

DE RATIONE

Medicine, 1500-1700  
A short list



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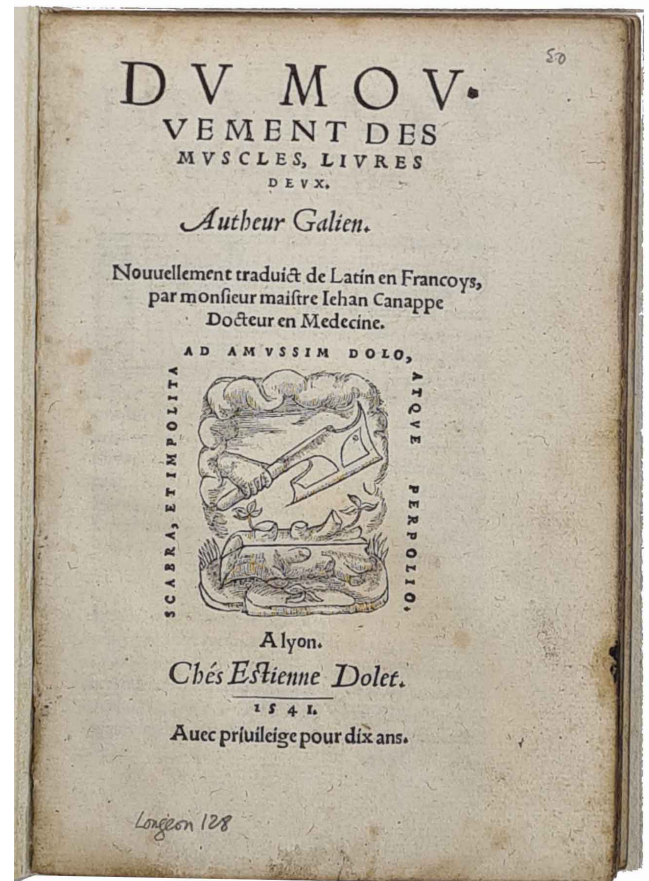
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**The first French translation,  
published by a controversial printer**

**1. Galen; Canape (Jean, trans.) *Du mouvement des muscles, livres deux.*** Lyon: Etienne Dolet, 1541, first edition thus, woodcut printer's device to title and last verso, decorated initials, title slightly finger-soiled at foot, uniform slight age browning, very light damp stain at foot throughout, slightly heavier to last two gatherings, occasional bleeding from edge paint (oxidised), a little smudged at blank head of F2 verso and F3 recto, pp. 83, [5], 8vo, modern patterned paper boards, in modern slipcase, manuscript French annotations (second half of the 16thC) to half a dozen leaves.

£3000

**A good copy of the scarce first edition of the first French translation, and the first in any vernacular, of Galen's *De motu musculorum*, on muscle anatomy and movement.** Galen's observations relied on the anatomical experiments carried out at Alexandria in the 3rd century BC. His theories were based on the distinction between voluntary and natural movements. In the former, the muscles are urged by the brain to move the bones through the nerves. In the latter, movement is caused by other body organs, e.g., the pulsing of the arteries. In *De motu*, Galen provided anatomical definitions and discussed subjects such as the nature of specific muscles, head to foot, typologies of movements, scarring, physiology (e.g., why is the arm concave?) and the muscles of the respiratory and digestive apparatus.



The translator and physician, Jean Canape (1495-1558), was professor at Lyon, and very keen on promoting medical education and writing in the French vernacular. In addition to teaching surgery in French, he also translated medical works from Latin and Greek. The controversial polymath Etienne Dolet (1509-46) – humanist, philologist, philosopher and printer – is a renowned ‘martyr’ of the Renaissance. Persecuted by the French Inquisition, he was imprisoned numerous times; he was eventually executed as a heretic, and his books burned. Dolet’s printing activity was influenced by his interest in theories of translation, especially into French, on which he published a famous manual. Canape’s desire to ‘vernacularise’ medicine was germane to Dolet’s ideas, and those of other printers of the time in Lyon – the centre of French medical translation c.1530-40.

*Du Mouvement* ‘marked in itself a small revolution as the author thereby defended French against the double monopoly of Greek and Latin, two difficult languages for modest students’ (Perez). This division reflected the ongoing dichotomy between university-trained surgeons and apprenticed barber-surgeons, as well as the attempt to improve the training of barber-surgeons against untrained practitioners. In the letter to the reader, Canape states: ‘I was moved to provide some understanding of anatomy to those who are not knowledgeable in Greek and Latin, given that the art of medicine and surgery do not rely on one’s understanding of languages. Indeed, it is just as good to understand it in Greek, Latin, Arabic, French or [...] Breton, as long as it is understood well.’ The annotator of this copy was probably a barber-surgeon; in his French marginalia, he noted ‘*la timologie*’ (‘the etymology’) of a few words. Ambroise Paré praised Canape’s efforts as fundamental for his own medical training, and published his works in French.

Two further editions were published in the same year, in Lyon and Paris.

Only Yale and Alabama copies recorded in the US.

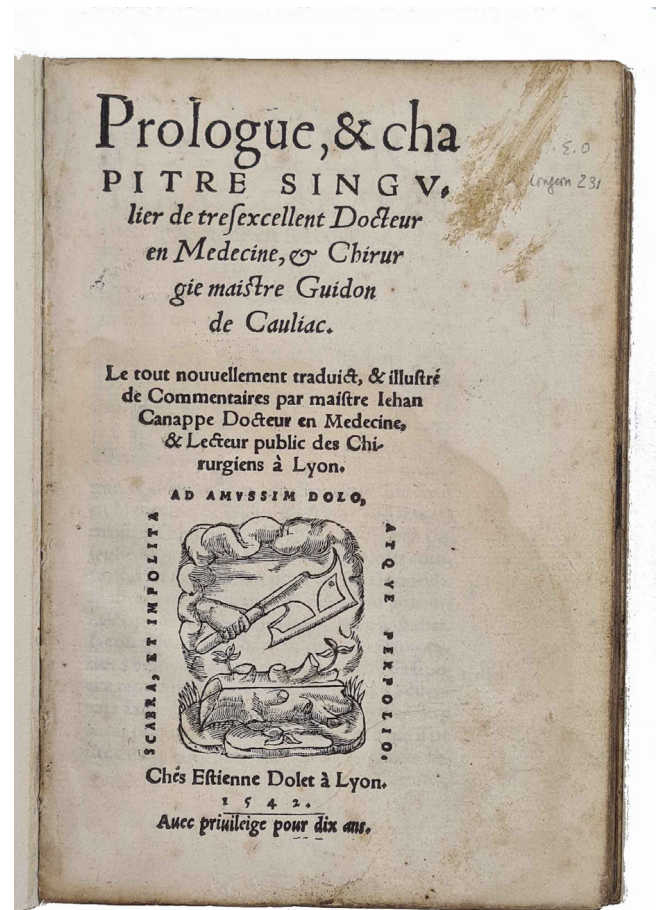
Longeon 128; Pettegree & Walsby 22174; Brunet II, 1451. Not in BM STC Fr; Durling, Wellcome or Osler. S. Perez, *Histoire des Médecins* (2015); R. Flemming, ‘Galen Recovered’, *Brain*, 136 (2013), 3809-11; R.J. Durling, ‘A Chronological Census of Renaissance Editions and Translations of Galen’, *JWCI*, 24 (1961), 230-305; E. Rajchenbach, ‘Médecins, chirurgiens, apothicaires’, *Renaissance and Reformation*, 42 (2019), 211-32.

Early surgery in French,  
published by a controversial printer

2. **Chauliac (Guy de); Canape (Jean, trans.) Prologue, & chapitre singulier de tres excellent Docteur en Medecine, & Chirurgie maistre Guidon de Chauliac.** Lyon: Etienne Dolet, 1542, first edition thus, woodcut printer's device to title and last verso, decorated initials, occasional very minor bleeding from edge paint (oxidised), a bit smudged at blank head of title and two other ll., very light water stain to lower half throughout, a little dust-soiled to lower blank margin of a dozen ll., the odd thumb mark, pp. 117, [1], 8vo, modern patterned paper boards, in modern slipcase.

£2500

A good copy of the first abridged edition of this early French translation from Guy de Chauliac's influential *Chirurgia Magna*. Chauliac (or Guido de Cauliaco, 1300-68) was a major French physician trained at Montpellier. In Avignon in 1348, he survived the plague and stayed on to help care for the sick. *Chirurgia Magna* encompassed subjects including anatomy, surgical techniques for the treatment of wounds, fractures and ulcers, and painkillers. Greatly influenced by Galen's theories of anatomy, which had only recently been translated into Latin, it also drew on Arabic medicine, especially Avicenna.



First published as part of *Le Guidon en françoys* (1538), this French translation is comprised of the prologue and first chapter of the *Chirurgia*. It was aimed at apprenticed barber-surgeons without a university degree, unaccustomed or unfamiliar with Latin and Greek. This was part of an attempt to widen access to the medical arts, and improve the academic training of barber-surgeons so as to distinguish them from untrained practitioners. Each passage is followed by Canape's interpretation. The prologue discusses why Chauliac wrote the work; the 'chapitre singulier' includes theoretical discussions of surgery as a science and an art, the assessment of illnesses, and the nature of treatments and surgical instruments, with references to Greek, Arabic and French sources.

The translator and physician, Jean Canape (1495-1558), was professor at Lyon, and very keen on promoting medical education and writing in the French vernacular. In addition to teaching surgery in French, he translated numerous medical works from Latin and Greek, so as to widen access to the medical arts, without the need for proficient classical literacy. The controversial polymath Etienne Dolet (1509-46) – humanist, philologist, philosopher and printer – is a renowned 'martyr' of the Renaissance. Persecuted by the French Inquisition, he was imprisoned numerous times; he was eventually executed as a heretic, and his books burned. Dolet's printing activity was influenced by his interest in theories of translation, especially into French, on which he published a famous manual. Canape's desire to 'vernacularise' medicine was germane to Dolet's ideas, and those of other printers of the time in Lyon – the centre of French medical translation c.1530-40.

Case Western, Duke, NLM, NYAM and Yale copies recorded in the US.

Brunet I, 1688: 'livre peu commun'; Longeon 231; Durling 2250. Not in BM STC Fr., Wellcome or Osler. E. Rajchenbach, 'Médecins, chirurgiens, apothicaires', *Renaissance and Reformation*, 42 (2019), 211-32.

**Scarce first collected edition,  
annotated by two students at Padua in the 1570s**

**3. Galen; Fuchs (Leonhart, ed.) Aliquot Opera.** Paris: J. Dupuys, [1549?-1554], first collected edition, first editions thus of 5 (of 7) works, 3 vols in 1, second in 2 parts (separate titles), large woodcut printer's device to titles, decorated initials, one 1/4-page woodcut to fol. 279 verso (I), occasional mainly marginal spotting, a little light browning, a bit heavier to few gatherings (damp paper), faint impression of pressed leaf to four ll., titles of II and III a trifle finger-soiled at fore-edge, I: long tear with small loss from lower margin at blank foot of title (just touching imprint), repaired on blank verso, fore-edge of first four ll. lightly waterstained and minimally frayed (expertly strengthened on a3 verso), very small tear (flaw) from lower edge of S5-T6 and from fore-edge of 2T4, II: minor flaw to upper edge of first A4-5, small tear towards fore-edge of second title, III: small oil stain at head of o4-p4, fore-edge of last two gatherings a little softened and frayed, I: ff. [26], 293, [1], last blank; II: ff. [6], 88; [6], 71, [1, added blank], lacking original last blank; III: ff. [14], 202, small folio, rebound in modern boards (a bit tight), original German pigskin expertly onlaid, endpapers renewed, lacking clasps, double blind ruled to a panel design, outer border with blind roll of interlacing palmettes, second with blind roll showing Annunciation, Christ's baptism, Crucifixion and Resurrection, third with blind roll of tendrils, small heads within roundels and GO, TA, LIE and IN, blind-stamped centrepiece of Charles V holding globe and sword, surmounted by three imperial escutcheons, raised bands, small leather flaw at foot of upper cover, original manuscript title to spine, few scratches, 20thC bookplate of Victor A. Schwartz to front pastedown, manuscript 'Emptus patavij a Fr[ide]rico Sebitio Silesio M[edi]cinae Doctore, tum co(?)sali parisi(?). Ao 1577 26 Augustij + Re: non Verbis δυναμω ὄνκ λογω' (in red ink) and 'Leo Vuolfhardus Memmingensis 1579 5 Junij Patavij' (in black ink) to first title of II, their Latin and Greek marginalia and underlining in red or black ink in places, several with last couple of letters shaved by 16thC binder, but overall readable, '#' inked at head of titles, '3/4' to last three titles, 'Ao 1549' at foot of first title.

£4500

**A very good copy of the scarce, first collected edition of the important commentaries by Leonhart Fuchs on 7 works by Galen on therapeutics and aetiology – with annotations by two 16th-century students at Padua.** The German botanist and physician Fuchs (1501-66) was professor at Tübingen. Renowned for his lavishly illustrated herbal, he also wrote important works on anatomy and medicine, siding with the Greek tradition against the principles of Arabic medicine and growing Paracelsianism.

Published in three separate volumes in 1549-54, Fuchs's commentaries present and discuss 7 works by Galen – some of which he translated himself – dealing with diagnostics, aetiology, therapeutic bleeding, humours and fever. 5 appear here in print for the first time. Galen's passages are followed by Fuchs's short commentaries. These incorporate Vesalius's theories on anatomy (which, Fuchs thought, did not invalidate Galen's), as well as those by Niccolò Leonceno and Giovanni Minardi. It launches attacks against Avicenna – an 'impostor' who 'should be banned from schools' – and Fuchs's own contemporary Jérémie de Dryvère. 'There is a certain amount of self-citation scattered throughout the commentaries: Fuchs refers to published and unpublished works of his, and occasionally to planned works. [...] Translations from Fuchs's pen are uniformly excellent, the commentaries are learned, occasionally philological in bias, and often acerbic. They mark a stage when Galen's authority in anatomy is undermined, but his dogmas on all other subjects unchallenged, except by the so-called "Arabist faction"' (Durling, 43).



**The annotations, written by two students at Padua in the 1570s, shed light on the study of Galenism during this time of relative decline.** 'The school of anatomy in Padua provided new concepts that raised critical questions to the plausibility of the traditional humoral theory, which had influenced both the theory and practice of medicine since the times of Hippocrates' (Zampieri). When our annotators were there, Girolamo Fabrizi d'Acquapendente was professor of surgery and anatomy. Fridericus Sebitius later became personal physician to the Duke of Brzeg, in his native Silesia. In *Hortus Medicus* (1588), Joachim Camerarius states that Sebitius communicated to him information on medical herbs. City physician in Ulm in 1572, Leo Wolfhard, from Memmingen, published two medical works in the 1580s. Both added

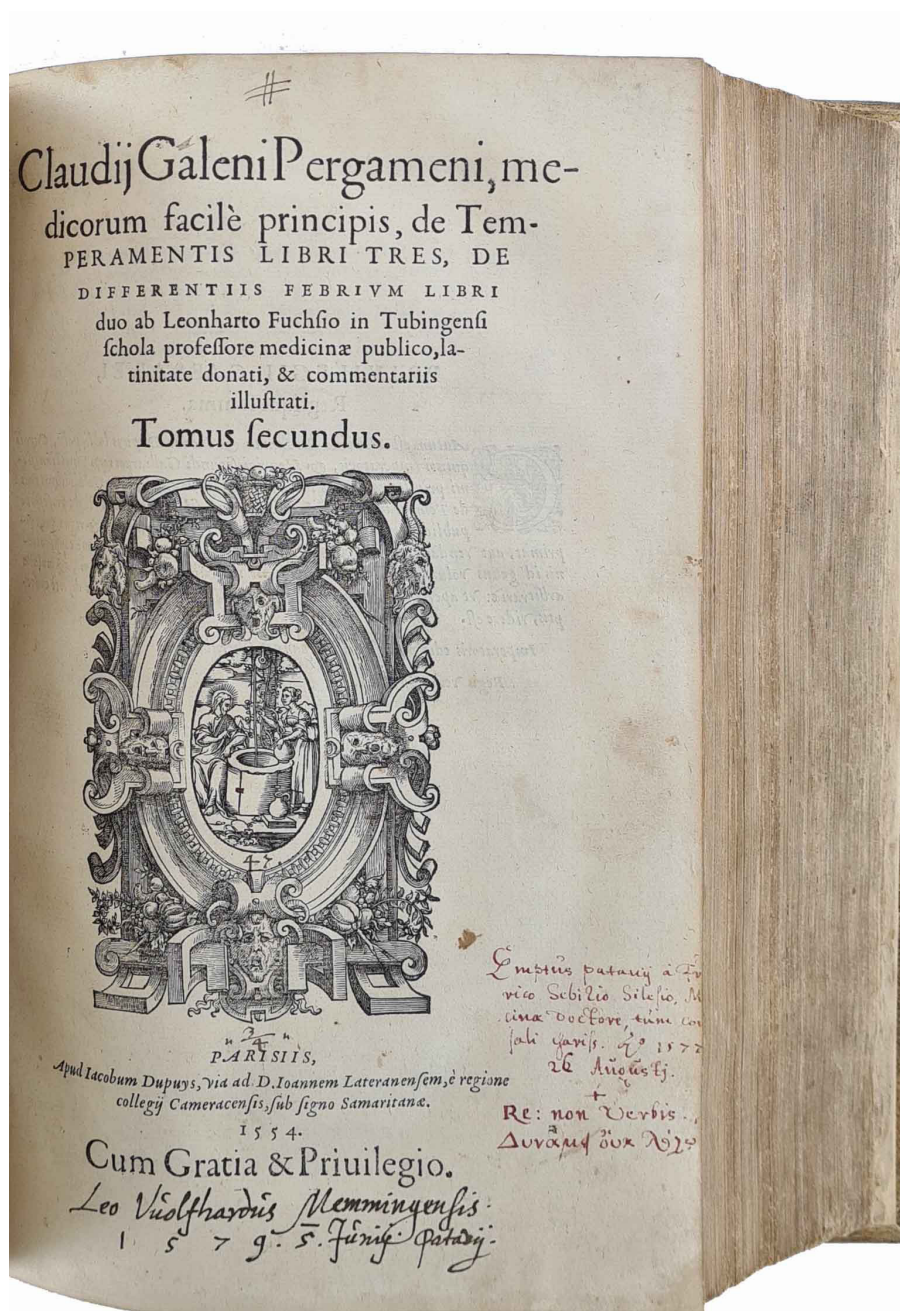
cross-references to contemporary theories (e.g., Leonicensis, Ruel, Fernel, Joubert), crossed out a few passages, corrected medical terminology (e.g., *avulsio* instead of *convulsio*), and highlighted Fuchs's comments on symptomatology, aetiology, pain and diagnostics. A note refers to a therapy administered by the Paduan doctor and professor Luigi Bellacato (1501-75).

In the 1590s, this copy was in Germany, where it was handsomely rebound at the S.T. Marke Presse workshop, in Tübingen (EBDB r004850, r004843). Hence the shaving of a few marginalia, when the binder cut the deckled edges.

I-III: Only UNC, Yale and NLM copies recorded in the US.

I: Only Baylor, Harvard and NYAM copies recorded in the US.

BM STC Fr., p.193 (imperfect). Not in Brunet, Durling, Wellcome (who now have a complete set) or Osler. R.J. Durling, 'Leonhart Fuchs and his Commentaries on Galen', *Medizinhistorisches Journal*, 24 (1989), 42-7; V. Nutton, 'Renaissance Galenism, 1540-1640', in *Brill's Companion to the Reception of Galen*, ed. P. Bouras-Vallianatos et al. (2019), 472-86; F. Zampieri, 'Origin and development of modern medicine at the University of Padua', *Glob Cardiol Sci Pract.*, 2 (2013), 149-162.



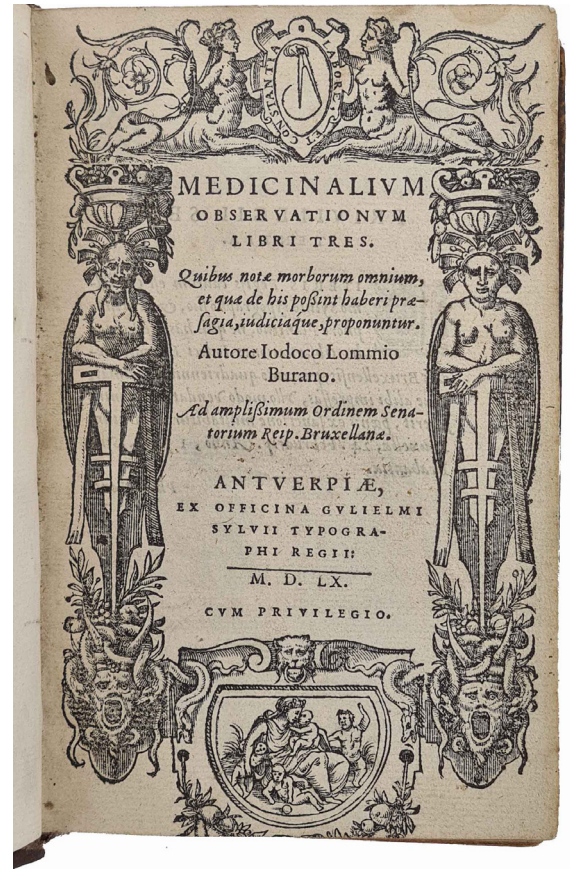
**Popular diagnostic manual, annotated  
by an early 18th-century English physician**

**4. Lommius (Jodocus). *Medicinalium observationum libri tres.***

*Antwerp: G. Sylvius for C. Plantin, 1560, title within charming woodcut with grotesques, decorated initials and ornaments, couple of small worm trails at blank gutter of first few gatherings, uniform light age yellowing, edges trimmed short (just touching woodcut title border at foot and the odd printed sidenote), tiny ink burn to F2 recto (affecting one letter), last verso a trifle soiled, ff. [8], 129, [3] + 145 blanks (Pro Patria watermark) interleaved, 20 of which annotated in Latin in an early 18thC English hand, 8vo, early 18thC English calf, double blind ruled, raised bands, corners a bit bumped, a little scuffed, two tiny worm holes at head of spine.*

£2000

A very good copy of the second edition of this successful medical work, reprinted well into the 18th century. The Dutch Jodocus Lommius (Josse van Lomm, after 1562), trained at Paris, was personal physician to Philip II and the author of influential medical works on therapeutics and fever. Lommius's mastery in explaining diagnostics earned him the nickname 'painter of illnesses'. A clear, concise practical manual in three books, *Medicinalium observationum* was first published by Plantin in the same year. It is devoted to the detection and interpretation of symptoms, firmly founded on Galenic and Hippocratic medicine.



It discusses a variety of subjects such as the symptomatology and aetiology of fevers in relation to other symptoms (e.g., the appearance and flow of urine), the symptoms of abscesses, evidence of death approaching, medical reasons for nightmares or lethargy, breathing difficulties, inflammation, tumours and pus (which, Lommius thought, was good for the healing of wounds).

**The early 18th-century annotator – most probably an English physician – had this copy rebound with interleaved blanks for personal study.** He integrated Lommius's text with quotations from early 18th-century medical works, such as Ulrich's *Dissertatio de morborum causis*, Hoffmann's *Medicinae rationalis systematicae* and Allen's *Synopsis universae medicinae practicae*. He also includes observations, derived either from personal experience or obscure medical dissertations, including fever symptoms (and advised diet), the tactile appearance of *gummata venerea* (syphilitic pustules), 'spasmodic' conditions, catarrh, cough, digestion, menstrual pain, kidney stones and asthma. There are a couple of remarks on the symptomatology of smallpox, with the parenthetical addition 'this instance I observed in an adult and in a little girl after smallpox'. The notes were probably made before the 1740s, when smallpox inoculation became widespread in England.

Minnesota, Iowa, NLM, NYAM and Yale copies recorded in the US.

Durling 2844; Wellcome I, 3849. Not in Osler.

## 17th-century manuscript account of the hospitalization and autopsy of an intersexual patient

5. [Anatomy]. Manuscript account of the hospitalization and autopsy of an intersexual patient. [Italy, c.1650], manuscript on paper, dolphin watermark, in Italian, black-brown ink, in a 17th-century cursive hand, slight age yellowing, edges dusty and untrimmed, couple of very minor tears along folds on second (blank) leaf, light water stain at blank foot, 2 unnumbered leaves, text on first recto only (25 lines), (310 x 220mm), unbound.

£1300

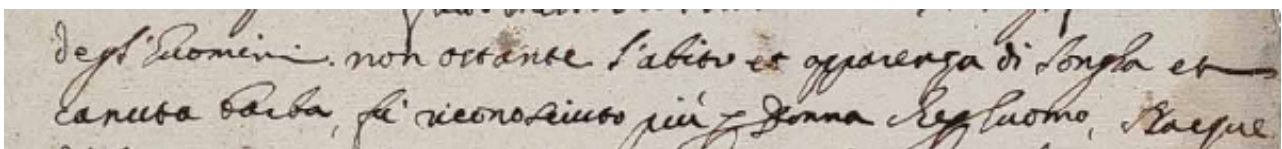
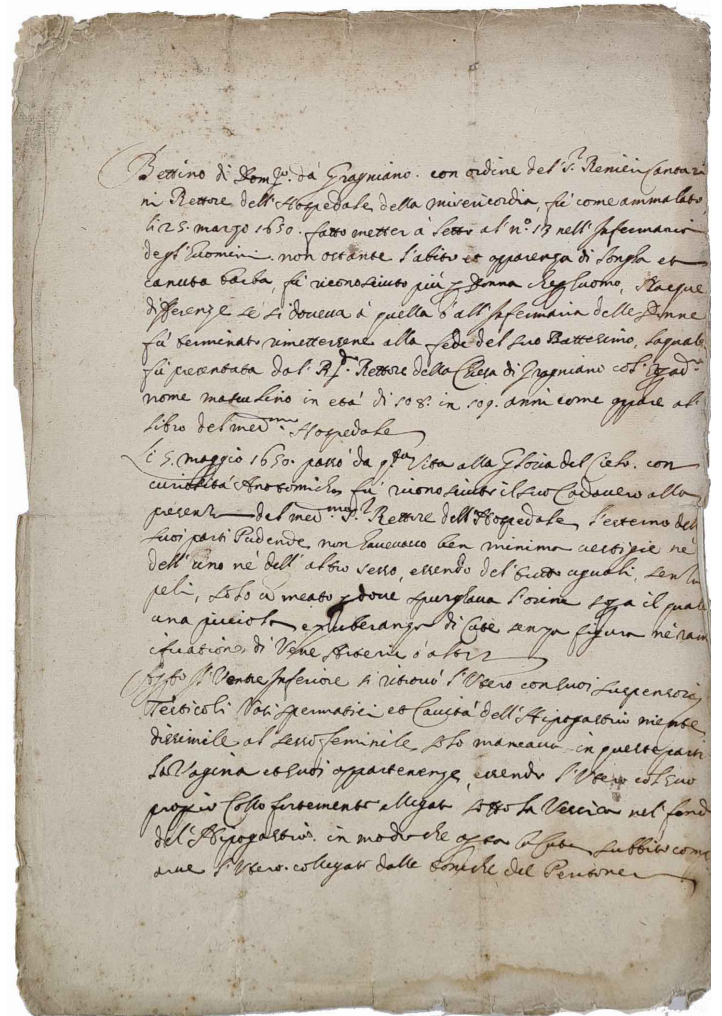
A fascinating, remarkably well-preserved ephemeral survival of an anatomical investigation in a 17th-century provincial Italian hospital, and a witness to contemporary medical attitudes towards intersexual patients. Interestingly written in the vernacular, this manuscript report concerns Bettino di Domenico from Gragnano, most probably the town near Lucca, in Tuscany. On 25 March 1650, aged 108 or 109 (!), he was admitted to the Hospitale della Misericordia on request of its director, Dr Ranieri Cantarini, who came from a local family of physicians.

At first, Bettino was assigned to bed n.13 in the 'infirmary for men'. However, 'despite his male attire and long, grey beard', he was 'acknowledged to be more woman than man', which created a practical problem for medical staff trying to choose the right ward. They eventually contacted the priest of the Church of Gragnano to request confirmation of Bettino's sex at birth and baptism, i.e., male. Bettino died on 5 May.

Given the 'anatomical curiosity' of his body, Dr Cantarini performed a post-mortem examination. 'The exterior of his private parts bore no trace of those of either sex, as they were all the same, and hairless. Only where urine came out was there a small overgrowth of flesh without shape or ramification of veins, arteries, etc.' Inside, Dr Cantarini discovered 'a uterus surmounted by its non-spermatic testicles', and found no differences to typical female organs in the cavity of the hypogastrium. However, the patient did not have any clear vaginal structures.

Bettino was probably genetically male, but affected, as we know today, by atypical genitalia caused by a chromosomal disorder (e.g., pure gonadal dysgenesis). The report does not mention the term 'hermaphrodite', as the patient did not have both male and female reproductive organs. This may explain why Bettino was even more of a 'curiosity', as his features fell outside the traditional categories theorised, among others, by Ambroise Paré. It is also remarkable (should the records be correct) that, despite his condition, Bettino, born c.1541/2, managed to live a life sufficiently undisturbed by societal constraints as to surpass the venerable age of 100.

See K.P. Long, *Hermaphrodites in Renaissance Europe* (2006), p.44.





## A rarity of early bioethics – Baptism and early modern embryology

6. **Fiorentini (Girolamo)** *Disputatio de ministrando baptismo humanis foetibus Abortiuorum*. Lyon: C. Chancey, 1658, first edition (first issue), added, engraved allegorical frontispiece with holy Greek initials, putto holding curtain and rain falling onto a hilly landscape with 'In stillicidiis eius' (Psalm 64), decorated initials and ornaments, all edges untrimmed, a little dusty and just softened, title a trifle dusty, small, faint, circular water stain, a little light browning (damp, poor-quality paper), slight mainly marginal foxing to last few gatherings, pp. [2], [24], 217, [22], bound without the final 2 errata leaves (as issued), 12mo, strictly-contemporary provisional plain paper wrappers, hand-painted grey, 19thC card reback and manuscript title label, some loss at foot of reback, traces of glue at joints, minor loss of paper at head and foot of spine, small tear from fore-edge of upper wrapper, couple more along spine, later casemarks(?) to inner upper wrapper and ffp, illegible 17/18thC stamp of Jesuit institution to title.

£2500

A good copy, entirely untrimmed, of the first edition (first issue) of the rare, controversial and groundbreaking first theologico-medical work on the baptism of abortive, deformed foetuses. Girolamo Fiorentini (1602-78) was a member of the *Ordo Clericorum Regularium Matris Dei*, first established in his native Lucca, and he taught theology at their institutions in Lucca and Rome.

*Disputatio* is an encyclopaedic compendium of theories of embryology c.1650. Correctly formed and live foetuses could be baptised. But were malformed foetuses – of undetermined human shape and displaying no evident signs of life – endowed with a rational soul; if so, could they be baptised at all, and how; if not, could a soul already separated from its body at death be baptised? The work begins with a theological discussion of foetus formation in relation to original sin, and the necessity of baptism, according to Catholicism and 'heretics' (e.g., Pelagians, Calvinists, Lollards). After analysing the various situations (outlined above) which priests may come across when baptising a foetus, it devotes numerous sections to the phases of conception, foetus formation and animation. Fiorentini believed animation to be immediate, upon conception; this invalidated theories of the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary (which postulated animation after 6 weeks). **He also believed that deformed foetuses did possess a rational soul – the first time this subject was addressed in print.** In addition to those of the Fathers of the Church and 16th/17th-century theologians, Fiorentini relied heavily on medical theories. Beside Aristotle and Hippocrates, he provides detailed references to 16th/17th-century medical works, e.g., by Botallo, Aldrovandi, Harvey, Highmore, Gallego (physician to Philip III and IV of Spain), Vopiscus Fortunatus Plempius, Themnio and Sennert. The work also discusses civil and canon law implications.



Despite widespread praise from major physicians and theologians, in the same years as new embryological observations were being made thanks to the microscope, *Disputatio* was added to the Index. It was slightly revised and reprinted, in few copies, in 1666. Reconsidered by the Inquisition in 1671, it was allowed to be reprinted with further revisions. The original version was only reprinted once in the 18th century, and is similarly rare. A fundamental work in the early history of bioethics.

**This copy is a fascinating ‘bibliographical fossil’** – witness to the way such pamphlets were printed and bound provisionally, at the printer’s workshop, in plain (often painted) wrappers which infrequently survive intact. This is a limp-paper structure, typically Italian (Cloonan, 6). This copy is a first issue, without the 2 errata leaves (but complete with the controversial preface). In the errata, Fiorentini explained how, at the time of printing in Lyon, he was in Lucca; hence it took some time for him to check the text and return his revisions to the printer. The present was probably among the first few printed.

Only Princeton Theological Seminary and Columbia copies (both appear to be imperfect) recorded in the US. None in the UK.

Not in Durling, Wellcome or Osler. C. Pujol, S.J., ‘El problema del bautismo de los fetos abortivos informes’, *Revista Española de Derecho Canónico*, 1 (1946), 697-720; M.V. Cloonan, *Early Bindings in Paper* (1991).

