

“Old Volumes Shake Their Vellum Heads”

By DOROTHY M. SCHULLIAN

(From the Cleveland Branch, Army Medical Library)

IN THE YEAR 1921 Mr. J. Marron Dundas, who in connection with his work in the Drug Division of the Bureau of Chemistry had been a frequent visitor at the Library of the Surgeon General's Office, presented to that library a copy of the *Pimander* of Hermes Trismegistus in the edition of 1493.¹ The volume already bore the signature of a public notary of Milan and the date May 29, 1530; with refreshing aptness Mr. Dundas added in flawless Latin² the record of its more modern (and, we trust, its final) peregrinations:

Ex libris
Joannis Marron Dundas
1444 W St. NW
Washington D.C.
Emit die 14 Octobris A.D. 1921
apud Campbellium,
Librum hunc
Joannes Marron Dundas
Bibliothecae Chir[urghi] Gen[eralis]
Exercitus Amer[icani]
d[at] d[ic]at d[edicat]
Die 23 Decembris 1921.

The two indications of ownership, spanning as they do a period of almost four hundred years, illustrate with vividness the truth of Emily Dickinson's words: old volumes do indeed shake their vellum heads and tantalize, and the dress they wear will often reveal fascinating glimpses of the centuries of history which they have witnessed. Incunabula are especially generous in such revelations, and medical incunabula are no exception.

The practice of inscribing books with handwritten indications of ownership and with marginalia has obtained from early days. Mr. Dundas's ex libris, couched in the style of an ancient dedicatory inscription, stems in unbroken line of descent from those superscriptions and subscriptions in which weary scribes of the mediaeval period

expressed their feelings as they began or ended their stint of copying for the day. Two examples will suffice:

It is cold today. Naturally, Winter.
 The lamp gives a bad light.
 It is time for us to begin to do some work.
 Well, this vellum is hairy.
 Well, I call this vellum thin.
 I feel quite dull today.
 I do not know what is wrong with me.³

I'm done at last, and now posthaste
 A well-earned drink I need;
 Let Satan close the eyes of him
 Who gives me not my meed.⁴

Monks less concerned with their personal woes could still invoke anathema upon anyone who carried off the product of their pens,

May the Devil's sword impale the man
 Who stealeth thee away,
 And the Church denounce him with her ban
 For one full year, I pray,⁵

and the tradition continues in various degrees of bloodthirstiness down into modern flyleaf poetry⁶ with its

Stern power of justice, lift thy wand
 In spite of mercy's look,
 Strike him who with presumptuous hand
 Purloins this valued book,

or the macaronic

Qui ce livre volera
 Pro suis criminibus
 Au gibet il dansera
 Pedibus pendentibus,⁷

or the schoolboy's equally effective

If this book may chance to roam,
 Kick its pants and send it home.

And while there are other signs which may murmur to us of a volume's past—an armorial binding, an illuminated coat of arms, an endpaper or backstrip cut from a mediaeval choir-book, an engraved bookplate, a library stamp or perforation, a shelf mark—, it is manuscript notes like the above which seem to speak with a very personal eloquence and to remind us that "there is no frigate like a book to bear us lands [and centuries] away."

It is possible even without the manuscript notations to travel far

both geographically and chronologically among the incunabula of the Army Medical Library. The scope and range of this collection are already familiar enough to most medical librarians to make unnecessary here any detailed treatment of the printed items from a textual or typographical point of view. Suffice it to say that the collection, with which such names as those of McCulloch, Garrison, Neumann, and Klebs have been connected, has been swelled in the past year to the number of 513; acquisition of new titles by purchase or exchange continues steadily, and the books during their stay in the Cleveland Branch are receiving such attention to their physical needs as will, it is hoped, prolong their life indefinitely.

It is natural that in such a collection manuscript indications of ownership and marginalia should likewise range far and wide and display in addition a great diversity of subject-matter. Medical librarians will find of special interest those notes which bear on the subject of medicine itself or on the practitioners of that art. Startling vistas of a past age appear, for example, when we read in a copy of Gazio that "in the succession of time the owners of this extremely rare and very deserving book were Johannes Martin Reichardt and Georg Gottfried Reichardt, both physicians of the first rank in the republic of Heilbronn, from the year 1734 to 1789."⁸ Or we may learn that Peter Schriener, physician to a Duke Adolph, bought a certain volume in the year 1588, at the age of sixty-three.⁹ If the record of his age seems somewhat unnecessary, we can find other signatures which are, in contrast, exasperating in their brevity: "John Shipton, surgeon of London"¹⁰ is but one example. The gift of a volume by a barber surgeon is recorded for the year 1538,¹¹ and a doctor of Bologna attests his ownership of a copy of Maimonides and other medical writers.¹² Nowhere, however, is the vision brighter than in the Mesue which Sebastianus Reiner, Salernitan physician, "received in the year 1802 as a gift from the Reverend Father Dionysius Ebe, in memory of a vaccination begun and successfully performed with him" (Fig. 1).¹³ We are back at once in the years which followed Jenner's discovery of 1796, and we see the spread of the practice of vaccination as its apostles carried it over the civilized world. It was in the very year 1802 recorded in our volume that Parliament voted Jenner a national gift of ten thousand pounds, which it increased five years later to thirty thousand.¹⁴ In our modern age we sometimes forget all too easily the drama of such medical miracles: already the sulfa drugs, and even penicillin, are accepted almost as a matter of fact.

England appears in other connections. It is gratifying to have the signature of Charles C. Clay (1801-1893) of Audenshaw Lodge in Manchester;¹⁵ Dr. Clay served many years as teacher and medical officer at St. Mary's Hospital for Women in Manchester and devoted

a number of works to the study of women's diseases.¹⁶ But a layman can also contribute his portion to the progress of medicine. Thomas Jessop, member of the renowned family of iron and steel manufacturers at Sheffield, and chairman of the company from 1875 until his death in 1887, built and furnished at a cost of thirty thousand pounds the Jessop Hospital for Women;¹⁷ it is perhaps his signature which occurs in a Pliny¹⁸ of which we shall have cause to say more later.

With an even more modern note, modestly written on the back flyleaf of a volume accessioned on December 23, 1892,¹⁹ we follow from Baltimore to Germany, Spain, and England a biologist who in foreign lands brought great honor to his native America:

Purchased Oct. 1892 at a bookstand
in Madrid for the sum of fifty
pesetas.²⁰

Geo. H. F. Nuttall²¹

George Henry Falkiner Nuttall is perhaps best known for his isolation of the *Bacillus aerogenes* and for his outstanding work in tropical diseases. Dr. Welch had hoped to keep him at Johns Hopkins to link bacteriology, hygiene, and pathology "into a comprehensive subject dealing with the causes, the effects, and the means of preventing epidemic diseases,"²² but in 1895, on one of his frequent trips to Europe,²³ Dr. Nuttall married the daughter of a German count and elected thereby to remain abroad after that. He was called to the University of Cambridge in 1900, where he served with renown until his retirement in 1932. He died suddenly in London on December 16, 1937, just the night before he was to be guest of honor at a dinner; his Christmas cards reached friends in America only after the Associated Press had carried the report of his death. The spirit of research which irresistibly beckoned him on in his scientific investigations shines radiantly in his address at the opening of the London School of Tropical Medicine,²⁴ in which he advised his hearers to emulate the chambered nautilus and to remember well the words of the Talmud, "The day is short and the work is great: It is not incumbent upon thee to complete the work, but thou must not therefore cease from it."

In addition to such indications of ownership, medical incunabula provide in their marginalia numerous items of medical interest. It is necessary to acknowledge, of course, that many marginalia, consisting simply of key words used to outline the text or of longer quotations from the text itself, may be very tiresome indeed. We want rather the personal reaction of the annotator as he reads the text, and not any servile concurrence, devoid of all critical acumen, in what an author may say. The physician who annotates his copy of a medical writer with the record of his own cases can make his age live for the reader. One doctor, for ex-

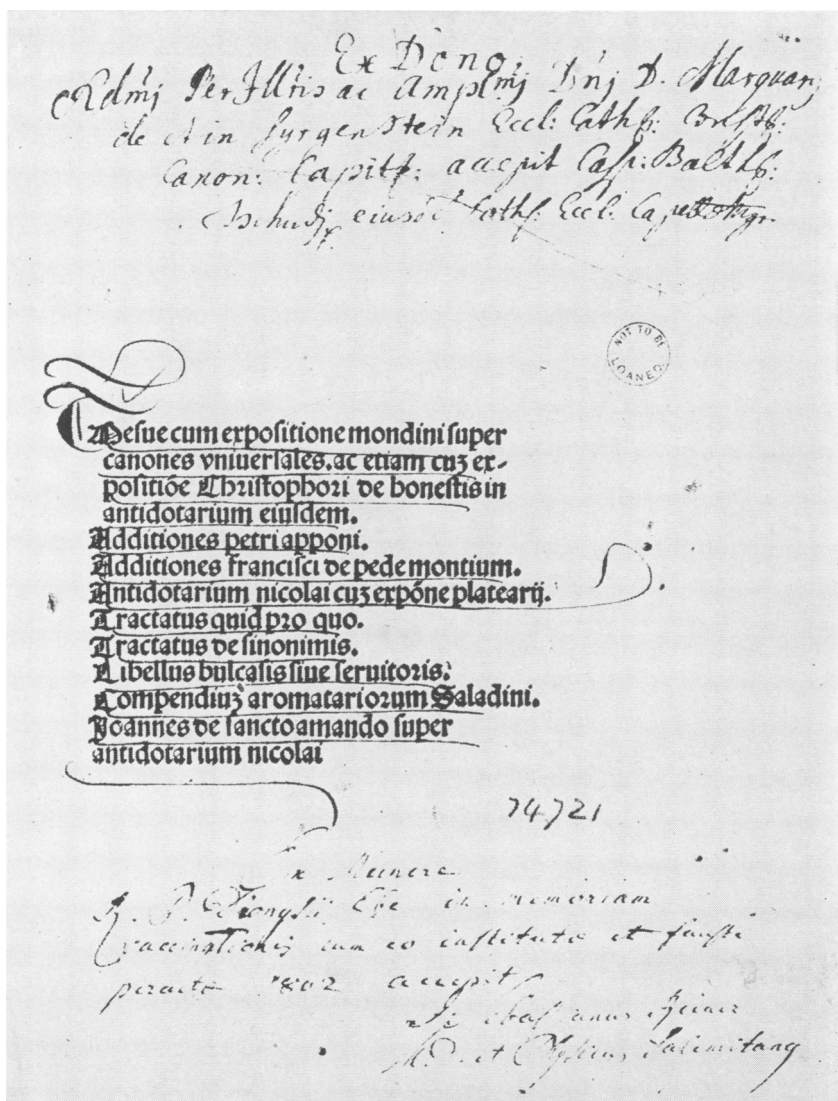


FIG. 1. Mesue, *Opera Medicinalia*. Venice: Bonetus Locatellus, for Octavianus Scotus, 31 Mar. 1495. Folio 1a. (Army Medical Library)

ample, has noted beside a passage of Savonarola on prognostication that "matters were similar with Francus Crescendulus Naonius in the month of August, 1563; however, he had no pain in the head, though since he was delirious perhaps [the pain could have existed and not been recognized]." ²⁵ The month of August was especially dangerous; this annotator

records that in that same month in 1565 "my" Hannibal was afflicted with a movement of the hands which was particularly deadly in phrenetic disorders.²⁶ Nothing could make a marginalium more personal than this use of the possessive adjective, and we find it again later, beside a passage on the signs which indicate that an expected child will be a boy: "So it was with my wife in 1558."²⁷ Often a citation from another author will occur to support or refute a passage in the text, as when Savonarola terms the liquid sometimes found in the breasts of boys not true milk at all: "But Alessandro Benedetti tells in the fourth chapter of the third book of his anatomy of a certain father who nourished his son on his own milk over a long period of time."²⁸ One commentator urges the reader to study day and night the works of Celsus;²⁹ another, with perhaps a more practical bent, records that on the very famous herb melampod one "Heinricus Hacker made a great deal of money."³⁰ Exceedingly practical are the notes on treatment of the common cold: ". . . Let the patient avoid chilly, damp air and in time of winter let him protect his head well. . . . He should sleep with his head elevated, and he should not sleep during the day. After a meal let him avoid exercising his brain, but moderate exercise of the body need not be dispensed with, since it does no harm. Anger, worry, and grief should be avoided. . . ."³¹

Among the most charming of marginalia on any subject are the translations from the *Regimen sanitatis Salernitanum* which are provided by an early English annotator:³²

Some have eaten
mans flesh
thought it ye flesh
of swyne.

—
Sheeps flesh if eaten without wine is better
meate than flesh of swine
if with your meate you use some wine, hogges
flesh is meate and medicine.

—
Onyons are bad
for ye collerick
good for ye flegma
tick.

Anoynt a bald
place of ye head with
ye iuyce of onyone.

—
Onyons and hony

take away warts.

—
 Hysope sodden
 with hony is good
 for ye lunge.

For those whose Latin is not of the strongest, this annotator will also translate occasionally unusual single words: we meet the starling, "quaile," and blackbird; the pike, "pearch," sole, and "whyting"; "salt boylers"; the marsh mallow.³³ The volume is supplied finally with five lines against the phlegm beginning "Take a quart . . . of barley"³⁴ and with medical notes in various hands, one of which assures the reader that "parsely boyled in posset ale is a remedy against ye collicke."³⁵

These longer medical notes, which exceed in length the limits of an ordinary marginalium, appear commonly on blank folios or flyleaves and are often pharmaceutical in nature. Prescriptions of all kinds occur in quantity. The reader is instructed how to compound a syrup,³⁶ a pomade,³⁷ or an ointment for rendering the muscles supple.³⁸ One physician furnishes a treatise on the four humors, with appropriate illustrations.³⁹ There is special research on urines,⁴⁰ and the terror felt at the threat of hydrophobia is made clear by the repeated emphasis on the treatment which should follow the bite of a rabid dog.⁴¹ But there were two greater terrors, so dire that an aid higher than medicine was needed to assuage them. "That disease which we commonly call the French evil," writes one commentator, "first crept into Germa[ny] in the pontificate of Alexander VI and the reign of Maximi[lian]. It began to spread in the year 1494 through almost all Europe."⁴² Two folios prefixed to an edition of the *Aphorisms* of Hippocrates⁴³ record a formal prayer to be used by sufferers from syphilis. The other terror was the pest, and St. Roch is appropriately invoked on the first folio of Jung's tract.⁴⁴ The awful and unpredictable suddenness with which this disease could strike was reason enough for such a prayer, but if any reader today, secure in modern defenses against so many contagions, finds it difficult to realize the horrors involved, he need only scan two passages from the Platters, father and son, concerning conditions in the sixteenth century:

. . . When I went to Zurich . . . there was a pestilence in that city so terrible that by the large cathedral 900 people were buried in one pit and 700 in another. Therefore I went home with other countrymen. Because I had a sore on one leg, I thought it was certainly the pestilence. Since scarcely anyone would admit us anywhere, I went to Grenchen to my aunt Fransy, and in half a day from Galpentran to Grenchen I fell asleep eighteen times. My aunt tied on cabbage leaves, and by the help of God I was cured. . . . I was also

in Zurich at the time of a pestilence when I took lodging with the mother of Dominus Rudolphus Gualterius, and since she did not have many beds I had to sleep with two young girls; the pestilence struck them both and they died beside me, but nothing happened to me.⁴⁵

But in the year 1551 there spread through Basel a disease which had appeared now and then in the year before, and in March it happened that my father's boarder Nikolaus Sterien fell sick and on a Sunday afternoon, after he had all the same sat down in an easy chair in the sitting-room at lunch time and, as it seemed to us, was tolerably well, died lying in his room, while we, since we did not know it was the pest, had all been sent by my father to Gundeldingen in the afternoon to make pipes there out of the willows. My sister Ursel found him dead when she went to take him something to eat, and she was very much frightened. She had the terrible sight always in her mind after that, and it was one reason for her own illness. When we were ready at about four o'clock to return to the city from Gundeldingen for the sermon, the message came to us that we should stay out, and so we did not go in until supper-time; and then we learned from the neighbors that Nikolaus had died and had already been buried at St. Elizabeth's. My father was very concerned and sent me in the morning with Albert Gebwiler, son of Dr. Peter Gebwiler, court clerk at Rötteln, and with Peter Horauf, son of the sister of his wife, who were boarders of his, to Rötteln. . . . My father however went with the other boarders to the country-place at Gundeldingen, to live there. But the younger son of his steward Oswald likewise fell ill and died afterward of the pest. So my father sent all the boarders home and kept only Gavinus von Rott with him . . . and so lived for a long time at Gundeldingen. My sister Ursula went in the meantime to the city and also to the house, to see to everything, and on Whitsunday she became ill in church, but went back again anyhow to the country-place and took to her bed; she had a swelling on her leg and was likewise exhausted and faint. She was bled and dosed, but it did not help, and her last hour was at hand. She spoke in true Christian fashion during the four days of her illness, for she was a God-fearing girl and had been brought up in piety. On Friday she said farewell to my father and mother, kissed them, asked them to greet her dear little brother (for I was at Rötteln), and died blessedly in the seventeenth year of her age. In the morning neighbors came from the city and many people besides to accompany the body. She was buried at St. Elizabeth's, where also my sister Margret, who had died of the pest in the hot summer, was buried. My father slept several nights away from the house, with Herr Myconius, and would not come home again until all the garments and whatever else had belonged to his dear daughter had been cleared away so that they would not come before his eyes.⁴⁶

Prayers against syphilis and the pest exemplify well the close connection which existed between things medical and ecclesiastical. The connection emerges very plainly, of course, in the many monastic indications of ownership to be found in these medical volumes. The Benedictine abbey of Ochsenhausen in Würtemberg possessed in 1654

a copy of Petrus de Argellata's *Chirurgia*; one of its own members had purchased the volume, and we wonder whether he himself was responsible for the indication of ownership with its honorific word in Greek script:

Monasterii Ochsenhusani emptore C. Columbano Hallero eiusdem
M[o]n[aste]rii Me[m]b[r]o Βιβλιοφίλω 1654.⁴⁷

Ochsenhausen added to the manuscript note its library stamp with a view of the monastery itself. Likewise, the monastery of St. Francis at Schrobenhausen, on the Paar river some fifteen miles from Ingolstadt, recorded its ownership of Bernard de Gordon's *Practica*,⁴⁸ and Caspar Balthasar Tschudius accepted for his church the volume already mentioned for its later note on vaccination.⁴⁹ But the connection between church and medicine appears also in certain marginalia of an especially pious tenor. We are asked to pray for a man who had bequeathed his Savonarola,⁵⁰ or we are warned of the four ways in which the devil deceives man.⁵¹ A volume of Daniel's *Somnia* is duly labeled as being under the interdict of the church.⁵² There are quotations from the Psalms⁵³ and from St. Augustine,⁵⁴ and Methuselah is credited with "one thousand minus thirty years."⁵⁵ Of particular interest are the classical allusions which are interpreted from the Christian point of view: the comet seen upon the death of Caesar is adjudged to be that which was visible at the birth of Christ,⁵⁶ and the earthquake in the reign of Tiberius Caesar which laid low twelve cities of Asia in a single night is believed to be the one of Christ's passion.⁵⁷

One can almost suspect of raillery the monk who wrote beside the opening lines of the *Regimen Salernitanum*, with their advice to partake sparingly of wine and food, the words "Brothers, be ye temperate."⁵⁸ But there is no such suspicion for the annotator who in 1602 quoted beneath his indication of ownership the line from 1 Timothy 4:8, "Godliness is profitable unto all things, having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come,"⁵⁹ and a faith wholly simple and sincere is evidenced on the last folio of a copy of Petrarch's *Letters* (Fig. 2).⁶⁰ In rugged script an early owner of the book has set down in straightforward elegiacs his feeling for the Christmas story:

Bright shone the day when at the Virgin Birth
Man's hope of true salvation was secured,
And weary mortals in that radiant light
Knew Him of whom the prophets long had sung.
All glory then and honor to that day
Which gave to Christian souls a life renewed.

Below, a crudely drawn star of Bethlehem illustrates the text, and on the recto of the same folio another pious individual, seeing the double-crossed staff and St. Andrew's cross which were used as a device by the

printers Joannes and Gregorius de Gregoriis, converted these symbols to his own ends by inscribing beneath them his single line of praise, "Holy Cross, Blessed Cross, Hail to Thee."

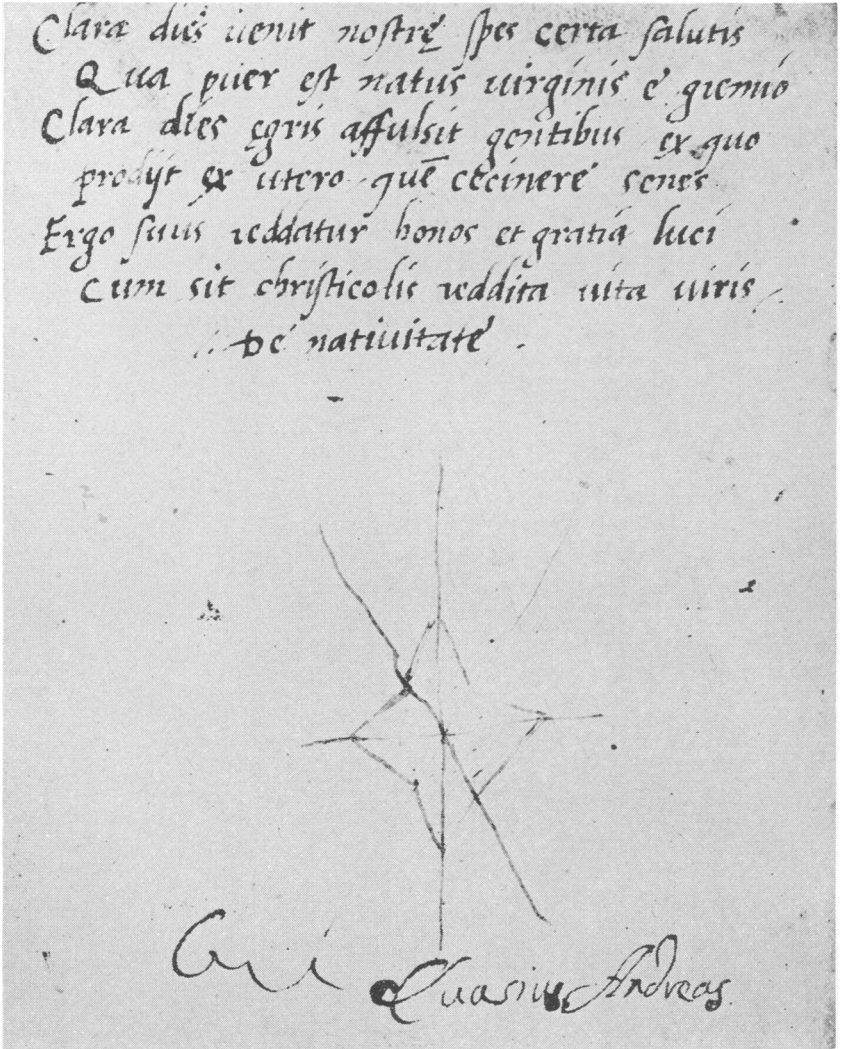


FIG. 2. Petrarca, *Epistolae Familiares*. Venice: Joannes and Gregorius de Gregoriis, de Forlivio, 13 Sept. 1492. Folio 124b.
 (Army Medical Library)

The monasteries performed well their self-imposed task of preserving manuscripts and early printed books for future generations. Their efforts deserve the deep respect of modern librarians, and one instance

alone will show that their problems were similar to those encountered today. A large folio volume in the Army Medical Library⁶¹ bears on the verso of its last leaf the mutilated signature "Est liber hic sanc . . ."; someone had deleted all too effectively the name of the monastery itself and had then gone his way serene in the belief that his dastardly deed had fully accomplished its purpose. But he did not reckon with the accession division of that monastery, and librarians today who accession each book on page 49, for example, will rejoice to know that the Augustinian congregation of St. Martin of Louvain is still credited with having owned that particular volume: the signature stands unharmed, in the very same hand, in the lower margin of f.152a, "Est liber hic sancti Martini lovanien[sis]." St. Martin's could be justly proud of the position it had held in the world of books and letters from the very time of its foundation. Its first prior, Aegidius Walram, who died in 1459, ordered his monks to copy books for eight hours every day. Joannes Zaelbach of Mainz "campaign[ed] for God" for fifty-three years, until his death in 1490, and wrote at St. Martin's during that period "many books in an elegant hand." Nicolaus de Winghe, who served as superior for ten years, was "assiduous in reading. He translated the Bible and the works of Flavius Josephus into the vernacular." Martinus Lipsius of Brussels, who died in 1555, "sweated much in correcting the works of the ancient authors. To this the works of Augustine, Hilary, and others testify." Joannes Costerius of Louvain, "always intent on studies," edited the works of St. Ambrose—and so the roster reads down through the years. Nor did the invention of printing find St. Martin's lacking in enterprise: the monks endeavored to operate a printing establishment of their own, but costs proved too great, and the good brothers compromised by copying books of the ecclesiastical offices, "since other works were being issued on all sides by printers."⁶²

The activity at St. Martin's will introduce us to the general fields of library practice and literary exchange as these operated during the childhood of our volumes. Libraries whether municipal or monastic benefited by the generosity of public-spirited individuals. In October, 1604, for example, a certain pharmacist, "out of friendship for the sacred Muses and their Maecenas," presented a copy of Avicenna's *Canon* "for the felicitous inauguration, increase, and progress" of a newly erected senatorial library.⁶³ In a copy of Farinator we read that one Brother Paul,

when he was still a novice at this house of St. Alban,⁶⁴ of the Carthusian order, outside the walls of Trier, and was therefore free to dispose of his own property according as he wished, presented this and several other books of his to the common use of the monastery of this house of St. Alban, in perpetuity, without any exception . . . and in the presence of a notary . . .

and before witnesses he requested this condition . . . that no one of these books be lent to anyone outside the house except by special license . . . and even then with the limitation of caution.⁶⁵

Printed books, it would appear, were still as precious as manuscripts had been in the ninth century when that zealous text-critic Lupus of Ferrières, though himself an eager borrower of books and at least a tolerant and cautious lender of them on occasion, could answer as follows a request from Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims:

I was afraid to send you Bede's commentary on the Apostle in accordance with the works of Augustine, because the book is so large that it cannot be hidden in one's cloak, nor comfortably carried in a hand-bag, and even if one or the other could be done, one would have to fear meeting some band of villains whose greed would surely be kindled by the beauty of the manuscript and it would perhaps be lost thus to both me and you. Accordingly, I can most securely lend the volume to you as soon as, if God will, we can come together at some safe place and will do so.⁶⁶

But there is no question that there was an active exchange of books between monastic libraries even at this early period, and if in some cases a formal prohibition was in force against lending any volumes outside the walls of the monastery, such selfishness was condemned in 1212 by the Council of Paris, which forbade monks

to bind themselves by any oath not to lend books to the poor, seeing that such a loan is one of the chief works of mercy. We desire that the books of a community should be divided into two classes, one to remain in the house for the use of the Brothers, the other to be lent out to the poor according to the judgment of the abbot.⁶⁷

By the time Bartolomeo Platina assumed charge of the Vatican Library loans were very frequent there. His Register lists titles of books lent, names of borrowers, and dates of return; caution is still evident, however, in the words which head the Register:

Whoever writes his name here, in acknowledgment of books received on loan out of the Pope's library, will incur his anger and his curse unless he return them uninjured within a very brief period.⁶⁸

We are reminded of the threats against thieves quoted earlier in this article.

For copies in private possession, however, there was probably less formality, and exchanges between friends must have been extremely frequent, much as in the modern practice. One gentleman lent on September 2, 1669 a copy of Ramon Lul's *Arbor Scientiae* "for the entire month of September,"⁶⁹ and Fra Angelo Sandriano of Corinaldo⁷⁰ bought at Bologna on October 24, 1543 a book intended "for the use of himself and his friends. If anyone find it, let him return it to its

proper owner."⁷¹ The value of friendship in those days is attested by Bartolomeo de Zachis, of Padua, who signs himself "servant of friends and fortune,"⁷² and by a recipient who wrote in 1520, "This book was given to me by . . . my incomparable friend."⁷³

In this general bibliographical connection we may perhaps mention the literary references supplied by the annotators. A remark in Pliny⁷⁴ on the medical profession sends one scribe to his Vergil:

Then the almighty father, offended that any mortal should rise from the shadows of the lower world to the light of life, plunged down into the Stygian surge with his thunderbolt Aesculapius, discoverer of this art of medicine.⁷⁵

Strabo and Valerius Maximus are quoted on the burning of the temple of Diana at Ephesus,⁷⁶ and Solinus is cited on owls and quails.⁷⁷ There is often a familiarity with the mythology of Greece and Rome: we get succinct accounts, for example, of Hippolytus and of the Argonauts as those names occur in a hymn to St. Judocus.⁷⁸ But these are largely passages which reveal a knowledge of ancient literature, and it is rather in two stanzas of Italian,⁷⁹ at first glance quite devoid of literary allusion and suggestive merely of certain pedagogical practices which are not unknown today, that we are plunged into a celebrated furor which raged over several centuries of Italian literature:

A Lad to his Teacher

The good old guv'nor wants to know, Professor,
 What increase in tuition is propounded,
 Enough, he says, to keep your belly rounded,
 And when I'd *waste* his funds serve as represser.

The Teacher to the Lad

Were I Fidentius with his famous power,
 I'd ring you 'round with damsels bright and dancing,
 As fair as you, and fairer, for romancing,
 Because you give simoleons in a shower.

The keyword is the name Fidentius. The figure of the typical schoolmaster, satirized from the days of Horace and Juvenal and Martial, still retained in the sixteenth century qualities which by their contrast invited ridicule: he had a dignity and an authority assumed, if not real, which were hardly compatible with his humble economic condition, and he pretended often to a degree of learning which was belied by his actions. In his pedantry he clung to the precepts of Priscian and Donatus and made of Cicero his god. He spoke preferably Latin intercalated with Greek, or, if constrained to express himself in the vernacular, studded his Italian with Latin phrases. Physically he presented a poor picture with his nondescript and dirty clothes and, in

the tradition of the ancient philosophers, his long and ragged beard; morally he was often possessed of an unsatisfied eroticism. In Italian drama he had already become a typed and popular character when he was introduced into lyric poetry by a writer who made use of the re-sounding pseudonym Fidenzio Glottocrisio Ludimagistro.

There is a unanimity of opinion among modern scholars that this Fidenzio was Camillo Scroffa, born of an old and illustrious family of Vicenza in about the year 1526.⁸⁰ He took a degree in law at the University of Padua; it is probable that he began writing his verses while he was still a student and that they circulated among his friends long before their actual publication. But his pseudonym was not of his own invention; it was taken over bodily from the celebrated pedant Pietro Giunteo da Montagnana, who was teaching in Padua at this time and who signed himself in his writings with the significant name Glottochrysius Petrus Fidentius Iuncteus Montagnanensis. Scroffa seems to have known him in Padua and to have been thoroughly familiar with his reputation as a writer of fawning panegyrics of men in the world of politics or literature and as a haughty and proud schoolmaster who, in the custom of the day, numbered among his pupils a particular favorite, Camillo by name. In adopting Giunteo's pseudonym it is possible that Scroffa hoped to attract greater attention among his contemporaries for the lines of satire which were directed not so much against Giunteo himself as against the whole system of pedantry and corruption which prevailed in that age. Satire always exaggerates; the historical Camillo was apparently a young man of innocuous and exemplary life, but for the purposes of his art Scroffa emphasized with intention the passion of the master for the handsome pupil. The first poems appeared between the years 1550 and 1560 under the title *Elegie e cantici del pedante appassionato*; in 1562, three years before his death, Scroffa supervised a more authentic and complete edition.

The lines quoted above are testimony of the vogue enjoyed by this "Fidentian" or "pedantesque" poetry. Its influence continued even into the nineteenth century; Scroffa had many imitators, but no equal in choice of vocabulary, modesty of expression, and elegance of rhyme. It is of interest that one of these imitators was Leonardo da Capua, the celebrated Neapolitan physician of the seventeenth century who by his exaggerated scepticism made so many enemies.⁸¹

Manuscript notations in the incunabula can lay open to the reader pages of allusions which, because they concern the mightier figures of the human narrative, seem more broadly historical than any heretofore cited. We move with our annotators from ancient times down through the Renaissance to the modern era. We are furnished, for example, with lists of early queens—Cleopatra, Dido, and the others—and, balancing them, and perhaps no less eminent in history, famous

courtesans of the ancient world.⁸² Or we may learn, from a marginalium beside Pliny's remark concerning the voyage made by Hanno of Carthage from Gades to the bounds of Arabia, that in the annotator's own time the king of Portugal sailed over the ocean to the limits of Arabia and discovered some islands there.⁸³ This would seem to be a reference to Emmanuel the Great, whose title "Lord of the Conquest, Navigation, and Commerce of India, Ethiopia, Arabia, and Persia" was confirmed by Pope Alexander VI in 1502, two years after Diego Diaz had discovered the island of Madagascar. Of Emmanuel we shall have more to say later; we pause here to smile at this same annotator who, reading that the Greeks were a race most lavish with their own glory, could write, "So with the French today,"⁸⁴ or, beside a chapter on the laurel, could state, "Thus the Germans create baccalaureates in their gymnasium."⁸⁵

It would be difficult to find an event more pregnant with the makings of history than that recorded in the lines concerning the dramatic meeting of Leo X and Francis I at Bologna:

On the eighth day of December, the twenty-second hour, in the year 1515, Pope Leo X made his entrance into this city of Bologna, that he might confer with the Most Christian Francis, king of the French . . .⁸⁶

The Medici pope (Fig 3),⁸⁷ second son of Lorenzo the Magnificent, found many problems confronting him on his accession in 1513. That concerning Louis XII and the duchy of Milan had appeared to be settled with the French king's promise, in January, 1514, of adhesion to the Fifth Lateran Council, but in January, 1515, Francis I succeeded Louis on the throne and quickly displayed his intention of recovering Milan and Naples. He entered Italy in August and defeated at Marignano on September 13-14 the Swiss troops engaged by Massimiliano Sforza for the defense of Milan; on October 13 Leo, driven by the fear that Francis might speedily invade the kingdom of Naples and become supreme in Italy, signed the Viterbo agreement which bound him to withdraw his troops from Parma and Piacenza in return for French protection at Rome and Florence.⁸⁸ In this same month arrangements were begun for the secret conference at Bologna which is the subject of our note. If the exact decisions reached at that conference are still somewhat secret, we do have in the diary of Paride de Grassi, master of ceremonies at the papal court, an eyewitness account of the solemn formalities attendant upon it. On the first of October, he says,

the pope left the city for Viterbo and the Faliscan mount and Tuscanella and Centocelle. When he was in this last town, he heard a report that the king of France, after storming Milan and settling matters with the defeated duke, had expressed the wish to visit the papal court and kiss the foot of the pontiff, and was considering going to Rome with his entire army, on the pretext that in no other way would he be safe. Therefore in order to ward off any

suspicion of trickery and fraud, the pope contrived an arrangement with the king of France according to which he and his full papal court were to continue to Bologna and the king was to go there with his bodyguard alone



FIG. 3. Pope Leo X, by Raphael, c. 1517-1519.
(Florence, Pitti)

and offer his allegiance to the pope. Since however it did not seem quite proper for the pope to go to meet the king, he himself summoned all the cardinals in the vicinity to be present at Viterbo on All Saints' Day [November 1] so that, after attending to the sacred rites according to custom, they might decide what ought to be done. . . .⁸⁹

Leo and his court, indeed, would have preferred, with understandable sentiment for papal dignity, not to go beyond Florence; some members of the Medici family, however, seem to have feared that if the young Francis came to that city he might be unduly influenced by certain enemies of theirs who were old friends of the royal house of France.⁹⁰ The choice therefore fell on Bologna, and, to continue de Grassi's account,⁹¹

on the first of December there was a secret consistory concerning arrangements for the arrival of the king of France. . . . In the same consistory action was taken regarding the gifts which were to be presented to the king on the occasion of his arrival, and the pope, after discussing the matter with the cardinals, decided to give him a cross of gold adorned with precious stones of the value of fifteen thousand ducats; this had formerly belonged to the treasury of Pope Julius and to Cardinal Ascanius. . . . On Monday, the third of December, the pope started out from Florence toward Bologna, where he arrived on Friday⁹²; however, because of the hostility of the Bentivoglio family, he did not receive there the public demonstrations of delight which he had enjoyed elsewhere on his journey.⁹³

Another consistory was held on Monday, December 10, to complete arrangements for the reception of the king. On the morning of Tuesday the eleventh, cardinals to the number of twenty assembled in the papal palace and proceeded in due order to the gate of San Felice, outside which they ranged themselves in such a way that the king might approach the eldest first. All kissed him fraternally in turn as de Grassi presented him, and the master of ceremonies writes⁹⁴ that

all the bells of the city rang, and trumpets in great number sounded incessantly, and there was every kind of noise; masses of people advanced to see him, and even the pope stood and watched from an upper window, and later commended me on the manner and order in which I had arranged everything calmly and methodically. The king was at length conducted by the college to his own apartments, which were below . . . and there with festive ceremony the whole college took leave of him with the exception of four cardinals . . . who remained in his society and even lunched with him at the same table. Meanwhile the other cardinals went upstairs to the pope and straightway took lunch in a hall, but the pope did not want anything to eat; this done, I went to the king and requested him not to come to the consistory until I should know that the pope was ready, and then I went upstairs and saw that the pope was dressed, and we came into the consistorial hall: it was packed with people of Bologna and with the papal court and also with Frenchmen, so much so that many persons on several occasions feared it might collapse. The cardinals paid their usual reverence to the pope. . . .

De Grassi then repaired to the king's chambers and conducted him to the consistorial hall, where

so great was the throng on each side that we could scarcely proceed, and the king had to station several of his men at the doors and barrier so that they might guard the entrance, which we could approach only with difficulty. Whereupon the king, since he was of a placid disposition, laughed several times because he was detained thus and could not advance farther. At length, when we had been held back for almost half an hour, we went up to the throne, and the two presbyters who were with us advanced to pay their respects to the pope (though they could scarcely reach him) and they stopped before him, one on each side at the top of the steps to the throne . . . and then I came next with the king, never leaving him and always leading him by the hand: so indeed he wanted, and he was not willing to let me go. And so we . . . knelt before the pope. The king and I ascended to kiss his foot, and the king smilingly and joyfully kissed his foot and hand and face, and said a few words in French, by which he revealed his pleasure that he could see face to face the Pontiff, Vicar of Jesus Christ our Lord, whose son and servant he asserted he was, most devoted to all his commands. To him the pope made answer in most benign and kindly fashion, transferring all this to God and ascribing everything to God, and in truth the pope spoke very well to the king, for it is his habit always to speak well, and to the king on this occasion he spoke very well. After this exchange . . . I summoned the very reverend lord cardinals to come to the throne if they could, and with difficulty a few managed to come, and as they stood before the pontiff, the chancellor of the king, dressed in a long robe of cloth of gold, after genuflecting, expressed in a protracted and intricate speech, of the usual form, obedience in the name of the king who was standing there and who at first wanted to uncover his head as the precise words of obedience were being read, for so I had instructed him, but the pope restrained him, and so he covered himself again, and when the speech was over the king approved with a movement of his head and shoulders all that had been said by his chancellor, and the pope replied most elegantly and fittingly, commending publicly and repeatedly the royal faith. Then the king summoned his dukes and they came to kiss the foot and hands and face of the pope, and the pope greeted them with kindness. The king meanwhile conversed with the pontiff about his princes, relating their virtues and circumstances. After these had come, the pope decided against allowing anyone else to kiss his foot, lest he detain the king uselessly. But the king summoned now this one and now that one, and commended them to the pope; some fifteen or twenty came, all of whom kissed the pope . . . and finally the pope stood up, and could hardly go down from his throne, much less leave the room, because of the crowds. . . .

Such are the events to which our scribe introduces us as we read his brief notation in his copy of the *Practica* of Michele Savonarola. He may easily have been one of the throng lining the streets as Francis proceeded to the papal palace, or he may have been present in the consistorial hall itself. After the first ceremonial meeting secret discussions continued between pope and king through four significant days; conclusions were reached in matters political and religious,⁹⁵ and on December 15 Francis left Bologna carrying the cross which the pope had

given him. A little more than a year later, in February, 1517, the king, who knew Leo's fondness for the hunt, was to present him with a pack of hounds,⁹⁶ and three years later the pope was to face a problem far greater than that of Francis as Martin Luther came to trial in Augsburg on October 7, 1518.

The figure of Marcellus II, who was elected to the papacy on April 9, 1555 and lived to lead his flock for only twenty-one short days, moves before our vision in an indication of ownership dated May 8, 1555, "in the pontificate of Marcellus II."⁹⁷ The date is quite valid when we consider that the election of Paul IV did not take place until May 21. A century later the Emperor Leopold I unconsciously left his mark in an edition of Farinator's *Lumen Animae*: "I read this passage," says the scribe, ". . . on [Sunday] November 3, 1658, when the report came that Leopold, recently elected and crowned emperor, would come to Lambach on the following Sunday [November 10] about the fifth hour of the night."⁹⁸ Leopold, who was intended for the church rather than the throne, succeeded, on the death of his elder brother, to the rule of Hungary in 1655 and to that of Bohemia in 1656, and in July, 1658, after long discussion on the probable results of the move and much intrigue on the part of France, he was elected emperor at Frankfurt at the age of eighteen. On October 4 of that year the new papal nuncio, Carlo Caraffa, arrived in Vienna,⁹⁹ and on the following day the emperor approached the capital. On Saturday, November 9, Leopold was certainly at the court: Caraffa had his first audience with him on that day,¹⁰⁰ and on the same day the emperor wrote to Wenzel Euseb concerning the appointment of Hannibal Gonzaga as vice-president of the imperial council of war.¹⁰¹ Similarly, a report from Caraffa dated [Saturday] November 16 relates that Count Antonio Calore had come from Mantua to greet Leopold and discuss with him certain matters relating to Savoy.¹⁰² The trip to Lambach falls between these two Saturdays. The journey would not have been a long one for the emperor, though he may, of course, have stopped at other places en route. The little town lies near Wels in Upper Austria, on the banks of the Traun, between Linz and Salzburg. Its greatest claim to renown even today is the Benedictine monastery within whose walls our scribe probably penned his marginalium. Founded in 1032, and devastated on more than one occasion as the tides of many wars flooded and ebbed around it, it prospered once again in the years 1640 to 1678 under the prelate Hieber, who extended its cloisters and dedicated in 1656 its new church. This is the church, then, which Leopold would have seen on his visit of 1658; in later years it served secular purposes as barracks and hospital until in 1858 its regular discipline was restored and many rich treasures of manuscripts and incunabula were re-united in its library.¹⁰³ In this connection we are reminded of Leopold's love of books and his

relations both with Peter Lambeck, whom he put in charge of the imperial library at Vienna on May 26, 1663, and to whose efforts much of the reputation of the present Nationalbibliothek is due, and with Count Franz Poetting, ambassador to Madrid from 1662 to 1674, who made extensive purchases for the emperor among Spanish libraries.¹⁰⁴

One rather more modern example will conclude our chronicles of the statesmen, ecclesiastical and secular, whose names appear in the incunabula of the Army Medical Library. Sir David Dundas (1799-1877),¹⁰⁵ member of Parliament for Sutherlandshire for many years, found opportunity in the midst of a crowded professional and political career, and in spite of indifferent health, to engage in scholarly pursuits. Well-versed in the lore of books, he brought together in his chambers in the Inner Temple a splendid library; his love of fine editions seems, however, to have been no jealous love, and his friends apparently profited by his generosity. The evidence is clearly recorded on the fly-leaf of an edition of Engel's *Astrolabium*, "E. B. Denison, from Sir David Dundas, 1852."¹⁰⁶

There is a whole series of notations which demonstrate nothing so much as the truth of the old cliché concerning human nature: human nature does not change through the centuries or from land to land, and early owners of incunabula reveal in the marginalia they write traits which are still prominent in man's character today. Curiosity, for example, the very beginning of scientific inquiry, is displayed concerning many things, and in particular concerning the animal world. One scribe will write at length on the lion,¹⁰⁷ another will copy from the eighth book of Rabanus Maurus the entire passage on the elephant,¹⁰⁸ and we are reminded of the elephant and rhinoceros which Emmanuel of Portugal presented to Leo X.¹⁰⁹ One rhinoceros which the king of Lusitania had sent from India is mentioned in a marginalium beside Pliny's chapter on that beast; it is probable, however, that what the annotator gazed upon "with awe" in the house of his cousin was not the animal itself, but a model or drawing of it.¹¹⁰ This scientific curiosity is not slavish; the amateur zoologist can censure severely Pliny's remarks on the hare, "It is strange that in this matter Pliny, a man of such great learning and authority, has erred," and then proceed to set forth at length the facts as he interprets them from Aristotle's observations.¹¹¹ There is interest also in matters pertaining to the fine arts; we are told that in painting the method practised by Lysippus should be followed,¹¹² we are informed that Praxiteles made the horses which stand on Monte Cavallo in Rome and that they were not, as some persons say, brought from Egypt,¹¹³ and we are advised that the Laocoon group was found at Rome in the pontificate of Julius II: "I myself saw it, and the pope gave a large sum of money to the man who found it."¹¹⁴

This famous group of statuary, consisting of six pieces of marble so smoothly joined that Pliny thought them a single block, was found by Felice de Fredi on January 14, 1506, among the ruins of the Baths

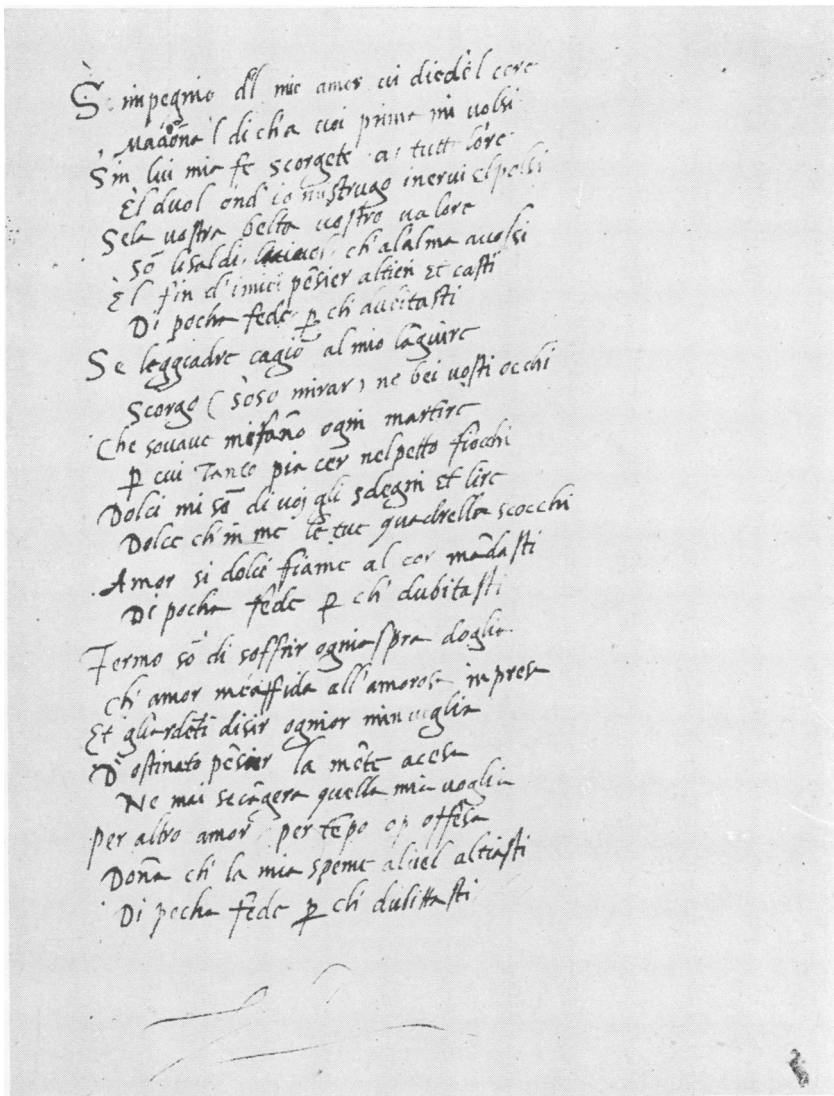


FIG. 4. Porcastris, *De Restauratione Humidi*. Venice: Peregrinus de Pasqualibus, 25 Oct. 1490. Flyleaf. (Army Medical Library)

of Titus on the Esquiline. For three days the Roman populace flocked to admire it; Michelangelo termed it a "portent of art,"¹¹⁵ and Julius purchased it quickly for his Belvedere collection. We need not marvel

that in this great age of archaeological discovery our annotator was moved to record the finds which he had seen.

The very human qualities of early owners are nowhere better illustrated than in the flyleaf (Fig. 4)¹¹⁶ which preserves to us twenty-four touching lines penned by a despairing lover. Done in Italian in *ottava rima*, with each strophe consisting of six iambic pentameters rhyming alternately and a terminal couplet which is couplet-rhymed, they possess a distinct literary merit quite apart from their value as a document of human nature. The reader is struck at once by the haunting refrain and its insistent reminiscence, in an alien context, of Christ's words to Peter as the apostle struggled in the waves:¹¹⁷

If as a pledge of love I gave my heart
 When first I turned to thee, Madonna mine,
 And every hour my faith reveals its part
 In throbbing pulses, Cupid's burning sign,
 If thy surpassing charm where'er thou art,
 Alone can through my soul its graces twine,
 As goal of thoughts exalted and devout,
 O thou of little faith, why dost thou doubt?

If deep within thy captivating eyes
 I see the shining reason for my pain,
 And martyrdom itself wears welcome guise
 Which brings thee pleasure matching thy disdain,
 If I find dear thy wrath and scornful cries,
 And dear those shooting darts which fiercely rain,
 Since love so flaming wraps my heart about,
 O thou of little faith, why dost thou doubt?

All bitter grief with courage I'll endure,
 A slave to love's demands whate'er the cost,
 My passion and my yearning ever sure,
 My mind resolved, though in excitement tossed;
 Unchanged my will abides, free from the lure
 Of newer loves, to time nor insult lost:
 Madonna, highest hope of mine throughout,
 O thou of little faith, why dost thou doubt?

They are strange lines perhaps to occur at the beginning of a medical treatise, but they have truth in the realm of human character.

Less romantic and somewhat more protreptic are the Latin maxims which early readers provide for their successors. It is helpful, for example, to know that "patience overcomes all,"¹¹⁸ or that "it is a splendid thing to do good to the state."¹¹⁹ Lest we fail to give sufficient attention to the passage as it appears later in the printed dedication, one scribe excerpts for us on the first folio¹²⁰ the warning of Socrates that

we should "eat to live and not live to eat"; the annotator was following, indeed, a tradition which carried the precept from Socrates to Cicero, Plutarch, Diogenes Laertius, and even Molière. A more somber note appears with the axiom that "time gives and takes away all things,"¹²¹ and with Horace's "death is the utmost bound of wealth and power"¹²² we come face to face with the great leveler. In this connection it may be well to record here that a number of incunabula in the Army Medical Library were transferred to successive owners through the centuries by bequest or by hereditary right;¹²³ the date of death is often given in the indication of ownership, together with the conditions qualifying the inheritance, and in one case,¹²⁴ in a book belonging to John Byrdeseye, an investigator of the year 1861 has copied from the Survey Book of the Town and Borough of Marlborough an extract from Mr. Byrdeseye's will dated December 4, 1550. This extract, while it makes no mention of the disposition of the book upon his death, is still intensely interesting for the human qualities which it reveals:

John Byrdesye made his last will and Testament . . .
 . . . and by the same amongst other things did geve and bequeath the term of yeres which he had in the house . . . after one quarter of a yere ended to the use of the pore the repacions being deducted. And also did give and bequeath thermitage of houses that he buylded there during his yeres and also the house that he purchased of Edward Coles to the use of the pore and his Executor to have yearly . . . for his paynes to distribute the revenues of the said premises. . .

On the human side one might compare the modest indications of ownership, consisting of a simple signature with or without the date, with those which betray a fondness for titles and honors.¹²⁵ Fascinating too are the artistic bents of certain owners who adorn the margins with drawings of dogs and Pan-like fauns¹²⁶ or who engage guilelessly in the time-honored practice of doodling.¹²⁷ There are also, of course, "signatures" not done with pen and ink. It seems wise to pass over in discreet and respectful silence the strands of blond hair laid into one of the incunabula¹²⁸ of the Army Medical Library, but where firearms enter the picture our Ellery Queens and Hercule Poirots will demand at least an attempt at an explanation.¹²⁹ In the spring of 1945 Mr. Jean Eschmann, removing for purposes of restoration the pigskin cover of a volume published in 1489,¹³⁰ found embedded in the front board two somewhat misshapen but still rounded objects which were at first identified as bullets. They had entered just above and to the left of

the lower clasp catch, and though they may have been crudely made and not entirely round in the first place, it is clear from the degree of mutilation that they must have entered with considerable velocity. Under microscopic examination they showed no rifling marks; it was found, however, that fibers of wood adhered to them, and the wood seemed new, a fact which appears strange until we recall that the board had been well protected through the years by its pigskin cover. The lead was fairly soft; it was readily pierced by a needle, and since the proportions of tin and antimony which are commonly used as hardening agents for lead can be varied as the individual desires, it is unlikely that a spectrographic examination of the alloy would help greatly in dating the objects. But their very size tells us something: they are too small for anything used as single shot and were probably fired from an old muzzle-loading shotgun as part of a charge of two or three hundred large-size birdshot, only two of which struck the volume. The reader may speculate as he wishes upon the circumstances of the charge, but whether the man who fired it was cleaning his gun in his room, or encouraging someone to marry his daughter, or simply engaging in a little target practice, we are grateful that the full force of the charge did not strike the book.

Upon the incunabula shelves of the Army Medical Library there stands a volume which from its date would deserve no place within those hallowed cases. But who among medical librarians will deny that to the first edition of the *De Humani Corporis Fabrica*, worthily characterized in the Vesalius issue of this journal as "the chief treasure of any medical library that owns it," the most devoted care, equal to that accorded the earliest incunabulum, should be given? Precious in itself for text, typography, and plates, the Army's copy is blessed with associations which color in tints even more golden the halo of glory which normally hovers around the *Fabrica*. It was to be expected, and certainly to be hoped, that in the years from 1543 to the present century physicians who could appreciate its worth would be numbered among its owners. The volume possesses three early signatures and two ex libris; we meet among other owners Johann Wilhelm Schlegel (1774-1812), son of a gynecologist and himself the author of a work on maternity institutions,¹³¹ and Christian Erhard Kapp (1739-1824), who practised in both Leipzig and Dresden and whose published works include a number of translations from such foreign physicians as Robert Whytt, William Cullen, and Benjamin Bell.¹³² But the one physician-owner who probably esteemed the plates even more highly than can most physicians was Ludolph Christian Treviranus. This Treviranus,¹³³ younger brother of Dr. Gottfried Reinhold Treviranus, was born at Bremen in 1779 and was graduated from Jena as doctor of medicine

in 1801. From that time on, as he himself said in classical vein some sixty years later, it was his zealous care "not to let life pass by as smoke in the breezes or as foam upon the waves."¹³⁴ For several years he applied his medical knowledge as practising physician in his native town. From the very beginning of his training, however, he had felt the pull of another love, and it was to botany that he finally gave his larger allegiance during the years which followed, at Breslau and at Bonn. His greatest published work is the *Physiology of Plants*, which appeared in two volumes in 1835 and 1838. Both medicine and botany promoted in him a lively feeling for the beautiful; his pleasure in

philippus melancthon
de consideratione
humani corporis.

Fig. 5. Vesalius, *De Humani Corporis Fabrica*. Basel: Joannes Oporinus, June 1543. Flyleaf. (Army Medical Library)

artistic creations led him in particular to a special study of the history of wood engraving, and he published in 1855 an excellent little work entitled *The Application of Wood Engraving to the Pictorial Representation of Plants*. Is it difficult to conceive of the delight which he must have experienced as he examined the masterly initials and plates in his own copy of the *Fabrica*? Or was it even they which first awakened in him an appreciation of the art of wood engraving?

During the period of Treviranus's possession of the treasure the publication of Bretschneider's mighty *Corpus Reformatorum* was proceeding apace. By the year 1842 the tenth volume, containing works of Philipp Melancthon, had been reached, and it is a statement in that volume, appended to the text of twenty-eight elegiac lines entitled *De Consideratione Humani Corporis*, that links this copy of Vesalius firmly with Melancthon, Treviranus, and, ultimately, the Army Medical Library: "These verses are written in the hand of Philipp in the book of Andreas Vesalius of Brussels, professor in the school of medicine at Padua, *De humani corporis fabrica*, printed at Basel in 1543 in folio form, which book is now the property of Dominus Treviranus, professor at Breslau."¹³⁵

The twenty-eight verses, inscribed on a flyleaf prefixed to the volume, are still in an excellent state of preservation. The signature which heads them, as well as the script of the poem, is clearly Melanch-



FIG. 6. Philipp Melanchthon, by Albrecht Dürer, 1526.
(Cleveland Museum of Art)

thon's (Fig. 5).¹³⁶ Whether he once owned the volume, or whether a friend, receiving the autograph from him, thought it worthy to be bound with the Vesalius, we cannot tell.¹³⁷ It is hardly necessary to review here Melanchthon's career as teacher of Germany and scribe of the Reformation.¹³⁸ The stamp of his genius remained in higher instruction in Germany to the present century, and in the history of the Evangelical Lutheran Church he has a place second only to that of Luther. If the Magna Charta which he wrote for the church at Augsburg in 1530 is his loftiest monument, it still does not overshadow the myriad other contributions which he made to the Protestant cause, not the least of which was the gift of a personality which balanced well by its composure and serenity the more violent nature of Luther. The need for such a balance Luther himself recognized when he wrote:

I am so constituted that I must battle with gangs and devils and keep to the field; therefore my books are very fiery and warlike. I have to root out stocks and stumps, cut away thorns and hedges, fill up mudholes, and play the part of the rough woodsman who needs must hew and block out the path. But Master Philipp comes along gently and quietly, he plants and tills, sows and waters with joy, according to the gifts which God has richly bestowed upon him.¹³⁹

The modesty implied here for Melanchthon appears again in the presentation-note inscribed by him on a copy of the Confession and Apology issued in April, 1531: "To Dominus Doctor Martin. And I ask that he read it and correct it."¹⁴⁰ It is this modest, unassuming, gentle type of scholar whom Albrecht Dürer has portrayed in the famous engraving which was one of the artist's last works on copper (Fig. 6). On May 6, 1526, Melanchthon had arrived in Nuremberg for the opening of the new Gymnasium. There he passed almost a month which must have been as truly happy as any period in his life. Entertained at the St. Aegidius Convent, and honored by the most distinguished citizens of the town, he found himself in a congenial atmosphere of learning and friendship. The Senate received the benefit of his advice in appointing the faculty of the Gymnasium; Camerarius was made professor of Greek, Eobanus Hessus professor of Rhetoric, and Melanchthon adorned the inaugural ceremonies by giving a Latin oration in praise of learning. It was probably during this stay that Dürer executed the portrait, which is the best existing likeness of the sensitive preacher. The two had met possibly some years earlier at Pirckheimer's house; they became fast friends, and when in 1528 Melanchthon received the news of Dürer's death, he wrote sorrowfully to Camerarius: "I found it difficult to believe so mournful a report. I grieve that Germany has been deprived of such a man and such an artist."¹⁴¹

Of Melanchthon's many visits to Nuremberg only one other will concern us here. The twenty-eight elegiac lines are dated from that city on the day of the conversion of Paul [January 25] 1552. Melanchthon had received orders to await at Nuremberg further instructions concerning his appearance at the Council of Trent. He arrived in Nuremberg on January 22, and stayed once again at the St. Aegidius Convent. The visit was prolonged to March 10, on which date, not having received the anticipated instructions, he left Nuremberg and returned home. But the period had been profitably spent in delivering more than thirty public lectures and in writing a variety of pieces, and both medicine and theology have cause to be grateful for the interlude which allowed him to set down in orderly elegiacs his reflections on the human body.

PHILIPP MELANCHTHON'S OBSERVATIONS ON THE
HUMAN BODY

Think not that atoms, rushing in a senseless, hurried flight
 Produced without a guiding will this world of novel form;
 The mind which shaped them, wise beyond all other intellects,
 Maintains and fashions everything in logical design.
 Nor are the traces far to seek, so bright and clear they stand,
 Revealing God the Founder well-defined on every side.
 To know the ways of numbers and their order, and to hold
 A judgment fixed immovable of righteousness and wrong,
 Such wisdom sightless atoms do not of themselves provide:
 It is instead the issue of a force which sees ahead.
 The disposition of the earth, eternal with the skies,
 The ordered movements of the stars recurring in their course,
 Bear witness that a deity intelligent and good
 Established these provisions and now holds them in control.
 Accordingly it follows that the body's several parts
 Came not together aimlessly as if devised by chance:
 With purpose God assigned to each its own allotted task
 And ordered that man's body be a temple to Himself.¹⁴²
 So Holy Wisdom casts its rays within our human minds
 And sways our thoughts with light divine emitted from His word.
 Our hearts, in turn, enshrine the rule of justice, and feel pain
 When God's avenging wrath is aimed to punish sinfulness.
 The pain endures until we make atonement for the sin,
 And, blest of God, again possess the joys of endless life.
 Wherefore, as man reflects upon the marvels in himself,
 With reverence let him venerate his Maker and his Lord,
 And keep the temple undefiled, immune from any stain,
 Lest wrath divine in vengeance come and hurl it crashing down.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

Incunabula are cited in the notes simply by the letter and number assigned them in Margaret Bingham Stillwell's *Incunabula in American Libraries*; a full list of editions

cited is added at the end of the notes. The copy used in each case is that in the Army Medical Library. Where no folio number is given, the annotation occurs on an endpaper or a flyleaf. Translations not otherwise acknowledged are by the author.

¹ H74.

² Mr. Dundas began the study of Latin at the age of twelve at Holy Cross College, Worcester, Massachusetts. In later years he acquired a speaking and writing knowledge of it and of several modern languages. Since his retirement in 1936 he has continued to live in his native Washington and is at present engaged in the study of ancient Hebrew.

³ As quoted in W. M. Lindsay, *Palaeographia Latina* 2 (1923), 24 and Florence Edler De Roover in James Westfall Thompson, *The Mediaeval Library* (Chicago, 1939), p. 607.

⁴ W. Wattenbach, *Das Schriftwesen im Mittelalter* (Leipzig, 1871), p. 288: Explicit hoc totum. / infunde et da mihi potum. / Quis me non laudat. /dyabolus oculus (sic) sibi claudat.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 292: Qui te furetur hic demonis ense secetur. / Iste sit in banno qui te furetur in anno.

⁶ Ted Robinson of the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* gathered together in 1938 a hundred or more examples of this doggerel. The three specimens here quoted are from his columns for April 1 and 6 of that year.

⁷ A similar sentiment on a bookplate dated 1540, above a crude outline of a gallows, is quoted by Morris Fishbein in *Bull. Soc. Med. Hist.*, Chicago, 2 (Mar. 1922), 304: "My Master's name above you se, / Take heede therefore you steale not mee; / For if you doe, without delay / Your necke . . . for me shall pay. / Looke doune below and you shal see / The picture of the gallowstree; / Take heede therefore of thys in time, / Lest on this tree you highly clime."

⁸ G101, f.1a.

⁹ A853.

¹⁰ G513, f.1a.

¹¹ G511, f.1a.

¹² M63, f.1a.

¹³ M445, f.1a.

¹⁴ Arturo Castiglioni, *A History of Medicine* (New York, 1941), pp. 643-644.

¹⁵ R55, f.1b.

¹⁶ *Biographisches Lexikon der hervorragenden Ärzte . . . Zweite Auflage*, 2 (1930) 44.

¹⁷ Frederic Boase, *Modern English Biography*. Truro, 2 (1897), col. 95.

¹⁸ P. 722, f.2a.

¹⁹ H468.

²⁰ The price will be of interest for the rare book market. In the *Commercial and Financial Chronicle and Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, 55 (Oct. 15, 1892), 626 the quotation for 25 pesetas is \$4.75 @ \$4.85.

²¹ Dr. Thomas S. Cullen has graciously provided the writer with a photostat of a letter sent to him by Dr. Nuttall on June 17, 1932. Forty years had elapsed since Dr. Nuttall had made the notation on our flyleaf, but both the body of the letter and the signature itself reproduce faithfully the script of the flyleaf.

²² Simon Flexner and James Flexner, *William Henry Welch and the Heroic Age of American Medicine* (New York, 1941), p. 342.

²³ Dr. Cullen and Dr. Simon Flexner had sailed with him earlier, on March 25, 1893. Acknowledgment is hereby made to Dr. Cullen for his kindness in furnishing certain personal reminiscences of Dr. Nuttall.

²⁴ *Brit. Med. Journ.*, Oct. 21, 1905, pp. 998-1001.

²⁵ S273, f.21b.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, f.62b.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, f.261a.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, f.143a.

²⁹ C325, f.1a.

³⁰ P722, f.185a.

³¹ B388, f.5b.

³² R55, ff.15a, 40b, 73b, 74a, 76a.

³³ *Ibid.*, ff.44a, 46b, 64b, 70b.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, f.1b.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, f.136b.

³⁶ M42.

³⁷ M179.

³⁸ R74, f.1b.

³⁹ K14.

⁴⁰ R46, f.41a.

⁴¹ S462, f.124a; S679, f.8b; V210, f.95a.

⁴² P722, f.189a.

⁴³ H250. Cf. Dr. C. F. Mayer, *Urologic and Cutaneous Review* 40 (1936) 296-299.

⁴⁴ J447.

⁴⁵ *Thomas Platter . . . Ein Lebensbild aus dem Jahrhundert der Reformation*, herausgegeben von Horst Kohl. Zweite Auflage, R. Voigtländers Verlag in Leipzig (Voigtländers Quellenbücher Band 21), 1912, p. 65. The writer is indebted to Dr. Torald Sollmann for the loan of this and the following volume.

⁴⁶ *Felix Platter*, Tagebuchblätter aus dem Jugendleben eines deutschen Arztes des 16. Jahrhunderts, herausgegeben von Horst Kohl. R. Voigtländers Verlag in Leipzig (Voigtländers Quellenbücher Band 59), 1913, pp. 48-49.

⁴⁷ A850, f.2a.

⁴⁸ B388, f.1a.

⁴⁹ M445, f.1a.

⁵⁰ S272.

⁵¹ C196, f.7b.

⁵² D11, f.1a.

⁵³ J193, f.1a.

⁵⁴ B943, f.3b.

⁵⁵ P722, f.60a.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, f.18b.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, f.24b.

⁵⁸ R59, f.2a.

⁵⁹ J193.

⁶⁰ P353, f.124b.

⁶¹ S464.

⁶² These annals are preserved in Jean Molanus, *Les Quatorze Livres sur l'Histoire de la Ville de Louvain* (in the *Collection de Chroniques Belges*), publiés d'après le manuscrit autographe, . . . par P. F. X. De Ram. Première Partie (Bruxelles, 1861), Book V, Chapters 31-33, pp. 284-293.

⁶³ A1266.

⁶⁴ This is not the famous first martyr of Britain. A priest of Naxos of the same name, sent into exile by the Arians, preached the Gospel in parts of Germany about Mainz in the fourth century. Here he was again attacked by the Arians and put to death; a more celebrated abbey at Mainz has preserved his memory.

⁶⁵ F40, f.1a.

⁶⁶ Epist. 108 in the edition of Léon Levillain (Paris, 1935), v. 2, 146. Translated in Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

⁶⁷ Translated in Count de Montalembert, *The Monks of the West from St. Benedict to St. Bernard* (New York and London), 5 (1896), 143 and Geo. Haven Putnam, *Books and their Makers during the Middle Ages*, 2nd ed. (New York and London), 1, (1896), 138.

⁶⁸ Müntz and Fabre, *La Bibliothèque du Vatican au xv^e siècle* (1887), as translated in John Willis Clark, *The Care of Books*, Reissued (Cambridge, 1909), p. 224. Müntz in *La Bibliothèque Vatican au xvi^e siècle* (Paris, 1886), p. 40 gives one entry which shows that books were not always returned by the date promised: "Jan. 25, 1522. I, Franciscus Calvus, have received from the very reverend keepers the sixth volume of Philo, done in red, which I promise to return within two months, and as deposit for it I have left one gold ring bearing the portrait of a boy.—Returned June 6, 1522."

⁶⁹ L344, f.294b.

⁷⁰ Corinaldo is a small town in the province of Ancona; from Leo X it received the designation "città."

⁷¹ G26, ff.8b, 113b.

⁷² P723, f.18b.

⁷³ S463, f.322a.

⁷⁴ P722, f.209b.

⁷⁵ Aen.VII.770-773.

⁷⁶ P722, f.254a.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, ff.79b, 81b.

⁷⁸ U50, ff.2b,7a.

⁷⁹ B420, f. 1a: fanciullino al suo maestro / Il mio car padre (maestro) vi comanda / che salario d'ardimento me diate / a cio che meglio nutrito voi siate / e che a putare spendere io non anda. / Il maestro al fanciullino / Havesse io di Fidentio la possanza / Io vi farei coprir de le donzelle / Lequali sarebbon, più di voi, belle, / Purche me daste di scudi abbondanza.

⁸⁰ Cf. Giambattista Crovato, *Camillo Scroffa e la Poesia Pedantesca* (Parma, 1891), 156 pp. Crovato's conclusions were supplemented in the following year in an article of the same title by Severino Ferrari in *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana* 19 (1892), 304-334.

⁸¹ *Biographisches Lexikon der hervorragenden Ärzte . . . Zweite Auflage*, 1 (1929) 825.

⁸² C81, ff.7b-8a. Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, edited by L. Goldscheider (London and Oxford, 1944) p. 91 points out that such lists of famous men and women were often made in direct imitation of Cornelius Nepos, Valerius Maximus, Plutarch, and other ancient writers.

⁸³ P722, f.22b.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, f.29a.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, f.114a.

⁸⁶ S273, f.1a.

⁸⁷ Raphael represents him in his character of art-patron. Vasari's description of the painting is as follows (*Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*. Newly translated by Gaston DuC. De Vere. Medici Society Ltd., London, 4, 1913, 231): "In Rome he made a picture of good size, in which he portrayed Pope Leo, Cardinal Giulio de' Medici [on the pope's right], and Cardinal de' Rossi [to the right of the picture]. In this the figures appear to be not painted, but in full relief; there is the pile of the velvet, with the damask of the Pope's vestments shining and rustling; the fur of the linings soft and natural, and the gold and silk so counterfeited that they do not seem to be in colour, but real gold and silk. There is an illuminated book of parchment which appears more real than the reality; and a little bell of wrought silver, which is more beautiful than words can tell. Among other things, also, is a ball of burnished gold on the Pope's chair, wherein are reflected, as if it were a mirror (such is its brightness), the light from the windows, the shoulders of the Pope, and the walls round the room. And all these things are executed with such diligence, that one may believe without any manner of doubt that no master is able, or is ever likely to be able, to do better. For this work the Pope was pleased to reward him very richly; and the picture is still to be seen in Florence, in the guardaroba of the Duke. . . ." We have evidence of the lifelike nature of the painting in the story transmitted by Luigi Lanzi (*The History of Painting in Italy*, translated by Thomas Roscoe, Bohn ed., London, 1, 1847, 374) that on one occasion the Cardinal Datary found himself approaching it with a bull and pen and ink to obtain the pope's signature.

⁸⁸ Henry Lemonnier, *Les Guerres d'Italie. La France sous Charles VIII, Louis XII, et François I^{er}* (5.1 of Ernest Lavisse, *Histoire de France*) (Paris, 1911), p. 125. It is generally supposed that the wall painting in the Raphael Rooms of the Vatican Palace which depicts the coronation of Charlemagne alludes to the Viterbo agreement: Leo III is represented with the features of Leo X, and Charlemagne with those of Francis I. Cf. Vasari, *op. cit.*, p. 236.

⁸⁹ *Il Diario di Leone X* di Paride de Grassi . . . dai volumi manoscritti degli Archivi Vaticani della S. Sede, con note di M. Armellini (Roma, 1884), p. 25.

⁹⁰ Francesco Nitti, *Leone X e la sua Politica* (Florence, 1892), p. 72. Modern readers, accustomed because of the period 1870 to 1929 to think of the pope as a voluntary prisoner in the Vatican, need not be unduly startled at Leo's departure from his papal palace. The residence at Avignon during seven papacies (1305-1377) is of course the most familiar illustration of absence of the popes from Rome, but there are other instances: Pius II, for example, opened at Mantua in 1459 a congress to promote a crusade against the Turks and died at Ancona in 1464 on his way to initiate the expedition; Pius VI visited Vienna in 1782 in the hope of staying the social and ecclesiastical reforms undertaken by Joseph II; and Pius VII crowned Napoleon at Paris in 1804 and tarried four months in that city. Viterbo was often a papal residence and was the scene of five papal elections. There were involuntary absences also, as during the period of the Great Schism when popes fled for refuge to Genoa or Viterbo or Lucca, and shorter excursions, like those to the summer residence at Castel Gandolfo which Urban VIII began in 1629, must have been frequent.

⁹¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 26.

⁹² There is some disagreement in the date, perhaps because Leo spent one night at a suburban villa just outside the city.

⁹³ This is possibly another reason for the pope's reluctance to go to Bologna. The Bentivoglio family had ruled as masters of the city from 1401 until the year 1506, when Julius II forced them to leave and thereby acquired from the populace the title of "Restorer of the Liberty of Bologna." But the exiles none the less managed to maintain through their partisans in the city a certain spirit of hostility toward the pope (De Grassi, *op. cit.*, p. 114, n. 34).

⁹⁴ As quoted in Angelus Fabronius, *Leonis X Pontificis Maximi Vita* (Pisa, 1797), pp. 281 ff.

⁹⁵ Cf. Francesco Guicciardini, *La Historia d'Italia* (Venice, 1568), Book XII, ff.349b-350a.

⁹⁶ Rodolfo Lanciani, *The Golden Days of the Renaissance in Rome* (Boston and New York, 1906), p. 317.

⁹⁷ M63, f.158b.

⁹⁸ F38, f.316b. We should expect the imperfect tense, "I was reading." The chapter is entitled "De Lascivia."

⁹⁹ Artur Levinson, "Nuntiatuerberichte vom Kaiserhofe Leopolds I (1657, Februar bis 1669, Dezember)," in *Archiv f. österr. Gesch.* 103, II. Hälfte (1913), 650.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 652.

¹⁰¹ Max Dvořák, "Briefe Kaiser Leopold I an Wenzel Euseb, Herzog in Schlesien zu Sagan, Fürsten von Lobkowitz 1657-1674," in *Archiv f. österr. Gesch.* 80 (1894), 473.

¹⁰² Levinson, *loc. cit.*

¹⁰³ The *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada*, 29 p. 378 carries a convenient account of Lambach based on the *Annales Ordinis S. Benedicti*.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. K. T. von Heigel, "Neue Beiträge zur Charakteristik Kaiser Leopolds I," *Sitzb. d. k. bayer. Akad. d. Wissenschaften, Philos.-philolog. und hist. Class.*, 2 (1890), 145-146.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. *Dictionary of National Biography* 6 (1921-22), 185.

¹⁰⁶ A624.

¹⁰⁷ H490, f.43.

¹⁰⁸ A230, f.32b.

¹⁰⁹ Burckhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

¹¹⁰ P722, f.65b: Rhinocerote[m] rex lusitanie ex india / . . . portavit que[m] ego c[on]trafactu[m] vidi / auguste in aedib[us] conradi . . . / consobrini mei. Dr. Max H. Fisch has been of much assistance in the interpretation of this note. The term "contrafactus" appears in its German form in connection with early anatomical illustrations and in modern French and Italian, as in the English version "counterfeit," with reference to anything imitated. Poggio Bracciolini relates in his *Facetiae* (Opera, Basileae, apud Henricum Petrum, 1538, p. 430) that he had seen at Ferrara a wooden

representation of a sea monster, "of a size a little longer and broader than a man," which had been killed on the Dalmatian coast.

¹¹¹ P722, f.1a.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, f.248b.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, f.251b.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, f.252a.

¹¹⁵ *Guida del Museo Vaticano di Scultura* (Roma, 1924), p. 99.

¹¹⁶ P855.

¹¹⁷ Matthew 14:31. The Italian version is, "E Gesù, stesa subito la mano, lo afferrò e gli disse: O uomo di poca fede, perchè hai dubitato?" Professor Joseph G. Fucilla of Northwestern University points out that the poem contains echoes of Petrarchan phrasing: line 4 recalls Sonnet 284 (L'ultima, lasso!), line 5, "Qual ha già i nervi e i polsi e i pensier egri," and line 13 Sonnet 172, line 1, "Dolci ire, dolci sdegni e dolci paci."

¹¹⁸ H2, f.1a.

¹¹⁹ P696, f.1a.

¹²⁰ G101.

¹²¹ S281.

¹²² M702, Copy I.

¹²³ Cf. A630, f.1a; R209, f.1a; S272; V210, f.1a.

¹²⁴ B124, Copy II.

¹²⁵ V210.

¹²⁶ A268, Copy I, f.30b; M179, ff.1-2.

¹²⁷ A240, f.1a; J316, f.1a.

¹²⁸ J316.

¹²⁹ For the explanation here given the writer is indebted to Superintendent David L. Cowles of the Scientific Identification Bureau, Cleveland Police Department, and to Mr. Burton Munhall of the H. P. White Company of Cleveland.

¹³⁰ A847.

¹³¹ *Biographisches Lexikon der hervorragenden Ärzte . . . Zweite Auflage*, 5 (1934) 81.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 3 (1931) 487.

¹³³ *Botanische Zeitung* (1864) 176 and *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 38 (1894) 588-591.

¹³⁴ Cf. Verg. Aen. V.740.

¹³⁵ Col. 610. The connection is made also in the Vesalius itself in a manuscript note on the flyleaf, the last part of which at least seems to have been written after 1863, in which year the work of Ambroise Firmin Didot there cited, *Essai . . . sur l'Histoire de la Gravure sur Bois*, was published.

¹³⁶ Cf. in James William Richard, *Philip Melanchthon*, The Protestant Preceptor of Germany (New York and London, 1907) the facsimile, facing p. 272, of the closing portion of a letter written by Melanchthon in 1553. A detailed study of the script of Melanchthon, with numerous facsimiles, is provided in S. Leigh Sotheby, *Unpublished Documents, Marginal Notes and Memoranda in the Autograph of Philip Melanchthon and of Martin Luther . . .* (London, 1840). Photographs of the twenty-eight verses were displayed by the Medical Department of the United States Army at the International Exhibition held in Philadelphia in 1876.

¹³⁷ Melanchthon's use of a Vesalius is attested in the dedicatory letter, dated from Wittenberg on November 1st in the very year of our elegiacs, which is prefixed to the Leipzig edition of his *De Anima* (Iohannes Rhamba, 1562, f.A^{8a}): "I have followed moreover the best authors, Galen, Vesalius, and Leonartus Fuchsius. . . ." A few lines later there is a reference to the plates of Vesalius, and he quotes the two laudatory couplets on Vesalius which were written by his close friend, the theologian Paul Eber. On his references to Vesalius and to medicine in general cf. Viktor Fossel, "Philipp Melanchthons Beziehungen zur Medizin," in *Zwanzig Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Medizin*, Festschrift Hermann Baas (Hamburg und Leipzig, 1908), pp. 33-40.

¹³⁸ Convenient biographies are Richard, *op. cit.*, and Georg Ellinger, *Philipp Melanchthon, Ein Lebensbild* (Berlin, 1902).

¹³⁹ *Dr. Martin Luthers Sämmlische Schriften*, herausgegeben von Dr. Joh. Georg Walch. Neue revidirte Stereotypausgabe (St. Louis, 1898), v. 14, col. 176. The passage occurs in Luther's preface to the German translation of the commentary which Melancthon wrote on Paul's Epistle to the Colossians.

¹⁴⁰ Richard, *op. cit.*, p. 218. A similar request is contained in the dedicatory letter cited in note 137.

¹⁴¹ *Epistolarum Philippi Melancthonis Libri IV*, quibus . . . accesserunt Thomae Mori et Ludovici Vivis Epistolae (Londini, excudebant M. Flesher et R. Young, 1642), Epist. 67, col. 660.

¹⁴² The same concept of the body as a temple appears in Melancthon's *Oratio de Arte Medica*. Cf. the edition *Encomia Medicinae Des. Erasmi Roterodami, Hieronymi Cardani, Philippi Melancthonis* (Rotterdam, sumptibus Arnoldi Leers, 1645), pp. 130, 131. Two other orations in praise of medicine, delivered at Wittenberg, are published in his *Contra Aristogitonem Demosthenis orationes duae* . . . iam primum latinitate donatae (Haganoae, per Iohan. Secerium, 1527), ff. gg¹-hh⁷.

LIST OF INCUNABULA CITED, WITH NOTE NUMBERS

- A230 Albertus Magnus, Liber aggregationis. [Speier: Johann and Conrad Hist, about 1483.] Note 108.
- A240 ———, Logica (Libri I & II). Pavia: Christophorus de Canibus [about 1490]. Note 127.
- A268 ———, Philosophia pauperum. Brescia: Baptista Farfengus, 1493. Note 126.
- A624 Angelus, Johannes, Astrolabium. Augsburg: Erhard Ratdolt, 1488. Note 106.
- A630 Angelus de Clavasio, Summa angelica de casibus conscientiae. Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1488. Note 123.
- A847 Arculanus, Johannes, Expositio in primam fen quarti Canonis Avicennae De febribus. Ferrara: Andreas Belfortis, Gallus, 1489. Note 130.
- A850 Argellata, Petrus de, Chirurgia. Venice: Benedictus Genuensis, 1480. Note 47.
- A853 ———, ———. Venice: [n.pr.] 1499. Note 9.
- A1266 Avicenna, Canon medicinae [*Latin*] (Lib. I-V) (Tr.: Gerardus Cremonensis). Venice: Petrus Maufer, Nicolaus de Contugo et Socii, 1483. Note 63.
- B124 Bartholomaeus Anglicus, De proprietatibus rerum. [Heidelberg: Printer of Lindelbach (Heinrich Knoblochtzer)] 1488. Note 124.
- B388 Bernardus de Gordonio, Practica. Venice: Joannes and Gregorius de Gregoriis, de Forlivio, for Benedictus Fontana, 1496/97. Notes 31, 48.
- B420 Beroaldus, Philippus, De felicitate. Bologna: Benedictus Hectoris, 1499. Note 79.
- B943 Brack, Wenceslaus, Vocabularius rerum. [Speier: Johann and Conrad Hist, about 1485.] Note 54.
- C81 Candidus Decembrius, De genitura hominis. [Rome: Stephan Planck, n.d.] Note 82.
- C196 Carpanis, Dominicus de, De nutrienda memoria. [Naples: Epon. press, after 16 Dec. 1476.] Note 51.
- C325 Celsus, A. Cornelius, De medicina. Florence: Nicolaus Laurentii, Alamanus, 1478. Note 29.
- D11 Daniel, Somnia Danielis. [Rome: Bartholomaeus Guldinbeck, about 1480.] Note 52.
- F38 Farinator, Matthias, Lumen animae. [Augsburg:] Anton Sorg, 1477. Note 98.
- F40 ———, ———. [Reutlingen: Michel Greyff] 1479. Note 65.
- G26 Gaietanus de Thienis, Commentum in Aristotelem De Anima. De sensu agente. De sensibilibus communibus et de intellectu. Venice: Bonetus Locatellus for Octavianus Scotus, 1492. Note 71.
- G101 Gazius, Antonius, Corona florida medicinae. Venice: Joannes and Gregorius de Gregoriis, de Forlivio, 1491. Notes 8, 120.
- G511 Guido de Cauliaco, Chirurgia. Venice: Simon de Luere, for Andreas Torresanus, 1499. Note 11.

- G513 ———, *Chirurgia parva*. [Lyons:] Vincentius de Portonariis de Tridino de Monteferrato [n.d.] Note 10.
- H2 Haly, Abbas, *Liber medicinae*. Venice: Bernardinus Rizus, Novariensis, for Johannes de Nigro, 1492. Note 118.
- H74 Hermes Trismegistus, *De potestate et sapientia Dei* (Tr.: Marsilius Ficinus). Venice: Damianus de Mediolano, de Gorgonzola, 1493. Note 1.
- H250 Hippocrates, *Aphorismi*. [Nuremberg: Caspar Hochfeder, after 5 Apr. 1496.] Note 43.
- H468 Hugo Senensis, *Expositio super Aphorismos Hippocratis et Galeni commentum*. Ferrara: Laurentius de Rubeis, de Valentia, and Andreas de Grassis, de Castronovo, 1493. Note 19.
- H490 Hyginus, C. Julius, *Von den zwölf Zeichen* [*German*]. Augsburg: Erhard Ratdolt, 1491. Note 107.
- J193 Jamblichus, *De mysteriis Aegyptiorum, Chaldaeorum, Assyriorum* (Tr.: Marsilius Ficinus). Venice: Aldus Manutius, Romanus, 1497. Notes 53, 59.
- J316 Johannes de Janduno, *Quaestiones in libros Physicorum Aristotelis*. Venice: Hieronymus de Sanctis, and Johannes Lucilius Santritter, for Petrus Benzon and Petrus Plasiis, 1488. Notes 127, 128.
- J447 Jung, Ambrosius, *Tractatus de pestilentia ex diversis auctoribus aggregatus*. Augsburg: Johann Schönsperger, 1494. Note 44.
- K14 Ketham, Johannes de, *Fasciculus medicinae*. Venice: Joannes and Gregorius de Gregoriis, de Forlivio, 1500/01. Note 39.
- L344 Lullus, Raymundus, *Arbor scientiae*. Barcelona: Pedro Posa, 1482. Note 69.
- M42 Magninus Mediolanensis, *Regimen sanitatis*. Paris: Ulrich Gering, 1483/84. Note 36.
- M63 Maimonides, Moses, *Aphorismi secundum doctrinam Galeni*. Bologna: Franciscus (Plato) de Benedictis, for Benedictus Hectoris, 1489. Notes 12, 97.
- M179 Manlius, Johannes Jacobus de, *Luminare maius super Mesue Antidotarium et Practica*. Pavia: Antonius de Carcano, 1494. Notes 37, 126.
- M445 Mesue, Johannes, *Opera medicinalia*. Venice: Bonetus Locatellus for Octavianus Scotus, 1495. Notes 13, 49.
- M702 Montagnana, Bartholomaeus, *Consilia medica*. [Venice:] Bonetus Locatellus, for Octavianus Scotus, 1497. Note 122.
- P353 Petrarca, Francesco, *Epistolae familiares*. Venice: Joannes and Gregorius de Gregoriis, de Forlivio, 1492. Note 60.
- P696 Platina, Bartholomaeus, *De honesta voluptate et valetudine*. Bologna: Joannes Antonius, de Benedictis, 1499. Note 119.
- P722 Plinius Secundus, *Historia naturalis*. Parma: Andreas Portilia, 1481. Notes 18, 30, 42, 55, 56, 57, 74, 76, 77, 83, 84, 85, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114.
- P723 ———, ———. Venice: Reynaldus de Novimagio, 1483. Note 72.
- P855 Porcastris, Sigismundus de, *De restauratione humidi*. Venice: Peregrinus de Pasqualibus, 1490. Note 116.
- R46 *Regimen Sanitatis* [*German*] Ulm: Conrad Dinckmut, 1482. Note 40.
- R55 *Regimen sanitatis Salernitanum* (Comm: Arnoldus de Villa Nova). [Louvain: Johann de Paderborn (Westphalia) about 1480.] Notes 15, 32, 33, 34, 35.
- R59 ———. Paris: Felix Baligault, 1493. Note 58.
- R74 ———. (Corr: Doctores Montispessulani regentes, 1480) 'Strassburg: 29 Dec. 1491' [*i.e.*, Venice: Bernardinus Benalius, 1500]. Note 38.
- R209 Rodericus Zamorensis, *Speculum vitae humanae*. Augsburg: Günther Zainer, 1471. Note 123.
- S272 Savonarola, Michael, *Practica medicinae*. Venice: Andreas de Bonetis, 1486. Notes 50, 123.
- S273 ———, ———. Venice: Bonetus Locatellus, for Octavianus Scotus, 1497. Notes 25, 26, 27, 28, 86.
- S281 Schedel, Hartmann, *Liber chronicarum*. Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1493. Note 121.

- S462 Silvaticus, Matthaeus, *Liber pandectarum medicinae*. Venice: Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 1480. Note 41.
- S463 ———, ———. Vicenza: Hermannus Liechtenstein (Levilapis) [1480]. Note 73.
- S464 ———, ———. [Strassburg: The R-Printer (Adolf Rusch), about 1480.] Note 61.
- S679 Steber, Bartholomaeus, *A malafranczos morbo Gallorum praeservatio ac cura*. Vienna: Jo[hann] W[interburg] [1497-98]. Note 41.
- U50 Ulsenius, Theodoricus, *Hymnus de Sancto Judoco*. [Deventer: Richardus Pafraet, about 1500.] Note 78.
- V210 *Versehung von Leib, Seele, Ehre und Gut*. Nuremberg: [Peter Wagner, 14]89. Notes 41, 123, 125.