

*December, 2015*

# *The Garden of Health*





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In *The Garden of Health* we offer several imprints from 15th and 16th centuries showing the inseparable interest in health, plants, water and food. In many of them the picture is the protagonist, with some of the most beautiful botanical woodcuts then printed.

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with our best wishes for 2016,

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## The Garden of Health

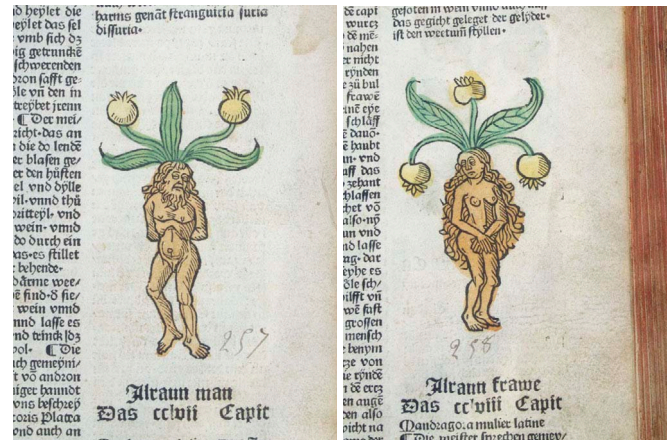


Female Mandrake  
(Codex Berleburg)

The idea that existed in the 16<sup>th</sup> century about the composition of the world, still inherited from Aristotle, was that everything was made of four elements: air, water, earth and fire, and affected by four qualities (cold, wet, dry, hot) respectively. All explanations of any phenomenon in the physical world (from animals to metallurgy, going through meteorology, medicine, food or botany) were based on this fundamental idea. Arriving at the thinking that the fundamental substances were not those four elements but others, and that they interacted with each other following rules other than the interaction of those essential qualities, was something that would still have to wait until the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, when Robert Boyle began to lay the foundations of what was to become modern chemistry. So, in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, whether the Earth was flat and there was a sphere half-filled with holes spinning around it, or if someone dared to say the Earth was round and revolved around the sun, or if there were attempts to explain fevers, the source of springs or the diversity of the shape of animals, everything was a result of the four elements, of the four qualities and, from the 6<sup>th</sup> century onwards, of the hand of God.

Men were conceived as being made up of four substances or humours (bile, black bile, blood and phlegm), whose balance requi-

red foods that would contribute to their maintenance, by replenishing its substance. And if people fell sick because a 'humour' had invaded them, altering the nature of their substance, it was then necessary for other substances, drugs, to fight against the invasion to restore the substance to its natural state. As in the end there were only four elements -air, water, earth and fire-, the substances and organs had, correspondingly, either wet or dry, hot or cold, properties, and so on. A drug was the substance that turned these invading humours, as well as the organs or substances, into states of cool or warm, wet or dry, and could do so to different degrees, ranging from a little to a lot. If the alterations these drug produced were minimal, the drugs were called medicines, and if the alterations were significant, they were called poison. And if the properties of a drug were natural, it was

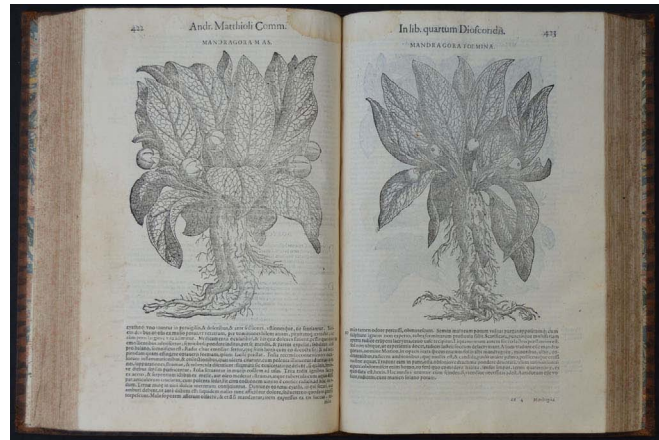


Male and Female Mandrakes, 1487 (Ref. C - 0594)

called simple medicine; and if they had been acquired because the 'human industry' had altered its nature, it was called a compound medicine. As a "simple" was the substance that, in its natural state, could act as medicine, there was a nearly perfect and simple correspondence between plants and "simples", since these were the most numerous natural products that, without the 'human industry', had therapeutic effects. Hence, botany and medicine have been related from ancient times, and remained so until virtually the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The treaties on plants could not escape their applications, and books on medical matters needed to bring them up continuously. This was the case in the *Historia plantarum* by Teofastro, the *Historia Naturalis* by Pliny, in the *De Materia Medica* by Dioscorides or the *De simplicium Medicamentorum temperamenti et facultatibus* by Galen, and this would continue to happen in medical, botanical, food or dietary treaties of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

And of course, it was not only medicines but also diseases that were simple or compound, since all of them were explained under the same four principles of being hot or cold, wet or dry, and when they had one of those qualities they would be referred to as simple, or if they contained several they would be a compound disease. As anyone can imagine, under these principles, the cure for diseases could only advance on the basis of trial and error testing, gradually accumulating a combined catalogue of diseases and drugs over time that, by observation, were considered to be participating in the cure.

In this way a complex scheme of simple or compound, hot or cold, wet or dry products were built, which fought simple or compound, hot or cold, wet or dry conditions, in organs that were also hot or cold, wet or dry, to as many different possible degrees as imaginable. And what is said of medicinal products must also be said of food, whose properties were, of course, either hot or cold,



Male and Female Mandrakes, 1583 (Ref. C - 0083)

dry or wet, and, therefore, convenient for some individuals or others, depending on whether they were healthy or sick, or lived in one place or another, where the contribution of some other qualities was necessary to combat the effects that land, water, air and climate (more or less wet or dry, cold or hot) were thought to have on people. Plants –and their medicinal uses–, with the right diet, sleep –to favour nutrition–, and water –with its therapeutic virtues–, constituted then *The Garden of Health*.

## Gart der Gesundheit.

## Johannes von Cuba (ca. 1430-1503)



[Incipit:] Offt und vil habe ich bey mir selbs betrachtet die wundersamen weercke des schoepfers den naturen · wie er an den anbeginne den hymmeln hat beschaffen und gezieret mit schoenen leuchtenden sternem · den er zů einfließen in alles daz under dem hynmel ist · krafft und macht gegeben hat<sup>1</sup>.- [Colofón:] Gedruckt vnd volendet dyser herbarius durch Hannsen Schönsperger in der Keyserlichen statt zů Augspurg an der mittwochen nach dem weyssen suntag Anno Mcccc vnd in dem lrrrvij jare [i.e., Augsburg; Johann Schönsperger, 1487].

<sup>1</sup> This would translate into English, approximately, as:

[Incipit:] Frequently surprise myself looking at all the wonders of nature created by almighty God: the celestial vault that he made on the second day, ornamting it with beautiful and bright stars, and all that is under the sky by means of his strength and power.

[Colophon:] Printed and completed this Herbarium by Hansen Schönsperger in the imperial city of Augsburg on the Wednesday following Easter Sunday in the year one thousand four hundred and eighty seven years.

Folio, (256x186mm.); [258] f.; 42 lines in two columns; sign.: a-v8, w8, x-z8, A-D8, E6, F8, G-H6, I8. [a1 and I8, blanks].

Binding in pear(?) tree boards from the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century. Illuminated capital letter when the initial letter of names changes. Copy missing the first blank, the three first folios (a-a4) and of 12 scattered folios (d2-d7, f1, g6, v6, A7-B1), as well as the three last ones (E4-E6) of the indexes and the last blank folio (F1-I8), with the folios E-E3 bounded to s6. It includes then, from the end of chapter 1 to chapter 429, of 435 chapters, missing the beginning of the first chapter, part of another nine, twenty six complete chapters -among them the last six-, besides the introduction and the index (therefore lacking both the incipit and the colophon). Expressed in folios, and not counting the blank folios from the beginning and from the end, the complete work has 229 folios of text and images and 27 of indexes. This copy retains 210 of the 229 folios of text and images. All the folios present, except for the first one, are complete, without any of them having any xylograph trimmed. From the 391 it should have, 362 are present. Very diverse degrees of damage, it is dirty, with breaking and tearing repaired in a handcrafted and homemade way at different times and with the most diverse materials.

Prov.: Handwritten note, "Datum des Kräuter buch (Herbal date), Albertus, 1561, Frankfurt am main. Reçu de Pauline Laurentz le 12 avril 1939"

Refs.: Bradley, I, 275; Choulant, p. 55 (58), ref. 7; GW, M09756; Hain, 8950; IBE, 1989-1990, 2588; ISTC ig00102000; Klebs, p. 44, ref. 4.

Absorbing incomplete copy for the fourth incunabulum edition of the work that started the saga of the *Hortus sanitatis*, the *Gart der Gesundheit*, a text of whose authorship there are no doubts, although the same cannot be said about the promoter...

At the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the bishop of Mainz was one of the seven people that were summoned to choose the Holy Roman Emperor and was, after him, the most powerful person: he dealt with the Pope directly and had the right to be able to give advice to the Emperor. Mainz's bishop (archbishop) was chosen by the canonry of the cathedral, traditionally from among its members, and the election usually fell to the dean, so there was a good auspice about becoming the dean. Around 1470, from among the canons who were members of the cathedral's canonry was Bernhard von Breydenbach (ca. 1435-1497), who was in charge of the management of the works that the bishopric needed to print, which was usually done by the printer Peter Schöffer, who was the calligrapher who had given the practical graphic to the mechanical idea of Guttenberg's mobile types, both financed by Fust, and with it enabling the activity of the first modern press.

With regard to Breydenbach, it should be said that he had a difficult to define personality, as his trajectory combines a dissolute life in his youth (and much more), an ecclesiastical career, a doctorate in Law in adulthood and a certain ability to arrogate himself with the merits of others, all of this accompanied by a good amount of hypochondria and a significant passion for books. Some have said that he had an editorial mentality. Of which there is no doubt, is that he

knew how to take editorial advantage of his circumstances, covered in two very different works, both of them with extraordinary success in the incunabulum period. The first one, a travel guide to the Holy Land and, the second, a visual encyclopaedia of medicinal plants.

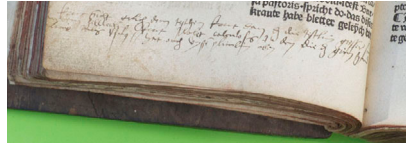
The origin of the travel guide stems from partaking in a small entourage which the Earl Johann von Solms-Münzenberg – an 18 year old young man, who had inherited the county of Lich when he was only 11– took to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land to be named knight of the Order of St John of Jerusalem in the Holy Sepulchree (and, on the way, gain the indulgences). The other companions on this journey, which they started on the 25<sup>th</sup> of April of 1483, were Erhard Rewich, a painter from Utrech who had just completed a portrait of the young earl, a nobleman at the service of the earl, an Italian interpreter and a cook.<sup>1</sup>

With regard to the second of the two projects, the visual encyclopaedia of medicinal plants, Breydenbach owned, at least since 1474, a volume where there were copies made between 1450 and 1477 of different medieval texts, some of them even from the 8<sup>th</sup> century, in German and in Latin, of the seven mechanical arts, of secrets (alchemy and magic), and of botany and medicine,<sup>2</sup> to which he added documents of such

<sup>1</sup> Some authors, coming exclusively from the testimony later made by Breydenbach, point to him as the promoter of the journey and as the one responsible for Rewich, the painter, joining the journey, because Breydenbach would have already thought about elaborating an illustrated guide after his return. For our part, we believe that latter testimony is an interesting reconstruction by Breydenbach himself and that his role in the journey was to provide the earl with spiritual assistance.

<sup>2</sup> The volume, which has survived to present day, is known as the *Codex Berleburg*, and among the medical text it includes,





a varied nature like the medical prescriptions that he was prescribed to control his, apparently, multiple diseases.<sup>3</sup> Owner of these affections and passions, he decided to undertake the publishing of a complete and properly illustrated book of plants and medicinal advice. For the elaboration of the scientific content he hired, around 1481, Johann von Cuba,<sup>4</sup> a doctor in medicine from Lich, like the earl, providing him with his codex. Cuba then presented what had been said by Dioscorides, Galen, Avicenn, Ibn Sarabi (Serapion the Younger), Matteo Silvatico, Giovanni Plateario and others, to include and combine with the content of the *Codex*. Apparently, Cuba completed his work before the end of 1482.<sup>5</sup> If this is true, the foundation for the publication would have been completed when Breydenbach started his trip to the Holy Land.

The pilgrimage was a journey through Venice, Croatia, Greece, Cyprus, Palestine, Egypt – where the young earl died from dysentery in Alexandria on the 31st of October–, and returned to Venice,

are parts of the most renowned Hochdeutsch (standard German) medieval medical compilations like the *Älterer Deutscher Macer* and the *Arzneibuch*.

3 We cannot forget to mention the commentaries of Gundolf Keil on Braydenbach's health, elaborated from the prescription contained in the *codex*, which tell us that the canon, besides, for example, stones, medicated himself to boost his manhood. Véase, Gundolf Keil: "The textual transmission of the *Codex Berleburg*", in Margaret R. Schleisser (ed.), *Manuscript sources of Medieval medicine: a book of essays*. - New York: Garland, 1995, p. 17-30 Equally interesting is another of his previous essays, Gundolf Keil: "Hortus sanitatis, Gart der Gesundheit, Gaerde der Sunthede", in Elisabeth B MacDougall (ed.): *Medieval gardens*, Washington: Harvard university, 1986, p. 55-68.

4 His non-Latin name was Wonnecke von Kaub. A little afterwards, in 1484, he was hired as a physician by the town council of Frankfurt, less than 40 km from Mainz.

5 So it's deduced by Keil, *op. cit.*, *Hortus...*, p. 64.

arriving in Mainz on the 2 February of 1484.<sup>6</sup>

Hardly three months later the archbishop died, and the canonry of the cathedral chose Bertold von Henneberg, who was up till then dean, to occupy the role and Bertold von Henneberg, already acting as archbishop, appointed Breydenbach to take his place as dean. From this new position, to which the coordination of the canonry corresponded, Breydenbach was able to better push his projects, publishing the encyclopaedia the following year and the account of the journey one year later. The latter is, for so many reasons, an extraordinary example of the incunabulum press, *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam*, so beautifully illustrated with engravings by Rewich, including the impressive more than one-metre and a half fold out, featuring a perspective view of the city of Venice, which we wished to be able to offer.<sup>7</sup>

With regards to the illustrated encyclopaedia of medicinal plants, Breydenbach found out that,

during his absence in 1483, the printer Schöffer had hurriedly prepared and printed an illustrated herbarium on his own account to be able to present it in March 1484 at the nearby fair of Frankfurt, which was at the time in the territory of the dioceses of Mainz, maybe pressured by the recent appearance of the first printed herbarium, the transcription of the text and of the primitive images of a codex of the Montecassino Abbey, a manuscript of the *Herbarius Apulei* (Roma, Johannes Philippus de Lignamine, 1481).<sup>8</sup> The herbarium that Schöffer printed, known as *Herbarius latinus*,<sup>9</sup> had quite precarious content, written in Latin, with information on 50 plants. The xylographs that illustrated it, although more elaborate than those from *Herbarius Apulei*, still presented the plants in a gothic style and with disproportionate shapes, as they had been copied from handwritten herbariums. Something that was of no importance, as the result was success in Frankfurt and another two editions were published before the end of the year.

But compared to these herbariums, the volume that Breydenbach prepared introduced remarkable novelties. It was much more complete and bigger in extension, going from 150 to 435 chapters, and it went beyond the idea of a herbarium by including 24 simple medicines from the animal and mineral realms. The text prepared by

6 Breydenbach didn't mention the cause of his death, but it is related by Félix Fabri, a Dominican from Ulm, who coincided with them from Palestine to Egypt and who wrote the narration of his own pilgrimage journey in a manuscript (found and published in 1843 as *Fratris Felicis Fabri Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti peregrinationem*, Stuttgart, Societatis Litterariae Stuttgertiensis, 3 v., v. 3, p. 162), that provides us with a great amount of information omitted by Breydenbach in his chronicle.

7 The work was translated into German, French and Spanish, in an impression by Paulo Hurus, in Zaragoza, in 1488, using the original xylographs, with the title *Viaje de la tierra santa*. Those who wish to enjoy all the implications of this editorial initiative, should not miss reading the magnificent (even if biased) study by Elizabeth Ross: *Picturing experience in the Early printed book: Breydenbach's peregrinatio from Venice to Jerusalem*. Penn State press, 2014. Braydenbach saved himself some work by copying, without quoting, texts from other sources, like the description of Jerusalem, which he took from a manuscript from the library of a Dominican convent in Ulm. To this regard, see Fabri, *op. cit.*, v.1, p.182.

8 ISTC, ih00058000; GM, 2300. In this copy of the *Montecassino codex* and the conceptual turn implied by presenting the drawings from a codex in the form of carved woodcuts that maintain the information, the argument by William M. Ivins jr.: "The herbal of Pseudo-Apuleius", in *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 2 (1944) 7: 218-221, is delicious.

9 *Rogatu plurimorum inopum nummorum egentium appotecas refutantium occasione illa, quia necessaria ibidem ad corpus egrum spectantia sunt cara simplicia et composita.*





ein apostoliam vndo lege das darauff es eset das ab vii bey et es on zweyffel.



Elephanten zan Das cxxxiiij capitel

Abue latine. Die meisten sprache das abue by effe eines elephanten san dar umb ist des elephanten figuren hie geleseet vmb feines gelpes



von Cuba wasn't a copy of a codex but an authentic novel compilation that collected all the medical tradition, as it had been growing over the years specifically in central Germany, adding to it the prescriptions of the Greek, Latin, Arab and Salernitan medicines in very precise synthesis (with the denomination of the plants and simple medicines in German, Latin, Greek and Arab). The illustrations, coloured, moved from the gothic style to a much more realist one, looking expressly to represent the original, taking into account their proportions and their morphology. And, something which would later become fundamental, it was printed in vernacular language, with Breydenbach himself writing an introduction where he mentioned the work the "Ortus sanitatis, auss teütsch Ein garten de der Gesundthery", *Ortus Sanitatis, in German, the garden of health*. In today's words it would be the equivalent to the irruption of a comprehensive and thorough Atlas of botanical medicine. It then emerged out of the press one year after the herbarium by Peter Schöffer, from his own press, on the 22 of March 1485.

The success was definitive and brilliant. In August 1485, five months after the first impression, a new print appeared on the market in Augsburg, this time from the workshop of Johann Schönsperger (also printed in one column), for which he had order copies of the woodcuts, sometimes tracing them from printed xylographs, which therefore appeared reversed (right of the images to the left and vice versa). Whether Breydenbach had authorized this second edition of the *Gart der Gesundheit* we do not know. In any case, Schönsperger again published it in 1486 completely

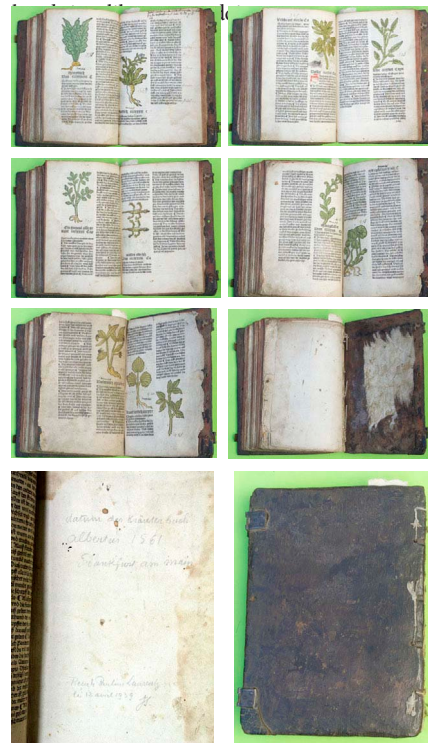
changing the typesetting and composition of the book, presenting the text in two columns, with a new set of xylographs, reproduced at a slightly smaller scale, to be able to insert them in the width of the column. He reprinted the work with this format again in 1487, (and the copy we have on offer belongs to this edition), 1488, 1493, 1496 and 1500. And he wasn't the only one, because from 1487 more editions were also published in Strasbourg, Ulm and Lübeck. By the time it was translated into Latin in 1491, it had already been published in German on nine occasions. The *Gart der Gesundheit* had already become the model of what a printed herbarium should be, the format for any work of a 'medicinal matter' (included the numerous comments to Dioscorides from the following century) and it in itself became a standard type of publication: the *Hortus sanitatis*, the *garden of health*.

Strangely, to illustrate the commentaries in the *Gart der Gesundheit*, the xylographs of the male and female mandrake are usually employed, precisely two of the scarce images that instead of depicting the original plant in a realist style, resort to their idealized representation. Iconographically however, the presence of the engraving featuring an elephant is very striking, in which its may perhaps be the first printed representation of an image of an elephant with the correct proportions, which cannot but surprise us, as it had been centuries since elephants had been seen in Europe, and the aspect they were usually attributed was the extravagant look with which the copyists of codexes, who had never seen any, had imagined them, and had continued drawing them from descriptions that they co-

ped, received with the texts from ancient times, for example, from Pliny the Elder.<sup>10</sup>

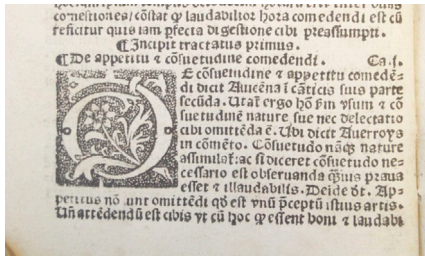
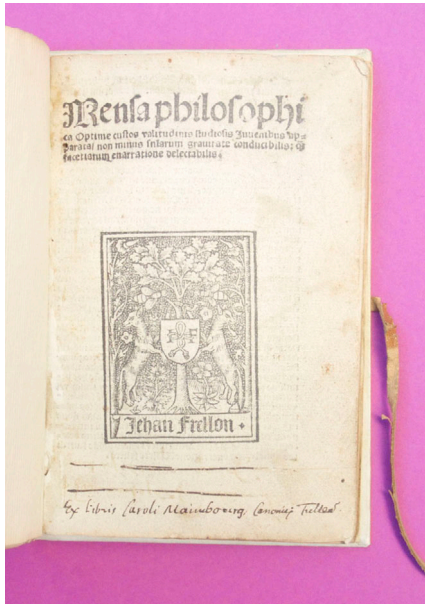
Any booksellers and all bibliophile enthusiasts would love to sell (or to buy) a complete and clean copy of this editorial icon, with its prolonged flow of contemporary coloured xylographs featuring plants, seeds and fruits used for medical purposes. You would all be required to part with several dozens of thousands of euros (hundreds, if the copy corresponds to the first edition of 1485). And in that case you would get a really beautiful book. The beauty of the copy we offer, however, lies in it being a true piece of the museum of life: this is a book that has been profusely used during a good part of its more than five hundred years of life, protected only by its solid wood boards. It has very diverse degrees of damage, in its majority tears that have been artisanally repaired across various ages, with the most diverse materials. It is dirty and the spine is missing, its covers of wood are tied with ropes, and the edges, never trimmed, are devastated from having been used so much. But it does hypnotise you. The flow of the imagery, the diversity of types in the annotations, the counts made by other proprietors checking what was missing or what order the pages should follow, everything leads you to a thousand dreams that push you to once again pick up the volume you just left aside, to once again feel the wood that encloses it and to reopen it, passing, perhaps, the first three, four, five pages to escape from the first adhesive

tapes, allowing yourself to be surprised by the images, the colours, the capital letters, the change of contemporary illuminated initial letters, the notes, the quotes that can be guessed, what Avicenn would have said or about what other people would have thought whilst doing exactly the same, opening this book up between their



<sup>10</sup> On the representation of elephants during the Middle Ages, is the great work by Uli Westphal: "Elephas anthropogenus", en *Zoologischer Anzeiger* (2015) 256: 36-41 and have some fun on their website <http://www.ulwestphal.de/ElephasAnthropogenus>. Choose an elephant and click on it.

## Mensa philosophica



Mensa philosophica Optime custos valitudinis studiosis Juvenibus apparata, non minus s[entent]iarum gravitate conducibilis; quam facetiarum enarrationes delectabilis. - [Paris]: Jehan Frelon, n.d. [ca.1510].

8° (132x87mm.); 50, [2] h.; sign.: A-F8, G4; gothic types, 41 lines; leaf 39 misnumbered 29.

Modern vellum binding (20th c), with labelled spine; clippings with references of the book in library catalogues glued to front back cover; small and clean handwritten ordinal numbering in lower corner of the initial folio of each booklet.

Prov.: Handwritten ex-libris on title page, *Caroli Maimbourg, canonici Tulensis*<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Charles Maimbourg, son of Nicholas Maimbourg, Seigneur de Housseville, died in 1625. Scholar and bibliophile, he was Senior Secretary to the Papacy, canon of the cathedral de Toul and Father of the Chapel of Our Lady of the Sorrows in the Collegiate Church of Saint George in Nancy.

Refs.: Adams, 1154; Rauner, 18.

Rare gothic Parisian post-incunabulum, printed by Jehan Frelon, of the renowned gastronomic work *Mensa philosophica*.

In the past it has usually been attributed to either Teobaldus Anguilbertus<sup>1</sup> or to Michael Scott,<sup>2</sup> and it is still attributed as such in the catalogues of libraries and bookshops. However, both attributions must be considered wrong, when taking the study by Goswin Franken as basis, who, in 1927, upon analysing the genealogy of the content and of the texts reproduced in it, traced

the origin of this work to somewhere in Central Europe.<sup>3</sup> Something that is more coherent with the fact that most editions, including the first incunabula, were printed in municipalities of what is now Germany.

The work, divided into four parts, is themed around food issues. In the first part eating habits are addressed as well as the adequate times to eat and the order in which foods should be consumed, as well as information on them: bread, wine, meat, poultry, milk, vegetables... Matters that are taken up again in the third part, approached on this occasion from a medical-diathetical

1 The attribution to Teobaldo Anguilberto had its origin in the epistle that appears in the Parisian edition of the *Mensa*.

2 The attribution to Michael Scott (13th c), first translator of the *History of animals* by Aristotle (in Toledo, from a version in Arab) into Latin, is due to the fact that the first book of the *Mensa philosophica* begins with a reference to what Scott says in a text of the *Saturnalia* by de Macrobius.

3 Goswin Franken: "Die älteste Schwanksammlung des Mittelalters (Die *Mensa philosophica* eines Kölner Dominikaners)", in *Jahrbuch des Kölnischen Geschichtsvereins*, 8-9 (1927): 105-121.

point of view, relating the virtues and dangers to health of 13 different types of foods (classifying the different foods in each of these types). The second part, on the other hand, addresses the types of people that can be found in the different categories of meals, providing an education of the social rules appropriate to each. Finally, the fourth part offers an anthology of sayings, jokes and maxims to facilitate conversation during meals and table talk. The way to combine these matters means this work should be interpreted as a brief encyclopaedia of food, directed toward “scientific” education and the readers’ “social” education and at the same time, to the development of their body and spirit and, therefore, paired with other texts like the *Summa recreatorum* or the *Responsorium curiosorum*, that draw from the same sources.

These are works of a completely different model from the scholarly collections of ancient knowledge, such as the *regimes of health* or *medical matters* because, although they include much of their content and recipes, it gathers them together, presents and complements them so that the focus is not placed on the transmission of scientific knowledge, but in its practical use. So it has a geographical origin and publishing intention, close then, to the *Garden of health* that we have discussed in the previous sheet.<sup>4</sup>

Originally published a little after 1470, this Renaissance best-seller of gastronomic treatises, so rare to see on the market these days, continued to be published until the mid 16th century, and again, on several occasions, in an annotated version, at the start of the 17th century.

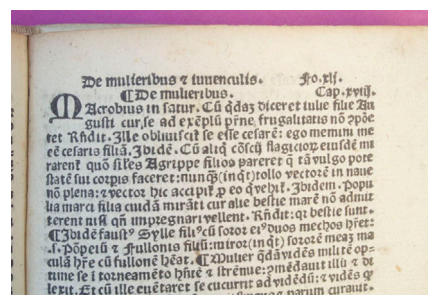
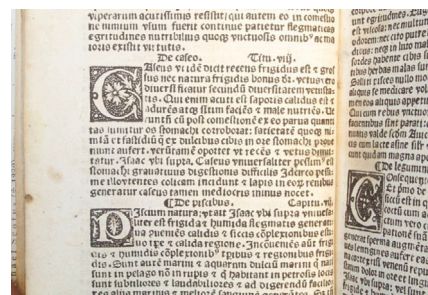
The edition we offer, printed by Jean Frellon, lacks any mention of a publication date. As on various occasions Frellon made co-publications with Jehan Petit and with François Regnault, or with both at the same time, and we could think this is one of those cases. Indeed, the three printers had typographical marks of the same size, so that in the printed volumes the title page for all three appeared with his typographic mark. Moreover, Frellon developed his mark imitating that of Petit Jehan, replacing the lions climbing the tree that appeared in Petit Jehan’s mark for two foxes and two bees.<sup>5</sup> If we examine the editions of the *Mensa philosophica* printed with the marks of Jehan Petit or Regnault, in the case that this copy could belong to any of these, we find editions by Petit in 1508, 1512 and 1517 and, by Regnault, in 1509 and 1512. With regard to the editions from Petit, in the one of 1508, as mentioned by Vicaire,<sup>6</sup> Anguilberto’s epistle doesn’t appear in the verso of the title page, as it does in our copy, but at the end; the edition from 1512 is printed in different characters<sup>7</sup> and the edition from 1517 has more lines per page than ours. In

4 The study by Arthur Sanders Way: *The Science of Dining, Mensa Philosophica: A Medieval Treatise on the Hygiene of the Table and the Laws of Health.* - London: MacMillan 1936, is very attractive, as well as the much more recent Iolanda Ventura: “Quaestiones and Encyclopedias”, en Alasdair A. MacDonald, Michael W. Twomey (eds.): *Schooling and Society: The Ordering and Reordering of Knowledge in the Western Middle Ages.* - Leuven: Peeters Publishers, 2004, pp. 23-42, pp. 34-36 for *Mensa philosophica*.

5 Philippe Renouard: *Les marques typographiques parisiennes des XVe et XVIe siècles.* - Paris: H. Champion, 1926-1928, ref 331.

6 Georges Vicaire: *Bibliographie gastronomique*, Paris, P. Rouquette et fils, 1898, col. 777-780.

7 On the colophon 1500 appears as the date, but the studies date it later as 1512. Checked against the copy from the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.



respect to those by Regnault, both of these are printed using different characters.<sup>8</sup>

The scholars that have taken more effort in establishing the order of the editions of the *Mensa philosophica*, Rauner and Wachinger,<sup>9</sup> date it to 1515, probably after Adams,<sup>10</sup> and point out that there are copies in the British Library and in the Düsseldorf Universitätsbibliothek. They also mention a copy in the University of Cambridge (which Adams mentioned) and another one in the Zentral Bibliothek in Zurich, but we

couldn't find any records in the catalogues of these two libraries. For our part, we can only add the existence of a copy in the National Library of Scotland and another, incomplete, version in the seminary of Mondoñedo (Lugo, Galicia, Spain).

In any case, we think that the attribution by Adams of 1515 by the typographic mark is wrong, as Frellon had started to use it in 1505 or before, and stopped doing so in 1514,<sup>11</sup> and afterwards, before moving to Lyon, he only used another mark that he had started to use simultaneously from 1510, where in the centre, instead of a tree behind the coat of arms, St John the Baptist appears with the lamb in his arms.<sup>12</sup> To be able to

pinpoint the date with more accuracy, it would be necessary to find other sources, or any other dated impression printed using the same set of types, which we haven't been able to do, but the fact that Petit and Regnault printed the *Mensa Philosophica* in 1508 and in 1509 respectively suggest that the dates for the impression by Frellon could also be similar.

8 Checked against the copy from the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

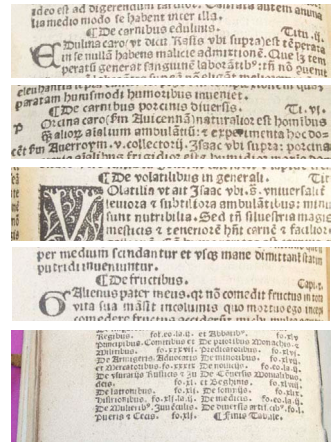
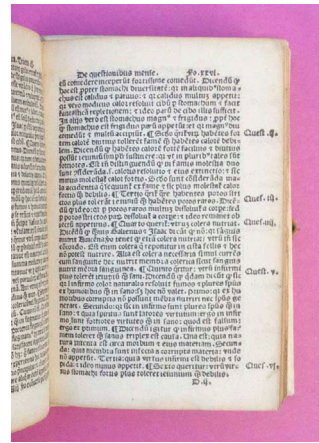
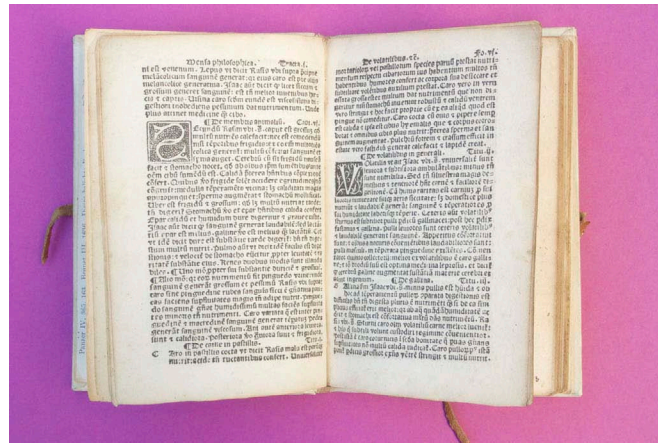
9 Erwin Rauner y Burghart Wachinger: *Mensa philosophica: Faksimile und Kommentar*. - Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1995, p. 175

10 Adams, H. M.: *Catalogue of books printed on the continent of Europe, 1501-1600, in Cambridge libraries*. - Cambridge University Press, 1976, 2 v., ref 1154.

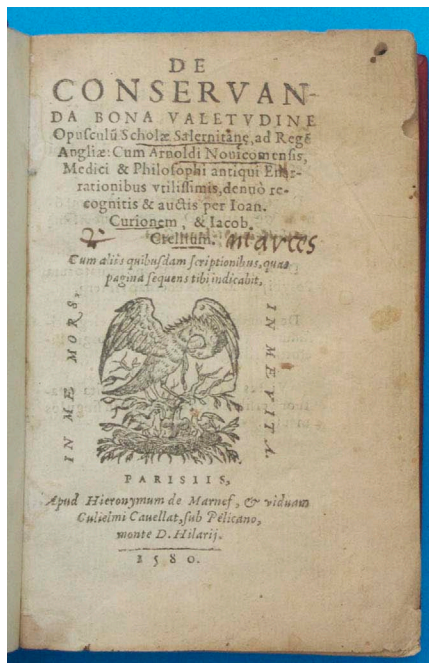
11 The work from 1505, *Serpens antiquus septem peccatis criminalibus*, and that from 1514, the *Divinarum sententiarum*.

12 The mark is that recorded in Renouard, 332, for a work from 1512, but Frellon used it from at least from the commentaries

*In Prouberbia Alomonis of 1510.*



## Regimen sanitatis salernitanum



De Conservanda bona valetudine. Opusculum scholae salernitane, ad Regem Angliae: Cum Arnoldi Nouicomensis, Medici & Philosophi antiqui Enarrationibus vtilissimis, denuò recognitis & auctis per Ioan Curionem, & Iacob Crellium.- Parisiis: Apud Hyeronimum de Marnef, & viudam Gulielmi Cauellat, sub Pelicano, monte d. Hilarij, 1589.- [sigue, p. 363-475:] Tuendae sanitatis ratio per sex rerum (vt medici vocant) non naturalium ordinem, ex grauiourm medicorum scriptis diligenter congesta, opus futuro medico pernecessarium, nunc locupletius & fidelius quam antea edutum, authore Georgio Pictorio Villingano apud Regiam Curiam Enfishemii superioris Alsatuae archiatro.- Parisiis: Apud Hyeronimum de Marnef, & viudam Gulielmi Cauellat, sub Pelicano, monte d. Hilarij, s.d [i.e 1580].

8° (xmm.); [8], 9-343, [18], 362-476, [11] p.; sign.: A-Z8, Aa8, BB-GG8, Hh4 [verso HH4 blank]; typographical device of Jérôme de Marnef, motto *In me mors. In me vita*.

Binding from the beginning of the 19th century, in full leather, with the boards from the original binding kept glued over the new ones; spine with gilded raised bands and spine label. Rubbed lower corners; small drill point in upper corner, moving across the text of the book from side to side; lower corners of pp. 411 and 433 broken; scribble in blank verso of the last leaf of the index; censorship line to the text of pages 335-343.

Prov.: Ex-libris of the library of the Russian prince Augustine Gallitzin;<sup>1</sup> handwritten ex-libris on title page, 16<sup>th</sup> c., 'Miarces'.

<sup>1</sup> Dimitri Dmitrievitch Galitzine (1770-1840), was a Russian prince, son of the ambassador of the Netherlands (where he was born), converted to Catholicism under the influence of his mother. Traveler in America, he was ordained there. It was nationalized in 1802 and died in Pennsylvania.

Refs.: Renouard, *Clavellat*, 388.

The *Salernitan rule of Health* (*Regimen sanitatis salernitanum*) was originally an extensive poem whose first versions seem to date back to the 11<sup>th</sup> century. It was made up of easy-to-remember verses which, summarizing the teachings of Hippocrates and Galen, extended on how, and with what, to be fed to maintain good health. As it was printed the first time including comments attributed to Arnau de Vilanova, he was consi-

der to be the author for a long time.<sup>1</sup>

The most renown and widespread version (at least for 100 years) of the régime in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, was the version that, accompanied with extensive comments written by Johanness Curio – a professor of medicine at the university of Erfurt between 1512 and 1561- and Jacob Crell, was published for the first time in Frankfurt, by Chris-  
<sup>1</sup> Leuven, by Johannes de Westfalia, ca. 1480

tian Egenolph, in 1545. The text was immediately copied, with Gulielmum Cavellat printing it that very year, in Paris. From his press (and that of his heirs), the Egenolph's press (and of his heirs also), and several others from, at least, Geneva, Venice and Antwerp, would emerge nearly forty editions in the following fifty years, in a version with the extended comments from the edition of 1555. Beside its enormous diffusion at the time, the appearance of the Parisian editions for sale is very rare, but we find it even more strange that, in spite of this extraordinary success, hardly anything else can be found on Curio or Crell. Not even Renouard, always so very methodical, was able to add any information on them.<sup>1</sup> We can only say that Curio was from Bercka and Crell from Meissen, and that Curio had published a book on the Passion of Christ<sup>2</sup> and Crell a compendium of Christian catechesis in Greek verse.<sup>3</sup>

The Salernitan method, presented as an offering to a Norman king, after some brief comments on the convenience of fame for a good life, immediately turns to eating and sleeping habits (sleeping after meals was indispensable in the Aristotelian and Hippocratic tradition for the nutrients to move from the stomach to the brain), to go on explaining, food after food, how it affected health, making extensive reviews of

their properties, virtues and secondary effects depending on when, how and with what they were taken, a thorough review in regard to wine, spices, meats, fish, dairy, fruits and vegetables, beer and salt. After highlighting the importance of the look and flavour of food, the text shifts to then address medicinal plants and their virtues and, in a new twist, goes on to talk about the 'humours' the make up the human body (and about regeneration thanks to different diets) stating their consequences on choleric, melancholic, and phlegmatic temperaments. The last part of the poem (and of the commentaries) addresses the practice of the phlebotomies, bloodlettings, indicating which were convenient and how they should be performed, depending on the disease that was to be cured.

The Salernitan method text is accompanied by three very short texts by Otón de Cremona -on the election of the most adequate "simples"-, by Philipp Melanchthon, and by Polybio -on healthy diet-. We have left aside the mention to the text of Melanchthon, in reality a summary of what he said in his *De Anima* on sleeping and its contributions to nutrition, because in this copy it appears crossed by a line running from top to bottom censoring it, no doubt because of his being one of the most relevant leaders of the Reformation, although the zeal of the censor of this copy extended to the text by Polybio...

And along the Salernitan method, this edition collects, printed with consecutive numbers, the work by Georg Pictorius (ca. 1500-1569), *Tuendae sanitatis ratio per sex rerum (vt medici vocant) non naturalium ordinem...* Published for the first time in 1549 in Basel (in Paris, 1555) appear present

in the editions of the printing workshops press from Crevillat's heirs since 1575. Presented as seven dialogues between Theophrastus and Polylogus, the *Tuendae sanitatis* is an exposition of Galen's theory of the six 'non-naturals', the external causes (air, foods, work, sleep, secretions and affections) that by acting on the things of nature (the body and its faculties) caused the disease.



1 Philippe Renouard (& Isabelle Pantin, ed.): *Imprimeurs et libraires parisiens du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle d'après les manuscrits de Philippe Renouard*. Fascicule Cavellat, Marnef et Cavellat.- Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1986, refs. 64, 87, 146, 196, 288, 332 y 388.

2 *Der ander teyl der seligmachende Passion Jesu Christi vnsers enyigen mittlers vnmhd höchstest[n] priesters.*- Nüremberg, cs. 1528

3 *Compendiarii quinque articuli totius Christianae catecheseos.*- [Breslau], 1548.

## Francisco Valles de Covarrubias (1524-1592)



Third edition, revised and expanded, of the first work published by Francisco Vallés 'the Divine', the *Medical and philosophical controversies* on the work of Galen, of which he would still publish another two editions before his death.

The *Controversies* resulted in being so interesting that it caused a celebrated anecdote. In 1580, the German protestant physician Johannes Kraft [Johannis Cratonis, in its Latin form], who owned a

Controuersiarvm medicarvm et philosophicarvm, Francisci Vallesii Covarrviani editio tertia, ab eodem Autore iterum recognita & aucta. Accesit liber de simplicium medicamentorum facultate eiusdem Autoris. Ad potentissimum & Inuictissimum Hispaniarum Regem Phillippum II.- Complvti: Excudebat Ioannes Iñiguez à Lequerica, Anno MDLXXXIII [1583] [Colophon: Complvti: Ex officina Ioannis Iñiguez à Lequerica, anno MDLXXXII].- [sigue:] Francisci Vallesij Couarrubiani, in schola Complutensi professoris primarij, ac nunc potentissimi Regis Philippi, cubicularij medici, in tertium de temperamentis Galeni, & quinque priores libros de Simplicium medicamentorum facultate, Comentararia.- [Colophon: Execudebat Ioannes Iñiguez à Lequerica: Anno 1583]

Fol. (271x188mm.); *Controversiarum...*: [18], 164 leaves.; sign.: ¶-¶4, ¶-¶8, 2¶-2¶6, A-T8, V-X6; xylographied royal device in title page; leaves misnumbered, 43 for 34 and 74 and 75 for 84 and 85.- *De Simplicium medicamentorum facultate*: 106 leaves.; sign.: A-M8, N-N10.

Half vellum binding with corners; spine label on spine; a little short of margins that eat into the first few letters in the longest endnotes. Title page and two next folios with lower corner restored. Old yellowish stain when opening on f. 29. Old fungus stains, especially to f. 83-91. Several small scattered stains (2x2cm.) Two last folios with upper corner restored. And, despite the extreme thinness of the paper, a very good copy.

Prov.: Small unreadable stamp on title page.

Refs.: CCPB, 000027258-2; Martín Abad, *Alcalá de Henares*, 942; Palau, 350893.

copy of the first edition of 1556, decided that they deserved to be made known and thought of making another edition. But he didn't have, and couldn't get, any information—or so he said—about who Valles was, other than what figured in the book published 25 years earlier. So he decided to publish it without asking the author, about whom he didn't even know whether he was still alive, but he did so 'correcting and improving the text's style', which

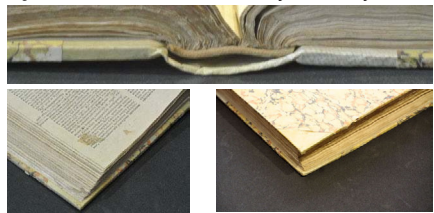
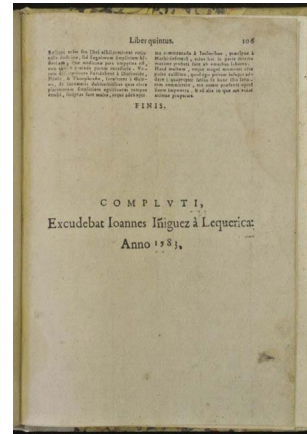
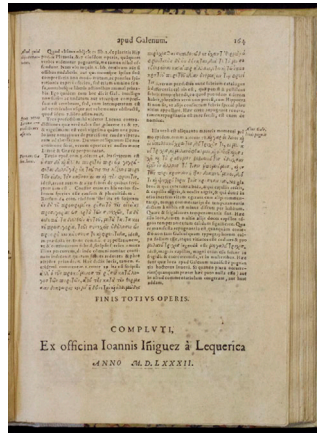
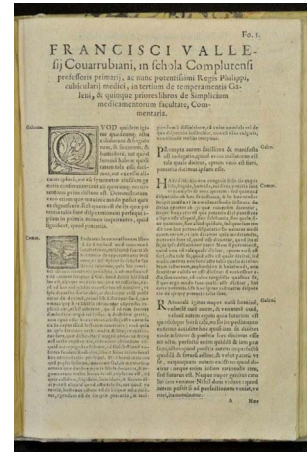
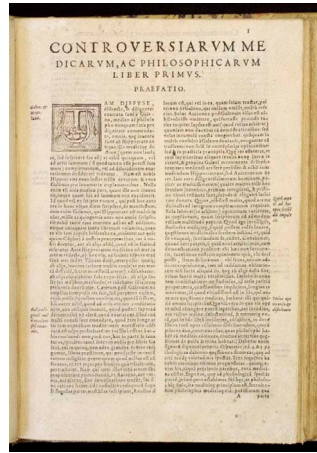
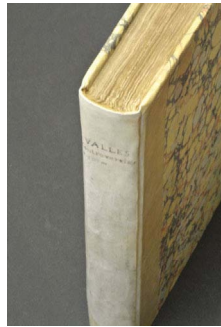
eventuated in becoming not only a criticism of the Latin in which it was written and a contradiction of some of the propositions it included, but he also change those he dissented to the most, without being timid in criticising the author. The translation was printed the following year, 1582, in Frankfurt, at the press of Wechel's inheritor. His surprise would come immediately, when he received news that Valles was alive, that he had sent the revised

and expanded text to a printer, Plantino of Antwerp, and that the latter had refused to publish the third edition precisely because of the book that had just been published in Germany. That is how Vallés learnt of the impression of which he hadn't been asked for permission. He was left with no other option than to resort to a peninsular press to publish the updates to his *Controversies*.<sup>1</sup>

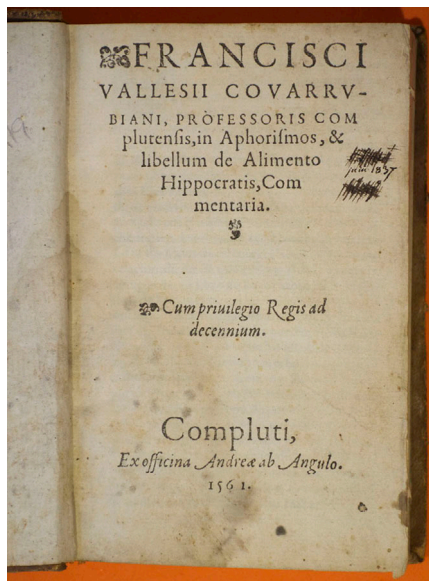
When he sent it to print Valles complemented it with a new text, *Commentary on the first five books of the simple medicines by Galen*, edited for the first time.<sup>2</sup> The impression of the work was planned to be published jointly with *Controversies*, with these being printed first-colophon of 1582-, then the novelty-colophon of 1583- and arranging a combined title page for both of them. The common title page is responsible for the attribution of the third edition of the *Controversies* to 1583 instead of to 1582.

1 To know more on this anecdote and on the *Controversias*, the anthology prepared by las *Controversias*, es imprescindible la antología preparada por Jose Maria López Piñero y Francisco Calero: *Los temas polémicos de la medicina renacentista: Las controversias (1566) de Francisco Valles y la medicina renacentista*. Madrid: Csic, 1988 is indispensable.

2 It is possible that there were previous editions, but they must be lost. Morejón mentions 1567 and 1569, in Iberian Books one from 1576 is mentioned, and JM Piñero says that it was published in 1567. We couldn't find any of these anywhere.



## Francisco Valles de Covarrubias (1524-1592)



Francisci Vallesii Covarrubiani, professoris complutensis, In Aphorismos, & Libellum de Alimento Hippocratis, Commentaria.- Compluti: Ex officina Andreae ab Angulo, 1561 (Colofón: Complvti: Excudebat Andreas ab Angulo, 1561).

8° (145x90); 304, [27] h.; sign.: A-Z8, a-r8, s12; iniciales xilografiadas ; [Segunda obra: Hippocratis coi Liber de Alimento, cvm commentarijs eiusdem Francisci Vallesij Couarruiani, h. 255-303.]

Full leather 18th century binding, spine with pine label, decorated with gilt fillets and florets. Very slight rubbing to board edges; small drill point in the upper part of the spine band without affecting the textbook ; old waterstain, visible on the lower interior half of pages 1 to 82 and from 96 to 122; some contemporary underwritings in the first aphorism of the fourth section, and very frequent in the *Book on Aliment*; scattered foxing points; burn traces, possibly of wax, to the internal upper corner of the last pages of the index and colophon folio, without hindering the text.

Prov.: Handwritten ex-libris on front fly verso, 'Julii Degerine'.

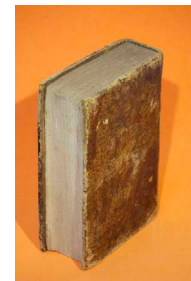
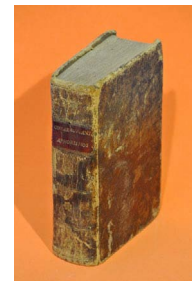
Refs.: CCPB, 000027250-7; Chinchilla, I, 232; Hernández Morejón, III, 75-76; Martín Abad, *Alcalá de Henares*, 557; Palau, 114825.

It was probably Francisco Valles, the 'divino Valles', a professor of Medicine at the University of Alcalá until he left to become the personal physician of Felipe II, who was the Spanish physician who enjoyed the greatest international fame in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

Valles, like Erasmo, was contrary to the transmission of the dogmatic knowledge and to the scholastic method and, again like Erasmo, believed that most of the teachers of his time limited their teachings to the repetition of doc-

trines, assuming they were true, and then made their students repeat them. Both of these men had the worst possible opinions of the functioning of the university education of their times.

In Valles' opinion, Medicine required a comparison of what had been said about different diseases and their possible therapies, with the symptoms and the reactions observed by oneself in real cases of the same disease, both when the observation ratified those compiled in the texts of Hippocrates, by Galen and of the pre-



vious chroniclers, especially Avicenn, and especially when those observations reported aspects that were not described, or, in particular, when there were contradictions. In that way, and in opposition to Medical texts that were limited to interpreting the assertions of the classic authors, worthy books had to include commentaries, that, stating this set of evidence, exposed the conclusions that could be assumed by taking into account the observations that other physicians of these times had made known on those diseases and physiological manifestations. So, from the heuristical point of view, and for the preponderance that he gave to the value of clinical observation, Valles proved to be more a follower of Hippocratics than of Galen.

That's why Valles faced both legacies by undertaking the task of once again translating the original texts from Greek (to Latin) and discussing them following the humanist pattern (model that he was so demanding of in both the exercise of scientific as well as in educational work). A clear example is this first edition, printed in 1561, of his translation and commentaries of the book of the Aphorisms and of the

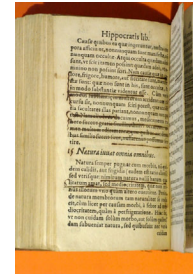
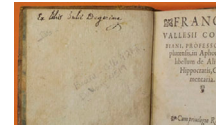
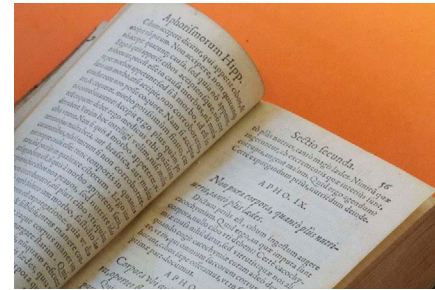
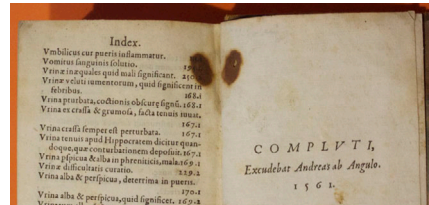
booklet *On Aliment* by Hippocrates.<sup>1</sup>

The translation of the brief *On Aliment* Treaty is particularly relevant, as during the Middle Ages it had been given less attention because at the time Galen had claimed that it was not Hippocrates' work. This marginalization is at the origin of the scarce existence of Latin versions and, thus, enabled Valles to say that he was bringing it out of the dark. In fact, and no doubt due to our lack of skills, we could only find one version earlier than Valles'; the one that Janus Cornarius included, without commenting on its content, in his editions of ... since 1546.<sup>2</sup>

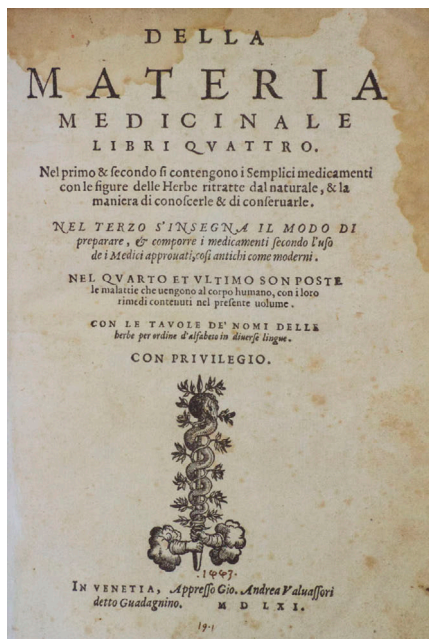


1 On the license can be read: "And he has prepared a book in Latin on the Aphorisms of Hippocrates, which was very useful within the Medical faculty, and on which, besides the effort exerted, he has spent money on it; and so the students of said faculty can make use of it; he has requested from us for a permit, so the book can be sold and printed..."

2 About the commentaries to the *Book of Aliment*, see Teresa Santander: *Hipócrates en España (siglo XVI)*.- Madrid: Dirección General de Archivos y Bibliotecas, 1971, p. 103 y ss.



## Francesco Sansovino (1521-1583)



The many facets of Francesco Sansovino, including his work as a printer from 1551, share the common factor of the promotion of the vernacular language. His works include countless translations of classic and contemporary works from Greek and Latin into Italian (Aristotle, Plutarch, Palladius, Justinian, Ausonius, Livy, Augustine of Hippo, Guicciardini, Mexia,...), his own studies, going through the edition of literary anthologies,

Della materia medicinale libri quattro. Nel primo & secondo si contengono i Semplici medicamenti con le figure delle Herbe ritratte dal naturale, & la maniera di conoscerle & di conseruarle. Nel terzo s'insegna il modo di preparare & comporre i medicamenti secondo l'uso de i Medici approuati, cosi antichi come moderni. Nel quarto et vltimo son poste le malattie che uengono al corpo humano, con i loro rimedi contenuti nel presente uolume. Con le tavole de nomi delle herbe per ordine d'alfabeto in diuerse lingue.- In Venetia: Appresso Gio. Andrea Valuassori detto Guadagnino, MDLXI [1561]. (Colofón: MDLXI [1561])

4° (202x140mm.); [19], 332, [2] leaves; sign.: \*4, a-d4, A-3Z4, 4A-4N4, O6; 195 blockbooks (sizes 8/122x66mm.); tail pieces.

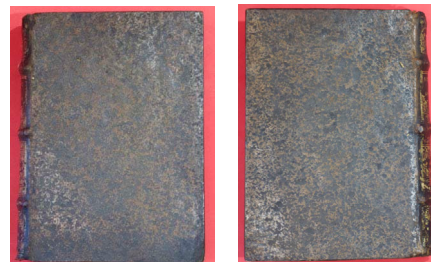
Contemporary full leather Italian binding; spine with embossed raised bands; engraved spine label; spine respectfully restored to consolidate the fragility caused by some termites. Good condition in general, although a little darkening to paper to the margins and on sheets 2D, 2K, 2L, 2V, 3A, 3F, 3G and 4O; missing leather in headcap and foot; missing front fly leaf; three first booklets (\*-b4) a little battered, replaced in the textbook, with waterstain in upper margin and in the corner of first booklet; missing leaf a4 (the second of the table with the names of the plants in Greek). A little short upper margin, without affecting the text in any case.

Prov.: No data, except one date, 1663, under the device of the title page, and a figure for its location, 19.1, under the imprint.

Refs.: Bradley, I, 281, y III, 239; Cicogna, *Insc.* 4, p. 53; SBN, IT\ICCU\RMLE\006306.

the writing texts of a thematic encyclopaedic nature, or the critical edition of the great Italian authors (Dante, Boccaccio...).

Focusing, for instance, our attention on only the triennial 1560-1562 that concerns this work, we can see that Sansovino wrote a *Universal history of the Turks, taken from the best authors* (which he continued expanding and correcting throughout the years), the anthology of *One hundred chosen short stories* (with numerous re-editions), the *Ob-*





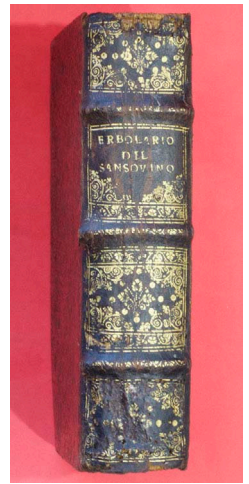
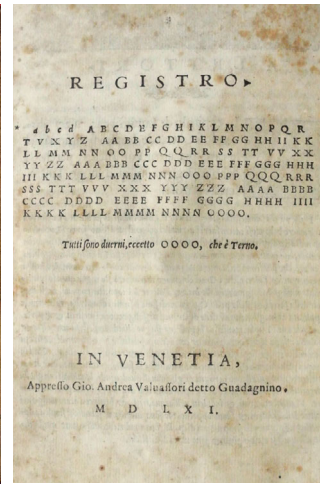
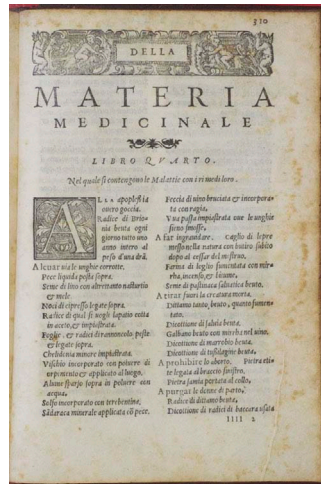
which elaboration, treatment and varieties (including some liquors) he dedicates 26 pages, and in the third (f. 264-309), he includes a recipe book for the preparation of medicines. Finally, in the fourth book (f. 310-332), Sansovino collected the remedies that are adequate for each disease, ordered by the name of the disease.

Sansovino's catalogue is rare on the market, and the copies that occasionally appear for sale are mostly those from libraries, dated 1562 on both the title page and in the colophon. This copy we offer has, however, a title page and colophon dated in 1561 and it is either a proof or, of course, from the first edition.

As far as we have been able to verify, there are four successive variants of this work: title page and colophon of 1561 (the case of this copy), the title page of 1561 slightly modified and the colophon of 1562 (such as the copies of the British Library, the Bibliothèque nationale de France, and the University of Kansas), the title page and colophon of 1562 (the majority) and the anomalous case of the title page of 1562 and the colophon of 1561, as the copy that Cicogna used, whose only possible explanation is the use of a remnant of the last booklet from 1561 to compose a volume sometime during 1562. From the first impression, we could only find, besides this copy we offer, the copy existing in the Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze (which is catalogued with the cover wrongly described, as it was the second impression).<sup>2</sup>

Studying the copies, it can be seen that the text

<sup>2</sup> It is possible that the same happens to some of the other ten copies of the second impression consigned in the Italian SBN, together with that of Florence, and they belong instead to the first impression.



Nel primo & secondo si contengono i Semplici medicamenti con le figure delle Herbe ritratte dal naturale, & la maniera di conoscerle & di conseruarle.

of the title page and of the dedication is slightly modified from the first to the second impression, the introduction to the reader is altered and the date of the colophon is updated. In the passage from the second to the third impression the only change is to the date of the title page, which has been updated.

The cover of the first impression, to which our copy belongs, is missing several words that are found in the later impressions (highlighted): “Nel primo & secondo **de quali** si contengono i Semplici medicamenti con le figure delle Herbe & **con le lor virtù**, ritratte dal naturale...” The changes in the dedication to Baron Chisteila eliminate mistakes and polish up the language, as in the sentence “per la materia piu tosto **concedutane** da Dio per sua bontá...” that is changed to “per la materia piu tosto **conceduta a gli huomini** da Dio per sua bontá...” or “Prego adunque il signore, che le conceda...” that changes to “Intanto il Signore, le conceda...”.

But in the introduction to the reader, from a correction such as “Vido finalmente questo volume...”, changed to “Visi dà finalmente questo volume...”, then there is information that is suppressed (“...Pietro di Crescentio, il qual noi traducemmo l'anno passato...” disappears) and censored. Indeed, only in the extremely rare copies of the first impression can the protest of Sansovino, highly interestingly, be found, against the criticism that he anticipated. In an approximated loose translation, it would be:

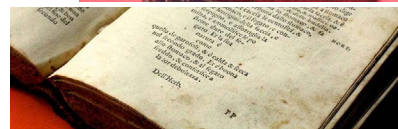
“I just have left but defend myself from those green of envy who intend to hurt me by saying how did I dare to get my hands on this matter if I am not a physician, or from those ignorant, for

wanting to recover what they don't now. To which I must reply that Pliny was not a physician either, and wrote and prepared recipes to offer them to others, and that it is many the number of those who wrote interesting things without having a profession; and this without taking into consideration that the issues contained in this book are not mine, but from other writers...”<sup>3</sup>

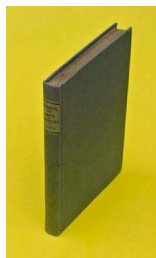
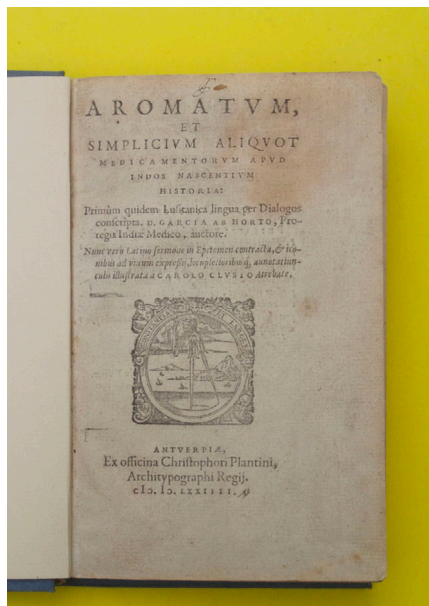
The origin of the presence of this notice is a norm linked to the Catholic religion: a good Christian who felt sick had to go to the doctor. Although the rule was imposed and operated to prevent access to witchcrafts and spells, because of the risk that this presented the transmission of beliefs that were contrary to the Catholic faith dogmas, physicians found in it a corporate aid, by turning this around to fight against what they considered to be an intrusion from other professions that could eat into their profits: only doctors could talk about health exclusively.<sup>4</sup>

*3 fa agiatamente seruire a suo commodo. Resta hora ch'io ui preghi ad amarmi, & a difendermi da coloro che, o mosi da inuidia mi lacereranno ch'io habbia posto mano a quella materia non essendo io Medico, o essendo ignoranti uorranno riprendermi di quel che essi non fanno, per cioche uoi potrete risponder loro che ne auco Plinio fu Medico, & pure scrisse & compose delle ricette per l'altrui parere. Et molti altri hanno scritto cose delle quali erano intelligenti, se ben non ne faceuano professione alcuna. Oltre a cid le materie contenute nel presente uolume non son mie, ma de gli scrittori che uoi uedrete piu oltre. Ma in qualunque modo si sia, lasciando uoi ch'altri fauelli secondo che piu gli piace, godete i frutti ch'io ui porgo alla giornata di mano in mano, i quali moltiplicando tuttauia, ho speranza nel Signore che mi difendera da maligni.*

*4* In fact, from the end of 16th century and during the 17th century, it can be observed how those physicians who, with the goal to improve healthcare, published texts to disseminate the remedies and cures for the most common diseases, protected themselves, “placing the bandage before there is injury”, with explicit manifestations that a good Christian must go to the doctor, and that going to the doctor was the essence of the existing cures.



## Garcia de Orta (ca. 1500-1568)



Aromatum, et simplicium aliquot medicamentorum apud Indos nascentium historia: Primùm quidem Lusitanica lingua per Dialogos conscripta, D. Garcia ab Horto, Proregis Indiae Medico, auctore. Nunc verò Latino sermone in Epitomen contracta, & iconibus ad viuum expressis, locupletioribusque annotatiunculis illustrata à Carolo Clusio Atrebate - Antuerpiae: Ex officina Christophori Plantini, Architypographi Regij, clc. lc. LXXXIII [1574]

8°, (168x111mm.); 227, [5] p.; sign.: A-08, P4; typographical mark in title page, with the motto *Constantia et labore*; 27 woodcuts, some of them full page, of plants and seeds.

Sober and well-made modern binding in cardboard, with spine label; small point of xylophage to the upper margin of the four first leaves; bad quality paper, which has favoured its darkening, more marked in booklets C and F; occasionally dirty paper, with violet traces on pages 94 and 95, indicating treatment against mould; small waterstain to upper margin of the second half of the book; lower corner of B1 restored; gutter split margin, without detaching the last page

Prov.: No data.

Refs.: Barbosa, II, 327; Bradley, III, 240; Brunet, IV, 241; Colmeiro, 419; Durling, 3415; Palau, 99516; Pritzel, nova, 4316.

The Portuguese physician Garcia de Orta, son of a Spanish Jew settled in Portugal as a consequence of the Diaspora, who were forced to become New Christians there, studied medicine at Salamanca, practicing in Portugal for 10 years, and gaining a teaching position at the University of Lisbon during this period. In 1534 he enlisted as a doctor on the fleet of the Captain Martim Afonso de Sousa, bound for the Portuguese Indies and he settled in Goa, on the western coast of the Indian Peninsula in 1538, after four years of marine campaigns. In Goa he acquired cele-

brity, managing to acquire a high level clientele that even included the Sultan. There, in Goa, he also wrote and printed the work that would bring him worldwide fame in 1563, the *Colóquios dos simples e drogas e cousas medicinâis da India*.<sup>1</sup> During his stay in India, the Inquisition unleashed a new prosecution of Christians in Portugal

<sup>1</sup> *Coloquios dos simples, e drogas he cousas medicinais da India, e assi dalgu[m]as frutas achadas nella onde se tratam algu[m] as cousas tocantes a medicina, pratica e outras cousas boas, pera saber copostos pello Doutor garçia dorta, fisico del Rey nosso senhor, vistos pello muyto Reuerendo senhor, ho liçenciado Alexas diaz.* - Impresso em Goa: por Ioannes de endem, 10 Abril 1563.

and many converted Jews were once again to suffer forced migration. Among the displaced Jews was the family of Orta Garcia, one of whose sisters travelled to Goa, with the bad luck being that the Inquisition also moved there. Although, apparently, Garcia de Orta didn't suffer any prosecution in life, immediately after his death in 1568 his sister was arrested, and one year later burned at the stake. The fanaticism during those decades against Jews and new Christians in the Portuguese colony also included the burning of books that were the work or property of those persecuted,<sup>2</sup> and went as far as holding an auto-de-fé in 1580 in which Garcia de Orta was retroactively condemned for being Jewish, and his grave was desecrated to later burn his remains.<sup>3</sup>

But Garcia de Orta's text had arrived in Europe and, among others, into the hands of the Flemish botanist Charles L'escluse (Carolus Clusius), who prepared a Latin version that he printed in Antwerp, at the Plantinian press, in 1567. The success of this version was significant. Without leaving the same press, for example, it was published again in 1574 (the edition of which the copy we have on offer corresponds), 1579, 1582 (repr. 1579) and 1593.<sup>4</sup>

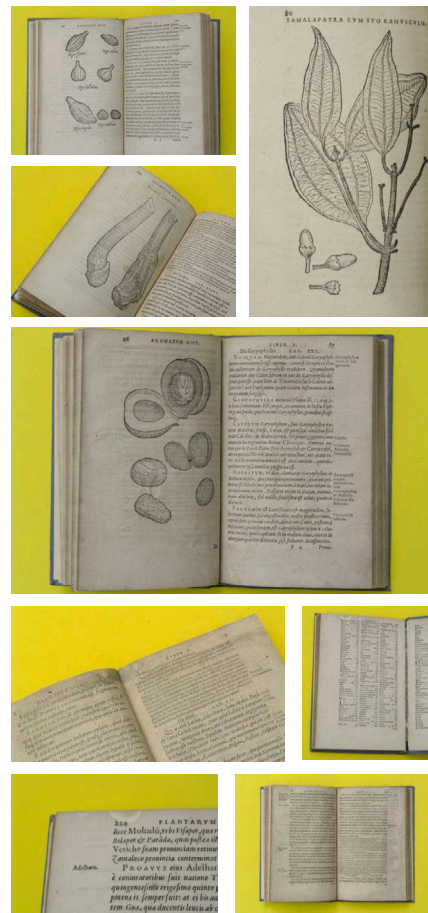
2 Augusto S. Carvalho notes that maybe that is the cause for the scarcity of copies of the first edition Garcia de Orta's work in Goa. See Augusto S. Carvalho: "Garcia d'Orta", in *Revista da Universidade de Coimbra*, 13 (1934): 61–246, p. 132–134.

3 Information on the relationship between the diaspora and medical scientific progress focused on the case of Garcia de Orta can be found on Jon Arrizabalaga, "Garcia de Orta in the context of the Sphardic diaspora", in Palmire Fontes da Costa (ed.): *Medicine, Trade and Empire*.- Farnham: Ashgate, 2015, pp. 11–32.

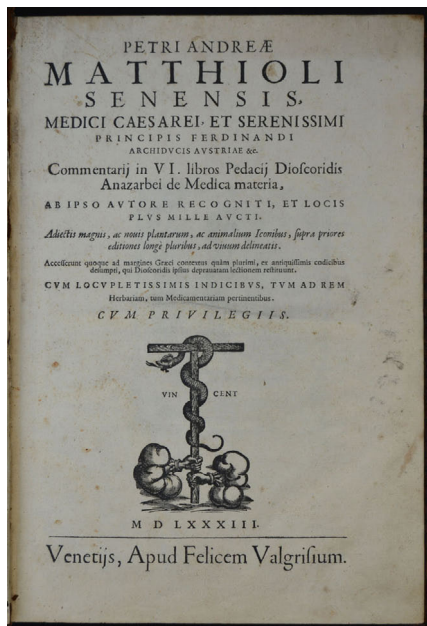
4 In the editions of the version by Clusius of the work by Garcia de Orta, the splendid chapter of Florike Egmond "Figuring

The work of Orta was built as an extensive dialogue between Orta himself and a certain Ruano, where information on each spice and on each simple medicine was narrated and contextualized to the journeys during which he had seen them, including, when appropriate, what had been said about them by any classic or modern author. On the other hand, the Latin version by Clusius eliminates all literature, and so the text becomes a precise scientific botanical text, changing the order of presentation of each plant to group them according to the taxonomy that the botanist used, adding from his hand notes of variable extension (thanks to one of these, one that refers to ivory, we know that shortly beforehand a live elephant had been seen in Belgium). As compensation for such sobriety that contrasts with the work of Garcia de Orta, Clusius included illustrations in this Plantinian scientific edition: twenty two equally accurate woodcuts, after drawings from life of specimens he had had access to at pharmacies, thanks to friends that were naturalists or collectors or those that had been sent by correspondents who were botanists. If in the first edition, from 1567, there were 16 woodcuts after drawings by Peeter van der Borch and carved by Arnold Nicolai, artists that usually worked for Plantin, in the 1574 edition these became 27 (all present in our copy) with only one more added in the 1579 edition (of the *acorus calamus*). Perhaps it is the presence of these woodcuts what makes this edition of 1574, so rare on the market, so appreciated.

exotic nature in Sixteenth-century Europe: Garcia de Orta and Carolus Clusius", in Palmire Fontes, *op. cit.*, p. 167–193.



## Pietro Andrea Mattioli (1500-1577)



Petri Andreae Matthioli Senensis, medici caesarei, et serenissimi Principis Ferdinandi Archiducis Avstriae, &c. Commentarij in VI. libros Pedacij Dioscoridis Anazarbei de Medica materia, ab ipso autore recogniti, et locis plus mille aucti. Adiectis magnis, ac nouis plantarum, ac animalium Iconibus, supra priores editiones longè pluribus, ad viuum delineatis. Accesserunt quoque ad margines Graeci contextus quàm plurimi, ex antiquissimis codicibus desumpti, qui Dioscoridis ipsius deperant lectorem restituunt. Cum locupletissimis indicibus, tum ad rem herbariam, tum medicamentariam pertinentibus.- Venetijs: Apud Felicem Valgrisium, MDLXXXIII [1583]

Gran folio (340x230mm.); 2 v.- Vol. 1: [140], 583 p., [1] h. blank; sign.: a8, [2, b8, c-d6, e-i8, A-Z8, Aa- Mm8-Nn10]; engraving from another work, inserted after the title page, featuring the portrait of Caspar Bauhin, dated from 1598.<sup>1</sup> Engraving with the portrait of Mattioli, b2 verso; signature errors, f4 instead of D4 and G2 instead of G3; pagination error, 314 instead of 341.- Vol. 2: 772, [12] p.; sign.: a-3a8, 3b10, 3c6. At the end of the volume, appendix: *De ratione distillandi aquas ex omnibus plantis; et quomodo genuini odores in ipsis aquis conservari possint.*

<sup>1</sup> Published in the 1598 edition of the Mattioli works compiled and edited by Bauhin: "Petri Andreae Matthioli... Opera quae extant omnia, ..."

Full leather binding, from the 18<sup>th</sup> century, spine with six raised bands gilt decorated and double spine label; gilt tooling to board edges; surface split to hinges; some cauterized rubbing to the boards; minimal rubbing to fore edges and corners; missing colour front and back fly leaves in both volumes; little darkening to some folios (i.e. v.1: A8, B6,...v.2: nn ss6, ); very occasional handwritten annotations.- Vol. 1: slight waterstain to upper margin gutter, little darkening to some folios (i.e. A8, B6,...); slight worm trace to lower corner of booklets c & d; small damage due to xylophages at the bottom of lower margin, which changes from spot to worm trace and vice versa, and goes on appearing and disappearing in the lower margin between pages 116 and 461; light grey coloured stain to p. 317 and brown stain to p. 417; tear to lower margin of p. 337 and loss due to tear in the right margin of p. 385 and of the upper corner of p. 583.- Vol. 2: slight damage due to xylophages, sometimes there is worm trace, sometimes spotting, between pages 289 and 416; drilling point that goes in at the middle of the fore edge from p. 585, which continues as a small spot in the right margin up to the end; small brown stain to the edge of upper margin of pp. 91 to 186 and from pp. 235 to 345; inner tear from the press on p. 770. Far from what it may appear to be after reading this attempt at a very detailed description, the mentioned faults can hardly be noticed given the sound beauty of the copy.

Prov.: Handwritten ex-libris, 'Johannes Amadeus Le Fort, Med. Doct. die Martis nonâ 1714'; glued ex-libris "Colladon-Martin" of the Swiss chemist and botanist Jean Antoine Colladon; handwritten ex-libris of the Swiss botanist Adolphe Secrétan "Ex-libris Adolphi Secrétan-Gaudy, Confignonensis, anno 1830".

Refs.: Bradley, I, 279; Pritzel, *nova*, 5985.

Beautiful copy of the second and last magna edition of Mattioli's *Commentaries on the Six Books of the Medical Matter of Dioscorides* in Latin.

The work of Dioscorides, which was often quoted as little verified during the Middle Ages, came to be considered in the 16<sup>th</sup> century as the most comprehensive pharmacopoeia of antiquity, being studied and published in editions with commentaries by Miguel Servet, Leonardo Fuchs, Pietro Andrea Mattioli, Amato Lusitano, Andrés Laguna and quite a few others.

Pietro Andrea Mattioli, based in Trento, began his work on *The Six Books of the Medical Matter* by Dioscorides around 1533, first publishing the translation of the first five books into Italian, in 1544, from the Latin version by Jean Ruelle (which was first printed in Paris, at Officina Henrici Stephani, in 1516).<sup>1</sup> Also used by Miguel Servet for his commentaries, Ruelle's version was the most followed in the 16th century until 1598, when Jean-Antoine Sarasin (Saracenus) published in Frankfurt what would from then on be regarded as the definitive version. The difference in the vernacular version by Mattioli

when compared to the others was that he disregarded the obsession for perfection in regard to philology in the commentaries, and focused more on botanical matters, plus he added plants not included by Dioscorides, thus starting on his personal journey by taking a botanical approach, moving away from medical matters.

However, the extraordinary success of the *Commentaries by Mattioli to the Six Books of the Medical Matter of Dioscorides* compared to the other editions and commentaries began when, in January 1554, he included hundreds of illustrations of herbs, flowers and plants in the edition, using woodcuts after designs by the painter Giorgio Liberale. These woodcuts reproduced plants with ideal splendour and freshness, omitting any hint of defect, failure or a lack of foliage.<sup>2</sup> The edition also definitively bounded his partnership with the Venetian printer Vincenzo Valgrisi, so that, apparently, by 1568 no less than 32,000 copies of the work had already been sold. The success earned him a degree of notoriety that helped him to start establishing a large network of correspondents that

<sup>1</sup> Di Pedacio Dioscoride Anazarbeo Libri cinque della historia, & materia medicinale tradotti in lingua volgare italiana da m. Pietro Andrea Matthiolo sanese medico.- s.n.: s.d., 1544 [Colophon: Venetia: per Nicolo de Bascarini da Pauone di Brescia, il mese d'ottobre 1544].

<sup>2</sup> Petri Andreae Matthioli medici Senensis Commentarii, in libros sex Pedacii Dioscoridis Anazarbei, de medica materia. Adiectis quam plurimis plantarum & animalium imaginibus, eodem authore.- Venetijs: in officina Erasmiana, apud Vincentium Valgrisium, 1554.





Libérale's drawings in a spectacular size on pear woodblocks.

Once he had more than 700 woodcuts, he published, in Prague, at the expense of Valgrisi and printed by Jirí Melantrich of Aventino (1511-1580), a Czech edition of his commentaries -today almost legendary-, and another one in 1563, in German. However, he did not present these editions as a commentary to the *Medical Matter* by Dioscorides, whose text he did not include and who was not even mentioned on the cover, but he entitled them *New herbarium, with the most beautiful artwork ever seen*. In fact, this was more appropriate, because he did not include his own commentaries on the chapters of the second book that refers to animals, nor on the fifth and sixth books of the original *Materia Medica*, because they weren't about plants. By contrast, in the German edition, he added an appendix on distillation ovens, beautifully illustrated, his text concerning the collection of fragrances distilled from the plants' water. Possibly, Mattioli prepared this herbarium to dispute this market, by way of offering illustrations with which there was no possible competition, to the usual illustrated herbariums that had circulated in Germany for decades, and especially to *De historia stirpium commentarii insignes*, by Leonhart Fuchs, published in 1542 with over 500 plants, all beautifully illustrated. And surely this is the explanation of why, in the following editions of the *Medical Matters* by Dioscorides with commentaries by Mattioli, the fifth and sixth books lack the large size images.

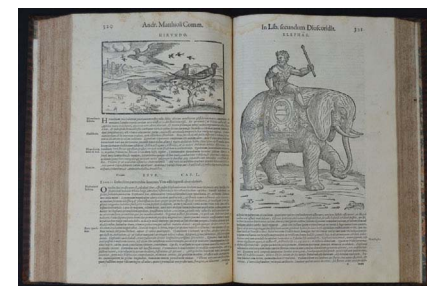
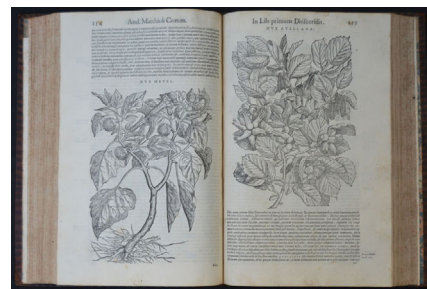
But the success of the new artwork only became extraordinary when Vincenzo Valgrisi pre-

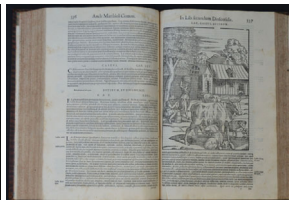
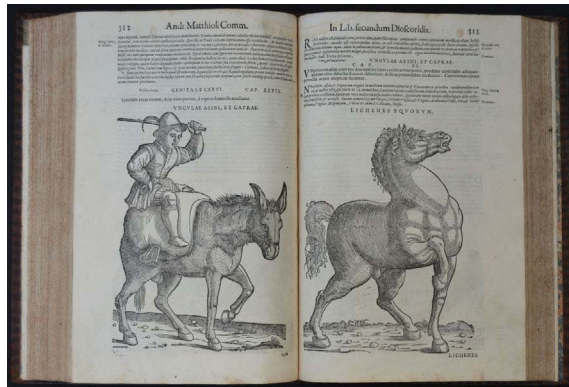
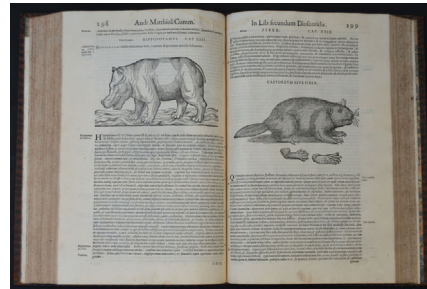
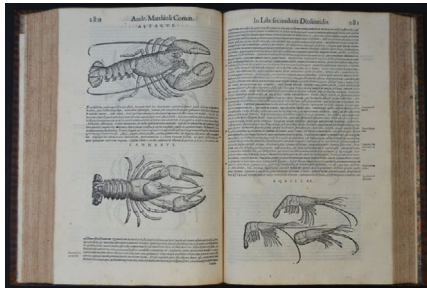
pared a new, careful and expanded edition in Latin for his usual market, with Mattioli's commentaries extended and again preceded when appropriate by the text of Dioscorides, accompanied by an exorbitant number of nearly one thousand woodcuts, mostly large in size, which he printed in Venice in 1565, keeping the brief treatise *On the distillation of the waters of all plants and on how to make for their waters to retain their genuine aromas* as the appendix.

After printing this edition in 1568, with the text in Italian, Valgrisi did not make such a significant printing effort gain, and the following editions, until his death in 1573, were printed with small woodcuts from the 1554 edition, keeping the text of the 1565 edition. Only several years later did his son Felice, by then in charge of the press, reprint the magna edition, first in Latin in 1583 (to which corresponds the copy we have on offer) and then in Italian in 1585, of which he made a special run of 25 copies on 'very beautiful large paper, great to print on without it showing any transparency in all sorts of colours'.<sup>4</sup> By then, eight years had passed since Mattioli had died, a victim of the plague in Trent in 1577, where he had returned in 1571 after the death of the Emperor.

Compared to the 1565 edition, the 1583 edition we have on offer has fewer pages because Felice Valgrisi used slightly smaller types than those used by his father, allowing 69 lines per folio where his father had used 61, and 15 ins-

<sup>4</sup> "...in carta reale bellissima et attissima a ricevere senza trasparenza ciascuna sorte di colori", debemos la cita, que hemos cotejado, a Ilaria Andreoli: *Ex officina erasmiana: Vincenzo Valgrisi e l'illustrazione del libro tra Venezia e Lione alla metà del '500*.-PHD Dissertation. Université Lumière Lyon 2, 2006.





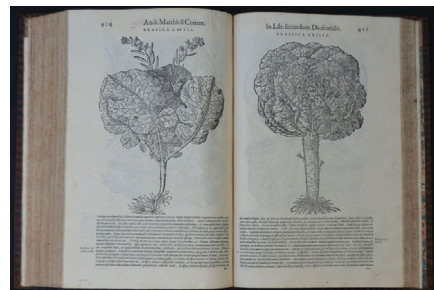
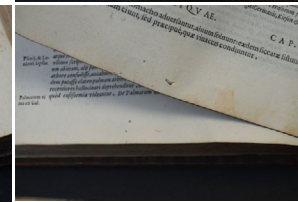
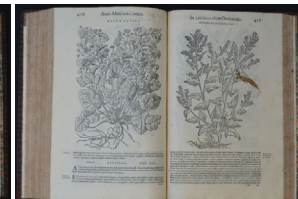
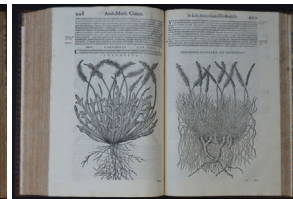
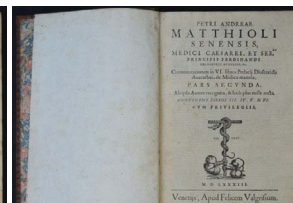
stead of 10 when the folio had an engraving. So, if for the father the Dioscorides texts and the commentaries by Mattioli took 1459 pages, his son Felice was able to print them on 1355 pages, which he also divided into two volumes so that the work could be handled better.

Compared to Vincenzo's 1565 edition, Felice's 1583 edition contains 5 more woodcuts, one of them belonging to the collection of large sized images, and another two woodcuts are different (p. 816 and p. 897 in the ed. from 1565 and pp. 170 and 249 of the v. 2 in the ed. from 1583). Another difference is that the 1583 edition contains a botanical typo: the *Cimbalaria*, a hanging plant, was printed upside down so that the flowers would appear, as was otherwise logical, on top of the plant.

The explanation for Mattioli not striving to prepare new content after the 1565 edition would be found in a cluster of circumstances. For years Mattioli had not 'herborized' and had lived on what others had done for him; he was busy with the preparation of other work and a novelty with botanical landscape had broken, providing access then to what would have been too much work for him: the herbs and simple medicines from the East and West Indies that were being presented by Monardes and Fragoso from Spain, Clusius from Flanders and Garcia Orta from India.

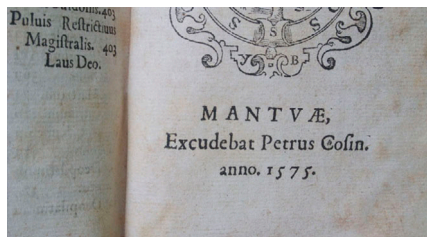
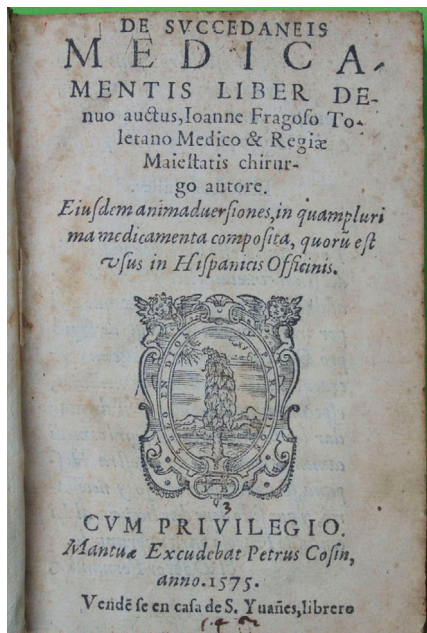
In regard to the pear woodblocks carved by Meyerpeck after drawings by Liberale, they had an extraordinary fate. Having been cast aside, the botanist Monnceau Duhamel found them more than a hundred years later and bought

them, using 154 of them to illustrate his *Traité des Arbres et Arbustes* in 1755, after which he put them away. Two hundred years later they were rediscovered in what had been his mansion and started to be dispersed, and over a hundred of them were auctioned off in the 1990s.





## Juan Fragoso (ca. 1530-1597)



De succedaneis medicamentis liber denuo auctus, Ioanne Fragoso Toletano Medico & Regiæ Maiestatis chirurgo autore. Eiusdem animaduersiones, in quamplurima medicamenta composita, quorum est usus in Hispanicis Officinis.- Mantuae: Excudebat Petrus Cosin, anno 1575, vendese en casa de S. Yuañes, librero. [Colofón: Mantuae: excudebat Petrus Cosin, anno 1575].

8° (140x92mm.); 404, [20] leaves.; sign. A-Zz8, a-g8 (g8 white); from leaf 228, “Eiusdem Ioannis Fragosi animadversiones in nonnulla medicamenta composita, quorum est usus in Hispanicis officinis”,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Juan Fragoso's Observations of some of the medicinal compounds that are prepared in Spanish pharmacies.

Very beautiful back binding in mottled leather, spine with raised bands and spine label and gilt and gilded decoration. Foot and head cap sensibly restored. Some toasting to paper across the entire work. Old remargination of the outer margin in folios 5 to 8 a little crude; corner of folio 402 originally missing.

Prov.: No data.

Refs.: CCPB, 000010388-8; Pérez Pastor, 94.

Juan Fragoso, the personal physician to Felipe II, is renowned for his *Discursos de las cosas Aromaticas, arboles y frutales, y de otras muchas medicinas simples que se traen de la India Oriental, y sirven al uso de medicina*, a work written after the reading of the translation into Latin that Carolus Clusius made of the work by García de Orta *Coloquios dos simples e drogas he cousas medicinais da India* (see our ref. C-0143). In those *Discourses*, Fragoso, carefully and in detail, compared what García de Orta had said, with what both physicians and botanists had previously stated on the same plants and simple medicines.

This time Fragoso's effort takes a practical

health policy approach: the cure for diseases requires having the right drugs, but in the pharmaceutical-medical practice in Spain at the time of preparing the medical compounds it could be observed that two types of problems existed: a lack of some of the products required for the compounds and a lack of rigor in carrying out the preparations.

To contribute to the remedy of both problems he created this work, difficult to find in the first edition that we have on offer, in which, after describing a method to find substitutes for medicines, where he went on to offer a repertoire of the simple and necessary compounds, he then

followed these comments with indications of other simple or compound medicines that may be used instead. He also presents information in the same repertoire about these alternative simple and compound drugs, indicating how they should be used.

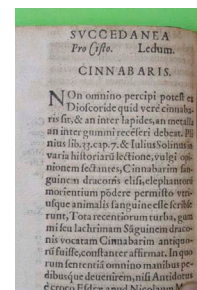
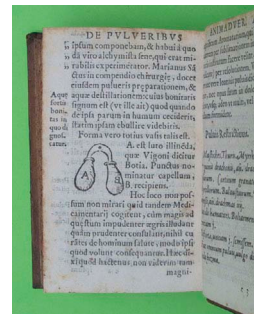
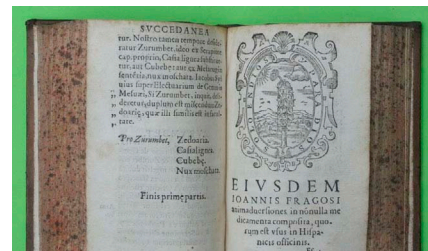
In the second part, entitled *Observaciones sobre algunos de los medicamentos compuestos que se preparan en las farmacias españolas* (*Observations of some of the medicinal compounds that are prepared in Spanish pharmacies*), he groups these compounds according to their type of preparation: master recipes: (narcotic for the masses), pills, syrups, 'lochs', balls, oils, ointments, plasters, water, 'conditis' and powders. Thus, this second part becomes a genuine 16th-century pharmacopoeia, with the added virtue that, for each of the compounds, he gives information on the exact proportions to be used for each of the elements required in its production, complaining from time to time in different ways that, in view of how they carried out their work, it often seemed that pharmacies were more concerned about making money than about the health of the ill.

Both in the first part as in the second part, Fragozo includes, to support his opinions, not

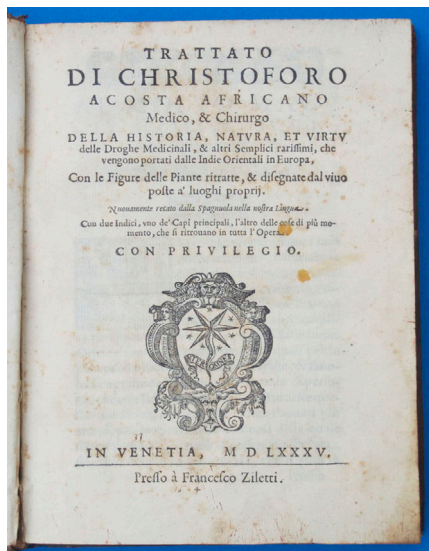
only classic, medieval and Salernitan authors, like Hippocrates, Galen, Dioscorides, Avicenna, Ibn Masawaih (Mesue), Arnao de Vilanova, Nicolaus Praepositus, Nicolaus Myrepsus, and Antonio Guaynerio, but also physicians and botanists of the time, such as Nicolo Delli, Andrea Alpago, Carolus Clusius, Valerius Cordus, Deffenius von Kronenburg, Girolamo Fracastoro, and Fernando de Sepúlveda (and even humanists like Anuce Föe, to endorse the true meaning of Hippocrates' texts).

In any case it is significant that Fragozo doesn't mention any of the novel products that continued to arrive from both the East and West Indies in this book. This would be an indication that simple drugs from overseas still lacked a marked level of importation and trade that would mean widespread distribution to Spanish pharmacies.

Incidentally, in folio 402 there is one very small engraving, depicting the shape of the vessels that were designed to obtain powders (precipitates) by distillation.



## Cristóvão da Costa (ca. 1540-1599)



Cristóvão da Costa, better known as Cristobal de Acosta –because he published his famous work under this name for the first time in Spanish, in Burgos, in 1578–, and as Acosta the African–because he was born in a Portuguese colony in Africa–, arrived in Goa (India) enrolled as a physician in the service of the troops of the newly appointed Portuguese viceroy Luis de Ataíde (1517-1580), in 1568, a few months after the death of García de Orta (see our ref. C-0143). In East India he followed the troops throughout Goa, Cochín and other settlements, where alongside his

Trattato di Christoforo Acosta Africano Medico, & Chirurgo, della historia, natvra, et virtv delle Droghe Medicinali, & altri Semplici rarissimi, che vengono portati dalle Indie Orientali in Europa, Con le Figure delle Piantre ritratte, & disegnate dal viuo poste a' luoghi proprij. Nuouamente recato dalla Spagnuola nella nostra Lingua. Con due Indici, vno de' Capi principali, l'altro delle cose di più momento, che si ritrouano in tutta l'Opera.- In Venetia: Presso à Francesco Ziletti, MDLXXXV [1585].

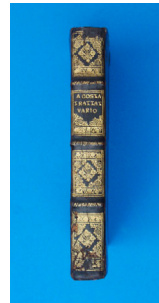
4° (222x168mm.); [52], 342 [i.e. 340] p.; sign. a-d4, e6, f4, A-Z4, Aa-Ss4, Tt6 [but f4, blank]; typographic mark on title page; 47 woodcuts across the text, some of them full page, 45 of tropical plants and trees, and two of elephants; errata in the registry impression, which omits those of the preliminaries, points to the existence of a booklet with signature Uu, which is useless to look for, and indicates that all the booklets are 'duernos' (double booklets), except for the Tt which is 'tuerno' (triple booklets), while booklet e is so also.

Binding in brown leather, with back board deformed from older times; spine with three decorated raised bands, with gilt decorated spine compartment and spine label; restored headcap; wise consolidation to lower spine compartment damaged; split corners, but sound. Margins of paper with different degrees of foxing across the work; some darkening to booklets A and Kk; waterstain to lower corner of booklets Z, Aa and Bb.

Prov.: No data.

Refs.: Bradley, III, 276; Colmeiro, 239; Palau, 1694; Pritzel, *nova*, 13.

medical activity he kept several gardens of medicinal plants that he used as one of his sources for botanical information. He returned to Europe in 1572 and, after settling in Burgos (Spain), he was appointed as physician by his town council in around 1576, to which he devoted his *Tractado Delas Drogas, y medicinas de las Indias Orientales, con sus Plantas debuxadas al bivo por Christoual Acosta medico y cirujano que las vio ocularmente. En el qual se verifica mucho de lo que escrivió el Doctor Garcia de Orta*, printed in the same city by Martin de Victoria. Acosta maintained his relationship with the

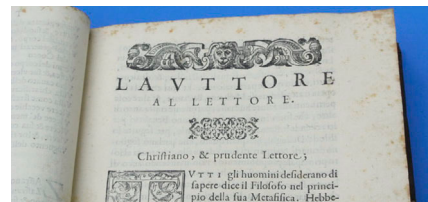


city until 1587, when he retired to live as a hermit, still publishing two works, although of a religious nature. Pardo Tomás notes that this path was not uncommon in the Iberian world: “a young soldier that works as a physician and surgeon, develops an interest in observing nature, produces a work, trying to enter into the intellectual debate and ends up withdrawing from the world for spiritual reasons, desiring to prepare the salvation of his soul”.<sup>1</sup>

The *Treaty of drugs and medicines of the East Indies* written by Acosta had varied success. Carolus Clusius, in the work of the dissemination of the progress of botany in which he focused his work and efforts, made a Latin version that was printed by Plantin in Antwerp in 1582 (and reprinted in 1593), just as he had previously translated works by Mo-

1 José Pardo Tomás: “East Indies, West Indies: García de Orta and the Spanish treatises on Exotic Materia Medica”, in Palmire Fontes da Costa (ed.): *Medicine, Trade and Empire*.- Farnham: Ashgate, 2015, pp. 195-211, quotation in p. 207.

nardes, García de Orta and Fragoso into Latin. And, just as he had done with the *Coloquios* (*Colloquia*) by García de Orta, he didn't translate the work but made a briefer Latin version, also altering the order of presentation of the plants, and of the 47 large format woodcuts of the original edition, which had been carved after drawings from life made by Acosta himself, he included only one, depicting the clove tree. Thus, the entire set of woodcuts that illustrated the Burgos edition of Acosta's book can only be admired in either that first edition or in the Venetian edition of Francesco Ziletti, who commissioned a copy of them for their use in the Italian translation, but larger in size and more beautifully printed than in the original, and he printed this edition in 1585, the edition to which this copy we have on offer corresponds. This edition is the only one that reproduces the text in its entirety, as well as the original prints, including the two devoted to the elephants. Indeed, the last chapter



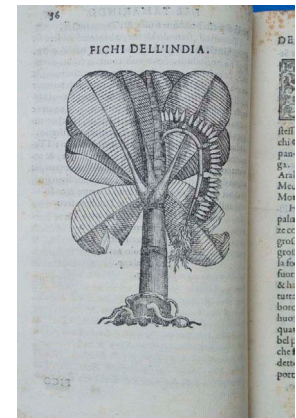
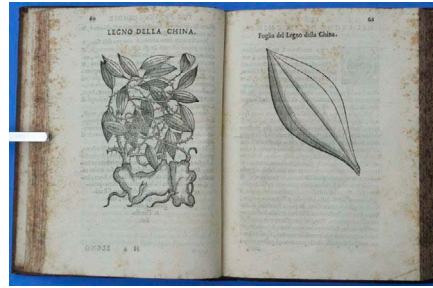
of the book leaves the plant kingdom and offers a *Treaty on the Elephant and its qualities*, the first Western study on the Indian elephant, where along with its description and behaviour, the virtues of their tusks are described: “ivory is used, in general, to comfort the vital virtue, cool the liver and reduce the white purges of women. It exploits the daily obstructions and relieves stomach pains, and it is good for jaundice, with the stomach empty, give a drachma with wine when there is no temperature, and where there is, with water of hopsor from chichory; and its use in beverages makes women fertile enough to get pregnant. Ivory is cold and dry to the first degree, which must be understood as exclusive to the teeth of the elephant”.<sup>2</sup> This edition is printed on thick cotton paper, and over time it has been proven to have a propensity to darken (in this example only in booklets A and Kk, and slightly in booklet FF) and foxing, which appears to varying degrees in this copy, fortunately only in the margins.

The printer Ziletti dedicated this edition to Melchior Wieland (1520-1589), an eminent German professor of botany based in Padua, who the Italians called Melchiorre Giulandino, so he could partially recover from his past misfortunes, precisely by trying to study medicinal plants in the East Indies.

In effect,<sup>3</sup> Wieland, after studying medicine in

<sup>2</sup> Page 327 in this Italian edition, 426 in the original edition in Spanish.

<sup>3</sup> Strangely enough, not much is known about Wieland. What follows comes from the text by Ziletti in this edition, as well as from the pages that Andrew dedicates to him in his Andrew D. Berns *The Bible and Natural Philosophy in renaissance Italy: Jewish and Christian physicians in search of truth.*- Cambridge University Press, 2015, pp. 71-83.

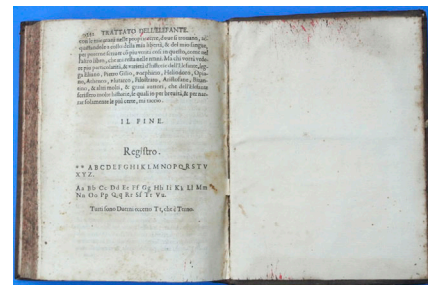
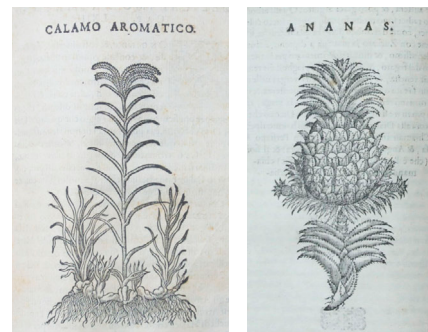


Konigsberg and Rome, went to Padua where he completed studies at the university with the renowned Gabriele Falloppio, for whom he worked. Wieland published some short texts in 1557 and 1558 (one criticizing Mattioli, thus winning his enmity).<sup>4</sup> With the money he got selling plants, along with some sponsorship and the aid of presentation letters from the Senator Marino Cavalli, -one of the reformers of the University of Padua for the Venetian Republic-, he travelled to Constantinople in around 1558, where he got permission from the Sultan to pass through his territory and access the neighbouring countries. But because of a war he could not cross Persia and had to go back, going through Aleppo, Damascus and Jerusalem, from where he went to Egypt thinking about turning back to try to get to India, this time via the Red Sea. As this also became impossible, without renouncing his purpose he thought of taking the sea route from Lisbon, for which went to Sicily and set sail for Portugal, with the bad luck that the ship was attacked by pirates, and he himself getting hurt and taken as a prisoner to Algiers where he was given as a gift to a son of Hayreddin “Redbeard” Barbarossa, who sold him as a servant in a public auction. Having lost his writings and the samples that he had been collected throughout the trip, he had to spend nine months as a servant, until he was rescued by Falloppio, who paid two hundred gold shields for him. But the adverse fortune that had prevented him from realizing his sought after botanical journey to the Indies followed him again, as the ship that was going back from Africa to

Italy sank. He was saved when, after many days spent clinging to a wooden plank, he was picked up by another ship bound for Genoa, and news was to spread to Italy about his courage. Falloppio again went to his aid, finding work for him in the medicinal garden of the University of Padua in 1561, the university where he also gave lectures at from 1567. As the head of the medicinal garden, Wieland invented an irrigation machine, of which no description has survived. In his role as a professor, in addition to publishing a book dedicated to the papyrus and its use in writing,<sup>5</sup> he requested permission to retry his trip to the East Indies but he didn't manage it. So, and thinking that his troubles justified it (along with the fact that he was the most eminent botanist of the Venetian Republic at that time), Ziletti dedicated to himself this beautiful edition of the *Treaty of drugs and medicines of the East Indies*, by Christopher of Acosta.

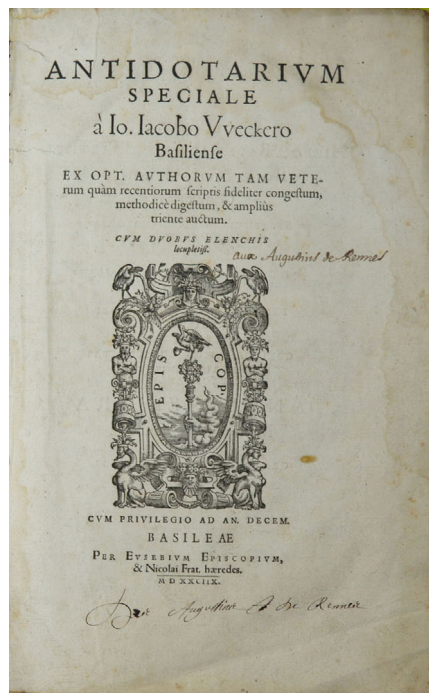


5 Melchioris Guilandini Papyrus, hoc est commentarius in tria C. Plinii maioris de papyro capta.- Venetia: apud M. Antonio Ulmum, 1572.



<sup>4</sup> *Apologia adversus Petrum Andrea Mattiolum liber primus, qui inscribitur Theon.*- Padua: Gratiouss Perchacinus, 1558.

## Johannes Jakob Wecker (1528-1586)



Final version (the previous versions were from 1574 and 1581) of the *Antidotarium speciale* by the Swiss physician Johannes Jakob Wecker, published two years after his death at the request of his widow, Anna Weckerin, who, in turn, had earned herself a great reputation

*Antidotarium speciale à Io. Iacobo Weckero Basiliense, ex opt. auctorum tam veterum quam recentiorum scriptis fideliter congestum, methodice digestum, & amplius triente auctum, cum duobus elenchis locupletiss.* - Basileae: per Eusebium Epsicopium, & Nicolai Frat. haeredes, MDXXCIIX [1598]

Folio (326x211mm.); [12], 475, [25] p.; sign.: (: )6, a-z6, A-R6, S4, T6; typographic mark on title page.

Contemporary binding, damaged, with some loss to the board edges and to the upper front corner; upper half of spine and the leather losses in the joints replaced soundly but without it being an outstanding job; remains of gilt fleur-de-lis and crosses in spine compartments; boards framed in gilt fillet with gilt-stamped conventicle supralibris. Some darkening to paper with waterstains of different sizes, especially in the second half of the book.

Prov.: Handwritten ex-libris on title page from the library 'aux Augustins de Rennes'.

Refs.: Ferguson, II, 534; Herzog, 263.



within the medical community for her food recipes to meet the needs of the sick. In fact, urged by the colleagues of her dead husband, she wrote a cookbook, *Ein Koestlich new Kochbuch*, published in 1597, the year of her death, which

figured the most convenient diets for patients.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The full title is *Ein Koestlich new Kochbuch: Von allerhand Speisen an Gemuesen Obs Fleisch, Gefluegel, Wildpet, Fischen und Gebanckens. Nicht allein vor Gesunde: sondern auch und fuernemblich vor Ktancke in allerley Kranckheiten und Gebraesten....* - Amberg: Michael Forster, 1597. About Anne Wecker see, for example, chapter ten of Albrecht Classen: *The Power of a woman's voice in Medieval and Early modern literatures: New Approaches to German*



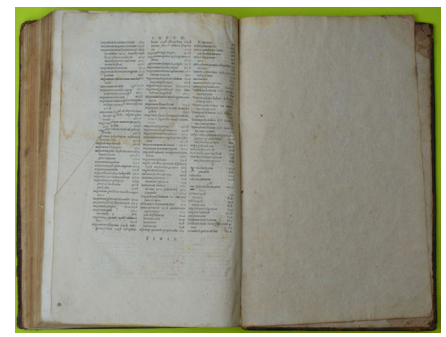
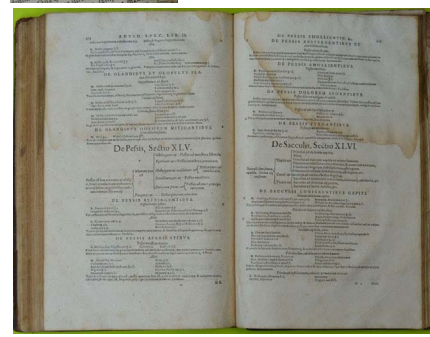
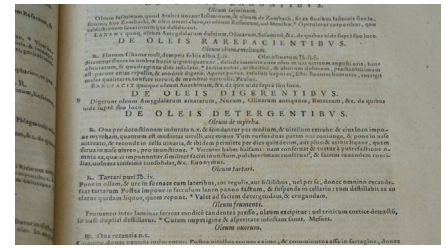
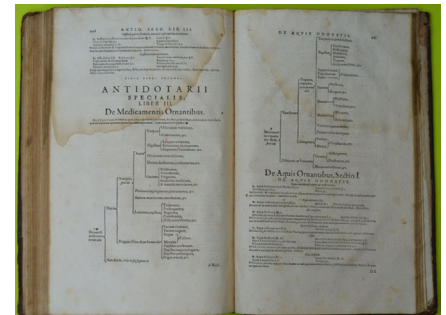
format and its fate. In *The XVII Books of Secrets* he introduced a natural philosophy approach, where he began reflecting on how to know the ultimate truth, the possibilities of man in regard to knowledge and on the nature of God, to move later to go presenting the secrets (i.e., solutions) to situations and problems in spheres such as the body (of their evils, on health and remedies), terrestrial animals, fish, birds (their care and use), metals, stones and gems, houses (location, garden, clothing, fountains...), climate, sciences, mechanical arts or different human behaviours, providing thus the catalogue of the techniques used in Europe in laboratory preparations.

Focusing exclusively on this aspect, in 1574 Wecker published the first version of an *Antidotarium Speciale*, a genuine pharmacopoeia of remedies and drugs divided into three books, which he expanded in 1581 and whose latest version, as we noted earlier, his wife sent to print after Wecker's death. He called this pharmacopoeia "special" because it included the recipes used to elaborate medicines under three main features: the matter that was involved in its elaboration—from fire to animal excreta, going through seeds or bones—to which he dedicates the first book; the consistency or how to apply the medicine—from waters or syrups, to poultices, pills or incenses—to which he dedicated the second book; and those designed for grooming—from lotions to oils, going through types of baths or ointments—as the object of the third book.

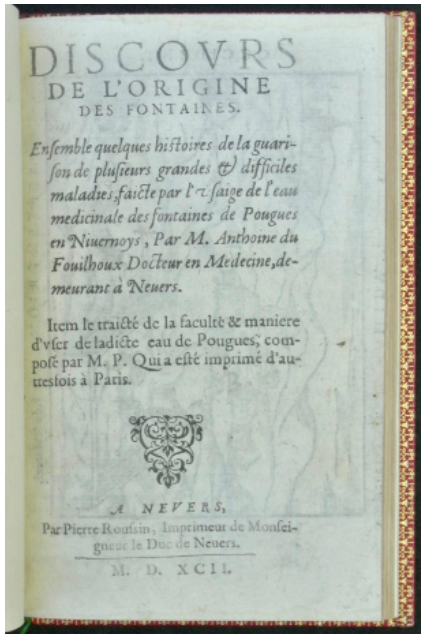
What he indeed does under this first division is a strictly Galenic classification, of the recipes,

medicines and remedies depending on the qualities and grades, and a therapeutic classification, in function of the organs or the diseases to which they are intended.

Thus this recipe book would be an archetype of the complexity in which the building of the remedies for health (and beauty) derived, constituted on the basis of the Hippocratic-Galenic medicine.



## 1592 Antoine de Fouilhoux



It may surprise us now, but in hydrology matters it wasn't until 1674 that it was known that all the water in rivers came from the sky, both the water coming down from the accumulated snow and that which drains under the surface when it rains or snows, like that water which, after seeping into the ground, ends up sprouting from springs. Meanwhile, since the earth was the centre of the world, the origin of everything was on earth (and

Discovers de l'origine des fontaines. Ensemble quelques histoires de la guarison de plusieurs grandes et difficiles maladies, faicte par l'usaige de l'eau medicinale des fontaines de Pougues en Nivernoys, par M. Anthoine du Fouilhoux Docteur en Medecine, demeurant à Nevers. Item le traicté de la faculté & maniere d'vsr de ladicte eau de Pougues, composé par M. P. Qui a esté imprimé d'autresfois à Paris. – A Nevers: Par Pierre Roussin, Imprimeur de Monseigneur le Duc de Nevers, MDXCII [1592].

4° minor (156x99mm); 103 p.; sign.: A-N4.- Verso of A1, full-page xylograph of Pougues, Nevers, featuring the locations of the fountains of Saint Leger and of Saint Marcel.

Magnificent binding from the mid 20th century in red kidskin, embossed fillet on the boards, spine with raise bands, spine label engraved in gold, board edges with gilt fillet and board edges gilt tooling, with all edges gilt. Great state of a beautifully bound copy, to which, and with effort, could be reproached for being slightly short of margins, having a stain on page 19 and a minimal worm trace to the edge of lower margins of pages 51 and 53.

Prov.: From the library of the Château de La Chaux.

Refs.: Brunet, IV, 639-640; Lelong, 3166.

who says the earth also means the sea), and not in heaven. Thus, any explanation of the origin of water in the springs had to be one that could explain it all with the earth and sea as the protagonists. Bernard Palissy<sup>1</sup> was the exception, but at the time nobody paid any attention to him. So it is not strange that the scientific conception by Antoine du Fouilloux, a physician in Pougues at the end of the 16th century, was absolutely Aristotelian, about the physics of water and springs, and Hippocratic, about their medical virtues and the methods to check them.

<sup>1</sup> *Discours admirables de la nature des eaux et fontaines tant naturelles qu'artificielles...* Paris: Martin le Jeune, 1580.



Therefore, after dedicating the first pages to examine the various theories on the origin of springs, he concludes saying:

“From where we can probably conclude that, of all opinions, the one that Aristotle offers on the origin of the springs is the most likely and most popular, as well as it can be said that he didn't attribute the origin of the sources to a single cause, namely to mutation and change of vapour in the water caused by the effect of the cold in the cavities of the land of mountains, but also to the aggregation of the rainfall that takes place through the intricacies of the earth. The first is the main one, and the other is not but an aid and support to complete these waters. And on any occasion it seems that water comes up, considering the place where the spring is born, when this happens it is not necessary to attribute it to a condition of their nature nor to a universal order, but to a force and violence of the waters pushing each other, as we see that some engines and instruments do, and anyway it is still necessary to note that the water never rises higher than the source from which

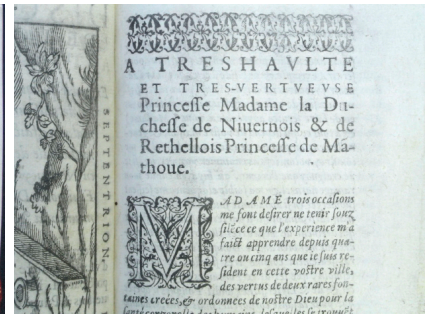
springs, so that it begins its course after reaching this point and when it does so it begins to fall, even if it appears to go up. In regard to the words of the Wise, when he said that the rivers come from the sea, these must not be understood universally but indeterminately, only for some rivers around, not for all.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> “Dont nous pouvons surement conclurre, que entre toutes les autres opinions, celle que Aristote apporte pour l'origine & source des fontaines, est la plus probable, & la mieux recueue : Combien que l'on peult dire qu'il n'a pas assigné seulement le commencement des fontaines proceder d'une seule cause, c'est à sçavoir de la mutation, & changement, de la vapeur en eau, faite par la force du froid, dans les concavitez de la terre des montaignes, mais aussi, de l'aggregation des pluyes faite aux caoins de la terre. La premiere, est la principale, l'autre n'est sinon qu'une aide, & secours pour faire estoistre les dites eaux. Que si quelquefois il nous semble que l'eau monte en hault, eu esgard au lieu d'où la fontaine prend son commencement, quand cela suruiet il ne fault point attribuer à la condition de sa nature, ny à l'ordre univrsel, mais à vne force, & violence d'une eau poussant l'autre, comme l'on void faire par certains engins & instruments, où toutesfois il fault remarquer que l'eau ne monte iamais plus hault qu'est la source d'ou elle est tiree, tellement qu'elle rebrousse son cours quant elle est venue à l'egal de ceste haulteur : & quant elle n'y est venue, elle deualle, bien qu'elle semble monter. Quant est des parolles du Sage qui dit, que les riuieres sortent de la mer, elles ne se doiuent point entendre uniuersellement, mais indeterminément de quelques riuieres seulement non point de toutes.”

And thus was imagined for eighteen centuries: that the sea was connected underneath the earth with caves where water was heated with an interior fire and came up as steam through pipes until the cold of the mountain transformed it again to water, to come gushing out of the springs, in a system where the only thing discussed was whether rain contributed or not by going into the land.

Once the source of the springs was established, Fouilloux comes to treat water as a simple medicine, speaks of its virtues for various diseases and of the specific qualities of Pougues water, to going to the core of his texts, next explain the different “experiences” that he was carrying out (the latest, in April of 1592), in which he monitored the symptoms and conditions of the people who were being treated with it.

The second of the treatises, from p. 59, is the work of Jean Pidoux, the maternal grandfather of La Fontaine and a physician for Henry III. The full title of the work, which had been printed in Paris eight years earlier, by Nicolas Nivelles is *De la vertu et maniere d'user de ladite eau des fontaines*





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