimus,) Ryffius. - Il *supra scripsimus* corrisponde due pagine precedenti, la 447*, dove Gessner attribuisce la citazione a Ryffius, e non dice assolutamente *se ben ricordo* riferendosi a Ryffius, ma un semplice *ni fallor*, riferito però alla fonte di Ryffius: Liquor de albumine instrumentis chymicis destillatus, oculos refrigerat et confortat: utiliter miscetur collyriis aliisque oculorum remediis. Facies et manus eo ablutae nitore et claritate proficiunt. Cicatrices etiam foedas, combustionis aliarumque noxarum cutis vestigia emendat frequenti illitu, Ryffius ex Brunsvicensi ni fallor. - E secondo Gessner la fonte di Walther Hermann Ryff era rappresentata, verosimilmente, da Hieronymus Brunschwig*.

¹³⁴⁴ Volendo una volta tanto essere benigno nei confronti di Ulisse, propendo a credere che *Arnoldum* sia uno degli numerosissimi errori tipografici. Se accettassimo *Arnoldus* all'accusativo, allora mancherebbe un verbo, e la frase dovrebbe suonare: Ornithologus scribit Arnoldum scribere dolorem ambustorum ab oleo ovorum mitigari. - Infatti suona così la lunga citazione in Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 442*: Oleum ovorum salubre et experimentis cognitum est adversus impetiginem aliosque morbos. admixto paucis sanguine gallinae curat scabiem cholericam. iniectum tepidum sedat statim vehementiam doloris in abscessibus aurium, et accelerat concoctionem eorum, aperitque ipsos: et facit nasci capillos. confert etiam adversus fistulas et ulcera melancholica. mitigat dolorem ambustorum et ardorem. cicatricem subtilem reddit, et dentium dolores anique eliminat, si illinatur cum pinguedine anseris. per diem curat aegrum vehementer affectum dolore hepatis propter flatu contracto. colorem corruptum restituit, praesertim in albedine oculorum, Arnoldus de Villano.

[287] Haud interim iverim inficias ambusta ab albuminibus citius tutiusque sanari. Nam et Serenus¹³⁴⁵ ait:

At vero ambustum flammis, qui candidus ovi Succus inest, penna inductus sanare valebit.

Uteris vero ovis cum lana¹³⁴⁶. Sunt qui lardum, et adipem Gallinaceum adhibitum candelae lumini super aquam liquent, et collectum ex aquae superficie pingue inungant: Ornithologus ex innominato¹³⁴⁷.

Scabiem omnem cutis sanari tradunt aqua ex vitellis ovorum destillata, sed longe efficacius esse oleum eorundem. Arnoldus ad scabiem dependentem ex bile¹³⁴⁸, eiuscemodi oleo parum sanguinis Gallinae admiscet. Galenus¹³⁴⁹ ad scabiem pruritusque eiuscemodi remedium recenset: Ova Gallinae integra in acetum acerrimum demitte per diem, noctemque quae si tria fuerint, ipsis cum putaminibus in eodem aceto contritis adijce sulphuris ignem non experti, arsenici scissilis, uvae taminiae, (credo intelligere vitis nigrae fructus. Ea enim nobis hodie adhuc, etsi corrupte tannia dicitur, quasi taminia) cerussae, spumae argenti, nerii succi, singulorum unciam unam, olei veteris quantum satis est, omnibus contritis obline in balneo. Sed Plinius¹³⁵⁰ scabiem, ac pruritus oleo, et cedria cum ovo mixtis tolli putat. Aetius¹³⁵¹ ex Gallo Vulturino vivo remedium ad elephantiasim praescribit: qualis autem hic Gallus sit, non docet: idem quidem remedium ex Vulture fieri ait: quod cum in Vulturis historia posuerimus¹³⁵², hic repetere supervacaneum iudicamus.

Meanwhile I cannot deny that the burns are more quickly and certainly healed by albumens. For Serenus Sammonicus* also says:

But in truth a burn from flames will be healed by that candid liquid of the egg which is inside, smeared by a feather.

But you can use eggs with wool. Some are melting lard and chicken's fat on water putting them to the flame of a candle, and they smear the fat picked up from water's surface: the Ornithologist reports this according to an author whose name is unknown.

They report that the water dripped from egg yolks gets out whatever itchiness of the skin, but that their oil is much more effective. Arnaldo from Villanova* mixes such an oil with a little hen's blood against itchiness due to cholestasis. Galen* prescribes the following remedy against scratching and itch. Place unbroken hen's eggs into the sharpest vinegar for a day and a night, and if they will be three, after you crushed them jointly with shells in the same vinegar, add to them one ounce each [around 27 g] of sulphur* which didn't know the fire - sulphur's milk, split arsenic*, taminia grape - black bryony or *Tamus communis** - (I think he means the fruits of black vine; for by us even if incorrectly it is said *tannia* even today, as if it were *taminia*), white lead*, litharge*, oleander juice*, as much old oil is enough, and after you crushed them you have to apply them by a bath. But Pliny* thinks that scabies* and itch are removed by olive oil and cedar oil* mixed with egg. Aetius of Amida* prescribes a remedy against the elephantiasis* using a live vulture-like rooster*: but what this rooster is he doesn't specify: he says however that the same remedy can be obtained from a vulture*: since I placed this in the chapter regarding the vulture, I judge superfluous to repeat it here.

¹³⁴⁵ *Liber medicinalis*.

¹³⁴⁶ Questa alternativa alla penna scaturisce da Serapione*. Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 445*: Lana albumine madens utiliter imponitur locis igne aut aqua fervida adustis, Serapio.

¹³⁴⁷ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 396*: Ad ambusta: Lardum et adipem gallinaceum adhibito candelae lumine super aquam liqua, et collectum ex aquae superficie pingue inungito, Innominatus.

¹³⁴⁸ La colestasi, cioè ristagno della bile, detta *cholè* in greco, consiste in un ostacolo al flusso della bile nei dotti biliari che ne determina il ristagno nel fegato e che può avere sede a qualunque livello dell'albero biliare. Le cause possono essere meccaniche, come per esempio un calcolo o un tumore, oppure legate a malattie del fegato, come l'epatite e la cirrosi. L'alterato scarico della bile nell'intestino fa sì che questa si riversi nel sangue producendo ittero e prurito, mentre le feci sono scolorite e grasse per il mancato arrivo dei costituenti biliari nell'intestino.

¹³⁴⁹ *Euporiston* 3.77. (Aldrovandi)

¹³⁵⁰ *Naturalis historia* XXIX,47: Tota ova adiuvant partum cum ruta et anetho et cumino pota e vino. Scabiem corporum ac pruritus oleo et cedria admixtis tollunt, ulcera quoque umida in capite cyclamino admixta.

¹³⁵¹ Libro XIII cap. 130 della relazione lunga: *γυπαλέκτωρ*. (Antonio Garzya*, 25 gennaio 2005, lettera indirizzata a Roberto Ricciardi*)

¹³⁵² Aldrovandi riporta la ricetta di Ezio nel I volume di *Ornithologia* a pagina 259 dove cita Ezio XIII,124.

Sextus furunculos¹³⁵³ a Galli stercore ruf{o} imposito rumpi prodidit, et dolorem tolli. Est autem furunculus, (ut id obiter dicamus) abscessus cum tumore, quem copiose Cornelius Celsus¹³⁵⁴ describit, et nascitur passim, ut tradit Plinius¹³⁵⁵, in quacunq[ue] parte, ac maximo incommodo mortiferum aliquando malum confectis corporibus. Huic eidem malo eundem fimum Plinius¹³⁵⁶, sed recentem, et ex aceto illitum ait mederi. Serenus¹³⁵⁷ fimum in hoc casu ex albo Gallo eligit:

Praetereaque fimum ex Gallo, quod legeris albo Imbribus ex acidis fidens appone dolenti.

Plinius¹³⁵⁸ rursus alibi eisdem furunculis {miricae} <myricae> semen cum altilium pingui imponi tradidit. Sunt qui ad ossa fracta, sex, aut septem albumina cum thure albo permisceant, et emplastrum inde paratum eis imponant. Nicolaus Myrepsus¹³⁵⁹ ad eminentias expertum medicamentum eiuscemodi recitat: Ovum elixato, donec durum fiat, et repurgato, quod in eo testaceum est, abijcito: interiorem autem eius partem cum albo ipsius in carbones conijcito, et tantisper assato, donec totum albescat: dein vitellum eius conijce in mortarium plumbeum cum cerussa, et oleo rosaceo sufficienti, et omnia simul diligenter subigito, quoad glutinis crassitiem nanciscantur. Dein chamaemelum coquito in aqua ad tertias, et locum cum spongia saepius foveto. Post unctiones desuper cum penna illinito, et sic curato bis die, assiduo observando.

Sextus Placitus Papyriensis* handed down that the boils open up through rooster's reddish dung applied on them and that pain is removed. Actually the pimple (saying this incidentally) is a collection of pus accompanied by swelling as Cornelius Celsus* describes in detail, and it takes place here and there, as Pliny reports, everywhere, and with big trouble, sometimes a deadly illness for worn out bodies. Pliny for this same illness says that the same kind of dung, but fresh and smeared with vinegar, is healing. Serenus Sammonicus in this case chooses dung of a white rooster:

And furthermore apply confidently on the patient the dung you picked up from a white rooster and dissolved in acid waters.

Furthermore Pliny handed down elsewhere that still for pimples we have to apply tamarisk* seeds with domestic fowls' fat. Some are mixing six or seven egg whites with white incense* for broken bones and they put on them a so prepared poultice. Nicolaus Myrepsus* declaims the following proven remedy against swellings: Cook an egg until it became hard, and polish up it, throw away what there is of shell: and place on embers its inner part with its own albumen and toast a little bit until it becomes entirely white: then place its yolk in a lead mortar with white lead and a sufficient amount of rose oil and knead carefully everything together until a texture of glue is acquired. Then cook chamomile in water up to reduce it to one third and pack, as often as not, the interested area using a sponge. Subsequently smear on with a feather the ointments and do this treatment twice a day, checking frequently.

¹³⁵³ *Furunculus*: diminutivo di *fur furis*, ladro, propriamente tralcio che sottrae il succo al pollone principale.

¹³⁵⁴ *De medicina* lib. 5. (Aldrovandi) - Liber V,28,8: Furunculus vero est tuberculum acutum cum inflammatione et dolore, maximeque ubi iam in pus vertit. Qui ubi adaperitus est, et exit pus, apparet pars carnis in pus versa, pars corrupta subalbida, subrubra, quem ventriculum quidam furunculi nominant. In eo nullum periculum est, etiam ut nulla curatio adhibeatur: maturescit enim per se atque erumpit: sed dolor efficit, ut potior medicina sit, quae maturius liberet.— Proprium eius medicamentum galbanum est: sed alia quoque quae supra (cap. XVIII) comprehensa sunt. Si cetera desunt, imponi debet primum non pingue emplastrum, ut id reprimat; deinde, si non repressit, quodlibet puri movendo accommodatum; si ne id quidem est, vel resina vel fermentum. Expresso pure nulla ultra curatio necessaria est.

¹³⁵⁵ *Naturalis historia* XXVI,125: Passim et in quacunq[ue] parte, sed maxime incommoda nascuntur qui furunculi vocantur, mortiferum aliquando malum confectis corporibus. Remedio sunt pycnocomi folia trita cum polenta, si nondum caput fecerint. discutiunt et folia ephedri illita.

¹³⁵⁶ *Naturalis historia* XXX,108: Furunculis mederi dicitur araneus, priusquam nominetur, inpositus et tertio die solutus, mus araneus pendens enecatus sic, ut terram ne postea attingat, ter circumlatus furunculo, totiens expuentibus medente et cui is medebitur, ex gallinaceo fimo, quod est rufum, maxime recens inlitum ex aceto, ventriculus ciconiae ex vino decoctus, muscae inpari numero infricatae digito medico, sordes ex pecudum auriculis, sebum ovium vetus cum cinere capilli mulierum, sebum arietis cum cinere pumicis et salis pari pondere.

¹³⁵⁷ *Liber medicinalis* XXXVIII FURUNCULO MEDENDO.

¹³⁵⁸ *Naturalis historia* XXIV,71: Semen drachmae pondere adversus phalangia et araneos bibitur, cum altilium vero pingui furunculis inponitur, efficax et contra serpentium ictus praeterquam aspidum.

¹³⁵⁹ *Nicolai Myrepsi Alexandrini Medicamentorum opus in sectiones quadraginta octo.*

Ulcera humida in capite ova cyclamino admixta, Plinio¹³⁶⁰ teste, tollunt. Ornithologus¹³⁶¹ pulverem e testis ovorum ustis ad ulcus antiquum in crure siccandum componebat, qui talis est: Cortices ovorum, et soleas calceamentorum veterum ure, quibus addes fimum bubulum de Maio mense arefactum, et tritum. De his mixtis pulverem insperge ulceri, et lanuginem typhae superinsperge. Oleum ovorum Arnoldus adversus fistulas, et ulcera melanc<h>olica plurimum commendat. Medici, inquit Plinius¹³⁶², liquida resina raro utuntur, et in ovo fere e larice, propter tussim, ulceraque viscerum. Eadem ratione sunt, qui etiam catapotia ex ovo sorbili deglutiant, quod ita facile, commodeque devorentur. Sed hic ovum nihil aliud confert: ad tussim vero ulceraque viscerum ipsum quoque per se nonnihil iuvat. Avicenna ova laudat ad apostemata circa anum, et pectinem, supponit autem cum licinio infuso in eis, et in oleo rosarum: Et alias emplastris apostemata prohibentibus ova miscet: item clysteribus propter ulcera, et apostemata, et erysipelata eisdem utiliter illinuntur cum oleo. Cur vero ova eiusmodi remediis permisceantur docet Petrus Aponensis¹³⁶³ dum ait: Ova confracta contusa super tumores apostematum, prohibent ea augeri, et oleum rosarum cum eis mixtum. Rasis vero stercus Galli citrinum cataplasmatibus instar impositum cum ovi vitello, et exiguo croco quemvis abscessum purulentum author est aperire. In libro quodam manuscripto Ornithologus¹³⁶⁴ reperisse sese memorat pelliculam e ventriculo Capi tritam fistulis prius mortificatis utiliter inspergi.

Albuminis ovi in vulneribus glutinandis usum esse cum nemo non nesciat, itaque nec ego hic repetere velim, illud tantummodo obiter addens, albumen ad purganda vulnera, et constringenda quae laxa sunt prodesse¹³⁶⁵. In omnibus¹³⁶⁶

As Pliny reports, eggs mixed with cyclamen* remove humid ulcers appearing on head. The Ornithologist made a powder from burned eggshells for drying up a long-lasting ulcer on a leg, gotten in this way. Burn eggshells and soles of old shoes, to which you will add cow's dung collected in the month of May, dried and crushed. Sprinkle upon the ulcer the powder gotten from these things mixed together and sprinkle on top some down of broadleaf cattail*. Arnaldo from Villanova highly recommends egg's oil against fistulae and ulcers caused by black bile*. Pliny says that physicians seldom use liquid resin, and usually that of larch put in the egg, for cough and ulcers of inner organs. Those who also swallow pills with a sucking egg are agreeing with this, since in this way they are easily assumed and without difficulty. But so far the egg is of no other use: for even by itself it fairly helps in case of cough and ulcers of inner organs. Avicenna* extols eggs against around anus and pubic abscesses, for he applies them with a bandage soaked in them and in rose oil: and on the other hand he mixes eggs with poultices which make the abscesses to regress: similarly with clysters against ulcerations and abscesses, and erysipelas* are successfully smeared using them with oil. But Pietro d'Abano* is teaching why eggs are mixed with such remedies when he says: Eggs broken and beaten, also mixing rose oil, when applied on swellings of abscesses prevent them from increasing. But Razi* reports that yellowish rooster's dung applied as cataplasm jointly with egg yolk and a small quantity of saffron* breaks open any purulent abscess. The Ornithologist remembers that he found in a manuscript book that the crushed membrane* of a capon's* gizzard is successfully applied on fistulae previously subdued.

Since everybody knows that egg white is used to heal wounds, therefore neither I would like to repeat this here, except to add in passing that egg white is useful for cleaning wounds and reducing the breadth of too much open ones. According to Pliny, also in any

¹³⁶⁰ *Naturalis historia* XXIX,47: Tota ova adiuvant partum cum ruta et anetho et cumino pota e vino. Scabiam corporum ac prurimum oleo et cedria admixtis tollunt, ulcera quoque umida in capite cyclamino admixta.

¹³⁶¹ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 449*.

¹³⁶² *Naturalis historia* XXIV,33: Medici liquida raro utuntur et in ovo fere, e larice propter tussim ulceraque viscerum — nec pinea magnopere in usu —, ceteris non nisi coctis. Et coquendi genera satis demonstravimus.

¹³⁶³ *In proble. Arist.* (Aldrovandi)

¹³⁶⁴ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 398*.

¹³⁶⁵ La fonte è Platina*. Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 445*: Albore ovi utimur in purgandis vulneribus, et in constringendis quae laxa sunt, Platina.

¹³⁶⁶ *Naturalis historia* XXIX,46: Membrana putamini detracta sive crudo sive cocto labrorum fissuris medetur, putaminis cinis in vino potus sanguinis eruptionibus. - Aldrovandi largheggia un po' troppo in fatto di indicazione terapeutica. Infatti Plinio non suggerisce questo rimedio per ogni tipo di emorragia. La traduzione di Umberto Capitani edita da Einaudi (1986) si limita addirittura alle piccole emorragie, citando però anche le instillazioni di polvere di guscio d'uovo nelle epistassi, come consigliato da Pseudo

quoque sanguinis eruptionibus cinis putaminis ovi in vino potus, tradente Plinio, confert. Cicatrices foedas a vulneribus relictas, aliarumque noxarum cutis vestigia emendat frequenti illitu liquor chymicis instrumentis ab albumine [288] ovorum destillatus. In eodem fere casu ovorum oleum commendatur quibusdam.

haemorrhage the ash of eggshell is useful drunk with wine. The liquid gotten from distillation of egg albumen by chemistry tools when frequently applied is bettering ugly scars left by wounds and the relics of other skin diseases. By some people the oil of eggs is recommended in more or less identical cases.

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Si lendes caput infestent, tum ovo Gallinaceo caput illinito, postea aqua, vel succo herbae cyclamini{s} lavato: hoc pacto lendes necati ultra non renascentur. Plinius¹³⁶⁷ fimum Gallinarum recens illitum alopecias celeriter curare scribit. Marcellus¹³⁶⁸ id cum utroque oleo (non explicat quibusnam) ob eandem causam permiscet. Kiranides, et {Rases} <Rasis> cum aceto imponunt: hic vero locus prius fricari vult cum panno, et caepe, donec rubeat. Capillos regnere oleum ex ovis experientia plurima comprobatum est.

If the eggs of lice* are infesting the head, then smear a hen's egg on head, then wash with water or juice of the green part of cyclamens*: the nits - the lice's eggs - having been killed in this way, won't revive. Pliny* writes that smeared hens' fresh dung quickly cures alopecias*. Marcellus Empiricus* for the same illness mixes it with both oils (he doesn't point out with what kind). Kiranides* and Razi* apply it with vinegar: the latter in truth prescribes that the area first has to be rubbed with a piece of cloth and with onion* up to become red. That the oil obtained from eggs regenerates hair is proven by manifold experience.

Ex felle Gallinaceo optimum fit collyrium contra oculorum debilitatem. Acuit enim visum, et valet ad maculas eorundem. Valentius id praestabit, si cum succo chelidoniae herbae, et melle oculis illinatur. Ad dolores oculorum, et vigilias, quibus febricitantes frequenter torquentur, Galenus¹³⁶⁹ mulsam instillat, et ovum praemaceratum (nimirum in mulsa) ac putamine mundatum, in duas portiones secat, et super oculum deligat, aegrumque somno fruiturum pollicetur. Et Sextus notissimum esse ait, Gallinarum ova ad dolorem oculorum vim habere, album infusum in oculum punctiones sedare, omnesque fervores et pruriginis, ut addit Constantinus. Archigenes apud Galenum¹³⁷⁰ agglutinatorium ad fluxionem

From gallinaceous bile a good eyewash is gotten against sight weakness. For it makes the sight sharp and is useful against scotomas - holes in visual field. It will do this more efficaciously if smeared on eyes jointly with juice of celandine* herb and honey. Against eyes' pains and sleepless nights by which fever patients are often tormented, Galen* instills mead and divides in half an egg previously steeped (obviously in mead) and cleaned out from shell and does a bandaging with it on eyes, and he assures that the patient will enjoy his sleep. And Sextus Placitus Papyriensis* says that it is very well known that hen's eggs are endowed with power against eyes' pains, that albumen instilled in eye relieves sharp pains and every kind of burning and itch, as Constantinus Africanus*

Prisciano (*Additamenta*, 276,14). Gessner rimane fuori dalla mischia e si limita invece a riferire pari pari il testo di Plinio, lasciando a ciascuno la libertà di scelta terapeutica. Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 449*: Ovi putaminis cinis in vino potus, sanguinis eruptionibus medetur, Plinius.

¹³⁶⁷ *Naturalis historia* XXIX,109: Pellium viperinarum cinis alopecias celerrime explet, item gallinarum fimum recens inlitum.

¹³⁶⁸ *De medicamentis empiricis, physicis ac rationalibus liber*.

¹³⁶⁹ *Euporiston* 3.18. (Aldrovandi) - Gessner - per la stessa ricetta ricavata da *Euporista* III,18 - a pagina 441 non riferisce che i dolori oculari sono presenti in coloro che hanno la febbre: Ad oculorum dolores et vigilias: Mulsam instillato, et ovum praemaceratum (nimirum in mulsa) ac putamine mundatum, in duas portiones secato, et super oculum deligato, et somno occupabitur, Idem *Euporiston* 3. 18. - Per dirimere dove sta il vero, con tempo e voglia si può controllare il testo di *Euporista*.

¹³⁷⁰ *De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos*. (Aldrovandi) § L'omissione di *a tempore* - da una tempia - è indubbiamente di origine gessneriana, come si può evincere da Conrad Gessner *Historia animalium* III (1555) pag. 446*: Aut cochleam cum testa sua et ovi candido ad strigmentitiam formam redactam in splenio <a tempore> altero ad alterum extendendo imposito, sua sponte decidit ubi restiterit fluxus, Archigenes apud Galenum de compos. sec. locos. § Questa ommissione di Gessner tramandataci da Aldrovandi ha costretto giustamente Lind a interpolare un inesistente occhio per poter applicare il cataplasma: in a plaster extending from one eye to the other (Lind, *Aldrovandi on Chickens* 1963). § Difficile arguire perché Gessner abbia omissso *a tempore* che traduce il greco ἄπὸ κροτάφου di Galeno. Una della fonti che dal punto di vista cronologico è compatibile con la pubblicazione dell'opera di Gessner

oculorum praescribens ovi tenuis vitellum cum thure fronti imponi iubet, aut cochleam cum testa sua, et ovi candido ad strigmentitiam formam redactam in splenio <a tempore> altero ad alterum extendendo imponi, ita sua sponte decidere, ubi restiterit fluxus.

Sed idem fere remedium Dioscorides¹³⁷¹ habet, dum ait; *Candidum ovi fronti impositum cum thure fluxiones arceat, avertitque*. Pro cuius verbis Graecis Ἀνακόλλημά ἐστι ρευματιζομένων σὺν λιβανωτῶ κατὰ τοῦ μετώπου ἐπιτιθέμενον Barbari translationem cum thuris polline, frontibus perunctis, rheumatismos reclinat, Marcellus {Virgilius} <Virgilius> reprehendit. Ex Plinio¹³⁷² enim, inquit, accepto reclinandi verbo voluisse videtur eadem Plinio, non Dioscoridi hoc loco docere: et de reclinandis palpebrarum pilis in hoc scriptore praecipere, cum non de palpebris reclinandis, compescendis, firmandisve Dioscorides hic praecipiat, nisi nos fallimur: sed de compescenda omni a superiori parte in oculos destillatione, seu rheumatismo: quam ob causam iubet fronti imponi. Verbum quidem anacollemma¹³⁷³ manifeste indicat vim remedii lentore suo glutinantis, aut naturae suae vi fluentia firmantis, ac retinentis. Verum non eam ob causam, ut videtur, ex ovorum candido fieri anacollemma Dioscorides ait: sed quoniam glutinoso lentore fronti adhaereat. Haec ille. Et ipsius translationem hoc in loco nos etiam

adds. Archigenes* in Galen when prescribing a poultice against lacrimation advises to place on forehead the yolk of a small egg along with incense*, or to put a snail with its shell and white of egg in the form of poultice contained in a cataplasm extending from a temple to the other, it spontaneously falls when the flow will stop.

But Dioscorides* has almost the same remedy, when he says: *The egg white applied on forehead with incense stops humors' flows and makes them to regress*. Marcellus Virgilius* - alias Marcello Adriani - blames the translation of his Greek words *Anakóllēma estī rheumatizoménon sūn libanotō, katà toū metōpou epitiθēmenon* done by Ermolao Barbaro* *with powder of incense, after foreheads have been smeared, makes the catarrhs to regress*. For he says that, after he gathered from Pliny the verb *reclinandi* - to turn back, it seems that he wanted to express in this passage the same things according to Pliny and not according to Dioscorides: and that in the text of this author he prescribes to straighten eyelids hair, while Dioscorides in this passage is not prescribing to turn back eyelids, to hold them still or stuck, unless I am wrong: on the contrary to halt whatever kind of dripping or catarrh into eyes coming from the upper region: for this reason he says to apply it on forehead. Really the word *anacollemma* clearly points out the power of the remedy of conglutinating thanks to its gluey quality, or of halting flowing liquids with the strength of its nature, and to end them. In truth, as it seems, Dioscorides says to make a poultice from egg white not for this reason:

(1555) è rappresentata dalla traduzione di Janus Cornarius*. che risale al 1549: *De compositione pharmacorum localium libri decem Iano Cornario interprete* (Lugduni apud Gulielmum Rouillium 1549). In questa pubblicazione troviamo *a tempore altero ad alterum*. Lo stesso dicasi per altre edizioni che contengono, magari revisionata, la traduzione di Cornarius e pubblicate dopo il 1555. Il famigerato *a tempore* lo troviamo anche in altre traduzioni, come quella di Iunius Cornelius del 1562 e di Carolus Gottlob Kühn del 1826. La mania delle abbreviazioni inutili ha pervaso i tipografi che sprecavano spazio in titoli dai caratteri enormi e lo risparmiavano con le abbreviazioni. Così in *Galenī librorum quinta classis* (Venetiis apud Iuntas 1565) troviamo la traduzione di Janus Cornarius e il nostro *a tempore* viene stringato in *à tpe* con la gamba della p attraversata da una sbarretta, ovviamente da leggere come se fosse scritto *a tempore*. Ma Gessner non ebbe a disposizione questa edizione, per cui possiamo essere certi che non gli sfuggì questo *à tpe* vista la brevità, ma che gli sfuggì *a tempore* di Janus Cornarius o di qualche altro traduttore. E Aldrovandi si è adeguato, come al solito, in quanto aveva ben altro da fare che mettersi a controllare il suo esimio Ornitologo. § Ecco il testo greco di Galeno tratto da Kühn cui fa seguito la mia traduzione. *De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos* liber IV cap. 8 - REMEDIA AD AFFECTOS OCULOS, AB ARCHIGENE IN PRIMO PHARMACORUM SECUNDUM GENUS CONSCRIPTA - AGGLUTINATORIUM AD FLUXIONEM. - ἡ κοχλίαν σὺν τῶ ὀστράκῳ, μετὰ ὠοῦ τοῦ λευκοῦ γλοιῶδες ποιήσας ἐν σπληνίῳ ἀπὸ κροτάφου, ἐπὶ κρόταφον ἐπιτίθει, αὐτόματον πίπτει ὅταν ρεῦμα στῆ, [...] - Oppure metti una chiocciola con il guscio insieme al bianco d'uovo dopo aver fatto una poltiglia contenuta in una benda - un cataplasma - che parte da una tempia fino all'altra tempia, essa - la benda - cade da sola quando il flusso si sarà arrestato [...]. (Elio Corti, sabato 23 agosto 2008) § Per cataplasma - in greco *katáplasma* derivato dal verbo *katáplassein* = spalmare - oggi si intende una forma farmaceutica per uso esterno composta da una pasta molle contenuta in una benda - *splēnion* in greco - fatta per esempio con della garza.

¹³⁷¹ Il testo di Dioscoride qui riferito corrisponde alla traduzione di Jean Ruel* ed è riportato, per esempio, da Pierandrea Mattioli* in *Commentarii in libros sex Pedacii Dioscoridis Anazarbei De Materia Medica*, 1554*, pag. 187.

¹³⁷² *Naturalia historia* XXIX,40: Candido ovorum in oculis et pilis reclinantur Hammoniaco trito admixtoque et vari in facie cum pineis nucleis ac melle modico.

¹³⁷³ Il sostantivo greco neutro *anakóllēma* significa cosmetico, cataplasma, empiastro.

potius, quam Hermolai probamus¹³⁷⁴.

Sed reclinandi verbum cum de palpebris sermo est, compescere, aut firmare, ut ipse interpretatur, non significat. Neque enim veteres Graeci medici ἀνακολλᾶσθαι dicunt palpebras (nam de his quoque hoc verbo utuntur aequae, quam de fluxione retinenda) quae effluant, sed quae retortae in oculum pungendo molestae sunt, cum ad situm, et rigorem naturalem illitis quibusdam (glutinantibus, et rigorem, cum aruerint praestantibus) reducuntur: quos pilos aliqui forcipae evellunt.

Haec quod ad propriam vocum significationem: quod vero ad rem ipsam, ipsaque remedia, pleraque quae pilos reclinare possunt glutinoso humore suo, eadem, si fronti illinantur, catharrum etiam ad oculos sistere posse videtur. Porro ad oculorum fluxiones Plinius¹³⁷⁵ lac muliebrem commendat mixto ovorum candido liquore, madidaque lana fronti impositum. Marcellus vero ad oculorum epiphoras limaces complures in mortario novo vel nitido teri vult, ovumque Gallinaceum crudum adijci, et cum lana succida fronti imponi. Idem quoque apud Plinium¹³⁷⁶ legas, qui ita habet: *Lanae habent et cum ovis societatem simul fronti impositae contra epiphoras. Non opus est eas in hoc usu radícula esse curatas, nec aliud quam candidum ex ovo infundi, ac pollinem thuris.* Et rursus: *Ova per se infuso candido oculis epiphoras cohibent, urentesque refrigerant. Quidam cum croco praeferunt, et pro aqua miscent collyriis.* Eodem pariter modo inflammationes oculorum ovi candidum infusum curat, Dioscoride teste¹³⁷⁷.

but since with its gluey stickiness it clings to forehead. These are the words of Marcellus Virgilius. And I also approve his translation of this passage rather than that of Ermolao.

But when the speech is concerning eyelids, the verb *reclinandi* doesn't mean, as he interprets, to keep them still or to hold up them. In fact nor ancient Greek physicians say that watering eyelids are to be glued - *anakollásthai* - (in fact also for to glue eyelids they use this verb as well as to express a lacrimation checking), but those eyelids which being folded eye-wards become bothersome because they are prickling, so they are reduced to their original place and natural stiffness when smeared with some substance (conglutinating, which when dried up also produces rigidity): some pull out those eyelashes with tweezers.

All this as far as an appropriate meaning of the words is concerning: but regarding the matter itself and the remedies themselves, many of which are able to turn back eyelashes by their gluey consistence, still the same remedies, if smeared on forehead, seem to be able also to stop the catarrh going down to eyes. On the other hand Pliny for eyes' secretions recommends milk of woman mixed with egg albumen and applied on forehead with a soaked piece of wool. But Marcellus Empiricus against persisting lacrimation prescribes to crush in a new or clean mortar a lot of snails and to add a raw hen egg and to apply on forehead with a soaked piece of wool. You could read the same thing also in Pliny who is expressing himself as follows: *The wools go into partnership also with eggs when placed together on forehead against discharges from eyes. For this use they don't need to be treated with soapwort* nor that anything is placed above but egg albumen and dust of incense.* And afterward: *The eggs alone stop discharges from eyes placing albumen on eyes, and cool them when burning. Some prefer them with saffron* and mix them with eyewashes instead of water.* In the same identical way, according to

¹³⁷⁴ Gessner doveva essere per Aldrovandi un maestro così autorevole da condizionarlo non solo nei giudizi ma anche nella scelta delle parole, spesso identiche. Solo che Aldrovandi si dimentica frequentemente di citarlo, come accade anche in questo caso. Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 446*: Haec ille. Et ipsius translationem hoc in loco nos etiam potius quam Hermolai probamus. sed reclinandi verbum cum de palpebris sermo est, compescere aut firmare, ut ipse interpretatur, non significat. neque enim veteres Graeci medici ἀνακολλᾶσθαι dicunt palpebras (nam de his quoque hoc verbo utuntur aequae, quam de fluxione retinenda) quae effluant, sed quae retortae in oculum pungendo molestae sunt, cum ad situm et rigorem naturalem illitis quibusdam (glutinantibus et rigorem cum aruerint praestantibus) reducuntur. quos pilos aliqui forcipae evellunt. Haec quod ad propriam vocum significationem, quod vero ad rem ipsam, ipsaque remedia, pleraque quae pilos reclinare possunt glutinoso humore suo, eadem si fronti illinantur, catarrhum etiam ad oculos sistere posse videntur.

¹³⁷⁵ *Naturalia historia* XXVIII,73: Mixto praeterea ovorum candido liquore madidaque lana frontibus inpositum fluxiones oculorum suspendit.

¹³⁷⁶ *Naturalis historia* XXIX,39: Lanae habent et cum ovis societatem simul fronti inpositae contra epiphoras. Non opus est eas in hoc usu radícula esse curatas neque aliud quam candidum ex ovo infundi ac pollinem thuris. Ova per se infuso candido oculis epiphoras cohibent urentesque refrigerant — quidam cum croco praeferunt — et pro aqua miscentur collyriis; infantibus vero contra lippitudines, ut vix aliud, remedio sunt butyro admixto recenti.

¹³⁷⁷ Inflammationes oculorum infusum lenit. Jean Ruel* *De materia medica* (1549) II,55 CANDIDUM OVI.

Galenus ad inflammationes circa palpebras, aures, et mamillas, quae ex ictu istarum partium, vel aliter oboriuntur, toto ovo crudo utitur: item circa corpora nervosa, ut cubitum, tendines digitorum, vel articulos in manibus, pedibusque. Alibi¹³⁷⁸ vero privatim contra oculorum phlegmonas lac cum ovo, et rosaceo approbat. Verum oculos in primis refrigerat, et confortat liquor ex ovorum albumine chymicis instrumentis destillatus, et utiliter miscetur collyriis aliisque oculorum remediis. Galenus ad lippitudines etiam candido ovi utitur, et ante ipsum Plinius¹³⁷⁹: *Contra lippitudines, inquit, vix aliud remedium est infantibus, candido scilicet per se infuso oculis, butyro admixto recenti.*

Suffusionibus oculorum fel Gallinaceum mederi cum antiqui tum recentiores affirmant: at alii id cum melle, et succo {foeniculi} <faeniculi> commendant: alii loco {foeniculi} <faeniculi> succo rutae, vel {eufragiae} <euphrasiae>, vel chelidonii, vel verbenae utuntur: et Galenus¹³⁸⁰ medicamento cuidam liquido ad oculos suffusos, alios Galli fel, alios aliud adiecisse scribit.

Et alibi¹³⁸¹ ad suffusionem hoc admirabile esse ait, et [289] illico visum restituere. Muris sanguinem, et Galli fel, et muliebre lac aequis ponderibus misce, et bene subactis utere. Probatum est enim et magnifice profuit. Lusciosis, Plinio¹³⁸² teste, fimum quoque Gallinaceorum rubrum duntaxat illinendum monstrant. Alii stercus albi Galli cum melle, et aceto oculis iniectum eorum lac{h}rimas sistere volunt. Archigenes, referente Galeno¹³⁸³, ad cruentos, et sugillatos oculos candidum ovi instillatum prodesse asserit, atque amplius pura lana exceptum et superne impositum. Et rursus¹³⁸⁴, eodem teste, sugillata in oculis ovi vitellus impositus discutit. Sunt qui mel misceant. Et rursus: ad haemalopes, et hyposphagmata, id est, cruentos, et sugilatos

Dioscorides, the egg white instilled cures ocular inflammations.

Galen, against inflammations of eyelids, ears and breasts taking origin from a trauma of these areas or from something else, uses the whole raw egg: likewise for sensitive areas, as elbow, tendons of fingers or small joints of hands and feet. But elsewhere against eyes' inflammations he specifically praises milk with egg and rose oil. In truth the liquid gotten from distillation of egg albumen by chemistry tools first of all cools and strengthens the eyes and is suitably mixed with eyewashes and other remedies for eyes. Galen is using egg albumen also against rheumy eyes, and before him Pliny said: *Against rheumy eyes it is difficult to find another remedy for infants, that is, only egg albumen instilled in the eyes after it has been mixed with fresh butter.*

Both ancient and more recent authors affirm that chicken's bile cures cataracts: but some recommends it with honey and fennel juice*: others instead of fennel use juice of rue*, or eyebright*, or celandine, or verbena*: and Galen writes that some added rooster's bile to a liquid remedy for cataracts, others something else.

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And Galen* in another passage says that the following remedy is marvelous against cataract and restores the sight in a flash. Mix the same weight of mouse blood, rooster bile and woman milk and use after you mixed them properly. For it has been proven and has been of extreme benefit. As Pliny* testifies, to those people suffering of nyctalopia* - or night blindness - they advise to smear also chicken's dung but the red one. Others think that the dung of a white rooster applied to eyes with honey and vinegar is able to stop their tears. As Galen reports, Archigenes* affirms that egg white instilled is useful for eyes bearing hemorrhages and bruises, and mostly if taken with pure wool and placed on. And again, always according to him, egg yolk applied on eyes drives away the bruises. Some are mixing honey with it. And again: for *haemalopes* and *hyposphagmata*, that is, for eyes with hemorrhages and

¹³⁷⁸ *De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos* liber 10. (Aldrovandi)

¹³⁷⁹ *Naturalis historia* XXIX,39: Ova per se infuso candido oculis epiphoras cohibent urentesque refrigerant — quidam cum croco praeferunt — et pro aqua miscentur collyriis; infantibus vero contra lippitudines, ut vix aliud, remedio sunt butyro admixto recenti.

¹³⁸⁰ *De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos* liber 4. (Aldrovandi)

¹³⁸¹ *Euporiston* 3.16. (Aldrovandi)

¹³⁸² *Naturalis historia* XXIX,123: Fimum quoque gallinaceorum, dumtaxat rubrum, lusciosis inlini monstrant.

¹³⁸³ *De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos*. (Aldrovandi)

¹³⁸⁴ *De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos* liber 5, cap. 1. (Aldrovandi)

oculos, statim a principio tum ad inflammationem, tum ad dolorem compescendum prodest ovi assi luteum cum vino impositum.

Marcellus¹³⁸⁵ fellis Gallinacei, vel Vulturini, quod longe magis prodesse putat, scrupulum¹³⁸⁶, et mellis optimi unciam bene trita coniungi iubet, atque in pyxide cuprea haberi, et opportune ad inungendum uti: hoc nihil potentius caliginem relevare. Serenus¹³⁸⁷ vero in simplici lymphamacerat: ait enim:

*Fel quoque de Gallo mollitum simplice¹³⁸⁸ lymphamacerat: ait enim:
Exacuit puros dempta caligine visus.*

In eodem felle, si Plinio¹³⁸⁹ fidem adhibemus, alligato¹³⁹⁰ vis est ad argema, et ad albugines ex aqua diluto: item ad suffusiones oculorum, maxime candidi Gallinacei: item alibi fimo similem fere vim ascribit, dum ait¹³⁹¹: *Fimum Gallinaceum dumtaxat candidum oleo in vetere, corneisque pyxidibus adservant ad pupillarum albugines.* Sanguinis Galli praeterea ad oculorum vitia usus est, quando, teste Constantino, eorum leucomata, et cicatrices cum aqua inunctus sanat. Sed Marcellus ad leucomata, et {hypophyses} <hypochyses>¹³⁹² Galli Gallinacei fel maxime albi ex aqua dilutum, et in unctione adhibitum laudat, et aciem oculorum confirmare testatur. Et alibi fimum Gallinaceum cum oleo veteri tenuissime tritum, et adpositum leucomata, et {hypophyses} <hypochyses> curare. Et

bruises, immediately at their beginning is useful the roasted egg yolk applied with wine to restrain both inflammation and pain.

Marcellus Empiricus* prescribes to join a scruple [1.13 g] of chicken's or vulturine bile*, the latter he thinks by far more efficacious, to one ounce [27.28 g] of excellent honey, well melted, and that they must be held in a copper jar and to use at proper time to do applications: nothing is more powerful than this preparation in lessening the dimming of sight. But Serenus Sammonicus* soaks it in pure and simple water: in fact he says:

*Also rooster's bile softened with pure and simple water
Sharpens the sight of cleared eyes after their dimming has been removed.*

If we believe Pliny, in the bile itself diluted in water and applied with a bandaging there is an effectiveness against the white spots of the cornea and the leucomas*: likewise against cataracts, above all from a white rooster: similarly in another point he ascribes an almost similar effectiveness to the dung, when he says: *The dung of chickens, and only the white one, they preserve it in old oil and in horny jars against pupillary leucomas.* Moreover as Constantinus Africanus* affirms the rooster's blood is used against ocular affections since if applied with water it cures leucomas and their cicatrices. But Marcellus Empiricus against leucomas and cataracts praises the bile of a rooster, above all if white, diluted in water and used as eyewash, and he testifies that it strengthens sight's sharpness. And in another point he affirms that crushed chicken's dung with old oil and locally applied cures leucomas and

¹³⁸⁵ *De medicamentis empiricis, physicis ac rationalibus liber.*

¹³⁸⁶ Vedi Pesì e misure*.

¹³⁸⁷ *Liber medicinalis.*

¹³⁸⁸ Anche nel web e in Conrad Gessner si riscontra *simplice*, per cui non si procede a emendare con *simplici*. - *Liber medicinalis* - OCULORUM DOLORI MITIGANDO - Fel quoque de gallo mollitum simplice lymphamacerat: ait enim: Exacuit puros dempta caligine visus.

¹³⁸⁹ *Naturalis historia* XXIX,123: Eadem vis est et in vulturino felle cum porri suco et melle exiguo, item in gallinacei felle ad argema et albugines ex aqua diluto, item suffusiones oculorum, maxime candidi gallinacei. Fimum quoque gallinaceorum, dumtaxat rubrum, lusciosis inlini monstrant.

¹³⁹⁰ Da chi provenga *alligato* è difficile saperlo - potrebbe trattarsi di una fonte pliniana inusuale - e andrebbe tradotto con *applicato con un bendaggio*. Sta di fatto che sarebbe meglio *illito*, come afferma Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 398*: Gallinaceo felli vis alligato (malim, illito: vel, ad caligationes, ut et aquilino sicut proxime dixerat) ad argema, et ad albugines ex aqua diluto, (aut supra forsitan recte, hic vero pro diluto legendum aut saltem subintelligendum illito.) item ad suffusiones oculorum, maxime candidi gallinacei, Plinius. § Probabilmente la tortuosa disquisizione di Gessner - scatenata da un *alligato* non presente in Plinio, bensì in altre citazioni - è del tutto corretta, ma tradurla altrettanto correttamente e senza tortuosità richiederebbe una lunghissima meditazione, che oltretutto ci ripagherebbe assai poco dal punto di vista terapeutico. Già, è facile dirlo! Perché oggi - nel XXI secolo - abbiamo i trapianti di cornea, e la cataratta viene operata con esiti più che soddisfacenti!

¹³⁹¹ *Naturalis historia* XXIX,124: Laudant et gallinae fel et praecipue adipem contra pusulas in pupillis, nec scilicet eius rei gratia saginant. Adiuvat mirifice et ruptas oculorum tuniculas admixtis schisto et haematite lapidibus. Fimum quoque earum, dumtaxat candidum, in oleo vetere corneisque pyxidibus adservant ad pupillarum albugines. Qua in mentione significandum est pavones fimum suum resorbere tradi invidentes hominum utilitatibus.

¹³⁹² Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 398*: Galli gallinacei, maxime albi, fel ex aqua dilutum, et inunctione adhibitum, leucomata oculorum et hypochyses sanat, et aciem luminum confirmat, Marcellus.

Galenus¹³⁹³ oculorum ulcera, et albugines felle Galli inungi iubet.

Sanguinem tamen contra oculorum vitia insigni vi pollere docemur Valerii Apri exemplo, cui sanguinis Gallinacei beneficio visus quondam restitutus dicitur: uti prae caeteris ex tabella marmorea¹³⁹⁴ Romae in Aesculapii templo in insula Tiberina inventa, et usque ad hanc diem referente Hieronymo Mercuriali¹³⁹⁵ medicorum nostri aevi celeberrimo, apud Maphaeos conservata intelligere licet, in qua inter alia Graece leguntur, quae latina facta sic sonant: Valerio Apro¹³⁹⁶, militi caeco oraculum reddidit Deus, veniret, et acciperet sanguinem ex Gallo albo admiscens mel et collyrium conficeret, et tribus diebus uteretur {sopra} <supra> oculos: et vidit, et venit, et gratias egit publice Deo. Plinius cum fimum russum Gallinaceum lusciosis illini dixisset¹³⁹⁷, mox etiam subdit¹³⁹⁸. *Laudant et Gallinae fel, sed praecipue adipem contra pustulas in pupillis.*

Verum haud minorem nobis hae alites in aurium affectibus utilitatem praestant idque adipe suo potissimum, si, teste Galeno¹³⁹⁹, ex aqua recipiatur in usum. Quin im<m>o Marcellus liquefactum, et tepide instillatum quodlibet aurium vitium sanare testatur. Alibi etiam Galenus adipem Gallinaceum item et Anserinum plurimum prodesse ait, si aqua auditorium meatum intraverit, mediocriter calidum infusum. Si purulentae fuerint aures Plinius¹⁴⁰⁰ Gallinae adipem calidum infundi utiliter existimat. Sunt qui eundem adipem instillatum tepidum adversus difficultatem auditus laudant. Apollonius apud Galenum¹⁴⁰¹ (uti etiam Rasis) dolentibus auribus

cataracts. Also Galen prescribes that ocular ulcerations and leucomas are to be locally treated with rooster's bile.

We are nevertheless informed by the example of Valerius Aper that the blood is endowed with a great effectiveness against ocular affections, and it is said that one day the sight was restored to him by the beneficial effect of rooster's blood: as it is possible to infer above all from a votive marble tablet found in the temple of Aesculapius* in Rome on the Tiber island, and since up today Girolamo Mercuriale* one of the most famous physicians of our time makes mention of it, preserved at the Maffei*, in which among other things written in Greek are read those sounding as follows after a Latin translation: The god gave as response to Valerius Aper, a blind soldier, to present himself and to take blood from a white rooster mixing it with honey and to make an eyewash from it, and to use it for three days placing on eyes: and he regained the sight, and came to the temple, and publicly offered thanks to the god. Pliny, after he said to apply reddish chicken's dung to those suffering of nyctalopia, straight afterwards also adds: *They also praise hen's bile, but above all the fat against pupillary vesicles.*

In truth these birds offer to us a no less utility in ears affections and above all they do this thanks to their fat, if, as Galen testifies, it is used with water. But in fact Marcellus assures that melted and instilled when warmed up it cures whatever affection of ears. In another point Galen also says that chicken's fat as well as that of goose is very helpful when poured lukewarm if water entered the auditory duct. Pliny thinks that lukewarm hen's fat is profitably poured if ears show pus. Some are praising this same lukewarm fat instilled against hearing difficulties. Apollonius Herophileus* in Galen (as also Razi*) prescribes that it is instilled melted in earaches. In this passage Galen says: *The fat of chicken and goose, even if they are finding the*

¹³⁹³ *Euporiston* 2.49. (Aldrovandi)

¹³⁹⁴ *Inscriptiones Graecae*, 14.96. (dal web)

¹³⁹⁵ *Artis gymnasticae libri sex*. Aldrovandi dà come riferimento liber I, come è in effetti: LIBER PRIMUS DE PRINCIPIIS MEDICINAE CAP. I.

¹³⁹⁶ In latino *aper*, genitivo *apri*, significa cinghiale.

¹³⁹⁷ *Naturalis historia* XXIX,123: Eadem vis est et in vulturino felle cum porri suco et melle exiguo, item in gallinacei felle ad argema et albugines ex aqua diluto, item suffusiones oculorum, maxime candidi gallinacei. Fimum quoque gallinaceorum, dumtaxat rubrum, lusciosis inlini monstrant.

¹³⁹⁸ *Naturalis historia* XXIX,124: Laudant et gallinae fel et praecipue adipem contra pusulas in pupillis, nec scilicet eius rei gratia saginant.

¹³⁹⁹ *Euporiston* 1.6. (Aldrovandi)

¹⁴⁰⁰ *Naturalis historia* XXIX,139: Ventris gallinaceorum membrana, quae abici solet, inveterata et in vino trita auribus purulentis calida infunditur, gallinarum adeps.

¹⁴⁰¹ *De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos*. (Aldrovandi)

instillari liquefactum iubet. Quo loco Galenus: *Gallinaceus, inquit, et Anserinus adeps, siquidem evacuatum corpus invenerint et humorem qui inflammata afflictionem excitat non amplius influentem, duabus rationibus tum mitigandi, tum curandi profuerint. Si vero influente adhuc causa adhibeantur, affectioni quidem nihil auxiliantur, leniunt tamen doloris accessionem sine symptoma*<te> *quemadmodum etiam, si ob humorum acredinem mordacitas contingat.* Kiranides adipem Galli liquefactum cum nardo ad dolores aurium etiam commendat, et contra nervorum passiones.

Sed ut obiter aliquid de huius adipis qualitate dicamus: scire licet medium esse inter Anserinum, et suillum, ut scriptum reliquit Galenus¹⁴⁰²: ait autem Anserinum ex his valentior esse, sed substitui aliquando Gallinaceum, Anserinum, suillum, caprinum adipem, quemvis in alterius absentis vicem: Gallinaceum tamen calidiorem, et sicciorem, quam suum, et teneriorem, et minimum terrestrem, idque magis etiam si e Gallinis {syvestribus} <silvestribus> fuerit, et tenuitatis ratione profundius penetrare. Eiusmodi adipem quomodo debeant curari, et reponi, docetur in vulgatis Nicolai Praepositi codicibus, his fere verbis: Animalium recens mactatorum adipem diligenter purga a pelliculis, et ollae novae figulinae impone, quae non supra dimidium impleatur: hanc opertam in aliud vas {calididimum} <calidissimum> (vel aqua fervida plenum, secundum alios) impone, et subinde quod liquatum fuerit, in aliud vas infunde, donec nihil amplius liquetur, et colatum in loco frigido repone. Sunt qui reposituri modicum salis adijciant.

Praeter vero adipem, Gallinaceus alia quoque subministrat, quibus auribus medeatis. Nam Avicenna apostema in aure calidum ovi vitellum curare refert: sin abscessus dolorem vehementem efficiant, [290] oleum ovorum statim sedabit, eorumque concoctionem promovebit, eosque aperiet.

Atque Galenus¹⁴⁰³ aurium dolores ovi candido leniri asserit: et rursus: ad dolorem auris ex inflammatione obortum, misceri ait opium muliebri lacti, et ovi candido, quae ipsa etiam per se aurium inflammationibus profuisse testatur.

area emptied and that the liquid stimulating the inflammation is not coming out any longer, they will be helpful for two reasons, both mitigating and recovering. For if they are used because of still flowing fluid, they don't help the illness at all, nevertheless they dampen the pain to grow worse without giving trouble, as well as if because of irritating effect of fluids it happens to feel a sharp pain. Also Kiranides* recommends liquefied rooster's fat with matgrass* against earaches and against neuralgias.

But to say incidentally something about the features of this fat: we must to know that it is betwixt and between that of goose and pig, as Galen left written: for he says that fat of goose is the best among them, but that sometimes the fat of chicken, goose, pig and goat indifferently replace each other when one of them is not available: nevertheless that of chicken is warmer and drier than that of pig, and it is softer and very little earthen, and all the more if it comes from wild hens, and because of its scarce density penetrates more in depth. How we must take care and preserve these fats is explained in the codices of Nicolaus Praepositus* roughly by these words: Carefully clean off from rinds the fat parts of recently slaughtered animals and put them in a new earthenware pot that must not be filled more than half: cover and put it in another very hot vessel (or full of boiling water according to others), and what has melted put subsequently in another jar so that doesn't melt still further and after you strained it put in a cool place. Some when are about to lay it aside add a little salt.

But besides the fat a chicken supplies also other things with which you can treat the ears. For Avicenna* reports that the yolk of warm egg cures an ear abscess: but if the abscesses cause a heavy pain, oil obtained from eggs will soothe it immediately and will stimulate their maturation, and will open them.

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And Galen* affirms that earaches are reduced by egg white: and again: against earache risen from inflammation he says to mix opium with milk of woman and egg white, things that he testifies to have been already useful for ear inflammations by

¹⁴⁰² *De simplicibus* 11 - *De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos* - *Methodus medendi* 14. (Aldrovandi)

¹⁴⁰³ *De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos*. (Aldrovandi)

Et rursus: *Ad aurium nocumenta ex aqua*, inquit, *ovi aquato, modo eodem, quo in oculorum inflammationibus uti ipso consuevimus, praeparato utitor*. Item *pellis interior e ventriculo Galli Gallinacei arefacta, tritaque ex vino, adiecto paululo opii, medicamen auribus utilissimum facit, quod calefactum infusum suppurationem earum expurgat, et sanat*¹⁴⁰⁴. Idem Plinius¹⁴⁰⁵ attestatur, inquit: *Ventris Gallinaceorum membrana, quae abijci solet, inveterata, et in vino trita, auribus purulentis calida infunditur<, gallinarum adeps>*.

Si lingua asperior reddita fuerit, adipe Gallinae inungere poteris, nam is asperitatibus egregie medetur. Dentium dolores mitigat oleum ex ovis illitum cum pinguedine Anseris. Galenus¹⁴⁰⁶ vero ad eundem dolorem ovorum putamina, sepiam, et oleum iubet misceri, et coqui, donec tertia pars reliquatur, et tepidum ore contineri. Mirum quod tradit Plinius¹⁴⁰⁷ de sedando dentium dolore: *Ossiculis*, inquit, *Gallarum in pariete servatis, fistula salva, {adacto} <tacto> dente, vel gingiva scarificata, proiectoque ossiculo statim dolorem abire tradunt*. Alibi¹⁴⁰⁸ etiam ubi cinerem putaminis in vino potum sanguinis eruptionibus mederi dixisset, mox addit sic fieri et dentifricium: *Dentifricium*, inquit, *praestat cinis ex ovis sed non sine vino*. Atqui Plinius in verbis iam recitatis scribens, *sic fit et dentifricium*, intelligere videtur¹⁴⁰⁹, non quasi id quoque cum vino fiat, ut

themselves. And he says again: *Against ears' injuries from water, we have to use a watery egg's solution prepared alike that we have taken the habit to use in ocular inflammations*. Similarly is as very useful remedy for ears the inner membrane* of rooster gizzard dried, minced and put in wine with addition of a little opium, and infused after has been warmed it cleans out and cures their suppuration. Pliny* testifies this when saying: The membrane of chicken's gizzard usually thrown away, aged and minced with wine is infused warm in purulent ears, as well as hen's fat.

If the tongue has grown rather rough, you can grease it with hen's fat, for it heals roughness in excellent fashion. Eggs' oil applied with fat of goose mitigates toothaches. But Galen for the same pain prescribes to mix eggshells, ink of cuttlefish and oil, and boil until it is reduced to one third, and to hold it lukewarm in mouth. It is marvelous what Pliny reports about toothache's sedation. He says: *They say that pain disappears immediately if the tooth is touched or if the gum is incised with small hens' bones kept in a wall with the hollow channel of the marrow left intact, and the small bone is thrown away*. In another point after he said that eggshell's ash drunk with wine recovers from bleedings, immediately adds that also a toothpaste can be made in this way in saying: *The ash of the eggs supplies also a toothpaste, but not without wine*. But Pliny when writing in this way a toothpaste can also be made in the just quoted phrase, it almost seems that he want to say not that it

¹⁴⁰⁴ La citazione proviene da Marcello Empirico*, come puntualizza Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 397*: Galli gallinacei ex ventriculo interiore membrana, quae projici solet, arefacta tritaque ex vino, adiecto paulo opii, medicamen auribus utilissimum facit, quod calefactum infusum suppurationem eius (earum) expurgat et sanat, Marcellus. § Da notare che Aldrovandi ha modificato il testo di Gessner: da *ex ventriculo interiore membrana* si passa a *pellis interior e ventriculo*. Il significato è identico, ma Marcello voleva dire che non è la membrana del gozzo, che è esterno all'addome, bensì quella dello stomaco, che sta dentro alla pancia.

¹⁴⁰⁵ Il riferimento di Aldrovandi corrisponde al seguente brano di Plinio, ma ne omette il finale: *gallarum adeps. Naturalis historia* XXIX,139: *Ventris gallinaceorum membrana, quae abijci solet, inveterata et in vino trita auribus purulentis calida infunditur, gallinarum adeps*. § Aldrovandi non ha controllato direttamente il testo di Plinio e ha scopiazzato Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 397*: *Ventris gallinaceorum membrana quae abijci solet, inveterata et in vino trita auribus purulentis calida infunditur, Plin.* § Il *gallarum adeps*, messo da Plinio quasi come postilla esplicativa di cosa sia la membrana che abitualmente si getta via, è invece un ulteriore rimedio contro l'otite purulenta, e viene citata da Gessner - avulsa dalla *membrana quae abijci solet* - alla pagina precedente, cioè a pagina 396*: *Gallarum adeps auribus purulentis calida infunditur, Plin.* § Certo è che i testi di Plinio potrebbero essere abbondantemente utilizzati per confezionare i rebus della Settimana Enigmistica! - Siccome Aldrovandi, a differenza di Gessner, non citerà l'impiego anche del *gallarum adeps* per le oti purulente, si emenda il testo in accordo con quello di Plinio.

¹⁴⁰⁶ *Euporiston* 3.187. (Aldrovandi)

¹⁴⁰⁷ *Naturalis historia* XXX,26: *Ossiculi gallinarum in pariete servati fistula salva tacto dente vel gingiva scariphata proiectoque ossiculo statim dolorem abire tradunt, [...]*. § L'errore *adacto* invece di *tacto* è dedotto, ovviamente, da Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 396*: *Ossiculis gallinarum in pariete servatis, fistula salva, adacto dente, vel gingiva scarificata, proiectoque ossiculo, statim dolorem abire tradunt, Plinius*.

¹⁴⁰⁸ *Naturalis historia* XXIX,46: *Membrana putamini detracta sive crudo sive cocto labrorum fissuris medetur, putaminis cinis in vino potus sanguinis eruptionibus. Comburi sine membrana oportet. Sic fit et dentifricium*.

¹⁴⁰⁹ Queste considerazioni che Aldrovandi ci propina come sue, non lo sono affatto. Non si capisce se sono tutte quante derivate da Sereno Sammonico* oppure se appartengono in parte a Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 450*: *Dentifricium praestat cinis ex ovis, sed non sine vino, Serenus. atqui Plinius in verbis iam recitatis scribens, Sic fit et dentifricium, intelligere*

medicamentum proxime ab eo memoratum in vino bibendum contra sanguinis eruptiones, sed usto similiter putamine, et absque membrana, ut de proximo remedio dixerat. Si dentientium puerorum gingivae doleant, Aegineta¹⁴¹⁰ adipe Gallinaceorum molliendas consulit. Kiranides cerebro Gallinarum puerorum gingivas perfricari vult, ut dentes eorum absque dolore nascantur. Labiorum rimas, si Marcello, et Plinio¹⁴¹¹ credimus, adeps Gallinaceus vel Anserinus impositus egregie curat. Alias¹⁴¹² vero uterque membranam putaminis detractam ovo sive crudo, sive decocto ad eadem mala praedicant. Et Nicolaus Myrepsus¹⁴¹³ mirabilem inde curam promittit.

Tumorem mammillae repelles agitato ovo cum vino quinquies copiosiore, eo liquore madefactum linteum imponens: Ornithologus¹⁴¹⁴ ex libro Germanico manuscripto. Ad tonsillarum inflammationes, et anginas Galenus¹⁴¹⁵ iusculo Gallinae hoedive utitur. Et rursus alibi¹⁴¹⁶ ex Archigene describens fomentum, cuius vapor intra os recipiendus est, ad gurguliones inflammatos, et tonsillas: *Origanum*, inquit, *et*¹⁴¹⁷ *hyssopum*, cum sufficienti aceto diligenter in olla fervefacito obturata: operculum autem circa medium habeat foramen. Deinde arundinem ad foramen operculi, ac os aegri adaptato, ac fomentum admittito. Si vero os a fervore arundinis comburatur, ovum vacuum utrinque perforatum aegri in ore contineant, et per ipsum arundo inseratur. Kiranides ovum crudum ad ani rupturas adhibet ad inflammationes eiusdem commendat, sed Dioscorides¹⁴¹⁸, et Plinius, etsi diversimode, ovorum luteis utuntur. Ille enim ad

can also be done with wine as the remedy he just mentioned to be drunk with wine against bleedings, but after having reduced alike to ashes the eggshell, and without shell membrane*, as he had said about the just previous remedy. If gums of teething children give pain, Paul of Egina* advises to soften them with chicken's fat. Kiranides* prescribes to rub children gums with brain of hen so that their teeth may grow without giving pain. If we believe Marcellus Empiricus* and Pliny, the application of chicken's or goose's fat cures excellently the chaps of the lips. On the other hand both are praising against the same illnesses the shell membranes removed from either raw or cooked egg. Also Nicolaus Myrepsus* assures an amazing healing through their use.

After having beaten an egg with a five times greater quantity of wine you can decrease a swelling of the breast placing on it a napkin soaked with this fluid: the Ornithologist is saying this, who took it from a German manuscript book. Galen uses a broth of hen or kid against tonsils' and throat's inflammations. And again, in another treatise, describing a fomentation - a warm humid remedy - drawn from Archigenes*, whose vapor is to be introduced in mouth, against inflamed throats and tonsils, he says: *Heat carefully oregano* and hyssop* with enough quantity of vinegar in a pot with the cover: however the cover has to own a hole in the center. Then fit a reed to the hole of the cover and to the mouth of the sick person, and let the fomentation to enter. But if the mouth is scalded by the heat of the reed, the patients have to hold in mouth an empty egg with a hole at both sides, and the reed must be inserted through the egg itself.* Kiranides uses raw egg against the lacerations of the anus and recommends it for its inflammations, but Dioscorides* and Pliny,

videtur, non quasi id quoque cum vino fiat, ut medicamentum proxime ab eo memoratum in vino bibendum contra sanguinis eruptiones: sed usto similiter putamine, et absque membrana ut de proximo remedio dixerat.

¹⁴¹⁰ *Epitomês iatrikês biblia eptâ - Totius rei medicae libri VII* per Janum Cornarium* ... latina lingua conscripti, J. Hervagius, Basel 1556.

¹⁴¹¹ *Naturalis historia* XXX,27: Linguae ulcera et labrorum hirundines in mulso decoctae sanant, adeps anseris aut gallinae rimas, oesypum cum galla, araneorum telae candidae et quae in trabibus parvae texuntur.

¹⁴¹² *Naturalis historia* XXIX,46: Membrana putamini detracta sive crudo sive cocto labrorum fissuris medetur, putaminis cinis in vino potus sanguinis eruptionibus.

¹⁴¹³ *Nicolai Myrepsi Alexandrini Medicamentorum opus in sectiones quadraginta octo.*

¹⁴¹⁴ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 441*.

¹⁴¹⁵ *Euporiston* 2.15. (Aldrovandi)

¹⁴¹⁶ *De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos.* (Aldrovandi)

¹⁴¹⁷ Bisognerebbe scartabellare il testo di Galeno per poter confrontare l'et di Aldrovandi con l'aut di Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 445*: *Origanum* (inquit) aut *hyssopum*, cum sufficienti aceto diligenter in olla fervefacito obturata. operculum autem circa medium habeat foramen. deinde arundinem ad foramen operculi ac os aegri adaptato, ac fomentum admittito. § È palese che et/ aut sono in grado di determinare la composizione di un medicamento.

¹⁴¹⁸ Edizione di Jean Ruel*, liber II, cap. 54 - OVI NATURA: inassatum sedis inflammationibus prodest, cum croco, et rosaceo: et condylomatis, cum meliloto. § La ricetta di Dioscoride è quindi un po' diversa. Dell'errata citazione di Aldrovandi è colpevole Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 447*: Dioscorides quidem vitellum cum meliloto utilem esse scribit ad inflammationes sedis et condylomata. - Ma Aldrovandi si permette di restringere l'azione terapeutica ai soli condilomi anali o perianali che siano, escludendo quelli in sede genitale.

inflammationem, et condylomata sedis vitellum ovi cum meliloto utile esse ait: hic vero generatim¹⁴¹⁹ loquens: *Sedis etiam vitiiis, inquit, utilia sunt ovorum lutea indurata igni, ut calore quoque prosint.*

Adeps Gallinaceus recens laudatur a Rase, et Dioscoride¹⁴²⁰ ad dolorem matricis, et in eiusdem apostemate instar emplastri imponitur. Vult autem Dioscorides, ut recens sit, et sine sale conditus. *Nam sale, inquit¹⁴²¹, inveteratus et qui temporis spatio acrimoniam concepit, vulvae inimicus est.* Avicenna ad ulcera vulvae salubre pessarium ait fieri ex albumine cum oleo ex alcanna. Mirabile remedium in {arthritidea} <arthritide a> muliere quadam, et adhibetur in quovis loco, ubi iuncturae exeunt (forte existunt¹⁴²²) Gallina bene habita quadrima, absinthio referta coquatur in tribus situlis aquae ad duarum partium consumptionem. Hinc aeger foveatur, (vaporetur, fiat stuffa¹⁴²³) bis quotidie donec liberetur, fricando semper ad inferiora. Legitur in additionibus ad practicam Varignanae.

Podagras plurimum iuvare fimum recens appositum Marcellus, et Plinius¹⁴²⁴ volunt. Kiranides hepar Gallinae tritum, et cum hordei farina, et aqua emplastri modo impositum eisdem prodesse scribit. Aëtius ova Gallinae

even if in a different way, are using egg yolk. For the former says that egg yolk with melilot* is useful against inflammation and condylomas of buttocks: but the latter generally speaking says: *Egg yolks hardened with fire are useful also against the affections of buttocks, so that they can be good also with their warmth.*

Fresh fat of chicken is praised by Razi* and Dioscorides against the pain of the uterus, and in case of abscess therein it is applied as poultice. But Dioscorides wants that it is fresh and that salt has not been added. He says: *For that which has been aged with salt and with passing of time grew rancid, is harmful to vulva.* Avicenna* says that a wholesome vaginal suppository can be prepared using egg white with oil of henna*. As extraordinary remedy in case of arthritis, used by a woman in any district where the articulations are dislocating (perhaps *are existing*) let cook in three pitchers of water, up to reduce them to a third, a four year-old hen in good general conditions after having stuffed her with absinth*. With this liquid the sick person has to warm himself (he must do vaporizations, to take a sauna bath) twice every day until when he is freed from symptoms, always rubbing downward. This is read in the treatise *Additiones ad practicam* of Guglielmo da Varignana*.

Pliny and Marcellus Empiricus are thinking that the application of fresh dung is very helpful in cases of gout*. Kiranides writes that hen's liver minced and applied as poultice with barley flour* and water is useful for the episodes of gout themselves. Aëtius of

¹⁴¹⁹ Non è vero, Plinio non sta parlando in senso generale delle uova, oppure dell'uovo preso nella sua totalità. Plinio sta parlando di *lutea*, come dimostra l'apertura del paragrafo 42 *Lutea ovorum* [...] e il contenuto dei successivi paragrafi sino al paragrafo ora citato da Aldrovandi, dove giustamente egli aggiunge *ovorum lutea*. *Naturalis historia* XXIX,45: *Utilia sunt et cervicis doloribus cum anserino adipe, sedis etiam vitiiis indurata igni, ut calore quoque prosint, et condylomatis cum rosaceo; item ambustis durata in aqua, mox in pruna putaminibus exustis, tum lutea ex rosaceo inlinuntur.*

¹⁴²⁰ Edizione di Jean Ruel*, liber II, cap. 86 - DE ADIPIS RATIONE: Adeps anserinus aut gallinaceus recens et sine sale conditus, ad vulvae vitia proficit. § Ogni tanto Aldrovandi ama le stringature, plagiando così le fonti: Dioscoride dice solamente che il grasso non serve per i dolori, ma per le malattie della *vulva*. È Razi ad affermare il resto, e che serve nei dolori uterini. La conferma l'abbiamo da Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 396*: Adeps anser. aut gall. recens et sine sale conditus, ad vulvae vitia proficit, (vel, ut alibi, mulieribus malis convenit:) sale inveteratus, et qui temporis spatio acrimoniam concepit, vulvae inimicus est, Dioscor. Anserini vel gall. adipis usum ad foetum pellendum in Ansero diximus. Recens laudatur ad dolorem matricis: et in eiusdem apostemate instar emplastri imponitur, Rasis.

¹⁴²¹ *De materia medica*.

¹⁴²² Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 392*: Mirabile remedium in arthritide a muliere quadam, et adhibetur in quovis loco ubi iuncturae exeunt (forte, existunt.) Gallina bene habita quadrima, absinthio referta, coquatur in tribus situlis aquae ad duarum partium consumptionem. Hinc aeger foveatur (vaporetur, fiat stuffa,) bis quotidie donec liberetur, fricando semper ad anteriora, Additiones ad practicam Varignanae.

¹⁴²³ Stufa e stufare: dal latino parlato **extufare* 'riscaldare', composto di ex- e un denominale del greco *typhos* 'vapore, febbre'. Nel significato di 'stanza calda' la voce è attestata per la prima volta nel Boccaccio, 1353. Insomma, oggi una sauna servirebbe egregiamente allo scopo terapeutico di Guglielmo da Varignana.

¹⁴²⁴ *Naturalis historia* XXX,76: Podagras lenit oesypum cum lacte mulieris et cerussa, fimum pecudum, quod liquidum reddunt, pulmones pecudum, fel arietis cum sebo, mures dissecti inpositi, sanguis mustelae cum plantagine inlitus et vivae combustae cinis, ex aceto ac rosaceo si pinna inlinatur vel si cera et rosaceum admisceatur, fel caninum ita, ne manu attingatur, sed pinna inlinatur, fimum gallinarum, vermium terrenorum cinis cum melle ita, ut tertio die solvantur.

quatuor c{a}erato cuidam adjicit podagrigo¹⁴²⁵. Pedum ulcera Gallinacei, vel Columbini fimi cinis ex oleo impositus sanat, teste Marcello, sed Plinius¹⁴²⁶ paulo aliter. *Fimi Gallinacei*, inquit, *cinis pedum exulcerationes sanat: Columbini fimi cinis ex oleo*. Alibi¹⁴²⁷ etiam fimum Gallinaceum cum oleo, et nitro clavos pedum sanare dixit.

Atque istaec tam de internorum, quam externorum corporis humani affectuum, qui ab harum avium partibus, excretis, et ovis remedia habent, curatione dicta sunt; videamus modo an nihil aliud praeter iam dicta medicis Gallinacea istaec familia praestet, quod facere eam videbimus, si diligentius cum veterum, tum recentiorum scripta revolvamus. Illis itaque in primis Aëtius pulli Gallinacei pinguis ius adsorbendum dari iubet postquam vomuerint, qui toxicum bibere. Quinim<m>o obscurus¹⁴²⁸ quidam hoc annotatum sese reperisse ait in margine codicis cuiusdam Serapionis iuxta caput de urina, si ovi {albumem} <albumen> cum vitello ponatur in matula alicuius, quem veneno infectum esse [291] suspicio est, intra aliquot horas locus veneni in {hepate} <hepati> demonstrabitur.

Amida* adds four hen eggs to a wax poultice for gout. As Marcellus Empiricus testifies the application of ash of chicken's or dove's dung dissolved in oil cures the ulcers of the feet, but Pliny is expressing himself somewhat differently. He says: *The ash of chicken's dung cures the ulcerations of feet: the ash of dove's dung must be used with oil*. In another point he said that also chicken's dung with oil and saltpeter cures the callousness of the feet.

And all these things are concerning the treatment of both internal and external illnesses of human body drawing their remedies from the parts of the body, from the excrements and from the eggs of these birds; now we take a look if by chance this gallinaceous family offers to physicians something else besides what has been already said, and we will realize that it does this if we reread with greater attention the writings of either ancient and more recent authors. Insofar Aetius of Amida prescribes to give to swallow to those who drunk a poison, after they vomited, first of all a broth of fat chicken. But on the other hand an unknown author says he found what follows in an annotation in the margin of a codex of Serapion* close to the chapter regarding the urine, if egg white with yolk is placed in a chamber pot of someone who is suspected to have been poisoned, within some hours the location of the poison will be shown in the liver.

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Nam si in venis fuerit ultra gibba<m>¹⁴²⁹ hepatis, aut in viis urinalibus, ovum nigrescet, et foetebit: sin citra concava hepatis, ut in or<o>bo¹⁴³⁰ (colo, vel alterius intestini nomen

For if the poison will have ventured in the veins beyond liver's convexity or in urinary ducts, the egg will grow black and will stink: if on the contrary it will stop before the concavity of the liver, as for example

¹⁴²⁵ Aldrovandi forse si riferisce a una prima citazione di Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 441*: Ova gallin. numero quatuor adjiciuntur cerato cuidam podagrigo apud Aetium 12.43. § A pagina 447* Gessner modifica un po' la ricetta anche circa il numero di uova: Ovorum quinque candida adjiciuntur cerato cuidam podagrigo refrigeranti apud Aetium 12.43. § Magari in Ezio esistono ambedue le ricette. Per sciogliere l'arcano: controllare il testo di Ezio, e buona lettura!

¹⁴²⁶ *Naturalis historia* XXX,80: Ulcera omnia pedum sanat cinis earum [coclearum], quae vivae combustae sint, fimi gallinarum cinis exulcerationes, columbini fimi ex oleo.

¹⁴²⁷ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 399*: Fimum gallinaceum cum oleo et nitro clavos pedum sanat, Plinius. - Plinio, *Naturalis historia* XXX,81: Verrucarum omnia genera urina canis recens cum suo luto inlita, fimi canini cinis cum cera, fimum ovium, sanguis recens murinus inlitis vel ipse mus divolsus, irenacei [= erinacei] fel, caput lacertae vel sanguis vel cinis totius, membrana senectutis anguivum, fimum gallinae cum oleo ac nitro.

¹⁴²⁸ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 442*: Si ovi albumen cum vitello ponatur in matula alicuius, quem veneno infectum esse suspicio fuerit, intra aliquot horas locus veneni in hepate [hepati] demonstrabitur. Nam si id in venis fuerit ultra gibba hepatis, aut in viis urinalibus, ovum nigrescet ac foetebit. Sin citra concava hepatis, ut in orobo (colo, vel alterius intestini nomen legendum apparet,) ovum rugas et colorem citrinum contrahet, absque foetore. Hoc annotatum reperi in margine codicis cuiusdam Serapionis iuxta caput de urina, Obscurus.

¹⁴²⁹ *Ultra* regge l'accusativo. Credo che Aldrovandi lo sapesse, ma nel copiare da Gessner se ne è dimenticato. Magari è una svista dell'Obscurus, oppure di Gessner, oppure di chi fece l'annotazione al codice di Serapione*, e che Ulisse non corregge. § Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 442*: Nam si id in venis fuerit ultra gibba<m> hepatis, aut in viis urinalibus, ovum nigrescet ac foetebit. § Oppure è un semplice errore tipografico zurighese e poi bolognese.

¹⁴³⁰ La lezione corretta dovrebbe essere *orbo*, cioè l'intestino cieco. Aldrovandi invece corregge Gessner, o meglio, non capisce l'annotazione tra parentesi che è di Gessner oppure dell'*Obscurus* che ha trovato l'annotazione al codice di Serapione. *Orobus* è la

legendum apparet) ovum rugas, et colorem citrinum contrahet ab<s>que foetore. Dioscorides¹⁴³¹ inter aconiti remedia enumerat ova in oleum evacuata, ita ut totum hoc cum muria misceatur, et sorbeatur tepidum. Idem etiam uti et Nicander¹⁴³² Gallinae pinguis carnem e pectore coctam, vel iusculum inde potum contra dorycnium¹⁴³³ remedio esse scribunt. Lathyridis grana stomachum ledunt, itaque teste Plinio¹⁴³⁴, inventum est, ut cum pisce, aut iure Gallinacei sumerentur.

Fungorum esus hominibus saepe pestilens visus est, et letalis. Adversus hoc stercus Gallinaceum tam interne, quam externe utiliter in usum admittitur. Unde dicebat Dioscorides¹⁴³⁵, Gallinaceum fimum privatim

in the broad bean* (it is clear that it is necessary to read colon or the name of another section of the bowel) the egg will become wrinkled and will assume a citrine color without stench. Dioscorides* among the remedies against the aconite* lists the eggs emptied into oil, so that the whole is mixed with brine and drunk lukewarm. He too, as well as Nicander of Colophon*, write that the cooked meat from breast of a fat hen or to drink this broth is a remedy against the dorycnium or *furiosus solanum*. The seeds of chickling pea* injure the stomach, and therefore, as Pliny* reports, it has been discovered that they should be taken with fish or with chicken's broth.

Often seemed to men that eating mushrooms is harmful and lethal*. Against this the employ of chicken's dung is accepted both internally and externally. Hence Dioscorides was saying that particularly against the poisons of mushrooms the

veccia, la fava, per cui Gessner - oppure l'*Obscurus* - drizzano le orecchie e pensano a *orbus*, all'intestino cieco, o a qualsiasi altro tratto dell'intestino, in quanto in questo caso la veccia proprio non ha nulla a che fare con l'apparato digerente. Ecco la prosecuzione del discorso tratto da Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 442*: Sin citra concava hepatis, ut in orobo (colo, vel alterius intestini nomen legendum apparet,) ovum rugas et colorem citrinum contrahet, absque foetore. Hoc annotatum reperi in margine codicis cuiusdam Serapionis iuxta caput de urina, *Obscurus*. § Insomma: o Aldrovandi lasciava *orobo* e manteneva il testo fra parentesi, oppure doveva eliminare questo testo visto che aveva giustamente emendato *orobo* con *orbo*.

¹⁴³¹ Negativa la ricerca di questo rimedio nel libro VI, cap. 7 sia nella traduzione di Jean Ruel* che nell'identico testo riportato da Pierandrea Mattioli* nonché da Marcellus Virgilius*. Vi compaiono come rimedio contro l'aconito non le uova ma solo lisciva* cotta a lungo con gallina e vino: lixiviaeque cum gallina, et vino decocta. § Si può presumere che Aldrovandi abbia fatto un *download* integrale della notizia da Gessner, ma non sappiamo dove Gessner l'abbia reperita. Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 441*: Dioscorides inter aconiti remedia numerat ova in oleum evacuata, ita ut totum hoc cum muria misceatur, et sorbeatur tepidum.

¹⁴³² *Alexipharmaca*.

¹⁴³³ Aleatoria è l'identificazione del *dorycnium*, tant'è che Pierandrea Mattioli* in *Commentarii in libros sex Pedacii Dioscoridis Anazarbei De Materia Medica* (1554) deliberatamente non ne fornisce l'immagine, e non lo riporta nell'indice del suo *Compendium de plantis omnibus* (1571). Non vale dunque la pena accanirci nel voler identificare il *dorycnium*, che sull'esempio di Mattioli traduciamo con doricnio. Basti dire che Mattioli afferma di non avere mai visto il doricnio di cui parla Dioscoride in IV,70 e che quel doricnio contro la cui azione velenosa parla in VI,6 non corrisponde al precedente. Nel suo commento a Plinio, Umberto Capitani puntualizza che il doricnio può essere una solanacea affine all'erba morella alias *Solanum nigrum***Volume3\colori\galeno\solanum nigrum 1 e 2.htm*, oppure è una specie velenosa di convulvolo. Mattioli nel commento a IV,70 di Dioscoride cita Galeno, che pure parlò del caleidoscopico doricnio: Dorycnii meminit Galenus libro VI simplicium medicamentorum, ubi de eius viribus ita scribit. Dorycnium temperamento papaveri simile est, & mandragorae, & iis qui sic refrigerandi vim habent: excellit aquea frigiditate admodum efficaci. Quamobrem medicum quidem soprorem conciliat: largius vero sumptum interimit. § L'impiego di *gallinacea pectora decocta* viene suggerito da Dioscoride in VI,6 a proposito del doricnio travestito da *manicon solanum*, tradotto da Mattioli in *solano furioso*, e non per quello riportato in IV,70. Che questo benedetto doricnio sia caleidoscopico lo dimostra il fatto che - come riferisce Mattioli - Avicenna lo chiamava anche *uva vulpina*. § Vista l'indicazione dei *gallinacea pectora decocta* in caso di avvelenamento da *manicon solanum*, sulla scia di Mattioli lo etichettiamo come *solano furioso*.

¹⁴³⁴ *Naturalis historia* XXVII,95: Lathyris folia habet multa lactucae similia, tenuiora, germina multa, in quibus semen tuniculis continetur, ut capparitis, quae cum inaruerit, eximuntur grana piperis magnitudine, candida, dulcia, facilia purgatu. Haec vicena in aqua pura aut mulsa pota hydropicos sanant; trahunt et bilem. Qui vehementius purgari volunt, cum folliculis ipsis sumunt ea, nam stomachum laedunt; itaque inventum est ut cum pisce aut iure gallinacei sumerentur.

¹⁴³⁵ Dioscoride in IV,78 non afferma affatto di usare sterco di pollo in caso di avvelenamento da funghi, ma in caso di indigestione: largius tamen sumpti nocent. Remedio est nitri potus, aut lixivium cum acida muria [...] debellantur etiam gallinacei fimi potu ex aceto, aut eiusdem delinctu cum melle multo § In VI,23, quando Dioscoride parla degli effetti nocivi sia del veleno che dell'eccessiva quantità ingerita, dice: Adversus fungos gallinacea ova cum posca proficiunt, adiecta aristolochiae drachma. § Anche in questo caso la citazione è ricopiata dal testo di Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 399*: Gallinaceum fimum privatim contra venena fungorum bibitur ex aceto aut vino, (vel oxymelite, Rasis,) Dioscor. [...] Galenus etiam adversus strangulationem a devoratis fungis gallinarum domesticarum fimum cum oxymelite bibi consulit, in Euporistis 1. 131. nimirum ut vomitus subsequatur. Cum medicum quendam in Mysia gallinaceo utentem stercore conspexissem, in eis qui ab esu fungorum suffocabantur: et ipse quoque sum usus in quibusdam urbem inhabitantibus, qui et ipsi fungos esitarant, ipsum videlicet ad laevorem contritum tribus quatuorve oxycrati aut oxymelitis inspergens cyathis. et palam adiuti sunt, idque celeriter. nam qui

contra fungorum venena bibi ex aceto aut vino. Rasis ex {oximellite} <oxymelite> nimirum ut vomitus subsequatur: quod Rasis a Galeno¹⁴³⁶ mutuatus videri potest; Cum medicum quendam, inquit, in Mysia Gallinaceo utentem stercore conspexissem in eis, qui ab esu fungorum suffocabantur, et ipse quoque sum usus in quibusdam urbem inhabitantibus, qui et ipsi fungos esitaverant, ipsum videlicet ad l{a}evorem contritum tribus, quatuorve oxycrati¹⁴³⁷ aut {oximellitibus} <oxymelitis> inspargens cyathis¹⁴³⁸, et palam adiuti sunt, idque celeriter. Nam qui praefocabantur paulo post vomebant pituitosum humorem omnino crassissimum, et exinde plane liberati sunt symptomate. Aëtius vero adversus eosdem noxios fungos, *Philagrius*, inquit, *Gallinaceum stercus album exhibet, ex posca, aut aceto mulso. Huius enim manifestum habemus experimentum, quod ad fungorum strangulationes auxiliatur.* Sed longe ante Aëtium Plinius¹⁴³⁹, candidum fimum in hyssopo decoctum, aut mulso fungorum, boletorumque venena astringere dixit item {inflammationes} <inflationes>, ac strangulationes, quod miremur (inquit) cum si aliud animal gustaverit, id fimum, torminibus, et {inflammationibus} <inflationibus> afficiatur. Qua vero quantitate eiusmodi stercus in tali casu exhiberi debeat, docet obiter doctissimus Guilielmus Rondoletius¹⁴⁴⁰, dum ait. Stercus Gallinarum adversus fungos praescribitur a drachma una ad drachmas duas. Dioscorides¹⁴⁴¹ item contra fungos Gallinarum ova cum posca pota conferre ait, addita aristolochiae drachma.

Si quis a cane rabido morsus sit, stercora Gallinarum cibo¹⁴⁴² permixta rabiem imminemtem prohibere creduntur, quod ex

chicken's dung should be drunk with vinegar or wine. Razi* says that it must be drunk with sour-honey - a mixture of vinegar and honey, of course so that a vomit results from this: it seems that Razi has drawn this from Galen, who says: Since I had seen in Mysia* a physician using chicken's dung in those who were suffocated by eating mushrooms and I myself used it in some inhabitants of Rome, who also had eaten mushrooms, that is, sprinkling it into three or four *cyathi* [150-200 ml] of water and vinegar or of sour-honey after having ground up it until to be almost impalpable, and they have been clearly and quickly aided. In fact, those who were suffocating, a little later vomited a liquid similar to catarrh and very but very thick, and thereafter they got rid entirely of symptomatology. But Aetius of Amida* against the same harmful mushrooms says: *Philagrius* gives white chicken's dung with water and vinegar or with vinegar and honey. For we have the evident proof that it is helpful against suffocations from mushrooms - muscarinic syndrome.* But Pliny, long before Aetius, said that white dung boiled with hyssop* or with honeyed wine reduces the poisons of mushrooms and boletus - *Boletus satanas*, as well as intestinal swellings and suffocations, and he says that we would be surprised by the fact that if another animal had to taste this dung would be seized by intestinal pains and swellings. But how much dung must be given in this case is set forth by chance by the very learned Guillaume Rondolet* when he says: The dung of hens against mushrooms is prescribed from one drachma [3.41 g] to two drachmas. Likewise against mushrooms Dioscorides says that hen's eggs drunk with water and vinegar with the addition of a drachma of birthwort* come useful.

If someone has been bitten by a rabid dog, hen dung mixed with the food - of the dog - is believed to prevent an impending rabies, and this has been drawn

praefocabantur, paulo post vomebant pituitosum humorem omnino crassissimum, et exinde plane liberati sunt symptomate, Galenus lib. 10. de simplicibus.

¹⁴³⁶ *Euporiston* 131 et *De simplicibus* liber 10. (Aldrovandi)

¹⁴³⁷ Il sostantivo neutro greco *oxykeraton* equivale al latino *posca*, cioè un miscuglio di acqua e aceto.

¹⁴³⁸ Vedi Pesi e misure*.

¹⁴³⁹ *Naturalis historia* XXIX,103: Gallinarum fimum, dumtaxat candidum, in hyssopo decoctum aut mulso contra venena fungorum boletorumque, item inflationes ac strangulationes, quod miremur, cum, si aliud animal gustaverit id fimum, torminibus et inflationibus adficiatur.

¹⁴⁴⁰ *De ponderibus sive de justa quantitate et proportione medicamentorum liber* cap. 10. (Aldrovandi)

¹⁴⁴¹ VI,23: Adversus fungos gallinacea ova cum posca proficiunt, adiecta aristolochiae drachma.

¹⁴⁴² Plinio parla di prevenzione della rabbia nei cani durante la canicola. Però Aldrovandi non ha assolutamente letto il testo di Plinio, ma solo quello di Gessner. Infatti dal testo di Gessner si potrebbe supporre che debbano essere gli uomini a mangiare le feci dei polli, ma non se ne ha la certezza. Invece, nella fantasmagorica trasformazione del testo di Gessner operata da Aldrovandi, è più che palese che chi deve pranzare - o cenare - con sterco di gallina non sono i cani, bensì gli esseri umani morsi da un cane rabbioso. § Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 400*: Rabies canum sirio ardente homini pestifera, quapropter obviam itur per triginta eos dies, gallinaceo maxime fimo mixto cibis: aut si praevenerit morbus, veratro, Plin. § Plinio *Naturalis historia* VIII,152: Rabies canum sirio ardente homini pestifera, ut diximus, ita morsis letali aquae metu. Quapropter obviam itur per XXX eos dies, gallinaceo maxime fimo inmixto canum cibis aut, si praevenerit morbus, veratro.

Plinio transcriptum est, qui alibi ita scribit: *Rabies canum Sirio ardente homini pestifera, quapropter obviam itur per triginta eos dies Gallinaceo maxime fimo mixto <canum> cibis, aut si praevenerit morbus, veratro.* Idem¹⁴⁴³ etiam, uti et Kiranides cristam Galli contritam efficaciter imponi aiunt. Aëtius vero ad felis morsum Galli stercus liquidum cum adipe Gallinaceo subigi iubet, atque imponi.

Ad serpentium, aliorumque virulentorum animantium morsus non ipsae aves tantum per se calidae ad affectum locum impositae prosunt, sed partes etiam aliquot. Aëtius ad viperæ morsum primo affectam partem scarificat, aut Gallinam dissecat, et interne adhuc calentem morsui imponit, atque illud frequenter repetit. Paulus¹⁴⁴⁴ Gallinarum pullos eodem modo dissecat sed uterque, ut videtur, id a vetustioribus medicis, ac in primis Dioscoride mutuatus est, qui ita habet¹⁴⁴⁵: *Dissectae Gallinae, et adhuc calentes appositae serpentium morsibus auxiliantur, sed identidem alias sufficere oportet.* Et alibi¹⁴⁴⁶: *Dissecti Gallinarum pulli, cum maxime tepent percusso loco applicentur.* Mirum vero quod scribit Galenus¹⁴⁴⁷, Gallinae carnes noviter occisae ita, ut diximus, morsibus impositas omnibus venenosis obsistere, atque curare praeter unius aspidis morsum. Contra sentire videtur Plinius¹⁴⁴⁸, inquit: *Cimicum natura contra serpentium morsus, et praecipue aspidum valere dicitur; item contra venena omnia {argumentum quod dicunt} <, argumento, quod dicant> Gallinas, quo die cimices ederint, non interfici <ab> Aspide, carnes quoque earum*

from Pliny who elsewhere writes as follows: *The dog rabies is deadly for a human being in dog days*, therefore for those thirty days it is fought above all with chicken's dung mixed with dogs' foods, or, if the illness already appeared, with bellebore* - or with veratrum*.* Pliny himself, as well as Kiranides*, say that the application of minced rooster's comb is used with very good results. But Aëtius of Amida against the bite of the cat suggests to blend rooster's liquid dung with chicken's fat and to place it on.

Not only these birds themselves applied warm on the affected area are useful against the bites of snakes and other poisonous animals, but also some their parts. Aëtius of Amida against viper bite* firstly incises the part affected by the bite, or cuts up a hen, and places it still warm inside on the bite, and frequently repeats this. Paul of Egina* cuts up hen's chicks in the same way, but both, as it seems, borrowed this from earlier physicians and first of all from Dioscorides, who is expressing himself as follows: *The hens cut up and applied still warm are effective against snakes' bites, but it is necessary to replace them repeatedly with others.* And elsewhere: *Hen's chicks cut up must be applied on injured part when they are still very warm.* But it is amazing what Galen writes, that flesh of a just killed hen applied on bites as we said is acting as a barrier against all poisonous substances and cures, except the bite of the asp - *Vipera aspis*. It seems that Pliny thinks contrariwise when saying: *They say that the material constituting the bugs* is effective against the bites of snakes and above all of vipers, likewise against all poisons, and the proof is that they say that hens on the day they ate bugs are not killed by the viper, and that also their flesh is very helpful to those who have been bitten.*

¹⁴⁴³ *Naturalis historia* XXIX,100: Aiunt et cristam galli contritam efficaciter imponi et anseris adipem cum melle.

¹⁴⁴⁴ *Epitomés iatrikês biblia eptá*, Totius rei medicae libri VII per Janum Cornarium* ... latina lingua conscripti, J. Hervagius, Basel 1556.

¹⁴⁴⁵ *De materia medica* II,43.

¹⁴⁴⁶ Dovrebbe trattarsi di un'invenzione di Gessner adottata da Aldrovandi. Infatti a mio avviso i polli contro i morsi dei serpenti non compaiono in Dioscoride, che in II,43, subito dopo le galline *dissectae*, consiglia di usare il loro cervello da bersi con del vino. § Ecco il testo di Gessner che contiene anche il prosieguito del testo di Aldrovandi. Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 395*: *Dissectae gallinae (gallinarum pulli, Aegineta) et adhuc calentes appositae, serpentium morsibus auxiliantur. sed identidem alias sufficere oportet (deinde folia olivae viridia trita cum oleo et sale supponere vulnere, Kiranides) Dioscor. Et alibi, Dissecti gallinarum pulli, cum maxime tepent, percusso loco applicentur. Nec desunt qui hisce tanquam discordia quadam naturali pugnantibus utantur. verum huius rationem inire facillimum fuerit. Gallinae enim calida natura praeditae sunt: argumento, quod devoratum insigne virus conficiunt, et aridissima quaeque semina consumunt. item nonnunquam arenas lapillosque ingluvie sua devoratos, dissolvunt. Itaque animantis admoti calore adiutus spiritus, ab icta parte impetum capessens exiliensque secum venenum exigit. Carnes gallinae noviter occisae, si morsibus imponantur, obsistunt omnibus venenosis et curant, praeter aspidis morsum, Galenus Euporiston 2. 143.*

¹⁴⁴⁷ *Euporiston* 2,143. (Conrad Gessner)

¹⁴⁴⁸ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 394*: *Cimicum natura contra serpentium morsus et praecipue aspidum valere dicitur: item contra venena omnia argumentum, quod dicunt gallinas quo die cimices ederint, non interfici ab aspide: carnes quoque earum percussis plurimum prodesse, Plinius.* § Plinio *Naturalis historia* XXIX,61: [...] cimicum, animalis foedissimi et dictu quoque fastidiendi, natura contra serpentium morsus et praecipue aspidum valere dicitur, item contra venena omnia, argumento, quod dicant gallinas, quo die ederint, non interfici ab aspide, carnesque earum percussis plurimum prodesse.

percussis plurimum prodesse.

Nec¹⁴⁴⁹ desunt, qui hisce tanquam discordia naturali quadam pugnantibus utantur. Verum huius rationem inire facillimum fuerit. Gallinae enim calida natura praeditae sunt; argumento, quod devoratum insigne virus conficiunt, et aridissima quaeque semina consumunt, item nonnunquam arenas, lapillosque ingluvie sua devoratos absolvunt. Itaque animantis <admoti> calore adiutus spiritus, ab {ista} <icta> parte impetum capessens, exiliensque secum venenum exigit. Obscurus¹⁴⁵⁰ quidam ita ad huiusmodi virulentos morsus in viro Gallum, Gallinam vero in faemina imponi iubet et statim cor e vino bibi. Verum praeterquam, quod eiusmodi opinio anilis est, ita etiam doctiores alii cerebrum, non cor bibendum exhibent: ac in primis Plinius¹⁴⁵¹: *Cerebellum*, inquit, *Gallinaceum recentibus plagis prodest*: id est, morsibus serpentium: et alibi¹⁴⁵²: *Venena serpentium domantur Gallinaceorum cerebro in vino poto. Parthi Gallinae malunt cerebrum plagis imponere, quasi praestantius*¹⁴⁵³.

Sed alibi etiam non uno, sed variis modis administratum cerebrum harum avium serpentium morsibus prodesse tradit, et docet idem Plinius¹⁴⁵⁴: *Prodest item*, inquit, *{Gallinaceum cerebrum recentibus plagis sale viperino in cibo sumptum. Tradunt et ulcera tractabiliora fieri, et sanari celerius}*

There is no lack of those who are using these subjects - the chicks - as fighting because of a sort of natural antagonism. In truth it is very easy to fathom out the reason of this. For hens are endowed with a warm nature, and the proof is that they destroy a striking poison they swallowed, and devour every kind of seed as far as it is dry, and similarly sometimes dissolve with their gizzard* grains of sand and pebbles they gulped down. And therefore the vital force helped by the heat of the applied animal, taking rush from the injured part of the body, and squirting out, knocks the poison out. An unknown author suggests to behave as follows against such poisonous bites, to apply a rooster in the man but a hen in the woman and immediately to drink its heart with wine. In truth, apart from being such a slant like that of an old woman, likewise also other more learned men give to drink the brain, not the heart, and firstly Pliny who says: *A chicken's brain is useful for recent wounds*: that is, for bites of snakes: and elsewhere: *The poisons of snakes are overcome with chickens' brain drunk in wine. The Parthian* prefer to apply on wounds the brain of a hen, as more effective.*

But Pliny again also elsewhere hands down and teaches that the brain of these birds is effective when given in case of snake's bites not only in one way, but in different ways, and he says: *Similarly chicken's brain is helpful in case of recent wounds. They report that with the assumption in food of viper's salt also the ulcers become more*

¹⁴⁴⁹ Come già detto, questo testo non esiste in Dioscoride, ma è tratto da un'aggiunta personale di Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium III* (1555) pag. 395*: Et alibi [Dioscorides], Dissecti gallinarum pulli, cum maxime tepent, percusso loco applicentur. Nec desunt qui hisce tanquam discordia quadam naturali pugnantibus utantur. verum huius rationem inire facillimum fuerit. Gallinae enim calida natura praeditae sunt: argumento, quod devoratum insigne virus conficiunt, et aridissima quaeque semina consumunt. item nonnunquam arenas lapillosque ingluvie sua devoratos, dissolvunt. Itaque animantis admoti calore adiutus spiritus, ab icta parte impetum capessens exiliensque secum venenum exigit.

¹⁴⁵⁰ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium III* (1555) pag. 395*: Obscurus quidam adversus virulentos morsus in viro gallum discerptum calentemque adhuc imponi iubet, in muliere gallinam: et statim cor (cerebrum potius) e vino bibi.

¹⁴⁵¹ Aldrovandi dà come riferimento liber 29, cap. 4. Se ai tempi di Aldrovandi la suddivisione del testo di Plinio corrispondeva alla nostra, il capitolo IV del libro XXIX è composto dal seguente brevissimo testo in cui manca il vocabolo *cerebellum*. Alia facto ab experimentis se cognominans empiricen coepit in Sicilia, Acrone Agragantino Empedoclis physici auctoritate commendato. § L'impiego di *cerebellum* (o *cerebrum*) in caso di ferite recenti preconizzato da Plinio si trova invece - come si vedrà tra poco - in *Naturalis historia XXX,117*: Draconum quoque adeps siccatus in sole magnopere prodest, item gallinacei cerebrum recentibus plagis. § Che le ferite recenti corrispondano solamente ai morsi di serpente è una pura illazione di Aldrovandi. I morsi di serpente sono senz'altro ferite recenti, ma Plinio si riferisce a qualsiasi tipo di ferita recente, come può esserlo il morso al collo del partner al culmine dell'orgasmo sessuale!

¹⁴⁵² *Naturalis historia XXIX,78*: Carnibus gallinaceorum ita, ut tepebunt avulsae, adpositis venena serpentium domantur, item cerebro in vino poto. Parthi gallinae malunt cerebrum plagis imponere. Ius quoque ex iis potum praeclare medetur, et in multis aliis usibus mirabile. Pantherae, leones non attingunt perunctos eo, praecipue si et alium fuerit incoctum.

¹⁴⁵³ L'aggiunta *quasi praestantius* non esiste né in Plinio né in Gessner.

¹⁴⁵⁴ *Naturalis historia XXX,117* (Aldrovandi): Draconum quoque adeps siccatus in sole magnopere prodest, item gallinacei cerebrum recentibus plagis. Sale viperino in cibo sumpto tradunt et ulcera tractabiliora fieri ac celerius sanari. Antonius quidem medicus, cum incidisset insanabilia ulcera, viperas edendas dabat miraque celeritate persanabat. Trixallidum cinis margines ulcerum duros aufert cum melle, item fimi columbini cum arrhenico et melle, eademque erodentia sunt. § Da notare che in questo passo Plinio sta riferendo circa il trattamento di ferite e di ulcere in generale, non di ferite da morsi di serpenti. Anzi, sta parlando dell'utilità del veleno di vipera.

<gallinacei cerebrum recentibus plagis. Sale viperino in cibo sumpto tradunt et ulcera tractabiliora fieri ac celerius sanari>. Item rursus¹⁴⁵⁵: *Contra omnium {morsum} <morsus> remedium est Gallinaceum cerebrum cum piperis exiguo potum in posca.* Et Sextus¹⁴⁵⁶ videtur repetere, dum ait: Galli cerebrum cum posca adiecto pipere his, qui a vipera percussi sunt, vel morsi potui dabis, auxilium maximum experieris. [292] Alii autem authores {bibi} <lini>, non {lini} <bibi> volunt¹⁴⁵⁷.

tractable and that they recover more quickly. And again: *The chicken's brain drunk with water and vinegar with a very little pepper is a remedy against the bites of all poisonous spiders.* And Sextus Placitus Papiensis* seems to repeat this when saying: You will give to drink a rooster's brain with water and vinegar with the addition of pepper to those who have been hit or bitten by a viper, and you will try out a tremendous help. But other authors are thinking that it - the brain - should be applied and not drunk.

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Kiranides sanguinem Galli erysipelata, et chimet<h>la¹⁴⁵⁸ {sanari} <sanare> ait, et iis qui marinum leporem¹⁴⁵⁹ comederint, auxiliari. Item si quis allium contriverit, et biberit calidum sanguinem cum vino, nullum reptile ei nociturum. Ova quoque, teste Plinio¹⁴⁶⁰ cocta, tritaque adiecto nasturtio adversus serpentium ictus illinuntur: et alibi¹⁴⁶¹ etiam privatim contra

Kiranides* says that rooster's blood cures erysipelas and chilblains and that it is good for those who had eaten sea hare*. Likewise if anybody will crush garlic* and drink warm blood with wine, no reptile will harm him. Pliny* bears witness that also hard-boiled eggs and minced with addition of nasturtium* are applied against snakes bites: and elsewhere he says that egg yolk must be particularly smeared against the

¹⁴⁵⁵ *Naturalis historia* XXIX,88: *Contra omnium morsus remedio est gallinaceum cerebrum cum piperis exiguo potum in posca, [...].* Plinio ha cominciato a parlare di ragni velenosi a partire dal paragrafo 84, e la terapia qui proposta è contro il morso di qualsiasi tipo di ragno velenoso. Quindi si tratta di morsi di ragni, e non di morsi di qualsivoglia animale.

¹⁴⁵⁶ *Liber medicinae ex animalibus.*

¹⁴⁵⁷ Che lo scambio di parole in questo contesto sia del tutto errato è testimoniato da due cose. In primo luogo il discorso terapeutico passa improvvisamente dal cervello al sangue di pollo, e si è appena finito di dire che Sesto Placito Papiense prescrive di berne il cervello. Quindi è logico pensare che alcuni autori dicono il contrario: non berlo, ma applicarlo. Anche Lind (1963) concorda con il mio punto di vista, tant'è che specifica *brain* - cervello - anche se assente nel testo latino. Ma poi Lind non corregge lo scambio di *bibi/lini* operato o da Ulisse o dal tipografo: Other authors say the brains should be drunk and not smeared on the wounds. § Ma la spiegazione del qui pro quo relativo a un'erronea trasposizione di *bibi/lini* non è assolutamente tipografica. È dovuta al vizio di Aldrovandi di arraffare spudoratamente e sconsideratamente dal testo di Gessner senza minimamente meditare sul contesto da cui sta estrapolando le frasi. Gessner a pagina 397* fa esatto riferimento alla sezione di Plinio in cui si parla di ragni velenosi e che inizia in *Naturalis historia* XXIX,84: *Phalangium est Italiae ignotum et plurium generum: unum simile formicae, [...]* (riferimento omissso da Aldrovandi) e solo al paragrafo 88 si legge finalmente la terapia orale di Plinio a base di cervello di pollo contro la morsicatura di qualsivoglia ragno velenoso elencato in precedenza: *Contra omnium morsus remedio est gallinaceum cerebrum cum piperis exiguo potum in posca, item formicae V potae, pecudum fimi cinis inlitis ex aceto et ipsi aranei quicumque in oleo putrefacti.* Poi Gessner passa subito a citare tre versi di Sereno Sammonico*, il quale consiglia di applicare cervello di pollo sulle punture di insetto, e a questo punto Gessner fa una piccola digressione posta fra parentesi, dicendo che altri consigliano invece di berlo 'sto benedetto cervello. Aldrovandi ha estrapolato questa annotazione e l'ha inserita a casaccio tra impiego del cervello e impiego del sangue di pollo. § Ecco la fonte di Aldrovandi: Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium III* (1555) pag. 397*: *Contra omnium phalangiorum [397] (araneorum, Rasis) morsus remedium est gallinaceum cerebrum cum piperis exiguo potum in posca, Plinius. Ad cunctos autem morsus ictusque minorum, | Exiguo piperis cerebrum conspergito galli, | Quo lita (alii authores bibi, non lini volunt) sanescunt depulso membra dolore, Serenus. - Contro i morsi di tutti gli aracnidi velenosi (dei ragni, Razi) il cervello di pollo bevuto con acqua e aceto e con un pochino di pepe rappresenta un rimedio, Plinio. Ma contro tutte le morsicature e le punture degli insetti, | metti sopra cervello di gallo con poco pepe, | e le aree che ne vengono ricoperte (altri autori sono dell'avviso che va bevuto, non applicato) guariscono con scomparsa del dolore, Sereno Sammonico.*

¹⁴⁵⁸ Il sostantivo greco neutro *chímethlon* usato da Aristotele* significa gelone. Dioscoride* usa invece il sostantivo femminile *chiméllē*. - *Chimetta* è preso da Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium III* (1555) pag. 395*: *Galli sanguis erysipelata et chimetta sanat, et iis qui marinum leporem comederint auxiliatur.*

¹⁴⁵⁹ Plinio *Naturalis historia* XXXII,70: *Lepus marinus ipse quidem venenatus est, sed cinis eius in palpebris pilos inutiles evolos cohibet.*

¹⁴⁶⁰ *Naturalis historia* XXIX,47: [...] *adversus ictus serpentium cocta tritaque adiecto nasturtio inlinuntur.*

¹⁴⁶¹ *Naturalis historia* XXIX,42: *Prodest et tussientibus per se luteum devoratum liquidum ita, ut dentibus non attingatur, thoracis destillationibus, faucium scabritiae. Privatim contra haemorrhoidos morsui inlinitur sorbeturque crudum.* § Le lezioni sono discordanti: c'è chi riporta *contra haemorrhoidos morsui inlinitur*, chi dà *contra haemorrhoidas morsui inlinitur*, chi - come Gessner e Aldrovandi - riporta *contra haemorrhoidum morsum inlinitur*. *Contra* regge l'accusativo. Se l'accusativo è *haemorrhoidas*, allora è un accusativo plurale, e il dativo *morsui* bisogna farlo reggere da *inlinitur*, cui forse sarebbe più appropriato associare un ablativo. Insomma, la versione di Gessner e di Aldrovandi sembrerebbe la più corretta dal punto di vista sintattico, e oltretutto dal contesto

haemorrhoidum morsum illiniri ait luteum ovi, et sorberi.

Contra omnium phalangiorum, (vel ut ait Rasis, araneorum) morsus remedium est quoque Gallinarum cerebrum cum piperis exiguo potum in posca: ex Plinio¹⁴⁶², qui alibi¹⁴⁶³ etiam fimum Gallinarum ad ictus scorpionum prodesse ait. Kiranides idem adversus scorpionum ictus commendat. Fel praeterea efficacissimum creditur scorpium¹⁴⁶⁴, et {callionymi} <callionymi>¹⁴⁶⁵ piscium, marinaeque testudinis, et hy<a>enae¹⁴⁶⁶ {vulneribus}, {maxime vero} <item> Perdicens, Aquilae, et albae Gallinae<, Dioscorides>. Elephantiasi deploratae Gallinae viperis saginatae medentur. Si bubo ortus sit in peste, Gallus depiletur circa anum, et apponatur loco per horam, et in alia hora apponatur alter, et sic fiat per totum diem. Sic venenum attrahitur a corde Galli, et Gallus subito moritur.¹⁴⁶⁷ Serenus¹⁴⁶⁸ inter carbunculi remedia inquit:

Est qui Gallinae perducatur stercore corpus.

Quasi etiam stercus id ad carbones valeat.

Ornithologus nescio quo autore eiusmodi remedium ad morbos desperatos recitat, blandum alioqui, et ad experiendum facillimum: nempe aegros intra duos ignes ovorum albuminibus

hemorrhoids' pain, and that it must be drunk.

Against the bites of all poisonous arachnids (or, as Razi* says, spiders) the brain of the hens is also representing a remedy when drunk with water and vinegar with a little pepper: This comes from Pliny who elsewhere says that also hen's dung is useful against scorpions' stings. Kiranides recommends the same thing against scorpions' stings. Moreover is thought as very effective the bile of the fishes scorpion* and stargazer*, and of marine turtle and of hyena*, likewise that of partridge*, eagle* and of a white hen, Dioscorides*. The hens fattened up with vipers cure an elephantiasis* with fatal prognosis. If during the plague* a bubo grew up, a rooster has to be plucked in the perianal area and placed locally for one hour, and during the following hour another one has to be placed, and do so for the whole day. Thus the poison is attracted by the heart of the rooster and the rooster dies in a flash. Serenus Sammonicus* when speaking about the remedies against the carbuncle* says:

There is who covers up the body with dung of hen.

As if also this dung were effective against the cutaneous lesions of the carbuncle.

The Ornithologist, I don't know on the basis of what author, reports the following remedy against hopeless diseases, which on the other hand is mild, and very easily testable: and, that is, the patients will recover if

pliniano si potrebbe evincere che il *morsum* non è dei serpenti emorroide*, bensì è il tormento suscitato dalle emorroidi anali, delle quali si parla sempre al plurale - "Ho le emorroidi che mi danno un dolore boia!" -, salvo che con l'ispezione o con la palpazione si sia stabilito che di emorroide anale ne esiste una sola, e allora il paziente imprecherebbe giustamente così: "Ho un'emorroide che mi dà un dolore boia!" - Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 448*: Prodest et tussientibus per se luteum devoratum liquidum, ita ut dentibus non attingatur{,}<,> thoracis distillationibus [destillationibus], faucium {scabriciae} <scabritiae>{,}<.> privatim contra haemorrhoidum morsum illinitur, sorbeturque crudum, (Dioscorides hanc vim albumini tribuit.)

¹⁴⁶² *Naturalis historia* XXIX,88: Contra omnium morsus remedio est gallinae cerebrum cum piperis exiguo potum in posca, item formicae V potae, pecudum fimi cinis inlitus ex aceto et ipsi aranei quicumque in oleo putrefacti.

¹⁴⁶³ *Naturalis historia* XXIX,91: Prodest et gallinarum fimi cinis inlitus, draconis iocur, lacerta divulsa, mus divulsus, scorpium ipse suae plagae inpositus aut assus in cibo sumptus aut potus in meri cyathis II.

¹⁴⁶⁴ Plinio *Naturalis historia* XXXII,127: Muricum cinis cum oleo tumores tollit, cicatrices fel scorpionis marini.

¹⁴⁶⁵ Plinio *Naturalis historia* XXXII,69: Callionymi fel cicatrices sanat et carnes oculorum supervacuas consumit. Nulli hoc piscium copiosius, ut existumavit Menander quoque in comoediis. idem piscis et uranoscopos vocatur ab oculo, quem in capite habet.

¹⁴⁶⁶ Plinio *Naturalis historia* XXXII,154: Et hyaenam piscem vidi in Aenaria insula captum. Doveva trattarsi di un tipo di sogliola, che potremmo battezzare come *sogliola iena**. Ma qui il riferimento di Aldrovandi sembrerebbe riguardare l'effetto terapeutico della bile del mammifero carnivoro, cioè della iena, e non dell'omonimo pesce. - La notizia proviene da Dioscoride II 71, il quale tuttavia non parla dell'impiego della bile in caso di ferite, ma solo delle varie proprietà della bile: Est autem omnis fellis vis acris, et exalfaciens: intensius tamen, et remissis viribus differunt. Siquidem praestantius in effectu esse videtur fel marini scorpionis, et piscis qui callionymus appellatur, marinae testudinis, hyaenaeque: item perdicens, aquilae, gallinae candidae, et sylvestris caprae. § Per cui il nostro Ulisse manco aveva letto il testo di Dioscoride. A differenza di quello di Aldrovandi - in cui viene tralasciato il riferimento a Dioscoride - esatto è il testo di Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 398*: Gallinarum et perdicum fella ad medicinae usum caeteris praestant, Galenus. Fel efficacissimum creditur scorpium et callionymi piscium, marinaeque testudinis et hyaenae: perdicens item et aquilae, gallinaeque albae, Dioscorides.

¹⁴⁶⁷ La ricetta viene citata da Gessner ed è tratta verosimilmente *dal Consilium pro peste evitanda* di Pietro da Tossignano*. - Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 395*: [...] Sic venenum attrahitur a corde galli, et gallus subito moritur, Petrus de Tusignano, sed locum prius scarificari iubet.

¹⁴⁶⁸ *Liber medicinalis*.

conquassatis perfricatos diebus aliquot, semel quotidie restitutos iri. Non caret quoque admiratione quod Marcellus empiricus memoriae prodidit. Ossiculum extremum ex ala Gallinacea cochleario terebratum, nodisque septem licio ligatum, atque ita brachio, vel cruri eius partis, quae inguina habet suspensum, iis mirabile remedium exhiberi. Praeterea sunt qui ad {phrenesim} <phrenesin> Gallum per medium fissum adhibeant, et tale levamentum inde promittant, ut nisi ita allevietur aeger, de eo prorsus actum sit. Lucianus¹⁴⁶⁹ postremo author est, etsi nimirum fabulas sapiat, et anilia deliramenta, longissimarum caudae Gallinaceorum pennarum quae duae sunt, si quis dextram evulsam secum ferat, tum a nemine conspectum iri, tum quod ianuis reseratis, et foribus quamvis diligenter signatis omnia domus penetralia patecant.

Caeterum, ut veterinarii, sive {ἵπποατρίκοι} <ἵππιατρικοί - ἵππιατροί> hinc etiam aliquod percipiant emolumentum, placuit hic tamquam pro epilogo adiungere aliquot remedia iumentorum quorundam morbis convenientia. Equo itaque ex pituita per nares laboranti, fimum Gallinaceum per nares inflabis¹⁴⁷⁰. Anatolius strophoso equo ova quatuor in os confringit, curatque, ut cum putaminibus simul deglutiat. Tussis in equo, inquit Theomnestus¹⁴⁷¹, quam aestus, aut pulvis excitavit his remediis abigitur. Ova quinque cum suis putaminibus in aceto acri, cum advesperascere coeperit, macerabis. Diluculo deprehendes exteriorem callum intabuisse, sic ut ea prorsus emollescant: qualia videri solent, quae intempestive ponuntur, et praecoci partu Gallinarum {a}eduntur: quorum folliculus tactui

when placed between two fires they will be rubbed down for some days, and once a day, with whisked egg white. And it is rather amazing what Marcellus Empiricus* handed down to us. The most peripheral ossicle of a chicken's wing perforated with the sharp tool for eating snails - or with a gimlet - and bound with seven knots to a thread, and so suspended either to the arm or to the leg of that side showing inguinal swellings, is representing an amazing remedy against them. Furthermore against madness some are using a rooster cut in half and they assure such a relief through its use so that, if the sick person doesn't improve, it's all over for him. Finally Lucian* writes, although this smacks of fable and of aged woman delirium, that the longest tail feathers of the roosters, which are two - one on each side, the main sickles -, if somebody carries along the right one after having plucked it, then it happens that he won't be seen by anybody, and that even if doors are closed and entrances are carefully sealed, all the secrets of a house become manifest.

Furthermore, in order that veterinaries or *hippiatrikoi* or *hippiatroi** - horse's doctors - may take hence some profit, I thought proper to add here as epilogue some remedies suitable for diseases of some draught animals. Therefore to a horse suffering from catarrh in nostrils you will blow through nostrils chicken's dung. Anatolius* breaks four eggs in the mouth of a colicky horse and takes heed that it swallows them with shells. Theomnestus* says: in the horse the cough risen because of heat or dust is removed with the followings remedies. When it's growing dark you will soak five eggs with their shells in sharp vinegar. At dawn you will check that the outer sheet has softened so that they can become quite flabby: as they are usually appearing those laid ahead of time* and sent forth because of a premature birth by hens: and their covering, even though doesn't offer resistance to

¹⁴⁶⁹ *Il sogno ovvero il gallo - Óneiros è alektryon* - 28 - GALLO Penso io a curarti, Micillo; e, visto che è ancora notte, tirati su e seguimi, perché voglio portarti proprio da Simone, e a casa degli altri ricchi, per farti vedere come si sta da loro. - MICILLO Com'è possibile, con le porte che sono chiuse? A meno che tu non voglia costringermi a scassinare... - GALLO Assolutamente no. Però Hermes, al quale sono sacro, mi ha conferito questa dote eccezionale: la penna della coda, la più lunga, quella che è così morbida che si incurva, se uno... - MICILLO Ne hai due fatte così. - GALLO Quella di destra — dicevo — se la strappo e la do da tenere a uno, per tutto il tempo che io voglio questo tale è in grado di aprire qualunque porta e di vedere tutto senza essere visto. - MICILLO Non mi ero accorto, gallo, che anche tu eri un mago improvvisato. Ad ogni modo, basta solo che mi dai la piuma, e, tempo un attimo, vedrai tutto il patrimonio di Simone trasferito qui: andrò io nella casa, di nascosto, a effettuare il trasloco, e lui ricomincerà da capo a prendere tra i denti le pezze di cuoio per tenerle tese. - GALLO Così non si può. Hermes mi ha ordinato che, se quello che tiene la piuma fa qualcosa del genere, devo gridare e farlo scoprire. - MICILLO Non è credibile che Hermes, lui stesso un ladro, ce l'abbia a male con gli altri se praticano la stessa arte. Ma andiamo lo stesso: cercherò di stare lontano dall'oro, se ci riesco. - GALLO Strappami prima la piuma, Micillo... Cosa fai? Le hai strappate tutt'e due! - MICILLO Così è più sicuro, gallo; e poi pensa che il risultato è meno brutto a vedersi, se non... zoppichi da una parte della coda. (a cura di Claudio Consonni - Oscar Mondadori - Milano, 1994)

¹⁴⁷⁰ La fonte è sconosciuta, come riferisce Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 399*: Equo ex pituita per nares laboranti, fimum gallinaceum in nares inflabis, Obscurus.

¹⁴⁷¹ *Corpus Hippiatricorum Graecorum*. (Aldrovandi) - *Veterinariae medicinae libri duo*. (Lind, 1963)

non renitens, in vesicae morem liquoris capax remanet. Ubi os diduxeris, linguam educens, integra sigillatim faucibus impelles; singula auri pigmento convolves. Sed caput sublime teneatur, dum singula devorarit. Sub haec autem foenugraeci, aut ptisanae cremor melle dilutus infunditur; ea triduo data vitium extenuabunt. Haec ille.

Afficiuntur quandoque etiam equi inflatione ilium, et ventris: in quo casu Absyrtus, et Hierocles fimum Gallinaceum, aut Columbinum, quantum manus capit, in vino dissolvunt cum nitro, et inde clysterem iniiciunt. Si equus, ut fit aliquando pennam devorarit, primo uratur in umbilico, deinde in os eius stercus bovis tepidum inseratur, tum fiat phlebotomia. Demum omnia interiora Gallinae sanae in os eius immittes, etsi ne ita quidem liberatur, minue diligenter ipsum: ex Rusio¹⁴⁷². Ut vero ferocitatem deponat, pennam Gallinae, quo volueris modo ei deglutiendam praebe: Eumelus. Equa si marem non patitur, Gallinaceo fimo cum resina {teribinthina} <terebinthina> trito naturalia eius liniri iubet Anatolius, eamque rem libidinem in ea accendere pollicetur. Boum languor, et nausea saepe discutitur, si integrum ovum Gallinaceum crudum ieiunis faucibus inseras, ac postero die spicas ulpici¹⁴⁷³, vel alii cum vino conteras, et naribus infundas: Columella¹⁴⁷⁴.

Attactio, teste Rusio, dicitur, cum nervus pedis anterioris in iumento, a posteriore crure (ut fit aliquando prae festinatione) laeditur. Hoc malum si recens sit, prima vel {secunda} <secunda> die iunctura, et locus scarificetur, ut per scarificationem sanguis exeat, postea Gallus per medium scissus superponatur calidus cum omnibus intestinis. Pelagonius adversus tussim iumenti e faucibus, vel gutture provenientes mactatae recens Gallinae ventrem una cum stercore involvi iubet melle, et iumento in fauces immitti adhuc calentem. Sunt qui ad ulcera

the touch, remains capable of holding the liquid as a bladder. When you opened the mouth of the horse, and bringing out his tongue, you will push them into his throat whole one by one; you will cover them one by one with a gold colored dye. But the head has to be held upward until he has swallowed them one by one. After them a juice of fenugreek* is given or pearl barley* blended in honey; given for three days they will reduce the ailment. Thus far his words.

Horses are also sometimes struck by distention at flanks and belly: in such a case Absyrtus* and Hierocles* dissolve in wine with saltpeter a quantity of chicken's or dove's dung that a hand can contain, and they give an enema with this. If a horse, as sometimes happens, swallowed a feather, firstly he must be cauterized in the umbilical area, then lukewarm bovine dung is inserted in his mouth and then he is bled. Finally you will put in his mouth all the giblets of a healthy hen, and if also in this way he is not freed from the feather, carefully cut him into little pieces: the source is Lorenzo Rusio*. But so that he loses impetuosity give him to swallow a hen's feather in the way you prefer: Eumelus*. If a mare doesn't stand the male, Anatolius prescribes that her genital area must be smeared with chicken's dung crushed with resin of terebinth*, and he assures that this procedure rouses in her the lust. Weakness and lack of appetite of cattle are often dispelled if you insert into their throat on empty stomach an entire and raw hen's egg, and if on following day you grind cloves of *ulpicum* garlic or of garlic with wine and you introduce them in nostrils: Columella*.

As Lorenzo Rusio reports, it is said *attactio* when a tendon of foreleg in a draught animal is injured by hind leg (as sometimes happens because of a dogtrot). If this disease is recent, on first or second day the joint and the injured area must be incised so that the blood issues through the incision, then a still warm rooster is applied cut in half with all entrails. Pelagonius* against the cough of a draught animal proceeding from jaws or throat prescribes to amalgamate with honey the bowels of a recently killed hen along with dung and to introduce them still warm into the throat of the animal. Some people use dry

¹⁴⁷² *Liber Marescalciae Equorum*. - Vedi maniscalco*.

¹⁴⁷³ Plinio *Naturalis historia* XIX,111-112: Alium ad multa ruris praecipue medicamenta prodesse creditur. Tenuissimis et quae spernantur universum velatur membranibus, mox pluribus coagmentatur nucleis, et his separatim vestitis, asperi saporis; quo plures nuclei fuere, hoc est asperius. Taedium huic quoque halitu, ut cepis, nullum tamen coctis. [112] Generum differentia in tempore — praecox maturescit LX diebus —, tum in magnitudine. Ulpicum quoque in hoc genere Graeci appellavere alium Cyprium, alii antiskorodon, praecipue Africae celebratum inter pulmentaria ruris, grandius alio. Tritum in oleo et aceto mirum quantum increscit spuma. Quidam ulpicum et alium in plano seri vetant, castellatimque grumulis inponi distantibus inter se pedes ternos. Inter grana digiti IIII interesse debent, simul atque tria folia eruperunt, sariri. Grandescunt, quo saepius sariuntur.

¹⁴⁷⁴ *De re rustica* VI,4,2: Saepe etiam languor et nausea discutitur, si integrum gallinaceum crudum ovum ieiunis faucibus inseras, ac postero die spicas ulpici vel alii cum vino conteras, et in naribus infundas; neque haec tantum remedia salubritatem faciunt.

iumentorum utantur fimo Gallinaceo arido trito cribratoque inspergentes mane, et vesperi succum sambuci immittentes per dies aliquot, ubi ulcera primum abluerint vino, in quo sambuci folia decocta sint cum modico sale.

Si hordeo malo, aut nimio iumentum laeditur, remedium est pelliculam e ventre Galli siccata fumo, deterere, additisque octo scrupulis¹⁴⁷⁵ piperis, et quatuor cochlearibus mellis, et uncia pollinis ex thure, cum sextario vini veteris tepefacto per os dare<,> Vegetius¹⁴⁷⁶.

crushed and sieved chicken's dung against the ulcers of draught animals sprinkling it on morning and evening for some days, adding elder* juice, after the ulcers have first been cleaned with wine in which elder leaves have been boiled with a little salt.

If a draught animal is suffering from bad or too much barley the remedy is to crush the dried and smoked membrane* of the rooster gizzard, and to give it by mouth after eight scruples of pepper [9 g] and four spoons of honey and an ounce [27.28 g] of incense dust with a *sextarius* [500 ml] of old warmed up wine have been added: Vegetius*.

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Chiron¹⁴⁷⁷ Centaurus pro remedio malidis¹⁴⁷⁸, sive pestilentiae iumentorum praecipit catulum lactantem vivum in [293] aqua ferventi missum, ac depilatum, ita decoqui, ut ossa separentur a carne, quibus diligenter ablatis, eius caro cum aqua, in qua decocta fuerit, liquamine optimo, vino veteri, et oleo, et pipere, cum melle condita usque ad sextarium¹⁴⁷⁹ debere servari, ac singulis animalibus binas cotylas tepefactas, donec ad sanitatem perveniant, et diebus singulis dari per fauces. Vegetius quoque de Gallo Gallinaceo albo eadem, quae de catulo observanda demonstrat.

Chiron* the Centaur, as remedy for malanders*, that is, for a pestilence of draught animals, prescribes that an alive and still sucking doggy placed into boiling water and depilated is cooked for so a long time that bones separate from flesh, and after they have been carefully removed, its flesh with water in which was cooked, seasoned with very good sauce of fish, old wine, oil and pepper jointly with honey up to reach a *sextarius* [500 ml], must be preserved, and to each animal two warmed up *heminae* [500 ml] have to be given until they are recovered, and to give this dose each day through the throat. Also Vegetius* gives the same guidelines regarding the doggy, but concerning a white rooster.

NOCUMENTA.

Caelius Aurelianus¹⁴⁸⁰ autor est, quendam a Gallo pugnante leviter laesum in rabiem venisse: tanquam pugnans Gallus, dum ira percitus est, etiam furiat. Sunt qui putent, ova diutissime elixa, et indurata immodice homini venenum fieri. Multis tamen ea placere video. Num autem venenum fiant, ignoro: bene tamen novi plurimum {negocii} <negotii> stomacho facessere.

HARMFUL EFFECTS

Caelius Aurelianus* writes that a man, slightly wounded by a fighting cock, flew into anger: just as also a rooster while fighting becomes furious being excited by anger. Some people would think that eggs boiled for very long time and made very hard become a poison for a human being. Nevertheless I realize that lots of people like them. I am not aware if they become a poison indeed: however I just realized that they cause big trouble to the stomach.

A praesepibus equorum removebuntur aves domesticae, atque a tiles, quae eas propter reliquias pabuli sectari solent, et in his non solum pinnulas excutiunt, sed etiam stercora deijciunt: atque illae cum gutturis, haec cum alvi periculo

Domestic and battery birds must be kept away from mangers of horses, since they are accustomed to move into them because of fodder's remnants, and in their inside they not only shake their little feathers off, but eject dung too: and the former are swallowed by

¹⁴⁷⁵ Vedi Pesì e misure*.

¹⁴⁷⁶ *Artis veterinariae, sive mulomedicinae libri quatuor*.

¹⁴⁷⁷ Il riferimento è alla *Mulomedicina Chironis*, un trattato anonimo di veterinaria - o compilazione ippiatrica* - in 10 libri del IV secolo dC circa. *Mulomedicina* (medicina del mulo) era il nome dato dai Romani all'arte veterinaria.

¹⁴⁷⁸ Il sostantivo femminile greco *mâlís*, al genitivo *mâlios*, significa malandra, malattia dei giumenti. - Anche Gessner riporta *malidis*. *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 394*: Chiron Centaurus pro remedio malidis sive pestilentiae iumentorum, [...].

¹⁴⁷⁹ Vedi Pesì e misure*.

¹⁴⁸⁰ *De morbis acutis et chronicis* 3.9. (Conrad Gessner)

ab equis deglutiuntur¹⁴⁸¹. De fimo Gallinaceo a bobus, aut equis devorato, et remediis contra eum, plura in quadrupedum istarum historiis, Deo dante, scribemus. Illud tantummodo iam dicentes, Hieroclem equo adversus huc fimum devoratum docere auxiliari ipsum fimum Gallinae album, et solidum, quem conteri iubet cum drachma sevi, et cum duobus polentae choenicibus¹⁴⁸², vinoque nigro austero in massas redigi, et equo edendas dari. Caeterum paulo ante¹⁴⁸³ etiam ex Plinio diximus adversus fungorum, boletorumque venena dari item ad inflationes, et strangulationes cum si id animal aliud gustaverit, torminibus, et inflationibus afficiatur: quomodo itaque equum iuvabit, si prius noxam induxit?

USUS IN CIBO.

Gallinaceum genus in cibi usum cedere quis ignorat? Hoc pene uno in repentino, ac inopinato amicorum hospitumve adventu iuvamur, huic omnem mensae lautae, mediocris, tenuisque splendorem acceptum referre debemus. Si lautam necessitas postulat, carnes hinc habetis laudatissimas, easque cum elixas, tum assas, praeterea ova reliquarum avium ovis praestantiora, quae varia etiam tibi praestabunt fercula: Si mediocrem, ut in diebus, quibus carni esus lege sacra est interdictus, sola ova tibi suffecerint: sin tenuem, et aegris convenientem, unde quaeso tutior, iucundiorque victus queat, quam hinc peti?

Quare merito iure apud Columellam, et alios, qui de avibus ex professo scripserunt, Gallinaceum genus principem semper locum obtinet. Unde etiam Horatii¹⁴⁸⁴ commentatores, ubi ita canit:

Accipe, qua ratione queas ditescere { } < .> *Turdus,*
Sive aliud privum dabitur tibi < ,>

privum exponunt non solum privatum quid, et proprium, sed peculiare, et rarum quid ex avium genere quales, inquit, apud veteres erant

horses with danger for throat, the latter for bowel. God willing, in the chapters regarding these quadrupeds I will write a lot of things about chicken's dung eaten by cattle and horses, and about its remedies. Just to say something already, Hierocles* reports that for a horse, against to have eaten this dung, is helpful the white hen's dung itself, and hard, and he suggests to crumble it together with a drachma [3,41 g] of fat, and to make dough of it with two *chenics* [around 2 l] of barley polenta* and dry black wine and to give it to the horse to be eaten. Furthermore a little while ago we have also said drawing it from Pliny* that it must be given against poisons of mushrooms* and boletus - *Boletus satanas* - as well as against swellings and suffocations - muscarinic syndrome, while if another animal had to taste it would be hit by intestinal pains and swellings: thus how will it help the horse if before injured him?

USE AS FOOD

Who doesn't know that the gallinaceous genus is used as food? We use almost only it at the sudden and unexpected arrival of friends or guests, we have to acknowledge as due to it any prestige of a sumptuous, modest and poor table. If there is need for a sumptuous table, you get from it very appreciated meats, both boiled and roasted, besides the eggs which are better than the eggs of other birds, and the latter will also ensure various courses. If a modest table is necessary, as in the days when the eating of flesh is forbidden by sacred law, the eggs alone will suffice for you: if on the contrary it has to be poor and suited for sick people, I ask you, whence a safer and most pleasant food could be gotten?

Then rightly the gallinaceous genus always holds first place in Columella* and the others who expressly have written about birds. Hence also the commentators of Horace*, when he sings as follows:

Hear how you can grow rich. A thrush,*
or another particular thing will be given you,

they explain *privum* not only as something of private and your own, but as something special and rare coming from birds genus as hens and thrushes were

¹⁴⁸¹ La fonte è Joachim Camerarius* alias Joachim Liebhart. Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 400*: A praesepibus equorum removebuntur aves domesticae atque atiles, quae ea propter reliquias pabuli sectari solent: et in his non solum pinnulas excutiant, sed etiam stercora deijciunt: atque illae cum gutturis, haec cum alvi periculo ab equis deglutiuntur, Ioach. Camerarius. - Gessner haec *ea* mentre Aldrovandi riporta *eas*, ma ambedue le forme sono corrette.

¹⁴⁸² Il sostantivo femminile greco *choînix* significa chenice. Vedi Pesì e misure*.

¹⁴⁸³ A pagina 291*. - *Naturalis historia* XXIX,103: Gallinarum fimum, dumtaxat candidum, in hysopo decoctum aut mulso contra venena fungorum boletorumque, item inflationes ac strangulationes, quod miremur, cum, si aliud animal gustaverit id fimum, torminibus et inflationibus adficiatur.

¹⁴⁸⁴ *Satirae* II,5,9-11: Quando pauperiem missis ambagibus horres, | accipe qua ratione queas ditescere. Turdus | sive aliud privum dabitur tibi, devolet illuc, [...].

Gallinae, et Turdi, quibus, (turdis) alibi¹⁴⁸⁵ etiam nil melius esse dixit idem poeta. Lampridius¹⁴⁸⁶ in Alexandri Severi convivii tradit fuisse Gallinas, et ova, sed festis diebus adhibuisse etiam Anserem: maioribus vero festis Phasianum ita ut aliquando et duo ponerentur, additis Gallinaceis duobus{:} <.> Et alibi¹⁴⁸⁷ etiam Heliogabalum {vua} <una> die non nisi de Phasianis tantum edisse refert, alia die de pullis.

Hinc iam clarum est et perditissimos Imperatores harum avium esu delectatos, sed Gallinas tantum, aut pullos esitasse: Galli enim, et maxime qui admodum salaces sunt, proli magis, quam gulae reservantur. Sin vero Galli tenelli adhuc sunt, nempe pullastri, eorum caro inter volucrum carnes, quae mediam quandam extenuandi, et crassefaciendi naturam praestant, connumeranda est, a Galeno tantopere praedicatas. Facile enim concoquitur, laudabilem sanguinem generat, appe<te>ntiam conciliat, quibuscunque temperamentis convenit, praecipue si moderate pingues fuerint, et nondum coierint, aut cucu<r>rierint. Coeuntes enim, et canentes iam siccescere incipiunt, exacuiturque siccitate ea calor, ac fit illorum quamprimum dura fibrosaue caro, usque eo ut salsugineum saporem elixatione reddant pro vetustate maiorem semper, etiam leniendae alvo efficacem. Quare ante id tempus ad castrationem deveniendum erit: alioqui procul dubio praeferenda pullastrae, utpote frigidioris temperamenti: ac idcirco pullastris maribus in febricitantibus praelatae: in reliquis alimentum idem boni, laudatique succi non excrementi{:}, non morantis diu in progressu, descensuque in intestina:

for ancients, better of which (the thrushes) the same poet in another point also said there is nothing. Lampridius* reports that at the banquets of Alexander Severus* there were hens and eggs, but that on feast days a goose was also served: but a pheasant* on greater feast days so that sometimes even two were served with the addition of two chickens. And elsewhere he also reports that Heliogabalus* one day ate only just pheasants, spring chickens another day.

Hence it is now clear that also the most dissolute emperors took pleasure in eating these birds, but that they ate only hens or spring chickens too: for the roosters, and especially those who are very strong fuckers, are reserved rather for offspring's production than for throat pleasures. But if roosters are still fairly tender, that is when they are spring chickens, their flesh is to be counted among the flesh of birds offering a property midway between slenderizing and thickening, so much praised by Galen*. In fact it is easily digested, generates a praiseworthy blood, fosters the lust, is suitable for whatever temperament, above all if moderately fat, and the roosters didn't yet begin to mate or to crow. For when they mate and crow they begin to grow dry, and the body's heat is sharpened by such a dryness, and their flesh shortly becomes hard and fibrous, to such a degree that, with boiling, it produces a salty taste which is more and more intense as they grow old, also effective in making more fluid the crap. Then before this period it will be necessary to resort to castration: otherwise without any doubt it is necessary to prefer the pullets, since they are of a colder temperament: and for such a reason in case of feverish patients they are preferred to spring chickens: in the other sick persons the latter represent a food of good and appreciated taste which doesn't relish excrements, which doesn't linger for a long time in progressing and in descending into the bowel:

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alimentum tamen exhibent, nec [294] multum, nevertheless they offer food neither in abundance nor

¹⁴⁸⁵ *Epistulae* I,15,39-41: 'Non hercule miror', | aiebat, 'si qui comedunt bona, cum sit obeso | nil melius turdo, nil volva pulchrius ampla'.

¹⁴⁸⁶ Negativa la ricerca di anser, gallina, phasianus, fasianus & ova nella vita di Alessandro Severo scritta da Lampridio e a disposizione nel web in www.thelatinlibrary.com. - Forse la notizia viene da Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 387*: In Alexandri Severi convivii esse solebant gallinae, ova, etc. adhibebatur et anser diebus festis, maioribus autem festis diebus fasianus: ita ut aliquando et duo ponerentur, additis gallinaceis duobus, Lampridius.

¹⁴⁸⁷ Lampridio *Elagabalus* o *Heliogabalus* (*Marcus Aurelius Antoninus*) XXXII,4. § Diversa e discutibile è la versione latina che troviamo in www.thelatinlibrary.com, cioè pupillis invece di pullis: Habuit etiam istam consuetudinem, ut cenas sibi exhiberet tales, ut una die nonnisi de fasianis totum ederet omnesque missus sola fasianorum carne strueret, item alia die de pupillis, alia de pisce illo et item illo, [...]. § Pupillus è un fanciullo minorenne soggetto a tutela, oppure un orfano. La sua etimologia è riconducibile a pupus = bambino, ragazzino, oppure pupilla dell'occhio. Sembrerebbe pertanto che Eliogabalo fosse un accanito e sanguinario pedofilo qualora la versione di www.thelatinlibrary.com fosse corretta. § In *HISTORIA AUGUSTA* edita a Parigi da Panckoucke (1847) troviamo pullis, per cui sia Eliogabalo che Aldrovandi sono salvi.

nec duraturum multum quippe ex tenui sanguine constat, ac fluxili, labilique ut et cito inde abire possit, damneturque praeterea podagricis, ut alia, quae fluxilis sanguinis generatione facile affectis, ideoque imbecillioribus partibus incurrunt, vel mixta, vel attracta.

Sunt qui ad mensae usum, et pro febricitantibus Gallinas castratas¹⁴⁸⁸ pullastris cum maribus tum faeminis praeferant. Apud nos¹⁴⁸⁹ Gallinas castrare insolens est. Gallo vesci, maxime provectae aetatis dedecus, etsi rusticis usurpatum, utpote ingrato nobilium palatis; nam, ut ait Baptista Fiera¹⁴⁹⁰ medicus, ac Poëta.

Prandia si dederit, Veneris documenta protervus

Nesciat: hinc sicca est, et male grata caro.

Sit puer, aut {Cybelis} <Cybeles> poenas pro nomine falso

Pendat, et execto sit tibi teste Capus.

Sic praepinguis erit, sic iam dormire licebit,

Et pariet raucae fercula larga gulae.

Sic humens Gallina vices huic cedit honoras

Vel nigra, vel partus sit licet indocilis.

Sic cerebrum, Veneremque fovet: minus ignea pullo

Vis est: sub sicco hic sit mihi {coena} <caena> cane.

Maxima, testiculis positus tibi gloria, Galle,

Somno, alvo, Veneri gratus es, et {Cybeli} <Cybelae>.

Apud veteres inter caeteras, quas saginabant, saginatas Gallinas magni faciebant, ut C. Fannius legem ferre coactus fuerit, qua volucres mensis apponere prohiberet, praeter unam Gallinam, eamque quae non esset altilis. Si autem altiles apponebantur, ars culinarum erat, ut ab uno pede {laceratae} <dilatatae>¹⁴⁹¹ tota repositoria occuparent: inde illud Satyricum¹⁴⁹²:

Quo gestu Lepores, {vel} <et> quo Gallina secetur <.>

Lex vero de altili Gallina ante tertium bellum Punicum undecim annis lata fuit, teste Plinio¹⁴⁹³:

very durable since it is constituted by a little thin and fluid blood, and so flowing that it can quickly pour out, and which in addition is disapproved for those are suffering from gout*, as are disapproved the other things which because of generation of a fluid blood easily penetrate, either mixed, or attracted, into the diseased areas and therefore weaker.

There are some people preferring castrated hens* to both male and female young chickens for table and for feverish patients. Among us - in Bologna - it is unusual to castrate hens. To eat a rooster, especially if old aged, it is unbecoming, although this is done by country folk, and to eat it is extremely disagreeable to the palates of noblemen; in fact, as Giovanni Battista Fiera* physician and poet says:

If he will give dinner parties, the wanton fellow doesn't have to know the teachings of Venus: from roosters a dry and unpleasant flesh is coming. Let him be a young one, or let him to pay the penalties of Cybele* under a false name, and take a capon with cut off testicle. Thus he will be very fat, so by now he will be allowed to sleep, and he will produce hoarse throated abundant courses. Thus a damp hen will replace him in a stately way, and she has to be or black, or possibly unable to lay eggs. Thus she heats the brain and the sexual appetite: in a spring chicken there is a smaller fiery power: let him be for me a course in a dry summer. The greatest glory to you, rooster, because you lost testicles, you are pleasant to sleeping, bowel, Venus and Cybele.*

Among ancients, with other birds they fattened, they held in great esteem fattened hens, so that Caius Fannius* was forced to issue a law by which he prohibited to dish up birds, except only one hen, and which had not been fattened. But if fattened birds were dished up, the art of cooking consisted in the fact that stretched beginning from a leg they filled the whole tray: hence that satirical expression of Juvenal*: *With what a gesture the hares and with what a hen is quartered.*

Really eleven years before the third Punic War* - on 161 BC - a law was drawn up regarding the fattened

¹⁴⁸⁸ Vedi a pagina 277*.

¹⁴⁸⁹ Tuttavia Michele Savonarola* (Padova 1384 - Ferrara 1468), *l'eviratore* di galline, aveva adottato questa pratica non molto lontano da Bologna. Infatti visse e operò come medico prima a Padova e poi a Ferrara, ma non sappiamo se questa sua castrazione delle galline si fosse diffusa e mantenuta in altre aree della pianura padana.

¹⁴⁹⁰ Il brano è tratto quasi per intero dal capitolo GALLUS: CAPUS: GALLINA: PULLUS della *Coena*. Il testo ottenuto attraverso <http://gallica.bnf.fr>, e che qui non viene trascritto, risale a una stampa forse al 1489 ed è un po' diverso da quello riportato da Aldrovandi.

¹⁴⁹¹ Plinio *Naturalis historia* X,140: Postea culinarum artes, ut clunes spectentur, ut dividantur in tergora, ut a pede uno dilatatae repositoria occupent. § Vedi anche Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium III* (1555) pag. 433*: Postea culinarum artes, ut clunes spectentur, ut dividantur in tergora, ut a pede uno dilatatae repositoria occupent. Dedere et Parthi cocis suos mores, Plinius.

¹⁴⁹² Giovenale, *Satira* V,123-124: [...] nec minimo sane discrimine refert | quo gestu lepores et quo gallina secetur.

¹⁴⁹³ *Naturalis historia* X,139-140: Gallinas saginare Deliaci coepere, unde pestis exorta opimas aves et suoapte corpore unctas devorandi. Hoc primum antiquis cenarum interdictis exceptum invenio iam lege Gai Fanni consulis undecim annis ante tertium Punicum bellum, ne quid volucres poneretur praeter unam gallinam quae non esset altilis, quod deinde caput translatum per omnes

Hoc primum, inquit, antiquis coenarum interdictis exceptum invenio iam lege C. Fannii <consulis> undecim annis ante tertium Punicum bellum, ne quid volucrum poneretur, praeter unam Gallinam, quae non esset attilis: quod deinde caput translatum per omnes leges ambulavit. Inventumque diverticulum est in fraudem earum, Gallinaceos quoque pascendi lacte madidis cibis, multo ita gratiores approbantur. Haec ille.

Erant autem communia praecepta, et adhuc quotidie traduntur, qua ratione tenerescant, ut proprio a nobis allato capite¹⁴⁹⁴ de saginatione monstratum est. Absque vero longa saginatione tenerescet, si Horatio¹⁴⁹⁵ credimus.

Si vespertinus subito te oppresserit hospes<,>

Ne Gallina malum responset dura palato,

Doctus eris vivam musto mersare {falerno} <Falerno:>

Hoc teneram {facies} <faciet>.

Idem praestabis imposita in anum ficu, unde Gallum immolatum Herculi recentem tenerum et pene friabilem cum quam inter obsonia obtulisset¹⁴⁹⁶, tam {citis} <cutis> teneritudinem ficui acceptam retulisse legitur. Etsi tamen ita tenerae factae sint Gallinae, nonnulli eo libidinis devenerunt, ut vel unam tantummodo partem avis ad esum admitterent: unde quoque apud Plinium legimus, mox cum de saginatione harum avium locutus esset¹⁴⁹⁷, *nec tamen in hoc mangonio quicquam totum placet, {hic} clune, alibi pectore tantum laudatis.* Haud iuste itaque Pertinacem Imp. Capitolinus¹⁴⁹⁸ nimium illiberalem forte

hen, as Pliny* testifies who says: *Among ancient prohibitions regarding courses, for the first time still in the law of the consul Caius Fannius, drawn up eleven years before the third Punic War, I find the prohibition to dish up no birds, except only one not fattened hen: this article was subsequently resumed and passed from law to law. A loophole was found to deceive these laws in raising also roosters with foods soaked in milk, so they are regarded as much more tasteful.* Thus far Pliny.

On the other hand there were also common precepts, and they are still handed down daily, in what way they are softened, as I pointed out in the proper enclosed paragraph about fattening. But she will become tender also without a long fattening, if we believe Horace*:

If suddenly an evening guest will overtake you, in order that the hen doesn't come out unpleasantly hard for the palate, you will be crafty in dipping her alive in new Falernian wine: this will soften her.*

You will accomplish the same purpose placing a fig* in the anus, hence we read that having indeed presented among dishes a rooster just immolated to Hercules* tender and almost friable, he referred such a tenderness of the skin as due to the fig. However even though hens are softened in such a way, some people came to such a point of longing that accepted that only a part of the bird was eaten: hence also in Pliny we read, soon after he spoke about fattening these birds, *nevertheless, in such a manner of embellishing courses, not everything is equally pleasant, since the leg is praised, elsewhere only the breast.* Then Iulius Capitolinus* perhaps has not rightly defined as too much stingy the

leges ambulavit. [140] Inventumque diverticulum est in fraudem earum gallinaceos quoque pascendi lacte madidis cibis: multo ita gratiores adprobantur. § Non si capisce in cosa consista la scappatoia stando alle parole di Plinio. Per la legge Fannia non si poteva porre in tavola alcun volatile eccetto una gallina che non doveva essere stata ingrassata. Ma i galli, nutriti con cibi inzuppati nel latte per renderli di sapore più raffinato, erano anch'essi dei volatili, salvo che li facessero passare per galline asportando cresta e speroni, oppure che i cibi inzuppati nel latte fossero capaci - ma non lo erano - di castrarli e di farli somigliare a galline. Misteri interpretativi! Oltretutto, grazie al latino di Plinio, *quae non esset attilis* potrebbe magari tradursi con *gallina che non fosse grassa = che doveva essere grassa*, come ci permettiamo noi italiani di usare il *non* con il condizionale con finalità affermative anziché negative. Ma se la gallina doveva essere grassa, addio parsimonia nelle spese per le mense, perché ingrassare un volatile costa di più.

¹⁴⁹⁴ Aldrovandi comincia a parlarne a pagina 232*.

¹⁴⁹⁵ *Satirae* II,4,17-20: Si vespertinus subito te oppresserit hospes, | ne gallina malum responset dura palato, | doctus eris vivam musto mersare Falerno: | hoc teneram faciet.

¹⁴⁹⁶ Non si capisce chi è il personaggio che presenta il gallo appena immolato a Ercole. Negativa la ricerca in Conrad Gessner, il quale magari avrebbe citato la fonte e il personaggio.

¹⁴⁹⁷ *Naturalis historia* X,140: Feminae quidem ad saginam non omnes eliguntur nec nisi in cervice pingui cute. Postea culinarum artes, ut clunes spectentur, ut dividantur in tergora, ut a pede uno dilatatae repositoria occupent. Dedere et Parthi cocis suos mores. Nec tamen in hoc mangonio quicquam totum placet, clune, alibi pectore tantum laudatis.

¹⁴⁹⁸ Aldrovandi sta ciurlando nel manico: in base a quanto racconta pacatamente Giulio Capitolino, Pertinace doveva essere un po' avaruccio, e non generoso nei confronti del palato degli amici come vorrebbe benignamente far credere il nostro Ulisse. - La citazione completa ma sintetizzata del brano di Giulio Capitolino relativo a Pertinace la troviamo in Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 387*: *Pertinax imperator nimium illiberalis, amicis si quando de prandio suo mittere voluit, misit offulas binas, aut omasi partem, aliquando lumbos gallinaceos, Iulius Capitolinus.* §- Ecco il brano completo di Giulio Capitolino, *Helvius Pertinax*, XII,1-6: 1 Fuit autem senex venerabilis, inmissa barba, reflexo capillo, habitudine corporis pinguiore, ventre prominulo, statura imperatoria, eloque mediocri et magis blandus quam benignus nec umquam creditus simplex. 2 Et cum verbis esset affabilis, re erat inliberalis ac prope sordidus, ut dimidiatas lactucas et cardus in privata vita convivii adponeret. 3 Et nisi quid missum esset edulium, quotquot essent amici, novem libras carnis per tres missus ponebat. 4 Si autem plus aliquid missum esset, etiam in alium

vocaverit, quod amicis aliquando lumbos Gallinaceos miserit: crediderim enim id gulae causa factum.

Etsi autem in dorso carnis parum sit admodum, pellicula tamen ipsa, maxime in altili Gallina, pinguis est, et apprime delicata: ita et Matron apud Athenaeum¹⁴⁹⁹.

*Sic factus est, rident alii, moxque afferunt
Gallinas altiles in argenteis patinis*

Deplumes, aetate pares, dorso laganis similes,

hoc est, ut ego expono, dorso gratas, non autem ruf{f}escente dorso, ut alii exponunt: siquidem lagana non ruf{f}escunt, sed albescunt.

Cristae etiam, et palearia privatim a quibusdam eduntur ex iure, vel assae super prunas, et dein addito pipere, et succo aurantii: nos testes etiam adiungimus, maxime die sancto Pellegrino sacro, idest, calendis Augusti, quo tempore Bononiensibus Galli castrantur. Sunt qui difficulter coqui asserant, parumque nutrire, utpote siccae naturae: attamen Galenus¹⁵⁰⁰ cristas Gallinaceorum, et paleas medio loco habet, non probandas nimirum, nec improbandas. In maximis etiam apud Romanos delitiis cristas fuisse historia traditum invenimus, viri alioqui gravis invento. Eas Messalinus Cotta Messalae oratoris filius cum palmis pedum {et} <ex> Anseribus torrere, atque patinis condire reperit.¹⁵⁰¹

emperor Pertinax* because sometimes he was serving his friends with chicken's backsides: for in my opinion this happened because of gluttony's reasons.

But although at the back there is very little flesh, nevertheless the skin itself, especially in a fattened hen, is fat and very delicious: also Matron of Pitane* in Athenaeus* is expressing himself in this way:

Thus it happened, others smile, and immediately they bring forward fattened and plucked hens in silver platters, of same age, similar for the back to fritters made with honey, flour and oil,

that is, as I understand, appreciated because of the back, but not with reddish back, as others interpret: in fact those fritters are not reddish, but whitish.

Especially by some also combs and wattles are eaten in broth, or roasted on coals and then with addition of pepper and orange juice: we also add the testicles, especially on the feast of St. Pilgrim*, that is, on August first, when the roosters are castrated* by Bolognese people. Some are affirming that they are digested with difficulty, and that are of little nourishment, being of dry nature: nevertheless Galen* is placing combs and wattles of roosters in a middle way, that is, they are not to be praised nor condemned. We find handed down by history that also among Romans the combs belonged to the biggest delights because of the finding of a though important man. Messalinus Cotta*, son of the orator Messala*, invented the recipe of roasting and seasoning them in frying pan with geese's legs.

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Et Heliogabalus, cui nulla fuit vita nisi in voluptatis novae exquisita ratione, saepius ex {Apitii aemulatione} <Apicii imitatione>, ut [295] {Spartanus} <Spartianus¹⁵⁰² - Lampridius>¹⁵⁰³ prodit, cristas Gallinaceis

And Heliogabalus*, who had no other kind of life than to seek the way to get a renewed pleasure, quite often in order to imitate Apicius*, as Aelius Lampridius* reports, ate the combs of alive roosters, as well as the shins of camels, the tongues of peacocks

diem differebat, cum semper ad convivium multos vocaret. 5 Imperator etiam, si sine convivis esset, eadem consuetudine cenitabat. 6 Amicis si quando de prandio suo mittere voluit, misit offulas binas aut omasi partem, aliquando lumbos gallinacios. Fasianum numquam privato convivio comedit aut alicui misit.

¹⁴⁹⁹ *Deipnosophistai* Lib. 14. (Aldrovandi) - XIV,74,656e-f.

¹⁵⁰⁰ *L. 3 de aliment.* (Aldrovandi)

¹⁵⁰¹ Plinio *Naturalis historia* X,52: Sed, quod constat, Messalinus Cotta, Messalae oratoris filius, palmas pedum ex iis torrere atque patinis cum gallinaceorum cristis condire reperit; tribuetur enim a me culinibus cuiusque palma cum fide. § Aldrovandi non è corretto. Messalino prima faceva arrostitire le zampe d'oca - in padella o sulla brace, questo non si sa - e poi le condiva in padella con le creste dei gallinacci. § Corretta è invece la parafrasi del brano di Plinio riportata da Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium III* (1555) pag. 387*: Constat Messalinum Cottam Messalae oratoris filium palmas pedum ex anseribus torrere, atque patinis cum gallinaceorum cristis condire reperisse, Plinius.

¹⁵⁰² Elio Spaziano - IV sec. dC - fu uno degli autori dell'*Historia Augusta**, ma non scrisse la biografia di Eliogabalo, bensì quelle di Adriano, Elio Vero, Settimio Severo, Pescennio Nigro, Caracalla, Geta e Didio Giuliano (forse quest'ultima è da attribuire a Giulio Capitolino).

¹⁵⁰³ *Elagabalus* o *Heliogabalus* (*Marcus Aurelius Antoninus*) XX,5: Comedit saepius ad imitationem Apicii calcanea camelorum et cristas vivis gallinaceis demptas, linguas pavonum et lusciniarum, quod qui ederet a pestilentia tutus diceretur. § Conrad Gessner *Historia*

viventibus voravit, item camelorum calcanea, Pavonum linguas, et Lusciniarum. Cerebrum etiam coquitur, editurque maxime leviter assum cum paucis sale. Acuit autem privatim intellectum. Laudat eiusmodi cerebella Baptista Fiera medicus, ac poeta, sed adiecto pipere humiditatem obtundendam: ait autem:

*Quadrupedum praestant oculi, cerebella volucrum:
Uda tamen nimium, ni piper addis erunt.*

Iecinora harum avium inter omnia edulia Cardanus celebrat. Rasis vero ex Galeno¹⁵⁰⁴ inter hepatia primatum Anserino tribuit, idque quia humidius, et tenerius, ita etiam sapore suavius esse ait, secundam vero laudem Gallinaceo ascribit. Est tamen, et hoc humidum quod idem Fiera hoc carmine docet, inquit:

*Colla iecurque calent, sed colla fluentibus hument,
Gallina, Anser, Anas mollius hepar habent.*

Id super prunas assatum labentes vires brevi reparat, superbibito paucis vino albo. Ventriculus si coquatur uberrime nutrit, teste Galeno¹⁵⁰⁵, ac inter omnes Gallinae, et Anseris praestantissimus ei censetur: et alibi, si bene memini¹⁵⁰⁶, ita habet: *Ventriculi in cibo laudantur, prae intestinis, praesertim altitium Gallinarum, magisque etiam Anserum: sunt enim perquam suaves: caeterum crassi, durique, eoque ad concoquendum difficiles, sed quibus semel coctis multum alimenti insit.* Et Villanovanus nullos animalium ventriculos in cibo laudari asserit, praeter ventriculos Gallinarum, Anserum, et Gruis.

Intestina etiam privatim cum aliis quibusdam rebus incocta edebant, ea gigleria, teste Hermolao, vocant, alii gigeria¹⁵⁰⁷ legunt. Inter reliquas partes testes maxime commendantur, Galeno maxime, ac omnibus medicis, potissimum si Galli lacte nutriti essent. Hi enim

and nightingales. Also the brain is cooked, and it is especially eaten slightly roasted with a little salt. In truth it sharpens in special manner the mind. The physician and poet Giovanni Battista Fiera* praises these small brains, but with the addition of pepper to attenuate their moisture: for he says:

*The eyes of quadrupeds, the brains of birds are excellent.
However the latter will be too moist unless you add pepper to them.*

Gerolamo Cardano* praises the livers of these birds among all the edible things. But Razi*, drawing it from Galen*, among livers is awarding the supremacy to that of goose because it is more moist and tender, and therefore he says that it is also more delicious in taste, but he awards the second praise to that of chicken. Nevertheless also this is moist, as Fiera himself is teaching with these verses, when saying:

*The necks and the liver are full of heat, but the necks are full of moisture,
Hen, goose, duck have a softer liver.*

The liver, roasted upon coals, in a short time restores the fading strengths, drinking on its top a little white wine. As Galen testifies, the gizzard, if is digested, nourishes in a marvelous way, and among all the gizzards he judges as best that of hen and goose: and elsewhere, if I well remember, he is expressing himself as follows: *The gizzards as food are praised before the bowels, especially of fattened hens, and even more of geese: for they are exceptionally tasty: otherwise they are fat and hard, and therefore of difficult digestion, but once they are cooked there would be inside of them quite a lot of nourishment.* And Arnaldo from Villanova* affirms that no stomach of animal is praised as food, except the gizzards of hens, geese and cranes.

They especially ate bowels cooked along with some other things, and they call them, as Ermolao Barbaro* reports, *gigleria*, others say *gigeria* - as well as *gizeria*, giblets. Among remaining parts the testicles are particularly recommended, especially by Galen and all physicians, most of all if roosters were fed on milk.

Animalium III (1555) pag. 387*: Heliogabalus saepe edit ad imitationem Apicii calcanea camelorum, et cristas vivis gallinaceis demptas, linguas pavonum et lusciniarum, quod qui ederet ab epilepsia tutus diceretur, Lampridius.

¹⁵⁰⁴ 2 *Aph.* 37. (Aldrovandi)

¹⁵⁰⁵ *De cibis boni et mali succi.* (Aldrovandi-Gessner)

¹⁵⁰⁶ Si tratta di una delle numerosissime citazioni di Aldrovandi adattate e tratte da Conrad Gessner, *Historia Animalium III* (1555) pag. 391-392*: Ventriculus volatilium si concoquatur, uberrime nutrit. Gallinae quidem et anseris [392] praestantissimus est, Galenus in libro de cibis boni et mali succi. Ventriculi in cibo laudantur prae intestinis, praesertim altitium gallinarum, magisque etiam anserum. Sunt enim perquam suaves: caeterum crassi durique, eoque ad concoquendum difficiles: sed quibus semel coctis multum alimenti insit, Galenus si bene memini. Ventriculi animalium non laudantur in cibo, praeter ventriculum gallinarum, aut anserum, aut gruis, Arnoldus Villanov.

¹⁵⁰⁷ Forse si tratta di un vocabolo punico. § Più completa è la citazione di Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium III* (1555) pag. 392*: Gigeria, intestina gallinarum cum his et ita (forte, cum gallinis ita) cocta, Lucilius lib. 8. Gigeria sunt sive adeo hepetia, (hepatia.) Nonius. Quidam sic citant, Gigeria sine oleo, his vescamur alacriter. Intestina gallinarum cum rebus aliis incocta, veteres gigleria vocabant, Hermolaus.

concoctu facillimi sunt, et amplissimi. Cuius rei mentionem facit Alexander Aphrodisiensis¹⁵⁰⁸. Uropygium Gallorum, Gallinarum, et Caponum cibum militarem esse Galli existimant. Veteranos enim milites uropygiorum voratores appellant: Certum autem est altilium, et praepinguium gulae mirifice placere: et luxuriosis vulgo exhiberi per iocum solet¹⁵⁰⁹. Sanguis item Gallinarum non est inferior sanguine suum, sed multo peior leporino. Erant Galeni¹⁵¹⁰ tempore, qui eum ederent. Nostri dum Gallinas occidunt, eas ex pedibus suspendunt, ut simul collectus ad locum affectum sanguis conglobetur, et postea in cibum cedat.

Ex capitibus, et inter{r}aneis Caponum, et Gallinarum Platina eiusmodi describit patinam¹⁵¹¹. Gallinarum, atque avium iecuscula, pulmones, pedes, capita et colla bene lavabis. Lota, et elixa in patinam sine iure transferes. Indes anethum, mentam, petroselinum, inspergesque piper, aut cinnamomum, ac statim convivis appones. Iuscula denique harum avium non ingrata sunt.

Quinim<m>o apud Aegyptias mulieres ius pinguium Gallinarum nigrarum arte pinguefactum in familiarissimo usu esse legimus in balneis, ut se pinguefaciant. Etenim ipsum totum ex unica Gallina confectum {unaquaeque} <unaquisque> mulier potat, totamque Gallinam in balneo devorat. Alias accipiunt Gallinam nigram probe pinguem ac carnosam, in cuius ventrem iniiciunt avellanarum contusarum, amygdalarum dulcium, pistac{h}iorum, pinearum, pisorum ana drachmas tres: quam hoc pacto paratam in aqua decoquunt, ipsamque percoctam unica die in balneo mulier unica totam depascitur, eiusque ius, in quo etiam Sarcocolla<m> ebulliunt, absorbet, pluribusque diebus hoc mulier pinguefacienda continuat.

Eodem fere modo aliam Gallinam decoctam comedunt, et ius eius bibunt: sed prius tritici mundi in aqua decocti libram unam comedendam exhibent: quod cum ipsa

For they are of easy digestion, and very large. Alexander of Afrodisia* makes mention of this. The French reckon the uropygial gland of roosters, hens and capons as military food. For they call veteran soldiers as eaters of uropygial gland: really it is certain that that one from fattened and very fat subjects is most pleasing to glutton: and anywhere it is usually shown as joke to lustful persons. Likewise hens' blood is not inferior to pigs' blood, but it is very worse than that of a hare. In Galen's time there were some who ate it. When our contemporaries kill hens they suspend them by feet so that the blood after coagulated near the wound assumes a spherical shape, and then becomes food.

Bartolomeo Sacchi called Platina* describes the following pie* made from heads and giblets of capons and hens. You will wash properly the small livers, lungs, legs, heads and necks of hens and birds. When washed and boiled you will transfer them without broth to a dish. You will add dill*, mint*, parsley and sprinkle pepper or cinnamon*, and at once you will serve them to dinner guests. Finally broths of these birds are not unpleasing.

Or better still, we read that among Egyptian women the broth of plump black hens deliberately made fatty is in very common use in public baths, to fatten themselves. And really each woman drinks the entire broth made from a single hen, and when bathing she devours the whole hen. Or else they take a very fat and fleshy black hen and stuff in her belly three drachms each [around 10 g] of crushed hazelnuts, sweet almonds, pistachios*, pine nuts and peas: after prepared her in this fashion they properly boil her in water, and a single woman while in the bath within only one day eats all of her overcooked, and she drinks her broth, in which they also boil sarcocolla*, and the woman who has to fatten continues to do this for several days.

In almost the same way they eat another well cooked hen and drink its broth: but first they give it to eat a pound [327.45 g] of clean wheat overcooked in water: when the hen has eaten it she cuts off the head of the

¹⁵⁰⁸ 2 *Prob.* 7. (Aldrovandi) § Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium III* (1555) pag. 392*: Cur gallinaceorum testes, quos lacte saginant, amplissimi et concoctu faciles fiant, causam adfert Alexander Aphrodisiensis in *Problematis* 2. 73. interprete Gaza.

¹⁵⁰⁹ Vista la considerazione particolare in cui *erano* tenuti i Ministri di Dio, all'uropygio venne attribuito il nome di *Boccone del Prete*. A mio avviso suona invece un po' irriverente il termine inglese riservato all'uropygio: *Parson's nose*, cioè naso del Parroco.

¹⁵¹⁰ Lib. 3 *de Aliment.* (Aldrovandi)

¹⁵¹¹ *De honesta voluptate.*

comederit, Gallinam decapitat¹⁵¹², coquit, totamque in balneo comedit, et totum insuper ius ebibit. Idem quoque facit aliae, sed alio modo Gallinam coquendam praeparant. Nam pisa, et triticum ad libram semis in aqua decoctum Gallinae comedendum exhibent, quod ubi totum comederit, decapitatam decoquunt, solamque comedunt, eiusque ius potant illa die, quinquesque hoc illae facitare solent. Author horum omnium est Prosper Alpinus¹⁵¹³.

Insuper Antagoras poeta tanti Gallinaceum ius fecit, ut Athenaeus scribat¹⁵¹⁴, ire noluisse in balneum cum aliquando Gallinam elixaret, ne pueri, absente eo, absorberent iusculum.

Ut modo de apparatu harum avium cum aliis rebus aliquid dicamus {.<,> Apicium in primis, et Platinam sequi placuit. Sunt certe apparatus varii. Apicius¹⁵¹⁵ cum conchiclas quasdam (sic dicta edulia a faba conch{id}e, ut puto¹⁵¹⁶) cum faba, et cum pisa descripsisset: aliter, inquit, conchiclam sic facies: *Pullum {levas} <lavas>, exossas, concidis minutatim cepam, coriandrum, cerebella enervata, mittis in eundem pullum, liquamine, oleo, et vino ferveat: cum coctus fuerit, concidis minutatim cepam, et coriandrum, colas ibi pisam coctam non conditam, accipies conchiclam pro modo, componis varie: deinde teres piper, cuminum: suffundis ius de suo sibi. Item in mortario ova duo dissolves, temperas, ius de suo sibi suffundis pisae integrae elixae, vel nucleis adornabis, et lento igni fervere facies, et inferes.*

hen, cooks the hen, and eats all the hen while is in the bath, and in addition drinks all the broth. Also other women usually do the same thing but they prepare the hen to be cooked in another way. For they give the hen around half a pound of peas and wheat to be eaten and after she ate the whole they cook her after cut off her head and they eat her alone, and drink her broth on that day, and they are accustomed to do this five times. Author of all these things is Prospero Alpino*.

Furthermore the poet Antagoras of Rhodes* has extolled the chicken's broth to such an extent that Athenaeus* is writing that he didn't want to go into the bath when sometimes he was cooking a hen, lest the young slaves should drink the broth in his absence.

Now, in order to say something along with other data about the preparation of these birds, I thought proper to follow first of all Apicius and Platina. Certainly there are different ways for preparing them. Apicius described certain little fava beans - or soups from fava beans* with peelings - (they are foods so called from fava bean with its peel, as I think) done with fava bean and pea, and he says: *You will make a little fava beans soup in another manner as follows: Wash a chicken, bone it, cut into little pieces onion*, coriander*, brains without nerves, put them in the chicken itself, it has to boil with sauce of fish, oil and wine: when it will be cooked chop up onion and coriander, strain over this cooked unseasoned pea, you will take little fava beans soup in proportion, arrange in different ways: then you will crush pepper, cumin*: you pour on them its broth. You also break two eggs in a mortar, beat them, scatter their juice on entire boiled peas, or you will garnish with nut's kernels, and cook on a slow heat, and you will dish.*

¹⁵¹² È veramente esilarante, intrigante nonché stressante questo continuo passaggio del verbo dal singolare al plurale, che equivale al passaggio da una sola donna - la divoratrice di tutta la gallina - a più donne, tutte quante preparatrici della gozzoviglia egiziana con un'identica ricetta!

¹⁵¹³ *De Medicina Aegyptiorum libri quatuor*, Liber 3, cap. 16. (Aldrovandi)

¹⁵¹⁴ *Deipnosophistai* VIII,25,340f. § Nella traduzione inglese del 1854 a cura di C. D. Yonge l'equivalente del latino *pueri* - οἱ παῖδες - viene tradotto con *slaves*, cioè schiavi, e siccome il latino *pueri* tanto come il greco οἱ παῖδες significa anche giovani schiavi, allora ci adeguiamo a Yonge. Insomma, è come quando un nostro giovane inserviente lo chiamiamo ragazzo.

¹⁵¹⁵ L. 5 *artis coquin.* (Aldrovandi) § Apicio *De re coquinaria* V,4,5: Aliter conchiclam sic facies: concidis pullum minutatim, liquamine, oleo et vino ferveat. Concides minutatim cepam et coriandrum, colas ibi pisam coctam non conditam. Accipies conchiclam, pro modo componis varie. Deinde teres piper, cuminum, suffundis ius de suo sibi. Item in mortario ova duo dissolves, temperas, ius de suo sibi suffundis pisae integrae elixae, vel nucleis adornabis, et lento igni fervere facies et inferes. (www.fh-augsburg.de) - [...] Accipies conchiclam, pro modo componis varie. [...] (www.thelatinlibrary.com)

¹⁵¹⁶ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium III* (1555) pag. 387*: Apparatus varii. Apicius lib. 5. Artis coquinariae, cum Conchiclas quasdam (sic dicta edulia a faba conchide [conche], ut puto) cum faba et cum pisa descripsisset: Aliter (inquit) conchiclam sic facies: Pullum lavas, exossas, concidis minutatim cepam, coriandrum, cerebella enervata: mittis in eundem pullum: liquamine, oleo et vino ferveat, cum coctus fuerit, concidis minutatim cepam et coriandrum, colas ibi pisam coctam non conditam, accipies conchiclam pro modo, componis varie: deinde teres piper, cuminum: suffundis ius de suo sibi. item in mortario ova duo dissolves, temperas, ius de suo sibi suffundis pisae integrae elixae, vel nucleis adornabis, et lento igni fervere facies, et inferes.

Aliter¹⁵¹⁷ conchicla farsilis, sive conchiclatus pullus, vel porcellus: *Exossas* [296] *pullum a pectore, femora eius {iungis} <iungis> in porrectum, surculo alligas et impensam paras, et facies alternis pisam lotam, cerebella, lucanicas, et caetera: teres piper, ligusticum, origanum, et Zinziber. Liguamen suffundis, passo{,} et vino temperabis. Facies ut ferueat, et cum ferbuerit, mittis modice, et {pisam} <impensam> cum condieris, alternis in pullo componis, omento tegis, et in operculo deponis, et in furnum mittis, ut coquantur paulatim, et inferes.*

Apud eundem item alibi¹⁵¹⁸ istos leges apparatus. *In pullo elixo ius crudum. Adiciis in mortarium anethi semen, mentham siccam, laseris radicem, suffundis acetum, adiciis caryotam: refundis liquamen, sinapis modicum, et oleum: defruto temperas, et sic mittis {in pullum anethatum. Aliter pullus}. <Pullum anethatum:> Mellis modice liquamine temperabis. {Lavas} <Levas> pullum coctum, et sabano mundo siccas, charaxas, <et ius scissuris infundis, ut combibat: et cum combiberit, assabis, et suo sibi iure pinnis tangis>, piper asperges, et inferes.*

Pullus Parthicus¹⁵¹⁹. *Pullum aperies a navi (de hac parte alibi¹⁵²⁰ nostram aperuimus sententiam) et in quadrato ornas: teres piper, ligusticum, carei modicum, suffundis liquamen, vino temperas, componis in cumana pullum, et condituram super pullum facies: laser, et vinum {inter illas} <in tepida>¹⁵²¹ dissolvis, et in pullum mittis simul, et coques, piper asperges, et inferes.*

Apicius* - In another manner, a stuffed little fava beans soup, that is chicken or piggy cooked with fava beans*: *You bone the chicken from the breast, join its straightened legs, fix with a skewer and prepare the ingredients, and you will arrange alternatively washed peas, brains, Lucanian sausages* and so on: you will mince pepper, lovage*, oregano* and ginger*. Sprinkle sauce of fish and blend raisin wine. Bring to the boil and when it is boiling you cook on a slow heat, and when you will have seasoned the ingredients, arrange them alternatively in the chicken, cover with the omentum and place in a cover and put in oven so that they cook slowly, and dish.*

Still in his treatise in another chapter you can read the following recipes. RAW BROTH IN BOILED CHICKEN. *You will put in a mortar dill seed*, dried mint*, root of silphium*, sprinkle vinegar, add date: pour sauce of fish, a little mustard* and oil: season with cooked wine and so dish. CHICKEN WITH DILL: you will season with a little honey and sauce of fish. Take a cooked chicken and dry it with a clean linen, make incisions, and put broth in the cuts so that it becomes soaked and when it became impregnated you will roast it and with feathers brush it with its juice, sprinkle pepper and dish.*

PARTHIAN* CHICKEN. *You will open the chicken starting from belly (about this part I explained my point of view elsewhere) and arrange it in a square shape: you will mince pepper, lovage, a little caraway seeds*, sprinkle sauce of fish, add wine, arrange the chicken in an earthenware of Cuma* and pour the seasoning over the chicken: dissolve silphium and wine warming up them and put them together in the chicken, and let cook, sprinkle with pepper and dish.*

¹⁵¹⁷ Apicio *De re coquinaria* V,4,6: Aliter conchicla: conchiclatus pullus vel porcellus: exossas pullum a pectore, femora eius iungis in porrectum, surculo alligas, et impensam [conchicla farsilis] paras. et facies alternis pisam lotam, cerebella, lucanicas et cetera. teres {piper,} ligusticum, origanum et zingiber, liquamen suffundis, passo et vino temperabis. facies ut ferueat, et, cum ferbuerit, mittis modice. et impensam cum condieris, alternis in pullo componis, omento tegis et in operculo deponis et in furnum mittis, ut coquantur paulatim, et inferes. (www.fh-augsburg.de) § Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 387-388*: Aliter conchicla farsilis, sive conchiclatus pullus vel porcellus: Exossas pullum a pectore, femora eius iungis in porrectum, surculo alligas, et impensam paras, et facies alternis pisam lotam, [388] cerebella, lucanicas, et caetera, teres piper, ligusticum, origanum et zingiber. liquamen suffundis, passo et vino temperabis. facies ut ferueat. et cum ferbuerit, mittis modice et pisam cum condieris, alternis in pullo componis, omento tegis, et in operculo deponis, et in furnum mittis ut coquantur paulatim, et inferes.

¹⁵¹⁸ *De re coquinaria* VI,9,1.a.-1.b.: 1.a. In pullo elixo ius crudum: adiciis in mortarium anethi semen, mentam siccam, laseris radicem, suffundis acetum, adiciis caryotam, refundis liquamen, sinapis modicum et oleum, defrito temperas et sic mittis. - 1.b. Pullum anethatum: mellis modice, liquamine temperabis. levas pullum coctum et sabano mundo siccas, charaxas et ius scissuris infundis, ut combibat, et cum combiberit, assabis et suo sibi iure pinnis tangis. piper aspersum inferes. (www.fh-augsburg.de) § Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 388*: In pullo elixo ius crudum. Adiciis in mortarium anethi semen, mentam siccam, laseris radicem: suffundis acetum: adiciis caryotam: refundis liquamen, sinapis modicum et oleum: defruto temperas, et sic mittis in pullum, anethatum. Aliter pullus. Mellis modice, liquamine temperabis. {Lavas} <Levas> pullum coctum, et sabano mundo siccas, charaxas, et ius scissuris infundis, ut combibat: et cum combiberit, assabis, et suo sibi iure {pertangis} <pinnis tangis>, piper asperges et inferes.

¹⁵¹⁹ VI,9,2.

¹⁵²⁰ A pagina 196*.

¹⁵²¹ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 388*: laser et vinum inter illas dissolvis,[...] - www.fh-augsburg.de: laser [et] vivum in tepida dissolvis,[...].

Pullus oxyzomus¹⁵²²: *Olei acetabulum maiorem satis modice, liquaminis acetabulum minorem, aceti acetabulum perquam minorem, piperis scrupulos sex<,> petroselinum, porri fasciculum.*

Pullus laseratus¹⁵²³. *Aperies a navi, lavabis, ornabis, et in cumana ponis: teres piper, ligusticum, {laser, vinum} <laser vivum>¹⁵²⁴, suffundis liquamen: vino, et liquamine temperabis, et mittis pullum: coctus si fuerit piperem aspersum inferes.*

Pullus elixus cum cucurbitis elixis¹⁵²⁵. *Iure suprascripto addito sinapi perfundis, et inferes.*

Pullus elixus cum colocasiis elixis¹⁵²⁶: *Suprascripto iure perfundis, et inferes.*

{Facit} <Facis>¹⁵²⁷ et in elixum cum olivis colymbadibus non valde (impletum) ita ut laxamentum habeat, nec dissiliat dum coquitur in olla: submissum in sportellam cum bullierit, frequenter lavas, et ponis, ne dissiliat.

Pullus Varianus¹⁵²⁸ (a Vario¹⁵²⁹ Heliogabalo fortassis, alias Vardanus) *Pullum coque iure hoc: liquamine, oleo, vino, fasciculum porri, coriandri, satureiae, cum {con}coctus¹⁵³⁰ fuerit, teres piper, nucleos cyathi {i}os duos, et ius de suo sibi suffundis, et fasciculos proijcies, lacte temperas, et reexinanes in mortarium supra pullum, ut ferveat: obligas cum albamentis ovorum tritis, ponis in lance, et iure supradicto perfundis. Hoc ius candidum appellatur.*

Pullus Frontonianus¹⁵³¹. *Pullum praedura<,> condies liquamine oleo mixto, cui mittis fasciculum anethi, porri, satureiae, et coriandri viridis, et coques, ubi coctus fuerit, levabis< >eum<,> in lance{,} {de fruto} <defruto> perfundes, piper asperges, et inferes.*

Pullus tractogalatus¹⁵³² (a {tracte} <tracta>¹⁵³³, et lacte quibus condiebatur, ut Humelbergius

CHICKEN IN HOT SAUCE: *A rather large acetabulum - goblet for vinegar - of oil in restrained quantity, a smaller acetabulum of fish sauce, a further smaller acetabulum of vinegar, six scruples [around 7 g] of pepper, parsley, a posy of leek*.*

CHICKEN WITH SILPHIUM: *You will open it starting from belly, then wash it, garnish and put it in an earthenware of Cuma: mince pepper, lovage, fresh silphium, sprinkle sauce of fish: you will season it with wine and fish sauce, and cook the chicken: when cooked, after a sprinkling of pepper dish it.*

BOILED CHICKEN WITH BOILED PUMPKINS. *After aforesaid broth has been added, pour on mustard and dish.*

BOILED CHICKEN WITH BOILED TAROS*: *Pour the aforesaid broth on it and dish.*

You can also boil it, not too much (stuffed) with marinated olives so that there is some empty room and it doesn't break while cooking in pot: placed in a small basket after had boiled, you wash it several times and put it back so that it doesn't break.

CHICKEN À LA VARIUS (perhaps from Varius Heliogabalus*, otherwise called à la Vardane*): *Boil the chicken in this broth: sauce of fish, oil, wine, a posy of leek, coriander*, savory*, when cooked you will mince pepper, two cyathi [100 ml] of nut's kernels, and sprinkle it with its broth and you will throw away the posies, sweeten with milk, and you will drain it again in a mortar as well as the chicken so that it gets boiling: blend with beaten egg white, place in a tray and sprinkle with the aforesaid broth. This broth is said candid.*

CHICKEN À LA FRONTO [Marcus Cornelius Fronto?]*: *Let a chicken grow hard, you will season it with fish sauce mixed with oil adding a posy of dill, leek, savory and green coriander, and cook, when cooked take it out, in a tray sprinkle it with cooked wine, scatter pepper and dish.*

CHICKEN WITH MILK (*tractogalatus* from *tracta*, puff pastry, and *lac*, milk, by which it was seasoned, as

¹⁵²² VI,9,3.

¹⁵²³ VI,9,5.

¹⁵²⁴ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium III* (1555) pag. 388*: ligusticum, laser, vinum:[...] - www.fh-augsburg.de: laser vivum, [...].

¹⁵²⁵ VI,9,9.

¹⁵²⁶ VI,9,10.

¹⁵²⁷ VI,9,11. - www.fh-augsburg.de: Facis et in elixa[...]. - Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium III* (1555) pag. 388*: {Facit} <Facis> et in elixum cum olivis colymbadibus non valde (impletum,) ita ut laxamentum habeat, ne dissiliat dum coquitur in olla: submissum in sportellam cum bullierit, frequenter lavas et ponis ne dissiliat.

¹⁵²⁸ VI,9,12.

¹⁵²⁹ Lampridio* *Elagabalus* o *Heliogabalus* (Marcus Aurelius Antoninus) I.1: Vitam Heliogabali Antonini, qui Varius etiam dictus est,[...]

¹⁵³⁰ www.fh-augsburg.de & Conrad Gessner: ... cum coctus fuerit...

¹⁵³¹ VI,9,13. - www.fh-augsburg.de: ubi coctus fuerit, levabis eum, in lance defruto...

¹⁵³² VI,9,14.

¹⁵³³ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium III* (1555) pag. 388*: Pullus tractogalatus, (a tracta et lacte quibus condiebatur, Humelbergius.)

exponit). *Pullum coques liquamine, oleo, vino cui mittis fasciculum coriandri, caepam: deinde cum coctus fuerit, levabis eum de iure suo, et mittis in cacabum novum lac, et salem modicum: mel, et aquae minimum, id est tertiam partem, ponis ad ignem lentum, ut tepescat: tractum confringis, et mittis paulatim, assidue agitas, ne uratur, pullum illic mittis integrum, vel carptum, versabis in lance, quem perfundes iure tali: piper, ligusticum, origanum: suffundis mel, et defrutum modicum, et ius de suo sibi temperas in cacabulo: facies, ut bulliat: cum bullierit, amylo obligas, et inferes.*

Pullus farsilis¹⁵³⁴. *Pullum sic, ne aliquid in eo remaneat, a cervice expedis, teres piper, ligusticum, Zinziber, pulpam caesam, alicam elixam, teres cerebellum ex iure coctum: ova confringis, et commisces, ut unum corpus efficias, liquamine temperas, et oleum modice mittis, piper integrum, nucleos abundantes, fac impensam, ac imple pullum, vel procellum ita ut laxamentum habeat. Similiter et in capo facies. Accipies pullum, et ornas, ut supra: aperis illum a pectore, et omnibus eiectis coques.*

Pullus {L}<l>eucozomus¹⁵³⁵. *Accipias aquam, et oleum Hispanum abundans, agitur, ut ex se ambulet, et humorem consumat; postea cum coctus fuerit, quodcunque olei remanserit, inde levas, piper asperges, et inferes.*

Haec omnia Apicius, qui etiam quod omiseram, primum haec scripserat. *In Isicia de pullo¹⁵³⁶: Olei floris libra una, liquaminis quartarium, piperis semuncia. Aliter de pullo¹⁵³⁷. Piperis grana triginta, et unum conteres, mittis liquaminis optimi calicem, {caraeni} <caroeni> tantundem, aquae XI. mittes, et ad vaporem ignis pones{:}<.>*

Isicia¹⁵³⁸ de Pavo primum locum habent, ita si fricta fuerint, ut callum vincant: secundum Isicia de Phasianis, tertium de cuniculis, quartum de pullis.

Aliter¹⁵³⁹ (Isicium amylatum). *Ossicula de pullis expromas, deinde mittis in cacabum porros, anethum, salem, cum cocta fuerint, addes piper, apii semen, deinde orindam (forte oryzam cuius, et paulo ante meminerat in simili Isicio amy lato. Sed Humelbergius ex Hesychio orindam*

Gabriel Hummelberg* explains): *Let cook a chicken in fish sauce, oil, wine, to which you add a posy of coriander, some onion*: then when cooked you will remove it from its broth and place milk in a new pot and a little bit of salt: simmer honey and a very little bit of water, that is the third part, so that it tepesies: crumble puff pastry and add it bit by bit, stir frequently so that it doesn't burn, place the chicken whole or asunder, transfer it in a tray and sprinkle it with the following sauce: pepper, lovage, oregano: pour honey and a little bit of cooked wine, and sweeten its broth in a pot: bring it to the boil: when boiling blend with starch* and dish.*

STUFFED CHICKEN: *You will prepare the chicken starting from the neck so that nothing remains in it, mince pepper, lovage, ginger, chopped meat, boiled emmer*, mince the brain cooked in broth: break some eggs and mix them until an unique mass is done, season them with fish sauce and put a little bit of oil, entire pepper, abundant nut's kernels, prepare a stuffing and fill the chicken or the piggy so that it has an empty room. Likewise you will do also in the capon. You will take the chicken and garnish it as said before: you will open it starting from breast and will cook it after what is inside has been removed.*

CHICKEN IN WHITE SAUCE: *You have to take water and plenty of Spanish oil, it is shaken so that it flows alone and hides the water; then, when cooked, whatever quantity of oil will be there, you remove it from there, sprinkle it with pepper and dish.*

Apicius provides all these recipes, who in first place also wrote what follows and which I omitted. SAUSAGES OF CHICKEN: *A pound [327.45 g] of best oil, a fourth of sextarius [125 ml] of fish sauce, one-half ounce [13.64 g] of pepper. ANOTHER KIND OF SAUSAGES OF CHICKEN: You will mince thirty-one grains of pepper, add a goblet of best fish sauce and the same of cooked wine, you will pour eleven goblets of water and will place on the smoke of a fire.*

The sausages of peacock have the top position if fried so as to lose hardness: the second place belongs to pheasant sausages, the third to those of rabbit, the fourth to those of chicken.*

Another recipe (SAUSAGE WITH STARCH): *You have to remove the little bones from chickens, then put in a pot leeks, dill, salt, when cooked you will add pepper, fennel seed*, then mince brewed orinda (perhaps oryza - rice - which he had also mentioned shortly before in a quite similar sausage with starch. But Gabriel Hummelberg,*

¹⁵³⁴ VI,9,15.

¹⁵³⁵ VI,9,16.

¹⁵³⁶ II,2,3.

¹⁵³⁷ II,2,4.

¹⁵³⁸ II,2,6.

¹⁵³⁹ II,2,9.

interpretatur semen simile sesamae, etc.) *infusam teres: addes liquamen, et passum, vel defrutum, omnia misces, et cum isiciis inferes.*

Dipnosophistis apud Athenaeum¹⁵⁴⁰ Gallus cum oxyliparo apponitur. Γαλεούς και βατίδας ὅσα τε τῶν γενῶν ἐν ὀξύλιπάρῳ τρίμματι σκευάζεται, inquit ibi Timocles comicus {>} <.> Est autem forte oxyliparum trimma¹⁵⁴¹ seu condimentum idem, aut simile quale supra in pullo {oryzomo} <oxyzomo> Apicius descripsit, quod conficitur aceto, liquamine, et oleo, quae lipara, id est pinguis sunt. Sed Hermolaus, sese invenisse, ait, oxyliparon genus esse iuris, in quo raiae, et caeteri eius naturae pisces mandi soleant.

Egregia quaedam condimenta pro pullis coctis describit Antonius Guainerius¹⁵⁴² <in> capite de restaurando appetitu.

Pullus in agresta. Pullum cum salita carne decoquito: ubi semicoctus fuerit grana uvae, sublatis e medio vinaceis, in cacabum ferventem indito: [297] petroselinum, et mentham minutatim concidito, piper, et crocum in pulverem conterito. Haec omnia in cacabum, ubi pullastra cocta fuerit, coniiicito, et patinam statim facito. Hoc obsonio nihil salubrius. Admodum {>} enim alit<,> facile concoquitur, stomacho, cordi, hepatis, renibus convenit, ac bilem reprimat, ex Platina¹⁵⁴³.

Et mox¹⁵⁴⁴: Pullus assus: Pullum bene depilatum, exinanitum, et lotum assabis. Asso, atque in

inferring from Hesychius of Alexandria*, translates with *orinda* a seed similar to sesame, etc.): *you will add fish sauce and raisin or boiled wine, mix all this and dish with sausages.*

In Athenaeus* a rooster with vinegar and oil is served to Dipnosophists. Here Timocles* the comic poet says: *Galeoús kai batídas hōsa te tōn genōn en oxylipáro, trimmati skeuázetai.* - *Sharks and rays and quite a lot of subjects of this kind are prepared in a sauce piquant and fat.* For perhaps the *oxyliparum* is the *trimma* or seasoning, alike or similar to that Apicius described before in chicken with piquant sauce, which is made with vinegar, fish sauce and oil, which are *lipara*, that is fat. But Ermolao Barbaro* says he found that *oxyliparon* is a kind of juice in which usually rays and other fishes of this kind are eaten.

Antonio Guainerio* describes certain excellent condiments for boiled chickens under the chapter of restoring the appetite.

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CHICKEN IN VERJUICE*. Cook the chicken with salty flesh for a long time: when it is half cooked, put in the hot pot some grape-seeds taken from the center of marcs: chop up properly parsley and mint, grind pepper and saffron*. Throw all these ingredients in the pot where meanwhile the pullet has cooked, and immediately prepare a course. Nothing is more healthful than this food. For it is extremely nourishing, is easily digested, is good for stomach, heart, liver, kidneys, and suppresses anger. Drawn from Platina*.

And soon after: ROAST CHICKEN: You will roast a well plucked, emptied and washed chicken. When

¹⁵⁴⁰ Liber 8. (Aldrovandi) - Si tratta in realtà del libro IX,34,385a. § Giustamente Lind (1963) dà questa referenza - 9.385 - e sottolinea che *gallus* è un qui pro quo: il testo greco dice *Galeoús*, che è l'accusativo plurale di *galeós*, il pescecane. § L'errore della citazione proviene, come è ovvio, da Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium III* (1555) pag. 388*: Gallus cum oxyliparo apponitur Dipnosophistis apud Athenaeum lib. 8. [...] idem aut simile quale supra in pullo oxyzomo Apicius descripsit,[...].

¹⁵⁴¹ Il sostantivo greco neutro *trimma* - da *tribo*, trebbiare, tritare - è una cosa logorata, una raschiatura, una salsa, frammenti di qualcosa.

¹⁵⁴² L'errore della citazione proviene, come è ovvio, da Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium III* (1555) pag. 389*: Egregia quaedam condimenta pro pullis coctis describit Ant. Gainerius in capite de restaurando appetitu.

¹⁵⁴³ *De honesta voluptate* liber 6 cap. 16. (Aldrovandi). Il riferimento è tratto da Conrad Gessner. - In *Libellus platine de honesta voluptate ac valitudine*, Bononiae, per Johannem Antonium Platonidem, 1499, questa ricetta si trova al capitolo 15.

¹⁵⁴⁴ *De honesta voluptate* liber 6 cap. 17. (Aldrovandi). Il riferimento è tratto da Conrad Gessner. - In *Libellus platine de honesta voluptate ac valitudine*, Bononiae, per Johannem Antonium Platonidem, 1499, questa ricetta si trova al capitolo 16. § Aldrovandi manco l'ha visto il testo di Platina. Ha visto solo quello di Conrad Gessner, che invece del platiniano *refrigerat* ha l'inesistente *refrigeat*. *Historia animalium III* (1555) pag. 389*: Et mox cap. 17. Pullus assus. Pullum bene depilatum, exinanitum et lotum assabis. asso, atque in patinam imposito, antequam refrige<r>at, aut succum mali medici, aut agrestam cum aqua rosacea, saccaro ac cinnamo bene trito infundes, convivisque appones. Hoc Bucino non displicet, qui acria (acida) simul ac dulcia appetit, ut bilem reprimat et corpus obeset. § Conviene aggiungere che Aldrovandi manco deve aver fatto ricerche di cucina. Cita tutto quello che cita Gessner e basta, citando perciò - e ricitando - il tedesco Baltasar Staindl*, tralasciando invece insigni italiani. Manco gli è passato per l'anticamera del cervello di riportare qualche ricetta di Bartolomeo Scappi*, presunto Bolognese, conosciuto all'estero e non solo in Italia. Questo suggerimento mi è stato fornito da una persona competente, Marie Josèphe Moncorgé, in una e-mail del 16 settembre 2005: Le

patinam imposito, antequam refrige<r>at, aut succum mali medici¹⁵⁴⁵, aut agrestam cum aqua rosacea, saccaro, ac cinnamomo bene trito infundes convivisque appones. Hoc Bucino¹⁵⁴⁶ non displicet, qui acria (acida) simul ac dulcia appetit, ut bilem reprimat, et corpus obeset. Idem alibi¹⁵⁴⁷ praescribit quomodo paretur pastillus ex quavis carne animantis cicuris, ut vituli, Capi, Gallinae, et similia.

E pullastris pastilli ex libro Germanico Baltasaris Stendelii, ut citat Ornithologus: Pastillo confecto pullastras rite paratas membris confractis impone: et pro magnitudine pastilli tria, aut quatuor ova, addito salem, et Zinziber satis abunde. Per aestatem convenit etiam uvas passas corinthiacas addi, ut Caponibus quoque, et aliquid butyri recentis. Operculum etiam facies quale pro pastillo e Capo praescribitur, et ovis illines: horis duabus coques. Quod si frigidum habere malis, ius per foramen superius effundes, et pingui separato flatu, idem rursus affundito. Cum pulli in olla {operti} <operta>¹⁵⁴⁸ coquantur, vel assantur potius in butyro, affuso etiam vino modico cum semiassi sunt, nostri hoc genus cocturae stoffare vocant, Germani verdempffen¹⁵⁴⁹, latine forsitan suffocare dixeris, quemadmodum ova pnicata¹⁵⁵⁰, id est, suffocata Graeci efferunt.

roasted and placed in a course dish, before it cools you will pour on it either juice of an apple from Media* - of orange*, or better, of citron* -, or verjuice with rose water, syrup of cane sugar and cinnamon* well minced, and you will serve to guests. This recipe is not displeasing to Bucinus who is greedy for things which are at the same time pungent (sour) and sweet, to repress anger and fatten up the body. Still Platina elsewhere gives instructions about how to prepare a pie* based on any kind of meat from domestic animal, as calf, capon, hen and similar.

PIES OF PULLETS drawn from the book in German of Balthasar Staindl*, as the Ornithologist is quoting: After you prepared the wrap of pastry, put on it the pullets prepared as usual with disjointed limbs: and three or four eggs according to the size of pastry wrap, add salt and a fair bit of ginger*. In summer it is worthwhile to add also raisins of Corinth, as to capons too, and some fresh butter. You will also prepare a covering, as prescribed for capon pie, and sprinkle it with eggs: let cook for two hours. But if you prefer it cold, pour out the broth through the upper hole and after the fat has been separated with a blow, pour it on again. When chickens are cooked in closed pot, or when are roasted preferably in butter with also a sprinkling of a little wine when half roasted, our people call this kind of cooking *stufare* - to stew, the Germans *verdempffen*, in Latin perhaps you could say *suffocare* - to smother, as the Greeks call *pnictà* - cooked in a well closed pot - the eggs, that is, smothered.

texte d'Aldrovandi, que vous m'avez envoyé, est très intéressant, car il donne une idée des auteurs qui sont considérés comme une référence à l'époque. Je suis donc très étonnée de voir qu'Aldrovandi, après avoir fait référence à Apicius pour l'époque antique, se contente de citer Platine et Staindl pour la période médiévale/Renaissance. A-t-il seulement copié le suisse Gessner? Dans ce cas, je comprend qu'Aldrovandi cite des auteurs allemands et des mots de vocabulaire culinaire allemand. Mais s'il a fait un travail personnel, comment expliquer que le savant qui a beaucoup vécu à Bologne ne cite pas les recettes du grand cuisinier du pape et originaire de Bologne: Bartolomeo Scappi (*Opera*, 1570)? Platine fait-il plus sérieux? C'est effectivement un intellectuel et non pas un cuisinier, bien que ses recettes sont celles du cuisinier Maestro Martino, ce qu'il reconnaît d'ailleurs. Encore merci pour ce texte, très intéressant.

¹⁵⁴⁵ II,5 - DE COCTONEIS - Coctonea dici cum de malis loquimur: et non coctona. Varronis ac Plinii auctoritate manifestum est: qui coctona inter ficus commemorant. [...] mala medica: quae vulgo narantia vocamus [...]. (*Libellus platine de honesta voluptate ac valitudine*, Bononiae, per Johannem Antonium Platonidem, 1499) § Probabilmente si tratta di un *qui pro quo* di Platina. La *narantia* dovrebbe etimologicamente corrispondere all'arancia*, mentre il *malum medicum* fin dai tempi dei Romani corrispondeva al cedro*. Siccome per Platina il *malum medicum* è l'arancia e prescrive una spremuta di *mali medici*, è giocoforza tradurlo con arancia, anche se un antico Romano avrebbe inteso una spremuta di cedro.

¹⁵⁴⁶ La notizia è derivata da Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 389*, che a sua volta la deduce dal Platina: Hoc Bucino non displicet, qui acria (acida) simul ac dulcia appetit, ut bilem reprimat et corpus obeset. - It is difficult to determine whether this name is a mistake by Aldrovandi [by Platina!!!] for Dominicus Bucius, who wrote *Quaesita III Medicinalia, juxta Hippocratis, et Galeni mentem examinata* (ed. by A. Bucci, Venice, 1551; another ed., Leyden, 1577). A certain Bucinense (Niccolò degli Angeli) edited the *Scriptores Rei Rusticae* (Florence, 1515, 1521), but he is probably not referred to here. (Lind, 1963) § Niccolò Angeli, detto Angelo Buccinese, insigne latinista del XVI secolo, di Bùcine in provincia di Arezzo, nel Valdarno di Sopra.

¹⁵⁴⁷ *De honesta voluptate* liber 6 cap. 9. (Aldrovandi). - In *Libellus platine de honesta voluptate ac valitudine*, Bononiae, per Johannem Antonium Platonidem, 1499, questa ricetta si trova al capitolo 10.

¹⁵⁴⁸ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 389*: Cum pulli in olla operta coquantur, vel assantur potius in butyro, [...].

¹⁵⁴⁹ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 389*.

¹⁵⁵⁰ L'aggettivo greco *pniktós* significa soffocato, strangolato, cotto in vaso ben chiuso, stufato.

Sunt qui uvarum acinos cum pullo in olla operta coquant: deinde conterunt<,> exprimunt, et rursus ad pullum affundunt cum butyro{:}<.> Et rursus: Pullos rite paratos in ollam inde: vinum, et ius carniū affunde, cum modico {sale} <salis¹⁵⁵¹>, et aromatici pollinis crocei: quod si iusculum crassius desideras, segmenta duo panis albi tosta bullienti iuri iniicito, cum ferbuerint, extractis una cum iecore tritis exprimito succum colando per aromaticum pollinem, et rursus affundito, et perfecte coqui sinito. Sunt qui limonum segmenta cum pullis elixant, quae deinde iis, cum inferuntur, imponunt.

Cibarium contusum: Gallinam, vel Caponem percoquito, donec carnes bene mollescant, et in pila pulpam una cum ossibus contunde: quod si parum carnis fuerit, licebit etiam segmenta albissimi panis simul contere. Tum una cum iure omnia per aeneum vas colatorium exprimes, modicum generosi vini, et croci, aromatumque quantum satis videbitur, adiciēs, et coques aliquandiu, cum inferre volueris panem tostum subiicies, interdum ova extra testam in aqua cocta impones. Reliquias etiam Gallinarum, et Caponum a mensa, carnes scilicet cum ossibus aliqui contundunt, et ferculum parant: cui nonnulli elixum hepar agninum contusum adiciunt. Hic cibus puerperis, et iis qui venam secuerint, convenit, ex ante dicto Stendelio.

In pastillum Gallinaceum ex Platina¹⁵⁵²: Cristas pullorum trifariam, iecuscula quadrifariam dividito: testiculos integros relinquito, laridum tessellatim concidito, nec tundito: duas aut tres uncias vitulini adipis <minutatim concidito>, <aut loco adipis>¹⁵⁵³ medullam bubulam, aut vitulinam addito. Zinziberis, cinnami, sacchari, quantum satis erit sumito. Haecque omnia cum cerasis acribus (acidis) ac siccis ad quadraginta misceto, inditoque in pastillum ad id apte ex farina subacta factum. In furno, aut <sub textu>¹⁵⁵⁴ in foco decoqui potest. Semicoctum ubi fuerit, duo vitellos ovorum disfractos, modicum croci, et agrestae superinfundes.

Ius Gallinaceum cum amygdalis: Cape tibi

There are some people cooking grapes along with the chicken in a pot closed with cover: then they crush, squeeze and pour them again on the chicken with butter. And another recipe of Balthasar Staindl: Put inside a pot the chickens prepared as usual: add wine and meats' broth with some salt and aromatic flour of saffron: but if you desire a more fat little broth put in the broth when boiling two toasted slices of white bread, when they come to the boil, after they have been taken out and minced with the liver, squeeze the juice and strain it through the aromatic flour, and put it back in the pot, and let it cook properly. There are some people cooking slices of lemon with chickens and then put slices on them when are served.

CRUSHED DISH: Cook a hen or a capon for a long time until the meats are quite soft and crush the pulp with the bones in a mortar: but if there is little meat it is possible to crush together some chunks of very white bread. Then strain the whole along with the broth through a bronze sieve, you will add some good wine, and a quantity of saffron and spices you think enough, and you will cook for some time, and when you will serve, place beneath toasted bread, sometimes you will place over shelled eggs cooked in water. Some also crush leftovers of hens and capons, that is, bones with meat, and prepare a course: to which some add lamb's liver boiled and crushed. This food is suitable for those who have just born a child and for those who have been bled. From aforesaid Balthasar Staindl.

FOR A CHICKEN'S PIE drawn from Platina: Divide in three parts the combs of the chickens and their livers in four parts: keep the testicles entire, cut up the lard into small squares and do not pound it: cut up into small morsels two or three ounces [around 50-75 g] of calf fat, or in place of fat add marrow of ox or calf. Take as much as enough of ginger, cinnamon and sugar. And mix all these things with about forty sour (acid) and dry cherries, and put them in a suitable wrap of pastry made with kneaded flour. This can be cooked in oven or on fire under a dish towel. When it is half cooked pour on two beaten egg yolks, some saffron and verjuice.

BROTH OF CHICKEN WITH ALMONDS: Take half a

¹⁵⁵¹ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 389*: Et rursus ad idem, Pullos rite paratos in ollam inde, vinum et ius carniū affunde, cum modico salis et aromatici pollinis crocei.

¹⁵⁵² *De honesta voluptate* liber 6 cap. 38. (Aldrovandi). Il riferimento è tratto da Conrad Gessner. - In *Libellus platine de honesta voluptate ac valiitudine*, Bononiae, per Johannem Antonium Platonidem, 1499, questa ricetta si trova al capitolo 37.

¹⁵⁵³ Il testo emendato è presente sia in Gessner che in Platina.

¹⁵⁵⁴ Il testo emendato è presente sia in Gessner che in Platina.

selibram amygdalarum, tres ovorum vitellos exiguos, iecuscula Gallinarum, panis e simila ad modum duorum ovorum, cremae lactis, quantum semiobolo emitur, ius Gallinae veteris perfecte coctum. Tum amygdalas contusas cum iure percolando exprime, et da. Vel pone prius in iure sic parato pullum prius coctum, et modice simul effervere sinito, ut densiusculum fiat, et modicum cinnamomi<,> {cariophyllorum} <caryophyllorum>¹⁵⁵⁵, salisque addito. Balthasar Stendelius.

Ex eodem ius viride pro Gallina, aut Pullo. Pyret<h>ro, samsucho, petroselino minutatim dissectis vinum affunde, simul agita, {saccarum} <saccaron>, et aromatis aliquid adde, et affunde iuri, in quo Gallina cocta est, nec amplius coquito, ne color viridis evanescat. Conditura pro Gallinis elixis: Gallinam elixam integram, vel in partes divisam, bene purgatam in ollam inde, permodicum aquae affunde cum paucis vino dulci, et butyri modicum adde, et pollinis aromaticis nonnihil de macere¹⁵⁵⁶, cinnamomo, {cariophyllis} <caryophyllis>. Cura diligenter <ne>¹⁵⁵⁷ diutius ad ignem maneat hoc ferculum, fit enim prorsus inutile. Tolles cum ad russum colorem Gallina vergit, et ius mediocre habet. Si dulce placuerit, {saccarum} <saccaron> per se, vel cum aromatibus adiciis.

Aliud edulium de pullis vel Capis cum pane tosto etc. ex eodem. Ipse Germanice vocat Plutzte hu<e>ner. Pullos, aut Capos assos frustatim dissectos saccharo cum aromatibus condies, ac vino dulci perfundes, imponesque segmentis e pane albo tostis eodem vino dulci madentibus: frigidum impones.

Condimentum, quo Gallina, vel pullus farcitur. Iecur, et ventriculum e Gallina manu diligenter eximes, ita ne quid frangas. Haec minutatim concisa cum ovo permisce, et croceum [298] colorem adde, si placet: addes et olus viride

pound [around 160 g] of almonds, three small egg's yolks, hen's livers, extra fine bread corresponding to two eggs, as much as milk cream can be brought with half an obol*, broth of old hen properly boiled. Then squeeze the almonds minced with the broth filtering them through a strainer, and serve. Or firstly place in the broth thus prepared a previously boiled chicken, and let them boil together a little bit so that it becomes a bit more concentrated and add a little cinnamon, clove* and salt. Balthasar Staindl.

A GREEN BROTH FOR A HEN OR A YOUNG CHICKEN, drawn from Balthasar Staindl. After Roman pellitory* - or Mount Atlas daisy, marjoram* and parsley have been finely grinded, pour wine over them, shake them jointly, add sugar and some spice, and pour in the broth in which the hen has cooked, and don't cook her any further lest the green color disappears. SEASONING FOR BOILED HENS: Place in a pot an entire boiled hen or divided asunder and well polished up, pour very little water with little sweet wine and add some butter and a little bit of aromatic powder gotten from nutmeg* or mace, cinnamon and cloves. Avoid carefully that this course remains too much time on fire, for it becomes quite unusable. You will remove it from fire when the hen is verging on red and has little broth. If you like it sweet, add sugar alone or with spices.

Again from Balthasar Staindl ANOTHER FOOD MADE WITH CHICKENS OR CAPONS WITH TOASTED BREAD ETC. He in German calls it *plutzte huener*. Season roasted and cut asunder chickens or capons with sugar along with spices and sprinkle them with sweet wine and place them on toasted slices of white bread soaked in the same sweet wine: you will serve cold.

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SEASONING BY WHICH A HEN OR A CHICKEN ARE STUFFED. With the hand you will carefully remove from the hen the liver and the gizzard so that nothing is broken. When finely cut up, mix them with an egg, and, if you wish, add a saffron* coloring: you will add

¹⁵⁵⁵ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 390*: [...] et modicum cinnamomi, caryophyllorum salisque addito, Balthasar Stendelius.

¹⁵⁵⁶ Il sostantivo greco neutro indeclinabile *máker* oppure *mákeir* indica in Dioscoride* l'arillo profumato della noce moscata* (Lorenzo Rocci). Arillo è l'involucro che si sviluppa attorno all'ovulo dei vegetali a partire dal funicolo, di aspetto generalmente carnoso e che permane ad avvolgere il seme, in parte o completamente, come per esempio quello rosso, ricco di sostanze zuccherine del tasso* o albero della morte, *Taxus baccata*. § In latino il vocabolo greco suona *macir* in Plinio *Naturalis historia* XII,32: Et *macir* ex India advehitur, cortex rubens radice magnae, nomine arboris suae. § Pierandrea Mattioli* fa una lunga disquisizione a proposito dell'identificazione sia del *máker* di Dioscoride che dell'equivalente *macir* di Plinio, ma per brevità accettiamo quanto riferito da Lorenzo Rocci, e accettiamo *macere* invece di *macir*, in quanto *macer* viene declinato da Mattioli come sostantivo latino maschile. § In italiano *macir* si è trasformato in *macis*, che è il nome commerciale dell'involucro carnoso - dell'arillo - che avvolge il seme della noce moscata: da fresco ha colore rosso vivo e diventa giallo rossastro quand'è essiccato.

¹⁵⁵⁷ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 390*: Cura diligenter ne diutius ad ignem maneat hoc ferculum.

contusum, vel uvas passas minores, his immissis pollinem aromaticum affundes, et ventre<m>¹⁵⁵⁸ Gallinae religabis, eamque in olla coques eo genere, quod suffucationem vocant. Caeterum pro Gallina assanda, condimentum hoc in patella mixtum cum ovo subiges, et in ventrem immittes. Idem.

Aliqui Gallinam pullam in optimo vino albo {descoquant} <discoquant¹⁵⁵⁹>, et dissolutam coctione diutina exprimunt, colantque ius, et cum ovi vitello ad ignem miscent. Hac sorbitione prostratas aegrorum vires mirifice restaurari aiunt. Athenaeus¹⁵⁶⁰ meminit porcelli dimidia parte assi, et dimidia elixi, fartique Turdis, ac ventriculis Gallinaceis. Prandia apud Gallos elixas Gallinas accipiunt, {coenae} <caenae> assatas. Proceres ganeae brumalibus diebus edendas iubent. Vulgus a mense Februario appellat Februarinas, quibus nullam aliam escam anteponit. Alii toto anno in cibatu eas apponunt. Verum et in his, ut in caeteris animantibus ratio temporis est habenda. Franciscus Alvarez¹⁵⁶¹ a {Praesbitero} <Presbytero> Iano narrat appositas Gallinas, quarum caro simul cum ossibus pelle exuta erat, et variis delicatis aromatibus impleta, et tanto artificio iterum concinnatas, ut nullibi rupturae locus, aut vestigium appareret.

Admonet Nicolaus Massa, ut in omnibus Gallinarum apparatus modicum quid salis adhibeatur, quoniam ita sapidiores sint, et citius in ventriculum descendant. Illud etiam obiter admonitum velim nucem pullo inclusam illum longe celerius coqui facere, ut Corn. Agrippa memoriae prodidit: quod si verum est, (possit autem quispiam absque noxa ulla experiri) egregiam saepe in inopinato amicorum adventu utilitatem praestaret. Si vis, ut pullus saltet in

as well crushed kale, or small raisin; after these ingredients have been placed you will scatter spice dust and stitch up the belly of the hen and cook her in a pot in the fashion they call stewed, i.e. smothered. Moreover, to make a roast hen, mix in a frying pan this seasoning blended with an egg and you will put it in the belly. Still Balthasar Staindl*.

Some people cook properly a young hen in excellent white wine, and squeeze her when crumbled with a long cooking, and strain the broth and mix it on fire with an egg yolk. They say that by this drink are marvelously restored the prostrate energies of sick people. Athenaeus* quotes the piglet half roast, half boiled and stuffed with thrushes* and chicken's gizzards. Among French people at lunches they accept boiled hens, at suppers the roast ones. Tavern's managers require that they are eaten in winter days. The common people call them *Februarins* from February month, and they don't put any other food before these hens. Others put them in the menu during the whole year. In truth also for these as well as for other animals the season must be taken into account. Francisco Álvares* relates in *Verdadeira informação do Preste João das Índias* that hens put in table, whose meat had been stripped of skin along with bones and then filled of various delicate spices, had been then arranged with such great skill that nowhere was visible an area or a trace of tearing.

Nicola Massa* advises that little salt is used in all preparations of hens, since thus they are tastier and descend more quickly along the digestive tract. In the meantime I would also give that suggestion according to which a walnut inserted in the chicken lets it cook very more quickly, as Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim* handed down: if this is true (really whoever could test this without any damage) often it would be extremely useful in the case of unexpected arrival of friends. Albertus Magnus* says: If you want

¹⁵⁵⁸ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium III* (1555) pag. 390*: [...] his immissis pollinem aromaticum affundes et ventrem gallinae religabis, [...].

¹⁵⁵⁹ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium III* (1555) pag. 390*: Aliqui gallinam pullam in optimo vino albo discoquant, [...].

¹⁵⁶⁰ Liber 9. (Aldrovandi) § *Deipnosophistai* IX 19,376c-d.

¹⁵⁶¹ Quanto riferito da Aldrovandi è contenuto nel capitolo 100 di *Verdadeira informação do Preste João das Índias*, o meglio, di *Historiale description de l'Ethiopie contenant vraye relation des terres, & pais du grand Roy, & Empereur Prete Ian* etc. edito ad Anversa nel 1558. Le pagine relative a quanto citato da Aldrovandi sono presenti nel lessico alla voce Francisco Álvares*, ma è stato tralasciato il frontespizio in quanto risulta quasi illeggibile. § Ecco la versione italiana contenuta nel I volume *Delle navigationi et viaggi* (1550) di Giovanni Battista Ramusio* - *Viaggio in Etiopia di Francesco Alvarez* (1540) CAP. C. - DELLA PRATICA CHE EBBE L'AMBASCIADORE COL PRETE SOPRA LI TAPPETI, E COME IL PRETE GLI FECE UN SOLENNE CONVITO CHE DURÒ FINO A MEZZANOTTE. - Le vivande erano fatte di diverse carni variamente acconcie quasi al modo nostro, fra le quali erano galline intiere grandi e grasse, parte lesse e parte arroste; e in altritanti piatti venivano altrettante galline che parevano quelle medesime, ma erano sole le pelli, in questo modo, che eglino avevano cavata fuori la carne e tutte l'ossa con somma diligenza, di modo che la pelle non era rotta in alcuna parte ma era tutta intera, e poi tagliata la carne sottilmente e mescolata con alcune spezierie delicate, e l'avevano di novo ripiena con essa: la quale, come è detto, era tutta intera, né vi mancava altro che il collo e li piedi dalle ginocchia in giù, né mai potemmo considerare come potessero cavar fuori la carne e l'ossa, o vero scorticarli, che non vi si vedesse rottura alcuna. Di queste mangiamo molto bene a nostro piacere, perché erano molto delicate e buone.

disco: Accipe, inquit Albertus Magnus, argentum vivum, et pulverem calaminthae, et mitte in ampullam vitream sigillatam, et illam pone intra pullum calidum: cum enim argentum vivum incalescit, movet se, et faciet ipsum saltare.

Hodie apud Indos quosdam in Socotera insula¹⁵⁶² religio est Gallinam, aut quamlibet

that a chicken dances on a dish, take quicksilver and powder of calamint* and place them in a sealed glass cruet, and put it inside the chicken when warm: for when the mercury is heated, it moves, and makes it jump.

Today among some Indians of Socotra Island* there is the religious custom of not to taste, nor least of all

¹⁵⁶² Si premette che le galline di Socotra sono assenti in tutta quanta l'*Historia animalium III* (1555) di Conrad Gessner, ma, a dirla tutta, in questo trattato di ornitologia sono assenti anche le galline della Britannia di cui parla Giulio Cesare. § Possiamo presumere che Aldrovandi abbia architettato di sana pianta questa notizia - relativa cioè al fatto che nel XVI secolo a Socotra per motivi religiosi non si mangiavano polli né qualsivoglia uccello - basandosi sulla lettera indirizzata da Andrea Corsali* il 18 settembre 1517 a Lorenzo de' Medici e contenuta nel I volume *Delle navigationi et viaggi* (1550) di Giovanni Battista Ramusio*. Presumibilmente quest'opera mastodontica di Ramusio in 3 volumi è la stessa fonte usata da Aldrovandi a proposito dei polli squartati e farciti, ma apparentemente intatti, descritti sempre nel I volume da Francisco Álvares. Da notare che per le galline della Britannia Aldrovandi cita la fonte a bordo pagina: *Liber 5 de bello Gallico*. Mentre per le galline di Socotra non dà alcuna referenza, ma è ovvio, così nessuno potrà contestarlo. Come al solito Aldrovandi ciurla nel manico, in quanto Corsali non afferma affatto in modo esplicito e inequivocabile - come invece fa Giulio Cesare per la Britannia - che a Socotra non si mangiavano polli. Corsali si limita a dire cosa mangiavano - per lo più - i pastori cristiani dell'isola: latte e burro, datteri al posto del pane, talora riso. Corsali non specifica se i pastori cristiani di Socotra allevavano bovini, oppure pecore, oppure capre, oppure tutti e tre questi tipi di animali, tutti quanti in grado di fornire latte e burro, anche se oggi preferiamo ottenerlo da latte bovino. Pare comunque che i primi mammiferi furono introdotti sull'isola solo circa 2000 anni fa e si tratta soltanto di specie domestiche come capre, pecore, asini, cammelli e mucche. Né Corsali si attarda a specificare che senz'altro anche la carne di questi animali affidati ai pastori serviva loro da alimento, ovviamente quando i soggetti erano giunti al termine della loro carriera produttiva di latte, prole e lana (e questa non certo impiegata per confezionare mantelli e maglie invernali), oppure quando i soggetti avevano un incidente e morivano o si era costretti a sopprimerli, come spesso accade. E di animali al pascolo doveva essercene una caterva, visto che i pastori "vivono di latte e butiro, che qui n'è grandissima abbondanza" Né Corsali specifica che per ridurre la carne in esubero, sia viva che macellata, magari i pastori la scambiavano con il riso che di tanto in tanto i marinai scaricavano sull'isola. Tutto ciò che abbiamo testé specificato non sta scritto, ma può venir facilmente sottinteso nell'assoluto rispetto della ragionevolezza. Credo di poter affermare - anche se Corsali non lo dice - che i pastori, oltre a latte, burro, datteri e riso, mangiavano anche la carne dei loro quadrupedi, salvo doverla sotterrare o farne dono agli avvoltoi*, magari al capovaccaio, *Neophron percnopterus*, tuttora osservabile in gruppi sull'isola. Infatti nutrirsi di carne di quadrupedi non era un'offesa a Dio, eccetto il venerdì, ammesso che i pastori cristiani di Socotra seguissero la regola dell'astinenza tanto cara alla Chiesa Cattolica. Poi, con grande disappunto dei pescivendoli, solo dal 17 febbraio 1966 la Costituzione Apostolica *Paenitemini* ha limitato l'astinenza dalle carni al mercoledì delle Ceneri, ai venerdì di Quaresima e al Venerdì Santo e ne ha consentito la sostituzione con opere di carità spirituale o corporale per gli altri venerdì dell'anno. E veniamo finalmente al pollo di Socotra. In fin dei conti, questi pastori, avrebbero avuto la possibilità di allevare polli? In teoria sì, essendo il pollo onnivoro, tanto da trangugiare avidamente anche le feci umane, ma se al posto delle feci si volesse dare ai polli delle granaglie di cui sono altrettanto ghiotti, ecco che Corsali afferma "La terra non è molto fruttifera, ma sterile e deserta com'è tutta l'Arabia Felice". Per cui agli isolani conveniva fare i pastori anziché i coltivatori di granaglie. Non coltivavano neanche il frumento* per farsi il pane, sostituito dai datteri. E non dimentichiamo che Conrad Gessner a pagina 382* di *Historia animalium III* (1555), citando Strabone*, a proposito dello Yemen* - l'*Arabia Felix* per antonomasia e posta dirimpetto a Socotra - scrive: La parte dell'Arabia rivolta verso Austro - verso sud - e che si erge dirimpetto all'Etiopia, possiede in abbondanza uccelli di ogni tipo eccetto oche e galline, Strabone. Quindi, se la fonte di Ulisse è stata la lettera di Corsali, Ulisse ha ciurlato per l'ennesima volta nel manico, e lo dimostra lo stralcio della lettera di Corsali che a noi interessa, chiudendo benevolmente un occhio sui suoi errori di botanica. Nello stralcio è oltremodo agevole accertare che i polli, contrariamente a quanto accade in Giulio Cesare, vi sono del tutto assenti. § Giovanni Battista Ramusio volume I *Delle navigationi et viaggi* (1550) - ANDREA CORSALI FIORENTINO ALLO ILLUSTRISSIMO PRINCIPE E SIGNOR IL SIGNOR DUCA LORENZO DE' MEDICI, DELLA NAVIGAZIONE DEL MAR ROSSO E SINO PERSICO SINO A COCHIN, CITTÀ NELLA INDIA, SCRITTA ALLI XVIII DI SETTEMBRE MDXVII. [...] Questa isola di Soquotora è in circuito quindici leghe, e mi pare, quando Tolomeo compose la sua *Geografia*, che era incognita appresso de' naviganti, come molt'altre per decorso del tempo per questa navigazione novamente scoperta: il che non è di maraviglia, non essendo di costume a que' tempi discostarsi molto dalla terra. Questa è abitata da pastori cristiani, che vivono di latte e butiro, che qui n'è grandissima abbondanza; il lor pane sono dattili. Nella medesima terra è alcuno riso, che d'altre parti si naviga. Sono di natura Etiopi, come i cristiani del re David, con il cappello alquanto più lungo, nero e riccio; vestono alla moresca, con un panno solamente attorno le parti vergognose, come costumano in India, Arabia ed Etiopia, massime la gente popolare. Nell'isola non vi si trova nessun signor naturale: egli è vero che le ville vicine al mare sono signoreggiate da Mori di Arabia Felice, che, per il commercio ch'essi tenevano coi detti cristiani, a poco a poco gli soggiogarono e impatronironsi. La terra non è molto fruttifera, ma sterile e deserta com'è tutta l'Arabia Felice; in essa vi sono montagne di maravigliosa grandezza, con infiniti rivi d'acqua dolce. Qui è molto sangue di drago, ch'è gomma d'un arbore il quale si genera in aperture di questi monti, non molto alto, ma grosso di gambo e di scorza delicata, e va continuamente diminuendo da basso in suso come ritonda piramide, in la punta della quale sono pochi rami, con foglie intagliate come di rovere. Di qui viene lo aloe soquoterino, dal nome dell'isola denominato. Nella costa del mare si trova molto ambracan; ancora gran quantità ne viene dell'Etiopia, da Cefala sino al capo di Guardafuni, e di questa isola dell'oceano. § Prima di procedere, vorrei sottolineare che neppure Lind (1963) è stato in grado di ipotizzare la fonte della fantasmagorica notizia sui polli di Socotra propinataci da Aldrovandi. È d'uopo procedere in quanto ulteriori ricerche nel I volume *Delle navigationi et viaggi* (1550) di Ramusio

avem contingere, nedum gustare: et Britannis olim Iulius Caesar¹⁵⁶³ testatur, nefas fuisse leporem, et Gallinam, et Anserem gustare: haec tamen alere animi voluptatisque causa. Alex. ab Alexandro¹⁵⁶⁴ vero et diis ea offerre lege vetitum ipsis fuisse scribit. Et Hippocrates¹⁵⁶⁵ eos olim, qui morbo sacro laborabant, Galli carnibus abstinere memorat.

Sed tempestivum modo est etiam aliquid de ovis dicere, quae quot modis cibos¹⁵⁶⁶ iuvent, nemini

to eat the hen or whatever bird: and, once, as Julius Caesar* testifies, for the British people it was forbidden to feed on hare, hen and goose: they raised them for pure delight. And Alessandro Alessandri* writes that by law they were banned from offering those animals even to gods. And Hippocrates* prompts that those people who before were suffering from epilepsy have to abstain from rooster meats.

But now it's time to say something also about eggs*, in regard to which nobody ignores in how many ways

mi hanno permesso innanzitutto di appurare 3 ulteriori toponimi di Socotra che vanno ad aggiungersi a Soquotora di Corsali: si tratta di Zacotora, Zocotera e Çocotora. Soprattutto ho potuto appurare che la mia affermazione sul fatto che i pastori mangiavano carne corrisponde pienamente al vero. Ma in primis, ovviamente, ho potuto appurare che mai nessuno sia prima che nel XVI secolo parlò di polli di Socotra. Come vedrete, il fatto che mangiassero carne - e davano quindi agli avvoltoi solo gli scarti - lo afferma nel 1516 Duarte o Odoardo Barbosa (Lisbona ca. 1480 - Filippine 1521) che ebbe l'onore di morire come il suo capocchia Magellano*: venne anch'egli assassinato pochi giorni dopo. Poi potrete leggere succinte notizie non alimentari relative a Zocotera tramandateci dal viaggiatore e mercante Nicolò dei Conti (Chioggia ca. 1395 - Venezia 1469) che tra il 1414 e il 1439 visitò Damasco, la Persia e l'India. Ma Nicolò dei Conti è l'unico a specificare che questi cristiani erano dei nestoriani - lui dice nestorini - cioè seguaci di Nestorio (fine IV secolo - 451), patriarca di Costantinopoli, condannato come eretico nel concilio di Efeso del 431. Nestorio rifiutò la dottrina dell'unità in Cristo della natura divina e della natura umana, sostenendo di fatto una distinzione tra il Figlio di Dio e il figlio di Maria, la quale non può essere pertanto definita Madre di Dio. § *Libro di Odoardo Barbosa portoghese* - Nel presente anno 1516 io diedi fine a scrivere il presente libro - CAPO DI FARTAS E ZACOTORA ISOLA. - In questo paese e regno è un capo detto il capo di Fartas, dove la costa torna a far la volta nel mar largo: e fra questa e quella di Guardafuni è la bocca dello stretto di Mecca, donde tutte le navi passano al mar Rosso. Fra queste due punte sono tre isole, due piccole e una grande, chiamata Zacotora: questa è isola con molte alte montagne, e abitata da gente olivastra, nominati cristiani; ma manca loro il battesimo e la dottrina cristiana, che non hanno se non il nome di cristiani, e mancò quivi la legge cristiana già molti anni, e avanti che vi navigassero Portoghesi. Dicono i Mori che questa fu già isola delle femine dette Amazoni, le quali poi per ispazio di tempo si mescolarono con gli uomini: il che in alcune cose si conosce, perciò che le donne ministrano le facultà e le governano, senza che i mariti se n'impaccino. Questi hanno linguaggio da per sé e vanno ignudi, solamente cuoprono le lor vergogne con panni di bambagio e con pelli. Hanno molte vacche e castrati e palme e dattili; le lor vettovaglie sono di carne, di latte e di dattili. In questa isola vi è molto sangue di drago e molto aloe zocoterino. In essa i Mori di Fartas fecero una fortezza, per poterla tener soggetta e far che gli abitanti di essa fossero suoi schiavi con le lor persone e con le lor facultà. Ma arrivandovi un'armata del re di Portogallo, pigliò detta fortezza dei Mori di Fartas per forza d'arme, combattendo con essi, i quali si difesero molto più gagliardamente che gli altri di quelle parti, di sorte che non si volsero mai arrendere e moriron tutti in battaglia, che nessuno di loro scampò, perché sono molto valenti e arditissimi nella guerra. Il capitano della detta armata lasciò nella fortezza gente e artiglieria, per guardarla in nome del re di Portogallo. Appresso di questa isola di Zocotora sono due altre isole di uomini olivastri e negri come Canarii, senza legge e senza dottrina, e non hanno conversazione con alcuna altra gente. In queste due isole si trova molto buono ambracan e in quantità, e molte pietre dette niccoli, di quelle che vagliono e sono stimate in la Mecca, e molto sangue di drago e aloe zocotorino, ed evvi molto bestiame, vacche e castrati. § *Viaggio di Nicolò di Conti veneziano, scritto per messer Poggio fiorentino*. - Nicolò di Conti veneziano, essendo giovane e ritrovandosi nella città di Damasco di Soria, avendo imparato la lingua arabica, se n'andò colle sue mercanzie con una carovana di mercatanti, che erano da 600, con i quali passò per l'Arabia che si domanda Petrea, dove sono gran deserti, e poi per la provincia di Caldea, insino che giunse sopra il fiume Eufrate. - DELL'ISOLA ZOCOTERA, OVE NASCE L'ALOE. - Di qui essendo ritornato di nuovo verso Calicut, se ne venne per mare ad una isola chiamata Zocotera, la quale, andando alla volta di ponente, è posta lontana da terra ferma cento miglia; ha di circuito 600 miglia. Dimorò in far questo viaggio da duo mesi. Nasce in detta isola eccellente aloe, chiamato cocotrino. La maggior parte di questa isola è abitata da cristiani nestorini. - DI DUE ISOLE, IN UNA DELLE QUALI SEPARATAMENTE VIVONO GLI UOMINI, NELL'ALTRA LE DONNE; E DELL'EFFETTO CHE CAUSA L'INDISPOSIZIONE DI QUELL'AERE. - In fronte di questa isola, non più di cinque miglia lontano, vi sono due isole, distanti l'una dall'altra trenta miglia, in una delle quali abitano solamente uomini, nell'altra donne. Alcuna volta vanno gli uomini all'isola delle donne, e similmente le donne a quella degli uomini, e sono stretti e necessitati, avanti che compino tre mesi, di partirsi e ciascuno tornare alla sua isola, perché, contrafacendo e stando più del tempo determinato, la disposizione del cielo e dell'aere gli fa morire immediate.

¹⁵⁶³ Liber 5 de bello Gallico. (Aldrovandi) - *Commentarii de bello Gallico* V,12,6: Leporem et gallinam et anserem gustare fas non putant; haec tamen alunt animi voluptatisque causa.

¹⁵⁶⁴ L.3 c. 12. § Questa è la concisa referenza di Aldrovandi che non specifica di quale opera trattasi. Infatti l'Alessandri scrisse: *Genialium dierum libri sex; Dissertationes quatuor de rebus admirandis, quae in Italia nuper contigere; Miraculum tritonum & nereidum*.

¹⁵⁶⁵ *De morbo sacro*. (Aldrovandi) § Traduzione di Janus Cornarius* (1546): Ex volucris autem, a gallo et turture ac otide. Insuperque ab iis quae robustissimae esse censentur.

¹⁵⁶⁶ *Naturalis historia* XXIX,48: Cibo quot modis iuvent [ova], notum est, cum transmeant faucium tumorem calfactuque obiter foveant. Nullus est alius cibus, qui in aegritudine alit neque oneret simulque vim potus et cibi habeat. § Stavolta il download da Gessner che riporta *cibos* invece del pliniano *cibo* è grammaticalmente corretto, in quanto il verbo *immo* regge l'accusativo. Ovviamente è quasi impossibile sapere se Plinio scrisse - o dettò - *cibo* invece di *cibos*. Fatto sta che nelle mie due fonti a disposizione, tra cui l'edizione curata da Jean Handouin e pubblicata a Parigi nel 1685, troviamo *cibo*. § Facciamo i nostri complimenti a Gessner e

non notum est, adeo ut alibi Plinius dicat nullum alium cibum esse, qui in aegritudine alat, neque oneret, simulque vim potus (alii¹⁵⁶⁷ legunt vini usum) et cibi habeat. Eligimus autem ad cibum ova Gallinarum potissimum. Haec enim quicquid dicant alii, caeteris omnibus praeferuntur, maxime si ea ex Gallo Gallinae conceperint. Nam Zephyria, teste Aristotele¹⁵⁶⁸, minus sapiunt minora sunt, ac magis humida. Recentia veteribus plurimum praestant, quippe optima sunt recentissima, vetustissima autem pessima: quae vero in horum medio sunt, proportione recessus ab extremis bonitate, vel pravitate inter se differunt. Recentia a veteribus dignoscuntur facillime. Recentia plena sunt, vetusta ut plurimum circa partem latiore inania. Vetustatis insuper signum est manifestissimum, si dum aperiuntur, vel refringuntur, {diffloant} <diffluent>, praesertim vitello: contra bonitatis, si aperto ovo vitellus integer manserit, et in medio eius gutta rubicunda, velut sanguinea apparuerit.

Platina sapidiora putat ova, quae ex Gallinis pinguibus, non macilentis sunt nata, et ex depastis triticum, hordeum, milium, panicum, potius quam herbas. Arabes praeferunt oblonga, parva, tenuia, ut Tragus citat. Idem ova recentia in plenilunio exclusa tanquam praestantiora, cum ad cibum ceu durabiliora, tum ut Gallinis supponantur, colligi iubet. {Elluchasim} <Elluchasem> ova probat, quae duos vitellos habent tanquam maiora¹⁵⁶⁹, et subtiliora. Ova recentia nomen servant, vetusta vero antiquis requieta dicta sunt, nobis vulgo stantia, forte quoniam levitate sua aquis supernant. Hac enim ratione tuto experire, si plena sunt, et recentia, an e contrario.

Insuper ne ad cibum inepta reddantur ova, sive ne requieta fiant, ubi eorum copia est, quae in futurum usum reservare velis, in lomento

they become useful for the foods, so that Pliny* says elsewhere that no other food is existing able to feed during an illness, and that doesn't burden, and that at the same time is endowed with the power of a drink (others instead of *vim* read *vini*, use of wine) and of a food. In fact we have chosen as food above all the eggs of the hens. For, whatever others may say, they are preferred to all other eggs, especially if the hens have conceived them with a rooster. For, as Aristotle* testifies, zephyrian eggs - sterile, full of wind* - are less tasty and are smaller and more humid. Fresh eggs are more better than old ones, and in truth those just laid are excellent, while oldest eggs are very bad: but those in between differ among them for goodness or badness in proportion to their distance from the extremes. Recent eggs are very easily recognized from old ones. Recent eggs are full, the more they are old are empty at blunt end. Moreover there is a very evident indication of old age, if when opened or broken they pour out, especially the yolk: on the contrary it is a sign of goodness if when the egg is opened the yolk remains entire and at its center a red drop like blood is visible.

Platina* thinks that are tastier those eggs which have been laid by fat, not gaunt hens, and who have eaten wheat*, barley*, millet*, foxtail millet*, rather than grass. The Arabs prefer oblong, small, thin eggs, as Tragus - Hieronymus Bock* - is quoting. He suggests to collect just laid eggs during full moon since they are better, because, being more durable as food, likewise they are to be placed under hens for incubation. Elluchasem Elimithar* appreciates those eggs having two yolks* since they are greater and more delicate. Recent eggs preserve their name, on the contrary the old ones are called *requieta* - rested - by ancients, by us they are commonly called stale, perhaps because of their lightness they float on the water. In fact by this test you can check with certainty if they are full and recent or the opposite.

Furthermore, in order that eggs don't become worthless as food, that is, so that they don't become stale, when there is plenty of them and you want to

indirettamente a Ulisse. Ecco il testo di Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium III* (1555) pag. 436*: Cibos quot modis iuvent ova, notum est. Nullus est alius cibus qui in aegritudine alat neque oneret, simulque vim potus (quidam legunt vini usum) et cibi habeat, Plin.

¹⁵⁶⁷ Il download da Gessner stavolta non è speculare. Infatti Aldrovandi cambia il gessneriano *quidam* in *alii*. Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium III* (1555) pag. 436*: Nullus est alius cibus qui in aegritudine alat neque oneret, simulque vim potus (quidam legunt vini usum) et cibi habeat, Plin.

¹⁵⁶⁸ Vedi a pagina 207*.

¹⁵⁶⁹ Gessner riporta tutt'altro che *maiora. magis nutriunt*. Forse ha ragione Gessner, in quanto è ovvio che le uova con doppio tuorlo sono di dimensioni maggiori, e due tuorli offrono più nutrimento di uno solo, e due tuorli attenuano il sapore dell'albume che a taluni non piace. Bisognerebbe disporre del testo originale di Elluchasem Elimithar per porre fine alla diatriba. Accontentiamoci di quello della controparte, Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium III* (1555) pag. 438*: Magis nutriunt et subtiliora sunt ova, quae duos vitellos habent, Elluchasem.

repones. In eo enim servare ova utilissimum Plinius¹⁵⁷⁰ iudicat, vel ut alibi ait, {*hyeme*} <*hieme*> in paleis, aestate in furfuribus. Qui ova, inquit Varro¹⁵⁷¹, diutius servare volunt, perfricant sale minuto, aut muria: atque ita sinunt per tres, aut quatuor horas, eaque abluta condunt in furfures, {et} <aut> acus. Columella¹⁵⁷² refert, quosdam trito sale sex horis adoperire, deinde eluere, atque ita paleis, aut furfuribus obruere: nonnullos solida, multos etiam fresa faba coaggerare, alios salibus integris adoperire, alios muria tepefacta durare. Sed sal omnis quemadmodum non patitur putrescere, ita ova minuit, nec sinit plena permanere, quae res ementem deterret: itaque ne in muriam quidem qui dimittunt, integritatem ovorum conservant: quare Plinii placita super istac conservatione sequi placet. Sunt qui, Ornithologo teste, ova recentiora servari velint frumenti genere quod secale vocant, nostri segala, Germani rogggen, vel cinere, ita ut acutior pars ovi inferior sit, tum rursus secale, aut cinerem super infundunt.

put them aside for a future use, you will place them in flour of broad beans*. For Pliny thinks that it is very useful to preserve the eggs there, so as he says elsewhere - the same phrase where he speaks about *lomentum*, flour of broad beans -, in winter in straw, in summer in bran. Varro* says: those people who want to preserve the eggs for a longer time rub them with fine salt or brine: and leave them thus for three or four hours and after washed them they place them in bran or in chaff. Columella* reports that some people cover them for six hours with fine salt and then wash them and after this treatment cover them with straw or in bran: some pile up them with entire broad beans, many people also with ground broad beans, others cover them with uncrushed salt, others harden them with lukewarm brine. But whatever kind of salt, as it doesn't allow the eggs to become rotten, at the same time reduces their weight and doesn't allow them to remain full, a fact which keeps away him who has to buy them: therefore neither those people putting them in brine are preserving the integrity of the eggs. Then it is proper to follow Pliny's suggestions about their preservation. As the Ornithologist reports, there are some people who would like to preserve just laid eggs in a kind of wheat they call rye*, which is our Italian *segala*, called *roggen* by Germans, or in ash so that the more pointed part of the egg is turned downward, then they pour on again rye or ash.

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Tradito conservationis modo, coctionis ratio explicanda sese nobis offert. Ova autem [299] diversis modis coqui, et ad cibum parari solent, aut simpliciter, aut cum aliis admistis. Ordo autem expostulare videtur de iis primum dicere, quae parantur simpliciter. Coquantur autem haec vel in aqua, vel sub cineribus calidis, vel in sartagine. Et quanquam quovis horum modo magis, minusve liquida, et dura fiant pro coctionis modo de iis tamen, quae in aqua elixantur maxime sentiunt authores, cum sorbilia, mollia, durave, aut similibus ova nominibus appellant. Licebit autem horum proportionem comparationeque de iis etiam, quae

Now, having related the manner of preserving eggs, I am given the reason of explaining how to cook them. For the eggs are usually cooked and prepared as food in different ways, or alone or mixing them with other ingredients. But it seems that reasons of orderliness require that we have firstly to speak about those prepared in a simple way. These are cooked either in water or under warm ashes, or in frying pan. And although in whatever of these ways they become more or less liquid and hard according to as much as they are cooked, nevertheless the authors express a very positive opinion about those cooked in water, and they call the eggs or sucking, or soft, or hard or by similar names. But doing analogies and

¹⁵⁷⁰ *Naturalis historia* X,167: Ova aceto macerata in tantum emolliuntur, ut per anulos transeant. Servari ea in lomento aut hieme in paleis, aestate in furfuribus utilissimum. Sale exinaniri creduntur.

¹⁵⁷¹ *Rerum rusticarum* III,9,12: Qui haec volunt diutius servare, perfricant sale minuto aut muria tres aut quatuor horas eaque abluta condunt in furfures aut acus.

¹⁵⁷² *De re rustica* VIII,6,1-2: Ovorum quoque longioris temporis custodia non aliena est huic curae; quae commode servantur per hiemem, si paleis obruas, aestate, si furfuribus. Quidam prius trito sale sex horis adoperiunt, deinde eluunt, atque ita paleis ac furfuribus obruunt. Nonnulli solida, multi etiam fresa faba coaggerant, alii salibus integris adoperiunt, alii muria tepefacta durant. [2] Sed omnis sal, quemadmodum non patitur putrescere, ita minuit ova, nec sinit plena permanere, quae res ementem deterret. Itaque ne in muriam quidem qui demittunt, integritatem ovorum conservant.

alio coquendi modo magis, minusve cocta fuerint, quid sentiendum sit iudicare.

Coctura ovorum, quae in aqua fit, melior est caeteris, et quae in calidis cineribus melior, quam quae in sartagine, nempe si eiusdem generis semper inter se conferas, dura duris, mollia mollibus. Nam mollia in cineribus, duris in aqua coctis oportet praeferre¹⁵⁷³ <, Brasavolus>. Cur vero in aqua cocta ova meliora sint iis, quae in igne, non leves sunt rationes. Tostum enim ovum, ut Caelii¹⁵⁷⁴ verbis utar, dissilit facile, non dissilit aqua concoctum: ignea siquidem vi, quodam ferrumine copulatur, quod inest, humectum, ampliusque calefactum, exustumque plures parit spiritus: qui {loco nati perangusto} <loca nacti perangusta>, exitum molientes testam rumpunt, demumque evaporant. Praeterea flammae vis tunicam circumsiliens putaminosam amburendo diffringit, quod et ficitilibus evenire, dum torrentur, evidens est. {Quemadmodum} <Quamobrem> perfundi frigida prius solent ova: calida siquidem aqua {mollicie} <mollitie> statim humorem effundit, et raritatem relaxat, quibus adde, si placet, quod ova vel sub cineribus calidis, vel super carbones {ignotos} <ignitos> cocta tetrum odorem spirant, malae contractae qualitatis evidentissimo signo. Rursus ova elixa in aqua cum testis suis peiora sunt, quam fracta in aqua, siquidem crassos, et fumosos halitus testa cohibet: unde ex frequenti eorum esu inflatio oritur, et stomachi, ventrisque gravatio. Sine testa vero cocta, naturalem suam humiditatem servant, et odoris sui gravitatem deponunt, exuuntque; sunt tamen qui magis appetunt in testa sua cocta, quam effusa, ex quorum numero se etiam fuisse scribit Antonius Gazius. Verum quicquid isti dicant, mihi effusa magis probantur, quae proprio, eoque cotidiano ferme usu sana, et ad gustum delicata offendi, maxime si quid recentis butyri super affundatur.

comparisons it will be possible to express a judgment on what we have to think also about those more or less cooked using another manner of cooking.

To cook eggs in water is better than other manners, and in warm ashes it is better than in frying pan, obviously if you compare the eggs each other according to an identical criterion, hard with hard, soft with soft. For it is worthwhile to prefer soft eggs cooked in ashes to hard-boiled in water. So wrote Antonio Brasavola*. But why eggs cooked in water are better than eggs cooked in fire, the reasons are not without importance. In fact, to use the words of Lodovico Ricchieri*, the toasted egg easily breaks apart, that cooked in water doesn't break: since because of fire energy what is inside is joined as by a glue, humid and still more heated and burnt it produces many vapors: which lying in a very narrow place, beating about for getting out, break the shell, and at last they evaporate. Furthermore the energy of the flame, attacking from everywhere the tunic of the shell, breaks it, burning it all around, and we can observe that this also happens to terracotta vases when torrefied. That's why eggs at first are usually dipped in cold water: for hot water with its less density immediately brings out the humid and broadens the pores, to which you add, if you want, that eggs cooked either under warm ashes, or over ardent charcoals, give forth an unpleasant smell, as most evident sign that they acquired a bad quality. Moreover eggs cooked in water with their shell are worse than when broken in water, since the shell retains the thick and smoky vapors: hence from frequently eating them a swelling and a heaviness of stomach and belly take origin. But cooked without shell they retain their natural hydration and lose and leave off the heaviness of their smell; nevertheless there are people more appreciating them if cooked in their shell rather than poured out, and Antonio Gazio* writes that he belonged to such a cluster of people. To say the truth, whatever those people may say, I prefer those poured out, which I have found savory and of delicate taste thanks to a mine and moreover almost daily use, especially if some fresh

¹⁵⁷³ La citazione è tratta da Antonio Brasavola, come puntualizza Gessner, e finisce qui. Se non disponessimo del testo di Gessner, quello di Aldrovandi sembrerebbe strampalato, in quanto si contrappone a ciò che subito segue. - Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium III* (1555) pag. 437*: Coctura ovorum quae in aqua fit, melior est caeteris: et quae in calidis cineribus, melior quam quae in sartagine, nempe si eiusdem generis semper inter se conferas, dura duris, mollia mollibus. nam mollia in cineribus, duris in aqua coctis praeferre oportet, Brasavolus.

¹⁵⁷⁴ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium III* (1555) pag. 418*: Tostum ovum dissilit facile, non dissilit aqua concoctum: ignea siquidem vi, quodam ferrumine copulatur quod inest, humectum ampliusque calefactum exustumque, plures parit spiritus: qui loca nacti perangusta, exitum molientes testam praerumpunt, demumque evaporant. Praeterea flammae vis tunicam circumsiliens putaminosam, amburendo diffringit: quod et ficitilibus evenire dum torrentur, evidens est. Quamobrem perfundi prius frigida solent ova. calida siquidem aqua mollicie [mollitie] statim humorem effundit, et raritatem relaxat, Caelius. Vide Aphrodisienssem problem. 1.102.

Ita cocta ova nostrae mulierculae, et coqui ova disperdute nuncupant, Graeci, ut recte Ornithologus conicit, ἐξαφητά, etsi alioqui doctissimum Hermolaum¹⁵⁷⁵ exapheta cum pnicis eadem facere noverim, et Brasavolus¹⁵⁷⁶ quandoque absque testa, quandoque cum testa in aqua coqui dicat. Nam revera Ornithologi coniectura solidis, firmisque nititur rationibus. Ego inquit, apud Graecos scriptores <veteres¹⁵⁷⁷>, reperiri hoc nomen non puto. Lexicorum quidem scriptores, qui vocabula, vel Graece, vel Latine exposuerunt, non ponunt. Videntur autem ἐξαφητά, syllaba ultima acuta, ova appellari, quae e testis suis effusa coquuntur integra, sive in aquam calidam, ut sorbilis, vel mollia coquenda, sive aliter, ut pnicis, ut quidam putant. Nam si non integra, sed fracta, {ruptaque} <mistaque> liquoribus addendis coquuntur pnicis, non putarim exaphetá vocanda.

Quod ad vocabuli originem, certi nihil habeo. His scriptis locum Simeonis Sethi inveni, quem aliis errandi occasionem dedisse video. Sunt autem verba haec: ἐπαινοῦνται δὲ τὰ πνικτὰ ὡσπερ γε καὶ τὰ ὀνομαζόμενα ἐξεφετά (Gyraldus legit ἔξεφθα, quasi ἔξω τοῦ ἰδίου κελύφους ἐψόμενα insinuans. Sed hoc nomen apud alios auctores non extat. Malim ego ἐξαφετά legere, hoc est, emissa, et effusa a verbo ἀφήμι. Talia autem vocabula non usitata veteribus Graecis, nec analogice composita non pauca recentiores habent a vulgo sumpta) τὰ ἐπὶ θερμοῦ ὕδατος σκευαζόμενα, hoc est, laudantur, quae pnicis dicuntur, et exaphetá, quae in aqua calida coquuntur. Quod autem intelligat de iis, quae in aquam calidam e testa sua effunduntur, vel hinc patet, quoniam de aliis iam supra egerat, et quod haec ova ab aliis etiam, praesertim Arabibus, quos Simeon in multis sequi solet, probantur, et quod Galenus quoque meminit post pnicis, periphrastice nominans τὰ ἐπιχεόμενα ἄνωθεν ταῖς λοπάσιν, hoc est, patellis (calidam scilicet continentibus) infundi

butter is poured over them.

Our women call *disperdute* - scattered, dispersed - the eggs cooked in this way and the deed of cooking eggs, and the Greeks, as the Ornithologist is rightly inferring, call them *exaphetá*, although on the other hand I am aware that the very learned Ermolao Barbaro* considers the *exaphetá* eggs identical to those cooked in a well closed pot, and Antonio Brasavola says that sometimes they are cooked in water without shell, sometimes with shell. For really the conclusion of the Ornithologist is founded on solid and strong reasons. He says: I don't think that among ancient Greek writers this term is found. For the lexicographers who reported the words in Greek or in Latin don't quote it. For it seems that are called *exaphetá*, with the last syllable accented, those eggs which are cooked entire after they have been poured out of their shells both in warm water like sucking or soft-boiled eggs, and in other manner like smothered eggs, as some think. In fact if the smothered ones are cooked not entire, but broken and mixed with addition of liquids, I don't think they ought to be called *exaphetá*.

As far as the origin of the word is concerned - is going on the Ornithologist - I have nothing certain. In these writings I have found a passage of Simeon Sethi* which in my opinion has given cause to others for to be mistaken. For these words: *epainóntai dè tà pniktá hosper ge kai tà onomazómena exephetá* - those suffocated are praised like those called *exephetá* (Giglio Gregorio Giraldi* reads *éxephtá*, almost insinuating that *éxo toú idíou kelyphous hepsómena* - cooked outwardly of their own eggshell. But this word doesn't exist among the other authors. I would prefer to read *exaphetá*, that is, sent forth and poured forth, from the verb *aphiēmi* - I sent forth. For such words are not used by ancient Greeks, and the more recent ones have composed many words by analogy inferring them from common language) and these words mean *tà epì thermon̄ hýdatos skeuazómena*, that is, they are praised the eggs called smothered and *exaphetá*, which are cooked in hot water. But that he want to point out eggs poured out of their shell into warm water it is also clear from this sentence, since he had already previously discoursed on the other eggs, and since these eggs are also appreciated by others, above all Arabs, whom Simeon Sethi is accustomed to follow in many points, and

¹⁵⁷⁵ Hermolaus in Corollario. (Gessner)

¹⁵⁷⁶ Brasavolus in Aphorismos. (Gessner)

¹⁵⁷⁷ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium III* (1555) pag. 435*: Ego apud Graecos scriptores veteres reperiri hoc nomen non puto, Lexicorum quidem scriptores qui vocabula vel Graece vel Latine exposuerunt, non ponunt. [...] Nam si non integra, sed fracta mistaque liquoribus addendis coquuntur pnicis, [...].

solita. Symeon autem cum caetera ex Galeno¹⁵⁷⁸ mutuatus sit, hanc etiam partem non omissam ab eo credendum est.

Nostri haec vocant in wasser gefelt, in wasser geflagen, (hoc est in aquam infusa) et vel per se edenda aegris praesertim afferre solent, vel coctis panis segmentis imposita. In his parandis, inquit Galenus, similiter ut in pnictis curandum est, ne supra mediocrem substantiam incrassentur: sed cum adhuc succum suum retinent, vas ab igne submovendum. Hactenus ille.

Pnicta¹⁵⁷⁹ autem parantur {adhunc} <ad hunc> modum<:> conspersis, oleo, et garo, et paucis vini ovis (ita vulgaris translatio apud Galenum¹⁵⁸⁰ habet) vas, quo continentur, cacabo aquam calidam habenti inditur, dein <ubi ipsum totum superne obturarint>¹⁵⁸¹ ignis substernitur, donec mediocrem nanciscantur substantiam. Quae enim supra modum crassescunt, elixis, et assis fiunt similia: mediocrem vero crassitiem adepta, et melius, quam dura concoquuntur, et alimentum corpori dant praestantius, sed verbum [300] ἀναδεύσαντες, quo Galenus¹⁵⁸², et Aegineta utuntur, non conspergere, sed subigere, et permiscere significat: quod miror, nec Hermolaum, nec alios (quod sciam) praeter unum Cornarium animadvertisse.

since also Galen* mentions them after the smothered ones, quoting with a periphrasis τὰ ἐπιθεόμενα ἀνοθήναις λωπάσιν, that is, those usually poured in frying pans (which of course contain hot water). But since Simeon Sethi borrowed other things from Galen, we have to believe that by him neither this piece has been omitted.

Our people - is going on the Ornithologist - call these eggs *in wasser gefelt, in wasser geflagen*, (that is, poured in water), and are accustomed to give them chiefly to sick people to be eaten either alone, or placed on cooked slices of bread. In preparing them, says Galen, care must be taken, as for smothered ones, that they don't grow too much hard: but when they still have their juice it is necessary to remove the pot from fire. Thus far the Ornithologist.

Smothered eggs are prepared in this way, after eggs have been sprinkled with oil, fish sauce and little wine (thus runs the common translation of Galen), the vessel in which are contained is introduced in a pot with warm water inside, then, after it has been covered up, fire is put beneath it until they acquire a moderate consistence. For the eggs which grow hard beyond a certain degree become similar to boiled and roasted ones: but those which reached a mediocre consistence are also better digested than those cooked hard and supply the body with a better nourishment, but the verb *anadeúsantes*, which Galen and Paul of Aegina* use, doesn't mean to sprinkle, but to dip and to mix: I am surprised that neither Ermolao Barbaro nor others (as far as I am aware) have noticed, except Janus Cornarius* alone.

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{Hermolaus}¹⁵⁸³ <Janus Cornarius> enim haec Aeginetae verba super his ovis ἀναδεύθεντα ὠμά μετὰ γάρου καὶ οἴνου καὶ ἐλαίου, καὶ ἐν διπλώμασι συμμέτρως πηγνύμενα: Sic vertit: *cruda cum garo, vinoque ac oleo subacta* {.> <>

For Janus Cornarius* is translating in this way the following words *anadeúthenta omá metá gárou kaì oínou kaì elaíou, kaì en diplómasi summétrōs pēgnýmēna* of Paul of Aegina* about these eggs: *raw, beaten with fish sauce and with wine and oil* (Alban Thorer* translates with *irrigated,*

¹⁵⁷⁸ Liber 3 de alimentis, cap. de ovis. (Aldrovandi - Gessner)

¹⁵⁷⁹ L'aggettivo greco *pniktós* significa soffocato, strangolato, cotto in vaso ben chiuso, stufato.

¹⁵⁸⁰ Liber de alimentorum facultatibus. (Aldrovandi)

¹⁵⁸¹ Aldrovandi si dimentica di chiudere il paiolo, per cui gli si emenda la memoria. - Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium III* (1555) pag. 436*: Ubi ipsa oleo et garo et paucis vini conspersa fuerint, vas, quo continentur, cacabo aquam calidam habenti indunt. Deinde ubi ipsum totum superne obturarint, ignem substruunt, quoad ova mediocrem habeant consistentiam.

¹⁵⁸² Liber de alimentorum facultatibus. (Aldrovandi)

¹⁵⁸³ In annot. in I. Gal. de comp. med. sec. loc. (Aldrovandi) - Neither the BM nor BN catalogues list this work, although Barbarus edited Aristotle, Pliny, Dioscorides and Pomponius Mela, among ancient authors. (Lind, 1963) - Lind ha perfettamente ragione. Infatti le *annotationes* al trattato di Galeno - se ci fidiamo di Gessner - sono di Janus Cornarius* e non di Ermolao Barbaro*. Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium III* (1555) pag. 436*: Sed verbum Graecum ἀναδεύσαντες, quo Galenus et Aegineta utuntur, non conspergere, sed subigere et permiscere significat: quod miror nec Hermolaum, nec alios (quod sciam) praeter Cornarium animadvertisse. Is enim in annotationibus suis in Galeni libros de compos. medic. sec. locos, haec Aeginetae verba super his ovis, [...].

(Albanus irrigata vertit, et diplomata inepte vasa aenea, testaceave) *in duplici vase coquuntur, donec mediocriter condensentur*. Ἀναδεύειν vero verbum compositum permixtionem, quae per totum fiat, praesertim in humido, vel liquido significare videtur. Hanc enim vim praepositio ἀνά in compositione quandoque habet, nam et extra compositionem ultro citroque significat. Itaque ova cum oleo, et vino, ἀναδεδυμένα permixta, et agitata vertere licebit: ita ut tale fere hoc ferculum fuisse videatur, quale apud Germanos Ornithologus ius quoddam esse tradit, cui vulgo a vino calido nomen: ait tamen densius esse, neque ova integra permanere, sed frangi, et agitari.

Qui itaque exaphetà, et pnicta eadem putant, toto errant caelo, inter quos Hermolaus est, vir alioquin nullis non praeferendus, qui deinde dum pnicta interpretatur, quae in aquam calidam mittuntur, immergunturque cum garo, etc. quoque perperam scripsit, ut ex Galeni, et Aeginetae verbis iam recitatis facile percipitur. Nec Caelius quoque rem acu tetigit, pnicta Galeno vocari existimans, quod praefocari videantur, dum certo genere coquuntur, etc. Nam et hic verbi ἀναδεύειν vim non animadvertit. Germani, teste Ornithologo¹⁵⁸⁴, huiusmodi genus cocturae appellant Verdempffen, hoc est, ut Germanus quidam mihi exposuit, suffocare, quoniam vase operto, et incluso intus vapore veluti suffocari videatur, quod intus coquitur: unde etiam inquit, non inepte ova pnicta Germanice dixeris *Verdempffte Eyer*, hoc est ova suffocata. Nobis ut opinor, recte affogata dici queant. Quod ad bonitatem ovorum pnictorum attinet, Galenus¹⁵⁸⁵ ea elixis (hepht<h>is¹⁵⁸⁶, id est duris) et assis meliora esse scripsit. Equidem videntur pnicta tanquam in diplomate cocta, cum sapidiora esse, idque condimentorum quoque ratione, tum magis lenire, ac mitigare, quam quae in vase statim igni imposito parantur: nam haec facilius empyreuma¹⁵⁸⁷ aliquod trahunt.

Sorbilia ova ῥοφητά. Graeci dicunt: at quae et

and he silly translates the *diplomata* - twofold container vases for bain-marie* - with bronze or earthenware vases) *they are cooked in a double vase until moderately hardened*. In truth the composed verb *anadeúein* - to dampen, to water - seems to mean a blending carried on throughout the whole, especially in a damp or liquid matter. For sometimes in a composed word the preposition *aná* has this meaning, for outside a composed word also means *beyond* and *on this side*. Therefore it will be allowed to translate the eggs *anadedeuména* with oil and wine into mixed and beaten: so much so that it would seem that this course was practically equivalent to a certain broth that the Ornithologist reports as present among Germans, which is named from warm wine in common language: however he says that it is more thick and that the eggs don't remain intact, but that they are scrambled and shaken.

Therefore those people thinking that *exaphetá* and *pnicá* eggs are the same thing, they make a big mistake, among whom there is Ermolao*, a man in other respects we have to place before everybody, who therefore when translating as *pnicá* the eggs placed in hot water and immersed along with fish sauce, etc., he also wrote wrongly, as we can easily infer from the just quoted words of Galen* and Paul of Aegina. Nor Lodovico Ricchieri* touched on a sore point, thinking that *pnicá* eggs are so called by Galen since it seems that they are suffocated when cooked in a certain way, etc. In fact he also doesn't realize the meaning of the verb *anadeúein*. The Germans, as the Ornithologist says, call this kind of cooking *verdempffen*, that is, as a German explained to me, to suffocate, since what is cooked inside a covered pot, and with the steam held inside, almost seems to be suffocated: hence, he still adds, in German you could rightly call *pnicá* eggs as *verdempffte Eyer*, that is, smothered eggs. In my opinion, by us, Italians, they could rightly be called *affogate*, poached. As far as tastiness of poached eggs is concerned, Galen wrote that they are better than the boiled (*hephtá*, that is, hard-boiled) and roasted ones. Really poached eggs seem to be cooked as in a bain-marie, and being more tasty, and this because of seasonings too, they have more lenitive and refreshing power than those prepared in a pot suddenly placed on fire: for these eggs more easily bring along some residue.

The Greeks call sucking eggs *rophetá*: but among the

¹⁵⁸⁴ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium III* (1555) pag. 389*.

¹⁵⁸⁵ Lib. 3 de aliment. (Aldrovandi)

¹⁵⁸⁶ L'aggettivo greco *hephtós* significa cotto, lessato.

¹⁵⁸⁷ Il sostantivo greco neutro *empyreuma* significa carbone acceso nascosto sotto la cenere, scintilla, residuo.

haec sint, non satis inter auctores convenit, vel ob synonymorum copiam non convenire apparet. Galenus¹⁵⁸⁸ quem sequi placet, ova ῥοφητά vocari asserit, quae dum coquuntur, exalfiunt tantummodo. Haec alias quoque liquida appellantur: non enim, ut Caelius, et Hermolaus putant liquida cum tremulis, et mollibus eadem sunt. Mollibus enim panis intingi solet, liquida, hoc est, exalfacta per se tantum ebibuntur, unde nobis vulgo ova da bere dicuntur, solentque paulo ante prandium ditioribus exhiberi cum modico salis. Ita et Brasavolus recte sorbilia interpretatur, quae coctura sua vix coepere condensari. His, inquit, non utimur, nisi cum ova sint recentissima, ut naturalem adhuc Gallinae calorem fervent: et revera nisi unius diei ova sint, sequenti die eiusmodi coctionem vix admittunt.

Cum itaque paulo magis coquuntur, ut e putamine educta tremere videantur, Graecis τρομητά, id est, tremula, Dioscoridi¹⁵⁸⁹ aliquando ἀπαλά dicuntur, Corn. Celso mollia, nonnullis recentioribus etiam tenera, et tenella. Sin duritiem aliquam acceperint ἐφθά et ἐψηθέντα absolute Galeno, et Simeoni Sethi non simpliciter elixa vocantur, quemadmodum quae omnino induruerint σκληρά, hoc est, dura, etiamsi Galenus quandoque epht<h>a, et dura pro eisdem sumere videatur. Haec nos ova paschalia vulgo dicimus, quod in die {paschatis} <Paschatis> in templum sacerdoti benedicenda offerantur. Atque hi fere sunt elixorum ovorum coctionis modi, quae omnia generaliter ἀυγοκούλικά¹⁵⁹⁰ Simeon Sethi nominavit, ea inquam omnia, sive parum sive multum, modo in aqua cocta forent.

De quorum omnium, antequam ad alias coctiones procedamus, salubritate parum

authors it is not sufficiently agreed upon what also these are, or it is evident that they don't reach an agreement because of the abundance of synonyms. Galen, whom I intend to follow, affirms that are called *rhophētá* the eggs which barely warm up while cooked. These are otherwise also said liquid: for, as Lodovico Ricchieri and Ermolao Barbaro are thinking, liquid eggs are not the same as trembling and soft ones. In soft eggs bread is usually dipped, liquid eggs, that is, heated, are only drunk alone, hence in common language we call them *da bere*, sucking eggs, and are usually served to more moneyed people with very little salt few before a lunch. So also Antonio Brasavola* correctly interprets as sucking eggs those which through cooking barely started to grow hard. He says: we don't use them except when the eggs are so recent that they are still warm because of the natural heat of the hen: and in truth unless they are one-day-old eggs, on the following day they hardly accept that they are cooked in this way.

And when cooked a little more, so that we can see them to tremble when freed from shell, by Greeks are called *tromētá*, that is trembling, and sometimes *hapalá* by Dioscorides*, soft by Cornelius Celsus*, by some more recent authors also tender and wee tender. If they acquired a little bit of consistence without mincing words are called *hephtá* and *hepsēthenta* - boiled - by Galen and Simeon Sethi*, and not simply cooked, just as those which became quite hard they call them *sklērá*, that is hard-boiled, although sometimes Galen seems to mean as equivalent both boiled and hard-boiled. Usually we call *paschal* these eggs, since on Easter day they are offered to the priest in the church to be blessed. And these are practically the cooking manners of boiled eggs, which all-inclusive Simeon Sethi called *augokoúlíka*, and I would say that they are all the eggs cooked both a little and a lot only in water.

Before we proceed to other kinds of cooking it is worthwhile to say a little something about the healthy

¹⁵⁸⁸ Lib. 3 de aliment. (Aldrovandi)

¹⁵⁸⁹ Libro II cap. 54 di Jean Ruel (1549).

¹⁵⁹⁰ Una possibile etimologia di *augokoúlíka* ci è fornita da Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium III* (1555) pag. 435*: Symeon Sethi etiam ἀυγοκούλικά ova nominat, quam vocem Gyraldus interpres relinquit, ea forte fuerint quae non ut exapheta extra testa, sive parum sive multum coquantur. Graecus quidem Symeonis textus corruptus videtur: nam post nominata simpliciter sorbilia, mollia, et dura, mox subiicitur: καὶ κοινῶς δὲ τούτων τὰ ἀυγοκούλικά, nulla idonea constructione. Graeci quidem hodie vulgo ova vocant ἀύγον. culica testas intelligo. nam et culleolam et guliocam (ut Calepinus scribit) nucis iuglandis summum et viride putamen dici invenio. - Simeon Sethi cita anche le uova *augokoúlíka*, una parola che il traduttore Giglio Gregorio Giraldis* tralascia, e forse erano quelle che a differenza delle *exaphetá* vengono cotte sia poco sia molto senza il guscio. In realtà il testo greco di Simeon Sethi sembra corrotto: infatti dopo essere state menzionate quelle da sorbire, quelle molli e quelle dure, subito dopo si aggiunge: καὶ κοινῶς δὲ τούτων τὰ ἀυγοκούλικά, senza alcun costrutto appropriato. Oggi i Greci chiamano abitualmente *augón* l'uovo. Per *culica* intendo i gusci. Infatti trovo scritto che l'involucro più esterno e verde della noce viene detto *culleola* e *gulioica* (come scrive Ambrogio Calepino*).

dicendum est. *Ovum sorbibile*, inquit Galenus¹⁵⁹¹, *cibus est levissimus*. Et rursus¹⁵⁹², *boni succi est non calefacit, vires potest reficere acervatim: antiquitus sumebatur cum garo, lenit gutturis asperitates*. Et Celsus¹⁵⁹³, *Ovum sorbibile*, inquit, *boni succi est, pituitam crassiorem facit, imbecillissimae materiae est* (id est minimum alit, ut durum validissime) *ovum molle, vel sorbibile: eadem minime inflant*. Brasavolus tradit multos sese vidisse, qui ex sorbilibus ovis molliorem ventrem habuere, et nonnullos, qui uno etiam exhausto, quinquies, vel sexies deiecerent. Haec olim pro matutino erant ientaculo, et gustula vocabantur, ut ex Apuleio¹⁵⁹⁴ colligere est, dum ait: *Nunc etiam cogitas* (alloquitur Gallinam), *ut video, gustulum praeparare*, quo gustulo nihil, me iudice, est iucundius, et nullus alius cibus, qui alat, neque oneret, simulque vini usum, et cibi praebeat.

Mollia sorbilibus plus nutriunt, dura plus mollibus, Dioscoride, Galenoque testibus. Haec idem Galenus, et Symeon Sethi ad nutriendum omnium praestantissima esse volunt, et Celsus¹⁵⁹⁵ tanquam stomacho apta commendat.

characteristics of any kind of cooked egg. Galen says: *The sucking egg is a very light food*. And again: *It has a good taste, it doesn't heat, it can restore strengths in heaps: in past times it was drunk with fish sauce, it relieves throat irritations*. And Celsus says: *The sucking egg has a good taste, it fattens the catarrh, a soft or sucking egg is composed by material entirely destitute of energies* (that is, it nourishes very little, while the hard-boiled one is nourishing a lot): *soft or sucking eggs give very little swelling of belly*. Antonio Brasavola reports that he observed a lot of persons who got from sucking eggs a looser bowel, and some persons who had five or six discharges of diarrhea in swallowing only just one. Once they were used as morning breakfast and were called tastes, as it is possible to infer from Apuleius* when he says: *Now, as I can see, you also think* (he speaks to the hen) *to prepare a taste*, and in my opinion nothing is more pleasant than such a taste, and no other food is existing which is able to nourish without burdening, and able to give at the same time the benefit of wine and food.

Soft eggs nourish more than sucking eggs, hard eggs more than soft, as Dioscorides and Galen testify. Both Galen and Simeon Sethi think that soft eggs are by far over all other eggs from a nourishing point of view, and Celsus recommends them as suited for stomach.

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Dura ad coquendum sunt difficilia, tarde descendunt, crassiusque alimentum corpori tribuunt, quinimo et [301] viscosum: alvum constipant, adeo ut Brasavolus referat, monachum quendam Franciscanum, cum in festo Paschatis collecta a se eiusmodi ova alba, et rubra ad saturitatem edisset, astricto ventre, ut neque clysteribus, neque medicamentis cederet, obiisse¹⁵⁹⁶. Nostri eiusmodi ova testis suis

Hard-boiled eggs are more difficult to be digested, they go slowly along the bowel and supply the body with a food rather thick as well as sticky: they constipate the bowels, so that Antonio Brasavola* reports that a Franciscan monk, after had eaten to satiety such white and red eggs which he himself had gathered at the feast of Easter, had his bowel constipated so that he didn't react neither to clysters nor medicines, and died. Our people strip such eggs

¹⁵⁹¹ Liber de Dynamidiis. (Aldrovandi) - Noto anche come *De alimentorum facultatibus*. (Lind, 1963)

¹⁵⁹² Lib. de comp. sec. loc. (Aldrovandi)

¹⁵⁹³ *De medicina* II,18,10: Tum res eadem magis alit iurulenta quam assa, magis assa quam elixa. Ovum durum valentissimae materiae est, molle vel sorbibile inbecillissimae. - II,26,2: Minima inflatio fit ex venatione, aucupio, piscibus, pomis, oleis, conchyliisve, ovis vel mollibus vel sorbilibus, vino vetere. (Loeb Classical Library, 1935)

¹⁵⁹⁴ Liber 9 de Asino aureo. (Aldrovandi)

¹⁵⁹⁵ *De medicina* II,24,2: Stomacho autem aptissima sunt, [...] molle ovum, palmulae, nuclei pinci, oleae albae ex dura muria, eadem aceto intinctae, vel nigrae, [...].

¹⁵⁹⁶ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium III* (1555) pag. 437*: Monachus quidam Franciscanus cum in festo {paschatis} <Paschatis> collecta a se ova ad duritiem cocta, alba ac rubra (albumina et vitellos: solent enim eo tempore incisae minutatim utraeque hae partes in patinis digeri) ad saturitatem edisset, astricto ventre ut neque clysteribus neque medicamentis cederet, obiit, Brasavolus. § Anche stavolta è colpa di una virgola. Si tratta della virgola posta da Gessner dopo *cocta*, con successiva trasformazione di due aggettivi in due sostantivi neutri: *alba* e *rubra*. Aldrovandi - il cui testo è strutturato diversamente - non dà questa interpretazione personale di Gessner, lasciando così intendere che il monaco aveva mangiato uova sode il cui guscio - abitualmente bianco - veniva dipinto di rosso in occasione della Pasqua secondo un'usanza che potrebbe risalire a Maria Maddalena, come mi fu precisato dalla Dsa Irina Moiseyeva: "L'usanza di presentare uova rosse riguarda Maria Maddalena. Dopo l'ascensione di Cristo visitò Roma e

exuunt, et in partes aliquot secant, ut alterius vitelli, ac albuminis segmentis lances acetariorum coronent. Idem Germanos tam superiores, quam inferiores factitare audio.

Ova assa, vel tosta, quae nempe in calidis cineribus coquuntur, vel potius assantur, Galeno, et aliis ὀπτά ἢ ὀπτηθέντα nuncupantur. Cavendum dum assantur, ne dissiliant, quamobrem perfundi frigida solent. Ita cocta parum laudantur: colorem enim ab igne acquirunt, et gravem odorem itaque magis siccant, minusque refrigerant, et ingratoris longe saporis sunt, quam elixa in aqua. Sed cum duobus modis assentur, in cineribus nempe, et inter carbones, Isaac ea quae in cineribus assantur, deteriora esse scribit: quoniam cum calor ignis circumeat ipsa, fumosos eorum halitus exire prohibet, quod super carbones non contingit.

Postremo τηγανιστὰ dicuntur ova in sartagine spissata, oleo scilicet, vel butyro fricta: nam teganon Graecis patellam, vel sartagine[m] significat. Nostri vulgo vocant ova nella teglia. Germani, teste Ornithologo *eyer in ancken*. Haec pessimum omnibus modis nutrimentum habere Galenus, et Symeon Sethi volunt, quoniam dum concoquuntur in nidorem, hoc est, ructus fumosos convertantur, ideoque non modo crassum, sed etiam pravum succum gignere, atque excrementium{:>}. Et rursus alibi Galenus, *Ova frixa*, inquit, *tarde descendunt, mali succi sunt, et corrumpunt etiam secum admixtos cibos, et inter deterrima earum rerum habentur, quae concoqui nequeunt*. Isaac insuper mox in nidorem, et cholericos, seu biliosos humores, ac putredinem verti tradit, ideoque fastidium, et nauseam parere. Eiusmodi ovis vulgus plerumque vescitur, neque etiam nobiliores ab iis abstinere, sed in purum vas, idque stanneum, plerumque evacuant, dissoluto in eo prius butyro, ne fundo adhaereant, coquunt autem, donec album densari supra vitellos, et albescere coeperit. Haec meo

of their shells and cut them in a certain number of slices in order to adorn the dishes of vinegar seasoned salad with fragments of yolk and white alternatively arranged. I hear that both north and south Germans usually do the same thing.

Roasted or toasted eggs, that is, cooked in hot ashes, or better, roasted, by Galen* and others are called *optá* or *optēthénta*. We must take care that they don't break when roasted, hence they are usually immersed cold - in ashes. Eggs cooked in this way are not much praised: for they acquire a coloring from fire and an unpleasant odor and therefore they get dry more and refresh less, and have by far a less pleasant taste than eggs cooked in water. But since they are roasted in two ways, that is, in ashes and among charcoals, Isaac Iudaeus* writes that eggs roasted in ashes are worst: since, being that the heat of the fire surrounds them, it doesn't allow the escape of their smoky exhalations, a thing which doesn't happen on charcoals.

Finally, the eggs hardened in frying pan are said *tēganistà*, obviously fried with oil or butter: in fact for Greeks *tēganon* means saucepan or frying pan. Our people usually call them *uova nella teglia*, eggs in roasting-pan. As the Ornithologist reports, the Germans call them *Eyer in Ancken* - eggs in butter. Galen and Simeon Sethi* think that these eggs have the worst nourishment in comparison with all preparation's manners, since while digested they change into an evil-smelling odor, that is in smoky belches, hence often they produce not only a heavy taste, but also bad and faecal. And further Galen says elsewhere: *Fried eggs go slowly along the bowel, have a bad taste and also modify the mixed foods, and they are thought as the worst things among those we cannot digest*. In addition Isaac Iudaeus reports that they are immediately transformed into an evil-smelling odor and exhalations which smell gall, that is bile, and into putrefaction, and that therefore they produce lack of appetite and nausea. Common people mostly feed on such eggs, and neither more moneyed people are abstaining from them, on the contrary, they usually pour them in a clean and tin vessel, after they first

presentò un uovo rosso all'imperatore Tiberio con queste parole: «Cristo ha una resurrezione». Un uovo è un simbolo di vita e il suo colore rosso è un simbolo del sangue di Cristo (Enciclopedia della Bibbia, 1991).” § Sia a causa della virgola incriminata che della sostantivizzazione dei due aggettivi il testo di Gessner è solo lievemente diverso da quello di Aldrovandi, ma possono essere effettivamente interpretati in modo del tutto differente. L'ideale sarebbe disporre del testo di Brasavola, ma sarebbe disumano leggerne tutte le opere alla ricerca di questo breve passo. § Ma Elvio Corti - che, strano a dirsi, stavolta crede di più ad Aldrovandi - il 29 novembre 2007, essendo forse masochista, ha voluto frustrarsi attraverso una ricerca infruttuosa del monaco francescano nelle seguenti opere di Brasavola messe a disposizione nel web da Gallica: *Examen omnium simplicium medicamentorum* (1537) - *Examen omnium catapotiorum, vel pilularum* (1556) - *Aphorismorum Hippocratis sectiones septem...De ratione victus* (1543) - *Examen omnium electuariorum, pulverum, et confectionum catharticatorum* (1548) - *Examen omnium syruporum, quorum publicus usus est* (1545) - *Examen omnium trochiscorum, unguentorum, ceratorum, emplastrorum* (1560). § Per cui il problema della virgola gessneriana dopo *cocta* - collecta a se ova ad duritiem cocta, alba ac rubra - rimane *per ora* insoluto.

iudicio Brasavolus perperam ova pñicta vocavit, inquiring: Ad ova pñictà coquenda Galenus oleo utitur, nos butyro; nam haec pñictà non esse ex praedictis patere arbitror.

Sed antequam ad apponenda ea in mensa tempus, ac rationem accedam, superioribus velut pro epilogo hocce Baptistae Fierae epigramma adijcere visum est: est autem tale.

*Flent leve cocta, tremuntque, et vix coeuntia mandi
Nollent, nata modo, si sapias, ova bibe.
{Vuid:} <Uda¹⁵⁹⁷> sunt, celerisque cibi flammaeque
tepentis,
Sed durata time, nec requieta velis.
Pectus alunt, tussimque levant, sunt prandia raucis.
Insanoque thoro¹⁵⁹⁸ prandia grata parant.
Demulcent renes, stomachumque alvumque dolentem,
Vesicam mira sedulitate fovent.
Sed moneo: haec marcent facile, et tot commoda perdunt,
Ut nihil ex omni parte beare solet.*

Praeter iam dictos simplicis coctionis modos, unus superest, quo Babylonios venatores usos Caelius testatur: is autem est talis: Ova cruda fundae imponebant, et tam diu rotabant, donec ex eiusmodi motu coquerentur.

Quod modo ad apponendi ova tempus, ac rationem attinet. Athenaeus¹⁵⁹⁹ scribit, bina secundae mensae apud priores solita inferri cum Turdis, etc. Apud Romanos vero, attestante Porphyrio, {coenae} <caenae> initia habeant ova: unde Horatius¹⁶⁰⁰: *Ab ovo usque ad mala citaret* <"io Bacche">. Et in eodem sensu Tullius¹⁶⁰¹, *Integram famem, inquit, ad ovum affero: itaque usque ad assum vitulinum* (alias vitellinum) *opera ista*

dissolved butter inside so that eggs don't stick to its bottom, and they cook them until the albumen thickened above the yolks and began to become white. These are the eggs which in my opinion Brasavola wrongly called *pñictá* - smothered, when saying: Galen is using oil to cook *pñictá* eggs, we use butter; so I think that according to what has just been said it is glaringly obvious that these eggs are not *pñictá*.

But before to get ready to speak about when and how we have to serve them, I thought it proper to quote as epilogue of what we formerly said this epigram of Giovanni Battista Fiera*: and it sounds as follows:

They weep when slightly cooked, and tremble, and when are about to grow hard they wouldn't to be bitten, if you are a little wise swallow just laid eggs. They are damp, and are a quick food and a heating flame, but beware those which become old and don't desire those which rested. They nourish the breast and relieve the cough, are foods for people with hoarse voice. And they provide flavorful snacks for mad sperm. They caress kidneys as well as stomach and painful bowel, treat the bladder with marvelous promptness. But I warn you: they easily grow rot and lose any utility, as from any point of view the nibility usually gives happiness.

Besides the just mentioned methods of simple cooking, there is one which Lodovico Ricchieri* reports to have been used by Babylonian hunters: it consists in this: they placed raw eggs in a sling and spun them for such a long time until they became cooked thanks to such a movement.

Now we look at when and how the eggs have to be served. Athenaeus* writes that among ancients usually two eggs each were served as second course along with thrushes*, etc. In truth, as Porphyrius* testifies, among Romans the first courses of a lunch must have eggs: hence Horace* says: *He would have begun to sing "hurray Bacchus!" from egg to apples.* And in the same meaning Marcus Tullius Cicero* says: *I bring the hunger intact up to the egg: and therefore this activity lasts until roast*

¹⁵⁹⁷ Il testo ottenuto attraverso <http://gallica.bnf.fr>, e che qui non viene trascritto, risale a una stampa forse del 1489 e riporta *Humida*.

¹⁵⁹⁸ Il sostantivo greco maschile *thorós* significa seme genitale. Il testo corrispondente di questo verso tratto da <http://gallica.bnf.fr> suona così: *Gaudia noctis agunt*.

¹⁵⁹⁹ *Deipnosophistai* XIV,49,641f. § Se fossero due uova ciascuno, oppure alcune uova, oppure un solo uovo, tutto dipende dai testi a disposizione. Georg Kaibel (*Dipnosophistarum libri XV* vol III, Teubner, Stuttgart,1985) riporta in prima istanza $\phi\acute{o}\nu$, mentre dà $\phi\acute{o}\alpha$ come alternativa. La traduzione di C.D.Yonge, (1854) che adotta $\phi\acute{o}\alpha$ recita: *Eggs too often formed a part of the second course, as did hares and thrushes, which were served up with the honey-cakes [...].* § Difficile sapere a quale testo greco avesse attinto il nostro Ulisse. È assai verosimile che si sia limitato a fare un download da Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium III* (1555) pag. 440*: *Pars VII. ORDO OVORUM IN CIBO. Ova bina mensae inferri secundae apud priores solita scribit Athenaeus, cum turdis, etc.*

¹⁶⁰⁰ *Satirae* I,3,6-8: [...] si conlibuisset, ab ovo | usque ad mala citaret 'io Bacche' modo summa | voce, modo hac, resonat quae chordis quattuor ima. - Versi già citati da Aldrovandi a pagina 274*. § La frase monca è tratta - come al solito - da Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium III* (1555) pag. 440*: *Unde Horatius, Ab ovo usque ad mala citaret, Sermonum I.*

¹⁶⁰¹ *Ad Familiares* IX,20: [...] integram famem ad ovum affero, itaque usque ad assum vitulinum opera perducitur.

perducitur. Ubi integram famem ad ovum afferre iuxta Caelium non aliud esse videtur, quam ad secundam usque <mensam>¹⁶⁰² cibi appetentiam producere. Si itaque veteres acetaria in prima mensae apponebant, ova nondum locum mutaverunt, praesertim mollia, et in sartagine cocta, item dura, et assa. Sorbilia, ut diximus, pro ientaculo erant, et nostri paulo ante prandium ea accipiunt.

Quod si sanitatis rationem spectes, ova quoque modo parata, tum a sanis, tum ab aegris priori loco sumi debent. A duris quidem sanos, et aegros, et hos quoque magis abstinere prorsus convenit, nisi cum alvus solutior est, quam si durius coctis ovis cohibere libuerit, ea quoque ante alios cibos esitari oportet: ut contra etiam si mollire alvum sorbilibus exhauriendis statueris, id quoque initio mensae faciendum.

Quemadmodum autem apponendi, ita etiam ova aperiendi modus diversus est. Iudaei enim ea aperiunt parte acutiore, ut si qua illic gutta sanguinis apparuerit, abstineant; nos obtusiore plerumque, Germani in latere.

Haec itaque de diversis ovorum cocturis, in aqua, sub cineribus, in sartagine, deque ovis pnicis dicta breviter nobis sufficiant: superest modo, ut de variis eorum apparatus aliquid, maxime ex Apicio, et Platina dicamus: *Ova frixa oenogarata {obelixa} <, ova elixa> liquamine etc.* Apicius¹⁶⁰³: ubi {Hemelbergius} <Hemelbergius> sic legit: *Ova frixa {oenogaro} <oenogaro> (scilicet affuso inferuntur).* *Ova elixa liquamine, oleo, mero: vel ex liquamine pipere, lasere; In ovis hapalis nucleos infusos: suffundes mel, acetum, {temporibus} <temperabis> liquamine.* *Ova hapala, inquit Humelbergius vocat Apicius tenera, et mollia, quaeque sine cortice, et putamine cocta sunt in aqua: qualia, et [302] stomachum confortant, auctore Scribonio Largo¹⁶⁰⁴.*

veal (that is, until roast yolk). Where *to bring the hunger intact up to the egg* for Lodovico Ricchieri seems to mean nothing else than to stretch the food appetite until the second course. If therefore the ancients were placing salad seasoned with vinegar in the first course, the eggs have not yet changed place, especially those soft and cooked in frying pan, and likewise the hard and roasted ones. As we said, sucking eggs served as snack, and our people eat them a little before the lunch.

And if you consider health's reasons, the eggs in whatever way prepared have firstly to be eaten both by healthy and sick people. It is worthwhile that healthy and sick people absolutely abstain from hard-boiled eggs, especially ill people, except when their faeces are rather liquid, and, if we desire to restrain them more strongly with hard eggs, it is necessary that they also are eaten before other foods: on the contrary, even if you decided to soften the faeces by gulping down sucking eggs, also this is to be done at the beginning of meals.

As far as the way of presenting them is concerned, alike there are also different manners of opening eggs. For the Jews open them at the sharp end, so that if there some drop of blood appears, they can abstain from eating the egg; we Italians mostly at the blunt end, the Germans sideways.

Therefore these concisely reported information about different ways of cooking eggs, in water, under ashes, in frying pan, and about smothered eggs, have to be enough for us: there remains only to say something about different ways of preparing them, drawing it mainly from Apicius* and Platina*: Apicius reports *Fried eggs seasoned with sauce of wine and fish, cooked eggs with fish sauce etc.* Gabriel Hummelberg* interprets this passage as follows: *Fried eggs with sauce of wine and fish (that is, they are served after have been sprinkled with this sauce). Eggs cooked with fish sauce, oil, pure wine: or seasoned with fish sauce, pepper and silphium*; In coddled* eggs with kernels inside: you will sprinkle honey, vinegar, you will season with fish sauce.* Hummelberg says that Apicius calls *hapalà* tender and soft eggs cooked in water without membranes and

¹⁶⁰² Visto che in base alla nota fra parentesi *alias vitellinum* nonché all'aggettivo *ista* il testo è tratto da Gessner, si emenda in base a Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium III* (1555) pag. 440*: *Integram famem ad ovum afferro: itaque usque ad assum vitulinum (alias vitellinum) opera ista perducitur, Cicero in epist. ad Paetum**. Ubi integram famem ad ovum afferre (inquit Caelius) non aliud esse videtur, quam ad secundam usque mensam cibi appetentiam producere.

¹⁶⁰³ *De re coquinaria VII,17.* (Aldrovandi) - Da www.fh-augsburg.de: 1. *Ova frixa: oenogarata.* - 2. *Ova elixa: liquamine, oleo, mero vel ex liquamine, pipere, lasere.* - 3. *In ovis hapalis: piper, ligusticum, nucleos infusos. suffundes mel, acetum, liquamine temperabis.* § Il download tutt'altro che perfetto avviene come al solito da Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium III* (1555) pag. 439*: *Ova frixa, oenogarata, obelixa liquamine, etc. Apicius 7. 17. Humelbergius sic legit. Ova frixa oenogaro (s<c>ilicet affuso inferuntur.) Ova elixa, liquamine, oleo, mero: vel ex liquamine, pipere, lasere.*

¹⁶⁰⁴ *Compositiones medicamentorum* 104. (Aldrovandi)

shell: such eggs strengthen also the stomach, as Scribonius Largus* reports.

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Sed Scribonius loco iam citato¹⁶⁰⁵ simpliciter ova hapala commendat, nec dicit ea sine putamine in aqua coqui: et Dioscorides hapalon ovum molle appellat; hoc est medium inter sorbile, et durum, ut ipse interpretatur, et nos supra quoque retulimus.

Tyropatina¹⁶⁰⁶. *Accipies lac, adversus quod patinam aestimabis: temperabis lac cum melle quasi ad lactantia, id est, lactaria, ut Humelbergius exponit, ova quinque ad sextarium mittis, sed ad heminam ova tria<.> {in} <In> lacte dissolvis, ita ut unum corpus facias: in cumana colas, et igni lento coques: cum duxerit ad se, piper aspergis et inferes.*

Ova spongia ex lacte¹⁶⁰⁷: *Ova quatuor lactis heminam, olei unciam in se dissolvis, ita ut unum corpus facias: in patellam subtilem adiciis olei modicum, facies, ut bulliat, et adiciis (oleo bullienti) impensam (mixturem iam dictam ex ovis, lacte, et oleo) quam parasti. Una parte cum fuerit coctum, in disco vertes, melle perfundis, piper aspergis, et inferes.* Haec omnia Apicius. Humelbergius ova spongia interpretatur cibum, qui ovorum formam prae se ferat, et spongiosum, id est, ad modum spongiae rarum, tenerum, et inflatum. Germani, teste Ornithologo, hoc, vel simile edulium vocant ein bratne milch, quasi dicas, lac assatum, condensatum, vulgus nostras un coppo: Graece, et Latine oogala¹⁶⁰⁸ dici potest, quanquam Caelius pultem ex ovis, et lacte {concinnatum} <concinnatam> oogala dici medicae rei studiosis scribat. Laudatur hoc inter cibos dysentericorum ab Aëtio, si bene memini¹⁶⁰⁹.

But Scribonius Largus* in the just quoted passage simply recommends coddled* eggs, and he doesn't say that they have to be cooked in water without shell: and Dioscorides* calls *hapalòn* the soft egg, that is a midway between a sucking and a hard egg, as Scribonius himself translates, and as we also formerly reported.

TIROPATINA - DISH FROM TYRE*. Take milk and choose a dish according to its amount: mix the milk with honey up to transform it almost into a dairy product, that is *lactaria*, as Gabriel Hummelberg* specifies, in a sextarius [500 ml] put five eggs, but three in an hemina [250 ml]. Melt them in the milk so that you make a single mass: let strain in an earthenware of Cuma* and you will cook on slow fire: when it will have hardened sprinkle pepper and serve.

MILKY SPONGY EGGS: Blend together four eggs, an hemina [250 ml] of milk, an ounce [27.28 g] of oil so that you make a single mass: put in a thin frying pan a little bit of oil, see that it sizzles and put (on sizzling oil) the compound (the just said mixture of eggs, milk and oil) you prepared. When the whole will be cooked on one side you will put it turned in a dish, pour honey, sprinkle pepper and serve. All this from Apicius*. Gabriel Hummelberg means by spongy eggs a food which has to show the shape of the eggs and a spongy consistence, that is, rarefied, soft and blown up like a sponge. As the Ornithologist reports, the Germans call this dish, or a similar dish, *ein bratne milch*, as you say roasted milk, condensed, our people call it *un coppo* - a cup: in Greek and in Latin it can be said *oogala* - eggs with milk, although Lodovico Ricchieri* writes that by medicine scholars is called *oogala* a mixture done with eggs and milk. This preparation is praised by Aetius of Amida* among the foods for those people suffering from dysentery, if I correctly remember.

¹⁶⁰⁵ *Compositiones medicamentorum* 104. (Aldrovandi)

¹⁶⁰⁶ Apicio, *De re coquinaria* VII,11. DULCIA DOMESTICA ET MELCAE. - 7. Tyropatinam: accipies lac, adversus quod patinam aestimabis, temperabis lac cum melle quasi ad lactantia, ova quinque ad sextarium mittis, si ad heminam, ova tria. in lacte dissolvis ita ut unum corpus facias, in cumana colas et igni lento coques. cum duxerit ad se, piper adspargis et inferes. (da www.fh-augsburg.de)

¹⁶⁰⁷ Apicio, *De re coquinaria* VII,11. DULCIA DOMESTICA ET MELCAE. - 8.

¹⁶⁰⁸ Aldrovandi ne ha già parlato a pagina 283*, dove viene citato anche Ezio di Amida.

¹⁶⁰⁹ Visto che il brano è tratto da Gessner ed è Gessner a essere colto dal dubbio, era il momento per Aldrovandi di togliersi questo dubbio ereditato da Gessner: consultare una volta per tutte il trattato di Ezio. - Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium III* (1555) pag. 439*: Laudatur hoc inter cibos dysentericorum ab Aetio, si bene memini.

Ovorum albore, inquit Platina¹⁶¹⁰, *utimur in condituris quorundam eduliorum, ac bellariorum*. Iusculum {ceoceum} <croceum> e vitellis ovorum cum agresta, {iura} <iure>¹⁶¹¹ vituli, aut Capi, pauco croci describitur ab eodem: item alibi¹⁶¹², quomodo frictella fiat ex albamento ovorum, polline, et caseo recenti. De ovis agitatis, et confractis ex eodem. *Ova cum modico aquae, et lactis bene agitata, et confracta aut tudicula, aut cochleari caseo trito commiscebis. Mixta ex butyro, {et} <vel>¹⁶¹³ oleo coques. Suaviora erunt, si et parum cocta, et dum coquantur, nunquam voluta fuerint. Herbacei coloris si volueris, his betae, {aut} <ac> petroselini plusculum, succi buglossi, menthae, amaraci, salviae parum addes. Aliter. Easdem herbas concisas, et frictas modicum in butyro, aut oleo, superiori impensae admiscebis, ac coques. {Nutriunt haec, tarde concoquantur, hepar iuvant, obstructions et calculum generant.} <Nutriunt haec: tarde concoquit{ur} epar, iuvant oppil{I}ationes & calculum generant.>¹⁶¹⁴ Ova frictellata: *In patellam ferventem oleo, aut butyro recentia, et integra, abiecto putamine, indes, lentoque igne decoques, oleo semper, praesertim cochleari, aut tudicula suffundendo. Ubi alba esse coeperint, cocta scito. Durioris concoctionis propter fricturam, haec putant medici. Haec autem eadem sunt cum iis, quae nos cotte nella teglia vulgo appellari diximus, Graecis tiganista¹⁶¹⁵.**

Platina* says: *We use egg white to make seasonings of some courses and desserts*. Still by him are described a little broth saffron* colored gotten from egg yolks with verjuice*, broth of veal or capon*, little saffron: likewise elsewhere he describes how a pancake can be prepared with egg white, superfine flour and fresh cheese. Still from his treatise is drawn the recipe of beaten and crumbled eggs. By using an olive squeezer or a spoon mix with cut up cheese some well beaten and crumbled eggs along with a little bit of water and milk. After you mixed them, cook with butter or oil. They will be more tasty either they will be little cooked, or never will be stirred while cooking. If you wish them grass in color you will add a fair bit of beet and parsley, a little bit of juice of bugloss*, mint*, marjoram*, sage*. Another manner of preparing them. You will mix with the aforesaid mixture the same herbs cut up and only just fried in butter or oil, and cook. So prepared eggs are nourishing: the liver digests them with difficulty, are good for intestinal obstructions and give rise to calculosis. EGGS PANCAKE SHAPED. Pour in a warm frying pan with oil and butter some fresh and whole eggs after the shell has been removed, and cook them properly on low flame, sprinkling always the oil, chiefly with a spoon or with the oil's press. When they begin to appear white, remember that they are cooked. Physicians think that they are of more difficult digestion since have been fried. Really these eggs are corresponding to those we said to be usually called by Italians *cotte*

¹⁶¹⁰ *De honesta voluptate* liber 6 cap. 44. (Aldrovandi).

¹⁶¹¹ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium III* (1555) pag. 439*: Iusculum croceum e vitellis ovorum cum agresta, iure vituli aut capi, pauco croci, etc. describitur a Platina 6. 44.

¹⁶¹² *De honesta voluptate* liber 9 cap. 3. (Aldrovandi).

¹⁶¹³ Le correzioni al testo vengono effettuate sia in base all'edizione del *De honesta voluptate* a nostra disposizione *Libellus platine de honesta voluptate ac valitudine* (Bononiae, per Johannem Antonium Platonidem, 1499), sia in base a quello di Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium III* (1555) pag. 439*: De ovis agitatis et confractis: Ova cum modico aquae et lactis bene agitata, et confracta aut tudicula aut cochleari, caseo trito commiscebis. Mixta, ex butyro vel oleo coques. Suaviora erunt, si et parum cocta, et dum coquantur, nunquam voluta fuerint. Herbacei colores si voles, his betae ac petroselini plusculum, succi buglossi, menthae. amaraci, salviae parum addes.

¹⁶¹⁴ Insomma, tra tutte le azioni negative di queste uova così preparate, si salverebbe il fegato, proprio il fegato che è il laboratorio attraverso il quale tutte le sostanze ingerite debbono transitare. Non solo si salva, addirittura ne riceve dei benefici. Allora - come discepolo di Esculapio* - non ho potuto frenare la mia curiosità e ho confrontato il testo di Gessner e di Aldrovandi con l'unico testo del Platina a mia disposizione. E forse la cosa diventa ancora più intricata, ma a una lettura affrettata, non certo favorita dalla strana e carente punteggiatura di certi testi antichi. Ecco il testo del Platina in *Libellus platine de honesta voluptate ac valitudine* (Bononiae, per Johannem Antonium Platonidem, 1499). Questa ricetta si trova nel libro IX, capitolo 19: Nutriunt haec: tarde concoquitur epar iuvant oppillationes & calculum generant. - Se vogliamo una trascrizione più confacente, eccola: Nutriunt haec: tarde concoquit{ur} epar, iuvant oppil{I}ationes & calculum generant. - Come al solito è questione di una virgola, ma stavolta si aggiunge un concoquitur del Platina (invece di un corretto concoquit) trasformato da Gessner e Aldrovandi, o da chi per essi, in concoquantur. Grazie a ciò, e alla faticosa virgola, agli occhi di Gessner e di Aldrovandi il fegato si salva e ne esce vittorioso, e si salva in un contesto che secondo il loro punto di vista sarebbe alquanto deleterio. Invece il Platina afferma che le uova così preparate sono nutrienti, il fegato fa fatica a digerirle, sono utili contro le ostruzioni intestinali, ma sono causa di calcolosi (non sappiamo se biliare oppure urinaria, tralasciando la calcolosi salivare, altrimenti verrei tacciato di ridondante perfezionismo). - Per cui, per puri motivi medici, sfuggiti ai miei due illustri colleghi, il testo viene emendato, con grande gioia del Platina.

¹⁶¹⁵ Sono state descritte a pagina 301*. - Si accetta *tiganista* supponendo che non si tratti di un errore tipografico, bensì della pronuncia in greco moderno. Infatti a pagina 301 viene riportato *tēganistà*.

Ova elixa: *In ferventem aquam ova recentia, abiecto folliculo, indes: concreta ubi erunt, statim eximes. Tenella esse debent, ac saccharo, aqua rosacea, aromatibus dulcibus, agresta, aut succo mali {aurancii} <aurantii> suffundes. Sunt qui et tritum caseum inspergant; quod nec mihi nec {Porphoro} <Phosphoro>¹⁶¹⁶ placet, qui tali edulio persaepe vescimur. Sine caseo enim optimum, et suavissimum est. Aliter: Ova in lacte, aut vino dulci coques eo modo, quo ante. Verum de caseo nulla fiat mentio: plus alit hoc: etsi ad p<h>legmonem sanguinem ducit.*

Ova fricta. *Ova recentia diu coquendo dura facies. Ablatis putaminibus, ova ipsa ita per medium scindes, ut nullibi albamentum comminatur. Exemptos vitellos partim cum bono caseo tum veteri, tum recenti et uva passa contundes, partim reservabis ad pulmentum colorandum. Parum item petroselini, amaraci, menthae minutatim concisae addes. Sunt qui et duos alboreos ovorum, aut plures cum aromatibus indant. Hac impensa albamenta ovorum repleta, et {contusa} <conclusa>¹⁶¹⁷ lento igne in oleo friges. Frictis, moretum ex reliquis vitellis, et uva passa simul tunsis, ac ex agresta, et sapa dissolutis, addito zinzibere, {caryophyllo} <caryophyllo>, cinnamo, infundes: efferveantque paululum cum ipsis ovis, facies. Hoc plus mali in se habet, quam boni.*

Ova in craticula. *Ova tunsia in patellam extends, et coques, donec concreta plicari quadrifariam possint. Haec in quadrae modum redacta, in craticulam ad focum positam extends. Ova deinde recentia, ablatis putaminibus, huic indes {saccarumque} <saccaronque>, et cinnamum, dum coquitur, insperges. Cocta convivis appones.*

Ova in veru. *Veru bene calefacto, ova per longum transfiges, et ad ignem, ac si caro esset, torrebis. Calida sunt edenda. Stolidum inventum, et coquorum ineptiae, ac ludi{.}<.> Aliter: Ova recentia in cinere calido diligenter ad ignem volves, ut aequaliter coquantur.*

nella teglia - cooked in roasting-pan, and by Greeks are called *tiganistá*.

BOILED EGGS: Pour in boiling water fresh eggs after their shell has been removed: when they have thickened remove them at once. They have to be rather soft, and you will pour sugar on them, rose water, sweet spices, verjuice or orange* juice. There are some people sprinkling them with crumbled cheese, a thing which is not appreciated either by me or by Phosphorus, who are both eating this course very often. For without cheese it is excellent and very tasty. In another way: Cook the eggs in the aforesaid manner in milk or in sweet wine. In truth the cheese has not to be mentioned at all: it nourishes more: although it makes the blood to become infected.

FRIED EGGS. Harden fresh eggs cooking them for a long time. When shells have been removed, divide the eggs in half so that the albumen is not broken in some point. After you removed the yolks crush them partly with cheese of good quality both old and fresh and with raisin, partly set them apart at your disposal to give color to the dish. At the same time add a little bit of parsley, marjoram and mint thin chopped. There are some adding also two or more egg whites with spices. When you have stuffed and leveled out the egg whites with this mixture, fry in oil on low fire. When fried, you will put on them a crumpet gotten from remainder yolks, crushed with raisin, and dissolved in verjuice and in cooked must adding ginger*, cloves*, cinnamon*: and you must get them to boil a little while along with the eggs themselves. All this gives more harm than good.

EGGS ON GRILL. Spread beaten eggs in a frying pan and cook them until when, after hardened, can be folded in four parts. After you gave them a square shape lay them on a grill placed on fire. Then add fresh eggs stripped of shells, and while this is cooking sprinkle sugar as well as cinnamon. When cooked serve them to guests.

EGGS IN SPIT. After the spit heated up very well pierce the eggs lengthwise and roast them on fire as if meat were cooked. They are to be eaten hot. It is a foolish invention, fruit of both stupidity and fun of cooks. In another way: Turn fresh eggs carefully on

¹⁶¹⁶ Sia il *Libellus platine de honesta voluptate ac valitudine* (Bononiae, per Johannem Antonium Platonidem, 1499), sia Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium III* (1555) pag. 439*, riportano *Phosphoro*. - Stando alle ricerche biografiche del 3 novembre 2005, nulla cambia da un punto di vista pratico: che si chiamasse Porforo oppure Fosforo poco importa, in quanto - per ora - nulla è disponibile circa il platiniano Fosforo.

¹⁶¹⁷ Sia il *Libellus platine de honesta voluptate ac valitudine* (Bononiae, per Johannem Antonium Platonidem, 1499), sia Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium III* (1555) pag. 439*, riportano *conclusa*. - Per essere precisi bisogna dire che nel *Libellus platine de honesta voluptate ac valitudine* è presente verosimilmente un errore. Infatti questo capitolo (IX,22) è intitolato OVA FRACTA, uova rotte, e non *fricta*, il che contrasta completamente col modo di prepararle, anzi, l'albume non va rotto in alcun punto, essendo solo i tuorli a venir disintegrati. E gli albumi integri e svuotati vanno fritti.

Exudare ubi coeperint, recentia, et cocta putato, ac convivis apponito. Optima haec sunt, et cuius apponi percommode possunt. Aliter: Ova recentia in ollam cum recenti aqua imposita ubi parum ebullierint, eximito, et edito. Optima enim sunt, et bene alunt.

Ova fricta Florentinorum more: *In ferventem ex oleo patellam, ova recentia, ablatis putaminibus, singillatim, indes, tudiculaque aut cochleari circumquaque restringes, in rotundum redigens. Coloratiora ubi esse coeperint, cocta scito. Tenella intus sint necesse est. Coqui difficilius haec, quam quae supra consueverunt. Aliter: Ova integra in carbones arduentes coniucito, ac calida donec frangantur, fuste percutito. Cocta, et exempta petroselino, et aceto suffundito.*

Ova fricta: *Caseum pinguem, et tritum, parum menthae, et petroselini concisi, uvae passae minimum, modicum piperis tumsi, {duos vitellos} <duo vitella>¹⁶¹⁸ ovorum cruda simul misceris: mixta, in ova more Florentino fricta, ubi inde per tenue foramen vitellum exemeris, indito, ac iterum frigito, donec farcimen coquatur. Convolvenda saepius sunt, et cocta agresta, aut succo mali {aurantii} <aurantii> cum zenzibere suffundenda sunt.*

Ova in pastilli morem: *Farinam subactam tenuem admodum facies, extensae per tabulam, ova recentia distincta spatiis addes{;}<,> inspergendo semper unicuique parum sacchari, aromatatum, minimum salis. Involuta deinde, ut pastillos solemus, aut elixabis, aut friget. Fricta tamen laudabiliora sunt. Dura fiant caveto. Hucusque Platina.*

hot ash near a flame so that they can cook evenly. When they begin to ooze regard them as ready and cooked and serve to guests. They are excellent and can be served quite well to whoever. In another way: When fresh eggs placed in a pot with fresh water will have boiled a little, remove and eat them. For they are excellent and nourish well.

FRIED EGGS IN FLORENTINE STYLE: You will put fresh eggs one by one, shells removed, in a warm frying pan with oil, and by an olive squeezer or a spoon pile them going round in circles, giving them a round shape. When they begin to appear rather colored remember that they are cooked. They must be rather soft inside. The cooks got accustomed with a certain difficulty to cooking these eggs in comparison with the previous ones - in spit. In another manner: Put whole eggs on live charcoals and while they are hot beat them with a stick until get broken. When cooked and after the shell has been removed sprinkle them with parsley and vinegar.

FRIED EGGS: Mix together fat and minced cheese, a little bit of chopped mint and parsley, very little raisin, a small quantity of ground pepper, two raw egg yolks: introduce all these amalgamated things into Florentine style fried eggs in that point whence you drew out their yolk through a small hole, and fry again until the stuffing is cooked. They should be turned rather frequently and when cooked have to be sprinkled with verjuice or orange juice with ginger.

EGGS AS IN FOLDED-OVER PIZZA: Prepare very thin kneaded flour, after you spread it on a table add there fresh eggs separated by spaces, always sprinkling on each a little sugar, spices, very little salt. Then when you folded up them as we usually do for roulades, cook or fry them. However, fried they are more appreciated. Avert that they become hard. Thus far Platina.

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Idem alibi¹⁶¹⁹ iusculum {verzuzum} <verzusum>¹⁶²⁰ describit, quod recipit [303] ovorum vitellos quatuor, sacchari uncias

Still Platina* elsewhere describes the *verzuzum* little broth, which requires four egg yolks, four ounces [around 100 g] of sugar, the same amount of orange

¹⁶¹⁸ Sia Platina che Gessner hanno *duo vitella*. Si emenda, altrimenti il senso della frase risulterebbe alterato. Infatti *duos vitellos* non concorda con *cruda*.

¹⁶¹⁹ *De honesta voluptate* liber 7 cap. 29. (Aldrovandi).

¹⁶²⁰ Anche questa volta il download da Gessner è totale, ma inaccurato. Infatti sia la ricerca in internet che un'edizione del 1499 del *De honesta voluptate* riportano abbondanza di *verzuzum*, con assenza di *verzuzum*. Ecco il testo di Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium III* (1555) pag. 440*: Hucusque Platina. Idem cap. 29. septimi libri iusculum verzuzum describit: quod recipit ovorum vitella quatuor, sacchari unc. quatuor, succi mali {arancii} <aurantii> tantundem, semunciam cinnami, aquae rosaceae unc. duas. Iubet autem eo modo coqui, quo iusculum croceum coquitur: et quo magis placeat, etiam crocum addere. Hoc genus cibarii (inquit) aestate praecipue salubre habetur. multum enim ac bene alit, parum refrigerat, et bilem reprimat. § L'edizione del *De honesta voluptate* a nostra disposizione - dove Platina inizia con la minuscola - è addirittura bolognese: *Libellus platinae de honesta voluptate ac validudine*, Bononiae, per Johannem Antonium Platonidem, 1499.

quatuor, succi mali {arancii} <aurantii> tantumdem, semunciam cinnami, aquae rosaceae uncias duas. Iubet autem eo modo coqui, quo iusculum croceum¹⁶²¹ coquitur, et quo magis placeat, etiam crocum addere. Hoc genus cibarii, inquit, aestate praecipue salubre habetur. Multum enim, ac bene alit: parum refrigerat, et bilem reprimat.

Λεκιθήτης¹⁶²² placenta dicebatur, cui ut scribit Eustathius, ovi vitellus erat admixtus. Alhagie Andreae Bellunensi cibus est ex vitellis ovorum factus in sartagine ex ovis conquassatis, quem Veneti fritaleam appellant. Sed quem Veneti, et nos etiam fritaleam vocamus, simul cum vitellis albumina conquassata recipit: tardi, et nidorosi nutrimenti causa est¹⁶²³. Mutagenat, inquit Sylvaticus, id est, cibus, qui fit in aliquo vase cum lacte seminum communium¹⁶²⁴ <(cucurbitarum generis)>, et iure Gallinae, et vitellis ovorum {,}>. Conditur autem cum saccharo, et miscella aromatica e cin<n>amomo, spica, cubebis, calamo aromatico, et cari semine. Coquitur autem in igne, et apposita supra vas testa calida. Sed alia quoque innumera panum, placentarum, laganorum, eduliorumque diversorum genera ex ovis, aut ei<s> admixtis fiunt, vulgo cognita, quae omnia persequi infinitum foret. Sat fuerit ea quae authores de his tradiderunt, collegisse.

USUS IN VARIIS.

Germani milites ad praelium proficiscentes Gallinaceis Gallis utuntur vigilantiae causa, quod alias etiam nationes factitasse antea retulimus. Tarentinus¹⁶²⁵ escam ad capiendos pisces magnos, marinaque omnia velut glaucos, orphos, et quaecumque sunt eiusmodi ex Gallorum testiculis cum nucibus pineis torrefactis, ac tritis ita committit, ut sint testiculorum drachmae

juice*, a half-ounce [13,64 g] of cinnamon*, two ounces of rose water. He suggests to cook it like the saffron colored little broth is cooked, and to add also saffron* so that it can be more tasty. He says that this kind of food is thought to be healthful especially in summer. For it nourishes a lot and well: it acts as a little laxative and represses anger.

A flat bread was called *lekithitēs* to which, as Eustathius of Tesselonica* writes, was mixed egg yolk. For Andrea Alpago* the *alhagie** - an Arabic term meaning frittata - is a food made in frying pan with egg yolks gotten from broken eggs, which the inhabitants of Veneto call *fritalea*, omelet. But that food which the inhabitants of Veneto and we too call *fritalea* requires egg whites beaten together with yolks: it is a nourishment of slow digestion and smelling of burning. Matteo Silvatico* says: *mutagenat*, that is, a food prepared in a terracotta vase with a milky juice of common seeds (of *Cucurbitaceae* genus), and with hen's broth, and egg yolks. It is seasoned with sugar and an aromatic mixture done with cinnamon, matgrass*, cubeb pepper*, sweet flag* and German cumin* seeds. It is cooked on fire and after a hot terracotta cover has been placed on the vase. But with eggs, or mixing them, also other countless varieties of bread are prepared, of flat breads, pancakes and different courses, known to everybody, and to describe all of them it would be an endless thing. It is enough to have gathered those handed down about them by different authors.

USE IN VARIOUS SITUATIONS

German soldiers when go off to a battle use the roosters for watch, a thing that on the other hand we have previously reported as usually carried out by other peoples. Tarentinus - a geponic* - hands down a recipe of a bait for catching big fishes and every kind of sea animal like bastard kitefin sharks*, scorpion fishes* and whatever such animal, a bait made of rooster testicles with toasted pine nuts and

¹⁶²¹ Descritto a pagina 302*.

¹⁶²² *Lekithitēs ártos* era un pane fatto di legumi.

¹⁶²³ La fonte della considerazione gastronomica e medica non è Ulisse, bensì Antonio Brasavola. Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium III* (1555) pag. 440*: Placentam quae ex ovis fit nos frictatam vocamus, quae et tardi et nidorosi nutrimenti causa est, Brasavolus.

¹⁶²⁴ Aldrovandi - come dimostra *cinamomo* - prende il testo da Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium III* (1555) pag. 440*: Mutagenat, id est cibus qui fit in aliquo vase cum lacte seminum communium et iure gallinae et vitellis ovorum cum saccharo et miscella aromatica e cin<n>amomo, spica, cubebis, calamo aromatico et cari semine. coquitur autem in igne et apposita super vas testa calida, Sylvaticus. § Tanto vale emendare con il testo di Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium III* (1555) pag. 390*, che si presenta più esplicativo: Mutagenat, est cibus qui fit in aliquo vase cum lacte seminum communium (cucurbitarum generis,) iure gallinae et vitellis ovorum. conditur autem saccharo et polline qui constat cinnamomo, spica, cubebis, calamo aromatico et cari semine. coquitur ad ignem, et apposita super vas testa calida, Sylvaticus.

¹⁶²⁵ In *Geop. Graec.* (Aldrovandi)

octo, nucum pinearum drachmae sedecim: iubet autem omnia teri in farinae speciem, fierique collyria: et eiusmodi esca illectari pisces pollicetur. Ventriculi Gallinaceorum pelliculae coagulandi vim attribuunt: unde legimus apud Palladium¹⁶²⁶: *Maio mense lac coagulabimus {syncero} <syncero> lacte, coagulis vel agni, vel boedi, vel pellicula, quae solet pullorum (Gallinaceorum scilicet) ventribus adhaerere.* Alii eandem coagulandi vim gutturi Gallinae attribuunt. Sunt qui fabas Gallorum sanguine¹⁶²⁷ maceratas, antequam serantur, ab adversantibus herbis non infestari promittunt.

Sanguis nigrarum Gallinarum, attestante Rase, aufert maculas foetidas, et lentigines a facie, et huiusmodi, maxime, si misceatur ei lapis vaccinus tritus cum baurach rubeo. Ant. Mizaldus¹⁶²⁸ vero albae Gallinae sanguinem in faciem lentiginosam effusum, ibique resiccatum, et detersum omnes eius maculas obliterare scribit ex quodam Italo. Fimus hîc quoque a nonnullis commendatur, maxime candidus servatus in oleo veteri cornea pyxide, ut Pliniû¹⁶²⁹ verbis utar: qui alibi¹⁶³⁰ adipem etiam vel Gallinae, vel Anseris cutem in facie dixit custodire: quod ex Dioscoride videri potest descripsisse, qui ita¹⁶³¹ habet: *Adeps Anseris, et Gallinaceus utilis est εἰς προσώπων ἐπιμέλειαν*¹⁶³², id est, ad nitorem vultus, ut Marcellus {Virgilius} <Virgilius> vertit, ad {*magonizandum*} <*magonizandam*>¹⁶³³ faciem, ut Ruellius: etsi Ornithologus¹⁶³⁴ cum Plinio potius malit vertere, *Ad faciei custodiam,*

ground up so that there are eight drachmae [around 25 g] of testicles, sixteen drams of pine nuts: he prescribes that the whole must be made floury and to do ointments: and he assures that such a bait seduces fishes. They attribute coagulating power to coilin membrane* of gallinaceous muscular stomach - or gizzard, hence we read in Palladius*: *In the month of May we will coagulate the cheese with curds of pure or ewe's milk, or of she-goat, or with the membrane usually sticking to the stomach of chickens* (that is, of gallinaceous birds). Others ascribe the same power to hen's crop. There are some assuring that broad beans* soaked in roosters' blood before seeding are not infested by harmful weeds.

As Razi* testifies, the blood of black hens removes pimples and freckles and similar things from the face, above all if it is mixed with a crushed cow bezoar* along with reddish borax*. But Antoine Mizauld* writes, deducing it from an Italian author, that the blood of white hen sprinkled on a freckled face and dried there, and then cleansed, fades away all its spots. In this situation by some people also the dung is recommended, above all the white one preserved in old oil in a horny pot, to use Pliny's* words: who elsewhere said that also fat of hen or goose protects the skin of the face: and we can infer that he made this quotation drawing it from Dioscorides* who is expressing himself as follows: *Goose's and gallinaceous fat is useful eis prosopon epiméleian*, that is, for shining of face, as Marcellus Virgilius* translates, *to artificially embellish the face* as Jean Ruel* translates: although the Ornithologist, joining Pliny, would rather prefer to translate *For the protection of the face*, that is, against

¹⁶²⁶ *Opus Agriculturae* VI,9 - DE CASEO FACIENDO - Hoc mense caseum coagulabimus sincero lacte coagulis vel agni vel haedi vel pellicula, quae solet pullorum ventribus adhaerere, vel agrestis cardui floribus vel lacte ficulno, cui serum debet omne deduci, ut et ponderibus urgeatur.

¹⁶²⁷ Aldrovandi non dà la fonte di questa notizia. È assai verosimile che corrisponda a quella di Gessner, il quale tuttavia parla di sangue di cappone e non di gallo. Conrad Gessner *Historia animalium III* (1555) pag. 412*: *Fabae semina Graeci asserunt capi sanguine macerata adversantibus herbis liberari*, Ruellius. Ego in *Geoponicis* adhuc nihil tale reperi.

¹⁶²⁸ *Memorabilium utilium ac jucondorum Centuriae etc.* 3.23. (Aldrovandi)

¹⁶²⁹ *Naturalis historia* XXX,121: *Ad easdem vitiligines et muscas inlini iubent cum radice Eupatoriae, gallinarum fimi candidum servatum in oleo veteri cornea pyxide, [...]*

¹⁶³⁰ *Naturalis historia* XXX,29: *Cutem in facie custodit adeps anseris vel gallinae.*

¹⁶³¹ Libro II capitolo 94 di Jean Ruel (1549): *Anserinus gallinaceusque conveniunt muliebribus malis, et ad labiorum rimas, et ad magonizandam faciem, et contra aurium dolores.*

¹⁶³² Il sostantivo femminile greco *epiméleia* significa cura, attenzione, sollecitudine.

¹⁶³³ Il sostantivo neutro greco *mággonon* significa incantesimo, sortilegio, magia. Il verbo *magganeío* significa fare magie o incantesimi, abbellire con artifici, falsificare. Ne deriva il sostantivo maschile latino *mango*, che designa quel mercante che con mezzi artificiali abbellisce la sua merce o la falsifica, soprattutto se è rappresentata da pietre preziose, balsami o unguenti, vino, e anche da schiavi, in quanto il *mango* doveva eccellere nell'arte di renderne più attraenti volto e fattezze per nascondere i difetti.

¹⁶³⁴ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium III* (1555) pag. 396*: *Cutem in facie adeps anseris vel gallinae custodit*, Plinius. *Adeps anseris et gallinaceus utilis est ad nitorem vultus, εἰς προσώπων ἐπιμέλειαν*, Dioscorides, ut Marcellus vertit: *ad magonizandam faciem*, ut Ruellius. Ego cum Plinio potius verterem ad faciei custodiam, adversus ventos scilicet, frigora et Solem. Fissuras in facie sanat, et faciem reddit lucidam, Rasis.

scilicet, adversus ventos, frigora, et solem. Sunt qui ad carnis pulchritudinem, ac iuventae florem conservandos aquam e Gallina arte chymica elicant hoc modo: Gallinam accipiunt candidam, eam strangulant, unaque cum plumis, et ossibus contundunt, omnia in aqua fluviatili decoquunt una cum hordei cortice nudi manipulo uno, et dimidio, decoctam catino satis amplo imponunt, ova recentissima unius nempe diei simul cum testis suis rupta cum Gallina permiscunt, et terebinthinae abietinae parum, ac pulveris Myrrhae mediam unciam adiiciunt, omniaque permista destillant in alembico, ac dein novem continuis diebus soli exponunt, postremo boracis, et saccari parum adiiciunt, ac utuntur.

Aliter ad faciem mangonizandam: Accipe Gallinam pinguem, a pennis mundam, contunde ubi interanea exemeris, sanguinem absterseris, ac in frusta parva conscideris: dein simul cum pulveris gummi¹⁶³⁵ {eleni} <helenii>¹⁶³⁶, carabes¹⁶³⁷ [?], {armoniaci} <ammoniaci>,

winds, heats and sun. There are some people who to preserve the beauty of the flesh and the flower of the youth chemically get water from the hen in this way: they take a candid hen, strangle her, crush her with feathers and bones, cook the whole for a long time in river water together with one and a half handful of hulled barley*, when she is overcooked they place her in rather roomy bowl, properly mix with the hen two very fresh broken eggs, that is, one-day-old, along with shells, and add little fir resin and a half-ounce [around 14 g] of myrrh* powder, and after properly mixed the whole they distill it in an alembic, and then expose the distillate to the sun for nine days in succession, finally they add some borax and sugar and use it.

To embellish artificially the face in another manner: Take a fat hen polished up from feathers, crush there whence you extracted entrails, clean up the blood and chop up: then distill in an alembic along with one ounce each [27,28 g] of gum powder, elecampane* - perhaps the Egyptian one, *carabes*, ammoniac gum*,

¹⁶³⁵ Per quanto è stato possibile appurare, non esiste una resina o una gomma ottenuta o ottenibile direttamente da *Inula elenium*, ammettendo che nella ricetta si usi l'enula* e non l'*helenium* egiziano simile al serpillio*. Il latino *gummi*, o *cummi*, o *commi*, che significa gomma oppure resina, è un vocabolo neutro indeclinabile e deriva dal greco *kómmi*, anch'esso neutro indeclinabile, a sua volta derivato dall'egiziano *kmyt*, che suona *kom* in copto. Per gomma nei tempi passati, quando quella artificiale non era possibile fabbricarla, si intendeva un prodotto caratterizzato da elevatissima elasticità di origine naturale che si può ottenere da numerose piante: se ne contano più di 300, tutte viventi nei territori tropicali situati fra il 15° parallelo N e il 15° parallelo S. § Che l'erroneo *eleni* di Aldrovandi corrisponda assai verosimilmente a *helenii* lo dimostra la traduzione di Lind (1963) che lo dà come elecampane, come è detta l'*Inula helenium* in inglese. Tuttavia Lind non si permette di porre una virgola dopo *gummi*, per cui traduce con gomma di enula: Then distill it with powder of gum elecampane, *carabaccium*, ammoniac gum, myrrh, bdellium, sandarac or juniper resin, incense, and borax [etc.]. § A nostro avviso questa virgola va posta, al fine di distinguere gomma da enula.

¹⁶³⁶ Dioscoride* parla dell'*helenium* nel libro I capitolo 27 del suo *De materia medica*, ma non cita alcuna formulazione sotto forma di gomma o resina. Anche Pierandrea Mattioli*, nel suo commento a questo capitolo*, non accenna a siffatte preparazioni. Attraverso Mattioli veniamo a conoscenza del fatto che l'uso cosmetico in campo femminile dell'*helenium* - ma di quello egiziano, forse simile al serpillio* descritto da Teofrasto* - viene citato da Plinio che ne riporta anche un effetto afrodisiaco, mentre l'impiego cosmetico è taciuto da Dioscoride, che ne indica l'uso della radice messa a mollo nel vino solo contro il morso dei serpenti. Per cui possiamo presumere che in questa ricetta di Aldrovandi, ricavata non si sa da chi, l'*helenium* sia quello egiziano, quindi probabilmente una pianta simile al serpillio o sermolino o *Thymum serpyllum* CORTI 2008, strisciante a terra, assolutamente non eretto e imponente come l'*Inula helenium*. Mattioli nel commento a Dioscoride assembla così il testo di Plinio contenuto in *Naturalis historia* XXI 59 e 159: Meminit huius etiam Plinius libro XXI. cap. X. his verbis. Helenium e lacrymis Helenae dicitur natum: et ideo in Helena insula laudatissimum. Est autem frutex humi se spargens, dodrantalibus ramulis, favere creditur formae: cutem mulierum in facie, reliquoque corpore nutrire incorruptam. Praeterea putant usu eius quandam gratiam iis, veneremque conciliari. (trascrizione di Fernando Civardi*) § Ed ecco la botanica resa difficile da Plinio: XXI,59 Etiamnum folio coronant Iovis flos, amaracum, hemerocalles, habrotonum, Helenium, sisymbrium, serpullum, omnia surculosa rosae modo. colore tantum placet Iovis flos, odor abest, sicut et illi, qui Graece phlox vocatur. et ramis autem et folio odorata sunt excepto serpullo. Helenium e lacrimis Helenae dicitur natum, et ideo in Helene insula laudatissimum; est autem frutex humi se spargens dodrantalibus ramulis, serpullo simili folio. - XXI,159 Helenium ab Helena, ut diximus, natum favere creditur formae, cutem mulierum in face reliquoque corpore nutrire incorruptam. praeterea putant usu eius quandam vitae gratiam his veneremque conciliari. adtribuunt et hilaritatis effectum eidem potae in vino eumque, quem habuerit nepenthes illud praedicatum ab Homero, quod tristitia omnis aboleretur. est autem suci praedulcis. prodest et orthopnoicis radix eius in aqua ieiunis pota. est autem candida intus et dulcis. bibitur et contra serpentium ictus ex vino. mures quoque contrita dicitur necare.

¹⁶³⁷ Innanzitutto dobbiamo segnalare che Aldrovandi non fornisce la fonte di quanto sta riferendo, non permettendoci così una verifica dei suoi errori. § In latino antico non esiste *carabes*, ma solamente *carabus* che significava gambero, derivato dal greco *kárabos*, oppure indicava una piccola barca a remi di legno o di vimini. Né in greco è possibile trovare un equivalente di *carabes*. Oggi con *Carabus* si intende un genere di Coleotteri appartenente alla famiglia dei *Carabidae* composta da circa 25.000 specie dalle dimensioni da piccole a grandi. I Carabidi hanno corpo allungato, munito di antenne filiformi, di occhi ben sviluppati e di mandibole assai robuste e taglienti; le zampe lunghe e sottili permettono all'animale di spostarsi sul terreno a grande velocità. Spesso i Carabidi sono carnivori e quindi importanti per l'agricoltura, in quanto distruggono insetti nocivi, ma esistono anche specie dannose che si nutrono di semi, di mais e di fragole. Per i Carabidi non sono descritti impieghi particolari in campo umano, come è invece il caso

myrrhae, bdellii, vernicis, thuris, boracis ana uncia in alembico destilla: destillationi moschi grana duo, aut tria adde, et camphorae octavam: hac aqua mulier faciem abluat, postquam prius aqua pluviali usa fuerit.

Porro ad agros laetificandos Gallinaei fimi maximus usus est, praecipue apud nostros agricolos: etsi enim Varro¹⁶³⁸ Turdorum fimo principatum tribuat, non est quod idcirco hunc sprevisse arbitremur. Quinimo Columella¹⁶³⁹ primis partibus Columbario datis (id enim nostro aevo praestantissimum est, ac pretiosissimum) secundas mox Gallinaceo concedit. Eiusmodi stercus nos vulgo pul<l>inam dicimus, eoque non utimur duntaxat, sed pro Columbino nobis etiam ab adulterantibus id saepe obtruditur, tanquam eos non lateat f{a}elices quoque, atque uberes segetes facere: licet alioquin id vitii in se habeat, ut multas, ac inutiles herbas procreet. Mulieres Germanae, ut Ornithologus refert, stercus hocce commendant pro betonica altili, quae colitur in vasis, at non ad alia ob dictam causam.

myrrh, bdellium*, varnish* - or sandarac, incense*, borax: add to the distillate two or three grains of musk*, and an eighth part of camphor*: the woman has to wash her face with this water after she first used rain water.

Furthermore the use of gallinaceous dung is vast for fertilizing fields, especially by our farmers: for although Varro* is attributing the superiority to the dung of thrushes*, there is no reason for thinking that he despised the former. Or rather Columella*, after he granted the superiority to dove's dung (for at present day it is excellent, and of great value), soon after he recognizes the second place to gallinaceous dung. Commonly we call this dung *pollina* - fowl dung, and we don't use only it, but often it is passed to us as being dove's dung also by adulterators, since they are well aware that it too is able to make fertile and productive the grounds: although on the other hand it has in itself the fault of giving birth to several and useless weeds. As the Ornithologist reports, the German women recommend this dung for manured betony* herb, which is cultivated in pots, but not for other crops for the above-mentioned reason.

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Albuminis ovorum singularis ubique fere terrarum usus est ad agglutinandum, quemadmodum item apud veteres, [304] uti ex Plinio in primis habemus: *Aurum*, inquit¹⁶⁴⁰, *marmor*, et *iis quae candefieri non possunt, ovi candido*

Almost everywhere on earth the use of egg white as adhesive is outstanding, and we can learn firstly from Pliny* that also ancients used it for the same purpose: he says: *The gold is smeared on marble and those things which cannot be made incandescent, by the use of egg white.* And

della cantaride, *Lytta vesicatoria*, coleottero della famiglia Meloidi, i quali producono secrezioni tossiche e irritanti, e la cantaride era usata un tempo, e tutt'oggi da qualche demente visti i gravi effetti collaterali, a scopo afrodisiaco. § Lind (1963) ha cercato una soluzione al busillis traducendo *carabes* con *carabaccium* in corsivo, forse per mettere in evidenza l'aleatorietà della sua traduzione, e il legno carabaccio - scusate il neologismo - ha un profumo che si avvicina a quello del chiodo di garofano. § Questi che seguono sono i dati contenuti anche in *Encyclopédie méthodique, médecine, par une société de médecins* (Paris, Panckoucke, 1792): BOIS DE CARABACCI - LIGNUM CARABACCICUM - CARABACCIIUM, (*Hist. nat. bot.*) c'est le nom que l'on donne à un bois aromatique des Indes, dont l'odeur ressemble beaucoup à celle du clou de girofle, excepté qu'elle est plus douce & moins pénétrante; extérieurement il est brun, ou de la couleur de la cannelle: on lui attribue la qualité d'adoucir l'acrimonie de la lympe, & d'être un excellent remède contre le scorbut; il fortifie l'estomac, & facilite la digestion. On le prend en décoction, ou infusé comme du thé & du café. Les droguistes n'ont encore pu se procurer de justes renseignements sur l'arbre qui le fournit. § Vista la dovizie di errori latini in questo succinto brano di Aldrovandi, *carabes* viene *tradotto* con il fantomatico aldrovandesco *carabes*.

¹⁶³⁸ *Rerum rusticarum* I,38: Quae loca in agro stercoranda, videndum, et qui et quo genere potissimum facias: nam discrimina eius aliquot. Stercus optimum scribit esse Cassius volucrium praeter palustrium ac nantium. De hisce praestare columbinum, quod sit calidissimum ac fermentare possit terram. Id ut semen aspargi oportere in agro, non ut de pecore acervatim poni. Ego arbitror praestare ex aviariis turdorum ac merularum, quod non solum ad agrum utile, sed etiam ad cibum ita bubus ac subus, ut fiant pingues.

¹⁶³⁹ *De re rustica* II,14(15): Tria igitur stercoris genera sunt praecipue, quod ex avibus, quod ex hominibus, quod ex pecudibus confit. Avium primum habetur, quod ex columbariis egeritur. Deinde quod gallinae ceteraeque volucres edunt: exceptis tamen palustribus ac nantibus, ut anatis et anseris; nam id noxium quoque est. Maxime tamen columbinum probamus, quod modice sparsum terram fermentare comperimus. Secundum deinde, quod homines faciunt, si et aliis villae purgamentis immisceatur, quoniam ferventioris naturae est, et idcirco terram perurit.

¹⁶⁴⁰ *Naturalis historia* XXXIII,64: Marmor et iis, quae candefieri non possunt, ovi candido inlinuntur, ligno glutini ratione composita; leucophorum vocant. quid sit hoc aut quemadmodum fiat, suo loco docebimus. Aes inaugurari argento vivo aut certe hydrargyro legitimum erat, de quis dicemus illorum naturam reddentes.

illinitur: Et alibi¹⁶⁴¹. *Candidum ex ovis admixtum calci vivae glutinat vitri fragmenta. Vis vero tanta est, ut lignum perfusum ovo non ardeat, ac ne vestis quidem contacta aduratur.* Et rursus¹⁶⁴²: *Aurum ovatum ex Grammaticis quidam dictum volunt, quoniam ovi albo antea illito, aera, ac marmora auri, et argenti laminis decorarentur.* Quinim<m>o Cardanus tradit ad {lithostrata} <lithostrota> conficienda (qualia vulgo musaica vocant opera) ex frustulis lapidum diversorum colorum glutino tenaci invicem iunctis, fieri maltham (glutinum) perpetuam ex calce, et suillo adipe, vel pice, aut ovi candido.

Pharmacopolae longe ad alium usum albuminibus ovorum utuntur, ut scilicet serapia, et alias potiones clariores reddant: quod ita praestant{;}<:> albumina ex aqua frigida agitant scopulis, donec in spumam abeant, quam particulatim syrupo, vel alteri decocto ferventi inspergunt, et ubi {ferbuerit} <nigruerit>¹⁶⁴³, cochleari foraminolento deradunt, novam inspergunt, id faciunt, donec sit syrupus clarior. Alii ubi ex bullis clarius decoctum vi ignis factum animadvertunt, in id tepidum (nam calidius decoctum albumina coqueret, in frigidiore minus prompte, et parcius spuma elicitur) albumina singulis libris singula, sed etiam pluribus pauciora injiciunt, scopulis agitant, ut spumesca{n}t¹⁶⁴⁴, {saccharum} <saccharon> in particulas confractum conijciunt, recoquunt: ubi spuma subsedit, igni aufertur, <colatur¹⁶⁴⁵> per manicam¹⁶⁴⁶ Hippocratis, melius autem per pannum clavis quatuor, angulis quatuor

elsewhere: *The egg white mixed with quicklime glues the fragments of glass. In truth its strength is so great that the wood sprinkled with egg doesn't catch fire nor a cloth dampened with egg succeeds in burning.* And the Ornithologist adds: *Some grammarians are thinking that eggy gold took the name from the fact that bronzes and marbles were decorated with gold and silver leaves after egg white was first smeared.* Or rather Gerolamo Cardano* reports that an eternal mortar (a glue) is done using lime and pig's fat, either pitch* or egg white, to assemble floorings (as those works of art they commonly call mosaic work) made by fragments of stones of different colors kept together by a strong glue.

The apothecaries use egg whites for just other employ, that is, to make syrups - see *serapium** - and other potions more clear: and they do this as follows: with small brooms they shake egg whites in cold water until became a foam which they add little by little to a syrup or another decoction while boiling, and when it darkened they remove the foam with a perforated spoon, add some new foam, and continue to do so until the syrup became more clear. Others, when through the bubbles realize that the decoction became clearer thanks to the power of the fire, when it became lukewarm (in fact a warmer decoction would cook the egg whites, in a more cold one the foam is produced less quickly and in less quantity) they add an egg white to each pound [327.45 g] of decoction, but add even less than an egg white to several pounds, they shake with small brooms so that it foams, put in finely minced sugar and boil again: when the foam lowers, it is removed from fire, is strained through a conic flannel sleeve of

¹⁶⁴¹ *Naturalis historia* XXIX,51: Et, ne quid desit ovorum gratiae, candidum ex iis admixtum calci vivae glutinat vitri fragmenta; vis vero tanta est, ut lignum perfusum ovo non ardeat ac ne vestis quidem contacta aduratur.

¹⁶⁴² Impossibile trovare questa frase in Plinio. Si tratta verosimilmente di un *qui pro quo* dovuto al saccheggio del testo di Gessner da parte di Aldrovandi. L'*aurum ovatum* viene riportato da Gessner tra due citazioni tratte da Plinio. Aldrovandi, senza fare i debiti controlli, ha attribuito l'*aurum ovatum* a Plinio anziché a Gessner. § Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 433*: Albuminis usus. Aurum marmoris et iis quae candefieri non possunt, ovi candido illinitur, Plinius. Candidum ex ovis admixtum calci vivae glutinat vitri fragmenta, vis vero tanta est ut lignum perfusum ovo non ardeat, ac ne vestis quidem contacta aduratur, Plin. Aurum ovatum ex Grammaticis quidam dictum volunt, quoniam ovi albo antea illito, aera ac marmora auri et argenti laminis decorarentur. Papaver candidum panis rustici crustae inspergitur affuso ovo inhaerens, etc. Plinius. [*Naturalis historia* XIX,168: hoc et panis rustici crustae inspergitur, adfuso ovo inhaerens...]

¹⁶⁴³ Come spesso accade, Aldrovandi si astiene dal citare la fonte dei dati, che, attraverso Gessner, è rappresentata da Jacques Dubois*. § Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 433*: [...] vel alteri decocto ferventi inspergas: et ubi nigruerit, cochleari foraminulento deradas, [...]. § La citazione di Gessner è corretta, in quanto a pagina 162a di *Methodus medicamenta componendi, ex simplicibus iudicio summo delectis, et arte certa paratis* (1553) Jacques Dubois recita: [...] prior nigrescit [...].

¹⁶⁴⁴ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 434*: [...] albumina singulis libris singula, sed etiam pluribus pauciora injiciunt, scopulis agitant, ut spumescat, [...].

¹⁶⁴⁵ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 434*: [...] tepidum vel frigidum colatur, per manicam Hippocratis, melius autem per pannum clavis quatuor, angulis quatuor firmatum. § Per non tediarsi, Aldrovandi taglia il testo di Dubois come riferito da Gessner, che suona così: ubi spuma subsedit, igni aufertur, calidum, si crassum est vix colatur. si facile colatur, sed turbidum, tepidum vel frigidum colatur, per manicam Hippocratis [...].

¹⁶⁴⁶ Una manica conica in flanella usata per filtrare i liquidi, che in inglese suona *chausse*, come riferisce Lind (1963): *chausse*, a conical bag, made of flannel, for straining liquids. Dunglison. - Robley Dunglison, *Medical Lexicon - A Dictionary of Medical Science* - Blanchard and Lea, Philadelphia, 1865.

firmatum. Colatur autem ter, quater si non satis claruerit: si ne sic quidem {;} <, > albumen {separatum} <separatim¹⁶⁴⁷> in aqua agitatum scopulis inspergitur decocto igni reddito, spuma illa usta, alia inijcitur, idque toties donec bullae clarum satis produnt. Tunc colatur quoties est necesse.

Antiquitus etiam vina sua albuminibus ovorum clarificabant: Hinc apud Horatium¹⁶⁴⁸ legimus:

*Surrentina vafer, qui miscet faece falerna
Vina, Columbino limum bene colligit ovo,
Quatenus ima petit volvens aliena vitellus.*

Vinum, inquit Nicolaus Myrepsus, ut pellucidum confestim fiat: Alba ovorum conijce in vas, quotquot suffecerint, et albumen quoad spumat, concutiatur<.>¹⁶⁴⁹ cum vino, et modicum salis albi, tenuis, et fit album. Cuius rei Albertus¹⁶⁵⁰ hanc rationem assignat, nempe *quoniam vitellus ovi naturam habet cognatam cum faece vini, et albugo cum vino, ideo fit*, inquit, *quod cum ova immittuntur vino* (turbato per aestatem propter calorem austrinum) *cum arena, et calce clarificatur vinum: nam arena et calx perforant* (penetrant) *vini substantiam, et vitellus attrahit faecem*. Utrum vero vitello ea vis sit, subdubito, etsi id Ornithologus alioqui etiam affirmet, ac Albertus rursum alibi vitellum panni sordes abstegere scribat, sed nisi in plenilunio exclusi ovi, et non aliter, si diis placet: at quid obsit, quaeso, quod vel in crescente Luna, vel in decrecente nati ovi vitellum praestare prohibeat? Nunquam enim mihi persuaserim veram esse rationem, quam ex aliis idem Albertus adducit; nempe quia media saginata (sic habet codex impressus, forte sanguinea) gutta in vitello prima quidem generatione existens, calorem penetrantem, et dividentem maculas ex multo lumine Lunae humidum movente tunc concipit, quod alio tempore facere nequit.

Hippocrates*, even better through a cloth fixed at its four corners by four nails. For it is strained three or four times if didn't become clear enough: if it is not thus, on the decoction put back on fire is poured egg white beaten apart in water by small brooms, when this foam has consumed, other is added, and this is done time after time until the bubbles reveal that it is clear enough. Then it is strained as many times as necessary.

In ancient times they fined their wines with egg whites. Hence in Horace* we read:

The sly fellow mixing wines of Sorrento with dregs of the Falerno*, carefully collects the deposit with a dove's egg, since the yolk wrapping up the foreign substances goes towards the bottom.*

Nicolaus Myrepsus* says: So that the wine becomes clear very quickly put in a vessel as many egg whites as enough and the albumen is beaten until it foams. With wine also put a little white table's salt, and the wine becomes white. Albertus Magnus* ascribes the following reason to such a phenomenon, in saying: *clearly since egg yolk has a composition having affinity with wine dregs and egg white with wine, and therefore it happens that when the eggs are put in wine* (which in summer is turbid because of heat due to southern winds*) *along with sand and lime, the wine becomes clear: for sand and lime pierce* (penetrate) *the wine's constituents and the yolk attracts the dregs*. But I have some doubt about the fact that the yolk is endowed with such a power, although also the Ornithologist is however affirming this, and Albertus in his turn writes elsewhere that the yolk removes the dirtiness of a cloth, but only if it comes from an egg laid in full moon time, and not otherwise, if gods are willing: but please, what there is which prevents a yolk of an egg laid while the moon is increasing or waning from being successful? For never I have been persuaded that the reason brought forward by Albertus himself is true, drawing it from others, and that is, since the central fattened up drop in the yolk (so reports the printed text, perhaps it stands for bloody) which grows up at the beginning of the conception, then is producing a heat which penetrates and dissolves the stains thanks to the big amount of moon light which moves the dampness, a thing which it cannot do in another moment.

¹⁶⁴⁷ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium III* (1555) pag. 434*: [...] si ne sic quidem albumen separatim in aqua agitatum, [...].

¹⁶⁴⁸ *Satirae II*,4,55-57.

¹⁶⁴⁹ Il testo contenuto in *Nicolai Myrepsi Alexandrini Medicamentorum opus in sectiones quadraginta octo* (tradotto, emendato e annotato da Leonhart Fuchs* e pubblicato a Lione nel 1549) non corrisponde a quello di Aldrovandi per un semplice punto dopo *concutiatur*. Corretto è invece il testo riportato da Conrad Gessner in *Historia animalium III* (1555) pag. 434*. *Vinum ut pellucidum confestim fiat: Alba ovorum conijce in vas quotquot suffecerint, et vinum quoad spumat concutiatur. cum vino et modicum salis albi tenuis, et fit album, etc. Nic. Myrepsus.*

¹⁶⁵⁰ In comm. 3 de gen, animal. c. 2. (Aldrovandi) - Si tratta del terzo commento al *De generatione animalium* di Aristotele*.

Qui colore picturam illustrent, ovi candidum spongia frangunt, donec prorsus tenue, et aqueum fiat: quod ita fractum coloribus suis admiscent, ut vulgares etiam pictores. Olim ad ornandos, crispandosque capillos albi liquoris ovi usus erat etiam pro iuvenibus, qui nunc puellis tantum relinquuntur.

INSIGNIA. ICONES. NUMISMATA.

Pausanias¹⁶⁵¹ prodidit in arce Elidis Minervae fanum fuisse, signumque auro, et ebore fabricatum idque Phidiae opus extitisse: Deae vero cassidi Gallinaceum Gallum insistere: quod, ut opinor, haec avis omnium volucrum pugnacissima sit, vel quod Minervae cognomento Erganae sacra habeatur. Tradit item aliter¹⁶⁵². Idomeneum Minois nepotem a Pasiphaë Solis filia oriundum in scuto Gallum Gallinaceum pro insigni usum fuisse. Et quamvis Pausanias eum id factitasse credat, ut originem iactitaret suam a Deo Apolline nimirum, cui Gallus quoque ut docuimus, erat consecratus, quod cantu suo Solis ortum annunciet, quis tamen haud inepte coniecero, alitis pugnacitatis, et magnanimitatis imitandae causa duces illum, cuius praestantiam in bello decantat Homerus, eiusmodi insigne in scuto tulisse: quod Danos, Alanosque non factitasse duntaxat diximus¹⁶⁵³, sed sibi nomen etiam ab ipso Gallo desumpsisse. Cyrum insuper narrat Alex. ab Alexandro¹⁶⁵⁴ aureum Gallum lanceae affixum militi in acie pro vexillo exhibuisse, haud dubio, ut alitem sequeretur, cui unicus scopus est in praelio victoria potiri, et pro libertate dimicare. Sed Plutarchus¹⁶⁵⁵ Artaxerxes Persarum regem attestatur Cyri Iunioris percussori ex Caria virtutis tale contulisse praemium, ut in prima acie Gallum aureum in hastae gestaret apice. Unde factum est, ut Cares [305] omnes Gallos¹⁶⁵⁶ pro

Those who embellish an image with color, shatter egg white with a sponge until it became quite thin and watery: after shattered it thus, they mix it to their colors, as also common painters are doing. Once the egg white was also used by young people to arrange and frizzle hair, a use which now is left only to girls.

EMBLEMS - IMAGES - COINS

Pausanias* handed down that on the acropolis of Elis* there was a temple of Minerva* and a statue made of gold and ivory and that it was a work of Phidias*: and on the helmet of the goddess a rooster was standing: since, in my opinion, this bird is the most pugnacious of all birds, or because it is thought sacred to Minerva nicknamed Ergana - *ergánē*, the industrious. Likewise elsewhere he tells that Idomeneus*, nephew of Minos* and descendant of Pasiphaë* Sun's* daughter, used a rooster as emblem on his shield. And although Pausanias is believing that he did this to make boast of his origin, obviously from the god Apollo*, to whom the rooster, as we reported, was sacred too, since with its crowing announces the rising of the sun, nevertheless who would not have been able to infer in a quite correct way that that leader, whose talent in war Homer* is extolling, brought on the shield such an emblem because of the combativeness of the bird and to imitate its courage: we said that Danes* and Alans* not only were usual to do this, but that they took their name from the rooster itself. Moreover Alessandro Alessandri* tells that Cyrus the Younger* during the battle exhibited as banner to a soldier a gold rooster fixed to a lance, no doubt so that he would imitate the bird, whose sole aim in battle is to attain the victory and to fight for freedom. But Plutarch* testifies that Artaxerxes II* king of Persians to that Carian* fellow, who had wounded Cyrus the Younger, conferred as prize for his cleverness to bring in the first

¹⁶⁵¹ *Periegesi della Grecia* VI, Elide II, 26,3. - In *Eliacis*. (Aldrovandi) - Aldrovandi ne fa una breve citazione a pagina 239*.

¹⁶⁵² *Periegesi della Grecia* V, Elide I, 25,9.

¹⁶⁵³ Aldrovandi ne ha parlato diffusamente a pagina 250*.

¹⁶⁵⁴ *Genialium dierum libri sex*, IV, cap. 2. (Aldrovandi)

¹⁶⁵⁵ In *Artax.* (Aldrovandi) - Aldrovandi ne ha già parlato a pagina 185*. - *Artaxerses* 10,3. [10] Dinon then affirms that, after the death of Artagesers, Cyrus, furiously attacking the guard of Artaxerxes, wounded the king's horse, and so dismounted him, and when Teribazus had quickly lifted him up upon another, and said to him, "O king, remember this day, which is not one to be forgotten," Cyrus, again spurring up his horse, struck down Artaxerxes. But at the third assault the king being enraged, and saying to those near him that death was more eligible, made up to Cyrus, who furiously and blindly rushed in the face of the weapons opposed to him. So the king struck him with a javelin, as likewise did those that were about him. And thus Cyrus falls, as some say, by the hand of the king; as others by the dart of a Carian, to whom Artaxerxes for a reward of his achievement gave the privilege of carrying ever after a golden cock upon his spear before the first ranks of the army in all expeditions. For the Persians call the men of Caria cocks, because of the crests with which they adorn their helmets. (translated by John Dryden)

¹⁶⁵⁶ Questa è una pura illazione di Aldrovandi, non reperibile né in Plutarco né in Gessner. Aldrovandi potrebbe essere stato colto da un raptus di sineddoche, cioè, abbia preso una parte - la cresta, il cimiero - per il tutto, trasformando così in un gallo un cimiero

conis haberent, ut idem Plutarchus ibidem scribit.

formation's ranks a gold rooster on the point of his spear. Hence it happened that all Carians had roosters in place of helmet's crests, as Plutarch himself is writing in the same work.

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Herodotus¹⁶⁵⁷ vero eos ait primos galeis cristas imposuisse, et clypeis signa adiunxisse, et lora scutorum excogitasse. Hinc praeterea factum est, ut Persae Caras omnes ἀλεκτρυόνας dicerent, id est, Gallos, διὰ τοὺς λόφους, id est, a conis, quos in galeis portabant, ad quod lepidissimus fortasse Aristophanes¹⁶⁵⁸ allusit, dum Gallos quandoque imperitasse Persarum gentibus dicat: quo argumento etiam Persica appelletur avis Gallus, atque eo item nomine cyrbasiam, et tiaram gestat, quod regibus tantum licebat, tradente Clitarcho¹⁶⁵⁹.

In truth Herodotus* writes that they - the Carians* - first placed crests on helmets and applied emblems on round shields and conceived shields' leather straps. Hence it also happened that the Persians* called all the Carians *alektryónas*, that is roosters, *διὰ τοὺς λόφους*, that is because of crests they brought on helmets, a thing to which perhaps the wittiest Aristophanes* alluded when saying that once the roosters reigned over Persian populations: for this reason the rooster would also be called Persian bird, and likewise, as Clitarchus of Colophon* reports, for the same reason it also carries on head a tiara called *kyrbasiam* - a pointed Persian turban, which was permitted only to kings.

In Apollinis Delphici celeberrimo templo, ut Plutarchus¹⁶⁶⁰ author est, eius Dei imago erat, quae manu Gallinaceum tenebat, ut horam matutinam, et tempus instantis ortus designaret. Gallum in foro Romano depictum fuisse ex Plinio¹⁶⁶¹ habemus: *deinde video, inquit, et in foro {positus} <positas> vulgo. Hinc enim ille Crassi oratoris lepos agentis sub veteribus, cum testis (alias reus) compellatus instaret: Dic ergo, Crasse, qualem me reris? Talem, inquit, ostendens in tabula pictum inficetissime (alias infacetissime) Gallum exerentem linguam. Quod forte Plinius ex Cicerone¹⁶⁶² transcripsit. Quintilianus tamen id factum e C.*

As Plutarch* reports, in the very famous temple of Apollo* in Delphi there was a representation of the god holding a rooster in his hand so that it should indicate the morning and the moment of imminent sun rising. Through Pliny* we can know that a rooster had been depicted in Roman Forum, and he says: *And then I see that paintings have been placed everywhere also in the Forum. For hence arose that wisecrack of the orator Lucius Licinius Crassus* discoursing on shops of money-changers located in the southern area of the Forum, when an accused observer (that is the litigant) pressed him: Then tell me, Crassus, how do you think that I am? Thus, he replied, pointing out on a panel a painted rooster thrusting out its*

che era dritto come la cresta di un gallo. Non sottolizziamo sul tipo di cresta: semplice, a pisello, a noce, etc, anche se verosimilmente il riferimento è alla cresta semplice*, come quella del nostro Livorno.

¹⁶⁵⁷ *Storie* I. (Aldrovandi)

¹⁶⁵⁸ In *Avibus*. (Aldrovandi) - *Gli uccelli*, 483

¹⁶⁵⁹ L. *Cur Pythia non amplius carmine respondeat*. (Aldrovandi) - In *Sententiae* (ed. by A. Elter) in *Index Lect. Hib.* ... (Bonn, 1892). (Lind, 1963) § Forse Lind ha scambiato Clitarco gnomologo - che scrisse *The sentences of Sextus*, ed. H. Chadwick, Cambridge, 1959 - con Clitarco di Colofone. § In base al rimando fornito da Aldrovandi dovrebbe trattarsi dell'opera *Sugli oracoli pitici* di Plutarco che va invece riferita alla citazione tratta da Plutarco del paragrafo seguente, come si può correttamente desumere da Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium III* (1555) pag. 404*: In Apollinis Delphici templo chirotechnae (id est opifices manuarii) frigida quaedam et curiosa fecerunt, ut qui manus Apollinis gallinaceum imposuit, ut horam matutinam et tempus instantis ortus designaret, Plutarchus in libro *Cur Pythia non amplius carmine respondeat*. - Sempre a pagina 404 di Gessner si trova il brano tratto da Clitarco tramite lo Scoliaste*: *Quoniam enim (inquit Scholiastes) Persae omnes tiaram ferrent, solis tamen regibus erectam ferre fas erat: caeteris complicata erat vel in frontem prona vergebat, ut Clitarchus tradit. § I frammenti delle Storie d'Alessandro di Clitarco di Colofone sono contenuti in Jacoby, F., Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker, I, Leiden 1957²; II A, Berlin 1926; II B, Berlin 1929; III A, Leiden 1954²; III B, Leiden 1950; III C, Leiden 1958.*

¹⁶⁶⁰ Aldrovandi non dà nessuna referenza per questa notizia tratta da Plutarco, ma dovrebbe trattarsi del *Cur Pythia non amplius carmine respondeat* o *Sugli oracoli pitici* di Plutarco, erroneamente riferito poc'anzi a Clitarco. Si veda Pizio*.

¹⁶⁶¹ *Naturalis historia* XXXV,24-25: *Quam primam arbitror picturam externam Romae publicatam, deinde video et in foro positas vulgo. Hinc enim ille Crassi oratoris lepos agentis sub Veteribus; [25] cum testis compellatus instaret: dic ergo, Crasse, qualem me noris? Talem, inquit, ostendens in tabula inficetissime Gallum exerentem linguam.*

¹⁶⁶² *De Oratore* II,266. (Aldrovandi)

Iulio narrat. Illum enim obstrepenti Helvio¹⁶⁶³, ac saepius instanti qualem se tandem ostensurum esset, digito monstrasse imaginem Galli pictam in scuto {Mariani Cimbrici} <Mariano Cimbrico>, cui tunc Helvius simillimus videbatur.

Notissima insuper historia est apud Pausaniam¹⁶⁶⁴, et Suidam¹⁶⁶⁵ (variant tamen nonnihil inter se) Athenienses Anterotis aram constituisse, in qua pueri nudi, et formosi signum erat, in ulnis geminos sustentis generosos Gallos, et se in caput {impellentes} <impellentis>, quibus Timagoram, et {Meletum} <Meletem>¹⁶⁶⁶ qui amore perierunt, significabant. Gestat autem puer Gallinaceos: quod una cum duobus Gallis, quos a {Meleto} <Melito> sibi dono datos ulnis gestabat, ex arce Athenis se praecipitasset.<.>

Gallinacei icon in excelsarum turrium {ex}¹⁶⁶⁷ apicibus ex orichalco conflata, et inaurata plerunque, imponi solet, lamina ad ventum versatili. Monzae in Gallia Transpadana Gallina videtur una cum pullis ex auro Theodorico rege ibi facta. Paulus Morigia¹⁶⁶⁸ hanc auream

tongue in a rather silly way. Perhaps Pliny transcribed this from Cicero*. However Quintilian* tells that this was carried out by Caius Julius Caesar*. For he showed with a finger to Helvius, who troubled him by cackling and who rather frequently was pressing him by asking that once and for all Caesar would show to himself how was the image of a rooster painted on a shield that Caius Marius* had attained from Cimbrians*, to which Helvius at that moment seemed to look like a lot.

Furthermore in Pausanias* and in lexicon Suidas* is very well-known a story (they differ somewhat however) that the Athenians erected the altar of Anteros* on which there was the representation of a naked and handsome little boy holding in his forearms a couple of purebred roosters, and who was jumping down headlong, by which they were indicating Timagoras and Meles who died for love. For the little boy carries the roosters: since he would have thrown himself in Athens from acropolis along with both roosters he was carrying on forearms and which had been given him by Melitus as present.

On the tops of highest towers the image of a brass-cast rooster, and mostly gilded with gold, is usually placed, applied on a vane turning in the wind. At Monza in Transpadane Gaul a hen can be seen with her chicks here made out of gold by the King Theodoric*. Paolo Morigia* testifies that this golden

¹⁶⁶³ Aldrovandi ne ha già parlato a pagina 272*. § Cicerone *De Oratore* II,266: Valde autem ridentur etiam imagines, quae fere in deformitatem aut in aliquod vitium corporis ducuntur cum similitudine turpioris: ut meum illud in Helvium Manciam "iam ostendam cuius modi sis," cum ille "ostende, quaeso"; demonstravi digito pictum Gallum in Mariano scuto Cimbrico sub Novis distortum, eiecta lingua, buccis fluentibus; risus est commotus; nihil tam Manciae simile visum est; ut cum Tito Pinario mentum in dicendo intorquenti: "tum ut diceret, si quid vellet, si nucem fregisset." § Quintiliano, *Institutio oratoria* VI,3,38: Rarum est ut oculis subicere contingat, ut fecit C. Iulius: qui cum Helvio Manciae saepius obstrepenti sibi diceret: "iam ostendam qualis sis", isque plane instaret interrogatione qualem tandem se ostensurus esset, digito demonstravit imaginem Galli in scuto Cimbrico pictam, cui Manciam tum simillimus est visus: tabernae autem erant circa forum ac scutum illud signi gratia positum.

¹⁶⁶⁴ *Periegesi della Grecia* I, Attica, 30,1. (Aldrovandi) - Aldrovandi ne ha già parlato a pagina 268* dove viene discussa anche tutta la problematica di *Meles*, *Meletus* e *Melitus*, nuovamente esposta appena più avanti.

¹⁶⁶⁵ *In dictione Miletus*. (Aldrovandi) - Conrad Gessner ha invece "in dictione Melitus" - Referenza già data a pagina 268* da Aldrovandi e nel lessico Suida la voce *Melitus* suona *Mélitos*.

¹⁶⁶⁶ Il nome greco di persona *Mélēs*, *Mélētos*, accusativo *Mélēta*, Melete in italiano, viene latinizzato da Giglio Gregorio Giraldi in *Meletum* anziché *Meletem*. Se la sua flessione latina corrisponde a quella del fiume della Ionia *Meles*, anche il nome di persona fa *Meletem* all'accusativo. La conferma l'abbiamo da Ludwig Dindorf alias *Ludovicus Dindorfius* (Lipsia 1805-1871), che pubblicò il *Pausaniae descriptio Graeciae* a Parigi nel 1845: al nominativo scrive *Meles*, all'accusativo *Meletem*. § Ecco il testo di Pausania in traduzione inglese, *Description of Greece* I, Attica, 30,1: Before the entrance to the Academy is an altar to Love, with an inscription that Charmus was the first Athenian to dedicate an altar to that god. The altar within the city called the altar of Anteros (Love Avenged) they say was dedicated by resident aliens, because the Athenian Meles, spurning the love of Timagoras, a resident alien, bade him ascend to the highest point of the rock and cast himself down. Now Timagoras took no account of his life, and was ready to gratify the youth in any of his requests, so he went and cast himself down. When Meles saw that Timagoras was dead, he suffered such pangs of remorse that he threw himself from the same rock and so died. From this time the resident aliens worshipped as Anteros the avenging spirit of Timagoras. (*Description of Greece* with an English Translation by W.H.S. Jones, Litt.D. in 4 Volumes. Volume 1. Attica and Corinth, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press; London, William Heinemann Ltd., 1918)

¹⁶⁶⁷ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 404*: In excelsarum turrium apicibus gallinacei icon ex orichalco conflata, et inaurata plerunque, imponi solet, lamina ad ventum versatili. Vide Emblema Alciati quod in fine historia galli recitabitur.

¹⁶⁶⁸ Lib. 1 c. 8 hist. Medio. (Aldrovandi) - *Historia dell'antichità di Milano*, Venezia 1592.

Gallinam cum duodecim [septem¹⁶⁶⁹] pullis pariter aureis Theogillae¹⁶⁷⁰ reginae Christianarum rerum studiosissimae iussu confectam testatur¹⁶⁷¹, eamque ab illa in templo, quod Monzae D. Io. Baptistae voverat, inter alia regia dona memoriae consecrasse. Mirum, quod scribit Georgius Agricola, lapidem Eislebanum aliquando Galli effigiem referre.

Quod modo ad numismata attinet, in quibus imago Galli Gallinacei conspicitur, statuendum est ea vel in Galli, vel in Deorum, quibus consecratus erat, honorem, {cusa} <fusa> fuisse. In Mamertinorum in primis numismatibus Gallus figura erecta, ita ut velut cucurrere velle videatur, apparet cum astro prope eius collum: inscriptio est talis. {MAMEPTINΩA} <MAMEPTINΩN>¹⁶⁷² BPETTION. In altera nummi parte est figura erecta, pectus, ventremque duntaxat velata, dextra baculum cum flagello, sinistra hastam tenens: humi prope eam a dextra thorax, a sinistra parma iacet. Asis (regio puto sic dicta. Nam et Ovidius¹⁶⁷³, teste Abrahamo Ortelio, ita Asiam vocat) puerum delphino insidentem numis {insculpebant} <insculpebat>¹⁶⁷⁴:

hen with seven equally golden chicks* was made at behest of Queen Theodolinda*, keen student of Christian things, and that she consecrated her to memory along with other royal gifts in the church she devoted in Monza to Saint John the Baptist. It is outstanding what Georg Bauer* writes, that sometimes the stone of Eisleben* shows the image of a rooster.

Now, as far as coins is concerned on which the image of a rooster can be seen, it must be established whether they were minted in honor of the rooster or of the gods to whom it was sacred. First of all in the coins of Mamertines* a rooster is visible in upright stance as if seemingly about to crow, with a star near its neck: the inscription is the following: MAMERTINON BRETTION - of Bruttii*. On the other side of the coin there is an erect figure, with a veil only at breast's and abdomen's level, holding with right hand a stick endowed with scourge, a lance with left hand: on the ground nearby this figure at the right side a cuirass is lying, at the left a small and round shield. The Asians (I think that *Asis* is the so called Asiatic region. For also Ovid*, as Abraham Oertel* testifies, thus calls Asia) impressed on coins a boy setting on a dolphin: the Dardanians* - the Trojans* -

¹⁶⁶⁹ Impossibile risalire alla fonte degli erronei 12 pulcini, anziché 7 come attesta il manufatto che ancor oggi possediamo. § Ecco cosa troviamo in *Historia dell'antichità di Milano* (1592) I,8 quando Morigia sta elencando ciò che *Teodolina* donò alla Chiesa di San Giovanni Battista di Monza: [...] e vi lasciò ancora un tesoro, e una Pitta con docici (sic!) Pulcini d'oro masiccio (sic!) [...]. § È assai verosimile che 12 anziché 7 sia un madornale errore di Paolo Morigia. Scrisse di lui Girolamo Tiraboschi (gesuita, storico della letteratura ed erudito italiano, 1731-1794): le sue opere sono assolutamente mancanti di spirito critico. Questo ce lo riferisce www.provincia.va.it. Se non bastasse, l'*Enciclopedia Biografica Universale Treccani* (2007) aggiunge: scrisse moltissimo, accompagnando a un'estrema credulità la cura di raccogliere il maggior numero possibile di notizie e fatti. § Chi troppo vuole nulla stringe!

¹⁶⁷⁰ Introvabili nel web *Theogilla* nonché *Theogilia*. Raro *Teodolinda*. In inglese suona sia come *Theodelinda* che come *Theodolinda*. Paolo Morigia usò *Teodolina*. § Si potrebbe ipotizzare che Aldrovandi ribattezzò Teodolinda con Theogilla, ma l'illazione di cui si parla nella nota seguente fa sorgere il sospetto che Aldrovandi abbia tratto Theogilla da un'altra fonte di cui non dà referenza. § Lind (1963) ha tradotto con Theogilla.

¹⁶⁷¹ Si tratta di un'illazione di Aldrovandi, in quanto Paolo Morigia né in I,8 di *Historia dell'antichità di Milano* (1592) cui sta facendo riferimento Aldrovandi, né in altri punti di quest'opera, si sogna di affermare che la chioccia coi 7 pulcini - 12 per Morigia - venne realizzata per ordine di Teodolinda. Ecco le parole di Morigia che sta elencando ciò che la regina donò alla Chiesa di San Giovanni Battista di Monza da lei fatta edificare come *oraculum* nel 595: [...] e vi lasciò ancora un tesoro, e una Pitta con docici (sic!) Pulcini d'oro masiccio (sic!) [...]. § Il *Dizionario della lingua italiana* di Niccolò Tommaseo e Bernardo Bellini (1865-1879) riferisce che pitta equivale a gallina: PITTA s. f. per *Gallina* è voce fanciullesca, ma su per la Montagna pistojese lo dicono anche gli adulti. § In dialetto valenzano (Valenza - AL) e nelle aree circostanti si usa pita con una sola t per indicare la chioccia. Potrebbe trattarsi di un vocabolo di origine onomatopeica che rispecchia il continuo petulante richiamo emesso della chioccia ai suoi pulcini. Che pita indichi petulanza lo conferma ciò che si dice a una persona noiosa: Fa nijnta la pita - Non fare la chioccia ~ A t'è nuus acmè na pita - Sei noioso come una chioccia. § Grazie a Fernando Civardi* veniamo a sapere che anche a Milano la chioccia è detta pita, mentre a Motta Visconti (MI) è detta pitt. § Da non confondere la pitta di Morigia con pitta (voce di origine telugu, lingua dravidica parlata nell'India centro-orientale) che identifica un genere di uccelli passeriformi con una ventina di specie diffuse in Africa, Asia e Australia, come per esempio la Pitta del Bengala, *Pitta brachyura*.

¹⁶⁷² Ulteriore dimostrazione degli errori contenuti nel greco che ci ammannisce Aldrovandi. È possibile contraddire Ulisse anche se non disponiamo del testo di Hubert Goltz dal quale ha desunto le notizie numismatiche. Le numerose monete dei Bruzzi reperibili nel web portano come leggenda MAMERTINON e non MAMERTINOA. Si veda il lessico alla voce Mamertini*.

¹⁶⁷³ *Metam.* (Aldrovandi) - *Metamorphoses* V,648-649: Iam super Europen sublimis et Asida terram | vectus erat iuvenis: Scythicas advertitur oras. - IX,447- 449: Sponte fugis, Milete, tua, celerique carina | Aegaeas metiris aquas, et in Aside terra | moenia constituis positoris habentia nomen.

¹⁶⁷⁴ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium III* (1555) pag. 404*: Asis (regio puto sic dicta) puerum delphino insidentem numis insculpebat, Dardanis gallorum pugnam, Pollux lib. 9. et Caelius.

Dardani<s> Gallorum pugnam: author est Pollux¹⁶⁷⁵, quod ideo fecisse eos Pierius Valerianus recte existimat, quoniam magnum pugnacitatis decus sibi antiquitus usurparent. Hinc honoratum semper apud Maronem Dardaniae nomen, cum secus Phryges fere semper ceu imbelles notentur.

Hubertus {Goltius} <Goltzius> {Selenontinorum} <Selinuntiorum> numismata, in quibus icon Galli conspicitur, depicta exhibit: in quorum primo viri nudi in adversa parte imago est, pateram dextra, sinistra lauri, vel olivae ramum tenentis: a dextra eius ara est, supra quam ignis, et ante eam Gallus tanquam festinanter currens, a sinistra cippus, cui insidit taurus, seu bos caput declinans, et cornibus suis incursum minitans: supra tauri tergus folium selini¹⁶⁷⁶ herbae (quam Latini apium nuncupant) a qua {Selinontis} <Selinuntis> urbs nomen obtinuit, item Selinus fluvius, qui haud procul ab eius urbis moenibus praeterlabebatur. Inscriptio numi est {ΣΕΛΙΝΟΝΤΙΩΝ} <ΣΕΛΙΝΟΝΤΙΩΝ>¹⁶⁷⁷. Ab altera numi parte biga est, cui duo insistent viri nudi, quorum alter qui est a dextra, lora equorum sinistra tenet, dextra sagittam tensi arcus: qui vero a sinistra stat arcum iam dictum dextra retinet, sinistra baculum, quo equos regat, et in hac parte nulla erat inscriptio, contra ac in altero eorundem {Selenontinorum} <Selinuntiorum> numo, in quo praedicta inscriptio est in parte bigae, in adversa vero istaec ΣΑΨΥΗ¹⁶⁷⁸, caetera eodem fere se habebant modo, nisi quod hic in ara focus non adsit, et taurus in cippo elaborato consistat. Tertium a primo differebat, quod ab utraque parte numi eadem inscriptio est {ΣΕΛΙΝΟΝΤΙΩΝ} <ΣΕΛΙΝΟΝΤΙΩΝ>, item in eo quod ab utraque cippi parte lauri ramus dependet.

portrayed a fight of roosters: Julius Pollux* writes this, and Giovan Pietro Bolzani* - alias Pierius Valerianus - thinks that they did this by right since in ancient times they were ascribing to themselves a great reputation of aggressiveness. Hence in Publius Vergilius Maro* the name of Dardania - Troy - is always esteemed, while on the contrary the Phrygians* are almost always branded as cowards.

Hubert Goltz* supplies reproductions of coins of Selinus* inhabitants on which the image of a rooster is seen: on the recto of the first coin there is the figure of a naked man holding a cup with the right hand, with the left a branch of laurel* or of olive: at his right side there is an altar with fire on it, and in front of the altar a rooster running almost at breakneck speed, at his left side there is a cippus on which a bull or an ox is sitting, with the head bent down, and threatening an attack with its horns: above the back of the bull there is a leaf of celery (called apium* by Latins) from which the city received the name of Selinus, as well as the river Selinus which flowed not far from the walls of that city. The inscription of the coin is SELINONTION. On the verso of the coin there is a two-horse chariot on which are two naked men, and that at the right is holding the reins of the horses with left hand, with the right the arrow of a drawn bow: the man at the left is grasping the aforesaid bow with right hand, with the left a stick by which to be able to rule the horses, and on this side there was no inscription, and on the contrary on another coin of the same Selinus inhabitants, on which there is the above-mentioned inscription, on the side where the two-horse chariot is present, on the obverse the inscription is this, SAPSYH, the other things were arranged almost in the same manner, except that in this coin on the altar there is no fire and the bull is on an elaborate cippus. The third coin differed from the first because on both sides of the coin there is the same inscription SELINONTION, and likewise because at both sides of the cippus a branch of laurel is hanging down.

¹⁶⁷⁵ *Onomastikón* lib. 9. (Aldrovandi)

¹⁶⁷⁶ Il sostantivo greco neutro *sélinon* viene tradotto con apio*, sedano, prezzemolo. Il nome scientifico del prezzemolo è *Petroselinum hortense*, dal greco *petrosélinon*, sedano che nasce tra le pietre, da *pétra*, pietra+*sélinon*, sedano.

¹⁶⁷⁷ Ennesima dimostrazione degli errori di cui straripa il greco propinatoci da Aldrovandi. È possibile contraddire Ulisse anche se non disponiamo del testo di Hubert Goltz dal quale ha desunto le notizie numismatiche. Le numerose monete di Selinunte reperibili nel web, e non solo nel web, portano come leggenda SELINONTION e non SELINONTION. § Inoltre è assai verosimile che si tratti di tetradracme e la tetradracma in greco suona *tetrádrachmon* che è di genere neutro, cui si adatta perfettamente l'aggettivo SELINONTION = di Selinunte = tetradracma di Selinunte. § A essere precisi SELINONTION andrebbe scritto SELINOYNTION, ma non ci è più possibile redarguire gli abitanti di Selinunte.

¹⁶⁷⁸ Si tratta della scrittura speculare di HYPASAS. § Nella leggenda della moneta la lettera H indica l'aspirazione, sostituita poi dallo spirito aspro che oggi si rappresenta così: ´. Infatti la traslitterazione dal greco del fiume Ipsas, oggi Belice, corrisponde a Hypsàs che è di genere maschile e dove la y è accompagnata dallo spirito aspro che nel nostro alfabeto viene espresso con H oppure h a seconda se il vocabolo inizia con la maiuscola o con la minuscola. § Per il fiume Belice si veda il lessico alla voce Selinunte*.

Quartum numisma ab omnibus diversum est. Hic enim nuda illa imago, quam Herculis esse remur, dextra pateram, ut in superioribus, sed sinistra clavam gestat aculeis armatam, et a parte dextra altare quidem astat, sed sine foco, ac magis quam in illis elaboratum, praeterea ante id serpens est capite erecto: a sinistra parte Gallus, atque demum supra eam Selini folium cum inscriptione ut in secundo, sed transpositis literis, nempe hoc modo ΗΥΨΑΣ. In aversa numi parte eadem imago taurum cornu prehensum retinens, sinistra erecta clava minitans: fuerit autem haud dubio taurus Eric<h>t<h>onius, quem Hercules [306] superasse dicitur: inscriptio {ΣΕΛΙΝΩΝΤΙΩΝ} <ΣΕΛΙΝΟΝΤΙΟΝ>.

The fourth coin is different from all others. For here that naked figure we think to be of Hercules*, with right hand carries a cup, as in previous coins, but with left carries a cudgel endowed with stings, and this figure is standing at the right side of the altar, but without fire, which is more elaborate than in the others, moreover in front of the altar there is a snake with its head high: at left side of the altar there is a rooster and finally, on above, a leaf of celery with an inscription like in the second coin, but with transposed letters, and, that is, in this way, HYPAS. On the recto of the coin there is the same figure holding a bull seized by a horn, and with left hand threatening by holding the cudgel aloft: without doubt it would have been the bull Erichthonius - the furious bull raging in Crete island* - which is said to have been defeated by Hercules: the inscription is SILINONTION.

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In prioribus tribus Ursinus¹⁶⁷⁹ Herculem Aesculapio ad aram sacrificare putat, dum dextra pateram libatoriam exhibeat: sed forte eiusmodi iudicium ex quarto numo desumit, in quo, ut diximus, apertissima Herculis imago est, cum tauro dimicantis. Nam ubi ex professo de populorum istorum colonia, et rebus gestis scribit, secus sentire videtur, dum ab altera numismatum parte in bigis Apollini sagittario Galeoten filium, aut Empedoclem, aut Herculem latus existimat claudere. Scribit autem in haec verba: Urbi stagnum, sive aestuarium imminabat, quod aestate quum pestilentem ob Solis ardorem, aerem exalaret, civitati {pernitiosissimum} <pernitiosissimum> erat, cumque pestilias¹⁶⁸⁰ ob eam causam crassando evulgaretur, Empedocles Agrigentinus sapientia clarus, ut {Selinontinis} <Selinusiis/Selinuntii> remedium afferret, derivata ex {Selinonte} <Selinunte>, et Hypsa fluminibus, fossa, et unico alveo, ac maximo impetu utriusque fluvii aquis in stagnum irrumpentibus quum pigras prius, limo torpescentes, salsas stagni aquas motu copiaque dulcium aquarum diluisset, civitatem suo ingenio, et sumptibus ab ea lue liberavit; quo beneficio meritis est, ut {Selinontini} <Selinusiis/Selinuntii> tanquam civium liberatori, alterique velut Aesculapio

Fulvio Orsini* thinks that on the first three coins he is Hercules* who at the altar is sacrificing to Aesculapius* while with right hand shows the libation cup: but perhaps he infers such a supposition from the fourth coin on which, as we said, there is a more than evident portrait of Hercules fighting with the bull. For when he writes clearly about the colony and the deeds of these populations, he seems to think otherwise, when according to the other side of the coins he reckons that on two-horse chariots beside Apollo* bowman there are his son Galeotes*, or Empedocles*, or Hercules. For he writes by using these words: Nearby the city there was a pond or a lagoon, which in summer, when it was stinking out the air because of the heat of the sun, was extremely deadly for the population, and since for such a reason the pestilence - the malaria - was spreading by growing always heavier, Empedocles of Agrigentum, renowned for his intelligence, in order to help the inhabitants of Selinus*, after he dug a ditch starting from the rivers Selinus and Hypsas - today Belice, and after by only a river-bed and the very impetuous waters of both rivers storming into the pond he diluted the salty waters formerly lazy and stagnant in the mud through the use of the movement and the abundance of the sweet waters, he rescued the population from that scourge by his ingeniousness and at his own expense, and because of this help he

¹⁶⁷⁹ Aldrovandi non fornisce alcuna referenza su dove Fulvio Orsini parla di queste monete. Le uniche due opere potrebbero essere - ma non lo sono - *Imagines et elogium virorum illustrium et eruditorum ex antiquis lapidibus et nomismatibus expressa cum annotationibus* oppure *Familiae romanae in antiquis numismatibus*.

¹⁶⁸⁰ Undoubtedly malaria. (Gerald Hart, *Descriptions of blood and blood disorders before the advent of laboratory studies*, British Journal of Haematology, 2001, 115, 719-728)

divinos honores tribuerent. Hinc forsitan in {Selinontinorum} <Selinuntiorum> numismatibus sacra faciente aut Empedocle, aut Hercule Alexicaco Gallus, et Parias serpens ad aras Aesculapii adsculpitur: ad haec num in altera numismatum parte in curribus Apollini Sagittario, Galeotes filius, aut Empedocles, an denique Hercules latus claudat, liberam cuique coniecturam, et opinionem relinquo. Haec itaque Ursinus opinionis suae, ut vides, incertus. Quod si mihi meum interponere liceat iudicium, putarim Empedoclis imaginem esse, et Aesculapii vice cultum illum fuisse ob allatam causam.

In {Tianensium} <Tyranorum> quodam numo etiam Gallus conspicitur erectae figurae ceu cucu<r>ritum edens, cui supra cristam granum tritici, et a tergo astrum: ante talis inscriptio: {TIANO} <TYANΩN>. Ab altera parte Martis caput galeratum. Credendum ergo Gallum in tali numo expressisse, quoniam Martis ales est, et granum tritici fertilitatis ex agricultura symbolum esse. Quod ad stellam attinet, quae pariter in aliquot aliis vicinorum populorum numis conspicitur, nonnulli eo referendum putant, quod magna Graecia prius Hesperia dicta sit: Hesperum itaque sive vesperuginem (quam Venerem non sine ratione quidam opinati sunt) his nummis exprimi.

Calenorum item duo visuntur numismata Galli imaginem ferentia, quorum primum, quod aereum est, ab uno latere sex pilas habet sine inscriptione, ab altero Gallum erectum cum inscriptione KAAENΩ. Alterum pariter aereum ab una caput galeratae Minervae, ab altera Gallum cum astro a tergo, et inscriptione ante pectus CAENΩ. Reperitur quoddam Antonini {pii} <Pii> Augusti numisma, in quo tribus Gallis totidem simulacra velut abblandiri videntur, quod ad mansuetissimum Antonini ingenium spectare crediderim, ut qui pugnacitatem committigare procuraret, omnemque belli ferociam, quanto posset studio emolliret, utpote qui mallet vivum civem servare, quam mille hostes interficere solusque omnium principum sine civili sanguine, et hostili etiam, quantum ad se pertineret, viveret. Denique Suessanorum numo, ut inscriptio indicat, Gallus est erectae staturae cum Phosphoro a tergo stella addita.

earned that Selinus' inhabitants gave him divine honors as though he were the liberator of the citizens and a second Aesculapius. Hence perhaps in the coins of Selinus inhabitants nearby the altars of Aesculapius is represented the rooster and the snake parias* - the Coluber of Aesculapius* - while Empedocles or Hercules Evils-driver-out are making sacred rites: on this subject I leave to anyone the freedom of hypothesis and opinion whether on the other side of the coins on chariots beside Apollo bowman there is his son Galeotes or Empedocles, or lastly Hercules. These are therefore the words of Fulvio Orsini who, as you can see, is uncertain about his own opinion. If I am allowed to interpolate my point of view, I would think that the figure is that of Empedocles, and that this has been a cult instead of that for Aesculapius because of the produced reasons.

In a coin of the inhabitants of Tyana* there is a standing straight rooster as crowing, on whose comb there is a grain of wheat and at its back a star: on the recto there is this inscription: TYANΩN. On the verso there is the helmeted head of Mars*. Therefore we have to think that they represented the rooster in this coin since it is the bird of Mars, and according to the agriculture the grain of wheat is a symbol of fertility. As far as the star is concerned, which likewise can be observed on some other coins of neighboring peoples, some think it must be referred to the fact that earlier Magna Graecia has been called Hesperia*: therefore on these coins is represented Hesperus* or Evening Star (which some not without reason has thought to be Venus*).

Likewise two coins of Cales'* inhabitants can be seen carrying the figure of a rooster, the first coin, made of bronze, on one side without any inscription has six pillars, on the other side a standing straight rooster with the inscription KALENΩ. The other coin, also of bronze, on one side carries the helmeted head of Minerva*, on the other side a rooster with a star behind him and the inscription CALENΩ in front of his breast. A coin of the emperor Antoninus Pius* can be found, on which it seems that three roosters are such as caressed by as many figures, a thing which I would be inclined to believe as referred to the very meek character of Antoninus, being a person who tried to lessen the aggressiveness and with the greatest care as possible he tried to soothe every kind of fierceness during a war, since he was a person who preferred to keep alive a citizen rather than to kill a thousand enemies, and as far as he was concerned he was the only one among all the sovereigns trying to live without any shedding of citizens blood, also of enemies. Finally on a coin of Suessa Aurunca* inhabitants, as the inscription is pointing out, there is a rooster standing straight with the addition behind

Sed quispiam fortassis brevitatis studiosus orationem nostram nimis crevisse accuset, ac nonnulla superflue a nobis allata historiae amplificandae gratia effudisse dicat: cui equidem responsum velim, nihil, quod scimus hic allatum esse, quod terminos nostros egrediatur, hoc est, quod vel ad Galli, vel Gallinae historiam non pertineat. Etsi enim nonnulla de ovis dicantur, quae quispiam nimium superstitiosus, aut ardelio non in Gallinae tantum, sed in aliarum etiam avium ovis locum habere obijciat, is scito Gallinae ova in omnibus orbis partibus ut principem locum obtinentia, quotidie in manibus omnium versari, et in usum cedere, non item ita alia. Cum itaque ab ovis plurimi, ac diversi cum ad esum, tum ad medicinam usus percipiuntur, cur non hic potius, quam alibi nobis erat dicendum?

Ne tamen posthac legentium benevolentia, atque humanitate abutamur, itaque hic nunc vela contrahimus, et ad describendas Gallorum Gallinarumve diversas aliquot species nos accingimus. Cum vero multae volucres eaeque exoticae Gallinaceo generi non annumerentur duntaxat, sed eodem etiam nomine fruuntur, adiecto solummodo distinctionis gratia patriae cognomine, itaque in descriptione earum ordinem hunc nobis servare placuit, ut de eis, quae cum vulgaribus nostris villaticis maiorem gerunt similitudinem exordiremur, post vero subnecteremus eas, quae magis ab illis discrepant, ne quid intactum a nobis relinquatur. Maiorem autem similitudinem cum nostratibus habent, quae calcaribus armantur, quibus exoticarum maior pars caret. Quapropter Turcicas vix in peregrinis habeo. Etenim parum a nostris differunt. Persicae quoque calcaria habent, sed cauda carent.

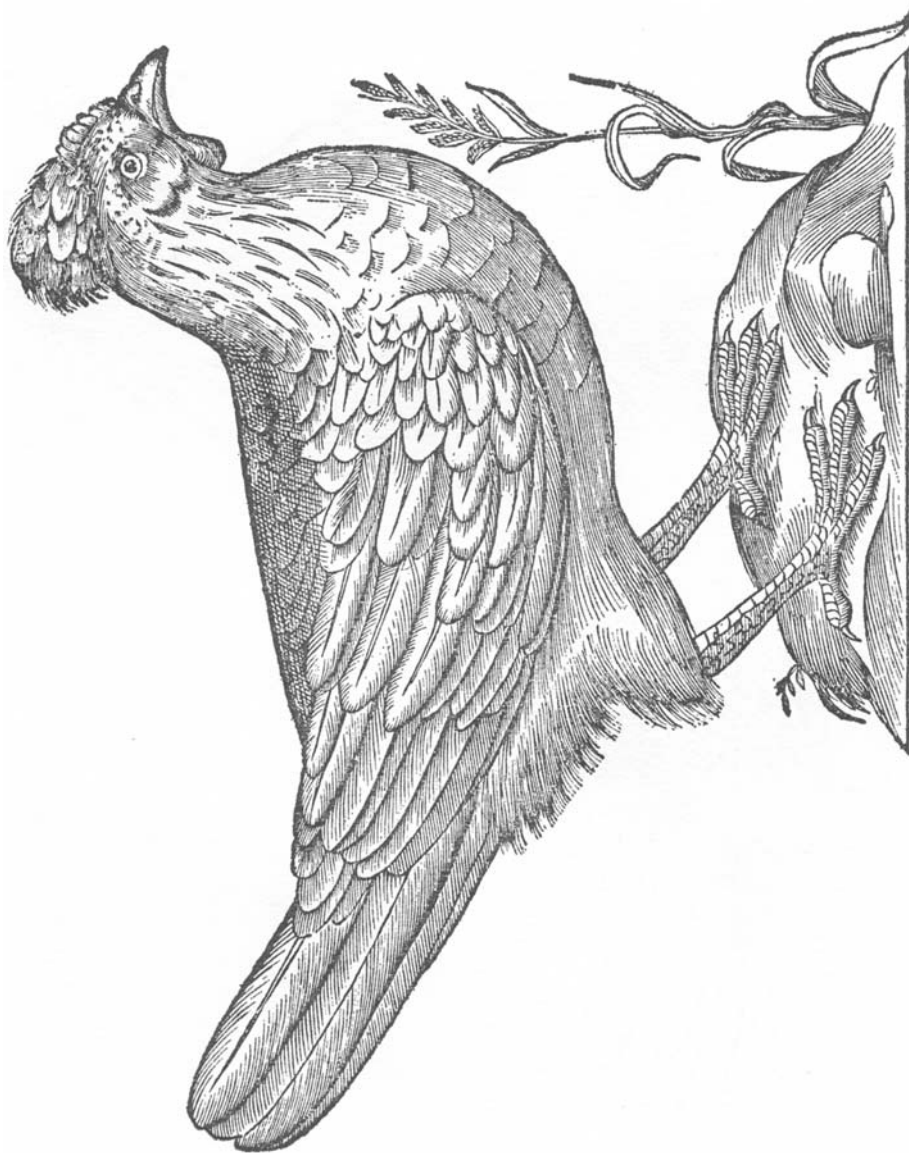
him of the star Lucifer*.

But perhaps someone, supporter of brevity, could level the accusation that our discourse increased too much, and he could say that some things we reported as an extra in order to widen the search have swollen: in truth I would like to reply to him that, as far as I know, nothing reported here goes out of our boundaries, that is, since it would not be pertaining to the search about rooster or hen. For although some things regarding eggs are said, things which someone too much haughty or meddling could object as fitting not only hen eggs, but also those of other birds, this fellow has to know that hen's eggs everywhere in the world have the first place, that daily are in the hands of everybody and that are used, and that the other ones don't behave likewise. Then since from the eggs many and various uses are drawn both from a feeding and a therapeutic point of view, why should I not speak of them here rather than elsewhere?

Nevertheless I don't have to take advantage hereafter of readers kindness and mercifulness, and therefore now I furl the sails and I get ready to describe some different varieties of roosters and hens. But since quite a lot of birds and furthermore exotic are not only numbered among gallinaceous genus, but also enjoy the same name, with the addition of only the name of the origin's place used for the sake of making a distinction, therefore I thought it proper to keep in their description the following order, that is, I would like to begin with those having a greater similarity to our common country subjects, then I would like to follow them with the most different ones, so that on my behalf nothing is remaining unexamined. They have a greater resemblance to our subjects those armed with spurs, in which is lacking the greater number of exotic subjects. Therefore I hardly put the Turks among the exotic ones. For they little differ from our chickens. Also Persian chickens have spurs, but they lack tail.

DIVERSARUM GALLINARUM
 & Gallorum descriptiones,
 & primo de alba
 cristata & alia ferme in lapidem conversa.
 Cap. II.

[307] Villaticarum nostrarum Gallinarum, utpote nulli non cognitarum duas tantum icones damus, quarum una tota candida est, et instar *Alaudae cristatae*, altera intra duos parietes reperta fame extincta, atque eo modo, quo vides,



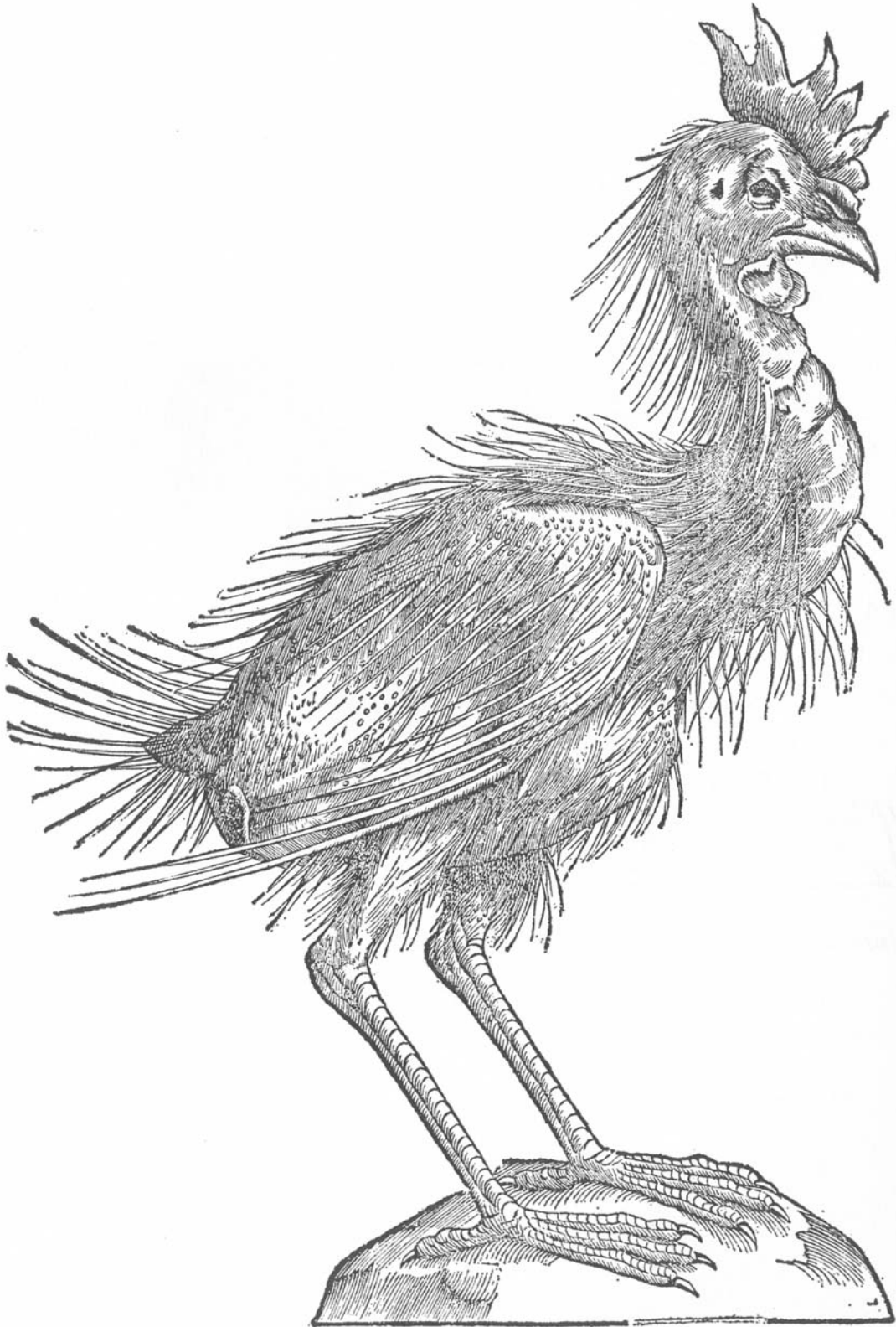
in lapideam ferme substantiam conversa, cauliculis suis absque pennis histicis instar horrida, intra arcis vetustissimae parietes reperta. Eam illustrissimus comes, ac senator nostrae urbis amplissimus D. Io. Pepulus olim mihi tanquam rem miram donavit. Huius iconem sequens pagina dabit. Gallinae cristatae appictum est Lolium.

CHAPTER II
DESCRIPTIONS OF DIFFERENT HENS
AND ROOSTERS,
 and first a white crested hen
 and another hen almost turned into stone.

I give only two pictures of our courtyard hens very well known to everybody, one of them is completely white and crested like a lark* - *Alauda arvensis*, the other was found between two walls, dead of hunger, and so, as you can see,

almost petrified, with a wiry look as that of a porcupine* because of the rachides of the feathers devoid of barbs, found between the walls of an ancient shelter. The illustrious count and very noble senator of our city Giovanni Pepolo one day gave it to me as present, as if it were an extraordinary thing. The following page will give the picture of this hen. Besides the crested hen is pictured the darnel* - *Lolium temulentum*.

[308] Gallina fere petrificata.
The almost petrified hen



DE PUMILIONE
Cap. III.

[309] Quamvis communium Gallinarum aliam nos iconem exhibituros negaverimus, Pumilionis tamen, sive nanae, quam perperam multos pro Hadrianis habere diximus¹⁶⁸¹, etsi ex earum genere, exhibere placuit, quod minus frequentes sint. Erat autem haec

CHAPTER III
THE DWARF HEN

Although I said I would not show another picture of common hens, nevertheless I thought it proper to show that of a dwarf, that is, a bantam hen because less frequent, which I said many people wrongly think as belonging to *Hadriana* hens, even if belonging to their variety. So, this hen



Gallina tota nigra praeter alarum maiores pennas, quae in extremitatibus candicabant. {Hebebat} <Habebat> pariter maculas in collo circumcirca candidas mediam lunam aemulantes, atque oculos denique macula sublutescentis coloris rotunda ambiebat. Caput erat cirratum. Paleae, et crista quae admodum erat exigua, {intesius} <intensius> rubebant: pedes flavescebant: ungues parvi, coloris impense candidi. Sed quid describere exactius prodest, si plerunque im<m>o fere semper color in his, ut aliis variet?

was entirely black except for the main wing feathers which were white at their tips. Likewise she was showing white spots echoing a crescent all around the neck, and finally a round patch of yellowish color surrounded the eyes. The head was crested. The wattles and the comb, which was quite small, were a rather deep red: the legs were yellow: the nails were small of a very white color. But what's the use of describing with more precision if afterward usually almost always in these as in other hens the color varies?

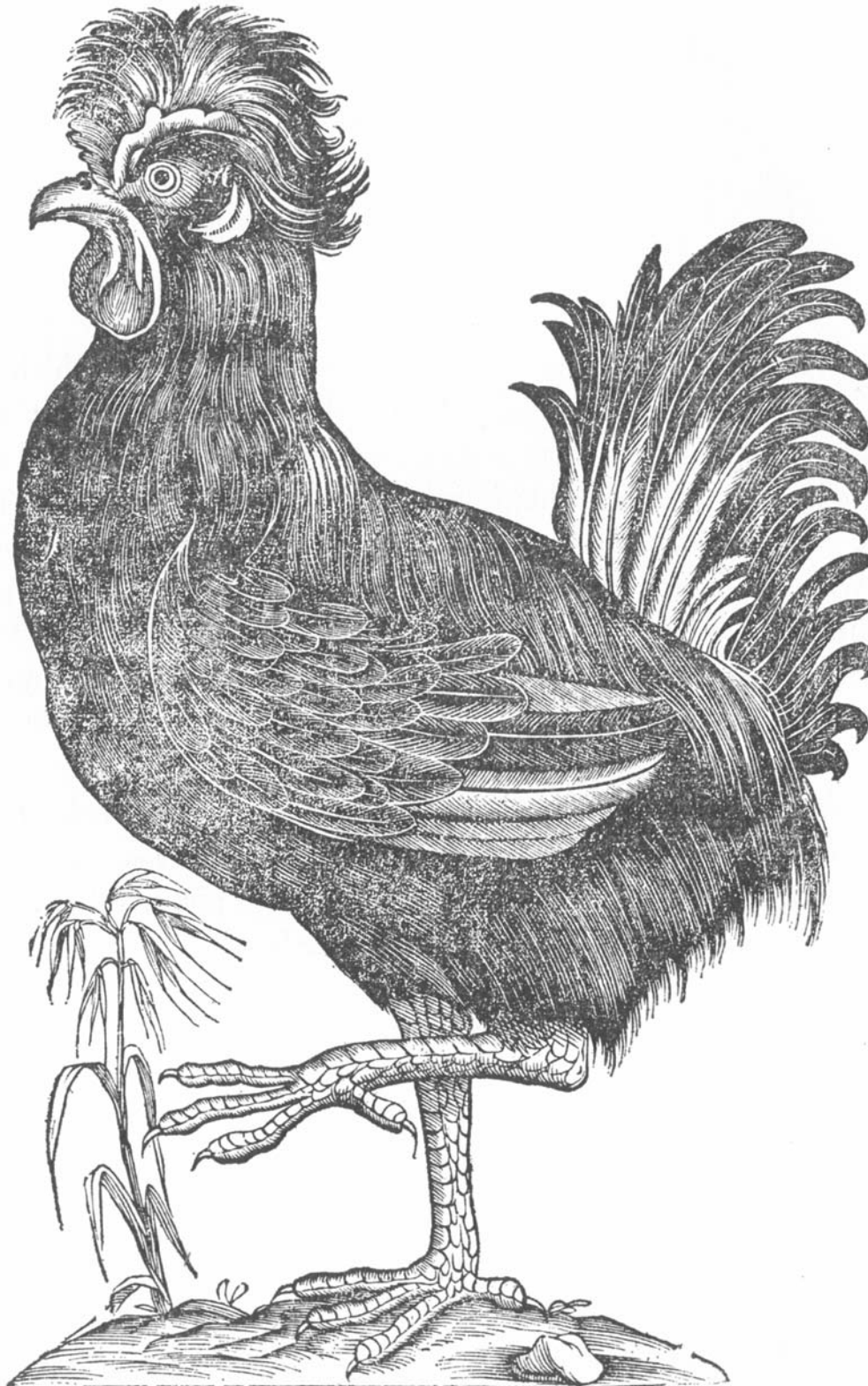
¹⁶⁸¹ A pagina 190*. La lunga trattazione delle galline *Hadrianae* si trova a pagina 191 e 192.

DE GALLINIS
Patavinis. Cap. IV.

[310] Nostratibus Gallinaceis plerunque maiores existunt, quos vulgus Patavinos appellat, quemadmodum etiam tales Gallinae nostratibus Gallinis. Maris faeminaeque iconem exhibemus. Mas erat aspectu pulcherrimus, quinque tamen

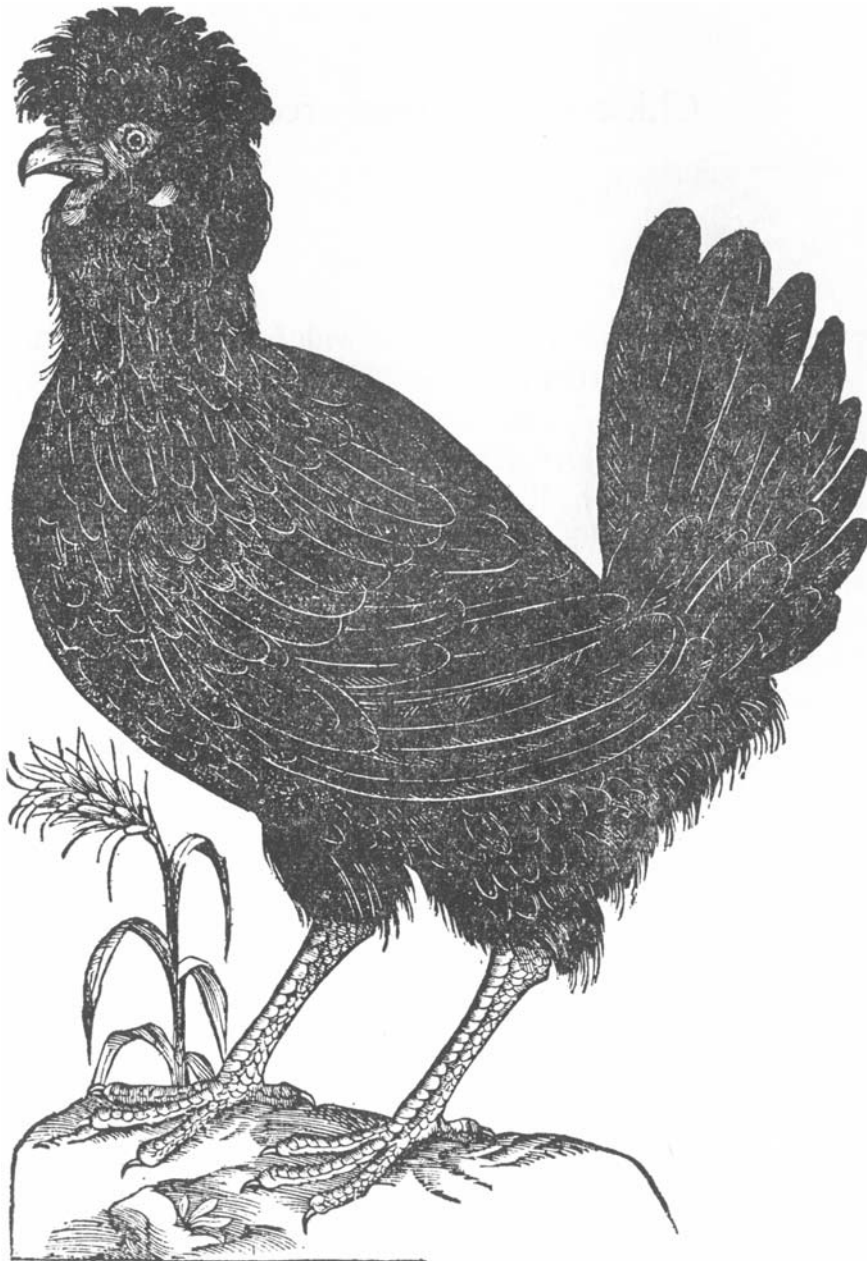
CHAPTER IV
PADUAN HENS

There are subjects often larger than our local cocks that people call Paduans, as are the hens in comparison with our local hens. Let us observe the picture of male and female. The male was of very good-looking,



[311] coloribus tantummodo {exornatos} <exornatus>, nigro scilicet, albo, viridi, rubro, et luteo. Totum enim corpus erat atrum. Cervix candidissimis pennis erat coperta. Alae vero, atque dorsum, partim quoque nigro, partim viridi constabant. Cauda pariter eiusdem erat coloris, sed pennarum radices albicabant. Albae erant insuper quaedam ex remigibus. Caput habebat pulcherrimo cirro exornatum: cirri autem radices erant albae. Oculos macula ambiabat rubra. Crista erat exigua, rostrum, et pedes lutei. In tota vero Gallina praeter albam illam pelliculam, quam prope aurium foramina obtinent, nihil prorsus erat albi, sed tota ex nigro virescebat. Pedes erant subflavi; crista admodum exigua, coloris etiam vix rubri. Gallo appicta est avena nuda, Gallinae Phalaris.

but adorned by only five colors, that is, black, white, green, red, and golden yellow. In all cases the entire body was black. The neck was covered with brilliant snow-white feathers. The wings and the back were also partly black, partly green. The tail was likewise of the same color, but the roots of the feathers were whitening. Moreover some remiges were white. He had a head adorned by a very beautiful crest: also the roots of the crest were white. A red patch surrounded the eyes. The comb was small, the beak and the legs yellow. In the whole hen absolutely there was no white except for that white pellicle - ear fold - they have near the ear openings, on the contrary she was completely greenish black. The legs were yellowish, the comb very small and only just red in color. Beside the cock is pictured the oats*, *Avena sativa*, beside the hen the canary grass*, *Phalaris canariensis*.



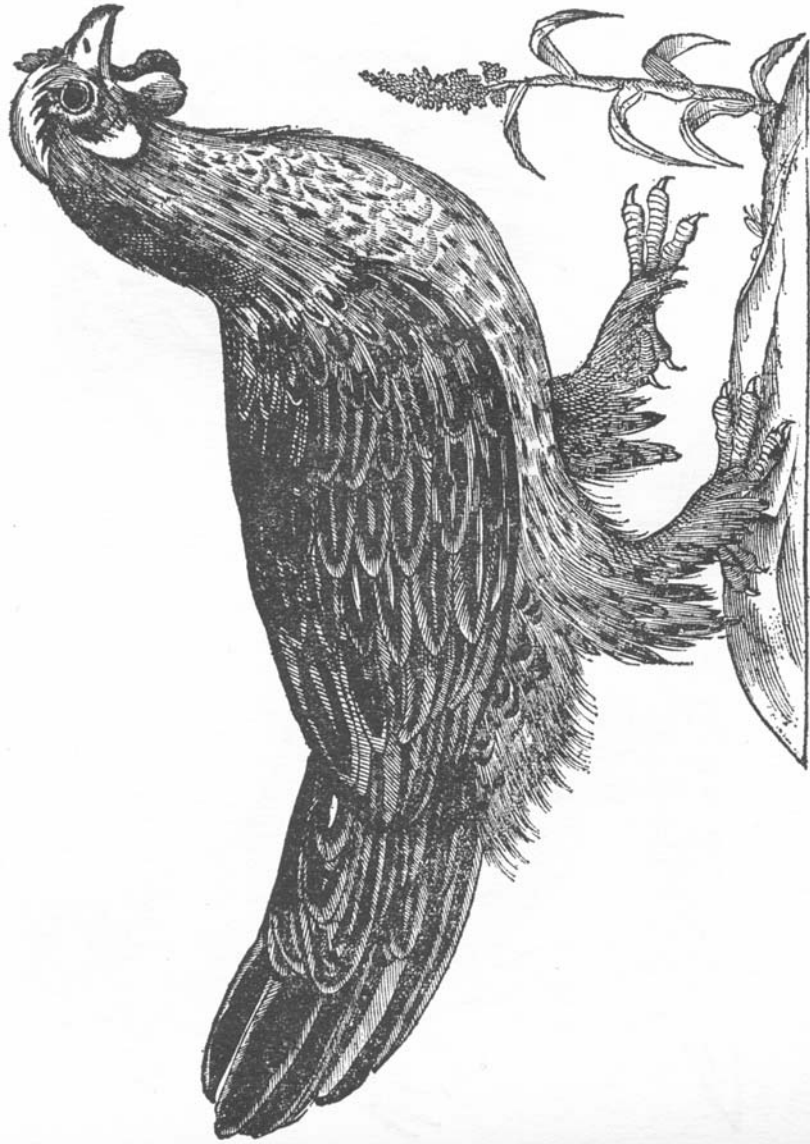
[312] DE GALLO, ET GALLINA PEDIBUS PENNATIS.
Cap. V.

CHAPTER V
ROOSTER AND HEN WITH FEATHERED LEGS



[313] Sunt quoque in hoc avium genere pedibus quandoque hirsutis, quales sunt, quos nunc damus, Gallus, et Gallina, Gallus collo, et dorso erat castanei coloris. Alae primum nigrae albicantibus maculis decoratae, dein nigrae erant, remigae candidae extra, intus nigrae. Mentum, pectus, venter coxae, tibiae nigra, albicantibus

Also in this genus of birds there are subjects which sometimes have bristly legs, such as those I am showing now, a rooster and a hen; the rooster had the neck and the back of chestnut color. The wings in the forefront were black adorned by whitish spots, then were black, the remiges were white outside, black inside. The throat, breast, belly, thighs and legs were black, decorated with whitish spots.



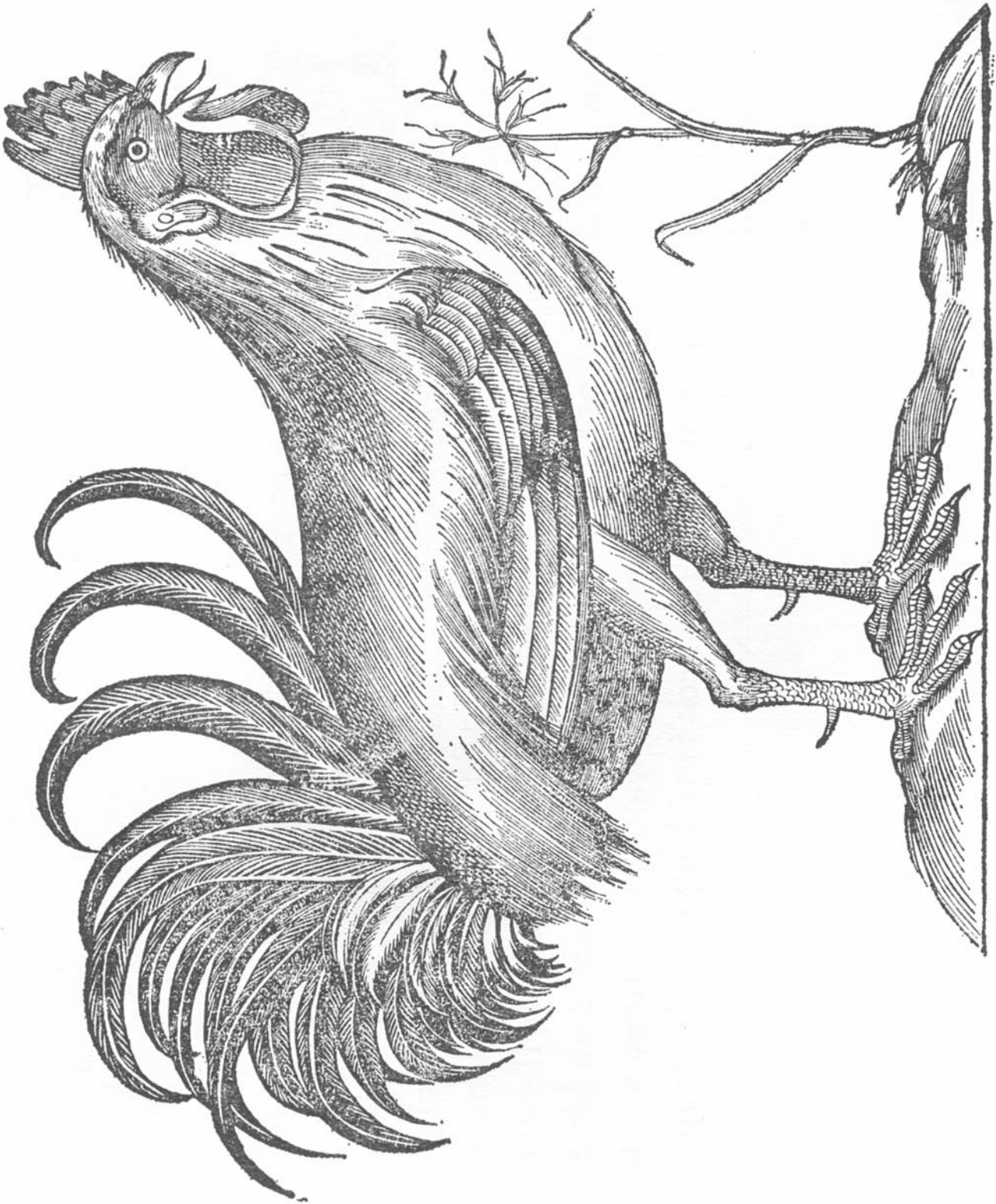
maculis insignita. Pedes lutei, crista duplex non admodum magna rostrum luteum: paleae magnae; cauda partim albis, partim nigris pennis constabat. Gallina tota flavescebat, {feri} <fere> atris ubique, si solum collum demas, maculis, modo parvis, modo magnis, at ubique oblongis conspersa; cristam habebat omnium minimam et paleas admodum breves, rostrum, et pedes luteos.¹⁶⁸²

The feet were yellow - and five toed, the comb was double not too much big, the beak was yellow: the wattles were large, the tail was made up by partly white and partly black feathers. The hen was entirely buff, sprinkled everywhere, except only the neck, by almost black spots, now small, now large, but anywhere they were appearing oblong, she had the smallest of combs and very short wattles, the beak and feet yellow - five toed.

¹⁶⁸² Aldrovandi scotomizza l'evidente pentadattilia.

[314] DE GALLO, ET DUABUS
Gallinis Turcicis. Cap. VI.

CHAPTER VI
THE ROOSTER AND TWO TURKISH HENS

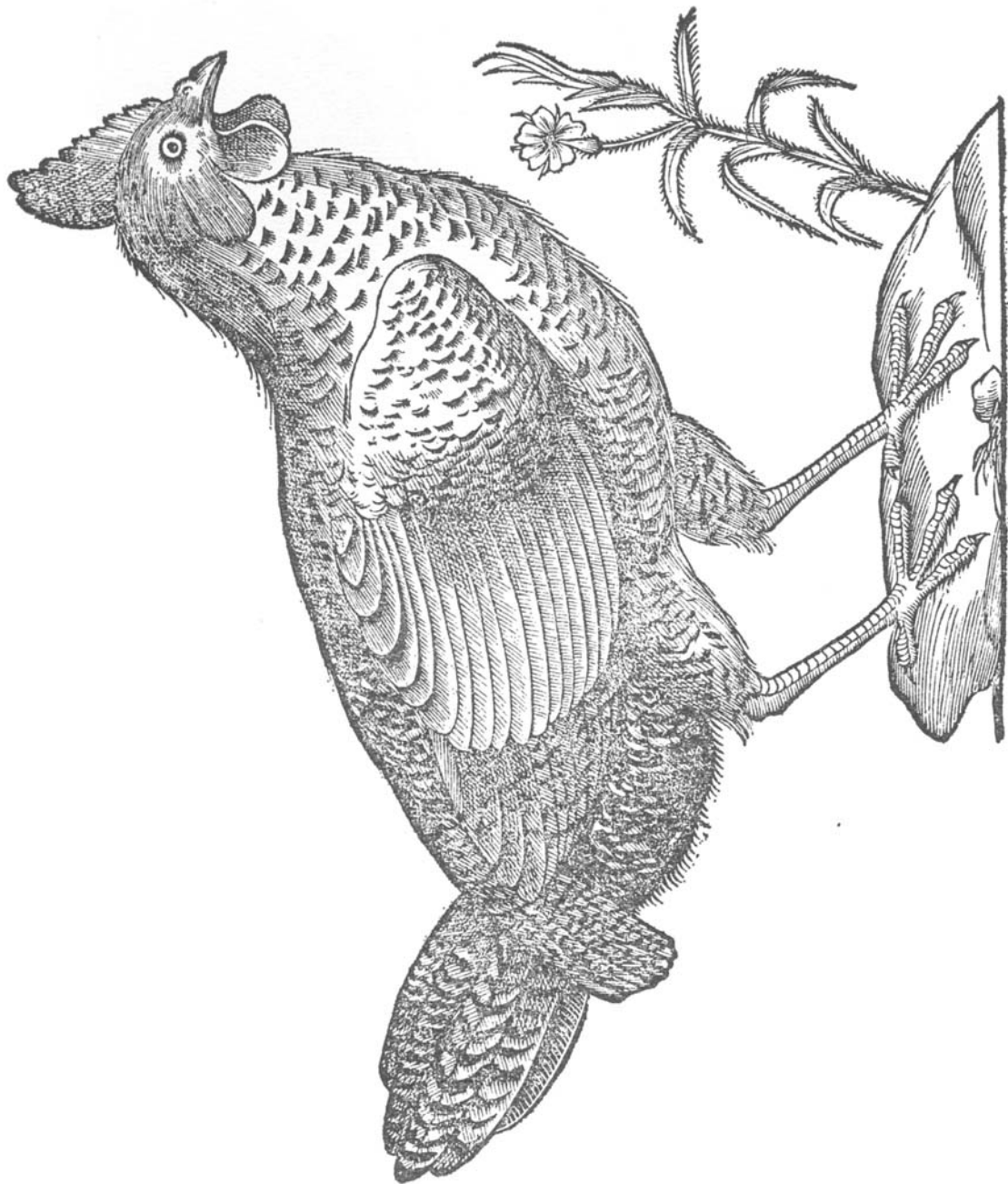


Gallus Turcicus cum {Aegylope} <Aegilope> bromoide. Belgarum.
The Turkish rooster with aegilops* similar to oats* of Belgians.

[315] Cuius modo damus iconem, Gallum Turcicum dicunt. Totum corpus quodammodo candicabat. Alarum tamen pennae partim erant nigrae, et nigra quoque alvus: cauda partim viridibus, partim nigris, necnon pennis semiviridibus, et seminigris constabat, toto corpore modo argenteis, modo aureis lineis erat perornatus, quae res mirum, quantum in eo pulchritudinis conciliabat. Tibiae, et pedes erant subcaerulei. Gallina haec, quam pariter Turcicam vocant, tota erat alba, maculis ubique conspersa nigris,

That whose picture I give now they call him Turkish rooster: the whole body was someway verging on white. However the feathers of the wings were partly black, and also the belly was black: the tail was made up by feathers partly green, partly black, as well as by feathers partly green and black, in the whole body he was adorned with now silver now gold strips, a thing that made stupendous what in him there was of beautiful. The legs and feet were bluish. This hen, which likely they call Turkish, was all white, sprinkled anywhere of black spots,

Gallina Turcica pedibus subcaeruleis cum pseudo melanthio.
Bluish legged Turkish hen with fields' fennelflower* - *Nigella arvensis*.



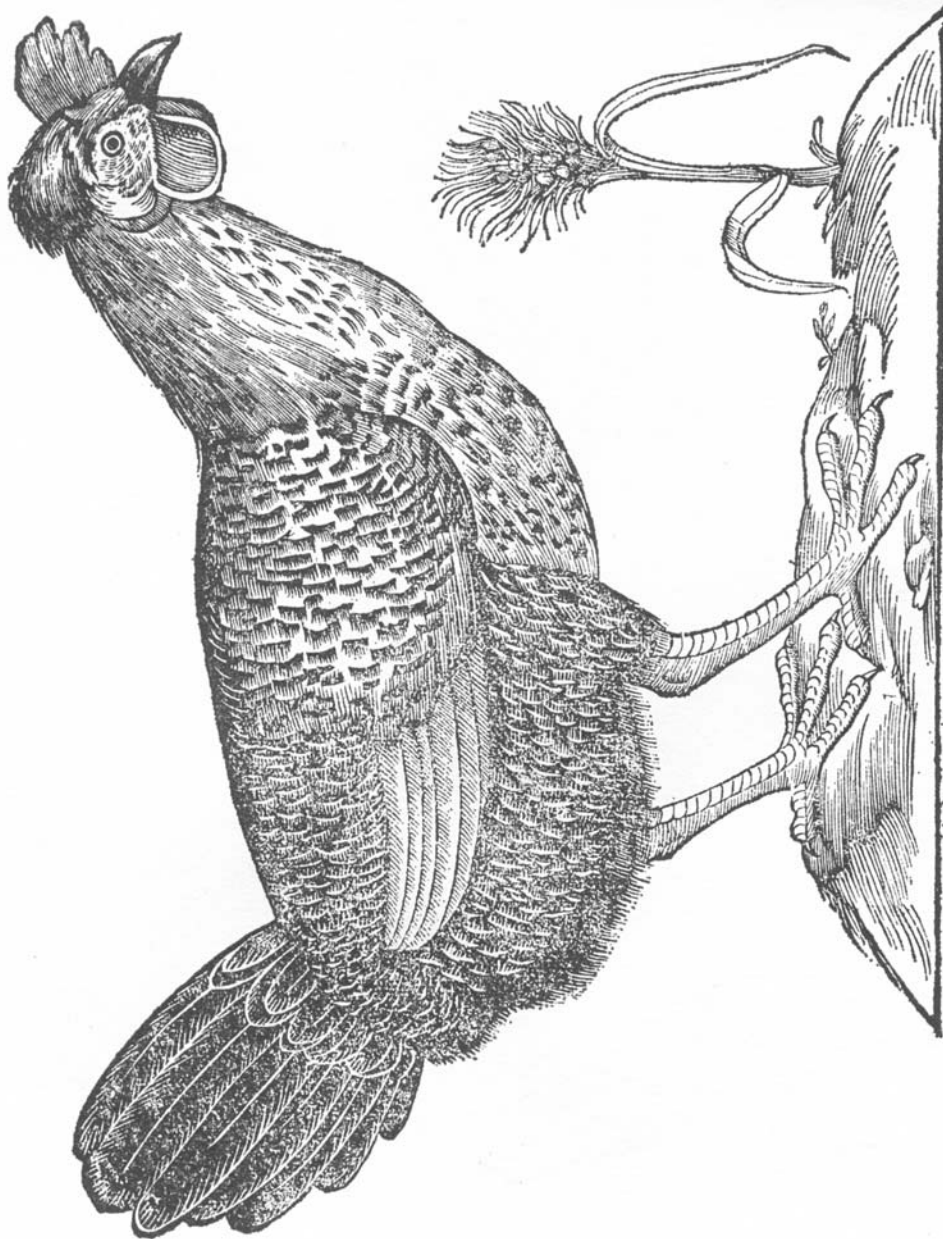
[316] pedibus subcaeruleis: paleis, si maris paleis compares, longe minoribus, eadem istaec videretur, nisi cervix lutesceret, et apicem in vertice gereret, et pedes omnino haberet caeruleos, et caudam immaculatam.

Aliam in hoc genere observavi, cui pedes prorsus erant caerulei, eodem modo, ut praedicta, ex albo et nigro maculata, sed post carneam cristam, aliam habet ex pennis albis instar Alaudae, et cervicem ex cinereo lutescentem quae in praecedenti nigra est. Iconem {sequenti pagina dabimus} <hac pagina damus>.

with bluish legs: the wattles, if compared to the wattles of the male, are by far smaller, and her look would be identical to that of the hen represented here below but for the yellowish neck, for having on the head a pointed formation and for quite blue legs, and a tail without stains.

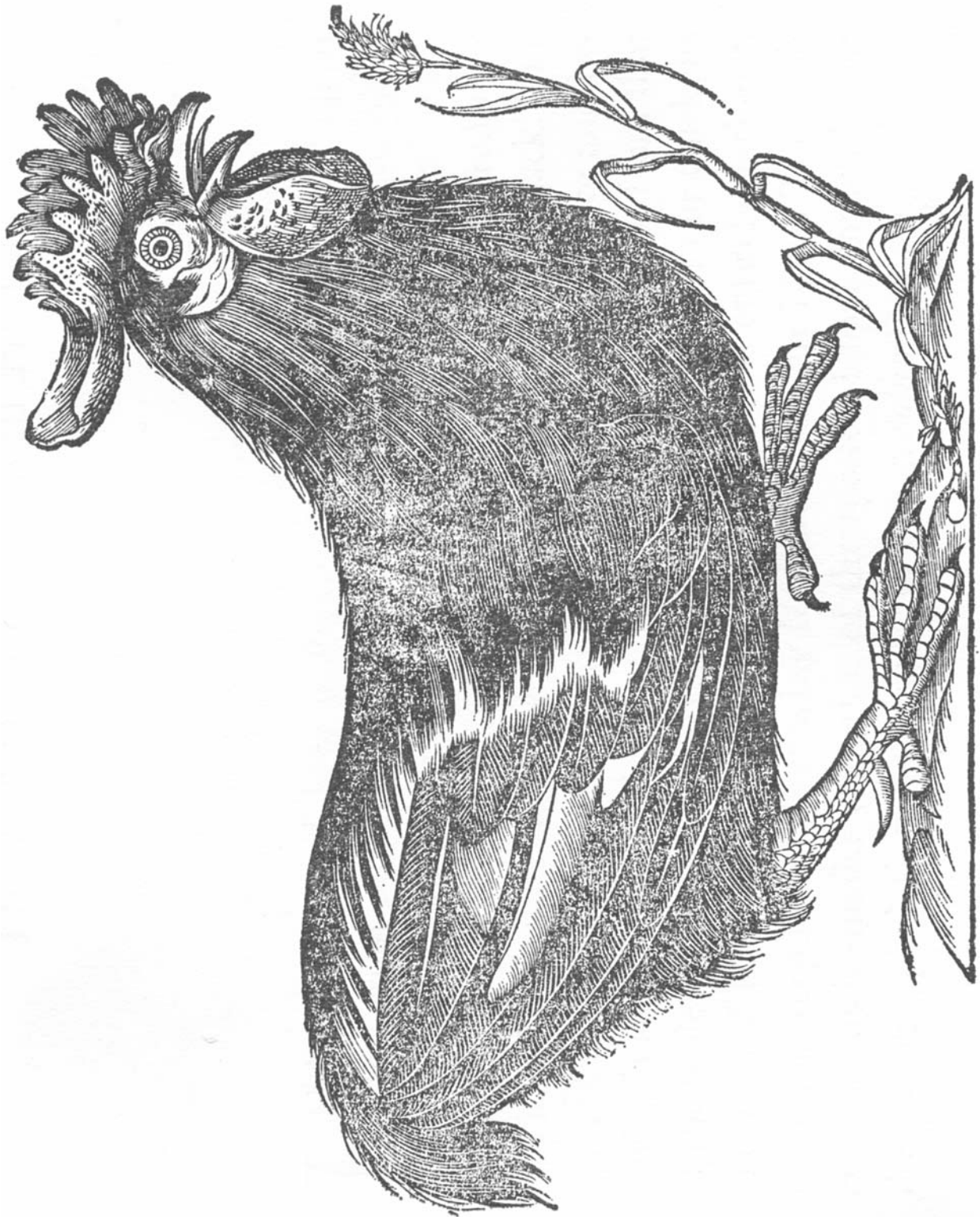
Among this breed I observed another hen that had quite blue legs, as the previous mottled of white and black, but at the back the comb she has another crest made up by white feathers shaped like the crest of a lark* - *Alauda arvensis*, and a yellow grayish nape which in the previous hen was black. I give its picture in this page.

Gallina Turcica pedibus caeruleis cum ustilagine avenae.
Blue legged Turkish hen with black blight* of oats*.



[317] DE GALLO, ET GALLINA
ex Persia. Cap. VII

CHAPTER VII
PERSIAN ROOSTER AND HEN



[318] Quem vero Persicum Gallum appellant, et quem hic depinximus, a nostratibus in eo potissimum differt, quod cauda careat, caetera simillimus existit. Crista<m> tamen veluti caudam obtinet. Erat autem totus niger lineis luteis conspersus: Alarum remiges principio albae erant, caetera atrae: pedes cinerei: Gallina quoad formam habitumve nostratibus erat similis: colore a mare diversissimo, unde tam in his, quam in illis coloris diversitatem vilipendendam arbitror. Erat autem tota coloris ferruginei, tribus pennis remigum exceptis, quae nigrae erant. Crista, si cristae maris compares longe erat quam in illo minor. Gallo appinximus phalaridem, Gallinae {calamagrostim} <calamagrostim>.

In truth that which they call Persian rooster, and I represented here, differs from our roosters above all in lacking tail, otherwise he is quite matching. However he has a comb like a tail. He was entirely black sprinkled of yellow strips. The remiges of the wings were white at their tips, otherwise black: the legs were ash colored: the hen, as far as her shape and look is concerned, was similar to our hens: the color was quite different from that of the male, therefore I think that both in Persian and in our hens the difference of the coloration has to be scarcely regarded. She was entirely rust brown with exception of three remiges which were black. The comb, if compared to that of the male, was by far smaller than in him. Besides the rooster I pictured the canary grass*, *Phalaris canariensis*, besides the hen the *Calamagrostis epigeios**.



DE MONSTRIS
Cap. VIII.

[319] Cum in hac Gallinacea familia, si in ullo alio animalium genere, monstra generentur, itaque aliquot etiam monstrorum icones, quorum pleraque ipsimet observavimus, hoc loco, ne quid in hac avium historia deesse videantur, naturae miracula admirantibus lectoribus visum est exhibere.

Prior itaque hic Gallus tripes cum multis aliis pullis in Brut<t>iis olim natus dicitur, anno nempe mundi 3767. Ante vero natum Christum 196.¹⁶⁸³

CHAPTER VIII
THE MONSTERS

Since in this gallinaceous family monsters are generated, as in any other genus of animals, I thought it proper to show at this point to the amazed readers as prodigies of nature also some pictures of monstrosities most of which I observed myself, so that it doesn't seem that something is lacking in this search on birds.

So, they say that this first rooster with three legs was born while ago in the country of Bruttii* along with many other chicks, and precisely in the year 3767 from the creation of the world*, that is, in 196 before the birth of Christ.



Subsequentem Gallum, qui pariter tribus instructus est pedibus, vulgo Gallo Grottesco dicunt. Erat autem a collo ad anum usque coloris aterrimi, sed maculis candidissimis conspersus, toto vero dorso ad uropygium usque ferruginei. Alarum maxima pars item ferruginea. Sui tamen principio, et qua ventrem spectant, subfusi, sed albicantibus maculis conspersi oblongis. Remiges pennae omnes albae. Cauda semiviridis, ac semiatra. Oculos macula rubra ambiebat. Icon sequenti pagina exprimetur.

The following rooster, who likewise is endowed with three legs, in common language they call him grotesque rooster, *gallo grottesco*. Now, he was very dark in color from neck up to anus, but he was sprinkled with very white spots, however on the whole back until uropygial gland he was rusty. Also the greatest part of the wings was rusty. At their beginning and where they face the belly they were rather dark but scattered with oblong whitish spots. All the remiges were white. The tail was a little bit green and a little bit black. A red spot surrounded the eyes. The picture will be reproduced at next page.

¹⁶⁸³ Le date e l'immagine sono tratte da *Prodigiorum ac ostentorum chronicon* (1557) di Licostene*. Nel *Monstrorum historia* (1642) Aldrovandi riporta due date diverse da queste e che non esistono in Licostene: 3768 e 194. Questo errore di Aldrovandi ci ha permesso di risalire alla fonte della strana datazione, cioè a Licostene.

[320] Gallus tripes alius, Grotesco vulgo, cum gramine
alopecuroide minore.

The second three-legged rooster commonly called grotesque
with the graminaceous *Alopecurus agrestis** or golden foxtail grass.



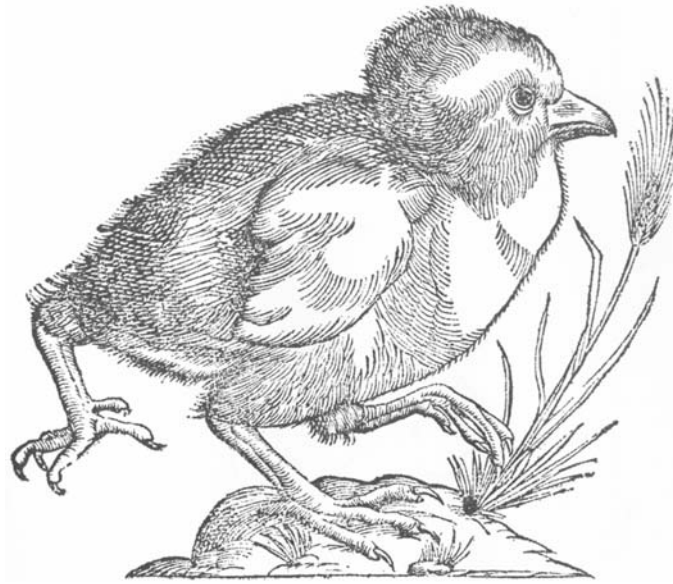
[321] Tres quoque pedes; sed tertium prope anum enascentem habebat haec Gallina toto fere corpore flava. Alae eius, et dorsum fuscis ubique maculis conspergebantur. Fuscae etiam a collo quaedam pennae dependebant super alarum principia. Cauda denique tota fusca. Caetera lutea.

This hen who was buff in almost the whole body was likewise three-clawed, but the third claw was growing out near the anus. Her wings and back were everywhere sprinkled with dark spots. Also from her neck some dark feathers were hanging down above the junction of the wings. Finally the tail was entirely dark. The remaining parts were yellow.

Gallina tripes cum hordeo.
Three-clawed hen with barley*.



[322] Pullus iste tribus pedibus natus tertium habebat, velut ex uropygio enatum.
This chick born with three legs had the third one as growing out from uropygial gland.



Skeleton hoc pulli monstrifici est, et superiori pullo fere similis, nisi quod pes e podice natus {quinque} <sex> digitis sit instructus.

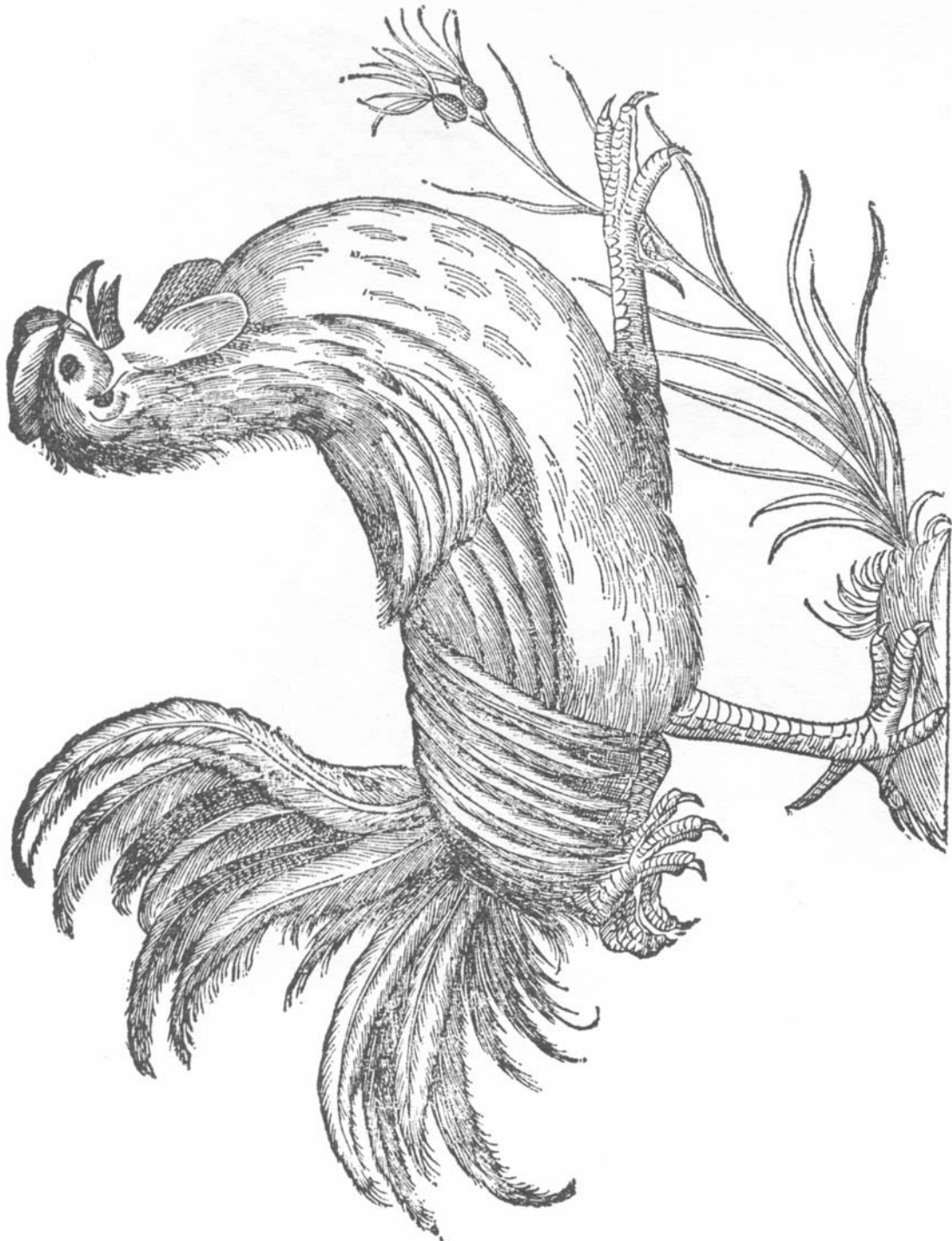
This skeleton is of a monstrous chick almost similar to the previous one except that the foot which grows out from the rump has six toes.



[323] Gallus hic quadrupes prone erat ad ventrem usque castanei coloris, supine ad uropygium usque lutei intercurrentibus pennis castaneis. Alae albae, remigibus viridibus, a tergo prope caudam pennae dependebant longae admodum, castaneae; cauda viridis et nigra, crista duplex, minime crenata: pedes quatuor, quorum anteriores perfecti erant et lutei, {anteriores} <posteriores> imperfecti et pallidi.

This four-footed rooster with his face downwards was chestnut colored down to the belly, with his face upwards was yellow with interposed chestnut feathers. The wings were white with the remiges green, very long chestnut feathers were hanging down from the back near the tail; the tail was green and black, the comb was double only just serrated: the feet were four, those on the front were perfect and yellow, those behind imperfect and pale.

Gallus monstrificus quadrupes cum {Aegylope} <Aegilope>.
Four-clawed monstrous rooster with aegilops*.



[324] Quatuor quoque pedibus erat nata haec Gallina unicolor, toto nempe corpore colore quodammodo {ferruginei} <ferrugineo>. Pedes autem habebat luteos.

This single-colored hen was born with four legs too, and precisely she was in some way rusty throughout the whole body. But she had yellow legs.

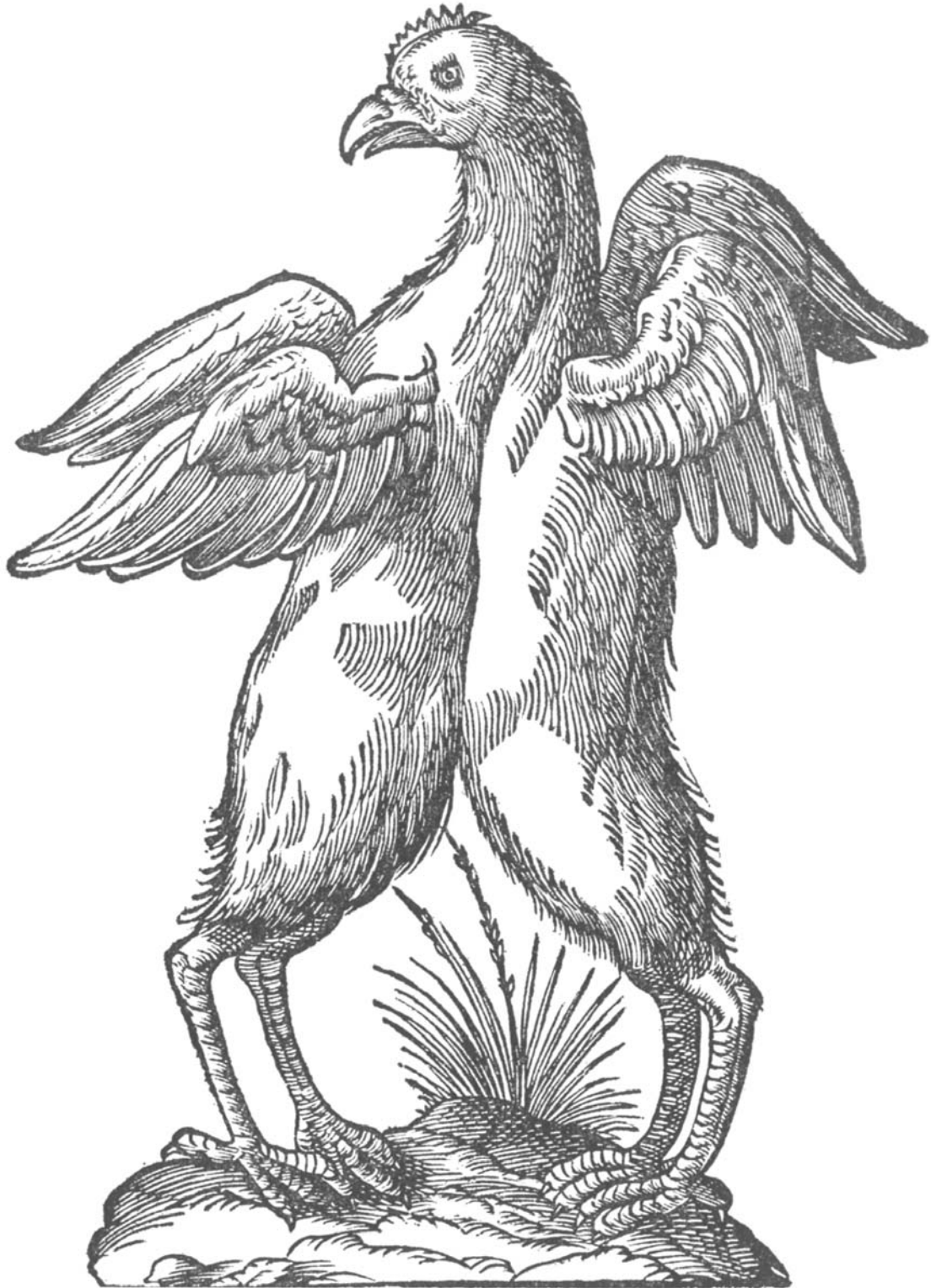
Gallina quadrupes cum Siligine spica mutica.
Four-legged hen with ear un-bearded wheat*.



[325] Anno insuper 1551. in Gallia duplices ex Gallina pulli inventi sunt, quatuor videlicet alis, ut icon ostendit, totidemque pedibus, sed unico duntaxat capite.

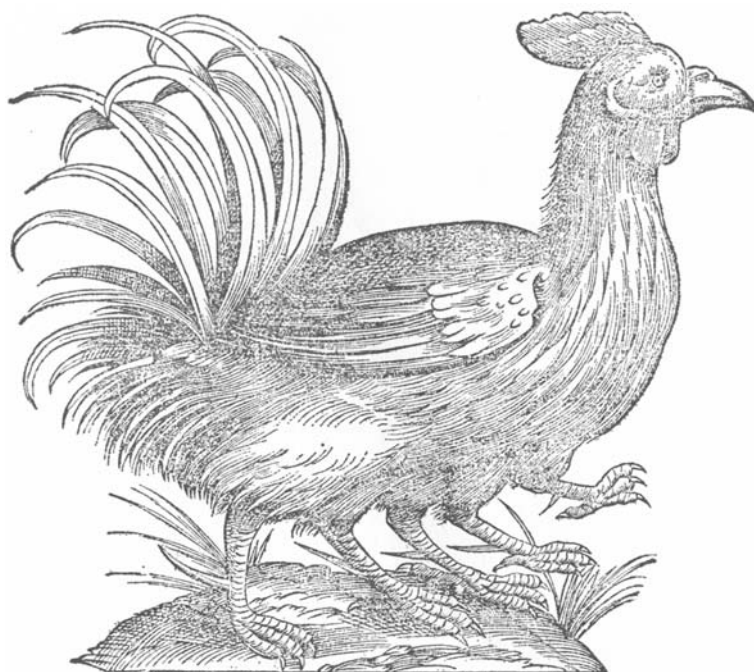
Furthermore in 1551, in France, twin chicks have been found born from a hen, and precisely with four wings, as the picture is showing, and the same number of legs but with only one head.

Pulli gemini unico capite.
Twin chicks with one head.

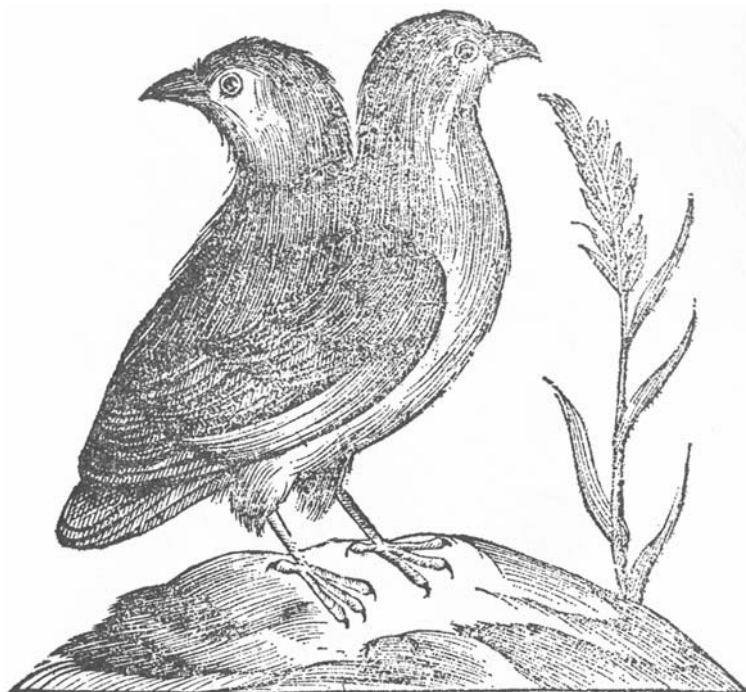


[326] Hic vero Gallus quinquepedes anno mundi 3838. Ante nativitatem Christi 125. {Cerae} <Caere> natus memoratur.¹⁶⁸⁴

In truth this five-footed rooster, of the year of the world* 3828, 125 BC, is recorded as born at Cerveteri*.



{Pullis} <Pullus> capite gemino cum Lolio rubro.
Chick with twin heads and red lolium*.



Pullus iste capite gemino, alis, pedibusque bini duntaxat, dorso erat coloris fuscii, temporibus, et collo lutescentibus, pectore, et ventre albis, pedibus, et tibiis castaneis.

This chick with twin heads, with only two wings and feet, was dark on the back; yellowish at temples and neck, white on breast and belly, chestnut on feet and legs.

¹⁶⁸⁴ Le date e l'immagine sono tratte da *Prodigiorum ac ostentorum chronicon* (1557) di Licostene*.

[327] Unicum item caput hi pulli pariter gemini, et parum a superioribus differentes habebant, sed corpora magis quam in illis coniungebantur.

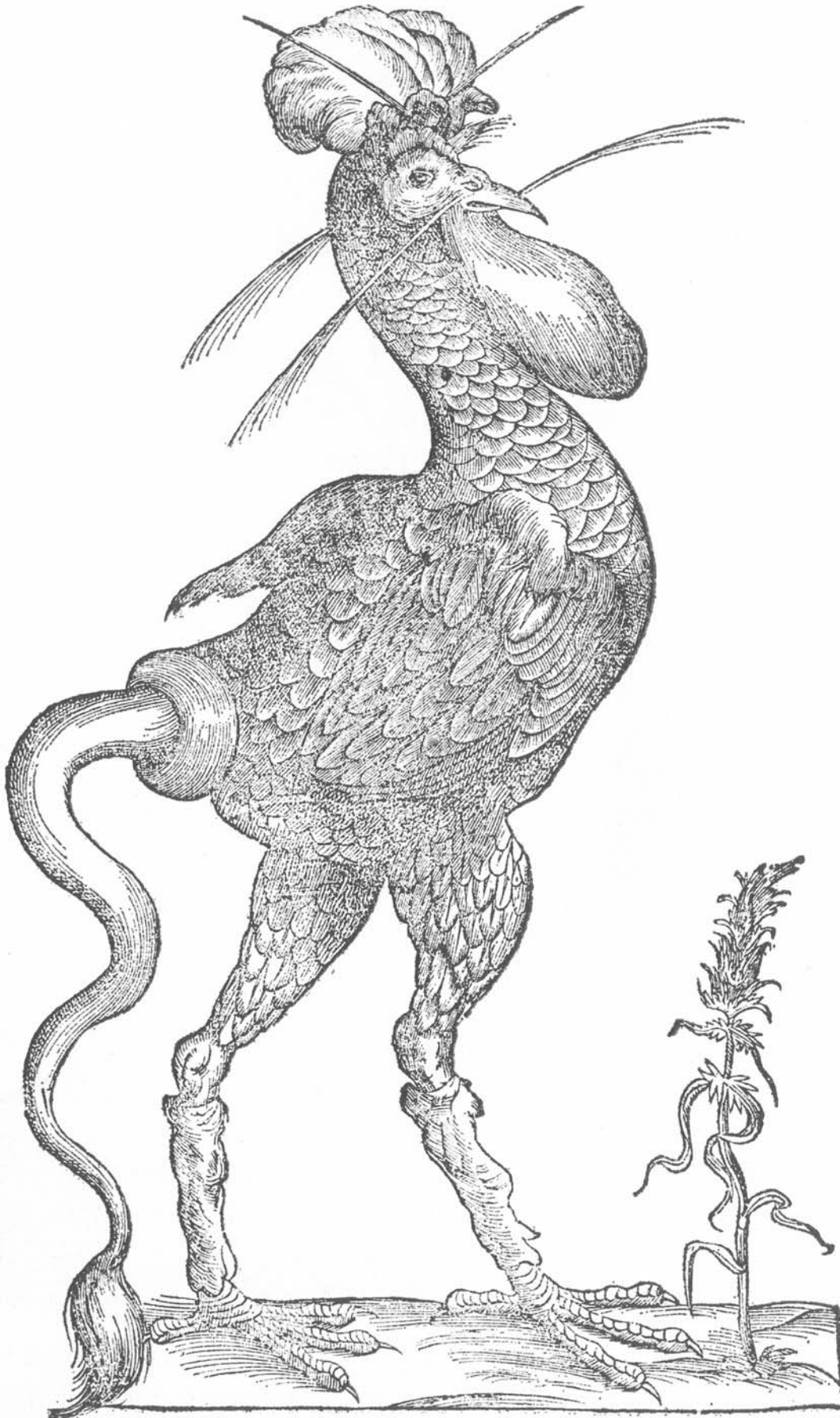
Likewise also these twin chicks had only one head and barely differed from the previous ones, but their bodies were more joined in comparison with them.



Si vero avis ulla monstrifica appellanda est, ea erit Gallus iste, quem vivum ante aliquot annos in aula Serenissimi Magni Hetruriae Ducis Francisci Medicei observavi: viris etiam magnanimis aspectu suo terrifico pavorem incutiebat. Caput non crista carnea, ut in vulgaribus Gallis ornabatur, nec paleae quoque erant carnae, sed uti aequae ex plumis constabant militum conos, quibus galeas exornant, aemulantibus. Habebat in fronte duas pennas, seu potius pennarum calamos (erant enim nudae) surrectos, ceu duo cornua; item binos alios ab utraque rostri prope nares parte, sed qui in extremitate plumas tenuissimas ad instar setarum {a}ederent, necnon et alium in cervice, qui a principio fere eiusmodi setis erat exornatus. Color totius corporis fere subfuscus, sed radices pennarum erant albae, pennae varo ita erant constitutae, ut veluti squamas toto corpore aemularentur. Prope uropygium, qua cauda exit, tuberculum habebat rotundum, subalbidum. Cauda non avium more ex plumis, sed carnosa ad instar quadruped*um*, pilis nuda, sed in extremitate tamen floccum, qualis in illis conspici solet, obtinebat. Flocci color erat candicans. Cauda subcaerulea. Tibiae velut ocreis indutae erant. Iconem proxima pagina dabit.

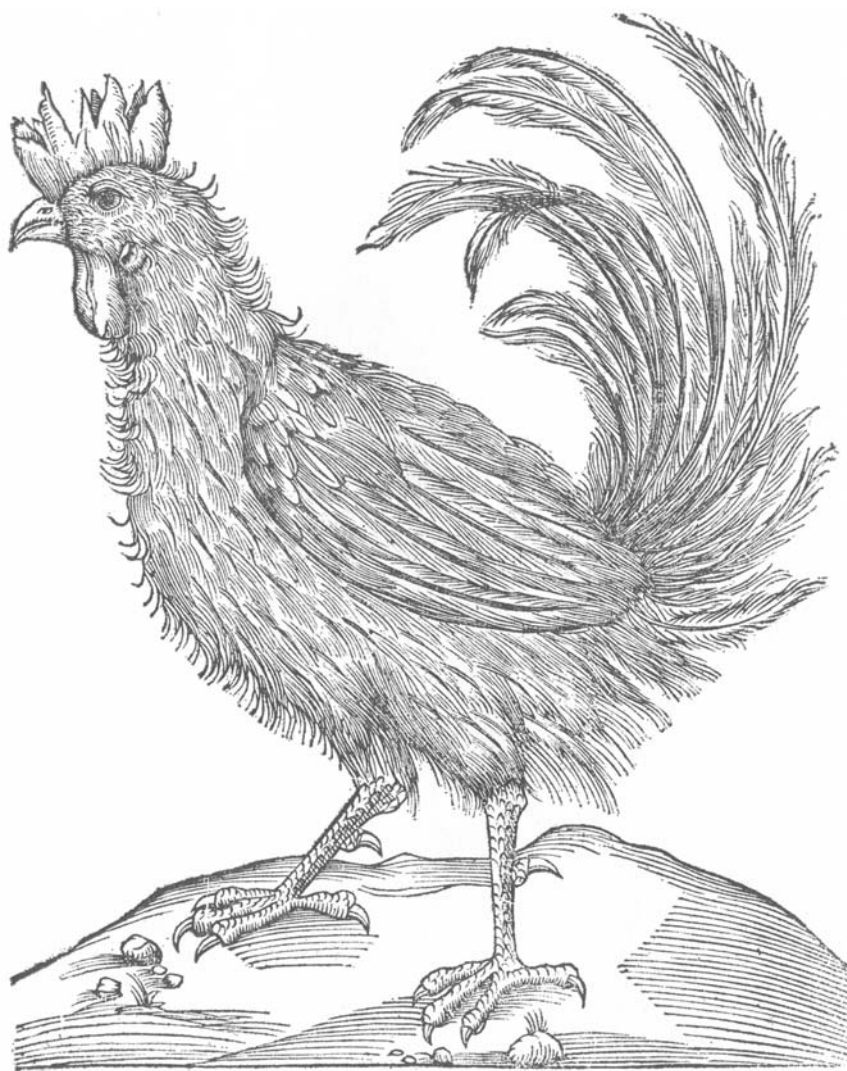
But if some bird should be called as monstrous, it must be this rooster, which I observed some years ago alive in the palace of the most serene Grand Duke of Tuscany Francesco I de' Medici*: it struck fear also into brave men with its terrifying aspect. Its head was not adorned with a fleshy comb as in ordinary roosters, and nor were its wattles fleshy, but they were made just as by feathers almost similar to the crests of the soldiers with which they decorate helmets. On the front it had two feathers, or rather two erect quills of feathers (for they were naked), as if they were two horns; likewise it had other two quills at both sides of the beak near the nostrils but showing some very thin feathers as if they were bristles, and another quill at the neck, adorned at the top by bristles with almost the same characteristics. The color of the whole body was just about blackish, but the roots of the feathers were white, however the feathers had such a structure that they resembled scales on the entire body. Near the rump, where the tail grows forth, it had a small round and whitish tubercle. The tail was not made of feathers as in birds, but it was fleshy as that of quadrupeds, devoid of hair, but at its top it had nevertheless a flock as usually can be observed in them. The color of the flock was verging to white. The tail was pale blue. The legs were covered as by leggings. The following page will give its picture.

[328] *Gallus cauda quadrupedis cum crista Gallinacea.*
Rooster with a tail of a quadruped and a gallinaceous tuft.



[329] De hoc Gallo ad me scripsit Pompilius Tagliaferro Parmensis inter praeclaros medicos haud infimus his verbis: Ad te mitto Galli monstrosi effigiem, etsi tamen in illo delineando pictor haud mihi satisfecerit. Sed scias velim, duo potissimum in hoc Gallo reperiri admiratione digna, quae in Gallinaceis, et Gallinis nostris visuntur minime. Primum, et praecipuum est, quod alarum pennae contrario, quam in aliis modo situantur, nam pars illarum prona, quae ex naturae praescripto in aliis interius vergit, in hoc exterior conspicitur, ita ut tota ala, penitus inversa videatur. Alterum notatu dignum existimo, quod cervicis plumulae caput versus cirri instar eriguntur; quorsum etiam tota cauda attolli conspicitur. Haec ille. Quae tamen de hoc Gallo commemorat, nec eius imago ad me missa, nec nostra icon satis expriment: quod pictoris imperitia factum fuisse eius verba ostendunt.

Pompilio Tagliaferro of Parma, not at all the lowest among illustrious physicians, wrote me about this rooster with the following words. I send you the picture of a monstrous rooster, although the painter has not at all satisfied me in portraying it. But I would like you to know that in this rooster there are two things particularly worthy of admiration and which in our roosters and hens are not met at all. The first thing, and the most important, is the fact that the feathers of the wings are arranged contrarily than in other chickens: for their bowl-shaped side, which as prescribed by nature in the other chickens is facing inwards, in this rooster is showing itself facing outwards, so that the whole wing appears quite inverted. I think noteworthy another thing: the small feathers of the neck are erect like ringlets towards the head, in whose direction also the whole tail seems to move. Thus far Tagliaferro. However neither the representation of this rooster which has been sent me, nor my reproduction are satisfactory expressing the things he is quoting about this rooster: his words show that this happened because of the unskilfulness of the painter.



[330] DE PEREGRINIS QUIBUSDAM

Gallinaceis dictis, et primo de Gallo
Indico aurito {tridactilo} <tridactylo>.
Cap. IX.

Quae modo subsequuntur, aves sunt peregrinae, et Gallinaceo nomine gaudent. Cuius primo loco iconem damus Caesar Facchinettus¹⁶⁸⁵ Marchio et Senator olim Bononiensis, mihi copiam fecit, eum Gallum ego ita descripsi. Etsi aures in Gallo fictitias quispiam iudicet easque solis quibusdam nocturnis volucris attribuendas, is in Ardeae cuiusdam genere, quod quandoque in Flandria apparet mira specie, de quo nos aliquando Deo dante suo loco agemus, easdem contemplatus minime monstrosas, nedum dicam fictitias in pulcherrimo istoc Gallo iudicaturus est. Mira quidem huius Galli species est, et nulli volucrum generi pulchritudine inferior, ut nunc ex tradenda descriptione cuius patebit.

Rostrum reliquorum Gallorum dissimillimum, sed Psittacorum omnino respondens. Est etenim aduncum in superiori parte, totum vero rubrum, Caput totum pectus et venter integer colore roseo diluto, qui in pectore maculis subroseis dilutionibus exiguis, in ventre longe maioribus; quas alba linea transcurrit, insignitur. Cristis insignitur duabus, primum carnea more nostrorum, quae prope rostrum est, inter quam et rostrum superius macula oblonga caerulea est. Crista vero alia pennis constat luteis prope primam cristam parvis mox longe maioribus sursum primum ascendentibus, mox deorsum per collum descendentibus. Oculorum capacitatis forma diversa admodum non tantum a nostratibus Gallis, verum etiam a reliquo volucrum genere: prae se fert enim eundem fere situm, qualis in homine est, oblongum scilicet, in cuius medio oculi siti sunt, quorum pupilla nigra est, iris lutea, cilia nigra. Aures magnae, et erectae asininis non absimiles: sub mento pennae quaedam dependent virides in marginibus nigrae, veluti barbae figuram prae se ferentes, quas palarum quae in Gallo nostro dependent, vicem obtinere arbitror. Collo superiori et uropygio quae viridia sunt, pennae caeruleae, albis calamis ornatae {deorsim} <deorsum> dependent.

CHAPTER IX

ABOUT SOME EXOTIC SUBJECTS CALLED
COCKS, AND FIRST THE THREE-TOED
AND EARED INDIAN ROOSTER

The now following birds are exotic and enjoy the name of cock. A copy of that of which I first give the image was done by the Marquis Cesare Facchinetti who aforesaid was also Senator in Bologna, and I described such a rooster as follows. Although someone thinks that in the rooster the ears are non-existent and are to be attributed only to certain nocturnal birds, he after saw them in a certain kind of heron which sometimes endowed with a wonderful look appears in Flanders*, and God willing sooner or later I shall deal with it in an apposite chapter, he will want to judge them in this beautiful rooster as not monstrous at all, even less fictitious so to speak. Really the appearance of this rooster is wonderful and it is not inferior in beauty to any species of birds, and now it will come across to whoever from the following description.

The beak is quite different from that of other roosters, but it is throughout resounding that of parrots. For on the upper part it is hooked, and is entirely red, the whole head, the breast and the whole abdomen are of diluted pink color, which on the breast is spangled by more diluted and small pale pink spots, more larger on the abdomen, and through them a white line is passing. This bird is adorned with two combs, first by a fleshy comb as our roosters and which is lying near the beak, and between this one and the upper beak there is an oblong and blue spot. But the other crest is made of yellow feathers which are small near the first comb and then more larger, firstly going upwards and then going down along the neck. The shape of eye sockets is very different not only from that of our roosters but also from the other species of birds: for it shows almost the same location as in man, it is oval of course and the eyeballs are placed in its center, and their pupil is black, the iris yellow, the eyelashes black. The ears are great and erect and are not dissimilar from those of donkeys: under to the chin some green feathers are hanging down which are black on the edges, showing the features like of a beard and which I think are taking place of the wattles which in our rooster are dangling. From the upper part of the neck and from the rump, which are green, blue feathers adorned with white quills are hanging down.

¹⁶⁸⁵ L'unico Facchinetti contemporaneo di Aldrovandi del quale ho trovato notizie è Giovanni Antonio (Bologna 1519 - Roma 1591), che fu Papa col nome di Innocenzo IX dall'ottobre al dicembre del 1591. Le origini della famiglia Facchinetti erano veronesi.

Alae admodum diversi coloris sunt. Primae enim earum pennae obscurae virent, sed ita dispositae sunt, ut veluti squamulas efficere videantur, harum medium linea alba percurrit. Quae sequuntur intense admodum virent, sed in extremitate albae sunt; harum tamen tres inferiores caeruleae sunt circumcirca tamen etiam subvirides{;}<.> Hunc ordinem pulcherrimus alius excipit caeruleus, nempe cuius pennae in fine insigniter admodum rubent. Extremae denique remiges luteae sunt, omnium costae albae. Inferior vero alarum pars colore est subcaeruleo ad viridem tendens; superior vero roseo, et costae omnes itidem albae.

Cauda duplex, prior exigua, et quinque tantum pennis constans, iisque ruberrimis, et admodum brevibus, si secundae caudae comparentur. Secunda cauda {novem} <sex>¹⁶⁸⁶ longissimis pennis constat, quarum aliae aliis longiores sunt, et diversum colorem obtinent. Maiores ferrugineae sunt, pennulis tenuissimis oblongis fuscis, hinc inde dependentibus constantes{;}<.> In extremitate ceu oculos ovaes rubicundos et circumcirca caeruleos obtinent. Virides vero eiusdem coloris pennulis constant, et in fine oculos albos circumcirca caeruleos obtinent; caeruleae quae sequuntur eodem modo sese habent. Pedes rubei maculis subfuscis distincti. Digni terni. Ungues et calcaneus albi. Dorsum vero totum subrubrum maculis nigris semilunaribus distinctum, quae in medio linea alba insignantur.

The wings show a very variegated coloring. For their fore-feathers, which are dark, have a green color, but so arranged that they seem to form small scales, and a white line runs through their center. The following ones are of very intense green, but white at the tip; however the three lower ones are blue but all around are also greenish. Another very beautiful kind of blue follows this disposition, and precisely the feathers of this color are amazingly very red at their tip. Finally the last remiges are yellow, and all their quills are white. But the lower side of the wings is light blue verging on green; but the upper side is rosy and likewise all the quills are white.

The tail is double, the first one is small and composed by only five feathers which are very red and very short if compared with those of the second tail. The second tail is made of six very long feathers, some of which are longer than the others and have a different color. The greater ones are rusty, made of oblong very thin and dark barbs hanging down across. On their extremity they have something like ruddy oval eyes which are blue all around. The green feathers are made of barbs of the same color and on their tip they have white eyes surrounded by blue, the blue feathers which come next look alike. The reddish legs are marked with rather dark little spots. The toes are three. The claws and the heel are white. The back is all reddish marked with black half-moon spots adorned in the center with a white line.

¹⁶⁸⁶ La scoperta di questo palese errore di Aldrovandi, che va a tenere debita compagnia alla miriade d'inesattezze che continua a elargirci, non è mia, bensì di Fernando Civardi*. Fernando non si accorse di questo errore quando nel 1996 trascrisse il testo latino, bensì quando nel marzo 2008 fu da me incaricato di mettere a dura prova le sue doti di *peintre électronique* nel colorare in base al testo quest'uccello che è fantastico al 99,99%, non essendo stato in grado di identificarlo neppure il Dr Giovanni Boano, Direttore del Museo Civico di Storia Naturale di Carmagnola (TO). Confesso che nemmeno durante la traduzione mi accorsi delle false 9 penne, per cui il merito della scoperta è tutto di Fernando. Come suggeritomi dal collega Dr Leslye Haslam, esiste una possibilità per salvare Aldrovandi: affermare cioè che le 3 penne fantasma sono nascoste dietro alle altre 6. A suo giudizio quest'affermazione salvifica potrebbe uscire ex abrupto dalla candida bocca - ma non dal sublime cervello - di sua moglie Livia Marchioni qualora ne venisse messa al corrente, essendo Livia una bolognese DOC, bolognese di nascita e di stirpe, che purtroppo continuo a tartassare quando incappo in un imperdonabile errore del suo illustre concittadino. Ma Ulisse ricevette un disegno, non un uccello mummificato da affidare poi ai suoi acquarellisti e incisori*, che erano quasi più precisi degli odierni fotografi e che egli snobbò a più non posso mistificandone i capolavori attraverso le sue insulse descrizioni. Anche in questo caso i suoi disegnatori sono salvi, e per l'ennesima volta!

[331] Gallus Indicus cum panico caeruleo Indico.
Indian rooster with blue Indian foxtail millet*.



[332] DE GALLO

Alio Indico.

Cap. X.

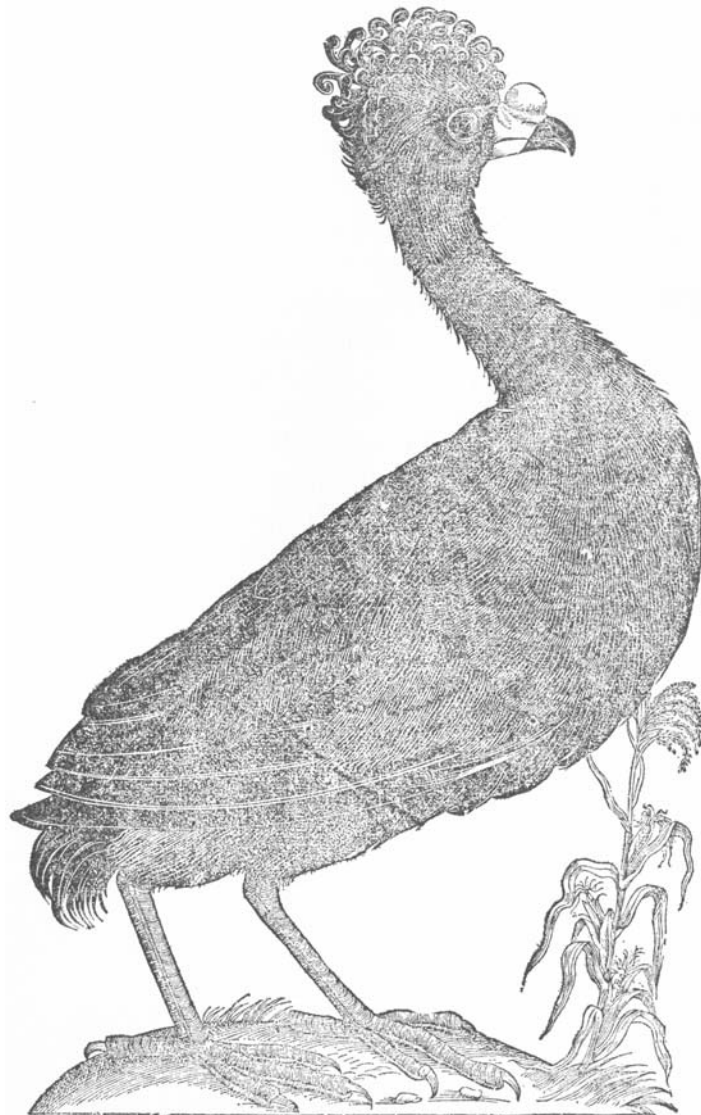
Quem modo depingimus, simpliciter Gallum Indicum dicunt. Eum magno Hetruriae Duci Ferdinando acceptum refero, qui prae eximia sua liberalitate, ut est virorum doctorum studiosissimus, depictum mihi aliquando dono transmisit. Avis toto corpore coloris erat aterrimi, calcaribus, et cauda carebat, uti etiam crista, cuius loco cirros gerebat. Rostrum erat bicolor, partim enim luteum, nempe caput versus, caetera atrum. Superius rostrum aduncum. Quo loco in aliis Gallis narium foramina sunt, ibi haec avis rotundum quid magnitudine cerasi luteum habebat. Tibiae, pedesque tabellis albicantibus praediti. Pennae etiam quaedam prope anum exiguae albescebant.

CHAPTER X
THE SECOND INDIAN ROOSTER

That I am now representing they simply call it Indian rooster. I report it as due to the Grand Duke of Tuscany Ferdinando I*, who because of his exceptional generosity, as typical of a big promoter of scientists, one day sent it me reproduced as gift. The bird was very black in the whole body, was lacking spurs and tail, as well as comb, in place of which had curls. The beak was of two colors, for it was partly yellow, and precisely the part toward the head, for the rest it was deep black. The upper beak was hooked. Where in the other roosters there are the openings of nostrils, here this bird showed something round and yellow of the size of a cherry. The legs and the feet were furnished with whitish bits. Also some small perianal feathers were whitish.

Gallus Indicus alius cum frumento Turcico.

The second Indian rooster with maize.



Male of Mexican Curassow - *Crax rubra**

[333] **DE GALLINA INDICA**
Cap. XI.

Gallinam hanc quoque Indicam appellant; colore tamen, et corporis habitu a superiori Gallo dissimilem, similem vero in eo, quod capite etiam est cirrato. Color totius fere corporis subfuscus. Rostrum, quam in iam dicto Gallo crassius, in medio tuberosum, albicans, nigris maculis insignitum. Oculi nigri, iris crocea. Coxae ex ferrugineo lutescunt. Tibiae, et pedes lutei. Cauda caret, et uropygium, quod in Gallo superiori plumis operitur, nudum plane simiae instar obtinet. Apparet autem esse eiusdem cum Gallo illo generis.

CHAPTER XI
THE INDIAN HEN

They call Indian also this hen; however in color and body look she is different from the previous rooster, but is similar to him since she also has a curly head. The color of almost the entire body is basically dark. The beak is stronger than in the aforesaid rooster, it shows on the center a protuberance, is whitish mottled of black. The eyes are black, the iris is saffron-colored. The thighs are rusty yellow. Legs and feet are yellow. She is lacking in tail, and shows the uropygial gland, which is covered by feathers in the previous rooster, and which is quite naked like that of a monkey. But it seems that she is belonging to the same species of that rooster.

Gallina Indica cum frumento saracenicis.
 Indian hen with buckwheat*.



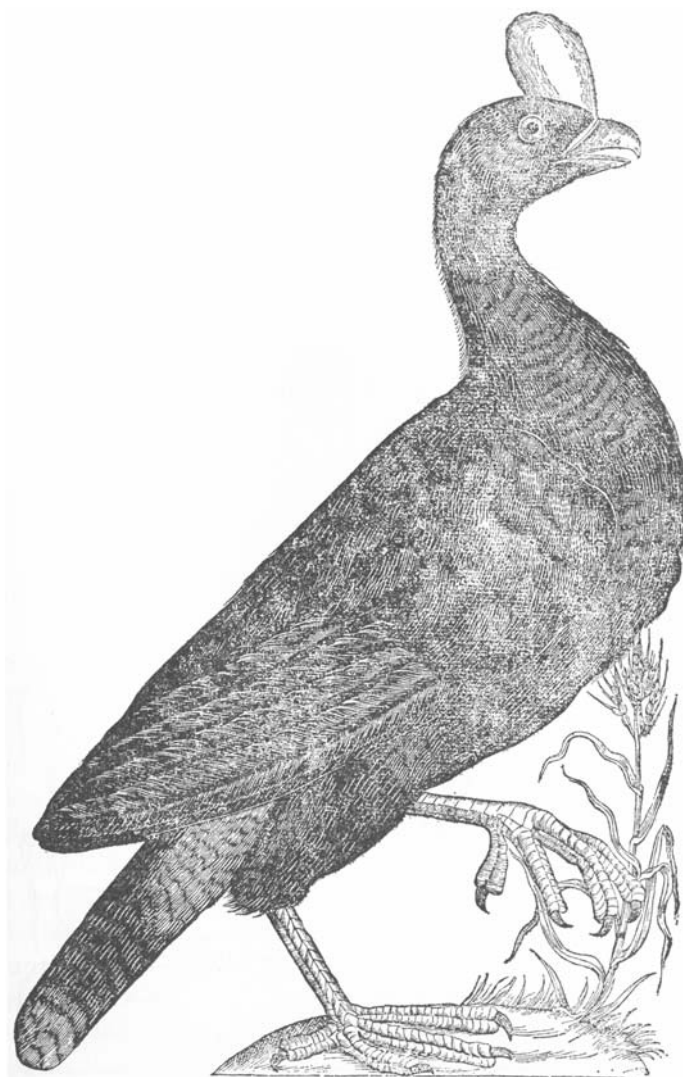
Female of Mexican Curassow - *Crax rubra**

[334] **DE ALIIS DUABUS**
Gallinis Indicis.
Cap. XII.

Indicas Gallinas alii, alii Numidicas dicunt etiam has, quas modo damus depictas. Num vero caudata, quam priori loco exhibemus, an vero quae subsequitur, cauda carens mas sit, sive Gallinaceus, plane ignoro. Putaverim tamen caudatum marem esse, faeminam alteram. Sit quomodocunque utraque sub Gallinae nomine mihi communicata est, prior a serenissimo magno Hetruriae Duce, cum titulo Gallinae Indicae, altera pro Gallina Numidica. Prior a rostro ad caudae extremitatem usque (quae candida est, sed nigris lineis conspersa,) nigra: quae tamen nigredo ubique ferme ad subcaeruleum vergebat. Podex, et caudae principium subtus candicabant. Rostrum robustum, recurvum, rubicundum. Tibiae eiusdem fere coloris, sed pallidioris multo, et in postica parte ad [335] caeruleum vergebant.

CHAPTER XII
TWO OTHER INDIAN HENS

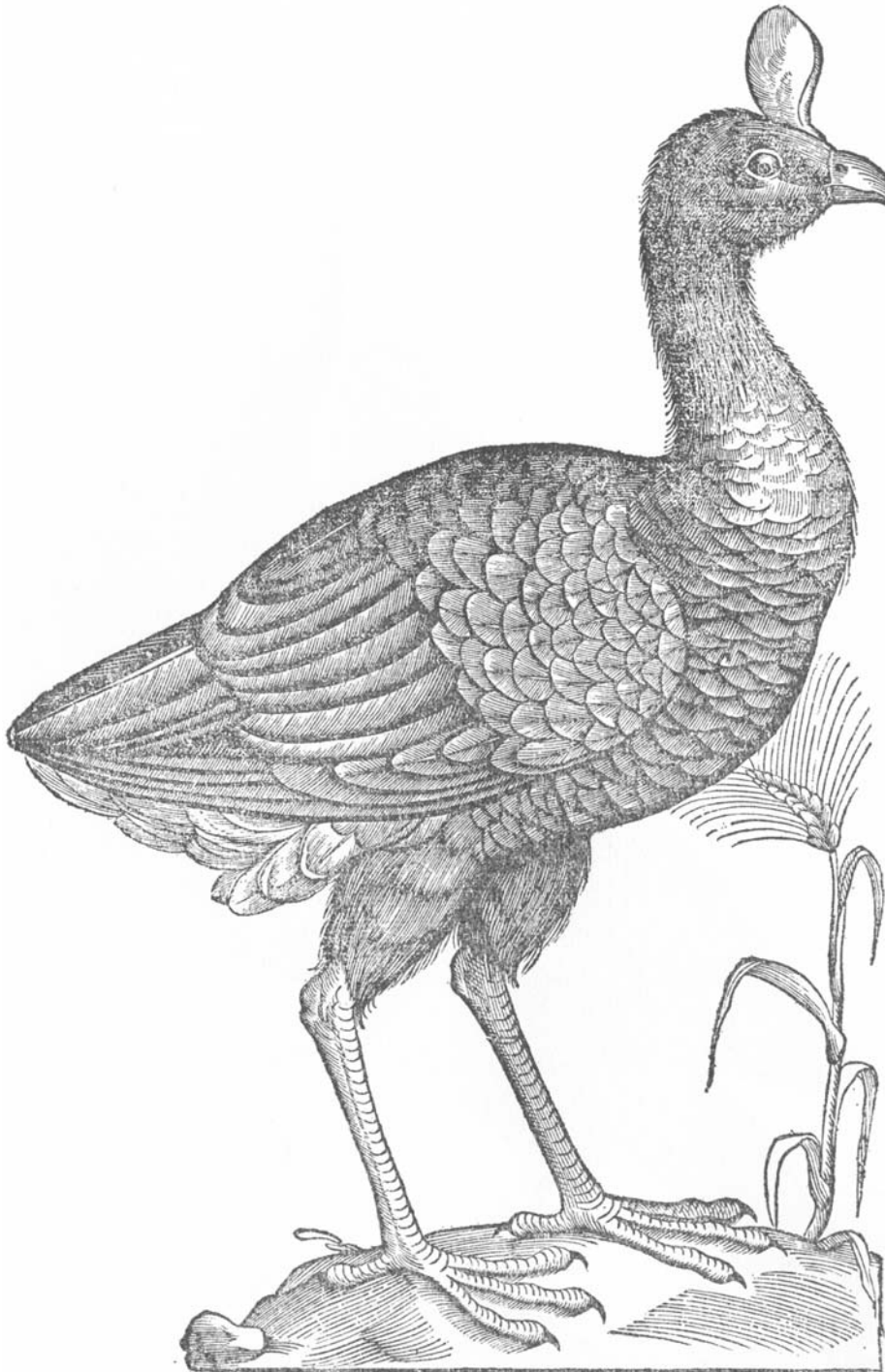
Some call Indian hens, others call Numidian* hens those whose picture I am now providing. I don't know at all whether it is the male, that is, the rooster, that one with tail I am firstly showing, or that coming after and which is tailless. However I would think that that with the tail is the male and the other one is the female. Be that as it may, both have been supplied me with the name of hen, the first one by the most serene Grand Duke of Tuscany Ferdinando I* with the name of Indian hen, the other as Numidian hen. The first one is black from the beak to the end of the tail (this end is candid, but sprinkled with black lines): nevertheless almost everywhere this black was verging to bluish. The breech and the beginning part of the tail underneath were white. The beak was strong, hooked, red. The legs were almost of the same color, but much paler, and behind were verging to blue.



Male of Helmeted curassow - *Pauxi pauxi* or *Crax pauxi pauxi**

Ungues erant atrii. Tuberculum in fronte gerebat magnum, figura ficus, coloris fere caerulei. Cauda longa, minime ut in nostratibus Gallis surrecta, sed ut in Pica extensa. Altera non ita erat atra, sed coloris fusci tantummodo, quique in collo, et alis ad cinereum vergeret. Tuberculum in fronte alterius iam dictae simillimum. Rostrum eiusdem coloris, sed minime aduncum. Caetera etiam similia, sed cauda carebat. Planta adiecta est hordeum distichon.

Toenails were black. In front it carried a large tubercle with the appearance of a fig* and almost blue in color. The tail was long, not at all erect as in our roosters, but stretched out as in magpie. The other hen was not so black, but only dark in color verging to ash gray on neck and wings. The tubercle on the front was very similar to that of the other above-mentioned hen. The beak was of the same color but not less hooked. Also the other parts were similar, but it lacked a tail. The attached plant is distichous barley*.



Female of Helmeted curassow - *Pauxi pauxi* or *Crax pauxi pauxi**

[336] DE GALLINIS GUINEIS.

Cap. XIII.

Gallinaceo generi fortassis rectius quam superiores peregrinae alites istae, quas Guinea regio nobis subministrat, annumerandae sunt, quod in omnibus ferme exceptis crista, et calcaribus cum illo conveniant. Cum vero Ornithologus¹⁶⁸⁷ eas exactissime nobis describat, descriptioni illius lubenter acquiescemus. Gallus Mauritanus, inquit, pulcherrima avis est, magnitudine corporis, figura, rostro, et pede Phasianus similis, vertice corneo in apicem corneum a posteriori parte praecipitem, in anteriori leniter acclivem elevato, armatus. Eum natura voluisse videtur inferiori capitis parti tribus veluti laciniis se promittentibus committere, atque deligare: inter oculum, et aurem utrinque una, et in fronte media item una omnibus in eiusdem cum vertice coloris: ita ut insideat capiti eo modo, quo ducalis pileus illustrissimo Duci Veneto, si quod iam adversum est aversum fieret. Rugosus is est inferius per circuitum: qua se attollit in directum in summo collo ad occipitium, nascuntur erecti quidam, atque nigri pili (non plumae) in contrarium versi. Oculi toti nigri, aequae et in orbem palpebrae, atque cilia. Si maculam in summa, et posteriori parte supercili utriusque demas. Imum caput per longitudinem utrinque caro quaedam callosa colore sanguineo occupat, quae ne propendeat veluti palea, ut replicaretur, natura voluit, et averso ductu in duos processus acutos a capite liberos finiret. Ex hac carne attollunt se utrinque carunculae, quibus nares in ambitu vestiuntur, et caput in anteriori parte a caetero rostro pallido separatur. Harum ad rostrum margines inferiores, replicantur etiam leviter sub utraque nare.

Quod inter verticem, et carnem est a dextra, et sinistra parte, squamosa incisura duplici notatae: in posteriori nulla, sed laeves, et veluti punctis quibusdam sui coloris respersae: Color illi sub faucibus exquisite est purpureus: in collo obscure purpureus: in caetero corpore per summa contuenti qualis consurgit, si album, et nigrum pollinem utcunque tenuiter tritum colori fusco rarius aspergas, nec tamen commisceas. Tali colori maculae albae ovaes, aut rotundae per

CHAPTER XIII
GUINEA HENS

Perhaps these birds, with which Guinea* supplies us, more correctly must be numbered among gallinaceous genus rather than among the aforesaid exotic birds, since they resemble chickens from all points of view, except comb and spurs. Being that the Ornithologist is describing them in a more than exact way, I gladly rely on his description. He says: the Mauritanian* rooster is a very beautiful bird, similar to pheasant in size of body, shape, beak and legs, supplied with a horny top of the head which behind goes down almost vertically toward a horny spike and which frontally is raising in a glaxis. It seems that nature desired to endow and wrap it in the lower part of the head as with three projecting flaps: with one on both sides placed between the eye and the ear and likewise with one on the center of the front, all of the same color of the top of the head: so that the horny structure would lay on the head as the general-cap of the illustrious Venetian Doge*, but as if what is behind were turned frontally. The cap in the lower part is wrinkled all around: where it rises in a straight line on the summit of the neck toward the nape, there some upright and black hair (not feathers) grow out turned in opposite direction. The eyes are entirely black, as well as the round eyelids and the eyelashes. If you except a spot at the upper and rear part of both eyebrows. A certain callous flesh of blood color occupies the lowest part of the head in all its length on both sides, and nature wanted that it was refolding so that it didn't hang as a wattle, and that with a contrary direction was ending in two acute extremities freed from the head. From this flesh on both sides the caruncles are arising by which the nostrils are clothed all around and by which the head is frontally separated from the remaining pale beak. The lower caruncles' edges are refolding toward the beak and are slightly doing so also under both nostrils.

As far as what is present on right and left side between the top of the head and the fleshy substance is concerned, the caruncles are marked by a double incisure: behind no one of them is existing, but they are smooth and as sprinkled by dots of the same color. There under the mouth the color is exquisitely purple: on the neck it is dark purple: in the rest of the body, if one looks in a brief way, the color is like that which grows up if white and black dust is sprinkled even if thinly minced with a dark color in a rather scant

¹⁶⁸⁷ John Caius - John Kay* - sent a description and figure, with the name Gallus Mauritanus, to Gessner, who published both in his *Paralipomena* in 1555*, and in the same year Belon* also gave a notice and woodcut under the name of Pouille de la Guinee; but while the former authors properly referred their bird to the ancient Meleagris, the latter confounded the Meleagris and the turkey. (<http://encyclopedia.jrank.org>)

totum corpus inesse visuntur, per summa minores, per ima maiores comprehensae intervallis linearum, ut apparet in plumarum compositione naturali, qua se mutuo intersecant obliquo hinc inde ductu per summa tantum corporis, non item per ima. Id non ex toto corpore solum deprehendes, sed ex singulis avulsis pennis. Superiores enim, obliquis lineis se mutuo intersecantibus, aut si mavis orbiculis quibusdam ex albo, et nigro ut dixi, polline confectis, et per extremitatem coniunctis, ut in favis, aut retibus, maculas ovaes, aut rotundas in spatiis fuscis comprehendunt: inferiore<s> non item. Utraeque tamen simili lege positae sunt. Nam in aliis plumis, ordine ita iunctae sunt, ut fere triangulos acutos faciant: in aliis, ut ovalem figuram repraesentent. Huius generis ordines tres, aut quatuor in singulis plumis sunt, ita ut minores in maiorum complexu reponantur. In extremis alis, et in cauda rectis lineis aequidistantibus procedunt per longitudinem maculae.

Inter Gallum, et Gallinam vix discernes, tanta, e<s>t similitudo, nisi quod Gallinae caput totum nigrum est. Vox illi est divisus sibilus, non sonior, non maior voce Coturnicis, sed similior voci Perdicis, nisi quod sublimior ea est, nec ita clara. Haec omnia Caius.

Ego omnino Meleagridem hanc avem, vel Numidicam Gallinam appellarim, de qua suo loco inter Gallinas scripsimus. Eadem nimirum fuerit *Afra* avis in versu Horatiano¹⁶⁸⁸. *Non Afra avis descendat in ventrem meum etc.* Hactenus Ornithologus. Sed eiusmodi opinionem suo loco satis, superque ni fallimur, redarguimus. Insuper verum non est Gallinam totum caput nigrum habere, ut Caius ille scripsit, sed quo ad colorem maris capiti simillimum: at obtusius multo est tuberculum.

Describit easdem Gallinas Bellonius¹⁶⁸⁹ hunc fere in modum ex Gallico Latinus factus: Quemadmodum multae merces, quas e Guinea regione ad nos (Gallos) advehunt mercatores nobis primum erant incognitae, ita pariter hae Gallinae ante horum ad eam regionem navigationem nemini nostrum erant notae: sed nunc in aulis magnatum satis obviae, atque

quantity, without nevertheless to mix them. Inside this color there are some white oval or round spots to be seen which are present on the whole body, smaller in the highest part, greater in the lower part, surrounded by spaces of lines as you can observe in the natural structure of the feathers where they crisscross with a mutual slanting direction across only in the upper part of the body, but not so in the lower. You can notice this not only in the body taken in its whole, but also from single feathers plucked away. For the upper feathers, intersecting each other with slant lines, or, if you prefer, with some little circles made up, as I said, by white and black powder and joined at their end, as in honeycombs or in nets, they enclose oval or round spots in dark spaces: the lower feathers don't appear alike. However both are arranged according to a similar criterion. For in some feathers they are joined in such a way that they make like acute triangles: in others so that they recall an oval shape. In each feather three or four arrangements of this kind are existing, so that the smaller ones are embraced by the larger ones. At the end of the wings and on the tail the spots go lengthwise according to equidistant straight lines.

Barely you would succeed in making a distinction between rooster and hen, so great is their resemblance, except that the head of the hen is entirely black. The voice of the rooster is a split whistle no more sonorous nor louder than the call of the quail*, but it is more similar to the call of the partridge* if it weren't that the first one is more shrill and not so ringing. All these things have been written by John Kay*.

Undoubtedly I would have called this bird meleager or Numidian hen*, about which I wrote at proper time among hens. Without any doubt it will have been that same African bird in a verse of Horace*. *The African bird doesn't have to go down in my belly, etc.* Thus far the Ornithologist. But in its own place, if I am not mistaken, I blamed more than enough such opinion. In addition it is not true that the hen has the head entirely black as that Kay wrote, but as far as color is concerned she is very similar to the head of the male: but the tubercle is very more blunt.

Pierre Belon* describes the same hens more or less in this way, translated in Latin from French: Likewise many merchandises which dealers bring to us (French) from Guinea region were first unknown to us, so in the same way before they sailed toward that region these hens were known to none of us: but now they are rather frequent in the residences of the magnates, and are common. They are very beautiful birds to be

¹⁶⁸⁸ *Epodi* 2,53.

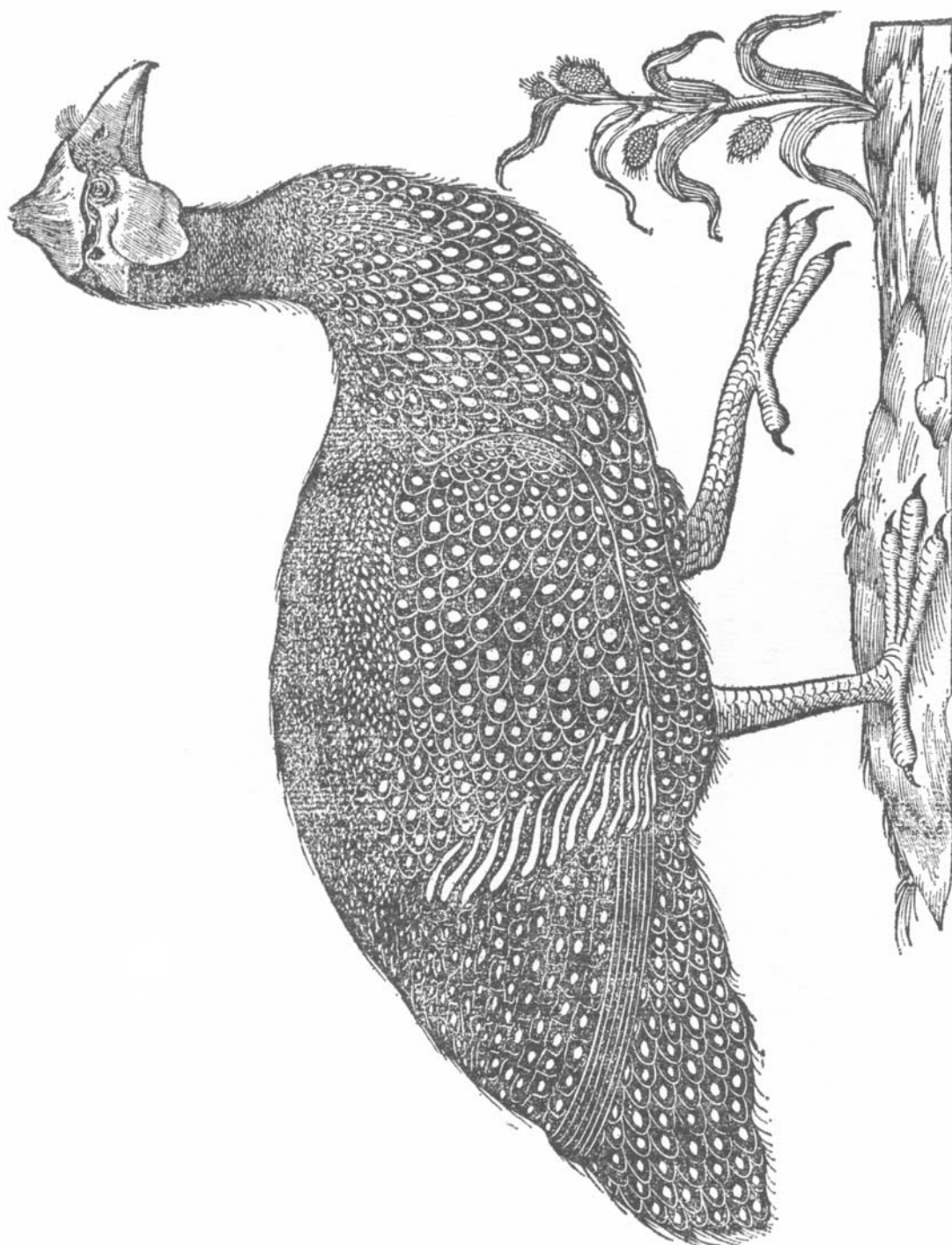
¹⁶⁸⁹ *Histoire de la nature des oyseaux* (1555) L.5 c.9.

vulgares sunt. Aves sunt visu pulcherrimae pennis infinitis maculis candidis in spatiis nigris praeditae. Corpulentia vix nostrates Gallinas superant: tibiae tamen longiores sunt, quare etiam maiores apparent. Ex solo capitis gibbo quivis eam internoscat, quem supra frontem habet camelopardalis instar, calli naturam obtinentem, duritie fere cornu. Eiusmodi Gallinae perquam foecundae sunt, et multiparae.

seen, provided with feathers with an endless number of white spots enclosed in black spaces. In body size they barely exceed our hens: however the legs are longer, therefore they appear even more tall. Whoever would be able to distinguish this hen on the basis of only the hump of the head which the bird carries above the front as the giraffe does and which has the structure of a callus and almost resembles to a horn for its hardness. Such hens are quite fertile and give birth to many chicks.

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[337] Gallina Guinea cum panico caeruleo Indico.
Guinea hen* with blue Indian foxtail millet*.



Veteres videntur eas agnovisse, et Varro¹⁶⁹⁰ earum meminit his verbis. *Gallina* [338] *Africana, vel Numidica varia est, quemadmodum quas Romani Gibberas appellant, quas interpretati sumus Gallos Indicos*¹⁶⁹¹: Columella¹⁶⁹², et Plinius¹⁶⁹³ Numidicam dicunt. Omnium domesticarum, seu cicuratarum volucrum formosissimae sunt, quamvis alias nulla in pennis alia, quam nigri, et albi coloris sit diversitas: sed hi ita mixti sunt, ut albae maculae per nigra spatia sparsae elegantissime, ac ineffabiliter suos ordines servant.

Aves sunt quo ad mores cum villaticis Gallinis nostris similes: terram eodem modo pedibus vertunt. Tibiae pedes, atque ungues item similes, sed tibias habent longiores. Haec vero inter eas, et nostrates differentia est, quod cum tam Gallis nostris, quam Gallinis cauda sit surrecta, hae semper demissam habeant, ut Perdices, ac Coturnices: quare etiam quibusdam Perdices terrae novae vocitantur. Loco eodem manere nesciunt: in quaerendo sibi victu admodum sollicitae ac industriae, qua in re nostrat*um* etiam naturam sapiunt, unde huc illuc perpetuo {divagantur} <devagantur>.

Nulla evidens nota est, qua marem a faemina distinguas. Utrique enim eadem maculae sunt, et albedo eadem circa oculos ac denique eadem supra eosdem rubedo. Crista carent, sed eius vice callositatem in vertice quandam habent coloris c{a}erei, qua parte camelopardalim referre ex primo intuitu videntur, qui scilicet dum currit, caput tenet erectum, et eundem fere cum iis colorum varietatem habet. Habent vero insuper peculiarem sibi, ac propriam quandam notam. Nam quemadmodum Galli Indici pilorum quandam acervum ante ventriculum, ita illae supra caput similem

The ancients seem to have known them, and Varro* mentioned them with these words: *The African or Numidian* hen is spotted, like those the Romans call humped*, which I have interpreted as *Indian Cocks* - the turkeys*: Columella* and Pliny* call it Numidian. They are the most handsome of all domestic or tame birds, although on other hand regarding their feathers no other color is existing than black and white: but these colors are so mixed that the white spots scattered throughout the black spaces keep their tidy arrangement .most elegantly and ineffably.

As far as the behavior is concerned, they are birds similar to our courtyard hens: they turn up the earth with their feet in the same way. Likewise their legs, feet and toenails are similar, but they have longer legs. Between them and our hens there is the following difference, that is, while in our roosters and hens the tail is turned aloft, they have it always lowered like partridges* and quails*: because of this by some people are also called partridges of the New World. They do not know how to remain in the same place: they are extremely active and thoughtful in getting food, a thing in which are also reflecting the instinct of our hens, then continually wander hither and thither.

There is no characteristic according to which you can distinguish male from female. For both have the same spots and the same whiteness around the eyes and finally the same redness above them. They lack a comb but in its place on the top of the head have like a wax-colored callosity and at first sight in this zone they seem to remember a giraffe, which, that is, when running, holds its head erect and has the same variegation of colors as these hens. In truth they have in addition a peculiar and specific characteristic. In fact, like the *Galli Indici* - turkeys - have a tuft of hair - the beard - in front of the crop, so they have a similar one on the head, but these hair are bent in front starting from the first

¹⁶⁹⁰ *Rerum rusticarum* III,9,18: Gallinae Africanae sunt grandes, variae, gibberae, quas meleagridas appellant Graeci. Haec novissimae in triclinium cenantium introierunt e culina propter fastidium hominum.

¹⁶⁹¹ I *Galli Indici* corrispondono al tacchino*.

¹⁶⁹² *De re rustica* VIII,2,2: Africana est quam plerique Numidicam dicunt, meleagridi similis, nisi quod rutilam galeam et cristam capite gerit, quae utraque sunt in Meleagride caeruleae. - VIII,12,1: *De Numidicis et rusticis gallinis* - Numidicarum eadem est fere quae pavonum educatio. Ceterum silvestres gallinae, quae rusticae appellantur, in servitute non fetant, et ideo nihil de his praecepimus, nisi ut cibus ad satietatem praebetur, quo sint convivorum epulis aptiores. § Giustamente Gessner fa notare che deve essersi verificato un qui pro quo, nel senso che in *De re rustica* VIII,2,2 fu trascritto galeam invece di paleam. Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 382*: Galea pro palea apud Columellam in Meleagridis mentione legi conijcio.

¹⁶⁹³ *Naturalis historia*, X,132: In Hercynio Germaniae saltu invisitata genera alitum accepimus, quarum plumae ignium modo conluceant noctibus. in ceteris nihil praeter nobilitatem longinquitate factam memorandum occurrit: phalerides in Seleucia Parthorum et in Asia, aquaticarum laudatissimae, rursus phasianae in Colchis — geminas ex pluma aures submittunt subriguntque —, Numidicae in parte Africae Numidia; omnesque iam in Italia).

obtinent, sed qui in anteriori parte reflectuntur a prima vertebra, aut osse colli procedendo per posteriorem capitis partem.

Cum Pavonibus etiam hoc illis commune est, ut colli principium sit gracile. Plumae colli, maxime inferiores relucet, ut Palumbi torquis. Vox similis est gallinis communibus: nam clamant acriter voce alta, quemadmodum pulli recens exclusi. Perticis insident, ut nostrates: caro delicata est, ova esui apta.

Iam videmus, huius alitis cognitionem vulgo Guineam Gallinam vocanti acceptam ferre deberi. Nam si consideremus Africam, videbimus appellationem quadrare. Numidia enim, et Guinea Africae regiones sunt: {prior} <altera> in littoribus Oceani, {altera} <prior> maris mediterranei. Antiquissimi Romani Mare mediterraneum potius praeternavigabant, quam Gaditano egrederentur, nonnunquam tamen, sed rarius transfretabant. Contra Lusitani, et Normandi, aut alii maris mediterranei incolae Africae oras, quae Guineae sunt magis frequentant, quam fretum Gaditanum. Quapropter mirandum non est si eiusmodi Gallinae in Gallia, quam in Italia frequentiores reperiantur. Ad nos enim frequentius, quam in Italia naves ex his regionibus appellant. Tales Gallinae apprime fecundae sunt, et in nutriendis pullis admodum sedulae, unde etiam facile multiplicantur, sed frequentiores evaderent, nisi frigus, utpote ex calidissima regione venientes, perhorrescerent.

Haec itaque omnia Bellonius: at non video quo argumento Gallinam Africanam aut Numidicam faciat. Varronis enim verba, quae adducit, ipse invertit. Varro enim Gibberas a Meleagride, aut Africana minime distinguit, sed ita habet¹⁶⁹⁴. *Gallinae Africanae sunt grandes, variae, gibberae, quas {Meleagrides} <Meleagridas> appellant Graeci, etc.* Plinius ita¹⁶⁹⁵: *simili modo pugnant Meleagrides, Africae, hoc est Gallinarum genus, Gibberum, variis sparsum plumis.* Varro in primis Gallinas Africanas grandes vocat. Guineae, vel ipso etiam Bellonio teste, villaticas magnitudine non vincerent, nisi tibias haberent longiores: quare meo iudicio grandes,

vertebra, or bone of the neck, proceeding through the posterior part of the head.

They have in common with peacocks* also what follows, that is, the beginning of the neck is slender. The feathers of the neck, above all the lower ones, gleam like the neck-ring of the wild pigeon. Their call is similar to that of common hens: for they shout aloud with a penetrating tone like recently hatched chicks. They roost on perches as our hens: the flesh is delicate, the eggs are suitable for eating.

We can undoubtedly realize that the knowledge of this bird is due to the people calling it Guinea hen. In fact if we consider Africa we will see that the name is exactly corresponding. For Numidia and Guinea* are regions of Africa: the latter is on the shores of ocean, the first on the shores of Mediterranean Sea. Ancient Romans were coasting along the Mediterranean Sea rather than doubling the strait of Cadiz, however sometimes, but rather seldom, they were doubling the strait. On the contrary the Portuguese and the inhabitants of Normandy or other inhabitants of Mediterranean basin are more frequenting African coasts belonging to Guinea than the strait of Cadiz. Therefore it is not surprising that such hens are found in a greater number in France than in Italy. For the ships coming from these regions land more frequently among us than in Italy. Such hens are most fertile and particularly painstaking in raising their chicks, hence they also easily multiply, but they would be more numerous if didn't abhor the cold, since are coming from a very hot region.

Pierre Belon* is therefore reporting all these things. But I don't see by what explanation he can judge what is the African or the Numidian hen. For he himself turns upside-down the words of Varro he is quoting. For Varro doesn't distinguish at all the gibbous hens from the meleagris or from the African one, but he is expressing himself in this way: *African hens are large, multicolored, gibbous, which the Greeks call meleagridas, etc.* Pliny is expressing himself in this way: *Meleagris birds fight alike in Boeotia. This is a genus of African hens, with gibbous head, covered by multicolored feathers.* First of all Varro calls the African hens large. The hens of Guinea, on witness of Belon himself, in size would not be over the courtyard hens if they didn't have longer legs: hence in

¹⁶⁹⁴ *Rerum rusticarum* III,9,18: Gallinae Africanae sunt grandes, variae, gibberae, quas meleagridas appellant Graeci. Haec novissimae in triclinium cenantium introierunt e culina propter fastidium hominum.

¹⁶⁹⁵ *Naturalis historia* X,74: Simili modo pugnant Meleagrides in Boeotia. Africae hoc est gallinarum genus, gibberum, variis sparsum plumis. Quae novissimae sunt peregrinarum avium in mensas receptae propter ingratum virus; verum Meleagri tumulus nobiles eas fecit.

Africanas Varro dixit, ut a Villaticis distingueret. Magnitudo itaque Gallo, Gallinisque Indicis, quos idem etiam Bellonius Meleagrides esse contendit, rectius conveniet. Sed super hac re alias fusius disputavimus.

my opinion Varro called the African hens large in order to distinguish them from courtyard ones. Therefore the largeness of the body will be owed more rightly to Indian Rooster and Hens - the turkeys - which also Belon himself is claiming to be Meleagrarians. But on this matter in another point I discussed in plenty.

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[339] DE GALLINA LANIGERA

Cap. XIV.

Gallinae huius lanigeræ icon desumpta est ex carta quadam cosmographica. Fuch civitas est maxima versus Orientem, in qua maximi Galli nascuntur. Gallinae sunt albae instar nivis, non pennis, sed lanis, ut testatur Odoricus e Foro Iulii¹⁶⁹⁶, tectae, ut pecus. Item M. Paulus Venetus¹⁶⁹⁷ scribit in civitate Quelinfu in regno Mangi nomine, Gallinas inveniri, quae loco pennarum pilos habeant, ut cat<t>i, nigri scilicet coloris, et ova optima pariant.

CHAPTER XIV
THE WOOLLY HEN

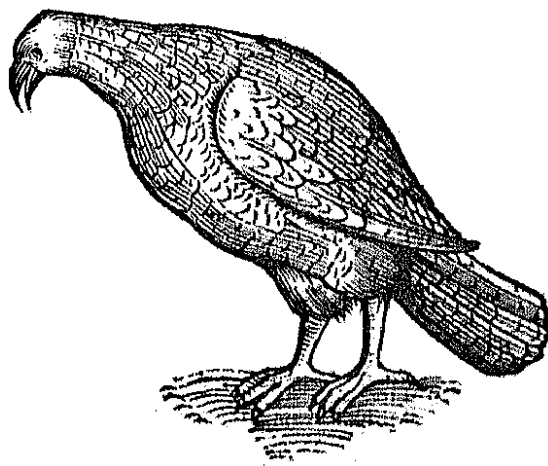
The picture of this woolly hen* has been got from a cosmographic map. Eastward there is the very large city of Fuch - Fuzhou, in which very large roosters grow. The hens are white as snow, covered not with feathers but with wool as sheep, as Odorico del Friuli* testifies. Likewise the Venetian Marco Polo* writes that in the city of Quelinfu - Quenlinfu, Kien-ning Fu - in the kingdom of Mangi there are some hens which instead of feathers would have hair like cats, that is, black, and would lay very good eggs.

¹⁶⁹⁶ *Itinerarium Fratris Odorici de Foro Iulii, Ordinis Fratrum Minorum, de mirabilibus Orientalium Tartarum* (1330). "Partendomi di questa terra [dall'odierna Quanzhou] venni verso oriente a una città che si chiama Fozo, che gira ben trenta miglia: Quivi sono i maggiori galli del mondo, e le galline bianche come neve: ma non àno penne, ma lana a modo di pecore." (*Memoriale Toscano*, 33)

¹⁶⁹⁷ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 466: *Icon haec desumpta est ex charta quadam Cosmographica*. - FUCH civitas est maxima versus Orientem, in qua maximi galli nascuntur. Gallinae sunt albae instar nivis, non pennis sed lanis tectae ut pecus, Odoricus de Foro Iulii. In civitate Quelinfu, in regno Mangi nomine, inveniuntur gallinae, quae loco pennarum pilos habent, ut catti, nigri scilicet coloris, sed ova pariunt optima, M. Paulus Venetus 2. 68. § Gessner non riporta Marco Polo - o Marcus Paulus - nel suo *Nomenclator insignium scriptorum* (1555). Sotto il nome di Marcus Paulus Venetus compare invece nella bibliografia di *Historia animalium* I (1551) e la sua citazione bibliografica recante il numero 209 viene inclusa nei *Libri recentiorum mediocri aut etiam egregio stilo Latine editi*: 209. MARCI PAULI VENETI DE REGIONIBUS ORIENTIS LIBRI 3. - Nel 1532 l'opera di Marco Polo si intitolava *De regionibus Orientalibus libri III*, edita in latino a Basilea da Simon Grynaeus e contenuta in *Novus orbis regionum ac insularum veteribus incognitarum*. Questo Marco Polo venne ripubblicato da Georg Schulz nel 1671 sempre con il titolo *De regionibus orientalibus libri III* che costituisce un terzo del frontespizio della pubblicazione di Schulz la cui sintesi è la seguente: *Marci Pauli Veneti historici fidelissimi iuxta ac praestantissimi De regionibus Orientalibus libri III. Cum codice manuscripto Bibliothecae Electoralis Brandenburgicae collati ... Accedit, propter cognationem materiae, Haithoni Armeni historia Orientalis: quae & de Tartaris inscribitur; itemque A. Mulleri Greiffenbagii, de Chataja, cujus praedictorum auctorum uterque mentionem facit, disquisitio; inque ipsum Marcum Paulum Venetum praefatio, & locupletissimi indices*. Coloniae Brandenburgicae [Berlino], ex officina G. Schulzii, 1671. § Non solo nel testo latino di Marco Polo consultato da Gessner, ma anche in una traduzione francese dal latino del 1556 le galline nere e pelose si trovano nel libro II cap. 68 (*Description géographique des provinces & villes plus fameuses de l'Inde Orientale ... Par Marc Paule gentilhomme Venetien, et nouvellement reduit en vulgaire François*, Paris, Iehan Longis, 1556) e lo stesso dicasi per un'altra edizione francese del 1888 contenuta in *Deux voyages en Asie au XIIIe siècle par Guillaume de Rubruquis et Marco Polo* (éd. par Eugène Muller, Paris, librairie Ch. Delagrave, 1888). - Quindi la referenza di Gessner è esatta, anche se la numerazione è diversa da quella de *Il Milione* della versione toscana *della Crusca* dove il testo italiano suona così: E havvi belle donne, e havvi galline che non hanno penne, ma peli come gatte, e tutte nere, e fanno uova come le nostre, e sono molto buone da mangiare. (CXXXIV *Del reame di Fugin*)

Gallina lanigera cum crista Galli Herbariorum.
The woolly hen with cockscomb of herbalists - *Rhinanthus crista-galli**.





Gallus Silvestris of Henry Sinclair
published at page 460* of *Historia Animalium* III (1555) by Conrad Gessner

[340] DE GALLO SCOTICO
Sylvestri, et de Morenna Anglorum.
Cap. XV.

Reperitur in Scotia, tradente Hectore Boetho¹⁶⁹⁸ quoddam sylvestris Galli genus, Phasiano carne, ac magnitudine simillimum: sed nigra pluma, rubentibus admodum palpebris, frumento victitans. Huius alitis effigiem Ornithologus¹⁶⁹⁹ Henricum a S. Claro¹⁷⁰⁰ clarissimum virum e Scotia sibi transmittendam curavisse scribit. Scoti in hoc genere marem vocant Ane blak {cock} <cok>, id est Gallum nigrum: faeminam, quae magnitudine inferior, et colore dilutior est, ane grey hen, id est, Gallinam fuscam. Mas collo, pectore, alis, coxisque punctis rubicundis aspersus est, faeminam leucophaeam maculae nigrae variant. Supercilia, et barbulae in utroque sexu membrana rubra insignit. Anglus quidam hac icone visa, in Anglia etiam capi retulit locis erica plenis. Eandem avem Guil. Turnerus intelligere videretur in descriptione, quam statim subdemus, nisi faeminae alium colorem tribueret, quam ait magis russam esse Perdice, cum faemina Galli nigri Scotici fusca sit, ut diximus.

Gallinaceum sylvestre genus apud nos est (inquit Turnerus Anglus, Morhennam vulgo vocant, ni fallor, forte propter colorem maris nigrum, ut in {mauris} <Mauris>: alii, puto Hethcok, id est, Gallum ericarum) in quo faemina ita a mare

CHAPTER XV
THE SCOTTISH WOODLAND COCK
AND THE ENGLISH BLACK GROUSE

As Hector Boëce* reports, in Scotland there is a genus of woodland cock which in flesh and size is very similar to the pheasant: but it has black feathers, quite red eyelids and feeds on wheat*. The Ornithologist writes that the very renowned Henry Sinclair* took care of sending him from Scotland the picture of this bird. Within this genus the Scots call the male *ane blak cok*, that is black rooster: the female, which is smaller and more diluted in color, *ane grey hen*, that is, dark hen. The male is sprinkled on neck, breast, wings and thighs with red dots, black spots make the female variegated, which is gray. A red membrane in both sexes adorns the eyebrows and the eyelashes. An Englishman, after he saw this picture, told that also in England they are captured in places rich in heather*. It seems that William Turner* is referring himself to the same bird in the description which I will quote anon, except that he ascribes another color to the female, and he says that she is more reddish than the partridge*, while the female of the Scottish black cock is dark, as I said.

Among us a genus of wild gallinaceous is existing (says Turner the Englishman, and they call it vulgarly Morhenna*, if I am not mistaken, perhaps because of the black color of the male, like in the inhabitants of Mauritania*; I think that others call it Hethcok -

¹⁶⁹⁸ *Scotorum Regni Descriptio*. (Aldrovandi)

¹⁶⁹⁹ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 460: Scoti in hoc genere marem vocant ane blak cok, id est gallum nigrum: foeminam quae magnitudine inferior e colore dilutior est, ane grey hen, id est gallinam fuscam.

¹⁷⁰⁰ *Sinclair o de Saint Clair*: antica famiglia scozzese.

differt, ut duorum generum istiusmodi rerum imperito videri possint. Mas Gallo domestico paulo minor, totus niger est, excepta ea parte caudae, quae podicem tegit. Ea enim alba est. Caeterum nigredo huius nonnihil splendescit, ad eum fere modum, quo Columborum nigrorum torques circa colla splendescunt. Ad viriditatem igitur proxime accedit. In capite rubrum quendam habet, sed carneum cirrum, et circa genas duos habet veluti lobos rubros, et eos carneos. Faemina tota maculis distincta est, et a Perdice, nisi maior esset, et ruf{f}a magis, aegre dignosci posset. In desertis locis, et planis, erica potissimum consitis, ambo degunt. Grano vescuntur, et summis ericae germinibus. Breves habent alas, et breves faciunt volatus. Hanc avem Attagenem esse conijcerem, sed qui Attagenem describunt, marem a foemina non separant. Unde colligo eundem fuisse colorem, et eandem figuram maris, et faeminae. Quod si Attagen non sit, Gallina esse videtur Varronis rustica¹⁷⁰¹. Haec ille.

Verum hanc avem non esse Attagenem, ex eius historia apparebit: praesertim cum Attagen sit palustris, haec non item. Vide an eadem avis sit, quam Longolius Attagenem putavit, cuius verba recitavimus in Grygallo¹⁷⁰². Haec omnia Ornithologus, qui sane et dum Attagenem palustrem vocat, Attagenem novisse minime videtur, est enim montium incola, ut suo loco descripsimus.

Heath cock, that is, Cock of heathers) and in this genus the female differs from the male to such an extent that to an inexperienced in matter they could seem as belonging to two different genus. The male is a bit smaller than the domestic rooster, it is entirely black except for that part of the tail which covers the breech. In fact this part is white. For the rest its blackness is rather shining, almost in the same way as the rings of black pigeons are shining around their necks. Therefore it is fairly close to be green in color. On the head it has something red, but it is a fleshy tuft, and around the cheeks it has as two red lobes which are fleshy too. The female is all marked with spots and were it not for being larger and more red she could be barely distinguished from a partridge. Both dwell in lonely and level places, above all covered with heather. They feed on grains of wheat and on apical buds of heather. They have short wings and make short flights. I should guess this bird is the francolin*, but those people who describe the francolin don't distinguish male from female. Hence I gather that the color and the shape of male and female were the same. And if it is not the francolin, it seems that it could be the wild hen of Varro*. Thus far Turner.

It will come across from his description that this bird is not the francolin: above all since the francolin dwells in swamps, and this bird doesn't behave alike. You have to see if perhaps it is the same bird which Gisbert Longolius* thought to be a francolin and whose words I quoted speaking of Grygallus*. The Ornithologist wrote all these things, who in truth when calling the francolin a marshy bird seems that he doesn't know the francolin at all, being in fact a mountains dweller, and I described it at its proper time.

¹⁷⁰¹ *Rerum rusticarum* III,9,16-17: Gallinae rusticae sunt in urbe rarae nec fere nisi mansuetae in cavea videntur Romae, similes facie non his gallinis villaticis nostris, sed Africanis. [17] Aspectu ac facie incontaminatae in ornatibus publicis solent poni cum psittacis ac merulis albis, item aliis id genus rebus inusitatis. Neque fere in villis ova ac pullos faciunt, sed in silvis. Ab his gallinis dicitur insula Gallinaria appellata, quae est in mari Tusco secundum Italiam contra montes Liguscos, Intimilium, Album Ingaunum; alii ab his villaticis invectis a nautis, ibi feris factis procreatis.

¹⁷⁰² Gessner riporta le parole di Longolius a pagina 478* di *Historia Animalium* III (1555) a proposito del Grygallus minor, un uccello che a Colonia e in altre zone era detto in tedesco Birkhün, cioè gallina della betulla. A pagina 477, parlando del Grygallus maior, Gessner fornisce l'etimologia del nome, che è onomatopeica: Avis haec ad vivum depicta, in Helveticis alpibus, circa Claronam praecipue, vocatur ein Grügelhan, per onomatopoeiam: quam ego secutus Latine etiam grygallum dicere volui. Graece etiam γρυκόκκυξ nominari poterit, a particula gry ad vocis imitationem facta, et verbo κοκκύζειν, quod voci gallinaceorum peculiariter tribuitur: unde et orthriococcyx pro gallinaceo legitur. § Per la raffigurazione del Grygallus maior fornita da Gessner si veda il lessico*. § Buffon* a pagina 202 di *Histoire naturelle des oiseaux* II (1771) è dell'avviso assai rispondente al vero che il *Grygallus maior* non rappresenta assolutamente un'altra specie di uccello, ma che altri non è che la femmina del *Tetrao urogallus* o Gallo cedrone*, così come il *Grygallus minor* è la femmina del *Lyrurus tetrix* o Fagiano di monte*.

[341] Gallus palustris cum gramine cyperoide.
Swamp rooster with a Cyperacea*, perhaps *Carex rostrata*.



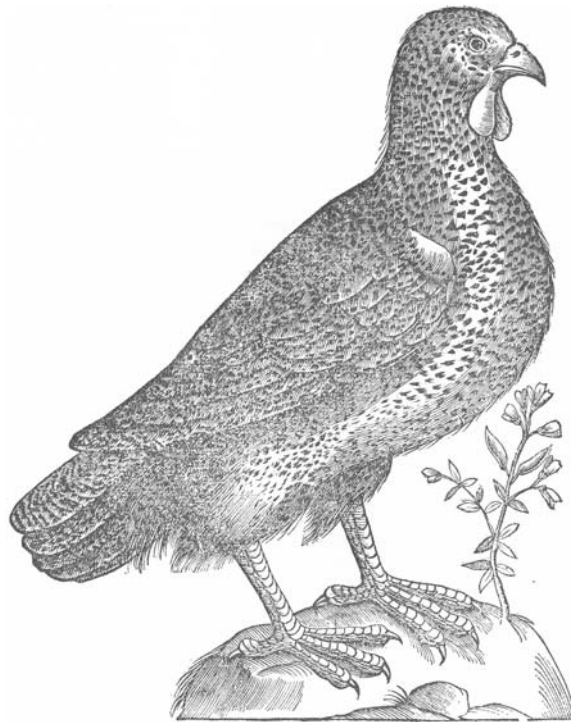
[342] DE GALLO PALUSTRI.

Cap. XVI.

De Gallo palustri Ornithologus sic scribit: et hanc exhibet iconem: Avis, quam Scoti, (et Angli quoque, ut conijcio) vocant Gallum palustrem, ane muuyrcok, Germanice scripserim ein Murhan, Attagenis historiae subijcienda videtur. Nam et in summis deliciis habetur, et in locis palustribus (unde nomen) pascitur, et corpus ei subrussum, aut subflavum, undique punctis nigricantibus distinguitur. supercilia, et barbulae e membrana rubente, ut in reliquis fere Gallis sylvestribus nulla. Effigiem eius ad nos e Scotia mitti doctissimus vir Io. Ferrerius Pedemontanus curavit. Haud scio, an eadem sint aves, de quibus Hector Boethius in Scotiae descriptione¹⁷⁰³ sic prodidit: Sunt in Scotia Galli, Gallinaeque Sylvestres vocati, Qui frumento abstinent, et enascentibus tantum minutisque cytisi foliis vescuntur, humanae gulae perquam suaves. Gybertus Longolius Gallinae sylvestris quoddam genus vocat {Kurbenn} <Kurbenn>, quasi Murhenna quam Meleagridem, seu Africanam Gallinam interpretatur: quae itidem in palustribus locis versatur. Sed Athenaei descriptio¹⁷⁰⁴ Meleagridum, Scotiis palustribus iam dictis non convenit. In epitome¹⁷⁰⁵ dubitat, an sit Longolii Gallina palustris.

CHARTER XVI
THE SWAMP COCK

The Ornithologist writes as follows about swamp cock and gives this picture: It seems that the bird which the Scots (and the English also, as I think) call swamp cock, *ane muuyrcok**, in German I would write it *ein Murhan*, must be placed after the description of the francolin*. For it is listed among the highest delicacies, it feeds in marshy places (whence the name), its body is reddish or blondish, sprinkled everywhere with blackish dots. The eyebrows and the eyelashes made of a red membrane, as in almost all the woodland cocks, are absent. The most learned Piedmont's man Giovanni Ferrero took care that its picture was sent me from Scotland. I don't know whether they are the same birds about which Hector Boëce* spoke in the description of Scotland in this way: In Scotland cocks and hens are existing called sylvan which don't eat wheat and are feeding only on small and sprouting leaves of laburnum*, and they are awfully pleasant to human palate. Gisbert Longolius* calls a kind of woodland hen *Kurbenn*, which nearly sounds as *Murbenn*: which he thinks to be the meleagris or African hen*: which likewise dwells in marshy places. But the description of Athenaeus* of meleagris birds is not fitting the above-mentioned marshy Scottish hens. In his abridgement he doubts that it is the marshy hen of Longolius.



¹⁷⁰³ *Scotorum Regni Descriptio*.

¹⁷⁰⁴ La descrizione viene fatta da Clito di Mileto - storico del IV sec. aC, discepolo di Aristotele - in Ateneo 655 C-F.

¹⁷⁰⁵ Forse potrebbe trattarsi del *De Animantibus Quadrupedibus Volatibus, Aquatilibus Scotiae* di Hector Boëce.

[343] DE CAPO
Cap. XVII.

Haud immerito fortassis separatim de Capo scribemus, quod propter corporis immutatam temperiem, testiculis nempe privatus nomen immutaverit, pullorum propagationi prorsus inidoneus factus, et ad mensae usum duntaxat propter carnis praestantiam serviat.

SYNONIMA.

Sunt qui Barbur¹⁷⁰⁶ Hebraicam vocem Capum interpretentur: sed hi Capum cum Gallo confuderint, ut alii etiam nonnulli parum Latini fecerunt, ut suo loco admonuimus¹⁷⁰⁷, cum tamen, teste M. Varrone¹⁷⁰⁸ in Gallinaceo genere villatico Capi semimares dicantur, quod sint castrati. Quare inepte ab Isidoro¹⁷⁰⁹ scriptum est, Gallum a castratione vocari. Nititur autem eo solum argumento, quod veteres abscissos vocarent Gallos, vel ex male intellecto Martiale¹⁷¹⁰, qui alibi ait, sub lemmate Capo:

*Ne nimis exhausto macresceret inguine Gallus.
Amisit testes, nunc mihi Gallus erit.*

hoc est castratus, ut erant Cybeles sacerdotes, Galli appellati, unde idem rursus¹⁷¹¹.

*Succumbit sterili frustra Gallina marito,
Hanc matris Cybeles esse decebat avem.*

Hoc est, hanc potius Cybelae dicere debebant, nempe castratum, cuius castrati etiam essent sacerdotes, quam Gallum: non autem, ut Ornithologus¹⁷¹² exponit, haec potius, et proprie debebat vocari Gallus.

CHAPTER XVII
THE CAPON

Perhaps I will rightly write separately about the capon*, since, because of a changed temperament* of the body, that is, having been deprived of testicles, it would have changed its name, because it became quite unfit for reproduction of chicks, and it would serve only for table use because of the excellence of its flesh.

SYNONYMS

There are some people translating the Hebrew word barbur as capon: but these people would have confused the capon with the rooster, as also did some others who were not very Latin, as I have remembered at proper time, while however, as Varro* testifies, in courtyard gallinaceous genus the capons are called half-males because they are castrated. Hence by Isidore* it has been wrongly written that the rooster is so called from castration. For he relies on the sole argument that ancients called the cocks as castrated, or because he misunderstood Martial* who elsewhere under the heading Capon says:

*The cock, lest he should grow too thin having dried up the lower
belly,
gave up his testicles, now he will be for me a Gallus.*

That is a castrated, as were the priests of Cybele*, called Galli*, hence he still once more:

*In vain the hen is bending to the sterile husband.
It was worthwhile that this bird would have been of the mother
Cybele.*

That is, it was better they devoted this bird to Cybele, that is, a castrated, because her priests were castrated too, rather than a rooster: in fact, not as the Ornithologist is relating, that this bird had rather and properly to be called rooster.

¹⁷⁰⁶ Ne ha disquisito a pagina 186*.

¹⁷⁰⁷ Ne ha parlato a pagina 189*: Apud probatissimos autores latinos Gallus dicitur, et cum adiectione Gallinaceus, et simpliciter quoque Gallinaceus. Unde Albertum, aliosque latini sermonis imperitiores hallucinari constat, cum Gallum Gallinaceum, Capum, hoc est Gallum castratum interpretentur. In quem errorem ipsemet Isidorus etiam impegit, Gallum simpliciter Capum appellans, eo, ut videtur, argumento nixus, quod veteres Gallos castratos vocarent: cum tamen contra veteres classici quique Gallos mares in hoc avium genere nuncupent.

¹⁷⁰⁸ *Rerum rusticarum* III,9: Ex quis tribus generibus proprio nomine vocantur feminae quae sunt villaticae gallinae, mares galli, capi semimares, qui sunt castrati.

¹⁷⁰⁹ *Etymologiae* XII,7: Gallus a castratione vocatus; inter ceteras enim aves huic solo testiculi adimuntur. Veteres enim abscisos gallos vocabant. Sicut autem a leone leaena et a dracone dracaena, ita a gallo gallina. Cuius membra, ut ferunt quidam, si auro liquescenti misceantur, consumi. § Se ne è già parlato a pagina 189*.

¹⁷¹⁰ *Epigrammata* 13, 63: CAPONES: Ne nimis exhausto macresceret inguine gallus, | amisit testes. Nunc mihi gallus erit. § Già citato a pagina 189*.

¹⁷¹¹ *Epigrammata* 13, 64: IDEM: Succumbit sterili frustra gallina marito. | Hunc matris Cybeles esse decebat avem. - Idem = Capones. - Nelle edizioni critiche odierne si accetta sia *hunc* riferito a *marito* che *hanc* riferito ad *avem*.

¹⁷¹² Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 400*: Gallos a contrario sensu appellatos quidam existimant. nam Galli sacerdotes matris deum castrati erant. hinc Martialis, Ne nimis exhausto macresceret inguine gallus, Amisit {testeis} <testes>, nunc mihi gallus erit. Et rursus, Succumbit sterili frustra gallina marito, Hanc matris Cybeles esse decebat avem.

Haud me tamen latet, Capum a Petronio Arbitro¹⁷¹³ Poeta antiquissimo Gallum dici, sed cum additione spadonis. Quod modo ad nomenclaturam Graecam attinet, nullam prorsus reperio¹⁷¹⁴. Latini Capum dicunt, aut Caponem. Longolius Capum rectius dici asserit: En tibi, inquit in dialogo eius Pamphilus interlocutor, Capones, ut evirati neque vocem edunt, neque Gallinis molesti sunt: ubi mox ipse Longolius: Ego illos non Capones, sed cum Varrone, et Columella¹⁷¹⁵ libentius Capos vocaverim. Ex recentioribus quidam Capum Gallinaceum dixit: at per pleonasmum. Sat est enim Capum dixisse. Apud T. Vespasianum Strozam eiusmodi periphrasis de Capo legitur.

Tum Gallinarum pulli, quos villica lapsa

Reddidit eunuchos anno, cristasque recidit<.>

Quod vero Albertus Gallinaceum¹⁷¹⁶ (intelligit autem Capum) veteribus Paponem dici scribit, id somniasse videri potest, quando apud nullum classicum scriptorem tale reperire sit. Italice nominatur Cappon, seu Cappone: Gallice Chapon, Germanice Kappun, Kapaun, Kaphan; Anglice Capon: lingua Abissina Capi dicuntur Aroazes.

GENUS. DIFFERENTIAE.

Quot Gallorum genera sunt, totidem etiam Caponum esse possunt. Etenim omnes castrari queunt. Sola etiam castratione Capi a Gallinaceis differunt. Capis tamen iuba est maior, quam Gallis, et caudae pennae longiores. Vox demissior, et rauca. Scaliger¹⁷¹⁷ testatur, sese Capum habuisse insigni magnitudine, ac propterea certum convivam, qui cum ater fuisset totus, anno quarto factus fuit candidus, quanquam erant alii, quibus nulla pluma nigra fuerat}<.> An vero Capis pennarum colores immutari quid peculiare sit, an vero id, quod Scaliger scribit de suo Capo,

I am not unaware however that by the very ancient poet Petronius Arbitr* the capon is called rooster, but with the addition of eunuch. As far as Greek nomenclature is concerning, I find nothing at all. Latins say *capus* or *capo*. Gisbert Longolius* affirms that it is more correctly said *capus*. In his dialogue the interlocutor Pamphilus* says: Here are the capons, which like the emasculated men neither utter a voice, nor are troublesome to hens; at this point Longolius himself immediately replies: I would not call them *capones*, but with Varro and Columella* I preferably would call them *capos*. One of most recent authors said *capus gallinaceus*: but resorting to a pleonasm. For it would have been enough that he said *capus*. In Tito Vespasiano Strozzi* we can read about the capon such a periphrasis:

Then the chicks of the hens, which the plough-girl made eunuchs last year, and whose combs she has cut off.

But because Albertus* writes that the rooster (he means the capon however) is said *papo* by ancients, we can realize that he dreamed this up, since such a thing is found in no classical writer. In Italian it is called cappon or cappone: in French chapon, in German Kappun, Kapaun, Kaphan, in English capon, in Abyssinian language the capons are called Aroazes.

GENUS - DIFFERENCES

There can be as many genera of capons as there are of roosters. In fact all of them can be castrated. Moreover capons differ from roosters only for castration. However the capons have their hackle which is larger than in roosters, and tail's feathers are longer. The voice is lower and hoarse. Giulio Cesare Scaligero* states that he had a very large capon, and therefore doomed to turn into a sure table's companion, which although was totally black, in its fourth year of life became white as snow, as they were the other ones, which didn't have any black feather. Whoever could doubt whether it is a peculiarity of the capons that feathers' colors can change, or, to say the truth, whether what Scaligero

¹⁷¹³ *Satyricon* 55: Luxuriae ructu Martis marcent moenia | Tuo palato clausus pavo pascitur | plumato amictus aureo Babylonico, | gallina tibi Numidica, tibi gallus spado.

¹⁷¹⁴ Il vocabolario elettronico di greco antico edito dalla Loescher (*Vocabolario della lingua greca*, 2004) non riporta alcun termine equivalente al nostro cappone. Per cui bisogna presumere che stavolta Aldrovandi riferisca il vero. § Aristotele* non parla in modo specifico di castrazione del gallo, in quanto nel libro IX capitolo 50 riferisce circa la castrazione degli uccelli, qui detti ὄρνιθες - che però potrebbero essere sia galli che galline - i quali ὄρνιθες, quando venivano castrati, andavano incontro a impallidimento della cresta - κάλλαιον - e smettevano di cantare - οὐχέτι κοκκύζει. Si trattava ovviamente di galli e non di uccelli in senso lato, né tantomeno di galline. Per la disquisizione in merito al testo aristotelico, dove manca un termine greco equivalente a cappone, si veda la castrazione del gallo e della gallina* nella sezione riservata alla castrazione della gallina.

¹⁷¹⁵ *De re rustica* VIII,2,3: Sed ex his tribus generibus cohortales feminae proprie appellantur gallinae, mares autem galli, semimares capi, qui hoc nomine vocantur cum sint castrati libidinis abolendae causa. Nec tamen id patiuntur amissis genitalibus, sed ferro candente calcaribus inustis, quae cum ignea vi consumpta sunt, facta ulcera dum consanescant, figurari creta linuntur.

¹⁷¹⁶ Ne ha discusso a pagina 189*.

¹⁷¹⁷ *Commentarii et animadversiones in sex libros de causis plantarum Theophrasti*, lib. 5. (Aldrovandi)

fortuito e venerit, quod magis credo¹⁷¹⁸, quispiam dubitare possit.

writes about his capon did happen casually, which I am more believing.

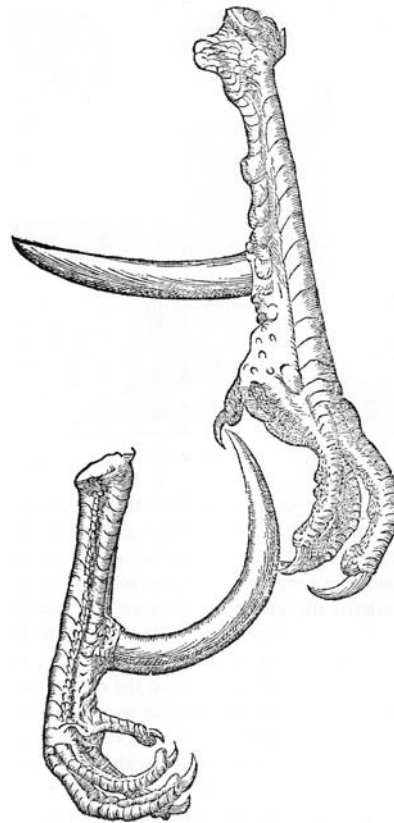
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[344] **FORMA. DESCRIPTIO.**

Forma Capis cum Gallis eadem, nisi quod illis iubae, et caudae pennae maiores sint, et crista careant, et calcaria in maiorem molem excrescant ut in adiectis duabus {carcarium} <calcarium> iconibus est videre. Quem hic primo loco depictum dabimus, capite, collo, dorso toto, pectore, et ventre coloris erat castanei, iubae pennae erant nigrae, nigra item cauda, et alae, sed quarum remiges erant subluteae: pedes cinerei. Altera pictura Capi monstrifici est, tribus pedibus instructi, qui tamen pes tertius duos tantummodo digitos habebat, at longiores multo quam in aliis. Color superiori fere contrarius. Huic enim color erat totus niger, sed iubae pennae duplicis coloris, nam maiores pennae ferrugineae, minores erant aureae. Remiges alarum candidae. Cauda nigra. Pedes lutei. Adijciemus etiam intestinum cum duabus suis appendicibus, nempe intestinis caecis, quae Anatibus et Anseribus, similibusque aliis etiam sunt communia, item mesenterium [mesenterium] seu lactes Columbi Cyprii.

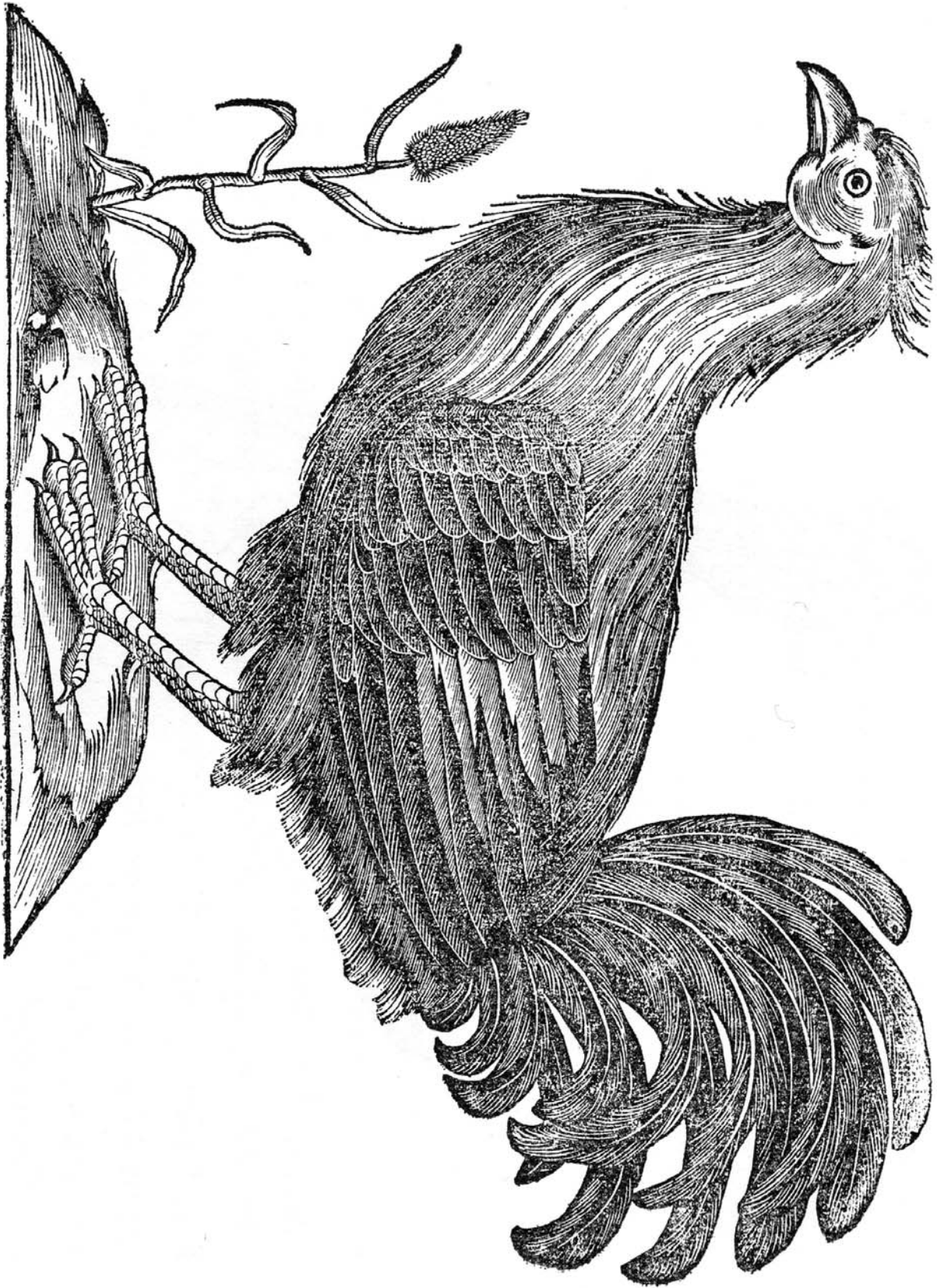
SHAPE - DESCRIPTION

The shape of the capons is the same as that of the roosters, except that the first ones have the feathers of hackle and tail which are larger, and that they lack a comb, and the spurs* grow up more large in size, as it is possible to see in the two attached pictures of spurs. The capon, whose picture now I will carry as first, was of chestnut color on head, on the whole back, on breast and abdomen, the hackle was black, also tail and wings were black, but remiges were yellowish: the legs were ash-colored. The second picture belongs to a monstrous capon endowed with three feet, whose third foot had only two toes and much longer than in other feet. The coloring was almost the opposite of that of the previous capon. For its color was totally black, but the hackle was of two colors, in fact the larger feathers were rusty, the smaller were golden. The remiges were white. The tail black. The legs yellow. I will also add the bowel - ileum+rectum - with its two appendixes, that is, the caeca, which are present in ducks and geese and in other similar birds, as well as the mesentery or small intestine of the pigeon of Cyprus.

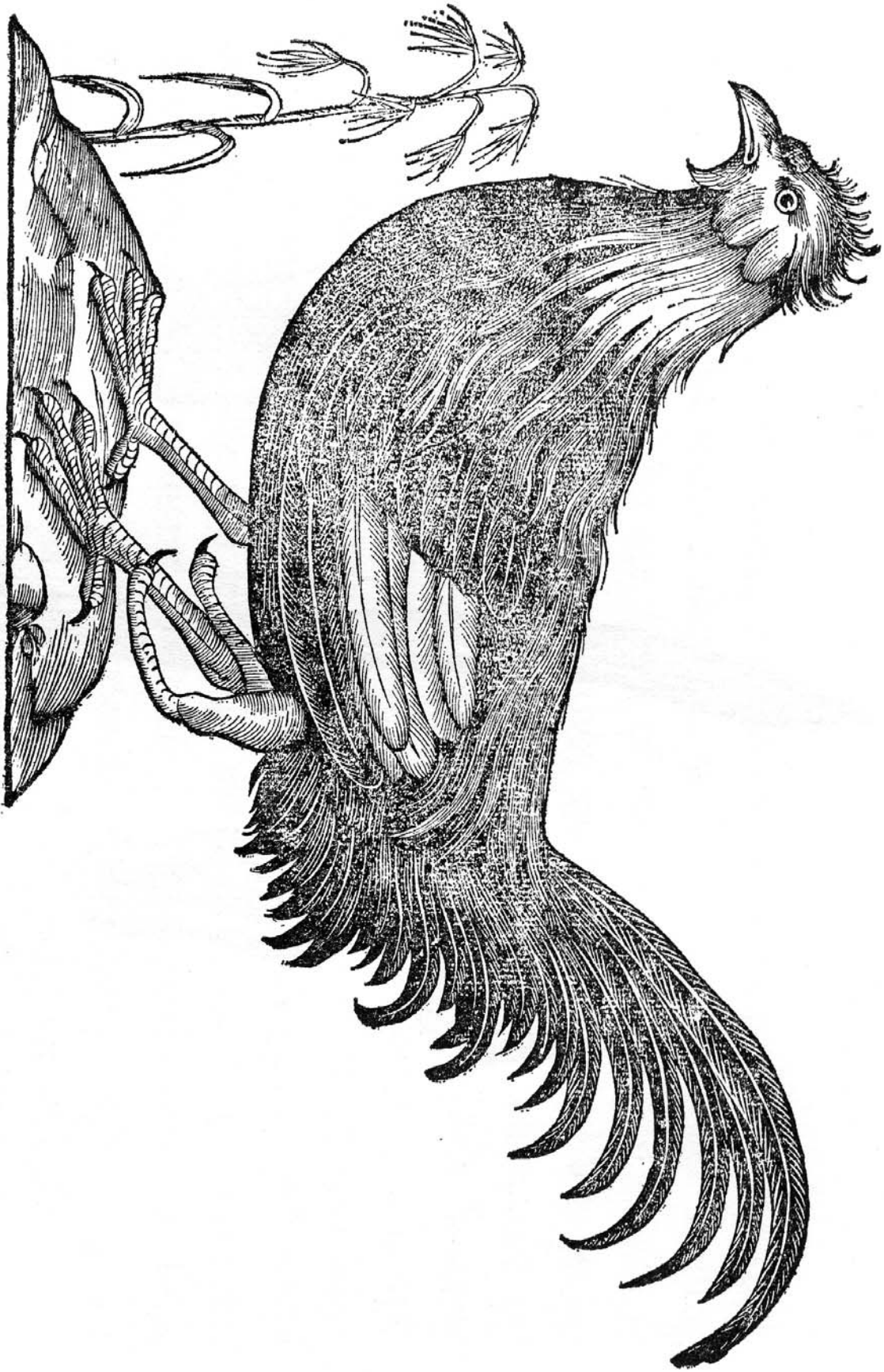


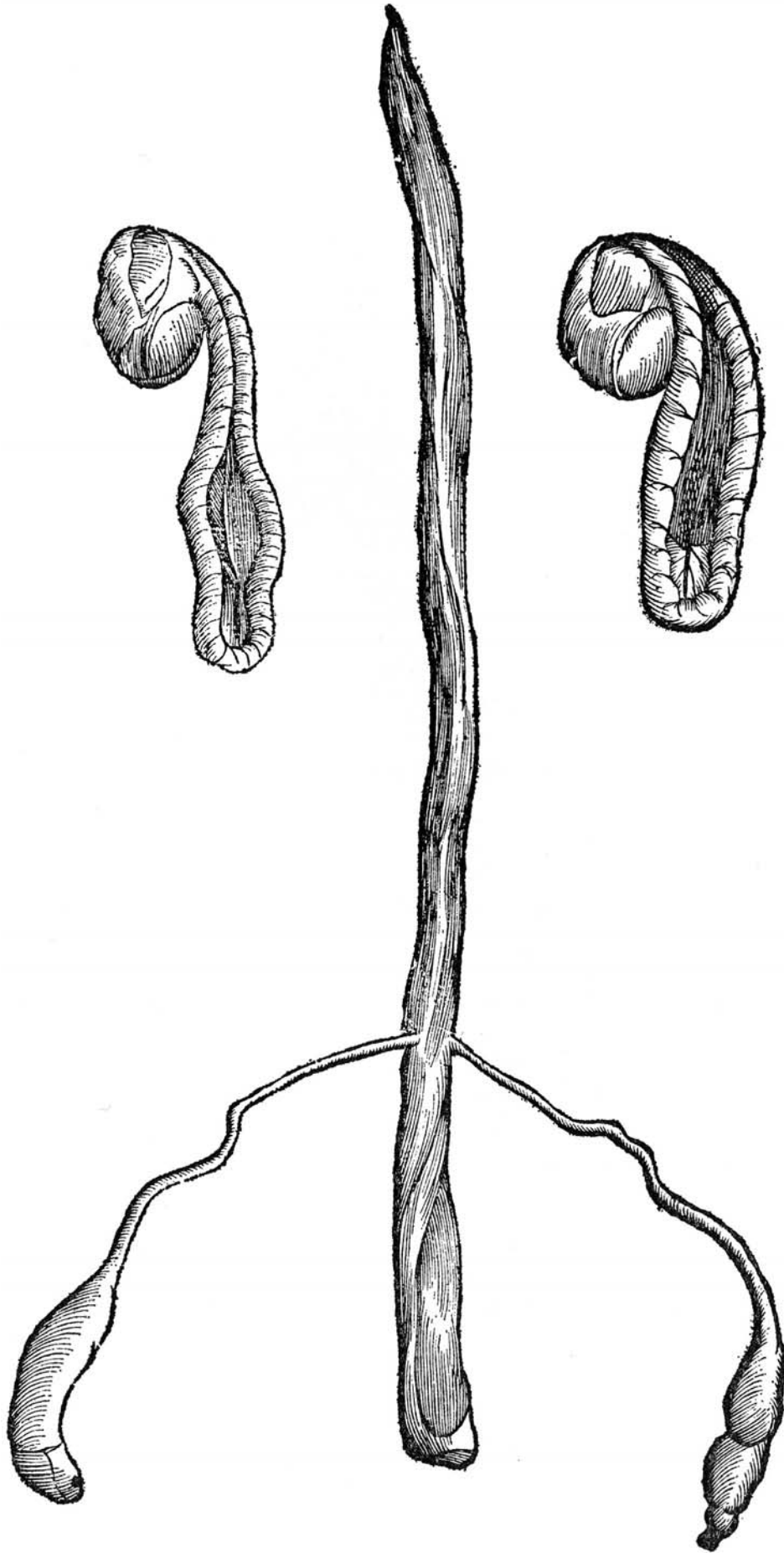
¹⁷¹⁸ Vedi il lessico alla voce Depigmentazione spontanea*.

[345] Capus cum gramine alopecuroide.
Capon with the graminaceous *Alopecurus pratensis** or foxtail.



[346] Capus tripes cum bromo sterili.
Three-footed capon with *Bromus sterilis** or sterile brome.





[347]

[348] CASTRATIO.

CASTRATION

Apud antiquos Galli longe alio modo, quem nunc castrabantur. Novissimam enim alvi partem, aut lumbos, aut calcaria candenti ferro inurebant. Ita enim in primis scribit Aristoteles¹⁷¹⁹. *Castrantur Gallinacei parte novissima suae alvi, quae cum coeunt, concidit. Hanc enim si duobus, aut tribus ferramentis adusseris Capos facies.* Varro vero, et Columella calcaria inuri solere tradunt. *Gallos castrant*, inquit Varro¹⁷²⁰, *ut sint Capi, cadenti ferro inurentes calcaria ad infima crura usque dum rumpantur, (ignea vi consumantur,*

Among the ancients the roosters were castrated* in a way quite different from present-day manner. In fact they cauterized with an incandescent iron the extremity of the belly, or the loins, or the spurs. For Aristotle* is among the first authors writing as follows: *The roosters are castrated in the extreme part of their abdomen, that one which goes down when they mate - nearby cloaca, underneath uropygium**. Then, *if you will have cauterized this part with two or three irons you will get capons.* But Varro* and Columella* report that spurs are usually burnt. Varro says: *They castrate the roosters, so that they become capons, by*

¹⁷¹⁹ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 412*: *Castrantur gallinacei parte novissima suae alvi, quae cum coeunt, concidit. hanc enim si duobus aut tribus ferramentis adusseris, capos facies, quod si perfectus est qui castratur, crista pallescit, et cucur<r>ire desinit, neque coitum venereum repetit. sed si adhuc pullus est, ne inchoari quidem ex iis quicquam potest, cum accrescit, Aristot. § Aristotele *Historia animalium* IX,50 - 631 b 25-30: Ἐκτέμνονται δ'οἱ μὲν ὄρνιθες κατὰ τὸ ὄρροπύγιον, καθ'ὅ συμπίπτουσιν ὀχεύοντες, ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ἂν ἐπικαύση τις δυσὶν ἢ τρισὶ σιδηρίοις, ἐὰν μὲν ἤδη τέλειον ὄντα, τὸ τε κάλλαιον ἔξωχρον γίνεται καὶ οὐχέτι κοκκύζει οὐδ'ἐπιχειρεῖ ὀχεύειν, ἐὰν δ'ἔτι νεοττὸν ὄντα, οὐδὲ γίνεται τούτων οὐδὲν αὐξανομένου. § Birds are castrated at the rump at the part where the two sexes unite in copulation. If you burn this twice or thrice with hot irons, then, if the bird be full-grown, his crest grows sallow, he ceases to crow, and foregoes sexual passion; but if you cauterize the bird when young, none of these male attributes propensities will come to him as he grows up. (traduzione di D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson 1910, 1860-1948) § Da notare che ὄρνιθες viene tradotto da D'Arcy Thompson col più generico termine *birds* anziché *roosters* o *cocks*, sebbene tra gli uccelli il primato della castrazione - se non l'esclusiva - spettino al gallo, e nonostante solo il gallo sia dotato di una cresta che in greco e in Aristotele inequivocabilmente suona κάλλαιον*, una cresta (e non un ciuffo di piume, λόφος) che dopo la castrazione da rossa si fa pallida, color ocra, ἔξωχρον. D'Arcy Thompson nel suo ineguagliabile *A glossary of Greek birds* (1895) esplicitamente afferma che κάλλαιον nel gallo identifica la cresta, e la definisce *comb* (essendo *crest* il ciuffo), mentre in questo passo traduce κάλλαιον con *crest*. Aristotele nella sua *Historia animalium* non parla assolutamente di uccelli castrati se non in questo passo, diversamente da quanto fa per i mammiferi, tra i quali possiamo ricordare toro, cervo, maiale. § Gessner non riferisce la fonte del suo esatto *gallinacei*, ma non si può escludere che abbia attinto dal *De natura animalium* (1498) di Teodoro Gaza*, in quanto il brano di Gessner è identico a quello di Gaza, eccetto *cucurire* che in Gaza giustamente suona *cucurrire*. § Per amore della precisione dobbiamo aggiungere che ὄρνιθες si potrebbe tradurre anche con galline. Per cui con la castrazione di una gallina si otterrebbe una *gallina spadonia*, che in francese suona *poularde*. Ma ciò non collima coi tempi di Aristotele, in quanto abbiamo notizia che la castrazione delle galline veniva praticata - per esempio - da Michele Savonarola* (1384-1468) che le chiamava *caponissae*, quindi in tempi ben più recenti rispetto a quelli dello Stagirita. Né si hanno tracce di castrazione di galline in epoca romana, come si può evincere dal paragrafo *Culinarum artes* desunto da *Ornithologia Latina* di Filippo Capponi (1979) e reperibile alla voce castrazione* del lessico. Oltretutto la relazione di Capponi viene convalidata dall'affermazione di Isidoro* (ca. 560-636) in *Etymologiae* XII,7: *Gallus a castratione vocatus; inter ceteras enim aves huic solo testiculi adimuntur.* Giulio Cesare Scaligero* è più esplicito: traduce ὄρνιθες con *galli* - il che quadra coi tempi di Aristotele - e sottolinea che invece ai suoi tempi (1484-1558) si castravano anche le galline, una pratica da lui attribuita ai tavernieri: "Etiam sic castrantur hodie gallinae a ganeis, quae mirum in modum pinguescunt." (*Aristotelis historia de animalibus*, Tolosa, 1619, pag. 1173) § ILLUC, UNDE ABII, REDEO (Orazio* *Satirae* I, 1, 108): D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson commette chiaramente un errore traducendo ὄρνιθες con *birds*. Ma non solo lui è colpevole di questa svista, in quanto è vittima dello stesso *lapsus* anche Mario Vegetti che ha curato la traduzione italiana dell'*Historia animalium* (1971). Vegetti si associa ad altri studiosi nel mettere seriamente in dubbio l'autenticità aristotelica dei libri IX e X dell'*Historia animalium*, per cui ne fornisce non una traduzione, bensì un sommario. Ecco come suona la sintesi di IX,50: *Gli animali cambiano forma e carattere in seguito alla castrazione. — Modi ed effetti della castrazione degli uccelli. Effetti della castrazione sugli uomini, per quanto riguarda la voce e la crescita dei peli. La voce di tutti i quadrupedi castrati diviene uguale a quella della femmina; se l'operazione è effettuata in gioventù, tutti gli animali a essa sottoposti diventano più grandi e più armoniosi. Tecnica di castrazione dei vitelli, che va effettuata a un anno. — Asportazione dell'utero delle scrofe perché ingrassino più rapidamente. Analoga operazione sulle cammelle per poterle utilizzare in guerra (certi Asiatici possiedono fino a tremila di questi animali). — Note sui ruminanti in generale. - Per cui anche Vegetti come D'Arcy Thompson ha tradotto ὄρνιθες con uccelli.**

¹⁷²⁰ Varrone non ha *calcaria*, che viene invece dedotto da Gessner. - Varrone *Rerum rusticarum* III,9,3: *Gallos castrant, ut sint capi, candenti ferro inurentes ad infima crura, usque dum rumpatur, et quod exstat ulcus, oblinunt figlina creta.* - Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 412*: *Gallos castrant ut sint capi, candenti ferro inurentes calcaria ad infima crura, usque dum rumpantur (ignea vi consumantur, Columel.) atque extet ulcus, quod obliniunt figlina creta, (dum consanescant, Colum.) Varro.*

Columella¹⁷²¹) *atque extet ulcus*. Plinius¹⁷²² lumborum, atque imorum crurum meminit, inquiens: *Desinunt canere castrati, quod duobus fit modis, lumbis adustis candente ferro, aut imis cruribus*. Caeterum eiusmodi inflictum ulcus figulina creta, testibus Varrone, Columella, et Plinio oblinebant.

Nostrae vero villicae¹⁷²³ testiculos evellunt per posteriora, modico vulnere cultro inflictio. Vulnus autem tantum fit, quantum digito superius ad lumbos sub septo, ubi testes adhaerent, immittendo, et singulis extrahendis sufficit: quibus extractis vulnus filo consuunt, et cinerem inspergunt, tum etiam cristam resecant, ut virilitatem omnem adimant. Sunt qui in cristae abscissae locum calcar e crure exectum inserant, idque {coalescente} <coalito> vulnere {re}crescere dicant{:}<.> Verum qui ex hisce castrationis modis praestet, ignoro, video tamen antiquam illam, cuius Varro, Aristoteles, Columella, Plinius, aliique meminere, non amplius observari: quare suspicandum multos ex inflictio illo vulnere cum ca<n>dente ferro interiisse, uti quandoque ex nostris moriuntur, si erratum aliquod in castratione contingat: quinim<m>o superiori anno 1597. Gallum observavi mox a castratione ita tumuisse, ut pellis pulsata digitis, tympani bellici instar sonum {a}ederet: quod erratum a male consuto vulnere evenerat. In eiusmodi vero castratione omnino elaborandum est, ut uterque testiculus auferatur, nam si alter relinquatur, cucu<r>rit, canit, et coitum repetit, et minus pinguescit.

VICTUS. SAGINATIO.

Quae de victu<s> Galli historia scripsimus, aequae Capo competunt, at quae de saginatione, huic, et Gallinis tantum, quas volucres saginare

burning with an incandescent iron the spurs in the lowest part of the legs until the formers come off, (until they are burnt down by the force of the fire, Columella) and an ulcer results. Pliny* mentions the loins and the lower part of the legs, saying: *They stop singing when castrated, which happens in two ways, after the loins have been cauterized with an incandescent iron, or the lowest part of the legs have been cauterized*. In addition, as Varro, Columella and Pliny report, they smeared the so produced ulcer with potter's clay.

In truth our plough-girls pull out the testicles through the posterior area after gave a small wound with a knife. But a wound is made large enough to allow the introduction of a finger into the high part towards the loins beneath the transverse septum, where testicles are clinging, and to draw them one by one: after removed them they sew up the wound with thread and sprinkle ashes, and at the same time cut off the comb in order to remove any mark of virility. Some people insert a spur cut off from the leg in place of the comb which has been chopped off, and they affirm that it lengthens when the wound healed up. In truth I don't know how an advantage could arise from these methods of castration, however it seems to me that that ancient method of castration mentioned by Varro, Aristotle, Columella, Pliny and others, is no longer practiced: then we have to suspect that many subjects died because of that wound inflicted with an incandescent iron, as sometimes some our subjects are dying if something wrong happens during the castration: in fact, last year, 1597, I observed a rooster that soon after the castration started to swell up to such an extent that the skin tapped with fingers gave forth a sound like that of a war drum: this error happened because of a badly made suture of the wound. In truth in this kind of castration we have to proceed in quite accurate way so that both testicles are removed; for if either of them is left the subject does a cock-a-doodle-doo, crows and tries to mate, and fattens up less.

FEEDING - FATTENING

What I wrote in the account about feeding of the rooster is likewise **befitting** the capon, but what I wrote about fattening is befitting only the latter and hens, and

¹⁷²¹ *De re rustica* VIII,2,3: Sed ex his tribus generibus cohortales feminae proprie appellantur gallinae, mares autem galli, semimares capi, qui hoc nomine vocantur cum sint castrati libidinis abolendae causa. Nec tamen id patiuntur amissis genitalibus, sed ferro candente calcaribus inustis, quae cum ignea vi consumpta sunt, facta ulcera dum consanescant, figulari creta linuntur.

¹⁷²² *Naturalis historia* X,50: Desinunt canere castrati, quod duobus fit modis, lumbis adustis candente ferro aut imis cruribus, mox ulcere oblito figlina creta; facilius ita pinguescunt.

¹⁷²³ Non si può certo escludere che a Bologna la castrazione dei galli avvenisse con una tecnica adottata in tutta Europa, anzi, è assai verosimile che a Bologna e a Zurigo i galli venissero castrati nello stesso modo. Ma stavolta Ulisse si dimentica di citare la fonte, cioè l'Ornitologo, il cui testo è stato un po' rimaneggiato. Infatti il testo di Ulisse corrisponde a quello di Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 412*: Vulnus quidem tantum fit, quantum digito immittendo et testibus singulis extrahendis sufficit, quo testes lumbis superius adhaerentes inquiruntur sub intestinis galli supini, inventique digiti summitate revelluntur. iis extractis vulnus filo consuuntur, et cinis infricatur, tum etiam crista resecatur, ut virilitas omnis absit. Sunt qui in cristae abscissae locum calcar e crure exectum inserant, quod coalito vulnere etiam crescere solet.

ligur<r>itores ipsi invenere, quo unctius, et lautius, ut Platinae verbis utar, devorarent. Pinguescunt Capi milii farina cum melle<, > praesertim{,} et turundis in cibo datis. Nam {Plinius} <Varro>¹⁷²⁴ eo nomine vocat buceas, quibus farcire, saginareque Gallinas, Anseres, et Capos solemus. Sunt apud Germanos, qui Capos saginant hoc modo: Includunt eos in loco angusto, et e farina milii turundos¹⁷²⁵ faciunt, magnitudine fere, et longitudine articuli digiti mediocris: e quibus ab initio circiter denos eis in fauces inferunt, et per aliquot deinceps dies quotidie plures, paulatim aucto numero, qui postea minuitur etiam paulatim. Dandum est autem eis plus minus prout coquunt: concoctio tactu explorata ingluvie animadvertitur. Turundi mox inserendi prius in aquam, aut lac immittuntur, nam sic facilius descendunt, licet interim leniter digitis per collum premendo deduci debeant. In defectu milii furfur, et parum frumentaceae farinae, ex milii etiam parum in turundos redigitur. Sic fere viginti diebus obesantur, sed mero milio quatuordecim. Sunt qui Gallinas, et Capos brevi pinguescere scribant, si cerevisia loco aquae bibenda eis apponatur. De Gallina privatim farcienda in eius historia scripsimus¹⁷²⁶. Videtur autem ratio eadem farciendis Capis convenire. Quare eo lectorem ablegamus.

USUS IN CIBO.

Capi quam sint in cibis grati nemo non novit, utpote qui remoto Veneris usu facti sint pinguiores, et salubrioris nutrimenti{;}<.>

about fattening is befitting only the latter and hens, and they have been the gluttons themselves who invented the fattening of these birds, in order to gorge themselves, according to the words of Platina*, in a more delicious and sumptuous way. The capons fatten up by using flour of millet* with honey, above all also feeding them on mashes. For Varro calls with this name the bites by which we usually cram and fatten hens, geese and capons. Some German people fatten capons as follows: they shut up them in a narrow place and make small bites almost of size and length of the phalanx of a medium-sized finger: at the beginning they ram in their mouth ten of these bites each sitting, and subsequently for some days they are giving quite a lot each day, gradually increasing the number, which later on is gradually decreased too. In fact the bites have to be given more or less according to as they are digested: the progress of the digestion is detected by tactile exploration of the crop. The bites which are about to be given must be first placed in water or milk, for thus they go down more easily, although every now and then have to be helped in going down by gently pressing with fingers along the neck. If the millet is scarce we have to make bites of bran and a little wheat flour* as well as a little millet flour. Thus they fatten up within twenty days, but within fourteen with millet only. Some people write that hens and capons fatten up shortly if they are given beer in place of water to drink. I wrote separately about how to fatten a hen when I spoke about it. Really it seems that the same method is befitting the fattening of capons. Therefore I refer the reader to that chapter.

USE AS FOOD

No one is unaware how capons are pleasant as food, since, having put sex aside, they became more plump and a more healthful food. Hence Platina says: *The*

¹⁷²⁴ In Plinio non ricorre la parola *turunda*, che viene invece impiegata da Varrone e che è già stata riportata a pagina 233*. Infatti Varrone dice in *Rerum rusticarum* III,9,20: Ex iis evulsis ex alis pinnis et e cauda farciunt turundis hordeaceis partim admixtis farina lolleacia aut semine lini ex aqua dulci. § L'errore di Aldrovandi proviene da Grapaldus* tramite Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 412*: Capos et gallinas saginare ligur<r>itores ipsi invenere, quo unctius ac lautius devorarent, Platina. Pinguescunt capi milii farina cum melle, praesertim et turundis in cibo datis. nam Plinius eo nomine vocat buceas, quibus farcire saginareque gallinas, anseres et capones solemus, Grapaldus.

¹⁷²⁵ *Turunda* femminile in Gessner si trasforma nel maschile *turundus*. *Turundus* ha il significato di tampone o batuffolo di garza, stuello, significato posseduto anche da *turunda*. Aldrovandi adotta il cambiamento di genere e riporta per intero il brano di Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 412*: Sunt apud nos qui capos saginant hoc modo. includunt eos loco angusto, et e farina milii turundos faciunt, magnitudine fere et longitudine articuli digiti mediocris: e quibus ab initio circiter denos eis in fauces inserunt: et per aliquot deinceps dies quotidie plures paulatim aucto numero. qui postea minuitur etiam paulatim. dandum est autem eis plus minus pro concoctione, quae tactu explorata ingluvie animadvertitur. Debent autem turundi mox inserendi prius in aquam aut lac immitti ut facilius descendant, et leniter digitis per collum premendo deduci. In defectu milii, furfur cum pauca de frumento farina et milii etiam pauca, in turundos redigitur. Sic fere viginti diebus obesantur, mero quidem milio quatuordecim. Sunt qui gallinas et capones brevi pinguescere scribant, si cerevisia eis bibenda apponatur pro aqua. Capus gliscens, lo capone impastato, nutrito de pasta, Scoppa in *Dictionario Latinoitalico*. videtur autem pastae nomine turundos intelligere. De gallina farcienda privatim scribemus infra in Gallina E. Videtur autem ratio eadem farciendis utrisque convenire.

¹⁷²⁶ A pagina 232*.

Unde Platina¹⁷²⁷: *Omnium avium laudes, inquit, quantum ad obsonia pertinet{n}*¹⁷²⁸, *una caro Gallinacea comprehendit. Quid enim popinis afferunt reliquae atiles quod non unus Capus in se habeat, sive elixum, sive assum velis? Huius avis patina stomachum iuvat, pectus lenit, vocem sonoram facit, corpus obesat. Haec ille* {>}<.>

chicken's flesh alone is holding the praises of all birds as far as food is concerning. For what do other bred fowls provide to inns which one capon does not have, either boiled or roasted? A course of this bird aids the stomach, relieves the spirit, makes the voice sonorous, fattens the body. These his words.

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Quod ad carnis temperiem attinet, sunt in quatuor [349] qualitibus temperati, quare multum alunt, et venerem augent, teste Isaac, qui alibi etiam Capum avibus omnibus praefert, ut qui melius nutrimentum, et perfectum generet sanguinem. Villanovanus Capos in cibo probat circa aetatem sex, vel septem, vel octo mensium.

As to temperament* of the flesh, they have the four kind of humors of the temperament, hence they nourish quite a lot and increase the sexual desire, as Isaac Iudaeus* affirms, who also elsewhere prefers the capon to any bird, as that giving rise to best nourishment and perfect blood. Arnaldus of Villanova* praises the capons as food when they are about 6-7-8 months aged.

In Gallinacei historia permulta, a nobis recitata sunt, quae omni harum avium generi, tum salubritatis in cibo, tum apparatus ratione communia sunt: itaque hic ea tantummodo, quae ad Capos privatim pertinent, afferemus¹⁷²⁹. Quod modo ad coquendi, ac apparandi rationem attinet, haec sane varia est, et pro cuiusque libitu instituta. Vel autem elixantur, vel assantur. Iulius Alexandrinus inter recentiores scriptores Medicos illustris Capos subsequenti modo elixans medici potius, quam coqui partes agit. Capum prius per se elixat, huius pulpas, praecipue vero alarum, ac pectunculorum cum apii una ac betae radicibus sumit, addit caseum, et friati panis parum, ova sex circiter, uvarum passularum aliquid, cinnamomum, zinziberis, piperis, {caryophyllorum} <caryophyllorum> quantum satis esse existimat, butyri cochlear magnum: componit omnia simul, comminutis prius, quae comminui, tritis, quae teri debeant, in massam, quam deinde in offas dividit figura, et magnitudine ovali fere. Rapeolos, inquit, multi vocant, quod ex friatis prius id epuli genus forte rapis concinnatum fuerit, dein minutim etiam concisis herbulis, demum et animalium carne. Has tenui ex subacta farina, quam pastam vocat aliquoties, folio seorsim singulas involvit offulas, eodem Capi iure recoquit: exemptis, patinaeque iniectis caseum infriat, et calidi affundit butyri

In the chicken's account I said a lot of things which are in common with all the genus of these birds both regarding their healthfulness as food and the methods of preparing them: hence at this point I will report only what is specifically concerning the capons. And, as far as methods of cooking and preparing is concerned, they are various indeed and suited to the pleasure of whoever. In fact they are either boiled or roasted: Iulius Alexandrinus*, renowned among recent medical writers, when boiling the capons in the following way, he plays rather the part of physician than of cook. At first he boils the capon alone, takes its soft flesh, but especially of wings and breast along with roots of fennel* and beet, adds cheese and little breadcrumbs, more or less six eggs, some raisins, and as much as he thinks enough of cinnamon*, ginger*, pepper, cloves*, a big spoon of butter, he puts them all together in kneading after first minced what must be minced and crushed what must be crushed, and then he divides the mixture in bites which have almost the shape and the size of an egg. He says that many people call them radishes* because perhaps this kind of course was made with grated turnips, then with thin chopped up herbs too, finally also with flesh of animals. He separately wraps one by one these small bites in a sheet of pastry made with kneaded flour, which sometimes

¹⁷²⁷ *De honesta voluptate.*

¹⁷²⁸ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 412*: *Omnium avium laudes, quantum ad obsonia pertinet, una caro gallinacea comprehendit. Quid enim popinis afferunt reliquae atiles, quod non unus capus in se habeat, sive elixum, sive assum velis? Huius avis patina stomachum iuvat, pectus lenit, vocem sonoram facit, corpus obesat, Platina. Capi in cibis gratiores sunt, utpote remoto Veneris usu facti pinguiore, et salubrioris nutrimenti, Grapaldus.*

¹⁷²⁹ Lo sforzo di Aldrovandi nel modificare le parole di Gessner è stato minimo. Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 412*: *In Gallinaceo F. permulta a nobis recitata sunt, quae omni gallinaceo generi tum salubritatis in cibo tum apparatus ratione communia sunt: hic ea quae ad capos privatim pertinent afferemus.*

satis. Est vero talis mixtura plurimae alimoniae, sed quae sanguinem, ut ipsemet attestatur, inflammet, vitiosumque succum generet, meatusque obstruat. Nostri vero coqui eiusmodi herbas, ut quae ingratum potius, quam gratum saporem carni concilient, minime adiiciunt, sed vel simpliciter elixant, vel ex caseo recenti pilulas adiiciunt, et friatum caseum veterem superinspergunt: qui sane cibus gratissimus est.

Molesta vero etsi pariter, multique laboris assatio est, quam idem Iulius Alexandrinus praescribit paulo post, elegans tamen, et laudanda, si herbas eas ante nominatas excipias. Coques, inquit, eadem materia conclusum integrum Capum, excepto quod alae, pedesque {iefracti} <infracti>, et collum retorquentur in corpus, ut angustius iaceat: ovorum, luteis duratis aliquot infarcies, ea configes {caryophyllis} <caryophyllis> binis, ternisve, singula salita prius, tum pruna accipies, et si haec ad manus non sunt, uvae passae, aliquid, {limoniive} <limonisve> tenuius concisi, aut utriusque partem, ova sex fere: tudicula miscentur, agitanturque haec: tum butyri bene recentis adiicitur pro Capi pinguedine plus minus, sed quod liquaminis tamen instar efficiat, hoc madescet immersus intus Capus: postremo factum ex eadem farina imponetur vasi operculum. Hoc modo immittitur furno farinacea patella, sive olla, sive testa, sive escarium vas id, ovorum prius albumine illitum. Si anniculus fuerit Capus, non ante tertiam horam extrahi furno debet. Cautio erit, si quid furni calore agitatius factum effundi visum fuerit, vulgata charta nostra texisse, statim id reprimere effervescentiam illam solet. Calidum inferre mensae vult. Nonnulli ante perfectam cocturam vini aliquid affundunt, convivisque iam apposituri luteum ovi aceto dilutum adiiciunt. Haec ille.

Nostris coquis in veru assare Capones usitatum est, et cum vel malis aurantiis, vel {limoniis} <limonibus> in frusta conscissis convivis exhibere. Quod si vero sese offerat occasio, ut neque elixare, neque assare ad ignem Capum queamus, uti fit in longo itinere, ubi saepe hospitia desunt, tunc domo abeuntes chalybem ignitum nobiscum feremus, eumque in deplumem Capum, ac exenteratum iniiciemus, accurate uno, alterove mantili obvolventes, ne calor evanescat: sic enim

he calls pasta, and he cooks them again in the same capon broth: after he removed them from broth and put them on a plate, he grates cheese upon and pours enough hot butter. In truth this mixture is very nourishing, but it is such that it inflames the blood, as he himself affirms, it produces a bad body fluid and obstructing drain ways. In truth our cooks don't add these vegetables at all because they give an unpleasant rather than a pleasant taste, but either they simply cook them or add little balls of fresh cheese and sprinkle grated old cheese, and in truth it is a very pleasant food.

But to roast them it is troublesome and anyway requires alike a marked care, and soon after Iulius Alexandrinus himself gives instructions of this, however to roast them it is refined and praiseworthy if you rule out the above-mentioned herbs. He says: you will cook an entire capon wrapped by only its own skin, except that broken wings and legs and neck are turned toward the body so that it may lie in a narrower place: you will stuff it with some hard-boiled egg yolks piercing them with two or three cloves, every thing has first to be salted, then you will take some plums, and if these are not available, some raisins or lemon cut up rather thin, or a little of both, more or less six eggs: they are mixed and beaten using a crusher: then a certain quantity of very fresh butter is added according to the fatness of the capon, however so that it becomes as a juice, and the capon getting submerged in it has to become soaked inside: finally a pot-lid but made of flour has to be placed on it. Prepared in this way, it is introduced in the oven into a floured frying pan, or in a pot, or in an earthenware pot, or in a kitchenware first smeared with white of eggs. If the capon is one year old do not remove it from the oven before three hours have passed. You have to beware if it seems that something made rather bubbling by the heat of the oven is pouring out, to have covered it with our common paper usually stops such a bubbling. He says it must be served hot. Some people pour on some wine before the cooking is completed and when are about to present it to the guests they add egg yolk diluted in vinegar. Thus far Alexandrinus.

Our cooks are in the habit of roasting capons on spit and of presenting them to guests with either sweet oranges or lemons cut into little pieces. But if it happens that we don't want either to boil or roast a capon on fire, as it happens on a long journey when often hotels are lacking, then leaving home we will carry with us an object of red-hot steel and place it into the plucked and disemboweled capon, wrapping it carefully in one or two towels so that heat is not lost: for in this way we will make it fit for

esui aptum reddemus etiam inter equitandum, modo meminerimus subinde alitem versare. Verumenimvero tetro inficietur odore, sed ferendo tamen, ac grato famelicis. Iam de preparationis varietate dicendum.

Mirause¹⁷³⁰ Catellanicum¹⁷³¹ lauti genus cibi est a Platina his verbis descriptum: *Catellani gens quidem lauta, et quae ingenio, ac corpore Italicae solertiae haud multum dissimili*<s>¹⁷³² *habetur, obsonium, quod mirause illi vocant, sic condiunt: Capos, aut pullastras, aut Pipiones, bene exenteratos et lotos in veru collocant, volvuntque ad focum tantisper quoad semicocti fuerint. Inde exemptos, ac {tessellatim} <tessellatim> divisos in ollam indunt: amygdalas deinde tostas sub cinere calido, abstersasque lineo panno terunt. His buccellas aliquot panis {subtositi} <subtositi> addunt, mixtaque cum aceto, et iure per cribrum setaceum transmittunt. {Postea} <Posita> in ollam haec omnia {inspersaque} <inspersaque>*¹⁷³³

be eaten even while we are riding, if we only remember to turn the bird repeatedly. But truly it will be soaked by a repugnant smell, but bearable and pleasant for those people who are hungry. Now we have to speak about the various ways of preparing it.

The Catalan *mirause* is a kind of sumptuous food described by Platina* by these words: *The Catalans*, a polished people indeed and who are thought not very dissimilar in character and body traits from Italic ingeniousness, season in the following way a dish they call mirause: they place on the spit capons, or pullets, or pigeons well cleaned from entrails and well washed, and turn them on the fire until are half cooked. After removed them from fire and squared them off, they place them into a pot: then mince almonds toasted under hot ash and cleaned with a flax cloth. They add morsels of just toasted bread, and pass the things mixed with vinegar and broth through a horsehair sieve. After they placed into a pot all these ingredients and*

¹⁷³⁰ Nel testo anonimo in catalano Sent Sovi (1324) suona come Mig-raust. Mastro Martino*, dal quale il Platina* ha tratto la ricetta, in italiano medievale lo chiama Mirrause e Roberto di Nola nel suo testo in catalano scrive Mirraust. Mig raust in tedesco visigoto significa mezzo arrostito, come mi ha specificato Marie Josèphe Moncorgé in una preziosa e-mail del 16 agosto 2005: "En effet, mig raust = à moitié rôti, en allemand wisigoth. Comment ce mot a-t-il survécu jusque dans une recette catalane du 14^e? En tous cas, mig raust devient mirrause chez Martino, mirrauste chez Robert de Nola, miraus chez Scappi." - Nella trascrizione del testo di Roberto di Nola a mia disposizione (*Lybre de doctrina Pera ben Servir: de Tallar: y del Art de Coch*) sta scritto Mirraust, e non una volta sola, ma credo che il vocabolo possa considerarsi equivalente a Mirrauste.

¹⁷³¹ In Platina - *Libellus platine de honesta voluptate ac valitudine*, Bononiae, per Johannem Antonium Platonidem, 1499 - esiste solo catellanicum:

VI,12 Mirause catellanicum

VI,32 Patina catellonica

VI,41 Cibarium album catellanicum - che però suona catellanicum nell'indice

VII,60 Carabazum catellanicum

VII,72 Leucophagum catellanicum

L'aggettivo sostantivato Catellani - e non Catelloni - è usato da Platina in Liber VI,12 - MIRAUSE CATELLONICUM - Catellani gens quidem lauta: et quae ingenio ac corpore italicae solertiae haud multum dissimilis habetur obsonium: quod mirause illi vocant: sic condiunt [...]

In Aldrovandi il mirause ricorre una sola volta e possiamo ipotizzare - ma solo ipotizzare - che egli abbia desunto l'aggettivo Catellanicum che lo accompagna dal suo maestro l'Ornitologo, cioè da Conrad Gessner.

Dal momento che catellanicum potrebbe essere un'abituale variante di catellanicum, il *Catellanicum* di Aldrovandi non viene corretto. E che catellanicum possa essere una comune variante di catellanicum possiamo arguirlo dal testo di Gessner in cui il mirause ricorre due volte - prima come catellanicum e poi come catellanicum - salvo che *Catellanicum* sia un puro errore tipografico: Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555) pag. 389*: Ex capis aut pullastris Mirause Catellanicum, Platinae verbis describemus in Capo F. - pag. 413*: Mirause Catellanicum: Catellani gens quidem lauta, et quae ingenio ac corpore Italicae solertiae haud multum dissimilis habetur, obsonium, quod mirause illi vocant, sic condiunt: [...] § La conferma a questa mia decisione di accettare sia *catellanicum* che *catellanicum* mi giunge dal Dr Thomas Gloning - Institut für Germanistische Sprachwissenschaft, Università di Marburgo, Germania - il quale così mi ha risposto con una e-mail del 17 settembre 2005: M.E. Milham, dans l'édition de Platine, ne change pas _catellanicus_, donc je pense que c'est une forme assez régulière dans le temps. Aussi, la variation entre des différentes formes était plus grande à ce temps qu'aujourd'hui.

¹⁷³² Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 413*: Mirause Catellanicum: Catellani gens quidem lauta, et quae ingenio ac corpore Italicae solertiae haud multum dissimilis habetur, obsonium, quod mirause illi vocant, sic condiunt: Capos aut pullastras, aut pipiones bene exenteratos et lotos, in veru collocant: volvuntque ad focum tantisper, quoad semicocti fuerint. Inde exemptos, ac tessellatim divisos, in ollam indunt. Amygdalas deinde tostas sub cinere calido, abstersasque lineo panno, terunt. His buccellas aliquot panis subtositi addunt, mixtaque cum aceto et iure, per cribrum setaceum transmittunt. Posita in ollam haec omnia, inspersaque cinnamo, gingiberi ac saccaro multo, tandiu effervere simul in carnibus procul a flamma lento igne permittunt, quoad ad iustam cocturam pervenerint, miscendo semper cum cochleari, ne seriae adhaereant. Hoc nihil suavius edisse memini. Multi est alimenti, tarde concoquitur, hepar et renes concaefacit, corpus obesat, ventrem ciet, Platina.

¹⁷³³ *Libellus platine de honesta voluptate ac valitudine*, Bononiae, per Johannem Antonium Platonidem, 1499 - ha *inspersaque*, così come riportato da Conrad Gessner.

cinnamo, zinzibere, et saccaro multo, tamdiu effervere simul in car{bo}nibus¹⁷³⁴ procul a flamma, lento igne permittunt, quo ad iustam cocturam pervenerint, miscendo semper cum cochleari, ne seriae adhaereant. Hoc nihil suavius e<di>sse memini. Multi est alimenti: tarde concoquitur, hepar, et renes concalefacit, corpus obesat, ventrem ciet.

sprinkled with cinnamon, ginger and a lot of sugar, they let them boil together with meat away from flame on a slow heat until they did reach a right cooking, stirring all the time with a spoon so that they don't stick to the pot. I don't remember to have eaten something sweeter than this dish. It is very nourishing: it is slowly digested, heats liver and kidneys, fattens the body, moves the bowels.

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Idem alibi¹⁷³⁵ cibaria alba, seu leucophaga, delicatissima ex pectore Capi parare docet: *Cibarium album, inquit, quod aptius Leucophagum dicitur, hoc modo pro duodecim convivis condies: Amygdalarum libras duas per noctem aqua maceratas, ac depilatas in mortario bene tundes, inspergendo [350] modicum aquae, ne oleum faciant. Deinde Capi pectus exossatum in eodem mortario conteres, indesque excavatum panem, agresta prius, aut iure macro remollitum. Zinziberis praeterea unciam, ac saccari selibram addes, miscebisque omnia simul, mixtaque per excretorium farinaceum in ollam mundam transmittes. Efferveat deinde in carbonibus lento igne facies, cochlearique saepe agitabis, ne seriae adhaereat. Coctum ubi fuerit, aquae rosaceae uncias tres infundes. Ad mensam, aut in patinis ubi caro fuerit, aut seorsum, aut minoribus mitte. Quod si in Capos fundere institueris, quo lautius videatur, mali Punici grana superinspergito.*

Still Platina* elsewhere is telling how to prepare with the breast of the capon white foods, or *leucophaga*, very delicate. He says: *For twelve table companions you will season in the following way a white food which more properly should be called leucophagum: Crush up well in a mortar two pounds [around 700 g] of almonds steeped in water during the night and peeled, sprinkling upon a little water so that they don't give off oil. Then you will crush in the same mortar boned breast of capon, and will add some bread without crumb previously softened with agresta* or a thin broth. Furthermore you will add an ounce [27.28 g] of ginger* and a half-pound [163.72 g] of sugar, and will mix all together, and passing the mixture through a flour sieve you will move it to a clean pot. Then you will do so that it gets to boil on a slow heat on charcoals and will often stir with a spoon so that it doesn't stick to the pot. When cooked you will add three ounces [around 75 g] of rose water. You will send it to table either in the plates where formerly the meat was, or separately, or in smaller containers. But if you planned to pour it on capons, sprinkle pomegranate* seeds upon so that the whole seems more refined.*

Idem subsequenti capite cibarium album Catellonicum ex pectore Capi describit, hoc modo: *Farinam optimi risi cum duabus metretis¹⁷³⁶ lactis caprini in cacabo ad ignem ponito, procul flamma, ne {cibum} <fumum>¹⁷³⁷ concipiat. Pectus deinde Capi eodem die mortui, ac semicocti in quaedam quasi subtilissima fila dividito, inditaque in mortario duobus eo amplius, tribus ictibus, {pastillo} <pistillo> contundito. Ubi lac dimidium horae efferverit, hoc idem pectus in fila redactum cum libra saccari indes, effervereque horas quatuor patieris, agitando semper condituram cochleari, cui haerebit, ut terebinthina, ubi decoctum fuerit. Aquam postremo rosaceam, ut in superiore infundes, patinasque facies. Nec erit ab re si saccari aliquid {inspergas}*

He still in next chapter describes as follows a Catalan* white food gotten from the breast of the capon: *Place flour of very good rice on fire with two metretae* [around 18 l] of goat milk into a pot away from flame so that doesn't get smoke. Then divide in very thin strips the breast of a capon dead in the same day and half-cooked, and after you placed them in a mortar strike them two or even better three times with a pestle. When milk has boiled a half hour, add this shredded breast with a pound [327.45 g] of sugar and wait patiently that it boils four hours, mixing all the time the seasoning with a spoon, to which it will cling like resin of terebinth* when cooking is done. Finally as in previous recipe add rose water and make course dishes. And it will be appropriate to sprinkle some sugar upon: for, as they say, there is no food which sugar*

¹⁷³⁴ *Libellus platine de honesta voluptate ac valitudine*, Bononiae, per Johannem Antonium Platonidem, 1499 - ha *simul in carnibus*, così come riportato da Conrad Gessner. - Anche l'edizione bolognese ha - come Aldrovandi - il successivo *quo ad* invece del *quoad ad* di Gessner.

¹⁷³⁵ *De honesta voluptate* L. 6 c. 41 et 42. (Aldrovandi) § In *Libellus platine de honesta voluptate ac valitudine* (Bononiae, per Johannem Antonium Platonidem, 1499) libro VI il cap. 40 è intitolato CIBARIA ALBA e il cap. 41 CIBARIUM ALBUM CATELLONICUM. Il testo a disposizione di Aldrovandi - o meglio, di Gessner, dal quale Aldrovandi sta desumendo - era discordante da quello edito da Platonide circa la numerazione dei capitoli.

¹⁷³⁶ Per motivi di ragionevolezza adottiamo come metreta culinaria quella egiziana per il vino, pari a circa 8,73 litri.

¹⁷³⁷ *Libellus platine de honesta voluptate ac valitudine*, Bononiae, per Johannem Antonium Platonidem, 1499 - giustamente ha *fumum*, e non *cibum*.

<insperges>¹⁷³⁸: *nulli enim cibariorum, ut aiunt, {saccarum} <saccaron> adversatur.*

Cibarium croceum ex eodem¹⁷³⁹: *Pro duodecim, inquit, convivis libram amygdalarum cum membranulis tundes, his Capi elixi, aut cuiusvis bonae alitis pectus, ovorum vitella quatuor, saccari selibram, Cinnami, Zinziberis parum, croci plusculum contraria addes, ac iure pingui, ac agresta dissolves. Dissoluta in cacabum per setaceum excretorium infundes, facitoque procul flamma in carbonibus efferveant, agitando semper cochleari. Ad boram ebulliant necesse est. Sunt qui inter ebullendum duas uncias liquaminis, aut butyri recentis indant. Patinis aromata insperges. Alit hoc, etsi tarde concoquitur, obesat, venerem ciet, hepaticis, et cardiacis prodest.*

Eodem item libro¹⁷⁴⁰ esitium ex carne praescribens, *Sunt etiam, inquit, qui pectus Capi tumsi non incommode addant. Id vero esitium tale est: Pro decem convivis libram abdominis porcini, aut vitulini bene elixato, coctam, ac concisam cum selibra casei veteris, pauco etiam et pingui addito, cumque herbis odoriferis bene concisis, pipere, zinzibere, {caryophyllo} <caryophyllo> misceto. Haec omnia farina bene subacta, ac in tenuissimum folium redacta ad castaneae magnitudinem involvito, involuta in iure pingui, ac croceo decoquito. Parum cocturae requirunt. In patinas traducta caseo trito, et aromatibus dulcioribus aspergito{,}<.> Fieri, et hoc edulium ex pectore Phasiani, Perdiciis, aliarumve altilium potest.*

Describit denique esitium ex pelle Caporum. Capum ubi elixaveris, pellem circumquaque abscindes, et eam maxime, qua collum integitur. Concisam, ac in frusta divisam rursus in iure pingui per semihoram decoques, addito croco, quo coloratius fiat: in patinam translatum aromatibus, et caseo trito consperges. Baltasar Stendelius scriptor Magiricae Germanicus docet, quomodo pastillus e Capo fiat, de quo ante¹⁷⁴¹ egimus. Apicius¹⁷⁴² in minutal Apicianum testiculos Caponum adjicit, Gallis nimirum, dum castrantur exemptos.

doesn't fit.

Still from his treatise a saffron* dish. He says: *For twelve table companions crush a pound [327.45 g] of almonds with their skins, you will add the breast of a boiled capon or of any good bird, four egg yolks, a half-pound [163.72 g] of sugar, little cinnamon* and ginger, on the contrary a little more saffron, and dissolve with fat broth and agresta. After they have been dissolved pass them in a pot using a horsehair sieve, and do so that they are boiling on charcoals away from flame always stirring with a spoon. They have to boil for about a hour. Some people add two ounces [around 50 g] of fish sauce or fresh butter while boiling. You will sprinkle spices on dishes. This dish is nourishing, although is hardly digested, fattens, is aphrodisiac, is good for liver and heart sick people.*

Likewise again in 7th book when prescribing a course made from flesh he says: *Rightly some people add also the breast of a crushed capon. And this course is as follows: For ten table companions boil fairly a pound [327.45 g] of pork or veal belly, and when cooked and torn asunder add it to half-pound of ripe cheese and add little fat too, and mix with thin cut aromatic herbs, pepper, ginger and cloves*. Wrap all these ingredients to the size of a chestnut using well kneaded flour rolled out into very thin sheet of pastry, cook the roulades in fat broth with saffron. They require little cooking. After you placed them in a plate sprinkle with grated cheese and rather sweet spices. Also this course can be made from breast of pheasant*, partridge* or other bred birds.*

Finally he describes a course made from skin of capon. *After you boiled a capon cut off its skin all around and especially that covering its neck. After you cut it into strips cook it again for half a hour in fat broth adding saffron so that this becomes more colored: after you moved it to a dish sprinkle with spices and grated cheese.* Balthasar Staindl*, the German writer on cookery, tells how a pie* of capon can be arranged, of which I have previously spoken. Apicius* puts in the fricassee* à la Apicius the testicles of the capons, obviously removed from roosters when castrated.

¹⁷³⁸ *Libellus platine de honesta voluptate ac valitudine*, Bononiae, per Johannem Antonium Platonidem, 1499 - giustamente ha *insperges*, e non *inspergas*.

¹⁷³⁹ *De honesta voluptate* L. 7. (Aldrovandi) - In *Libellus platine de honesta voluptate ac valitudine* (Bononiae, per Johannem Antonium Platonidem, 1499) libro VII il cap. 69 è intitolato CIBARIUM CROCEUM.

¹⁷⁴⁰ In *Libellus platine de honesta voluptate ac valitudine* (Bononiae, per Johannem Antonium Platonidem, 1499) libro VII cap. 49 ESICIUM EX CARNE.

¹⁷⁴¹ A pagina 297*.

¹⁷⁴² L. 4 c 3. (Aldrovandi) - Apicio *De re coquinaria* IV,3,3: MINUTAL APICIANUM: oleum, liquamen, vinum, porrum capitatum, mentam, pisciculos, isiciola minuta, testiculos caponum, glandulas porcellinas. haec omnia in se coquantur. teres piper, ligusticum, coriandrum viridem vel semen. suffundis liquamen, adicies mellis modicum et ius de suo sibi, vino et melle temperabis. facies ut ferveat. cum ferbuerit, tractam confringes, obligas, coagitas. piper aspargis et inferes.

Sunt qui tanquam ex Dioscoride, aliisque authoribus medicas facultates Capo attribuant, quas illi Gallinaceo ascripserant, obscuri nempe authores, quos per linguae Latinae imperitiam pro Gallinaceo Capum interpretari diximus¹⁷⁴³. Et quamvis eiusmodi vires Capus quodammodo subministrare possit, tamen ad victus rationem idoneam tantummodo vulgo a medicis tum caro, tum ius eius in quocunque ferme morborum genere, maxime in quibus virium ratio habenda est, praescribitur: medici enim quotiescunque deiectas vires aegrotantium excitare volunt, medicamentum dant, quod ex carnibus Caporum, et Perdicum conficitur. Sunt qui, inter quos est Aloysius Mundella doctissimus inter neotericos¹⁷⁴⁴ medicus facile corrumpi dicant, si aliquo notabili tempore moretur, neque ita aegrotos alere, sed is vel id de extreme laborantibus, qui carnem hanc masticare nequeunt, dixerit, vel sibi ipsi adversatur, ut qui scribat, se aegroti cuidam maligno laboranti morbo, cum iam signa concoctionis apparerent, modo Turdum, modo unum, aut alterum ovi vitellum, modo Caponis carnem contusam concessisse potius, quam vituli. {Item} <Idem>¹⁷⁴⁵ describens historiam iuvenis cuiusdam biliosi febricitantis continue a se curati. Victus ratio, inquit, fuit caro Caponis iuvenis per diem ante mactati cum seminibus melonum contusa, necnon panis in eiusdem iure optime incoctus ad virium, (quae debiles in eo valde erant) robur conservandum.

Some people attribute to the capon healing properties drawing them for example from Dioscorides* and other authors who attributed them to the rooster, really not too much known authors, and I said that because of a scanty knowledge of Latin language they translate capon instead of rooster. And although the capon is somehow able to supply such properties, however both its flesh and broth are usually prescribed by physicians as only suitable for food almost in whatever kind of illness, especially for those in which we have to take into account the energies: for whenever physicians want to stir up the fall of strength of sick persons they prescribe a medicine made from flesh of capon and partridge. Some people, among whom Luigi Mondella*, in the midst of neoterics - moderns - a very skilled physician, think that this flesh is easily corrupted if it grows old for a rather long time, and that so it doesn't supply food to sick persons, but Mondella would have said this regarding those people who are quite exhausted and who are not able to chew this flesh, or he contradicts himself when writing that he allowed a patient suffering from an incurable disease now a thrush*, now one or two egg yolks, now minced flesh of capon rather than of veal, since the signs of the marasmus were by now appearing. Still Mondella, when describing the clinical course of a jaundiced youth with continuous fever he had treated, says: The base of the feeding has been flesh of young capon killed the day before minced with melon seeds, as well as bread overcooked in the broth of the same capon with the purpose of preserving the vigor of the strength (which in such sick person was very enfeebled).

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Iuris Caponum in primis plurimus apud medicos usus est, maxime quod consumptum dicunt, vulgo consumato, alii [351] destillatum, alii aquam carnis. Id enim ad restaurandas {ocyus}

Among physicians is very frequent the use first of all of capon's broth, especially that they call worn-out, commonly said *consumato* in Italian, others call it distilled, others water of flesh. In fact this kind of

¹⁷⁴³ Molto più chiara e intelligibile è la stessa frase di Gessner che Aldrovandi ha tortuosamente elaborato. Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 413*: Obscuri quidam authores caponi attribuunt vires medicas ex Dioscoride et aliis authoribus, quas illi gallinaceis ascripserant: quoniam per imperitiam linguae Latinae gallinaceum interpretantur caponem.

¹⁷⁴⁴ L'Accademia Fiorentina osteggiava i medici neoterici, cioè innovatori: Novae Academiae Florentinae Opuscula: adversus Avicennam, et medicos neotericos, qui Galeni disciplina neglecta, barbaros colunt...- Lugduni: apud Seb. Gryphium, 1534.

¹⁷⁴⁵ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 413*: Aloisius Mundella Dialogo 3. scribit se aegroti cuidam febris continua maligna laboranti, cum iam signa concoctionis apparerent, modo turdum, modo unum aut alterum ovi vitellum, modo caponis carnem contusam concessisse, potius quam vituli. Idem Dialogo 1. describens historiam iuvenis cuiusdam biliosi febricitantis continue a se curati, Victus ratio (inquit) fuit caro caponis iuvenis, per diem ante mactati, cum seminibus melonum contusa: nec non panis in eiusdem iure optime incoctus, ad virium (quae debiles in eo valde erant) robur conservandum. [...] Medici quidam quoties deiectas vires aegrotantium excitare volunt, medicamentum dant quo ex carnibus caponum et perdicum conficitur, quod facile corrumpitur, si aliquo notabili tempore moretur: neque etiam in aegrotos alit, neque ut quae prius diximus, (vinum, ova sorbilia, testes gallinacei,) Aloisius Mundella Dialogo 3.

<ocius> aegrorum vires satis laudari non potest. Obscurus quidam ex Capi iure mire vires recreari pollicetur, si vel cochlearium parvum inde aegrotus sorbeat. Capum veterem, inquit, para, exentera, totum cum ossibus comminue. Tum in vase bene obturato vitreo, aut stanneo per sex horas bulliat, adiecto etiam auro, ut annulo, vel numismatibus aureis.

Fieri, inquit Platina¹⁷⁴⁶, ius consumptum, aut ex Phasiano, aut ex Perdice, aut ex capreolo, aut ex Pipionibus, aut ex Columbibus sylvaticis potest. Si ex Capo voles, cacabum sumes, qui aquae metretas¹⁷⁴⁷ quatuor contineat. Huic Capum fractis et comminutis ossibus indes cum uncia succidiae macrae, piperis granis triginta, cinnamo pauco, nec nimium tunso, tribus, vel quatuor {caryophyllis} <caryophyllis>, salviae lacerae trifariam foliis quinque, lauri duobus. {Sinite} <Sinito>¹⁷⁴⁸ haec efferveant horis septem, vel donec ad duas scutulas, vel minus redigantur. Cave salem indas, aut salita, si aegrotantium causa fiat. Parum aromatum nil vetabit, quo minus aegroti etiam apponatur. Senibus hoc, et valetudinariis, detur. Haec ille.

Nostrae mulierculae Capum, vel pullastrum simul cum ossibus contundunt, ac tam diu in suo iure decoquunt, donec ad exiguam quantitatem ius redigatur, et cremoris albi veluti substantiam acquirat, idque aegris debilioribus potandum exhibent cum felicissimo successu.

Sed hunc coquendi modum improbat doctissimus, et admodum Reverendus F. Evangelista Quatramius¹⁷⁴⁹ serenissimi pie memoriae Herculis Ferrariensium Ducis horti praefectus, et in arte distillatoria versatissimus amicus noster veteranus. Vult autem Capum integrum decoqui per aliquod tempus, iusque quod ab eo defluit, dum eximitur, colligi (id enim reliquo alio praestantius iudicat) Capum vero fortiter comprimi, ut humiditatem omnem {a}dat: si vero, ut fit, pulverem cordialem¹⁷⁵⁰ admiscere placeat, eum cum reliquo iure magis aqueo dissolvere iubet.

broth cannot be sufficiently praised for quick restoration of patients' strength. An unknown author guarantees that with the broth of capon the strength is recovered in a marvelous way even if the patient drinks only a teaspoon of it. Prepare an old capon, disembowel it, cut it entirely into little pieces with its bones. Then it has to boil for six hours in a well-closed glass or tin container, adding also gold, as a ring, or gold coins.

Platina* says: *A consommé can be made from pheasant*, partridge*, roe deer, pigeons, or with wild pigeons. If you wish to make it from a capon take a cauldron which can contain four metretae* of water [around 36 l]. Put inside a capon after its bones have been crumbled and broken into bits along with an ounce [27.28 g] of lean lard, thirty grains of pepper, a little cinnamon* and not too much crushed, three or four cloves*, five leaves of sage* torn in three bits, two of laurel*. Let these ingredients boil for seven hours, or until they have reduced to two small trays or less. Keep from adding salt or salty things if it is prepared for sick persons. The presence of some spices won't forbid that it is given to a sick person too. It must be given to old people and chronic invalids.* Thus far Platina.

Our women pound down a capon or a young chicken along with their bones and cook it in its broth for such a long time until the broth reduced to a very small quantity and almost acquired the consistence of a white pap, and then give it to drink to more weakened patients with an excellent result.

But the very learned and quite reverend Brother. Evangelista Quatrami*, director of the botanical garden of the Most Serene Duke of Ferrara Ercole II* of pious memory, and my old fiend most skilled in the art of distillation, disapproves this method of cooking. For he thinks that the whole capon has to cook for a certain time and that the broth coming out when it is removed from the pot has to be collected (for he thinks that this broth is better than that remaining in pot), but that the capon has to be compressed with strength so that it throws the whole liquid out: but if, as it happens, one wishes to mix a cordial powder, he prescribes to dissolve it with the remaining more watered broth.

¹⁷⁴⁶ VI,42 IUS CONSUMPTUM.

¹⁷⁴⁷ Per motivi di ragionevolezza adottiamo come metreta culinaria quella egiziana per il vino, pari a circa 8,73 litri.

¹⁷⁴⁸ Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 413*: Sinito haec efferveant horis septem, vel donec ad duas scutulas vel minus redigantur. § Anche in *Libellus platine de honesta voluptate ac valitudine* (Bononiae, per Johannem Antonium Platonidem, 1499) si trova *sinito* e non *sinite*.

¹⁷⁴⁹ *De Theriaca*. (Aldrovandi)

¹⁷⁵⁰ Oggi si parlerebbe di un brodo reso corroborante dall'aggiunta di tuorli d'uovo sbattuti e succo di limone, ma è palese che questi ingredienti non costituiscono una polvere, né tanto meno una polvere rinascimentale.

At licet hunc coctionis modum minime improbarim, probare tamen non possum. Siquidem Caponis integri coctio multum aquae requirit, quae ad parvam quantitatem, quae aegro ex<h>iberi debet, redigi quam cito, ac facile nequit: neque verum etiam esse existimo id ius, quod in exemptione defluit, caetero praestare. Alii vero Capum accipiunt, vel Gallinaceum tenerum, vel Gallinam, decoquant, contundunt, totum id vase recondunt, igne subiecto per alembicum, vel duplici vase destillant, qui modus quam maxime paratu facillimus. Quod si aeger pestilentia laboret, periti medici simul herbas adijciunt Caponis coctioni instituto suo congruentes, quales sunt melissa, scordium, buglossa, borrago, carduus benedictus, cicoria, endivia, acetosa, scabiosa, tormentilla, flores nynph<a>eae, violarum, buglossae, borraginis.

Andreas a Lacuna¹⁷⁵¹ circa finem libri de peste, Capo generosus, inquit, in aqua pura discoquitur cum foliis borraginis, et buglossi ana m. 1. conservarum de violis, rosis, bor<r>agine, et buglosso ana unc. ii adijciatur etiam nonnihil de illis, quae cordialia vocant, contritum. Destillatum inde liquorem in diplomate (balneo Mariae) cum pulvere diasantalon¹⁷⁵² mixto propter odoris gratiam, propinabis creberrime.

Sunt qui aurum signatum, torques, laminas, sive bracteas auri eiusmodi decoctis adijciant, nec desunt, qui absoluta sublimatione candens {ferruta}¹⁷⁵³ <ferrumen> aliquoties extinguant. E quibus quid coctura decerpi possit praeter sordes, aut hydrargyr{i}um¹⁷⁵⁴, non video:

But although I could not afford to disapprove this method of cooking at all, nevertheless I cannot approve it. Since the cooking of an entire capon requires much water which cannot be reduced rather quickly nor easily to that little quantity which must be given to a patient: and I also think that it is not true that that broth which flows out during the removal from the pot is better than the remaining one. But others take a capon or a tender rooster or a hen, they cook, crush, place the whole in a container, and they distill using an alembic or a container with two compartments with fire underneath, a method which is very easy to make ready. But if a patient is suffering from plague*, experienced physicians add herbs fitting for usual cooking of capon, as lemon balm*, water germander*, bugloss*, borage*, blessed thistle*, chicory*, endive*, sorrel*, devil's bit*, common tormentil*, flowers of water lily*, violets, bugloss and borage.

Andrés de Laguna*, toward the end of his book on the plague, says: You have to cook in pure water a plump capon along with leaves of borage and bugloss, a handful of each, two ounces each [around 50 g] of preserve of violets, roses, borage and bugloss, you have to add also a little mush of those substances they call cordials. Then you will give very often to drink the liquid which has been distilled in a vessel with two containers (in bain-marie*) mixing powder from three kinds of sandal* because of the pleasantness of its scent.

Some people are adding gold coined in coins, necklaces, plates or very thin golden sheets to such decoctions, nor are missing those who sometimes, after the distillation has been completed, extinguish there still incandescent welding material. I don't see what profit the cooking can get except dirt or mercury

¹⁷⁵¹ Non si eseguono correzioni sul testo di Andrés de Laguna in quanto non è facile sapere se le inesattezze sono dovute al latino usato dall'autore spagnolo oppure alla trascrizione di Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 413*: Capo generosus in aqua pura discoquitur cum foliis bor<r>aginis et buglossi, ana manip. j. conservarum de violis, rosis, bor<r>agine et buglosso, ana unc. ij. adijciatur etiam nonnihil de illis quae cordialia vocant contritum. destillatum inde liquorem in diplomate (balneo Mariae) cum pulvere diasantalon mixto propter odoris gratiam, propinabis creberrime, And. a Lacuna circa finem libri de peste.

¹⁷⁵² In base alla ricetta contenuta nel trattato di Joannes Actuarius* *De medicamentorum compositione* tradotto da Jean Ruel* (Parisiis, apud Iacobum Bogardum, 1546), pagina 12 bis, si tratta dell'unione di tre tipi di sandalo: rosso, bianco e citrino. - PASTILLUS DIASANTALÓN, id est, e santalis, stomachi robor firmat, calorem iocinoris mulcet. Santali rubri, candidi et citrini, rosarum,[...].

¹⁷⁵³ O *ferruta*, è il plurale di un introvabile *ferrutum* - e allora *candens* dovrebbe suonare *candentia* - oppure è un termine italianizzato - e allora *candens* dovrebbe suonare *candentem* - oppure è un errore tipografico al posto di *ferrumen* che concorda con *candens*.

¹⁷⁵⁴ Ai tempi di Aldrovandi si usava verosimilmente la brasatura - cioè usando la brace come fonte di calore, e la brasatura è il metodo di giunzione di metalli o leghe che si realizza impiegando una lega o un metallo avente le caratteristiche di fondere a temperatura notevolmente inferiore a quella delle parti metalliche da saldare e, allo stato liquido, di bagnare le superfici da collegare, accuratamente pulite e preparate. Orbene, oggi, e sottolineo oggi, la lega impiegata per la brasatura dolce è generalmente a base di stagno e piombo a varie concentrazioni con aggiunte di altri metalli quali zinco, cadmio, bismuto, argento per migliorare la resistenza della giunzione e la bagnabilità del metallo di apporto allo stato liquido, oppure per esigenze relative alla temperatura di fusione del materiale di apporto. Nella brasatura forte si impiegano metalli puri (argento, rame, nichel) o loro leghe. - Quindi, l'inquinamento paventato da Aldrovandi non sarebbe dovuto al mercurio - o argento liquido - bensì all'argento, dotati di tossicità differente.

sciteque dixit Trincavella olim praeceptor meus, aurum exhilarare spiritus omnes, cum quis in crumena eo abundaverit.

Paradigma hoc Florentinis medicis fuit usitatum in eodem casu. Accipe duos pingues Capos, et bene saginatos. Unum coquito ad dissolutionem propemodum, contunde, et exprime vehementer, expressum ius conserva: post accipe secundum Capum, hic unica tantum ebullitione bulliat, ut paulum mollescat, in partes disseca, et contundito. Fundo vasis iniice borraginis manipulos duos, quibus insterne panis similacei albissimi, et levissimi medullam quae totum Capi primi ius absorpserit ante asservatum. Pani superpone secundum Caponem in frustula dissectum, et sic destillationi committe. Attamen satius fuerit cucurbitam vase vitreo figulino conflari, ne aduratur ob liquoris penuriam, gustuique minus voluptatis creet. Cavendum quoque, ne extrema destillationis cum prioribus confundantur, cum ingratisissimi saporis sic permixta sint evasura: sed seorsim colligantur.

Paradigmata huiusmodi aquarum passim varia apud praticos extant: {collecti} <collecta> simul reperies parte secunda Euonymi Philiatr¹⁷⁵⁵ a Vvolffio publicata, quo lectorem ablegamus. Hac ratione evocatus succus ignea vi concoctionem subit haud ita multo magnoque negotio ob partium tenuitatem, qua facile ita carnibus detractae per se concoquantur{:}<.> Simul ipse ventriculi calore evictus brevi icoris quoque sanguificam facultatem prompte suscipit succus, ac per quam cito alens sustentat labentes saepe iam vires, idcirco insigniter debilibus datur in morbis magno plerunque usu.

Nonnulli praeterea quibusvis morbis, capitis [352] praesertim, et frigidis, et cum virium imbecillitate, destillatas eiusmodi Caporum aquas laudant. Ornithologus se colicis affectibus prodesse expertum aliquando tradit, iis maxime, qui flatuosi sunt. Aqua enim destillata aphysos¹⁷⁵⁶ redditur, ut non amplius inflet, si recte parata

- or better, silver: and Vettore Trincavella*, once my teacher, said: you have to know that the gold cheers all the souls on condition that one has plenty of it in the purse.

This method was used by Florentine physicians in an identical case. Take two fat and well fed capons. Cook one until when is almost dissolved, crush it and squeeze it with force, preserve the squeezed juice: then take the second capon, which has to boil only once so that softens a little bit, cut it asunder and crush it. Place on the bottom of a container two handfuls of borage on which you have to lay crumb of very white and light bread of semolina, and the crumb must have absorbed all the broth formerly preserved of the first capon. Place above the bread the second capon cut into pieces and put thus to distill. However it will be preferable to melt a pumpkin together in a container of glass coated with terracotta so that the ingredients don't burn because of shortage of liquid and reduce the pleasure to the palate. We have also to avoid that the ends of the distillation are mixing with fronts, because so mixed they would be of very unpleasant taste: on the contrary they have to be collected separately.

Various methods regarding such distillates are found here and there among stagers: you will find them gathered in the second part of *Thesaurus Euonymi Philiatr* edited by Caspar Wolf*, to which I refer the reader. The liquid drawn in this way, thanks to the energy of the fire, is digested without too much nor great difficulty because of the thinness of the components, because after the latter have been thus separated from flesh they digest easily themselves. At the same time the liquid, overwhelmed by the scanty heat of both stomach and liver, quickly acquires a haemopoietic power, and thanks to this power, in feeding quickly, rallies the strength which by now is often fading, and therefore it is given with very good results in weakening illnesses mostly with a big advantage.

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Furthermore some people praise so distilled waters of capon in whatever illness, especially of the head, both associated with shivers and prostration of strength. The Ornithologist reports that sometimes he experimented that they are helpful in colon's illnesses, above all for patients showing flatulence. In fact the distillate water becomes unable to give flatulence so

¹⁷⁵⁵ È il trattato sulla distillazione di Conrad Gessner *Thesaurus Euonymi Philiatr de remediis secretis* del 1552; il II volume venne pubblicato postumo nel 1569 dall'amico e collega Caspar Wolf.

¹⁷⁵⁶ L'aggettivo greco maschile e femminile *áphysos* significa non ventoso, non flatulento.

fuerit. Adijciuntur autem medicamenta alia, atque alia a perito medico pro affectuum varietate. Sed ista de carnis, iurisque usu dicta sufficiant.

Adipis peculiaris quaedam in colico affectu vis est, si Ornithologo credimus, qui ex libro manuscripto virum quendam nobilem in hoc malo post multa remedia frustra tentata, liberatum tandem attestatur epoto cyatho (duarum, aut trium unciarum) pinguedinis Capi pinguis decocti in aqua, (ut fit ad cibum) absque sale: oportet autem, inquit, pinguedinem iuri innatantem separatam bibere quam calidissimam.

Marcellus¹⁷⁵⁷ vero ei, qui patitur varices, sevi hircini selibram, et adipis e Capo libram simul permiscet, et in linteo die Iovis c{a}eroti more apponi iubet, et potenter subvenire pollicetur. Sed tale medicamentum non caret superstitione: cur enim die Iovis potius, quam alio exhibet? Obscurus quidam ad fistulam, cum emortua est (sic loquitur, hoc est, ut mihi videtur¹⁷⁵⁸, cum nullus in ea dolor persentitur) pelliculam interiorem ventriculi Capi, quae abijci solet¹⁷⁵⁹, in sole torrefactam terit, et inspergit.

Sunt qui ossa crurum compositis ad alba mulierum profluvia medicamentis admisceant. Graeci asserunt fabae semina Caporum sanguine macerata ab adversantibus herbis immunia fore, et si pridie quam seruntur aquae simplici infusa fuerint, citius nascitura{s}: sin nitratae aquae, difficilem coctionem non habitura{s}. Sed haec ad agricolas, non ad medicos pertinent.

Finis Libri Decimi quarti.

that it doesn't inflate anymore, if properly prepared. For, by an experienced physician different sort of medicaments will be added according to the kind of illness.. But let these words suffice about the use of meat and broth.

In intestinal colics the fat has some extraordinary power, if we believe the Ornithologist, who testifies, on the basis of a manuscript book, that a certain nobleman, after several remedies were tried in vain in this kind of illness, was finally freed from that illness after he drunk a cup (of two or three ounces - around 50-75 g) of fat of a fat capon cooked in water (as we do for making a food) and without salt: however it is necessary, he adds, that the fat floating on the broth is drunk separately and as hot as possible.

And Marcellus Empiricus* mixes half pound [163,72 g] of fat of he-goat with a pound [327,45 g] of fat of capon for a patient suffering from varicose veins and prescribes that, placed in a flax cloth, it is applied as a plaster on Thursday - the day of Jove*, and he ensures that it is enormously helping. But such a medicament does not lack superstition: why does give it on Thursday rather than another day? An unknown author in case of fistula, when silent (he speaks thus, that is, in my opinion, when in the fistula no pain is felt anymore), he minces and sprinkles the inner membrane of the capon's gizzard - the membrane of coilin* - dried in the sun, which is usually thrown away.

Some people are mixing the bones of the legs into composite medicaments against the leucorrhoea of the women. The Greeks assert that the seeds of broad bean* soaked in capon's blood will become immune from weeds, and if on the day before they are sown are soaked in simple water, they will sprout more quickly: but if they will be soaked in water with saltpeter they won't be hard to be digested. But these things concern farmers, not physicians.

End of fourteenth book

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¹⁷⁵⁷ *De medicamentis empiricis, physicis ac rationalibus liber.*

¹⁷⁵⁸ Non per essere pignoli come al solito, ma colui al quale è così sembrato - e ben 45 anni prima di Aldrovandi - fu Conrad Gessner *Historia Animalium* III (1555), pag. 414*: Ad fistulam cum emortua est, (hoc est, ut mihi videtur, cum nullus in ea doloris sensus superest,) pelliculam interiorem de ventriculo capi quae abiici solet [...].

¹⁷⁵⁹ È la membrana di coilina* di cui si è parlato a pagina 199* e 281*.



